

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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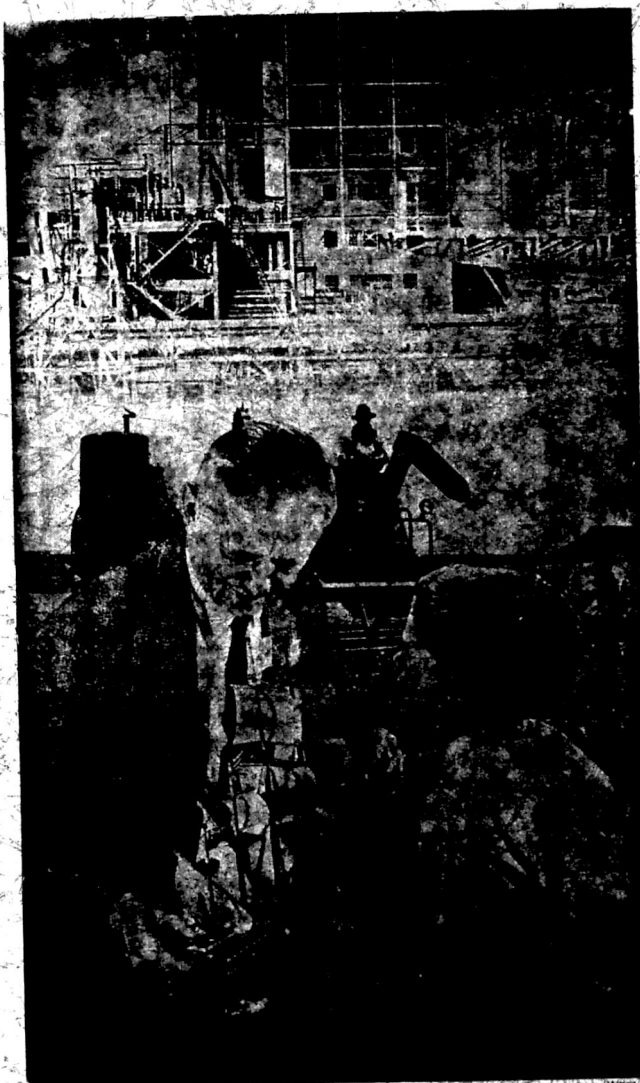
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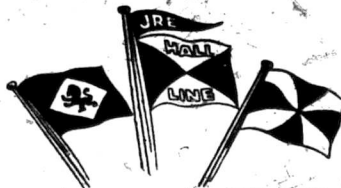
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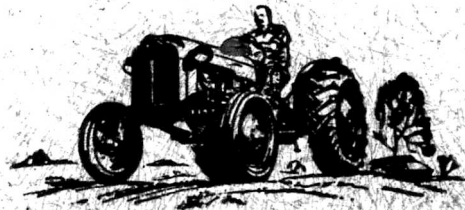
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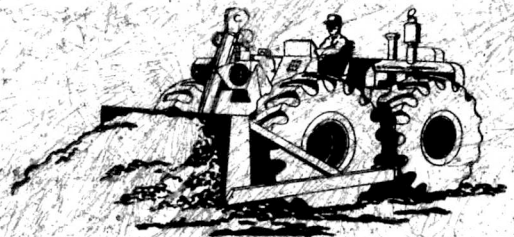
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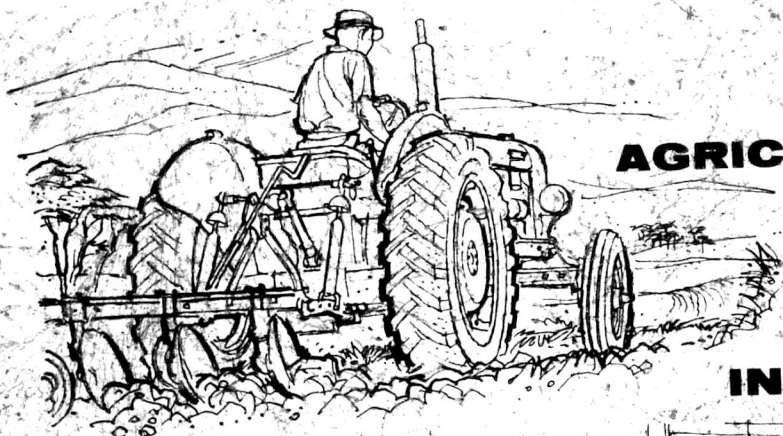
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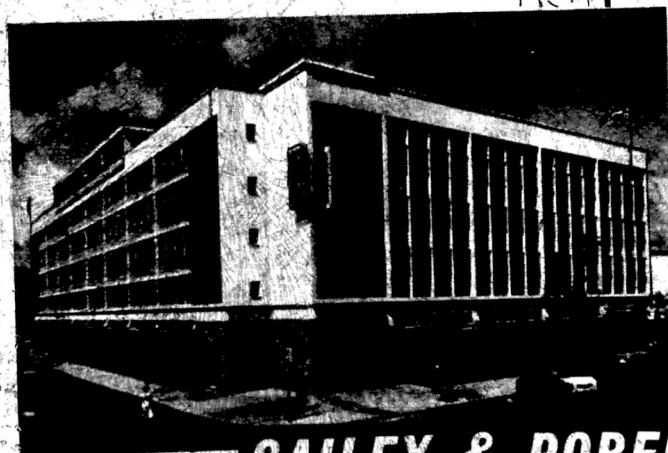
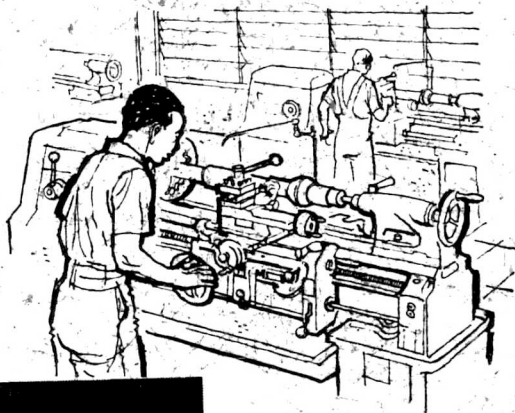
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

WHAT IS AT STAKE in the conflict over the Macleod proposals for Northern Rhodesia is not merely dissatisfaction among European Rhodesians, and also among many thoughtful and responsible Africans, with a slick and obviously disastrous piece of electoral arithmetic, but a determination to prevent irremediable damage being done to the Federation by a stubborn Minister in London who knows little about Africans, is disinclined to listen to open, official and non-official, who have given their lives to the continent, and is bent on getting what he wants when he wants it. As his blindness, blundering, bluff, and bluster over constitutional changes in Kenya and Nyasaland have made clear even to substantial sections of the general public, he cynically disregards principles, pledges, and important public pronouncements (including some of his own). He is, in short, politically the most untrustworthy Colonial Secretary of modern times — but one of the most able, ambitious, angry, and ruthless. A Prime Minister similarly though less blatantly prepared to sacrifice British East and Central Africa to temporary political convenience has allowed him astonishing freedom as a wrecker in the past eighteen months, but Mr. Macmillan must at long last recognize that that imprudence (not to give a harsher name to a whole series of ineptitudes and inconsistencies) has become a desperate liability for the party, the State, and the Commonwealth.

What is at Stake In Northern Rhodesia.

revolt of about a quarter of the Conservatives in Parliament, whose names still appear on the Turton motion of outright criticism of Mr. Macleod; and everyone in the House of Commons knows that if the Tory leaders acted too sharply in disciplining their followers in their present mood they would be more likely to cause another twenty or thirty of them to add their names than to persuade more to withdraw; and it is remarkable that only nine have removed their signatures. A few days ago, incidentally, a Socialist Member of Parliament of our acquaintance said in the course of conversation: "For years you have urged a bi-party attitude to African affairs. It is ironical that it should have taken Mr. Macleod, supposedly one of the shrewdest calculators in the House, to arouse widespread sympathy on our side, not for him, but for his opponents, including Sir Roy Welensky. There must be fifty of our people who would sign Mr. Turton's motion if they could, for there is much disgust in our party at the Macmillan-Macleod treatment of the Federation, not least because the Congo has awakened more of us to some of the facts of life in Africa".

The Facts of Life In Africa.

The facts of life in Africa are essentially the reason for the fight which is being waged so competently and resolutely by Sir Roy Welensky against a Government in the United Kingdom which has been incredibly neglectful of those basic facts. No Government relishes exposure of its grievous sins of omission and commission, for which the whole Cabinet is collectively

Dilemma of The Cabinet.

Because party considerations take precedence nowadays in the minds of so many professional politicians, we mention first the

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responsible. As individuals and as a group they therefore cling together under attack, however clear the recognition of some of them that their position is untenable — unless the assailant should decide to call off the engagement. None of them can expect the Federal Prime Minister to oblige them in that way. A fighter by nature, a convinced believer in the mission of the Federation to chart a middle way between Macleodism and *apartheid*, he has come to London in a spirit of reason but of determination. He will agree to nothing which dooms the Federation, denies progressive opportunities to moderate-minded Africans, or enthrones irresponsibility just because it is clamant.

How, then, is the face of the United Kingdom Government to be saved? That problem is certainly uppermost in the thinking of the Prime Minister and his closest colleagues —

Saving the Face Of Ministers.

who rejected the obvious solution which was disclosed only by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, they decided after many hours in conclave to pull Mr. Macleod back from the brink of resignation. Having taken that unfortunate decision — certainly not because they believed in his Northern Rhodesian proposals, but because it would have been inconvenient to expose the Cabinet split and repair the damage of his resignation speech — they have now to find a formula which will satisfy the Federal Government, which, they well know, will not be fobbed off with something equivocal and liable to be scrapped at short notice by a schemer at Westminster who has not to live with the effects of his impetuosity or intransigence. In this predicament what have Ministers been doing?

They have been so active in lobbying the Press that a friend in a highly responsible position in Fleet Street told us last week that he has never been under such concentrated

Lobbying The Press.

pressure from senior Ministers and their closest associates. There have been many private dinner and luncheon parties at which pro-Government and anti-Federation hints have been dropped. Again and again well-known journalists have been taken aside and given misinformation, which was duly made known to a wide public. Just as in the Western Desert Generals Alexander and Montgomery planted spurious maps and

other intelligence in ostensibly unsuspecting circumstances, so a little coterie has been employed in tactics designed to deceive the electorate. The lengths to which the plan has been carried will be evident from our own experience, which we relate with pleasure that an unwitting but high compliment should thereby have been conferred upon this journal. There has, we believe, been no previous occasion for many years on which we have not been invited to be represented at any Colonial Office briefing touching East or Central Africa directly or indirectly.

The other day, however, Mr. Macleod invited a hand-picked list of London journalists to meet him. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA was excluded, presumably because it was unlikely

The Compliment Of Exclusion.

to show sympathetic acceptance of Mr. Macleod's self-defence and because the editor would almost certainly put some awkward questions. Though unaware of the meeting until it was over — and it is significant that the Argus Rhodesian group of newspapers and the only London daily newspaper which is a consistent critic of Mr. Macleod were also excluded — we were soon told about the proceedings, which each informant interpreted as designed not to supply impartial information in the normal way but to allow Mr. Macleod to present his own case. At least one journalist who had previously been very much on his side was so shocked by the experience that he decided to write nothing on the lines suggested, and, as he has told us, to be very wary of the Secretary of State henceforth. Not having been present — and we repeat that exclusion on this occasion was a decided compliment — we can merely record the impressions of other people, some of whom found their host showing marked signs of strain. Then he had the aid of almost all the important newspapers. Now the other side of the case is being presented with good humour and great and cumulative effect by Sir Roy Welensky in interviews, at private gatherings, and by broadcasts and television. Before next week is out United Kingdom Ministers must reconsider their folly over Northern Rhodesia, for the issue, we repeat, is nothing less than that of the preservation of the Federation, for which Sir Roy Welensky and almost all Europeans in the Rhodesias, with the support of many Africans, will fight a *outrance*.

SOW THE WIND OF APPEASEMENT

and you will reap the whirlwind of endless pressure to do further hurt to right principles. The Secretary of State for the Colonies

Reaping the Whirlwind Of Appeasement.

refused in January last year to heed this truth; now other people recognize, and presumably Mr. Macleod also, that in Kenya it has had the political and economic consequences foretold. When he reversed his own ruling and insisted on the admission to Lancaster House of Mbiyu Koinange, who was then still described by the Government of Kenya as second only to Kenyatta in responsibility for the Mau Mau rebellion, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA promptly predicted that that unprincipled stragem would greatly stimulate the campaign for the rehabilitation of a man who had been sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for having managed the most subversive and unspeakably filthy organization which East Africa has known. Our expectation was quickly fulfilled. The African extremist politicians grew increasingly reckless in promising their audiences the early freedom of a malefactor who had done more harm to his tribe and country than any other African since civilized rule was established. When they began their clamour they were confident that there was no risk that their pressure would succeed; and scarcely any of them wanted it to succeed, for that would inevitably impede their political careers.

* * *

By shouting for what, they were convinced, would not be granted by the Government of Kenya they could, however, at no cost to themselves demonstrate their support for the instigator of revolt. Indeed, the

Uhuru na Kenyatta.

main purpose was to gain Kikuyu backing, especially in the case of the two Luo (bitterly antagonistic to one another) who have been most persistent in their importunity. When they discovered that not even so foul a deed as the release of Kenyatta by men entrusted with Britain's honour was not excluded, they were too deeply involved to withdraw, and they had therefore to keep the issue in the forefront of their propaganda. Consequently it was the dominant topic of the general election of which the results are chronicled in other columns. Kenyatta's likeness disfigured the boardings; African candidates flaunted shirts bearing large portraits of the man over the heart (though the Government had but recently banned the wearing of Kenyatta

miniatures); and day after day great crowds were stirred up to howl for the release of the creature who was the choice of the Kenya African National Union as first Chief Minister of an independent Kenya — as infamous a proposition as any made since Hitler and Stalin were allowed to become the dictators of Germany and Russia.

All this the authorities tolerated — despite the fact that there have been new outbreaks of oathing on Mau Mau lines, official admissions of anxiety about the Kenya Land Freedom Army (Mau Mau

Preparing the Way For Surrender.

in a new guise), and murders, assaults, arson, and widespread intimidation. On no occasion, however, did the Secretary of State, the Governor, or any Minister remind the public of the pledges repeatedly given during the Mau Mau rising that the malign originator of a calamity which cost the Kikuyu many thousands of lives, and indescribable misery would not return to tribal territory. On the contrary, one African political leader after another has in recent months asserted immediately after private conversations with Mr. Macleod that Kenyatta would soon be set at liberty. The Secretary of State merely commented that the decision would be that of the Governor — which, of course, nobody believed, since it was inconceivable that so grave a matter should be left to Sir Patrick Renison (whose whole career has been spent outside Africa) without direction, or at least very strong indications of his wishes, from a Minister in Whitehall who is notorious for his treatment of Governors not as advisers whose counsel needs to be generally followed but as agents of his will.

* * *

Because Africans who have had intimate talks with the Secretary of State came away with the impression that he intended Kenyatta to be released soon, they consider themselves tricked by

The Leader to Darkness and Death.

last week's announcement that he is not to be set free, but merely moved from Lodwar to Maralal, where he will be accessible to African politicians. Though, as the Governor has said, the responsibility is his, the plan and the manoeuvres bear the Macleod stamp. In the official statement in this issue there is no word about principles. That pledges have been repeatedly given is of no account; the damning history recorded in the Corfield Report might never

have been written; the betrayal of the Kikuyu and other loyalists means nothing. For purely political reasons these things are set at naught. Yet the Governor specifically states that he adheres to every word of his broadcast pronouncement of May 10: and he then described Kenyatta as "the leader to darkness and death". If, as he testifies, that is still his opinion, what moral right has he, or the Secretary of State, or H.M. Government to make such a person available for consultation by the African politicians? There could scarcely be a graver trifling with Britain's duty as trustee for the well-being of Kenya, especially the millions of Africans.

In fairness it must be added that the problem facing the Governor as a consequence of the Secretary of State's weakness, temporization, and evasion was gravely aggravated

Contemptible Conduct of European Candidates.

during the election by the contemptible conduct of the European politicians, who, in order to attract African votes, declared their readiness to serve in a Government with Kenyatta. They were well aware that by existing legislation he is debarred by his crimes from a seat in the House, and that Africans would consequently interpret their statements as meaning that they would favour a change in the law to allow the arch-worker of iniquity to sit in the Legislature, receive a portfolio, and presumably at some time insult the Queen by being presented as her Chief Minister. The Blundellites were the first to jump on the Kenyatta band-wagon. A few days later Mr. Peter Marrian, until then a highly respected figure among European settlers, shocked the country by comparable compliance; and not even the Kenya Coalition as a party stood firmly against so despicable a course, though it is to be hoped and presumed that some who wore its colours rejected the idea in their speeches. If Mr. Macleod knew anything about Africans he would have realized that the kind of hair-splitting in which he delights means nothing to them. They appreciate firm government and despise infirmity of purpose and unreliability of word. They would have understood, and an overwhelming majority would have applauded in private, an irrevocable decision that Kenyatta should live out the rest of his life far removed from those upon whom he had brought such tragic evil. But there would have been organized protests by the Odingas, Mboyas, and their ilk, said the faint-hearts. The truth, of course, is that the course advised by those faint-hearts and

now adopted has brought no more and no less denunciation than would have followed the honourable and reasonable decision.

Apart from the lack of principle and lack of common sense inherent in this imbecility, it could not be worse timed from the practical standpoint. Kenyatta is a self-confessed Communist, Moscow trained.

Good News for The Communists.

Is it conceivable that the agents of the Kremlin (some of whom have recently been very active in Kenya) will overlook his usefulness at the very moment that they are concentrating their attentions upon the Congo (into which it is known that they have recently flown substantial supplies of automatic weapons), Guinea (into which Russian and Chinese technicians have surged by the hundreds), and Egypt (a jumping-off point for Russian activities?) — not to mention numerous other areas of Africa in which carefully instructed Communists of many nationalities are zealously at work. Was it beyond the wit of Mr. Blundell, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Marrian, and other simpletons to recognize that they were making themselves the tools, or at least the potential tools, of the force which presents a dire threat to all Africa?

Statements Worth Noting

"Democracy is not necessarily tied to any parliamentary system. Democracy is an attitude of mind". — Sir Ernest Vasey, Tanganyika's Minister for Finance.

"More than 20,000 African families and about 1,050 European farmers in Kenya now produce pyrethrum". — Mr. Norman Hardy, executive officer of the Kenya Pyrethrum Board.

"Mr. Iain Macleod is unwise to encourage the idea that all peoples will be wisely governed if there is 'one man one vote'. Even in our own country the extension of the franchise has been disastrous". — *City Press*.

"The dilemma confronting Africans is how to set in motion towards economic expansion and social progress a great mass of mankind still bound by custom and untouched by the benefits of modern mechanical civilization, still largely unconscious of its scourges". — Mr. David A. Morse, Director-General of the International Labour Office.

"Politics produces talk. Our copper produces the money that in very large measure helps finance the administration. For all their promises and intentions, politicians will never feed you or your families". — Mr. O. B. Bennett, general manager of Rhokana Corporation, in a message to the African employees.

"Europeans have to face the self-evident fact that their ability to influence the course of events is becoming more restricted daily. European political control is rapidly waning. We have to adjust ourselves to a radically changed political and social situation, and whether we find life here pleasant or intolerable will depend on our humility and adaptability". — The Rev. Colin Morris, of Northern Rhodesia.

Notes By The Way

Macleodism Harms Export Trade

LARGE IMPORTERS of British goods in Northern Rhodesia have to my knowledge instructed their London buyers not merely to refrain from further purchases of United Kingdom manufactures but even to cancel present contracts where possible. In one day I have been told of two such cases, one of the principals being the owner of stores in a number of important centres and hitherto determined not to deal in non-British goods if that could be avoided. Now he and the controller of the other business have come to the same decision for the same reason: that they regard the Macleod proposals for constitutional changes as certain to be so harmful to their country politically, economically, and socially that they have decided to adopt the only practical form of protest open to them. Whether the cases of which I have heard are but two of a considerable number I do not know, but there is an obvious risk that such a movement may spread. When responsible businessmen with substantial stakes in the commerce of the country take this kind of action in the hope that it will induce greater prudence on the part of H.M. Government, M.Ps. of both parties who represent manufacturing constituencies would do well to note the development, one for which there has been no precedent in Central Africa.

The Way to Unemployment

ONE ASPECT of the Government's readiness to surrender to African political extremists which has received practically no attention in this country is the inevitable and cumulatively adverse effect upon Britain's export trade. It is astonishing that there should have been almost universal indifference when the export figures are officially recognized to be unsatisfactory and when Ministers emphasize in speech after speech that the standards of living in the United Kingdom must fall unless overseas sales are increased. Anyone with even a superficial acquaintance with trends in East and Central Africa should recognize that the political developments fostered during the past 18 months by an ostensibly Conservative Government are calculated to cause damage to British trade, for the African nationalist extremists, some of whom are as anti-British as they could be, while others are openly pro-Communist, must be expected to use their influence to change the traditional channels of trade; and it would be fantastic to assume that the Americans, the Japanese, and other Asian suppliers, Continental manufacturers, and of course the Iron Curtain countries will not do all in their power to divert business to themselves from Great Britain. This very evident threat to United Kingdom exporters is — like so much else — disregarded by Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod, and a staggeringly complacent Cabinet. Serious unemployment will be caused by the political follies of this Government in many parts of Africa.

Hints for M.Ps.

A NEWSPAPER has as much right as an individual to the courtesy of being correctly named; and when its exclusive property is borrowed, with or without consent — and it is usually without previous knowledge, let alone consent — fair acknowledgment is surely due, especially from the men in public life who are so eager for their activities, and even their existence, to be

mentioned in the Press. Yet in my long experience there are no worse or more frequent offenders in both respects than members of the House of Commons — of all parties. If by an oversight on the part of a writer or printer the initials of an M.P. are wrongly recorded there is more than an even chance that he will point out the slip, perhaps with the suggestion that the paper should do better next time, which implies an expectation that he will receive further publicity within the measurable future. Because EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has always taken great care to give names accurately, there have not been many complaints of this kind during the 37 years of its existence, but I think that every one was made by an M.P.

Just Courtesy

SELDOM, HOWEVER, DO M.Ps., who frequently borrow from this journal, acknowledge the source, or get the name right when, as an exception, they feel that the origin of quotation should be given. The other day Mr. Gaitskell, Leader of the Opposition, placed considerable emphasis on something taken from EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, but his acknowledgment was to a non-existent *East African Review*. We should be no more culpable if we took some passages from a speech of his and attributed them to a Mr. Goatskill or a Mr. Gaitsley. That thought might perhaps be pondered by those who, though greatly dependent upon the Press and so anxious to be accurately reported themselves (except when they recognize that they have talked nonsense), are either determined to go on reaping where they have not sown, or, to change the metaphor, are too casual to give a name correctly. In the same debate another M.P. had the satisfaction of causing considerable amusement by quoting from EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA — without, of course, any indication of the source.

Television

SINCE RHODESIA has now television and Kenya may have it next year, readers in Central and East Africa may care to know that that latest medium of communication has just been defined by the Prime Minister as "the last dreadful manifestation of the affluent society". Mr. Macmillan added, seemingly in an effort to minimize his condemnation, that "it is not all slapstick and slaughter". Nor, of course, is there any guarantee that what viewers see and hear fairly represents what was in fact said by a person interviewed — particularly if he has candidly criticized Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod, two pillars of the establishment who have had astonishing protection from the Press and TV.

Macmillanism

MACMILLAN is not a word which Africans find easily pronounceable, and, as is well known, an "l" is very frequently changed to an "r". Thus Macmillan becomes Makamirana. When a correspondent in Southern Rhodesia heard a Shona-speaking African use the words "ku makamirana", he asked what they meant. The reply given — in English — was in these words: "When a man tells you something with many words and you think what he says is good, and then he tells you the opposite with many words and you also think that is good, then when he walks away you wonder what he really said and which is good, and that is 'ku makamirana'".

Federal Assembly's Overwhelming Support for Sir Roy Welensky

Mr. Macleod's Negotiating Technique and Breach of Pledges Roundly Condemned

SIR ROY WELENSKY'S stand against the United Kingdom Government's constitutional proposals for Northern Rhodesia was supported in the Federal Parliament last Thursday by 46 votes to five—and if three members of his party (one African and two Europeans) had not been in London, the result of the division would have been 49 to five.

The Dominion Party, which forms the official Opposition, voted with the Federal Government, which was opposed only by one European, Mr. Robert Moffat, a Liberal Party member nominated on behalf of Africans in Northern Rhodesia, and four Africans (Messrs. F. Chembe, J. G. S. Chingattie, J. Samuriwo, and D. Yamba). Sir Roy Welensky had left members free to vote as they wished, specially telling his own party that each member should act according to the dictates of his own conscience.

In his winding-up speech Sir Roy mentioned prospective discussions with British Ministers while he was in London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference for which he was to leave next day.

If he failed to secure satisfactory changes in the British plan he would report to the House and seriously consider resigning and seeking a mandate from the electorate. The present proposals were unacceptable because they entrenched political *apartheid*, were in breach of undertakings, and were not practicable.

Treated Contemptuously

The Federal Prime Minister said, *inter alia*:—

"The Federal Government had the constitutional right to be consulted, and at least the moral right to have its representations carefully considered, and these rights were treated contemptuously.

"As to the suggestion that our interests would have been served by sitting round the conference table, there was never any question of the Federal Government sitting round the table. Consultation with the Federal Government is entirely a separate issue from the United Federal Party representation at the conference. Considerations which the Federal Government brings to bear on territorial constitutional proposals are not necessarily those which exercise the minds of territorial negotiators—who were extremely distrustful of the Colonial Secretary's negotiating techniques. The kind of proposals which we knew were likely to be put forward as a basis for discussion would commit the United Kingdom attitudes from the start and leave no real room for negotiation. That was why the U.F.P. delegates abstained from the talks.

"The United Kingdom Government, which is placing my Government in the totally false position of appearing to obstruct African advancement, has no real responsibility in this part of Africa. It is of no immediate and vital concern to them whether we starve or prosper, whether we conduct our affairs well or badly. They have no particular stake here except to ensure on the strength of their remaining constitutional responsibilities that we do not embarrass them in the councils of the world—where it is fashionable to prostrate oneself before every kind of pressure provided it borrows the cloak of self-determination, nationalism, or anti-imperialism or some other expression which the Communist world has invented to subvert the structure of the societies which they have not yet converted to their own ideology.

"In deference to those pressures—and this is what I hold against the United Kingdom Government—they offer blandishments in the way of political advancement that mean nothing in terms of real advancement but constitute a serious threat to standards on which real advancement is based. When we resist them we appear to be the enemies of advancement. The simple truth is that by standing by our own principles we are serving the interests of vast masses of Africans. I challenge anyone to cast his eyes round the African continent today and show to the satisfaction of an impartial panel of judges where the average African lives better and more freely than he does here.

"The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia has had to make it clear to the U.K. Government that should they proceed at the rate they seem determined upon, which would result in control in the two northern territories being handed over to

African extremists, he would not be able to keep Southern Rhodesia in the Federation. I believe that to be a statement of fact. But I have received 100% backing by the Government of Southern Rhodesia in our present difficulties.

"A plain fact completely ignored by the Secretary of State for the Colonies is that if the Government of Northern Rhodesia or control of its Legislature were to pass into the hands of certain of the nationalist leaders, we could expect violent reaction from other tribes. This is Africa, not Europe. Tribalism is one of the most potent factors in the life of the African people, and until there is some degree of education which is not yet in measurable sight, to hand over power would be an act of folly.

"Suggestions were made that I might be given opportunity to address the House of Commons and that we might appoint a Parliamentary Delegation to proceed to the United Kingdom to explain our objections to these proposals and their consequences and endeavour to create a climate of opinion in which negotiations could be resumed. The Government is anxious to explore all possibilities of getting over our point of view to the British Government and people, and these suggestions will be considered. I shall lose no opportunity while in London of talking to any individuals or groups who are willing to listen to me.

"In my opening speech I drew attention to features of the new proposals which depart substantially from the principles of the 1958 White Paper, Paragraph 6, of which stated: 'In order to inject stability, certain provisions of this scheme would be entrenched in a constitutional instrument'. Why was it necessary to inject stability? The answer is in the following paragraph: 'So that the main lines of constitutional advance would be settled for some time ahead, and the confidence of people would not be continually jeopardized by the prospect of drastic changes every few years.'

"The confidence of the people of Northern Rhodesia has been jeopardized. There must be political instability when we are faced with these constant shifts of policy. Northern Rhodesia has had two major constitutional changes since federation and we are now faced with the third—which involves abandonment of principles adopted only two years ago. The proposals are retrogressive in every way.

"We are becoming all too familiar with new colonial diplomacy of the British Government wherein so many people of such conflicting points of view are gathered together round a table, usually in London on the Colonial Secretary's home ground. The numbers involved make it quite impossible for any serious business negotiation to take place, and the views of those invited are in any case so diametrically opposed that even in the most favourable circumstances any substantial measure of agreement is unlikely.

Rash, Irresponsible Promises

"The circumstances of these conferences moreover encourage most extreme bias, particularly by those who, while having no political or constitutional responsibility, have whetted the appetites of their followers by rash and irresponsible promises. In any event, it always becomes 'necessary' for the British Government to 'put forward its own proposals', which are a compromise, and as such are based on no particular principles, but which invariably favour those who have backed up their demands with most extravagant threats of violence. The moderate man's voice is scarcely heard.

"The Governor of Northern Rhodesia has claimed that the proposals are a reasonable compromise. I must mention again that durability was promised in the 1958 White Paper. As for the rest, the Governor has offered no detailed reasons or analysis of the scheme to support his contentions.

"I have suggested that the proposals stand condemned on the charge that they will import racialism into the political life of Northern Rhodesia. Many other members share that view. As recently as 1958 the United Kingdom Government did so also. The Chief Secretary said in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council on July 10, 1958: 'Selection of members of this Council in purely racial groups is an undesirable state of affairs, and to entrench representation of the people of the country on a purely racial basis would be contrary to all trends of past history and the future needs of this country.'

"Again, on July 16 the Chief Secretary said: 'I repeat some of the arguments for rejection by the Government of parity as an acceptable device for the Constitution. The reasons of principle against parity are: first, that parity of white and black, or of the African and European members in Council, could not fail to entrench racialism, which it is our object to remove from politics.'

"On November 27, 1958, when the Northern Rhodesia Constitution of that year was under discussion the Secretary

of State said at Westminster: 'Parity between the two main races seems to me to lead inevitably to a dead end' or to a struggle for power, fought out on a purely racial basis, which could not have anything other than disastrous consequences for the territory's future.

"Speculation has ranged from believing that I would urge the Federal Parliament to declare the Federation an independent State to my resigning as Prime Minister. Much has been made of my remarks about having kept the door open for further discussions with H.M. Government. I never closed the door. Throughout the discussions I have been seeking a formula which would not bring us to the negotiating table with closed minds, and that is where I have differed basically from H.M. Government.

"The Secretary of State for the Colonies, for reasons best known to himself, was determined to close the door at least most of the way, and he now has the backing of his Parliament. I have committed myself to nothing. But at one stage I understood that we had reached an agreed basis for discussion between the Government of the United Kingdom and ourselves completely without commitment. That understanding was destroyed by the Colonial Secretary when he defined the scope of his proposals in such a way as to prevent any other reasonable and practicable alternatives being put forward.

"I don't have to repeat my objections to the present proposals. They entrench political apartheid. They are not practicable. They break undertakings previously given.

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

Government from Church House

"Concern has been expressed about the Governor presiding at any discussions. That concern I do not share. I have always regretted the trend developed in recent times whereby the Government of Colonial territories has been exercised direct from Church House, and I would welcome anything that tended the other way. I am quite satisfied that the Governor is in full appreciation of what is involved in these difficulties, and would do his best to find a solution—provided always that he is permitted some room for manoeuvre and is not inexorably bound by the White Paper.

"From the reply given to Lord Hinchinbrooke at Westminster it is not unreasonable to assume that H.M. Government is willing to discuss the situation with me. That is no guarantee that we shall reach agreement. Nobody recognizes that better than I do. But if I fail to make any impression on United Kingdom Ministers I shall report my failure to this House.

"If it appeared that we had exhausted all possibilities of resisting these proposals by argument and negotiation, I should have very seriously to consider informing Parliament of my intention to resign office and seek a mandate from the electorate. I have a mandate to seek independence for the Federation by constitutional means. I have no mandate to go beyond that, and I intend to keep faith with the electorate. I should have to ask them for a clear mandate for whatever line I intended to take.

"I sincerely hope that we shall not be forced into the position of considering drastic measures to resist the imposition of proposals which threaten the submergence of standards by which we live and the total destruction of the Federation. To say more would not assist the negotiations which I hope to see resumed.

"It has been suggested that Territorial troops should not have been called up. Any Government which claims to be responsible would fail in its duties if it did not take precautions at a time of possible trouble. What we have built up in the Federation we intend to defend. Perhaps for too long we have tried to convey a fair picture, and a warning of the trend of events in the Congo to the United Kingdom and the United States in particular. Because of the warning from the Congo we know that in future we shall have to depend on ourselves."

On Monday the Northern Rhodesian Division of the Dominion Party announced that it would henceforth back Sir Roy and the Federation, and Mr. Guy van Eden, D.P. leader in the territory, resigned from the party. The Southern Rhodesian section of the party is supporting the Prime Minister in his struggle with the U.K. Government but does not want continuation of the Federation in its present form.

In Nairobi Mr. Kaunda, president of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, said that there might be a riot in Northern Rhodesia at any time, that Europeans would then resort to arms, and that "thousands of my people will die". If Sir Roy Welensky tried to impose independence, "when we are in action he will regret it". He thought that Sir Roy Welensky was "politically on the way out". Mr. Kaunda had arrived from Cairo, where he saw President Nasser.

Sir Roy Welensky in London

SIR ROY WELENSKY arrived at London Airport on Saturday morning, where he was met by Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

The Federal Prime Minister was accompanied by Mr. Julian Greenfield, Minister of Law; Mr. A. D. Evans, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs; Mr. Hugh Parry, Permanent Secretary for External Affairs; and Mr. Stewart Parker, principal private secretary.

At the airport Sir Roy told Press representatives that there could be no question of his Government acting unconstitutionally; when there was talk of independence it meant independence within the field of responsibility of the Federal Government, and not interference with the territorial Governments.

Asked if he felt that the Europeans in Northern Rhodesia had been let down by the British Government, he replied: "It won't help if I express strong views". He wanted the resumption of negotiations on a reasonable basis; and of that there was still hope. The Macleod plan would entrench racialism, and the need was for H.M. Government to see things in a way that would not harm the Federation.

"I don't want to see the Federation destroyed. Hard facts have to be faced. There are many people in the Federation, the vast majority of them born in this country, who now feel that the Federation should seriously consider going it alone in the Federal field".

He did not believe that in Southern Rhodesia Sir Edgar Whitehead could "ride it" if the present proposals for Northern Rhodesia were not changed, for his electorate considered that the White Paper scheme would destroy the Federation.

Sir Roy dined on Saturday with Mr. Sandys and on Sunday with the Prime Minister.

Mr. Randolph Churchill, who called on Sir Roy Welensky soon after his arrival, wrote next day in the *News of the World*:—

"Sir Roy told me: 'There shall not be a Congo in Rhodesia. We live next door. The Congo needs at least 50,000 good troops under a good commander. The trouble began nine months ago; look where it has got us now.'

"Katanga is a vital buffer State to the Federation. Surely it is in the interests of the West to support Tshombe, who has established a Government which maintains law and order, is openly anti-Communist, and stands basically for the things for which we stand.

"As to our differences with the U.K. Government, I have a case and intend to argue it. We are trying to evolve a genuine partnership of black and white. Neither side will succeed by force. I have never closed the door to discussion."

Dishonest Nonsense

On Tuesday the *Daily Express* gave prominence to an interview of which Mr. Rene MacColl wrote:

"Sir Roy Welensky told me that the big difference between the Ministers of H.M. Government and himself was that they were prepared to take huge risks in Central Africa which he emphatically did not think justified.

"These risks affect not only the people of European stock but the moderate Africans", he said. "The Europeans and the African moderates wonder more and more where they stand in the eyes of British Cabinet Ministers, for the attention given by H.M. Government to extremists and their views seems to prove that extremism will always pay.

"British Ministers seem unable to understand that it is dishonest nonsense to believe that political solutions provide pat answers. Ignorance and poverty are the real problems—and to them there are no political answers.

"As to my call-up of the militia, my primary concern is over the utter failure of the Great Powers to take effective action in the Congo. If Tshombe does not survive in Katanga the problem is bang on my border. Therefore I have taken and will take military precautions. I fear complete reversion to barbarism in the Congo unless realistic steps are quickly taken. The world stands by and does precious little about a fearful tragedy.

"I have not sought European supremacy in the Federation—merely recognition that political responsibility must be in responsible hands—which is not all white."

Mr. MacColl ended by describing Sir Roy as "our down-to-earth Empire friend from Salisbury". Mr. Randolph Churchill had described him as "very much more on our side than a lot of the silly billies in this country".

(Continued at foot of previous column)

Governor Will Not Release Kenyatta Yet

Mau Mau Leader To Be Moved To Maralal: More Visitors Allowed

THE GOVERNOR OF KENYA, SIR PATRICK RENISON, made the following statement in Nairobi on Wednesday evening of last week:

"Elections are over. There is very hard work ahead for all of us to make some of the dreams come true.

"British rule, the administration and the law, all the machinery of order and good government, continue. But from now on African leaders will have even more say in the Government, and I and my administration will be working harder than ever to help the chosen leaders of the people of all races to go forward together as fast as they can travel through the succeeding stages to independence without fear.

"I have made no secret that my immediate intentions and ambitions are to maintain law and order and to make the Lancaster House Constitution work. My first job is to form a Government that will work together, with effective majority support in the Legislative Council. If we can do that, I am sure that the Lancaster House Constitution will prove the means of the country's rapid economic recovery, which can make other advances beneficial.

"We must all work with the elected leaders to take that considered action and make those vital decisions, which are necessary and unavoidable if Kenya is to move forward, as we plan, to early independence with stability, and show itself a land with a predominantly African Government where all races and peoples are welcome to play their part. I hope to give some outline of the essential work to be done when I open the new Legislature in a few weeks' time.

"I have had no doubt what I should do about Jomo Kenyatta. I accept that the responsibility is mine; but I have been reassured by knowing that, in spite of all the pressures and speculations of some of the politicians and of some of the Press, there has never been the slightest difference in thinking between me and Her Majesty's Ministers in Great Britain, through whom, with determination to help Kenya, I serve the Queen. What I have to say to you now has the full support of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies and of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

Kenyatta's Magnified Image

"I have resisted the pressures to reveal my intentions about Jomo Kenyatta during the political campaigning for the election. I intend to remain outside politics. But, of course, I realize that I cannot form a Government without telling those with whom I hope to work what I am going to do about Kenyatta, whose magnified image now stands across our path, and, in the absence of a decision, prevents any certain planning for a constructive future free of fear.

"In spite of the great difficulty of conscience after the Mau Mau horrors, it is not my view that Jomo Kenyatta should be kept in restriction indefinitely. I do not, however, propose to release him until the new Government is working well and until I think that the security risk can be accepted and contained, and that the danger which his return presents to the economy and administration and to our whole constitutional progress towards early independence has been minimized. I care for Kenya too much to contemplate his stepping from restriction to a position of authority. The people who form the electorate and the political leaders and the world at large must be allowed to see him and know him as he is now and see his effect on the country and its politics.

"I issued a statement about Kenyatta on May 10, 1960. I would ask people to read it again. Nothing has happened since to make me wish that I had worded the statement or any part of it differently.

"In the last paragraph I said that the door was not shut, and I asked people to work actively to bring to an end the divisions and personal fears among the Kikuyu peoples and other people in Kenya and to produce an atmosphere of stable political achievement on the Lancaster House pattern. I think that, with the help of all my Ministers and many others, we have made considerable progress in this respect.

"But I do not think that we have yet gone far enough to justify the security risk of Jomo Kenyatta's release, even if, as we all know, he is not eligible by the constitutional law to be elected a member of the Legislative Council and thereby to take an elected part in the Government.

"There are two things in particular which have prevented the greater progress which might have justified the risk of his release by this date. One has been the political campaign for his release which has roused many emotions and which has not allowed divisions and personal fears a natural atmosphere in which to diminish. The other has been the refusal of Jomo Kenyatta himself to make any statement or reveal his thinking about the great issues which Kenya is facing, although in August I sent six of my Ministers, including three African Ministers, to Lodwar to give him the opportunity of speaking.

"Jomo Kenyatta has been in good health at Lodwar, and is well-informed on what is happening in Kenya and the world. Nevertheless, Lodwar is in a very remote area, and I intend now to remove him to Maralal. It is also my intention to allow more people to visit him. I think the first should be representatives of my new Council of Ministers. I would be ready for them to have access to him and to the few others remaining in restriction or detention.

"I would be ready sympathetically to consider applications from ministers of religion who I hope would be among those who wished to spend time with him. I would also hope at an early date to be able to approve arrangements for accredited representatives of the Press to visit Maralal.

"The problem of Kenyatta was not one which would solve itself. An answer had to be given, and given now. I know that there are many who will sincerely believe that other answers would be wiser. I ask them to believe that with all the information available to me I have given this answer because I, on whom the responsibility rests, sincerely believe it is the one which gives Kenya the best chance of going forward in peace and without tribal or racial conflict or permanently ruined economy to an early and stable independence in which all can play their part. That is what the Queen sent me here to do for Her peoples.

"There is too much conflict in the world. It is Kenya's part to avoid such conflict. If we can establish here an example of peace and co-operation it will bring great and early advantage to all Kenya's peoples, and by showing it possible, we shall be helping others.

"I ask all people in Kenya, therefore, to accept what I have said, whether they like it or not, and let us go ahead with the absorbing work of good government which this country needs."

Talks With African Leaders

TEN MINUTES after the Governor's announcement was broadcast four of the African political leaders, Mr. Gichuru, Mr. Mboya, Mr. Ngala and Mr. Muliro drove to Government House, where they talked to Sir Patrick Renison for two hours. Mr. Mboya then told reporters that they had pressed for Kenyatta's freedom and for permission to visit him immediately. Earlier that day, at a luncheon of the United Kenya Club, he had said that there would be a head-on clash with the Governor if Kenyatta were not set free promptly.

Mr. Ngala thought it "quite unfortunate" that the Governor had made his statement without consulting political leaders.

Mr. John Keene, general secretary of K.A.D.U., repeated that his party was not committed to working with Kenyatta as Chief Minister.

In Dar es Salaam Mr. Oscar Kambona, general secretary of the Tanganyika African National Union, said that his party thought that H.M. Government

would have been wise to show its liberal views by releasing Kenyatta, who, T.A.N.U. thought, was not a risk but the only man who could unify Kenya. Tanganyika had an interest in his release because it affected the future of all East Africa.

On Friday the Governor announced that Mr. Gichuru and Mr. Mboya of K.A.N.U. and Mr. Ngala and Mr. Muliro of K.A.D.U. would be allowed to fly to Lodwar three days later to see Kenyatta so that his thoughts and intentions might be made known to them. Mr. Muliro said that whether his party would help to form the new Government would be decided after that visit.

On Saturday a meeting of the 18 members of the new Legislature supporting K.A.N.U. deciding against acceptance of the invitation and resolved to take no part in Government until Kenyatta was unconditionally released.

Mr. Mboya told reporters that that decision was irrevocable, and that Kenya faced a grave crisis because of the decision and the Governor, who had been high-handed, obstinate, unjust, non-co-operative, and blindfold, had listened to bad advice when "a little understanding" would have averted a crisis. African leaders had previously been given the impression that Kenyatta would be released soon, and their co-operation had been based on that understanding.

Asked if his party would join the Government if Kenyatta wished it, Mr. Mboya said that he did not think so, for there would be no way of proving that such a wish had not been expressed under duress. It would be wrong in principle to ask Kenyatta's opinion about participation in the Government.

Mr. Gichuru said he hoped that Mr. Macleod would visit Kenya to review the situation precipitated by the Governor's decision.

Delegates from both parties saw Sir Patrick Renison on Monday, but their talks were reported to have ended in deadlock soon after Mr. Odinga, K.A.N.U. vice-president and leader of its extremists wing, stormed out of Government House saying: "It is a waste of time in there". K.A.N.U. later reaffirmed its refusal to visit Kenyatta on the Governor's terms.

K.A.D.U. stated that its president and deputy leader would fly to Lodwar on Wednesday to see Kenyatta.

A Government House statement said the parties would be invited to see the Governor again later in the week.

Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck, leader of the Kenya Coalition, called on the Governor on the same day to make representations about the security situation.

Fears For Ruanda-Urundi

MR. PIERRE WIGNY, Belgian Foreign Minister, said in London this week that he feared a "difficult situation" might arise in Belgium's trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi, which was to be given independence towards the middle of next year. His country wished to co-operate with the United Nations in its plans for the territory and some basis of understanding must be found—"but not at any price".

Rhodesians Mistrust Mr. Macleod

Lord Salisbury Supports the Federation

THE MIASMA OF MISTRUST has for the first time in living memory arisen to cloud relationships between the Home Government and British peoples overseas, the Marquess of Salisbury wrote in an article in the *Sunday Express* which bore the heading "Are We Betraying Our Trust in Africa?"

The article, which strongly supported Sir Roy Welensky said (in part):—

"Rhodesia, a land passionately loyal to Britain, permeated by our ideas, with eyes firmly fixed on the ultimate attainment of an equal partnership between black and white, is now engaged in a bitter dispute with Britain, hating the British Government as no British Government has been hated by men and women of British birth since the dispute with the American Colonies 180 years ago—a country where, against the will of its leaders, the ideal of multi-racial partnership is beginning to give place to a narrow and bitter racial division, sterile in itself and menacing for the future.

"If Rhodesians now take a different view from people here, most of whom have never seen Central Africa, is it not possible that they are more realistic than we about Africa and Africans?"

Sinking Back Into Jungle

A leading newspaper has referred to the white Rhodesians as a small minority. This small minority includes nearly all those men and women who have created the prosperity of the country and without whom its prosperity could not continue. One might as well refer to the chairman, the board, and the general manager of a company as a small minority of those connected with the business. They are: but the company cannot do without them if it is to prosper.

"In the Congo, today the only areas where the community, including the indigenous people, is prospering are those where the white man is still playing his full part. The rest of its vast territories are sinking back into the jungle of primitive savagery, with its famine, disease, witchcraft, and all those evils from which the white man rescued them.

"We need not have embarked on this elaborate and almost unintelligible complex of inter-locking franchises for Northern Rhodesia—about which only one thing is certain that a great many people will get votes who will be quite incapable of using them with any understanding.

"Since the advent of the present Government, and especially since the advent of the present Colonial Secretary, Rhodesians have come to expect to be let down. They have come to the conclusion that he, and maybe the Prime Minister too, holds the view that the day of the white man in Africa is over, and that they are to be thrown to the wolves.

"We must make our main aim the advancement of the African; and we must make it clear that we will not desert our loyal friends, whatever colour their skin. We hear a great deal of the first aim, but sadly little of the second, and then in such muted voice that it is hardly audible.

"The Federal Government and those for whom they speak are convinced that the very existence of their country as a civilized State is at stake. It is for the people of Britain to decide whether they will abandon them and their loyal followers in their hour of need".

After A Year's Pressure

MR. J. A. SEYS, vice-president of the Kenya National Farmers' Union, cabled from London last week after seeing Mr. Macleod: "Following interview with Secretary of State, I am satisfied we can count on continuing assistance to Government of Kenya for settlement scheme after June, 1963, subject to scheme proving successful and to enactment in due course of legislation to provide further monies for colonial development". The president of the K.N.F.U., Lord Delamere, has expressed the view that this news will materially help to restore confidence among the European farming community. The union had, he said, been pressing for a year for a statement on these lines to be made by the Secretary of State.

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K.A.N.U. Wins 18 Seats in New Kenya Legislative Council

Full Voting Figures for Common Roll Elections

THE KENYA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION won 18 seats in the new Kenya Legislative Council in last week's general election against 11 for its nearest rival, the Kenya African Democratic Union. The state of the other parties at the declaration of the poll was New Kenya Party, 4; Kenya Coalition, 3; Kenya Indian Congress, 3; Shungwaya Freedom Party, 1; Buluyia Political Union, 1; Kenya Freedom Party, 1; and Independents, 12.

Candidates elected were:

K.A.N.U.

Messrs. J. S. Gichuru, T. J. Mboya, J. Mathenge, J. Nyagah, J. M'Angaine, H. N. Mali, E. N. Mwendwa, G. W. Nthenge, F. M. Mati, G. M. G. Argwings-Kodhek, A. O. Odinga, S. A. Ayodo, D. Kariuki, Njiri, D. Mwanyumba, T. M. Chokwe, P. A. Aremam, and Dr. J. G. Kiano.

K.A.D.U.

Messrs. N. G. Ngale, J. Keen, J. K. Tipis, E. Khasakhala, M. Muliro, T. Towett, W. Wabuge, D. Arap Moi, W. C. Murgor, M. J. Seroney, and R. S. Matano.

New Kenya Party

Messrs. Michael Blundell, W. B. Havelock, R. S. Alexander, and Mrs. A. R. Shaw.

Kenya Coalition

Messrs. D. Cole, C. W. Salter, and L. R. M. Welwood.

Kenya Indian Congress

Messrs. A. J. Pandya, A. Jamidar, and D. B. Kohli.

Independents

Messrs. E. L. Howard-Williams, P. Marrian, R. P. Cleasby, Mota Singh, K. Zafrud-Deen, I. E. Nathoo, B. Mate, L. G. Sagini, O. S. Bassadiq, S. K. Anjarwall, A. Nassir, and A. A. Lord.

Others

Messrs. A. M. Jeneby (Shungwaya Freedom Party), M. Amalemba (Buluyia Political Union), and K. P. Shah (Kenya Freedom Party).

Full Results

Full voting results were as follows:—

Nairobi East (one open seat): T. J. Mboya (K.A.N.U.), 31,407; Dr. M. Waiyaki (Ind.) 2,668; M. Shikuku (K.A.D.U.), 1,557; C. H. Were (Ind.), 79; G. P. A. Mboya (Ind.), 76.

Nairobi South (one Asian Non-Muslim reserved seat): Mota Singh (Ind.), 1,030; Channan Singh (K.F.P.), 1,029; J. S. Patel (K.L.C.), 679.

Nairobi South-West (one European reserved seat): W. B. Havelock (N.K.P.), 1,643; F. L. Megson (K.C.), 1,578.

Nairobi West (two European reserved seats): C. W. Salter (K.C.), 1,647; E. L. Howard-Williams (Ind.), 1,372; F. W. G. Bompas (N.K.P.), 1,261; Mrs. Needham-Clark (K.C.), 9.

Nairobi Central (two Asian Non-Muslim reserved seats): K. P. Shah (K.E.P.), 4,229; A. Jamidar (K.I.C.), 3,431; G. S. Sandhu (K.I.C.), 3,379; K. D. Travadi (Ind.), 878.

Nairobi North-East (one Asian Muslim reserved seat): K. Zafrud Deen (Ind.), 1,684; Ahmed Ali (Ind.), 1,545; Shaikh M. Amin (Ind.), 1,293.

Nairobi Surbarban (one European reserved seat): R. S. Alexander (N.K.P.), 2,799; D. P. O'Beirne (K.C.), 1,371.

Kiambu (one open seat): J. S. Gichuru (K.A.N.U.), returned unopposed.

Nyeri (one open seat): J. Mathenge (K.A.N.U.), returned unopposed.

Embu (one open seat): J. Nyagah (K.A.N.U.), 43,943; N. N. N. Njuno (Ind.), 19,135; R. D. Maringa (K.A.N.U.), 16,240.

Meru (two open seats): B. Mate, 31,986; J. M'Angaine (K.A.N.U.), 30,021; J. Kiecha, 20,231; S. A. Kamunde (K.A.N.U.), 6,025; H. Ithaiba, 3,427; E. Mbogori, 1,846; N. Mbogori, 1,288; E. Mouri, 299.

Machakos (two open seats): H. M. Muli (K.A.N.U.), 21,076; G. W. Nthenge (K.A.N.U.), 18,836; W. M. K. Mahu (K.A.N.U.), 15,883; J. K. Ndile (Ind.), 7,002; P. K. Mutiso (Ind.), 1,674; J. M. Kasyoka (K.A.N.U.), 409; B. Mang'eli (K.A.D.U.), 380; D. I. Kiamba (K.A.N.U.), 370.

Kitui (two open seats): F. M. G. Mati (K.A.N.U.), 5,219; E. N. Mwendwa (K.A.N.U.), 3,295; J. N. Muimi (Ind.), 1,444.

Kajiado (one open seat): J. Keen (K.A.D.U.), returned unopposed.

Narok (one open seat): J. K. Tipis (K.A.D.U.), returned unopposed.

North Nyanza (two open seats): M. Amalemba (B.P.U.), 28,817; E. Khasakhala (K.A.D.U.), 22,625; J. Washika (K.A.N.U.), 16,098; A. S. Z. Lukalo (Ind.), 14,700; J. M. Oyangi (K.A.N.U.), 12,601; W. B. Akatsa (Ind.), 12,114; I. N. Y. Omoro (K.N.C.), 4,564; J. Khasiani (Ind.), 3,331.

Elgon Nyanza (one open seat): M. Muliro (K.A.D.U.), returned unopposed.

Central Nyanza (two open seats): A. O. Odinga (K.A.N.U.), 46,638; C. M. G. Argwings-Kodhek (K.A.N.U.), 21,136; J. C. N. Osogo (Ind.), 5,938; H. D. Odaba (K.A.D.U.), 3,751; F. W. Odede (Ind.), 1,770; J. C. Mariwa Gek (Ind.), 1,440.

Kisumu Town (one Asian Muslim and one Asian Non-Muslim reserved seat): Muslim I. E. Nathoo (Ind.), 1,008; C. K. Dean (Ind.), 854. **Non-Muslim** D. B. Kohli (K.I.C.), 1,246; R. P. Joshi (Ind.), 1,071.

South Nyanza (one open seat): S. A. Ayodo (K.A.N.U.), 13,993; L. Oguda (Ind.), 6,729.

Kisil (one open seat): L. G. Sagini (Ind.), 9,436; J. Nyamweya (K.A.N.U.), 8,318; T. M. Masaki (Ind.), 6,642; Z. M. Anyjeni (Ind.), 5,563; J. K. Kebaso (Ind.), 947.

Kipsigis (one open seat): T. Towett (K.A.D.U.), 56,445; K. Korir (K.A.N.U.), 102; T. Barmalel (K.A.N.U.), 56.

Kericho (one European reserved seat): Mrs. A. R. Shaw (N.K.P.), 2,572; C. O. Oates (K.C.), 643.

20,009 for Mr. Blundell

Fort Hall (two open seats): Dr. J. G. Kiano (K.A.N.U.), 47,995; D. Kariuki Njiri (K.A.N.U.), 45,719; D. Mbarathi (Ind.), 1,483.

Central Rural (one European reserved seat): P. Marrian (Ind.), 10,073; Sir Charles Markham (K.C.), 1,592.

Rift Valley (one European reserved seat): M. Blundell (N.K.P.), 20,009; Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentick (K.C.), 2,051.

Nakuru Town (one open seat): W. Wabuge (K.A.D.U.), 2,124; E. P. Gateta (K.A.N.U.), 2,097; Z. Adholla (K.A.N.U.), 1,521; G. L. Belhouse (Ind.), 1,129; A. A. Ochwada (K.A.N.U.), 311.

West Kenya (one European reserved seat): L. R. M. Welwood (K.C.), returned unopposed.

North Kenya (one European reserved seat): D. Cole (K.C.), returned unopposed.

Baringo (one open seat): D. A. Moi (K.A.D.U.), 5,225; E. K. Bomet (Ind.), 503.

Nandi (one open seat): M. J. Seroney (Ind.), 13,286; S. K. Kimadel (K.A.D.U.), 1,547.

Elgeyo-Suk (one open seat): W. C. Murgor (K.A.D.U.), 7,532; J. K. S. Chemweny (Ind.), 6,116.

Protectorate (one Arab reserved seat): O. S. Bassadiq (Ind.), 2,088; A. A. Shikely (C.P.P.), 1,401.

Tana and Lamu (one open seat): A. M. Jeneby (S.F.P.), 3,748; M. T. Jilo (K.A.D.U.), 2,224; Y. Komoro (T.R.P.U.), 699; K. Ali (C.P.P.), 292.

Kilifi (one open seat): R. G. Ngala (K.A.D.U.), 16,305; S. S. Suleman (Ind.), 308.

Kwale (one open seat): R. S. Matano (K.A.D.U.), 917; P. J. Mwero (Ind.), 499.

Taita (one open seat): D. Mwanyumba (K.A.N.U.), 8,681; A. P. Kilelu (K.A.D.U.), 1,632; S. P. Zawadi (Ind.), 64.

Mombasa East (one European reserved seat): R. P. Cleasby (Ind.), returned unopposed.

Mombasa Tudor and Old Town (one Asian Muslim reserved seat): S. K. Anjarwalla (Ind.), 3,838; K. A. Kasmani (Ind.), 1,658.

Mombasa/Liwatoni (one Asian Non-Muslim reserved seat): A. J. Pandya (K.I.C.), 1,752; I. T. Inamdar (Ind.), 1,668.

Mombasa Central (one Arab reserved seat): A. Nassir (Ind.), 2,373; S. M. Mackawé (Ind.), 1,242; S. M. Balala (Ind.), 9.

Mombasa West (one open seat): T. M. Chokwe (K.A.N.U.), 8,576; F. J. Khamisi (K.A.D.U.), 3,230; A. Omar (Ind.), 1,759.

Northern Province West (one open seat): P. A. Aremam (K.A.N.U.), 7,112; J. K. Lenayiera (Ind.), 1,208; L. E. Whitehouse (Ind.), 217; G. G. Kariuki (Ind.), 194.

Northern Province East (one open seat): A. A. Lord (Ind.), returned unopposed.

N.K.P.=New Kenya Party; K.C.=Kenya Coalition; K.A.N.U.=Kenya African National Union; K.A.D.U.=Kenya African Democratic Union; K.I.C.=Kenya Indian Congress; C.P.P.=Coast People's Party; S.F.P.=Shungwaya Freedom Party; B.P.U.=Buluyia Political Union; T.R.P.U.=Tana River Pokomo Union; Ind.=Independent; K.F.P.=Kenya Freedom Party.

(Concluded on page 754)

British Folly in Central Africa

Sir Thomas Chegwidden's Criticisms*

A MORE WILLOWY PERSONALITY than our own Prime Minister was wafted all the way from Lagos to the Cape of Good Hope on the wind of change. In many places through or over which he passed the wind has grown to hurricane force, with starvation and death taking a disastrous toll of the masses whom it is the duty of statesmen to protect from the ambitious incompetence and inexperience of young self-styled politicians in a hurry.

To be "anti-colonial" is fashionable nowadays, particularly in circles in which sentiment counts for more than common sense. If you profess anti-colonialism you will be received with acclamation not only behind the Iron Curtain but in that great democracy of the West which has been taking so great an interest in Africa.

It is astonishing that in the struggle between capitalism and Communism, epitomized by the United States of America on one side and Soviet Russia and China on the other, both sides want to "liberate people from colonialism" — though the meanings attached to such words as "liberation" and "freedom" are utterly different. On one side you are "liberated" to find yourself ruled by a dictator; on the other you are "liberated" to enjoy the dubious benefits of democracy.

Since the appointment of Mr. Kennedy as President, it seems that there is to be some re-thinking in American policy towards Africa. It is greatly to be hoped that full weight will be given to three major considerations, the first being that Africa cannot be treated as a homogeneous whole.

Congeries of Peoples

Africa is a congeries of peoples of different origins, different traditions, speaking different languages, and with different degrees of civilization. It is impossible to expect them all to absorb the techniques of parliamentary government to the same degree at the same time. Even Mr. Macmillan, in addressing your association last year, indicated that these aspects of Africa had been brought to his notice, though one is tempted to wonder how deep they sank into his consciousness.

The African peoples are held together by little else but the colour of their skins, and the Congo has shown how weak that tie is when civilized government is removed. African politicians on the make do not easily tolerate rivals, and when tribal differences also come into the picture intolerance can easily pass beyond the bounds of civilized behaviour.

The second consideration which the United States should take into account is the avoidance of attitudes or actions tending to encourage those who wish to undermine the established government. Even in the United Nations it is a recognized rule that the form and method of a country's government is an issue domestic to that country.

The third factor is that democracy on the Westminster or Washington model is unlikely to flourish anywhere in Africa without many years of patient preparation and an entire change of political outlook on the part of the African leaders.

This aspect of the truth has begun to dawn upon Mr. Macleod, who recently said that if we sow the seeds of British democracy in Africa we must not expect the flowers that come up to bear any necessary resemblance to the picture on the packet. Then why in the name of the flowers of democracy is the British Government in such a hurry to encourage the growth of the weeds of dictatorship?

A famous predecessor of Mr. Macleod's once told me that he was sure that the Europeans in the Federation could themselves solve all the political problems without interference from the United Kingdom provided they were given time. He added that time was the one commodity which we were least likely to be given.

Dr. Nkrumah has put up in Ghana a bronze statue to himself on the base of which is engraved the advice to his people to seek first the political kingdom and all else will be added

unto them—an infectious and blasphemous doctrine of which the disastrous consequences are spreading over a large part of Africa, where, to parody the words of Lord Grey, the lamps of democracy are going out one by one.

And the British Government has adopted Dr. Nkrumah's policy, so that appeasement and political concessions are the order of the day—so long, of course, as the recipients have black skins. Indeed, the British Government cannot go fast enough in divesting itself of the remnants of a once powerful and humane Empire.

It only needs one of the two Ks, President Kennedy or Mr. Krushchey, to speak scathingly or contemptuously of "imperialism" or "colonialism" for one of the two Macs, Mr. Macmillan or Mr. Macleod, to hasten to assure the world that those two words are now regarded by Britain as dirty words.

So far as discipline or the enforcement of law and order in their dependent territories is concerned, the British Government dare not say boo to a goose. Their method of stopping the noise which the bird may be making is to propose that it should take over the farm.

All this is being done, we are told, because nothing else would suit the climate of world opinion—not to mention, of course, that it tends also to reduce the number of awkward questions addressed by the Labour Party to the Colonial Secretary or the Prime Minister in the House of Commons.

Hence appeasement is the order of the day in Africa—appeasement of the self-styled leaders of what is alleged to be African opinion. The British Government's African policy in other words, must be such that it can never provide the Labour Party with a platform on which they can all unite.

Emotion and Shortsightedness

Yet, in spite of all the emotion and shortsightedness, there are a few gleams of hope. The National Convention which met the other day showed that we in Southern Rhodesia could develop a form of multi-racial co-operation in government which would enable the country to face the future with confidence. It looks as if the promise of that convention has been fulfilled in the results of the conference presided over by Mr. Duncan Sandys.

The Europeans in Northern Rhodesia are justifiably apprehensive about the policy of the British Government.

Given the re-establishment of confidence, we should see an immense surge forward in economic development in the Federation as a whole, and certainly in Southern Rhodesia, which would do more for the well-being and happiness of all the people than all the political gerrymandering.

In fact, in 1960 the antics of the politicians had very little effect on economic development. Federal mineral exports at £150m. achieved an all-time record. The tobacco crop was a record at 245m. lb. The output of manufacturing industry was 10% above the 1959 total. The value of industrial building plans passed probably exceeded the £3m. mark, second only to the phenomenal boom year of 1957—but having the plans approved does not necessarily mean that the buildings will go up.

In the Western world it is only on the foundations laid by the politicians that the investor and industrialist can build—and the politicians in the United Kingdom who exercise an over-riding responsibility so far as we are concerned have been busy taking apart the edifice which has been so painstakingly constructed here by European energy and initiative alone—taking it apart to see whether it could be put together in some slightly different way.

The Monckton Commission—about which the less said the better—suggested the idea of a new plan, and since then all sorts of people, some with little else to commend them but loquacity, have been suggesting that the foundations of the Federation should be torn up and that we should start to build again.

No one would enter into a formal agreement with a farmer to purchase a crop if he thought the farmer was going through the crop every week pulling it up to see how the roots were getting on. No one is going to lend us the capital essential to our economic expansion unless he knows that his money will be safe and his property secure; and a high level of investment from overseas is vital if we are to maintain, let alone raise, the living standards of all our people.

While the politicians have been rushing about the world for endless conferences, the rate of private investment in the Federation has fallen off. Indeed an outflow of private capital, though not serious, is a slight crack in the dyke, and unless political steps are taken to seal off that crack it might spread calamitously.

The country cannot afford this unprofitable business of commissions, inquiries, conferences, and temporary constitutions; and it is high time for Rhodesians to give up the national pastime of party politics and come together for the protection of the State. Coalition Governments are not unusual in times of national crisis, and if ours is not a national crisis I have never seen one.

*Being a somewhat abbreviated version of an address to the National Affairs Association of Southern Rhodesia by the chairman of the Association of Rhodesian and Nyasaland Industries.

PERSONALIA

MR. H. T. CROFT, Minister of Health in Uganda, has chickenpox.

MR. JOHN CONNELL, the journalist and author, is visiting Kenya.

MR. JUSTICE QUENET has been appointed a judge of the Federal Supreme Court.

MAJOR HENRY and the HON. MRS. SHEREK have returned from their visit to East Africa.

MR. GERVAISE HUXLEY is returning in the CARNARVON CASTLE from his visit to Southern Africa.

LORD NETHERBOROUGH has been appointed chairman of a new Nottingham Local Committee of Lloyds Bank.

SIR ERNEST VASEY arrived in London from Dar es Salaam on Monday for a short stay on official business.

LORD HASTINGS, who has farmed in Southern Rhodesia for some years, has been appointed a Lord in Waiting.

SIR RICHARD TURNBULL, Governor of Tanganyika, has been made a fellow of the University College, London.

MR. J. W. S. PEGRUM, retiring general manager of Rhodesia Railways, and MRS. PEGRUM are due in London tomorrow.

MR. W. H. HAMMOND, head of the Public Relations Division of the Federal Ministry of Home Affairs, is back in London.

MR. H. C. R. FULFORD-WILLIAMS, lately a district officer in Uganda, is now Assistant Director of Information in the Protectorate.

MR. D. J. CUMMINGS, Secretary for Commerce, and MR. J. WARD, Secretary of Economic Affairs, have arrived in London from Salisbury.

MR. HAROLD BRINDLEY HONE has been appointed honorary Consul-General of Denmark and Mr. JOHAN OTTO STEPHENSON Consul in Salisbury, Rhodesia.

LORD SHAWCROSS, who resigned through ill-health from the Manckton Commission before completion of its report, is to be chairman of the Royal Commission on the Press.

COUNCILLOR GWEBE JUMA is the first African to be elected chairman of Morogoro Town Council, Tanganyika. He succeeds MR. DRAIN, chairman for the past four years.

MAJOR CZESLAW JESMAN spoke on "The Background to the Congo" at a joint meeting in London last Thursday of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies.

MR. M. N. MEHTA, the well-known Indian industrialist in Uganda, who is often described as the "sugar millionaire", is to send five African girls to India for eight years' schooling.

A biography of the late SIR ARCHIBALD MCINDOE, who repeatedly visited East Africa, and who had for some years a farm in northern Tanganyika, is to be written by MR. LEONARD MOSLEY.

A reception for SIR ROY WELENSKY is being given this evening at Rhodesia House by SIR GILBERT and LADY RENNIE. SIR ROY was the guest at luncheon today of the Yorkshire Insurance Company.

MR. S. P. L. BEAUMONT, general manager of the Grain Marketing Board, and COLONEL J. P. FEENY, lately Secretary for Lands and Mines in Nyasaland, have arrived from Southern Rhodesia.

MR. IGNATIUS MHUMBIRA, from Ifakara, in the Kilombero Valley of Tanganyika, who has been broadcasting for nearly two years in the Swahili Service of the B.B.C., now takes part in the Tuesday programme "Africa Today", which deals with current political and social developments. He came to London after taking a science degree at Makerere College, Uganda.

LORD ALPORT relinquished his office of Minister of State at the Commonwealth Relations Office last week. He is about to take up his post in Salisbury as United Kingdom High Commissioner in the Federation.

MR. DAVID OWEN, executive chairman of the Technical Assistance Board of the United Nations, has visited Tanganyika in connexion with the establishment in Dar es Salaam of a U.N. office for East Africa.

The home near Deep Bay of MR. W. A. MAXWELL, aged 78, one of Nyasaland's oldest European residents, has been destroyed by fire. The police attribute the arson to irresponsible African youths, not to political motives.

MR. HOLGER AERSOE, a member of the Danish National Committee for Animal Husbandry, has just arrived in Kenya for a stay of three weeks to investigate for his government the possibilities of Danish assistance to Kenya.

SIR ARTHUR KIRBY is attending the opening of Blackburn's Commonwealth Week today and will speak at a civic luncheon. Next Thursday he will reply for the guests at the annual luncheon of the London Sisal Association.

MR. R. S. GARFIELD TODD, former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, has denied Press reports that he intends to return to politics. It had been suggested that he would stand for Parliament as a National Democratic Party candidate.

The Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the Parliament of Southern Rhodesia having been absent one day recently, MR. J. D. PITTMAN and DR. J. D. BURROWS were elected Acting Speaker and Acting Deputy Speaker for that sitting.

MR. SAMSON NYAMBATI, assistant secretary of the African District Council of South Nyanza, has returned to Kenya after studying local government and public administration at the South Devon Technical College, Torquay, for the past 18 months.

MR. E. G. SHERIDAN has been elected chairman of the Association of Motor Vehicle Importers and Distributors of Tanganyika. MR. H. KNOLLE is honorary treasurer, and the other two members of the committee are MR. Y. JENNINGS and MR. D. O. BENZIMBA.

PROFESSOR F. M. G. WILSON, who has recently held research posts at Nuffield College, Oxford, and the Royal Institute of Public Administration, London, is now head of the new Department of Government in the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

MR. H. C. DRAYTON, chairman of the Mitchell Cotts Group, has been appointed chairman of Ideals Building and Land Development Co., Ltd. He is also chairman of British Electric Traction Co., Ltd., and a director of British Insulated Callenders Cables, Ltd., both of which have large African interests.

MRS. MARGARET MHUTO, wife of an African administrative officer in Tanganyika, has been awarded a British Council bursary to take an 11-week course in London for African and Indian women who are married to professional men. MR. MHUTO is taking a course at Oxford University. They have eight children.

THE QUEEN and THE DUKE of EDINBURGH arrived back in London on Monday evening from their visits to India and Pakistan. Among those with Eastern African interests who had attended them on their journey were the EARL of SCARBROUGH, the EARL of HOME, SIR MICHAEL ADEANE, and AIR COMMODORE SIR EDWARD FIELDEN.

MR. P. H. A. BROWNIGG left London yesterday for a fortnight's visit to Rhodesia and the Union. MR. KEITH ACUTT will probably be in London for a fortnight next month. Later in the year they will exchange places on behalf of the Anglo American Corporation. Mr. ACUTT has been elected to the board of the British South Africa Company.

MR. DUNCAN ACKHURST is now production executive and MR. JAMES CRAWLEY commercial executive of the Federal Broadcasting Corporation, of which MR. PAUL CHADWICK is commercial service manager.

MR. ALI ABDI, president of the United Ogaden Somali Association of Kenya, wrote to EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA some weeks ago putting the case of the Somali against the withdrawal of British administration from Kenya. The Association has now written in similar terms to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

MR. TAITA TOWETT, Assistant Minister for Agriculture in Kenya, the first African farmer to apply for membership of the Kenya Farmers' Association, has received his share certificate from the chairman, CAPTAIN D. A. VAUGHAN-PHILPOIT, who was accompanied by MR. JAMES MACKAY, president of the K.F.A.

MR. DENZIL DUNNETT, who has just been appointed British Consul in Elisabethville, in the Katanga Province of the Congo, is a Scot who after leaving Oxford University was for some years a leader writer on the *Scotsman*, which he left to join the Foreign Service. His first post was in Sofia. Then he was in Paris for five years, whence he was posted to Buenos Aires.

PROFESSOR F. C. ORMEROD, director of research at the Institute of Laryngology and Otology in London, and MR. A. A. SHILLINGFORD left London a few days ago to visit Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika in connexion with a survey of deafness, with special reference to young children, which is to be sponsored by the Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office. It will cover East, Central, and West African territories.

COLONEL G. BARRY, secretary of the Conservative Association in Great Witchingham, Norfolk, who was for 30 years a farmer in Southern Rhodesia, has resigned in protest against the Government's treatment of the European population of Kenya and its policy towards the Central African Federation. The Association has passed unanimously a motion proposed by LADY MAGARET BARRY, wife of COLONEL BARRY, "that this branch sees with grave concern the Government's policy towards the African colonies, and urges most strongly that more regard be given to the views of white Africans, to whom the present prosperity of these colonies is wholly due".

Obituary

DR. MARIE DAMIE, one of Northern Rhodesia's first women doctors, has died in Israel. She first arrived in Ndola in 1929.

BRIGADIER C. E. D. BRIDGE, C.M.G., D.S.O., M.C., who has died in London aged 75, settled in Kenya after the last war but had been back in this country for several years owing to ill-health.

MRS. LITTLE, wife of Mr. Leslie Little, M.L.C., has died in Limbe. She had lived in Nyasaland for eight years, was a keen worker for the Red Cross, actively interested in the home for elderly people at Newlands, and had been a keen golfer.

MRS. WINIFRED MARION KNAPMAN, who has died in Hammersmith Hospital, London, after a long illness, was the widow of the late G. W. Knapman, who died suddenly some weeks earlier. She was the first member of the clerical staff of the East African Office in London when it was established some 36 years ago.

GROUP CAPTAIN FRANK ORMOND SODEN, D.F.C., who has died in London, aged 65, settled in Kenya after the last war, during part of which he commanded the well-known Biggin Hill station of the R.A.F. Early in the Mau Mau rising he drove off a Mau Mau gang which had ransacked his house near Timau. A few months ago he was detained in the Congo while flying a small private aircraft with which he was evacuating refugees.

Lack of Understanding in U.K.

Federal M.P.s.' Plea for Moderates

SPEAKING AT RHODESIA HOUSE, London, on Friday, Mr. Caad Chipunza, an African member of the Federal Assembly, said he was disappointed to find that people in Britain who should know much better did not understand what the real situation was in Central Africa.

"Even people at the top seem to think that Africa must be for African people only. They forget that not all Africans are black".

Mr. Chipunza was speaking at a Press conference held jointly with Mrs. Muriel Rosin, the first woman member of the Federal Parliament.

"I am as nationalistic as anybody", Mr. Chipunza said, "but I feel that this surge of nationalism in Africa must be used in a constructive way, not in the wild, irresponsible way of the extremists who shout so loudly".

Extremist nationalists would not get far in Africa if they did not receive support from the United Kingdom, for they had nothing positive to offer the African masses and forgot that in order to run a modern State the services of everyone were necessary.

In Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland there had been no preparation of Africans to assume responsible positions until the Federation came into being, and the new Macleod proposals would put Northern Rhodesia in the power of people who shouted the most but whose background was quite unknown. Supporters of rapid African advancement quoted Tanganyika as an example of stable African Government, but there was nobody in the northern territories of the calibre of Mr. Nyerere.

"My stand as a black Rhodesian is that we should adopt a realistic attitude. Nobody wants to see the northern territories stagnant, but as their people progress there must be sufficient safeguards. One thing we do not like about the present proposals is the lack of consultation. We are given the feeling that things are being cooked up behind our backs, that we are being neglected, and that when action is taken it is not in the best interests of all.

"If the Africans who shout for Africans to have an immediate majority had anything to offer the mass of people they would not need to use threats and intimidation. The so-called cry of the oppressed is not so genuine as it may sound".

The advantages of federation were self-evident to those who had seen the enormous progress of the past few years.

Not Mere Academic Questions

Mrs. Rosin said it was depressing for a Rhodesian visiting Britain to find that the problems of the Federation, which were primarily problems of human relationships, became at this end mere academic questions.

She took the strongest objection to the view spread by extremists in the United Kingdom, and all too readily accepted by the ill-informed, that because a person with a black skin co-operated with the Government, helped to build up the country and had the future of his children at heart, he was "a stooge".

"Far from gaining by their co-operation, they suffer at the hands of the intimidators. They have their businesses boycotted, and petrol bombs are thrown into their houses where their wives and children are asleep. I have the deepest admiration for their courage in the face of threats and violence. They represent the backbone of their people. Yet their voices are hardly heard. More attention is paid here to the extremists who shout loudly and make extravagant promises but have nothing constructive to offer".

Having shown pictures of smallpox cases in Nyasaland as an example of the results of intimidation, Mrs. Rosin said: "Hundreds have suffered because an extremist leader, himself a medical man, stopped people from co-operating with vaccination because they were administered by a Federal Government of which he disapproved. This has been the most shocking thing in our history. The position had improved recently because Dr. Banda had at last woken up to the fact that the world disapproved".

Her objection to the Macleod proposals for Northern Rhodesia were that they would throw politics back on to a racial basis and allow no place for the moderate African. In fact, they ran counter to everything that the U.F.P. was trying to build in the Federation. "Ordinary people in the Federation feel that the British Government has let them down badly".

Sharp Criticism of Mr. Macleod Federal Parliament Debates Proposals

VERY SHARP CRITICISMS of British Ministers, and Mr. Macleod in particular, were made in the Federal Parliament when the proposals for constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia were debated.

MR. H. E. DAVIES, O.C. (Southern Rhodesia), recalled that the 1959 White Paper had purported to settle the Constitution for that Protectorate "for some time ahead", and argued that there could not fairly be alterations without mature consideration and the consent of all sections of the populations involved. Mr. Macleod had disregarded both requirements: Africans and Europeans had rejected his proposals, which were so far from being the results of mature consideration that four plans had been produced in three weeks and acceptance of the last had been demanded in a few hours.

It was astonishing that the rank and file of the Conservative Party accepted such conduct of affairs, and the false claim that the plan was based on non-racialism. He hoped that Sir Roy Welensky would be invited to address the House of Commons so that its members might be made aware of the truth.

MR. WINSTON FIELD (Dominion Party), Leader of the Opposition, thought that the Prime Minister had made his best speech. He agreed with him in his criticisms of the Macleod proposals that H.M. Government had not kept faith. Indeed, "for some years now the British Government has consistently broken faith with this country".

Incite Territories to Secede

By their intention to withdraw from their responsibilities in Africa the British Government might deliberately incite any of the territories to secede from the Federation and so achieve another federation later in which Europeans would have no part. Enormous trouble had been caused by Mr. Macmillan's fatherly harangues, "as was pointed out to him by an African member in London. Nothing gave us greater delight than that particular incident. It was worth taking that African member all the way to England to hear him tell Mr. Macmillan of all the trouble he has caused here. I heard it. It was a wonderful performance.

"We have had also the consistent rudeness of Mr. Macleod. He was consistently rude to our Prime Minister at Lancaster House, and he has been rude since; and the admonition of the Prime Minister by Mr. Sandys in the House of Commons was impertinent. Surely the British Government must realize that its actions and attitudes threaten to break up the Federation—which will not allow a Congo situation to arise".

Sir Roy Welensky had been right to make his stand against interfering people from overseas and the Dominion Party would support him in resistance to the British Government. The speaker would vote for the motion, but preferred omission of the words calling for publication of H.M. Government's proposals and the Federal Government's objections to them, for that could lead only to more bitterness.

H.M. Government must be made to realize that the Federation was not just a card in the hands of a remarkable bridge player.

MR. JOHN GAUNT (Northern Rhodesia) attributed the trouble partly to misuse of words. In the United Kingdom, for instance, an African "extremist" meant somebody actually caught setting fire to a house or using a bush-knife on another person; but a European "extremist" was someone who wished to preserve his home against barbarism.

A "moderate" African leader was one like Mr. Kaunda, who had been head of the Zambia Congress, *alias* Murder Incorporated, and had recently almost instigated a Mau Mau-type rising. Another "moderate" was Mr. Nkumbula, who was responsible for the Gwembe tragedy, and who shortly before going to the London conference had advocated widespread violence if he did not get what he wanted. "Reactionary" meant someone like Sir Roy Welensky; and "extreme right-wing reactionary" meant someone like himself (Mr. Gaunt).

The speaker quoted from an American author this passage: "Mr. Chiume [one of the leaders of the Malawi Congress Party in Nyasaland] was asked why his brief-case was so worn, and is alleged to have retorted: 'if you were as full of sedition as this brief-case you too would be ragged about the edges'".

Commenting on Mr. Mboya's statement in Kenya after the results of the general election became known that Europeans

and Asians need not worry, Mr. Gaunt quoted a recent speech in which Mr. Mboya had said: "The Europeans know that they are finished in Kenya. Every day they stop me in the streets and ask: 'Are you going to take our land? Are we going to be compensated? Are we to get pensions?' I tell them: 'Tell your troubles to Macleod. Let him pay you.' We are not going to inherit any Colonial debts. We are going to have an all-black Parliament and an all-black Government and to divide the land among our peoples. If the Europeans want to stay, they can stay as squatters. If they want to work they can work for us".

Such were the fruits of Macblunderism, and Mr. Macleod intended the same results for Northern Rhodesia.

"Are laws binding when the law-makers are untrustworthy, deceitful, guilty of duplicity again and again?" asked Mr. Gaunt. "Promises made in Kenya, promises made in regard to Nyasaland, promises in regard to our future in Northern Rhodesia, all given in the name of H.M. Government, are shamefully broken without reference to those vitally concerned. If this were not a case of black and white there would not be a country in the world which would not uphold our right to throw off the yoke of such a treacherous Government. Lumumba, the saint and martyr; Welensky, the Fascist beast! What a mockery!"

"Now is the time for independence to be declared—while the country is united as never before. Those who would deny our heritage can use force if they wish to be guilty of fratricide. I do not believe that British officers would take up arms against those who fought and died by their side in two world wars. Rather would they follow the example of their predecessors in 1914 at the Curragh who resigned their commissions rather than risk spilling a brother's blood. The loyalty we owe is to the person of the Crown, not to United Kingdom Ministers".

MR. V. T. JOYCE (Northern Rhodesia) insisted that control must be on responsible lines in responsible hands, and described what remarkable inter-racial advances had been made socially, culturally, in industrially in the past two years in his country. It was for that reason, he was convinced, that the African nationalist leaders pressed their case, for as one complaint after another disappeared and partnership between the races developed their hopes of gaining their ends diminished.

Now, when co-operation between Europeans and Africans were greatly improved, Mr. Macleod wanted a Constitution based on political *apartheid*. He was obsessed with Constitution-making. Having recently been in Kenya and Uganda, Mr. Joyce had evidence of the damage done there. But the man responsible, who now sought to put Northern Rhodesia in the same position, would not succeed.

"The Great Liquidator"

MR. H. D. WIGHTWICK (Southern Rhodesia) described the crisis as caused solely for political party reasons in Britain in order to save the face of Mr. Macleod. Why should the Federation be the pawn in a game of politics for English gentlemen and a few renegade Scotsmen?

"Until Mr. Macleod and his ilk arose to poison the minds of the British people", Rhodesians and other builders of the Commonwealth had been regarded as the cream of their race. Mr. Macleod's energies were devoted to destroying their creation. Indeed, his own colleagues called him the "Great Liquidator"—a term which illustrated the cynicism and political immorality now prevalent among United Kingdom politicians.

It had been made clear beyond a shadow of doubt that the words of British Ministers were not to be trusted. They would not honour agreements unless it suited them. Mr. Macleod and his colleagues appeared to have become ardent admirers of the Russian school of democracy.

It should be made perfectly clear that there would be no transfer of any of the powers of the Federal Government to any territorial Government which was not composed of civilized, responsible, and experienced people. Though it could not prevent a territorial Government from acting inefficiently in its own sphere, the Federal Government could through financial and other powers which it possessed quickly bring a territorial Government face to face with the realities, and so to reason and orderly conduct. The real assurance of civilized government lay in strengthening, not weakening, the powers of the Federal Government.

"Our responsibility is to see that the primitive masses are governed with justice, fairness, and humanity, and are not handed over to a few ambitious demagogues—to suffer perhaps the same fate as the unfortunate people of the Congo".

MR. YAMBA: "You will face it one day".

MR. WIGHTWICK: "I see that the hon. member confirms what I say".

"We have a particularly heavy responsibility towards very large numbers of moderate and responsible Africans who are prepared to co-operate with us in guiding their people towards a civilized participation in our Governments through a system which we hope will be based on merit; and although these people are untrusting in their efforts for their own people and the advancement of their own people, they do at least have a



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clear-sighted appreciation of the benefits which they will obtain by co-operation".

"Many of these people have shown the most remarkable courage. It would be an act of the rankest cowardice to abandon them. We owe them a debt of admiration which we can repay only by seeing that they play a larger part in our future and receive more encouragement than they have so far done."

"We have a responsibility, despite the desire of the gentleman who interrupted me just now, to retain the European in this country—because without him any form of democratic institutions would quickly disappear, as they have done elsewhere in Africa, and as they would do if the hon. gentleman came to power. Economic, technical and social progress would cease if the European were to leave here."

"It is a responsibility to the world as a whole to see that the light of Western civilization here in Central Africa is not extinguished by conscious or unconscious allies of Communism, acting as they so often do under the spurious cloaks of liberalism and nationalism."

"We have already had one threat from the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, who was cheered as well if the distinguished gentleman and the august House who cheered him were to remember that we are of the same stock as themselves. Like many others here, my own roots go deep into the soil of England, over many hundreds of years—untainted, I may say, by any blood from north of the Tweed. Like many others here I have been proud to fight in British units. We are not the kind of people who are easily frightened."

The speaker concluded with a tribute to Mr. Greenfield, Minister of Law, who had, he believed, carried out his mission in London with great distinction, disconcerting by his dry and dispassionate logic the British Ministers with whom he had to deal.

Mr. E. S. McGRATH (Northern Rhodesia) said that he represented a mining area which attacked problems in sledgehammer manner, not by rapier thrust or deep finesse. He thought that the understatement of the year was that Europeans in African Colonies regarded Mr. Macmillan with suspicion.

For a long time there had been a ceaseless undercurrent of attack on their own Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, when if effort had not been diverted in that direction there might have been some semblance of sanity in the U.K. ap-

proach to Central Africa. Mr. Macleod's theory, however, was obviously that the responsible elements in the Federation were expendable in the interests of political expediency.

Very difficult inter-racial problems had been settled on the Copperbelt by concentrated effort over a considerable period, and similar action could produce equally happy results politically.

In all the years before the creation of the Federation, when H.M. Government was responsible for Northern Rhodesia, there had been no question of giving the vote to Africans. Now, only seven years later, there was the amazing proposition that they should dominate the government.

Mr. F. B. CHEMBE (Northern Rhodesia) said that the time had come for government to pass from white to black hands because European administration had brought economic instability and threatened bloodshed. It was in the African nationalist movements that responsible Africans were to be found—a statement which brought from Mr. J. Z. Savanu, an African who is Parliamentary Secretary to the Federal Ministry of Home Affairs, the interjection: "Responsible for spreading smallpox" (referring to the activities of the Malawi Congress Party in Nyasaland).

Then came from Mr. Chembe the following metaphor: "European voters would hang together for the side where bread is buttered better, there is nothing but *apartheid* policy".

Mr. Chembe agreed that it was most unfortunate that Mr. Kaunda, leader of the United Nationalist Independence Party in Northern Rhodesia, should have said in London that if the constitutional conference did not succeed there would be in Northern Rhodesia "a mass rising which by contrast would portray Mau Mau as a child's picnic".

N.D.P. Youth Leaders Jailed

BERNARD MAPONEIRA, chairman of the Youth Council of the National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia, has been sentenced to three years' imprisonment on a charge of arson. Mr. Justice Hathorn, rejecting a defence argument that a political motive was a mitigating factor in the crime of setting fire to a house and a trader's store in Harare township, said that anarchy would reign if such crimes were condoned because the offender acted from disagreement with the legitimate political conduct of his victim. On the same day in Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia, two members of the Youth League of the United National Independence Party were each sentenced to a year's hard labour for participating in a night attack on the home of Mr. Lawrence Katilungu, president of the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia and ex-president of the African Mineworkers' Union.

Buganda Emissaries

IN AN EFFORT to win support for its demand for independence, Buganda has in the past few weeks sent emissaries to the Sudan, Ethiopia, Greece, and London. The Katikiro, Mr. M. Kintu, the Omuwanika, Mr. A. K. Sempa, and a representative member of the Lukiko, Dr. E. B. S. Lumu, have visited Khartoum and Addis Ababa "to acquaint friends there about the present state of affairs in Buganda"; the Rev. S. Sebanja, a Kabaka nominee, has been in Greece; and the Kabaka's private secretary, Mr. C. M. S. Mukasa, and Mr. Aloysius Lubowa, a representative member of the Lukiko, have been in London.

An Apology

WE OWE SIR GODFREY NICHOLSON a sincere apology for having mistakenly attributed to him a statement 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", and the editorial comment that there was no sillier remark in a third-rate Commons debate. Mr. John Stonehouse uttered the words quoted, not Sir Godfrey Nicholson and we much regret having erroneously criticized him.

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Letters to the Editor**M.P.'s. Criticism of A Leading Article****"E.A. & R." Charged With Attitudinizing***To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA*

SIR.—In Matters of Moment of February 16 you attempt to draw the analogy between the British Conservative Government's appeasement of Hitler and the attitude of Mr. Macmillan's administration towards the tide of African nationalism. You go on to imply that Sir Roy Welensky may yet awaken the British people from their political lethargy. I suggest that this analogy is fallacious, and to encourage it is to do a disservice to the very people whose cause you are seeking to support.

First, whilst I recognize the appalling—and agonizing—problem that faces Sir Roy Welensky and his supporters, it is misleading to imply that he has hope of mass support in 1961 Britain. Regardless of party, the general view in Britain today is that the basic claim of African nationalism to ultimate coloured African political supremacy is bound to succeed. Furthermore, my view is that this claim is fundamentally right.

From this stems the corollary that the problem of the white minority is how to come to terms with the African majority and win its confidence. The task requires an immense effort of adjustment on both sides, but the longer the great effort is delayed the further is the distance that the Europeans will have to travel to meet their future African masters. Their only hope is to make themselves indispensable to Africans and to see that this indispensability is grasped by the African mind.

In this situation, attitudinizing such as yours—and analogies about Hitler—are illusory and serve no purpose. They exacerbate the existing situation. If carried

to their logical conclusion, they will lead, in a very few years, to catastrophe for the white man in Africa. They could end in a situation, by, say, 1975, in which not a single white person on African soil today will remain: they will either be dead and under the ground or refugees in other lands.

Perhaps my letter will make clear to your readers the gap that exists between your viewpoint and that of a great many people in Britain with whom you must deal.

House of Commons.

Yours faithfully,

London, S.W.1.

DESMOND DONNELLY.

[The statement that "regardless of party, the general view in Britain today is that the basic claim of African nationalism to ultimate coloured African political supremacy is bound to succeed", implies that that view conflicts with the opinion and policy of Sir Roy Welensky. That is a misstatement of the facts, for the Federal Prime Minister, like all sensible people in Central Africa, recognizes that at some future date the whole area will have Governments dominated by black Africans. What the Federal Government, an overwhelming majority of Europeans (including almost all officials and missionaries), great numbers of Africans, and EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA hold is that in the interests of the millions of Africans, to say nothing of any other considerations, there ought to be no question of the transfer of control from responsible to irresponsible hands.

None but a few diehards object to increased African representation. That has just been proved by Southern Rhodesia's adoption of a plan (evolved locally, not in London) for the election of 15 Africans to the Colony's Parliament (hitherto all-white), by the readiness of the European political leaders in Northern Rhodesia for increased black African membership in the Legislative Council (though not on the Macleod plan), and by the acceptance by the Europeans in Nyasaland of largely increased African representation.

The whole point is that while experienced people in Central Africa want ordered progress in accordance with developing merit, too many politicians in this country encourage the tiny minority of inexperienced but very vocal African politicians who press for domination now.

In his wind-of-change speech the Prime Minister gave a pledge that in British African policy merit should be the criterion for political advancement. That pledge had been consistently disregarded in every constitutional change since made or proposed by Mr. Macleod—with the strong backing of Mr. Macmillan.

Immense Effort of Adjustment

We agree with Mr. Donnelly that an immense effort of adjustment is required from both races. The sad fact is that over the years his party, instead of exercising its influence to convince Africans that political advancement ought to depend upon merit—that is, competence to accept the new responsibilities—has made it clear that extremists can count on its support in almost any claim, however extravagant. Socialist M.P.s. have persistently encouraged African politicians to campaign for the introduction of universal franchise—years, and in some cases decades, before such a policy could make sense. Moreover, his party could scarcely have done less to register disgust with the intimidation and violence which have been and still are the ugliest features of African nationalist movements generally. Indeed, in every East and Central African territory except Zanzibar widespread terrorism has been a characteristic of the development of militant nationalism.

If Labour had emphasized the wisdom in present circumstances of a qualified franchise, to be progressively expanded with the development of education and experience, if it had consistently denounced organized breaches of law and order, if it had dissociated itself from the inflammatory speeches by African politicians who are so often misdescribed as "leaders", he and his associates would have made a valuable practical contribution to the promotion of adjustment from the African side.

As to "attitudinizing", it is surely his party which has been guilty of that fault by "behaving affectedly" (the Oxford Dictionary definition of the word) to African problems and African politicians. We cannot share his view that to criticize what we regard as error serves no good purpose.

The sad and shocking prospect to which he refers in his penultimate paragraph is basically the product of the folly of politicians in the West, the extremist Socialists (among whom Mr. Donnelly is not to be numbered) being the most blameworthy; they are the chief culprits in encouraging dangerously premature expectations among African politicians in East and Central Africa, most of whom have little competence except as rabble-rousers, little experience, and no possibility of running their countries with even moderate efficiency if, as is

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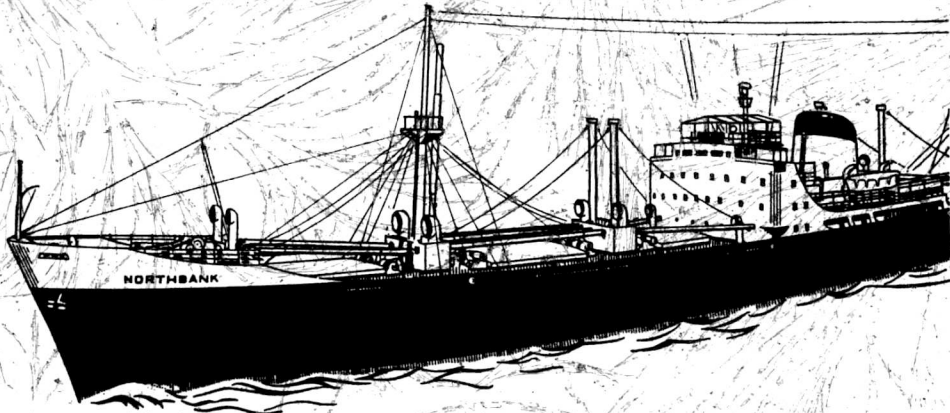
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increasingly threatened, they drive away the European knowledge, talent, experience, capital and enterprise upon which almost everything depends.

The chaos in the Congo is the product of the follies of politicians in Belgium who took fright at their conviction that the United Kingdom Government had resolved to scuttle from Africa; and only a small minority of M.P.s. in this country have told their constituents what has been involved in the Macmillan-Macleod policy in Kenya and of the threat which it implies to the Federation. The British public has unhappily not been fairly warned of what lies behind the present conflict between H.M. Government and the Federal Government).

N. Rhodesia: A Principle Abandoned The Precedent of Cyprus

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

SIR,—It is relevant to the controversy aroused by the Colonial Secretary's intentions for constitutional change in Northern Rhodesia to compare the principles upon which they appear to be based with those which were acted upon in the drafting of the Constitution of Cyprus.

In that there was full recognition of the principle that in a country of still-discordant races each community should be represented in the Government and participate in it as such: that the Greek and the Turkish respectively should in certain domestic matters have a degree of self-rule, to legislate for which the Constitution empowers them to "elect from their own members a Communal Chamber which shall have the competence expressly reserved for it under the provisions of this Constitution".

This "competence" covers all religious, educational, cultural and teaching matters, and in those relating to "the exercise of the authority of control of producers' and consumers' co-operatives and credit establishments and of supervision in their functions of municipalities consisting solely of their respective Community."

Furthermore, powers of taxation relating to matters in their competence are granted to the Communal Chambers, and the Central Government is to make available to them yearly a sum of not less than £2m.

If in Cyprus a community is an entity worthy of respect, and no overt attempt is made to induce it to sink its identity (though obviously it is desirable that in course of time it should do so, to some extent at least) why in the name of all good sense should not the racial—and tribal—communities living in Northern Rhodesia and other territories in Africa, be accorded equal consideration?

Burley,
Hampshire.

Yours faithfully,
R. FANE.

Points from Letters

Gibraltar

"THANK YOU for your usual Gibraltar-like attitude over the Rhodesian dispute."

Bad Management

"MOST RHODESIANS accuse Macleod not of bad faith, but of bad management. Many recognize, however reluctantly, that the global situation may dictate a considerable measure of disengagement from Southern Africa. But they maintain that no objective will ever be achieved if the methods are bad enough. They see Macleod as having committed nearly every imaginable blunder of strategy and tactics, and stubbornly maintaining them in the face of all evidence. They regard suggestions of his succeeding Macmillan as ludicrous."

Tory Revolt Against Macleodism

"Establishment" Men Among Signatories

THE SOCIALIST WEEKLY, *New Statesman*, has published a long article analysing the revolt by some 90 Tory M.P.s. against Mr. Macleod's proposals for Northern Rhodesia.

It points out that the largest and most important category of the signatories of Mr. Turton's motion consists of 31 senior and ultra-orthodox back-benchers, of whom the writer says:

"These are the indispensable Government wheel-horses, the solid gentry from the shires, old in years for the most part and not over-endowed in talent but normally trustworthy and silent. Some have held junior office; some have even been whips; many have earned and received knighthoods for decades of sound, pro-leadership views. Nearly all have held senior positions on back-bench committees.

"Such men are Sir Peter Agnew and Sir William Hicks-Beach, Sir Robert Grimston and Sir Jocelyn Lucas, Sir John Maitland and Sir Frank Markham, Sir Harmor Nichols, Sir Leonard Röpper, Sir Spencer Summers, Sir Gerald Wills, and Sir Otho Prior-Palmer. These men — like the senior trade union members on the Labour benches — stand very near the party's centre of gravity; in fact, they help to constitute it.

"In their own way they form the Tory back-bench establishment. Indeed, it must be a source of great concern to the Tory whips that no fewer than 30 of the rebel signatories hold office on Tory back-bench committees. Ten of these are chairmen, seven vice-chairmen. By the middle of this week only two of these gentlemen had removed their names from the motion.

"The ramifications of this revolt go deep into the heart of the Tory parliamentary party; the roll-call reflects to some extent every section of the party, with the exception of the young liberal intellectuals directly associated with Mr. Macleod. Close scrutiny of the names and records of the signatories shows that more than half of them have never taken an independent line on colonial policy, or indeed displayed any apparent interest in it. Northern Rhodesia is more the occasion than the cause of the revolt.

"In fact, the motion may amount to a protest against the general drift of Mr. Macmillan's policy, and in particular against his methods. It is no secret that the final decisions on the Northern Rhodesia plan were taken by Mr. Macmillan in consultation with a small group of ministers; that certain papers were not circulated to the Cabinet as a whole; and that some Ministers were, to their intense irritation, confronted with a *fait accompli*. A disgruntled Cabinet Minister who conveys his feelings to his Under-Secretary or his P.P.S., and hence to back-benchers, can be a formidable catalyst of public revolt."

Mr. Turton's Immense Service

SIR CLIFFORD HEATHCOTE-SMITH said in the course of a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* that Britain was pledged to a multi-racial partnership and to protect the law-abiding majority of blacks and minority of whites from intimidation. Twelve respected Africans had told the Press in London in December that few dare speak publicly in opposition owing to violence and threats.

"Many of us are convinced that Mr. Robin Turton and his phalanx of Conservative colleagues are rendering an immense service to Northern Rhodesia, the Federation, and the whole Commonwealth by stressing so strikingly what would be the consequences of yielding to racial Africanization and abandonment of authority to immature African leaders. Countless eloquent examples support this — the Congo, Mau Mau, etc.

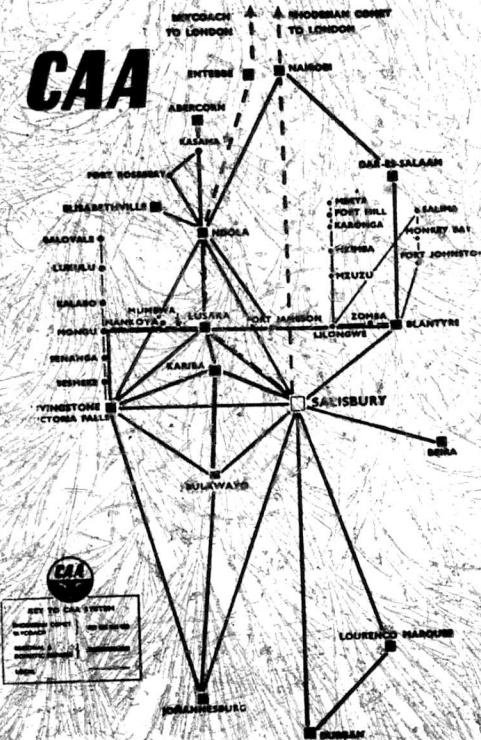
"Thanks to the second thoughts now prevailing, Britain may look forward to another eventual success in Commonwealth evolution, with ultimate authority in North Rhodesia in the steadfast and dedicated hands of the British and of a growing number of Africans while the bulk of the entire law-abiding population, black and white alike, pursue their lives in full protection from intimidation and fear."

Two Women Stabbed

TWO EUROPEAN WOMEN, Mrs. Clara Stubbs, aged 89, and her daughter, aged 50, were stabbed at the week-end by a gang of Africans who broke into their isolated home near Ruiru, 18 miles from Nairobi. Both were taken to hospital.

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Results of Kenya Elections

(Concluded from page 742)

Though U.K. newspapers have given great prominence to the fact that Mr. T. J. Mboya received 51,407 votes, five other African candidates were more strongly supported, namely Mr. T. Towett (56,445), Dr. J. G. Kiako (47,995), and Messrs. Oginga Odinga (46,638), J. Nyagah (43,943), and Bernard Mate (31,986). Mr. Musa Amalema received 28,817 in North Nyanza.

In Nairobi South, an Asian non-Muslim seat, Mr. Channar Singh lost by one vote to Mr. Mota Singh, who had 1,036 supporters.

The candidates who received the least support were Mrs. Needham-Clark (Nairobi West) and Mr. S. M. Balala (Mombasa Centre). Each obtained only nine votes.

In the communal Primary elections Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck had overwhelmingly defeated Mr. Blundell, who scored little more than 26% of the votes cast. Now the great African majority on the common roll reversed the verdict.

Similarly Mrs. Shaw won against Mr. C. O. Oates in Kericho, and Mr. Marrian against Sir Charles Markham in Central Rural.

In Nairobi South-West the chairman of the New Kenya Party, Mr. W. B. Havelock, beat Mr. P. L. Megson, a newcomer to politics, by only 65 votes.

Mr. Megson said after the poll was declared:—
"I cannot find it in my heart to congratulate Mr. Havelock. His and his party's approval and exploitation of K.A.N.U.'s interference in the European reserved seats, of which I have already complained, to defy and frustrate the wishes of the European electorate cannot bode well for the future of Kenya. It seems to me to be another example of a franchise deliberately designed to strike at the very roots of European influence in Africa. I am desperately sorry not to be able to serve the people who put their confidence in me. I feel I have let them down, but I did my best".

Colonial Secretary's Statement

When the Secretary of State announced the results in Parliament, they were given in the following form:—

<i>Open Seats</i>		
Kenya African National Union	18	
Kenya African Democratic Union and supporters	12	
Independents	3	
<i>European Reserved Seats</i>		
New Kenya Party	4	
Kenya Coalition	3	
Independents	3	
<i>Asian non-Muslim Reserved Seats</i>		
Kenya Indian Congress	3	
Kenya Freedom Party	1	
Independent	1	
<i>Asian Muslim Reserved Seats</i>		
Kenya Muslim League	1	
Independents	2	
<i>Arab Reserved Seats</i>		
Independents	2	

Mr. Macleod said:—

"Under the new Constitution the Governor remains responsible for the administration of Kenya, in which he is advised and assisted by his Council of Ministers. In selecting the non-official members of this Council he will naturally have regard to the distribution of parties within the Legislature, but the formation of a Government is his responsibility".

SIR A. HURD: "Will my rt. hon. friend agree that it is to the credit of all parties—and perhaps I may include the police—that what might have been a riotous election has passed off so extraordinarily quietly? May we take it that it will be the purpose of the Governor now to proceed to form a Government to which he will invite all elected representatives, regardless of race, who are prepared to join in non-racial government? Will we treat Jomo Kenyatta in such a way that he is reduced to man size while the new Ministers are playing themselves in?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I am sure that everybody is very happy that, contrary to many gloomy prophecies, the elections in Kenya went off so quietly. The Governor will proceed to invite people to serve on the Council of Ministers, using the proportions of non-officials which were laid down in the Lancaster House Constitution. He may wish to wait for the election of the national members, on March 16. The full reasons both for not releasing Jomo Kenyatta from restriction and for removing him from Lodwar to Maralal were given yesterday by the Governor in a statement which, of course, had the full approval of H.M. Government".

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Is the Colonial Secretary aware that the successful and peaceful outcome of the elections in Kenya is a compliment to his skillful handling of the constitutional talks? Will he let the significance of that be known in Northern Rhodesia? Is he aware that there is widely held regret in Kenya that Kenyatta is to continue to be held in

detention, and will he give his personal attention to this matter so that the continued detention of Kenyatta will not prejudice the formation of a successful administration?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I am grateful for what the hon. member has said, but the credit belongs to the people of Kenya. I hope that everybody who is invited to serve in this Government, whether African, European, or Asian, will realize that the question of whether a man is or is not released from restriction is in no circumstances a matter on which the Governor can bargain".

SIR H. OAKSHOTT: "My rt. hon. friend mentioned the constitutional position and the powers of the Governor. Will he not encourage the Governor to make a public statement spelling out those powers in Kenya, as that might go a long way towards rebuilding confidence and perhaps to bring about a resumption of investment in Kenya?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I am sure the Governor has that in mind, and that at the proper time he will make such a statement".

President Satisfied with Mr. Williams

PRESIDENT KENNEDY said in Washington last week that he thought that "Governor Williams has done very well in Africa; I am wholly satisfied with his mission".

The reference was to Mr. Mennen Williams, incidents in whose brief visits to Kenya and Uganda were recorded and criticized in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA last week.

Immediately on landing at Nairobi Airport he said that the policy of the United States was "Africa for the Africans". Not until there had been much local criticism did he explain that to him the last word embraced Europeans and Asians living in Africa. The President gave no indication that two days had passed before the point was explained when he said "Governor Williams made it clear he was talking about all those who felt they were Africans, whatever their colour, whatever their race".

When Mr. Williams reached Leopoldville in the Congo on Wednesday of last week he praised British achievements in East Africa, particularly in land reforms and re-settlement, saying that such programmes had had a stabilizing influence.

Publication in Washington last Thursday of a transcript of proceedings in the Appropriation Sub-Committee of the House of Representatives revealed that as recently as February 14 Mr. Williams asked for funds for largely increased spending in Africa by the State Department, including the opening of 14 new African diplomatic missions and three more consulates. He referred to British East Africa as "an area anticipating freedom within a year or so", adding: "I think that here we can have a very strong bastion. But it is important that we give these people educational advantages and some economic advantages, so that when they actually become free they will have a viable economy and knowledge of self-government". At that point the record reads: "Statement continued off the record".

Later a member of the committee, Mr. Bow, asked whether the British had not over the years "done about the best job of anyone", to which Mr. Williams replied: "I think the British have been doing an excellent job".

Then why, Mr. Bow asked, should Congress vote more money for educating these people who have been under the British all these years, and teach them how to handle themselves in self-government? When Mr. Williams evaded the question with the reply that French and Belgian territories were also involved, Mr. Bow asked for a direct answer to his question, since specific mention had been made of British East Africa.

MR. WILLIAMS replied: "I do not say that former Colonial Powers have not done a good job, but the responsibilities of independence . . . are very considerable. I am sure any assistance we can give them will be in the national interest of the United States".

New Northern Rhodesian Ministers

Three members of Northern Rhodesia Liberal Party have just been appointed to the territory's Executive Council. MR. HENRY FRANKLIN has been appointed Minister of Transport and Works, MR. ALFRED HLABANE GONDWE Minister of African Education, and MR. HUMPHREY LLOYD JAMES Minister of Labour and Mines.

New Congolese Demands Control of Shipping Wanted

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT of the Congo demanded on Tuesday that it should have control of shipping, aircraft movements and strategic bases as a condition of the United Nations operation being allowed to continue, and renewed its insistence on the replacement of Mr. Dayal as U.N. representative.

It warned that there would be continued clashes between Congolese and U.N. troops if these terms were not accepted.

Some of Mobutu's troops sent into Equator Province in preparation for a drive against Stanleyville were reported last week to have gone over to General Lundula, commander of the Stanleyville forces. Other defections occurred at Coquilhatville, where troops under the Leopoldville command marched through the town shouting "Vive Lumumba." Eighty miles east of the town a company of Leopoldville troops surrendered to a Stanleyville force. But another such column which had entered Luluabourg unopposed by the Mobutu garrison was reported to have unaccountably withdrawn northwards.

On Wednesday of last week Mr. Joseph Ileo, Prime Minister of the Leopoldville Government, said he hoped that Mr. Gizenga, the Lumumbaist leader in Stanleyville, would attend a conference of Congolese leaders to be held on Sunday in Madagascar.

The United Nations Conciliation Commission, meeting in Geneva to consider its report, announced that a statement in its preliminary report issued in the Congo had been misinterpreted as conveying recognition of the Ileo Government. In fact the commission had said that the Provisional Government represented an encouraging step towards a return to constitutionality, but that any Government must present itself before Parliament for a vote of confidence. That the Ileo Government had not done.

U.N. Personnel Maltreated

There were continued reports in Leopoldville of maltreatment of U.N. personnel and other civilians by Congolese soldiers.

In Belgium the Foreign Minister, Mr. Pierre Wigny, said that Belgians serving as mercenaries in the Congo would be "invited" to return home. Troops stationed at Kamina and other air bases as security guards were to be brought back rapidly. His statement was in response to a letter from Mr. Hammarskjöld regarding the Security Council resolution requiring the withdrawal of foreign military staff from the Congo.

On Thursday Mr. Hammarskjöld, announcing that he would need \$48.2m. to sustain the U.N. operation in the Congo this year, appealed to 22 countries in Africa to reinforce the U.N. contingent up to 25,000 men, his estimated minimum for carrying out the U.N. mandate.

Mr. Adlai Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, said in a speech in New York that the American Government believed that Belgium should complete its withdrawal from the Congo but that no other foreign Power should come thrusting in, especially the new imperialism of the Soviet Union.

It became known in Leopoldville that 44 African civilians had been killed in Luluabourg by Congolese troops in revenge for the death of three of their number. After the withdrawal of the Stanleyville troops who had earlier seized the town a crowd of civilians demonstrated outside the U.N. headquarters to demand the release of a local Lumumbaist gendarme major, who had been locked up by his own men. When he was released the rejoicing crowd attacked pro-Mobutu Congolese soldiers, three of whom were killed and three wounded. Congolese soldiers thereupon set out from their camp and shot wildly at civilians in the area of the town.

U.N. troops in Leopoldville were ordered to defend their arms by force if necessary after three Tunisians on guard at Lovanium University had been disarmed by 25 Congolese paratroopers. Two European civilians, a Frenchman and a Belgian, were for no apparent reason shot dead by Congolese in Binza, Leopoldville.

The British Red Cross Society announced that it had sent \$139,000 to the International Red Cross in Geneva for Congo relief.

On Friday firing broke out between Congolese soldiers and Sudanese United Nations troops at Banana on the Congo estuary when Congolese tried to arrest a U.N. radio operator. One Congolese was killed and one wounded. The Sudanese

withdrew to the nearby air base of Kitona.

India offered the United Nations 3,000 men for its military force, following offers by Liberia and Tunisia of a total of 1,000 additional troops.

From Kinshasa Province came reports that with the collapse of any effective administration there about 300 whites were trapped and were being terrorized by undisciplined bands of Congolese soldiers. A United Nations contingent of Malayan troops based at Kindu was ineffective, being outnumbered by Congolese. Efforts to move out the remaining Europeans had been frustrated by Congolese opposition.

On Saturday Congolese attacked Sudanese troops and Canadian army signallers at Matadi, the supply port, wounding seven Sudanese and capturing nine Canadians and seven Sudanese. Later the Canadians were reported to have reached Leopoldville unharmed. After consultations in Leopoldville between Congolese and U.N. authorities it was agreed that, in order to restrict the fighting, neither side should send reinforcements.

"Summit" Conference

Meanwhile Congolese leaders were gathering in Tananarive, capital of Madagascar, for their "summit" conference arranged by President Tshombe. By Saturday night Mr. Tshombe, Mr. Kalonji, leader in South Kasai, and Mr. Ileo, Prime Minister of the Central Government, had arrived. President Kasavubu and Mr. Gizenga, head of the Stanleyville régime, were reported to be on their way.

When full details of the battle at Matadi became available on Monday it appeared that the United Nations had suffered a humiliating defeat. After cease fire negotiations had failed the Sudanese garrison of 135 men was driven out of the port, two being killed, 11 wounded, and the rest disarmed. Only one of the attacking Congolese force, of about 1,000 was stated to have been killed. That evening the Sudan Government announced that it would withdraw its contingent of 400 troops from the Congo because the U.N. showed itself impotent and negligent and had thereby made Sudanese troops targets for attack.

In Leopoldville U.N. officials said U.N. troops would be moved back into Matadi, using force if necessary. The Congolese Foreign Minister, Mr. Bomboko, disclaimed responsibility for the fighting at Matadi and Banana and charged the U.N. troops with firing first.

From Washington came the announcement that four United States warships carrying 300 marines on their way to a goodwill visit to South Africa had been redirected to Congolese waters. While there was no intention of intervening directly, the force would be available should the United Nations require its assistance.

In New York Mr. Hammarskjöld called an emergency meeting of the 18-nation Congo Advisory Committee.

In Tananarive the conference of Congo leaders was delayed when it was learnt that Mr. Gizenga might not arrive before Wednesday. Those then present were Messrs. Kasavubu, Tshombe, Kalonji, Ileo, Mukenge (North Kasai provincial president), Bolikango (Equator Province), and Kamitau (president of the Leopoldville Provincial Government and a former supporter of Lumumba).

Barotse Against U.N.I.P.

MR. GOEWIN LEWANIKA, a United Federal Party M.P., and a member of Barotseiland's chiefly family headed by the Paramount Chief, Sir Mwanawina Lewanika, has told the Federal Assembly that the Barotse people would never allow the Paramount Chief to bow down before Mr. Kaunda and his United National Independence Party. Barotseiland would seek to leave Northern Rhodesia and become a fourth Federal territory. He was "bitterly opposed" to Mr. Macleod's plan for Northern Rhodesia. Like the Belgians, the Colonial Secretary seemed to him to underestimate the extent and importance of tribal difference among Africans.

Smallpox Boycott Ends

POLITICALLY INSPIRED BOYCOTTING of smallpox vaccinations in the Central Province of Nyasaland has ended. The Federal Ministry of Health reports good progress in its vaccination campaign, with villagers and headmen readily co-operating. The boycott was organized by the Malawi Congress Party.

Parliament

Fair, Just and Honourable

U.K.'s Duty to the Federation

THE PRIME MINISTER said in the House of Commons a few days ago that "the duty of the Government is to try to be fair and just and honourable and to get the maximum agreement" in respect of constitutional changes in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Mr. Macmillan, asked what progress had been made in the conference on the future of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, replied that he had nothing to add to his statement of December 12.

Mr. Stonehouse: "Will the federal talks be resumed if Sir Roy Welensky continues in his attempts to undermine the new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia?"

Mr. Macmillan: "I hope it will be possible to resume the federal talks."

Viscount Hinchinbrooke: "As was apparent on television last night, Sir Roy Welensky is coming to Britain in a spirit of the utmost good will to the British people. Will the Prime Minister respond?"

Mr. Macmillan: "Yes. I have every hope we shall proceed with the programme. At first the idea was to settle the provincial Constitution and then proceed to the federal programme. I hope that, with good will on all sides, this can be done."

Mr. Gaitskell: "Does the Prime Minister agree that there is no point in continuing with the conference on the Federation until there is proper African representation as a result of the forthcoming elections in Nyasaland and the settling of a new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia?"

Mr. Macmillan: "What I said before was that it will be reconvened on a date to be decided by the Government in the light of progress made on the talks on Constitutions for Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia."

Mr. Thorpe: "Will the Prime Minister agree there is a new situation since December 20, with the breakdown of the Northern Rhodesia talks and rejection of the Southern Rhodesia Constitution? A settlement of the territorial problems is a condition precedent to success for the federal talks."

Weighting of the Scales

Mr. Macmillan: "I have said that we would consider the federal problem in the light of the progress made in the territorial discussions."

Mr. Wall: "Too great a weighting of the scales in Northern Rhodesia could well destroy the Federation."

Mr. Macmillan: "This is a very difficult and delicate matter, but it would be wrong to give up the hope of reaching agreement and making progress on a good basis."

Mr. Dugdale: "Many of us on this side are delighted with the stand the Prime Minister is taking with regard to Sir Roy Welensky's demands. We hope he will continue with it, and not be defeated by Sir Roy's pressure."

Mr. Macmillan: "The duty of the Government is to try to be fair and just and honourable, and to try to get the maximum agreement because without that everything else we look for will fail."

Captain H. B. Kerby asked the Prime Minister if, in view

of the danger of a breach between H.M. Government and the Federal Government, he would publish a White Paper giving all communications which had passed between the two Governments from the establishment of the Monckton Commission.

The Prime Minister: "No. In accordance with longstanding Commonwealth practice, such communications are regarded as confidential."

Captain Kerby asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies how many of the Northern Rhodesian African leaders had indicated their willingness to accept the Bill of Rights which it was proposed to include in the new Northern Rhodesian Constitution.

Mr. Macleod: "This was not a proposal which delegates were expected to accept at this stage. It is H.M. Government's view, however, that Bill of Rights would be available, and there is no reason to believe that it is unacceptable in principle to African or European political leaders in Northern Rhodesia."

Captain Kerby asked if it was the intention that the Governor should at once appoint six official Legislative Council members.

Mr. Macleod: "No date has yet been fixed for the coming into force of the new constitutional proposals. There are already six official members in the Legislative Council under the existing constitutional arrangements."

Violent Attack on Sir Roy

Mr. Fell asked the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations what was the policy of H.M. Government with regard to the improvement of relations with the Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Mr. Sandys: "It is naturally the policy of H.M. Government to maintain the closest possible relations with the Federal Government."

Mr. Fell: "Does my rt. hon. friend really think that, having been warned by the Colonial Secretary at the beginning of the Rhodesian debate that it was important to choose his words very carefully, his later violent attack upon Sir Roy Welensky, a British Commonwealth Prime Minister, contributed in any way to furthering friendly relations with the Federation? Will he, if he must till at windmills, at least do it at the expense of our enemies rather than of our friends?"

Mr. Sandys: "I think my hon. friend has been reading the headlines in the newspapers rather than what I said. It was snuff in pain than in anger that I spoke, and I am not at all sure that my remarks were not very opportune."

Mr. Stonehouse asked what steps were being taken to ensure that the new Constitution proposed for Southern Rhodesia had the support of the African population, who now enjoyed the protection of the United Kingdom Government.

Mr. Sandys: "The new constitutional proposals for Southern Rhodesia are the outcome of a conference at which the Africans were fully represented."

Mr. Stonehouse: "Is the rt. hon. gentleman not aware that the National Democratic Party has now rejected the conclusions of the conference? Is he aware that a referendum is being held in the mainly white electorate? If this referendum is being held in the mainly white electorate, could not a referendum be arranged for the African population who look upon Britain as the protecting Power and have most to lose by these new proposals?"

Mr. Sandys: "I am quite sure that they have most to gain by the new proposals."

Mr. Biggs-Davison: "Will not the entry of black African members into the Southern Rhodesian Parliament be a most welcome and indeed overdue reform, and is not my rt. hon. friend to be congratulated upon it? Is it not regrettable that certain African leaders should have resiled from the agreement made?"

Mr. Sandys: "The effect of these proposals so far as representation is concerned is almost certainly to be that the Africans who at present have no members of Parliament will have something approaching one-quarter of the seats in the new Parliament."

Mr. Marquand: "Has the rt. hon. gentleman had any further negotiations with the National Democratic Party since? Have they had the opportunity together to consider the results of the conference? Has the party made any new representations to him, and is he endeavouring to try to reassure that party about his intentions?"

Mr. Sandys: "I do not think we should be too worried about the attitude of the N.D.P. It has made it clear on more than one occasion since the conference that it warmly welcomes the new safeguards against discrimination. It described them as a halfway house towards the ideal to which that party is working. On the question of representation and the franchise, it would naturally have liked to have got more, but that is a common feature in all negotiations. The new proposals will give the Africans probably about one-quarter of the new seats, and I am quite sure that the Africans as a whole would be extremely disappointed if the new proposals were dropped."



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MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked what steps the Government took to inform the Prime Minister of the Federation of the contents of the constitutional proposals for Northern Rhodesia and to obtain his opinions thereon.

THE PRIME MINISTER: "H.M. Government undertook in 1953 to seek the views of the Federal Government on amendments to the territorial Constitutions. This undertaking was discharged in the case of these proposals for Northern Rhodesia."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "In view of the tension between London and Salisbury, was it not unwise not to give the Federal Prime Minister little more than a week-end to consider proposals which seemed to him to depart from the non-racial policy of the 1958 White Paper? Since the Government were responsible for the Federation, with its great success and greater hopes, will my rt. hon. friend now do everything possible to restore cordial co-operation between H.M. Government and the Federal Government?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Of course, we want that. We want to try to make arrangements which will get the maximum of support. I think the House is conscious that when one is trying to take a fair course, with perhaps extremes of view on either side, it is difficult, but it is a thing which we must not abandon. We must go on trying, and I hope that we shall succeed."

MR. GAITSKELL: "Sir Roy Welensky in his recent speech indicated that the Federal Party would be prepared to take part in discussions with the Governor of Northern Rhodesia if other solutions were not barred. Have the Government made any reply to Sir Roy Welensky on this point and answered the other allegations made in that speech?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I thought that particular passage in the speech very helpful. He will be here in a day or two, and perhaps we had better wait to consult with him."

MRS. CASTLE asked the Prime Minister if he would approach the Belgian Prime Minister to ensure that the diplomatic facilities accorded to the Belgian Government in London were not used to further the recruitment of British nationals for service in the Katanga army.

MR. MACMILLAN: "No."
MRS. CASTLE: "Is the Prime Minister aware that the Belgian assistant military attaché in London has been giving British volunteers the address of the Katanga delegation in Brussels for recruitment at very high rates of mercenary pay for service in the Congo. Following the revelation of these facts, the attaché has been recalled. Can the Prime Minister give an assurance that this gentleman will not be allowed to return, as I have definite evidence that he has indulged in these activities, and will he approach the Belgian Government to protest against the use of diplomatic facilities for this purpose?"

MR. MACMILLAN: "As the hon. lady has already said, the Belgian Government has dealt with this matter. It has threatened judicial proceedings against anybody responsible for trying to recruit for Katanga bodies in this way."

MR. GAITSKELL: "Is it not most undesirable for British subjects to enlist in any of these private armies in the Congo?"

MR. MACMILLAN: "We do not approve of such recruiting, and we understand that the Belgian Government disapproves also."

East African Drought

Asked by MR. ELWYN JONES about relief of the famine caused by prolonged drought in East Africa, MR. HUGH FRASER replied:—

"There is no famine in Uganda and Zanzibar. In Tanganyika there is a local food shortage due to drought, particularly in areas in Masailand, but the situation is under control and no assistance is required from H.M. Government at present time."

"In Kenya, owing to long and continuing drought, there is an acute food shortage in the Northern, Southern, Central, and Rift Valley Provinces, and some 25,000 people have been receiving famine relief. In addition to free distribution of food where necessary by the Kenya Government, the International Co-operation Administration of the United States is very generously providing 100,000 bags of yellow maize free. Both the Army and the Royal Air Force have offered assistance in distributing food to remote areas. H.M. Government have agreed, having regard to Kenya's current financial position, to meet the other costs of distribution up to a total of £60,000."

MR. FRASER said that the ratio of police strength to population in Nyasaland on January 1 was one to 979. According to the latest available figures, the corresponding ratios for Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, and Kenya, were one to 491, one to 1,708, and one to 321 respectively.

Asked by SIR ROBERT PICKTHORN how many Colonial Office officials dealing with the affairs of Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, or the Federation had served in Africa, MR. FRASER replied: "The Assistant Under-Secretary of State responsible for the Central African Department served as Chief Secretary to the West African Council from 1947 to 1951. All the administrative staff who deal specifically with Central

African affairs have, in accordance with normal Colonial Office practice, visited Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland on a number of occasions."

DR. HILL told MR. DONNELLY that broadcasting to Africa by the Overseas Services of the B.B.C. totalled 2514 hours weekly, compared with 954 hours by the Soviet Union, 91 by China, 594 by East Germany, and a total of 874 by other Communist bloc countries.

**Listening to Violent African Extremists
And Forgetting the Decent Moderates**

THAT MODERATE AFRICANS should receive more consideration from H.M. Government has been suggested by Mr. P. H. Hamilton Bayly in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*. He wrote:—

"Among all the written words and the speeches the thousands of decent, hard-working, moderate but silent Africans are completely forgotten—the small businessmen, the school-teachers, the clerks in Government service and commerce, many with years of faithful service to their credit."

"This type do not indulge in politics, so are not among the noisy self-appointed 'leaders' of African political parties. They get on with their job, and risk being classed as 'stooges' by their noisy compatriots."

"These many thousands are the people most likely to suffer as a result of Mr. Macleod's policy of forcing the pace of political advancement. They will be the first to be hounded out of their posts or the small businesses and farms they have built up over the years. The very fact that they have not indulged in rowdy meetings and rabble-rousing political speeches will bring down the full wrath of the political bosses when these men are in power."

Betraying Moderates

"The arguments put forward so far have been in the main white versus black. But as a result of listening only to the extremists those in authority in this country will be guilty of betraying these very moderates who, in the main, are the backbone of the African population."

"When things get too bad, as they obviously will if present trends prevail, the European population can get out to other countries. But not so the moderate Africans; they have nowhere to go and must stay and face the music."

"It is these unfortunates that our lethargic Members of Parliament should consider before things go too far. The moderate-thinking middle-class African is ready and willing to co-operate in a multi-racial society, but only the violent extremists get a hearing here."

Mr. Hamilton Bayly, who retired recently from the post of Commissioner of Prisons in Zanzibar, had previously served in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland as Deputy Director of the Prisons Service.

European Women Threatened

FOUR EUROPEAN MARRIED WOMEN, delegated to represent the European mothers and children in districts west of Nakuru, were received recently by Sir Patrick Renison, Governor of Kenya. They gave him evidence of menacing letters and anonymous telephone calls threatening violence from ostensible agents of a new organization similar to Mau Mau.

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British India Steam Navigation Co.

BRITISH INDIA STEAM NAVIGATION CO., LTD., reports a consolidated profit for the year to September 30 of £1,251,322 after allowing more than £2m. for depreciation and meeting taxation liabilities of £545,039. In 1959 the profit had been only £25,769. A dividend of 10% less tax, against 2½%, will require £459,375 and leave £297,275 to be carried forward.

The issued capital is £7½m. in ordinary shares of £50 each, £2m. in 5½% cumulative preference stock, and £700,000 in 5% cumulative preference stock. Capital reserves are a little short of £20m. and revenue reserves exceed £4½m. Fixed assets stand in the balance-sheet at almost £39½m. and current assets less current liabilities at £3,449,009.

The British India fleet consists of 18 passenger ships of a total of 168,699 gross tons, 41 cargo ships, totalling 281,293 gross tons, and three tankers, aggregating 61,838 gross tons.

Mr. E. J. Pakes is chairman and managing director, the Earl of Inchcape is deputy chairman, and the other directors are Sir Donald Anderson, Sir William Currie, and Messrs. K. M. Campbell (managing director), W. J. Campbell (managing director), W. Dalgarno, A. T. Orr Deas, and C. S. Munday (managing director).

Alamasi

THE ALAMASI MINE in Tanganyika treated 114,907 loads in the quarter to December 31 and recovered 5,730 carats of diamonds, five stones being of 10 or more carats, the largest of 17½. Production was seriously affected by lack of water for washing operations, which had to be entirely suspended throughout January. Working costs for the quarter were £36,909 and capital expenditure £1,006. Estimated revenue, less royalty and realization charges, was £36,500.

S. Rhodesia's Mining Outputs

SOUTHERN RHODESIA'S MINING PRODUCTION in 1960, valued at almost £26½m., was a record, and about £1½m. above the 1959 total. Asbestos again topped the list, with a value of nearly £7½m. Gold was second in the table. The largest increase was shown by copper, with a production increased by 27½% to rather more than £2½m. In the case of chrome the output was up 23%.

North Charterland

THE NORTH CHARTERLAND EXPLORATION CO. (1937) LTD., reports a profit for the year to December 31 last of £24,412 (£20,034). There is no liability to taxation. £17,000 is added to the general reserve and a dividend of 16½% (the same) will take £7,989, leaving £3,795 to be carried forward.

Rhodesia Broken Hill

THE RHODESIA BROKEN HILL DEVELOPMENT CO., LTD., had an output of 3,557 long tons of lead and of 7,326 tons of zinc in the last quarter of last year, making 14,429 and 29,793 tons respectively for 1960, compared with 14,400 and 29,895 in 1959.

Blantyre and East Africa

BLANTYRE AND EAST AFRICA, LTD., have conservatively revalued the company's freehold estates in Nyasaland at £438,993, which is £344,401 above the previous valuation. That sum has been placed to capital reserve, and the directors intend later to recommend a bonus issue.

In the year ended September 30 there was a profit of £175,257, against £97,119. Taxation required £43,550 and there was a transfer to special reserve of £55,000. Dividends of 35% on the ordinary and 6% on the preference shares require £64,594, leaving £41,761 to be carried forward.

Major Lancelot Errington is the chairman, and the other directors are Messrs. Allan R. Stark (who is also secretary), J. A. Meston, A. Brown, and F. H. N. Walker.

Hay's Wharf

THE PROPRIETORS OF HAY'S WHARF, LTD., one of whose subsidiary companies is Marshall's East African Holdings, Ltd., report a group profit after taxation for the year to September 30 last of £242,837 (£279,771). Ordinary shareholders received 10%. Issued capital is £2m. in £1 ordinary shares and just over £1½m. in 6% cumulative preference shares. General reserve stands at £1m., and there is outstanding £1m. of 6% debenture stock. Fixed assets appear at nearly £5.9m., and current assets less current liabilities at just over £1m. The chairman is Sir Rupert De La Bere.

A change of name to Kenya Shell, Ltd., is announced by the Shell Company of East Africa, Ltd.

The Bank of Baroda, which has branches in East Africa, is paying 17% for 1960, against 14% for 1959. After meeting tax liabilities the net profit was £312,641.

Leyland Paint & Varnish Co., Ltd., which has an East African subsidiary, reports that group profits for the year to September 30 were lower at £94,057 (£117,765) and that the net profit after tax was 39,967 (£42,275). Dividends totalled 17½% (20%).

Cotton growers in the Lake Province of Tanganyika received just over £5m. in the season which closed on November 30 with a total crop of 163,000 bales. Too much rain caused fungus and insect damage, and the crops are fully 50,000 bales under the estimate.

British United Airways inaugurated on Monday the first direct air service between the U.K. and Las Palmas. Tickets are interchangeable with those of the Union-Castle Line. Flights have been timed to connect with the mail ships from England and from South Africa, which both reach Las Palmas on Mondays.

E. W. Tarry & Co., Ltd., engineers and merchants with large Rhodesian interests, who last year announced the policy of paying interim dividends, state that results of the six months' trading to September 24 were such as to make it prudent to defer that course. Though turnover is being maintained, trading profits are lower. The directors express confidence that profits will in due course be satisfactorily restored.

General Chemical Corporation, Ltd., of Southern Rhodesia, announces that net consolidated profit for the 16 months ended October 31 last exceeded £100,000 before tax, or approximately double the net profit for the year to June 30, 1959. Current assets exceed £700,000 and current liabilities are about £300,000, excluding tax provision and a proposed interim dividend of 6%. Trading results have been satisfactory in the last three months.



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Company Report**Falcon Mines**

THE FIFTY-FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF FALCON MINES, LIMITED, will be held on March 29 in Bulawayo.

The following is an extract from the statement of the chairman, MR. F. L. WIGLEY, circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended September 30, 1960:—

Your company's issued capital was increased during the year to £499,293 by the issue of 181,561 new shares, which were offered to members in February, 1960, at a price of 8s. per share in the ratio of one new share for every 10 held.

The net profit for the year was £154,776. An amount of £14,910 has been written off loans to an associated mining company and the appropriation for expenditure on fixed assets and mine stores was £29,617.

After providing for dividends Nos. 13 and 14, totalling 1s. per share (20%), which absorbed £95,319, there remained a balance unappropriated of £24,376, compared with £9,446 brought forward from last year.

At the Dalny Mine, ore from the Pixy section and from surface dumps, together with a small additional tonnage from the Dalny section, enabled the monthly milling rate to be raised gradually from 20,000 tons in June, 1960, to 22,500 tons in October, 1960, at which level it has since been maintained. As working costs and gold recovery per ton milled remain substantially unchanged, there has been a proportionate increase in the monthly profit earned.

The total development footage accomplished in the Dalny and Pixy sections was 14,273 feet, compared with 10,991 feet for the previous year, but the percentage payability of the Dalny section declined slightly owing to the existence of a barren area on the west side of this section as exposed by work on 12 level.

The exploration of the Dalny orebody at depth was continued by means of a main winze sunk from 13 level to 15 level. Higher than average values were encountered in the 15-level drive; both east and west of the winze. The west drive was advanced in good values for a distance of 400 feet but has now become unpayable. Driving continues and the current year's work will determine whether the impoverished zone encountered on 12 level extends to this horizon. The east drive entered the geological feature which demarcates the eastern boundary of payable mineralization sooner than expected.

On the Pixy section the shaft was sunk to its projected depth of 518 feet, and once a connexion had been made between 5 and 7 levels ore, from development and

stope preparation was sent via the Dalny 7 level cross-cut to the Rix shaft. With the completion of this phase, work is now being concentrated on lateral development of the Pixy orebody in order to determine the length of the payshoot. Until this has been done and stoping conditions have been tested the capacity of the Pixy section to supply ore to the mill cannot be fully assessed.

The ore reserve has been maintained at a satisfactory level, in which regard an increase in the width of the Dalny orebody and the tonnage contributed by the Pixy section have compensated for the somewhat lower payability of the Dalny section during the past year.

The estimated reserve at September 30, 1960, was 681,000 tons valued at 5.04 dwts. over a width of 111 inches. The steady rise in ore reserve value during recent years is encouraging and has permitted corresponding increases in the grade of ore sent to the mill.

The development of the Dalny section has now reached the stage where permanent arrangements must be made for handling ore below 13 level and for continued exploration at depth. Accordingly your board has accepted a recent recommendation of the company's consulting engineers that a sub-vertical shaft, collared on 13 level, be sunk to a depth of 1,100 feet at an estimated cost of £110,000.

This expenditure, which will be met from revenue funds, will be spread about equally over the next two financial years, and your directors are satisfied that under normal conditions dividend distributions can at least be maintained.

Good progress has been made with the exploration of the Arlandzer section, where two old incline shafts were dewatered and reclaimed and then carried to the 250 foot level. A third, vertical, shaft was also sunk from surface to the same horizon. The initial results obtained in the drives from these shafts are contained in the consulting engineers' report, and although values are marginal, they may be regarded as satisfactory at this stage. It is anticipated that the entire strike length of about 3,500 feet will have been traversed at the 250 foot level by April, 1961, and the further exploitation of this section will depend on the results obtained from this work.

The cost of the Arlandzer programme, which amounted to £36,886 at September 30, 1960, is being met from funds made available by the new issue of shares, and the expenditure for the year has been capitalized.

Bulawayo will be linked with Kariba power early in April, whereafter the city's thermal power station will run at reduced capacity.

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News Items in Brief

Bulking of a large new hotel has just started in Jinja, Uganda.

Russia is to open an embassy in Mogadishu, capital of the Somali Republic.

Homeward freight rates from East African ports were raised by about 5% recently.

On Tuesday and Wednesday the House of Lords debated Central African affairs. A report will appear next week.

Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi have been admitted as associate members of the World Health Organization.

Nairobi Club's 60th anniversary was celebrated last Friday by a dinner at which Sir Patrick Renison was the guest of honour.

Wankie Colliery sold 252,903 tons of coal in February, and 10,681 and 10,277 tons of coke in January and February respectively.

Uganda Legislative Council has approved a £14m. vote to meet the cost of adopting the recommendations of the Salaries Commission.

Twenty-three elephants died in one area of the Murchison Falls National Park, Uganda, in January from disease not yet diagnosed.

Twenty-five British police officers on short-term secondment to Nyasaland have replaced a contingent of 39 who have returned home.

A boy from the C.M.S. High School at Maseno is the first Kenya African to be successful in music in the School Certificate examination.

A scholarship at University College, Dublin, is offered by the Archbishop of Dublin to Tanganyika-born Africans of the Roman Catholic faith.

The East African Fisheries Research Organization reports that about three tons of fish annually are taken from every square mile of Lake Victoria.

A grant of £21,500 from the Rockefeller Foundation will aid research on sorghum grain by the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organization.

National and Grindlays Bank, Ltd., has declared a second interim dividend of 7% in lieu of a final distribution, making 134% for 1960, against 124% in the previous year.

A second Japanese Economic Mission, and possibly even a third, may visit East Africa, according to Mr. Fumihiko Kai, leader of the nine-member mission now visiting the territories.

Emperor Haile Selassie has appointed 25 Ethiopians under 30 years of age to junior posts in the administration. Only two of 27 appointments announced last week went to men over 30. Some of those chosen are only 23.

The writer of an article which was held to encourage Mau Mau, an unlawful society, has been sentenced in Uganda to four months' imprisonment. The editor of the paper in which it appeared was acquitted, but the publishers were fined £80.

International Computers and Tabulators, Ltd., a group with a Central African subsidiary, has announced that more than 99.4% of the 24m. ordinary shares of £1 each offered to ordinary shareholders at 45s. a share have been taken up.

Three African tennis players have just taken part in a multi-racial tournament in Harare, Salisbury. Among the other players were Mr. Adrian Bey, the Rhodesian champion, and two well-known Americans, Messrs. Donald Dell and Mike Franks.

Arbuthnot Latham and Co., Ltd., merchant bankers with large East African interests, report a group net profit for 1960 of £58,932 (£41,525), and a dividend of 9% or 1% more than forecast when the shares were marketed in August. Assets total almost 54m.

British American Tobacco Co., Ltd., which has large East and Central African interests, reports an expansion in the consolidated trading profit in the year to September 30 last of almost 66m. to £58.43m. The dividend is 2s. 2d. per 10s. ordinary share, tax free, an increase of 2d. per unit. Assets exceed £412m.

Most of the main recommendations of the Flemming Commission on Salaries have been accepted by the Uganda Government, which estimates the consequential net increase in expenditure at £793,000 for the current year and about £244m. for 1961-62. In the current year a budget deficit of about £1.3m. is expected.

Accelerated promotion for Africans over expatriate officials in the service of the Uganda Government is to be accompanied by a limited compensation scheme for those who are denied the advancement which they would normally receive. With a view to his becoming chairman later, an African is shortly to be appointed deputy chairman of the Public Service Commission.

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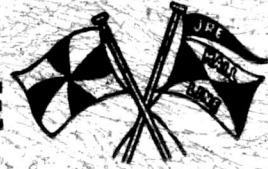
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