

# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

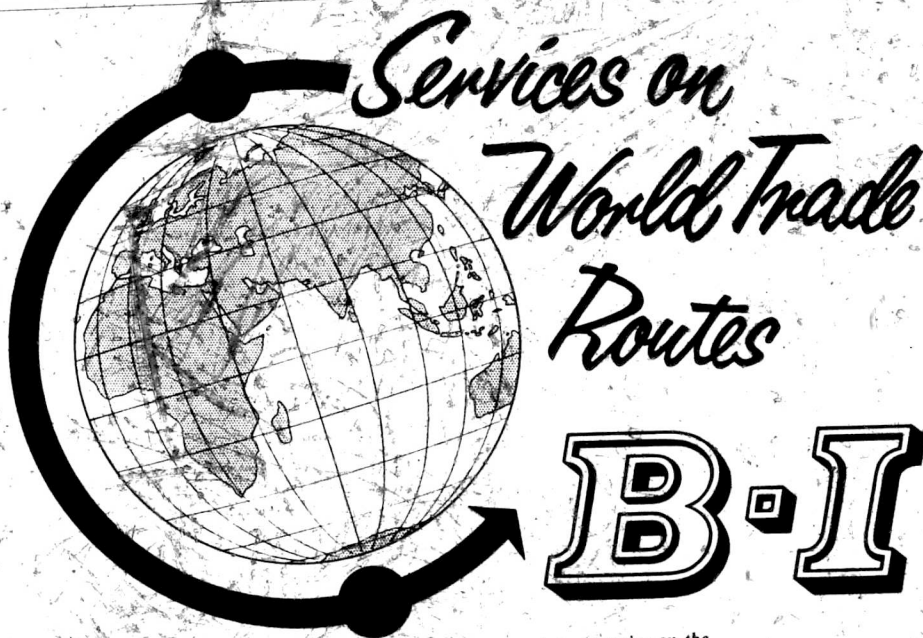
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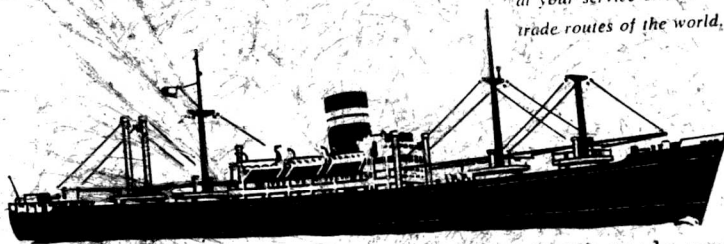
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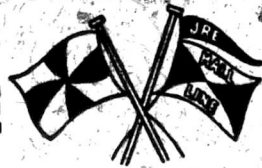
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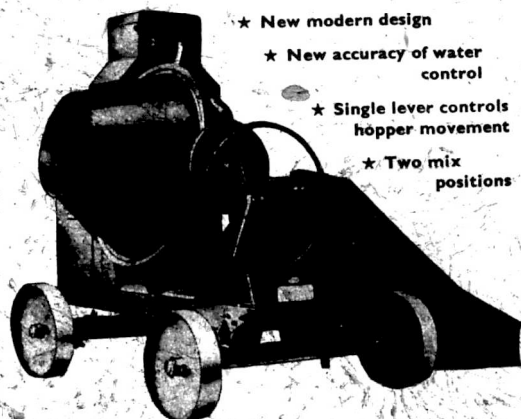
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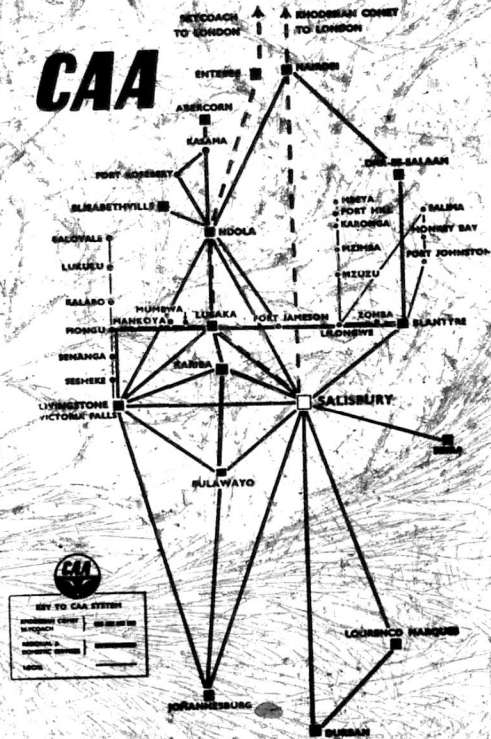
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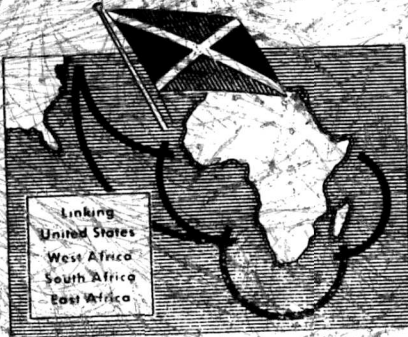
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**SOME TRUTHS INCONVENIENT** to politicians white and black must be plainly stated if the situation and prospects in Kenya are to be reasonably assessed. Because

### Misrepresentations About Kenya.

writers in the daily and weekly Press in the United Kingdom and other men concerned with public affairs are seemingly anxious to take things at their face value and avoid subjecting them to impartial examination, the country has no real understanding of the present and prospective dangers in Kenya. What else could be expected when newspapers have vied with one another in describing Mr. Macleod's latest surrender to clamour by a tiny minority of African extremists as a "triumph" and as "standing firm"? Misrepresentation of that kind is now almost a daily occurrence, and tendentious comment now regularly vitiates the news columns of several important pro-Government journals which not long ago adhered to the sound rule that editorial comment must be kept separate and distinct, and scorned the idea of influencing opinion by surreptitious means.

In those and other leading publications there is, moreover, now a striking unbalance between the space given to letters which suggest that all is well in colonial affairs and the

### Precedents of Munich Being Repeated.

treatment of correspondents, often men of exceptional experience and authority in their own field, who are highly critical of the Macmillan-Macleod policy towards East and Central Africa. In this respect the bad precedents of the Munich period of the 'thirties are being followed, with the consequence that the people are again completely misled. And, far from correcting the faults of the Press, the radio and television channels aggravate the misunderstand-

ings. In the Hitler-Mussolini epoch the immediate victims were the German and Italian masses and truth, freedom, and hope. In this Kenyatta-Odinga-Mboya era truth, freedom, and hope are similarly threatened, together with millions of simple, decent, and non-political Africans, who, given the opportunity of choosing fairly—that is to say, in secret—would unquestionably prefer the continuance of British rule to the infliction of a dictatorship by a small group of demagogues of their own race.

The notion that considerable extension of the electoral rolls has increased freedom in Kenya is nonsensical. What it has done is to make a small number of African professional

### One-Party Government.

politicians more determined than ever to seize power and, having once acquired control, to retain it at all costs. The struggle between parties and individuals is not for temporary advantage and a perhaps short term of office, as is common under the parliamentary systems of the West: it is for political victory which is intended to endure, if necessary by the suppression of the Opposition. Following the example set in Ghana by Nkrumah. It would be easy to name several rabble-rousers in Kenya from whom it would be foolish to hope for greater moderation. Tolerance is not a virtue prominent among African politicians impatiently questing for power. It is too frequently forgotten that the Tanganyika African National Union, then, as now, under the leadership of Mr. Julius Nyerere, made great use of intimidation until it was allowed to dominate the Legislative Council. Only then was discipline imposed. Mr. Nyerere, easily the best of the African leaders anywhere in East or Central Africa, has, however, made it very clear that his idea of parliamentary democracy is a one-party Government—a conception which

can easily become dictatorship if it has to face the strains of internal dissension or external assault. It is interesting, incidentally, that Mr. Macleod, who has asserted more emphatically than any other member of the present Cabinet that the Westminster model is the right article for export to British Africa, is the Minister who has most warmly praised recent developments in Tanganyika, whose Chief Minister (to become Prime Minister next Monday) rejects the fallacy

Commentators in the United Kingdom Press on the political scene in Kenya assume—so far as we can discover with only two exceptions, one being EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA—that the struggle is between two parties of normal pattern. That is a facade, not the fact. Neither K.A.D.U., the Kenya African Democratic Union, nor K.A.N.U., the Kenya African National Union, is a political organization in the Western sense. Both are primarily tribal associations, and they are at such fierce enmity because the inter-tribal suspicions and hatreds which are still among the facts of life in great areas of Africa are added to the personal antagonisms of the contenders for power, who are the stimulators of discontent rather than the expressors of widespread dissatisfaction. Extremists in K.A.N.U. eager for authority talk ceaselessly of the difficulty of restraining their followers, when it is they or their associates who create unrest by their exaggerations in propaganda and by methods of "persuasion" which in many parts of Africa have been seen to proceed through intimidation to all kinds of violence, with arson as a favourite and murder a distinct possibility. As is shown in great detail in the Corfield Report—a document which ought to be read, re-read, and frequently consulted by all who speak or write about Kenya—that was the way in which a few swashbucklers developed the Kikuyu Central Association and its successor, the Kenya African Union, the progenitor of Mau Mau.

K.A.N.U., the present form of the cabal, has very close similarities to the now proscribed K.A.U. Inserting the word "National" in the title has not changed the nature of the society. It remains the instrument of a

#### K.A.N.U. Leaders Talk of Turmoil.

the most extreme, violent, and ambitious Africans in the territories. Africans in Kenya now often speak of K.A.N.U. as "the Mau

Mau party"; and Africans are exceptionally shrewd in appraising men and movements. It was Mr. Odinga, then president of K.A.N.U., and still vice-president, who started the campaign for the release of Kenyatta, the Mau Mau organizer. Almost immediately, Mr. Mboya, general secretary of the union, began to outdo his leader in stridency; and soon Mr. Gichuru, now the president, set out to demonstrate that his opinions about Kenyatta had not been changed by years of detention during the Mau Mau rebellion. It is highly significant that leaders of K.A.N.U. now refer openly to the likelihood of turmoil. Mr. Mboya, angry that the opposing party may help to form a Government in Kenya, said in London last Friday that he did not think that in that event "our people will be patient for even six months", and two days later, when asked by journalists in Nairobi if he expected violence, he replied: "We must wait and see: we all realize the gravity of the situation". Such statements must seem to many extremists to be an incitement to outrage. In the first week of this month Mr. Gichuru was reported by a Nairobi newspaper as saying on the Kenyatta issue: "Tension is growing and we are powerless to stop it. What can a group of politicians do if the people rise? The majority of the eighty thousand men who have been released from detention have no work. Many were security risks in the past. It only needs someone to work them up and we could have a situation which no-one could control".

Such words represent a most powerful argument against the release of Kenyatta, but in the topsy-turvydom which is Kenya today they were uttered by an insistent advocate that the man

#### Topsy-Turvydom Is Kenya Today.

should be set free! Considering the folly of the authorities, it is not surprising that this kind of bluster should continue. Not long ago the Governor of the Colony broadcast a scaring description of Kenyatta, and the other day he asserted that he saw no reason to change a word of his denunciation. Because of his distrust of the man Sir Patrick Renison refused to allow any of the African politicians to visit Kenyatta in Lodwar. Within a few weeks, though the circumstances had not changed, representatives of both parties were sent at public expense to see him. Then he was brought from the Northern Frontier to Maralal, in which village the Government had built for him a better bungalow than some of those occupied by locally based European officials and their families. A few days later more than three



score journalists from many countries were flown to interview Kenyatta; and hard upon that folly came the news that at a still indefinite but not distant date he is to be provided, again at the cost of the taxpayers, with a new home in the Kiambu district. In the light of such contradictions between its words and deeds, how can anyone count on the Government of Kenya to act rationally in this matter?

African political leaders have repeatedly stated, without being contradicted by Mr. Macleod, that he had given them broad hints (if not something very close to firm promises) that he would soon

### The World Their Sounding-Board.

meet their agitation on Kenyatta's behalf, and there can be no doubt that they counted on his release when the general election had been held. Since then it has been implied in several speeches that Kenyatta would have been set at liberty ere this but for the resistance of the Governor, the Chief Secretary, and other senior officials in Kenya and warnings to the Prime Minister

that there would be a revolt in the Conservative Parliamentary Party if he sanctioned Kenyatta's liberation. Europeans in East Africa are convinced that the calamitous vacillations and mounting tension are due to Mr. Macleod, who could have checked this dangerous drift by a few firm words, making it clear that there would be no change in policy in the foreseeable future. A main reason for the perseverance of the African politicians in a bad cause has certainly been Mr. Macleod's failure to speak plainly. If they had understood that their tirades would achieve nothing, they would have switched to some other topic. Convinced, however, that the will of the Secretary of State was weakening, they have used the world as a sounding-board for their propaganda. Accra, Cairo, Tunis, Delhi, London, Washington, and New York have been platforms for fantastic misrepresentations, and among those whose support has been invoked by K.A.N.U. leaders in their attack have been President Kennedy, Nehru, and Nkrumah. Thus has the Kenyatta issue been hyperbolized—simply for want of firm principle in the highest quarters.

## Notes By The Way

### No Change Without Consent

THE PARAMOUNT CHIEF OF BAROTSELAND, Sir Mwanawina Lewanika, has had the great satisfaction of extracting from H.M. Government the kind of undertaking which was denied to Lord Malvern at the time of the creation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Whereas the Prime Minister designate of the Federation could obtain no more than a promise that the Federal Government would be consulted in regard to constitutional changes within the Federal area, it was officially announced last Saturday by the Colonial Office that undertakings have now been given that no constitutional change affecting Barotseland will be made "without consultation with, and the consent of, the Paramount Chief and Council". The assurance that no changes will be made without their "consent" is, of course, immensely important to the Litunga—as Sir Mwanawina is now to be styled—and his people.

### Traditionalists v. Politicians

WHAT WAS AT STAKE was whether the future of Barotseland should be conditioned by the traditions of its people or put in hazard to extremist African politicians who fear, resent, and therefore attack traditional authority. Export to Africa of the Westminster model of "parliamentary democracy" suits them splendidly, because it affords them the quickest way to wealth and power. Maintenance of tribal solidarity and tradition does not, however, suit them at all, for most of them are men of little or no account in their own communities and would have no prospect whatsoever of prospering among their own tribe by much talk and many manoeuvres. It so happens that some of the most prominent

political extremists in Northern Rhodesia hail from Barotseland, whose leaders, however, hold them in disdain and have no intention of being sacrificed to their propaganda and intimidation. The real point at issue between the Barotseland delegation and a Secretary of State whom the politicians regard as their spokesman within the British Cabinet has been settled in favour of the traditional ruler and his advisers; and this result will give widespread pleasure in the Federation. The Kabaka of Buganda will doubtless have heard the news with envy; for, largely as a result of his own unwisdom in recent years, there is no prospect of a similar solution of Buganda's basic problem, which is likewise that of conflict between the traditional leadership and the ambitions of emergent Baganda politicians.

### Africa Bureau

IN THE NINE YEARS since it was established the Africa Bureau has organized many Press conferences and other meetings for African political extremists visiting London. Yet its membership is still only around the 1,000 mark. Owing to the withdrawal by a United States foundation of a grant which has varied from about £1,000 a year to double that sum, the bureau is now in financial difficulties, which will, it is expected, be removed by a midnight variety performance at a London theatre on June 2. Some well-known actors and actresses have offered their services, and promises of support have been received from a number of politicians of all three parties. The Rev. Michael Scott had said that the bureau would have to close if £4,000 could not be raised quickly. The variety show is to be called "S.O.S. Africa".

# Corfield Findings on the Mau Mau Oaths

## Terrible Rituals Designed to Degrade Kenyatta's Followers

THE WORDS "MAU MAU" were first heard of in March, 1948, but did not come into current use until early 1950. By that time it is possible that many thousands had taken the oath, and probable that most were willing recipients.

An important meeting of the higher hierarchy of Mau Mau, including Jomo Kenyatta and his associates, took place early in 1950. Subsequent to this meeting all district commissioners reported an increase in oath-taking, in which intimidation was a common feature. This brought Mau Mau out into the open, and, following complaints in April by unwilling recipients, two sets of oath administrators were prosecuted and convicted, one at Kiambu and the other at Naivasha. The latter case led to the proscription of Mau Mau as an unlawful society.

The oath-taking ceremonies which had for some time been reported as taking place secretly in the settled areas in the Rift Valley Province, and particularly in the Naivasha area, were exposed when 39 Africans were arrested on May 12 in connexion with an oath-taking ceremony held on Colonel R. Hurt's farm during the night of March 17.

On the night of April 22 a Kikuyu, Njehia s/o Kinuthia, arrived at the farmhouse of Mr. S. V. Aitchison (a Kenya Police Reserve officer), which was next door to that of Colonel Hurt, covered in blood. It transpired that Njehia had been forcibly oathed the month previously but had been too frightened to report it to anyone, and had just been assaulted because he had refused to become an active member of Mau Mau and because his son had reported another oath-taking ceremony to a European.

Mr. Aitchison then recalled that Kinuthia, Njehia's son, had complained to him some 10 days previously of an assault but he had not fully understood the circumstances. He then investigated the case more thoroughly and reported to the police, with the result that 17 Kikuyu, one Maasai, and one Kisii were charged jointly with administering an unlawful oath, purporting to bind Njehia s/o Kinuthia to be of the Mau Mau association. On a second count eight of the accused were charged jointly with administering an unlawful oath to Kinuthia s/o Njehia.

### As in Livingstone's Days

On June 28 the acting resident magistrate in Nakuru found all 19 accused guilty and sentenced them to varying terms of imprisonment, the maximum being five years with hard labour. Four of the accused, who were women, were each sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

In his judgment the magistrate recorded: "The evidence is such that there can be no doubt all the accused who did not actually administer the oaths did consent to these acts. There can be no doubt that the 19 accused, some of whom are partially educated, have reverted to, or still are, in no better mental or moral state than the African in the days of Livingstone. The decent African in this country is entitled to the fullest protection of the law against such barbarous physical and mental compulsion as has been disclosed in this case. This case has disclosed the existence of an evil and subversive association, and this will be reported to the proper authority".

This trial led to proscription of Mau Mau, but it also had a most unfortunate sequence. At the instigation of his employer, who doubted his complicity, Mabrougi s/o Kadagoya, a Maasai, one of those convicted, appealed on the following grounds: (a) generally that he was not present, and (b) that there was no evidence to support the charge that he administered the oath.

Now section 62 (1) of the Penal Code reads as follows: "Any person who (1) administers or is present at and consents to the administering of any oath or engagement in the nature of an oath, purporting to bind the person who takes it in any of the following ways . . . is guilty of a felony".

The Court of Appeal, in its judgment No. 315/50, held that

*\* In view of the present endeavours to whitewash Kenyatta, we quote these extracts from Mr. F. D. Corfield's report to the Government of Kenya on the origins and development of Mau Mau (Cmd. 1,630).*

there was sufficient evidence to substantiate the charge of being present, but that "where we think the magistrate did go wrong in his judgment in this case is that he failed to appreciate the exact nature of the charge". Although the section of the Penal Code under which the accused was charged was all-inclusive and covered either the active administration of an unlawful oath or the willing presence of the accused at that administration, the actual charge sheet before the court contained only the words "unlawfully administered".

As the only evidence before the court related to his willing presence at the ceremony, and not to his active participation in the ceremony, the appeal succeeded. Had the charge been properly framed to include the alternative or is present at, it would have been possible for the magistrate to have convicted the accused either of the offence of administration of an oath, or of being present at the administration.

On these grounds the Court of Appeal had no option in law but to quash the finding and sentence on the accused, and on the eight other accused who were similarly placed. All were released. The Member for Law and Order did consider a retrial of these nine, but no further action was taken.

This trial, with its subsequent appeal, was recognized by all, both in the reserves and the settled areas, as the first major test of strength between Mau Mau and the forces of law and order, and the news of these releases spread far and wide, giving a great fillip to the supporters of Mau Mau and causing consternation among pro-Government Africans, who, not being conversant with the intricacies of the law, could only assume that the powers of the Government to take effective action against Mau Mau were seriously curtailed.

### Resentment in Settler Circles

Disquiet was also felt over a large area by European farmers, who for some months had been seriously concerned with the increasing lawlessness artificially encouraged by this oath-taking campaign which the authorities had been unable to halt, and as the judgment of both the magistrate and the Court of Appeal indicated with no shadow of doubt that the accused was guilty of a felony covered by section 62 (1) of the Penal Code, there was added to this consternation a bitter resentment at the way in which this appeal had been launched, on what was in fact a clerical error on the part of the prosecution.

This disquiet and consternation was evinced in a letter dated November 30 addressed by the Naivasha Settlers' Association to the Chief Secretary, which recounted many instances of the increasingly subversive influence on Mau Mau on farm labour. Among them were attempts to ruin a farm by packing it with Mau Mau labour—this was achieved by either intimidating the headman, or introducing a competent "wrecker" as headman; the black-listing of farmers who gave information on Mau Mau; the general intimidation of loyal labour by means of cursing and physical violence: the placing of road blocks or stones on lonely roads at night; and attempts against the chief Crown witnesses in the Mau Mau cases by poison or otherwise.

Oath-taking continued apace until May, 1952, when a more sinister development in the oath itself came to the notice of the administration and police. In this, the second oath, the person to whom it was administered had to promise:—

- (a) If I am sent to bring in the head of an enemy or European, and I fail to do so, may this oath kill me.
- (b) If I fail to steal anything from a European, may this oath kill me.
- (c) If I know of any enemy to our organization, and fail to report it to my leader, may this oath kill me.
- (d) If I am ever sent by my leader to do something big for the House of Kikuyu, and I refuse, may this oath kill me.
- (e) If I refuse to help in driving the Europeans from this country, may this oath kill me.
- (f) If I worship any leader but Jomo Kenyatta, may this oath kill me.

### Thousands Murdered

A reign of terror, shortly to be backed by assassination, had already got a hold in the Kikuyu reserves and in other Kikuyu-dominated areas, and if any refused to take the oath they were quickly threatened and subjected to physical violence. If they still refused, they were killed in the presence of others attending the ceremony, thereby ensuring that the others fully realized that the threats were not empty words. Many did however refuse. It will never be known how many thousands of "missing" Kikuyu have been murdered in this way.

In the early days the ritual was primitive but not bestial, its symbolism alone being sufficiently powerful to bind initiates to the terms of the oath; but with the introduction of the killing oath, bestial practices and numerous embellishments of obscenity played an increasingly important part in the ritual. Although this was not fully realized at the time, nor was the devastating effect of these oath ceremonies fully appreciated by most Europeans, many Kikuyu had realized what was at stake.

In August 1952 the son of a Meru chief was captured by a Mau Mau gang in Nairobi and after eight days of resistance he finally succumbed to torture and near death he took the oath. He then managed to flee to his country and told the district commissioner of his sufferings. They were at first scarcely believed, but were later fully substantiated. During the course of the final ceremony he was forced to suck the dismembered penis of some other unfortunate victim of Mau Mau.

A Kikuyu prisoner submitted to the Commissioner of Police on August 9, 1952, that Mau Mau terrorism has almost completely shattered the average African's spiritual equilibrium to such an unbelievable extent that a new extremism, a new barbarism, and, as such, a new type of African fanatic are automatically being created.

With the onset of active terrorism, two new versions of the oath were devised to meet the needs of the campaign, although there were of course many variations. The first, called the *githaka* or forest oath, was administered by forest gang leaders to their followers. The second, which was introduced towards the end of 1953, the *batuni* or platoon oath, was administered to all Mau Mau soldiers and soldier recruits. By taking the *batuni* oath the man became a full-blooded terrorist.

The following are some of the common features of the *batuni* oath:

- (a) To burn European crops and kill European-owned cattle.
- (b) To steal firearms.
- (c) If ordered to kill, no matter who is to be the victim, even one's father or brother.
- (d) When killing, to cut off heads, extract the eyeballs, and drink the liquid from them.
- (e) Particularly to kill Europeans.

As the terms of the Mau Mau oath became increasingly more violent and bloodthirsty, it was not surprising that there was a corresponding increase in bestiality in the ritual of the oath, thus forcing the initiate to reach the necessary pitch of blood lust and degradation to make it possible for him to pronounce the ghastly words of the oath itself. These ceremonies were repeated at intervals to spur the recipients on to greater excesses.

### Mau Mau Atrocities

It is not possible to give any detailed description of these terrible ceremonies. Suffice to record that the use of menstrual blood and public intercourse with sheep and adolescent girls were a common feature of most of these ceremonies. The necessary number of young women were kept with the gangs for this specific purpose. Concoctions of the foulest and almost unimaginable ingredients were eaten and drunk. The effect of these orgiastic ceremonies, which took place in deep forest clearings by the flickering light of bonfires, on those present must have been overwhelming.

That these terrible rituals and oaths drove the participants to honour their vows is only too apparent from the lurid list of atrocities committed by Mau Mau. Such atrocities included:

- (a) The Lari massacre, in which some 100 defenceless men, women and children were slaughtered.
- (b) Decapitation and general mutilation of victims.
- (c) Bodies bound up in sacks and dropped into wells.
- (d) Torture before murder.
- (e) Exhumation of bodies and eating the putrefied flesh.
- (f) Drinking of human blood (ex-Chief Luka's child was cut in half, its blood drunk, and the two halves of the body were flung at the mother, who was then killed).
- (g) Death by hanging.
- (h) Pregnant women split open along the stomach.
- (i) Victims held down while their heads were slowly sawn off with bush-knives.
- (j) Maiming of cattle by hamstringing.
- (k) Cutting off the ears of persons who had not taken the oath so as to identify them in the future as Government servants.

Later, when forest gangs were on the run, their morale, if it can be called by such a name, was maintained by the introduction of cannibalism into the *batuni* oath.

The following is an extract from a confession made by a prominent Mau Mau "general":

"General Nderitu says that when a gang has had an action and when security forces are not close on their heels, they will take away a dead body. Then at their leisure in the forest they cut open the head and remove the brains, and the brains

are then dried in the sun and ground up and bottled. The heart is cut out and dried. Blood is drained from the body and dried in the sun and then ground up and mixed with the brains. Steaks are cut from the dead man's buttocks and dried in the sun: then folded up for easy carrying.

"In each *batuni*, or company, there is a particular man who acts as the butcher. This human flesh is usually taken from an enemy, but if one of the gang has done something to merit death he is killed in the camp and cut up for oathing. In each *batuni* there is an executioner who performs the killings when disciplinary measures are necessary. A spear, *simi*, or strangling rope is used.

"Dedan Kimathi has given orders that all oath administrators are to think up the vilest methods of giving the *batuni* oaths. When an administrator has thought out and performed a particularly revolting method he is to pass his methods on to his brother administrators. In this way the varied oaths are produced.

"General Nderitu says that there are seven oaths only, but having reached No. 7 you return again to No. 1, but it will be administered in a different way. Kikuyu women in the reserves and settled areas take two oaths. Those in the forest take up to seven oaths."

Although there were endless variations to the oathing ceremonies, these ceremonies were divided into two main groups: the first oath, intended for the general populace; and the fourth oath, intended for the Mau Mau fighting forces.

### Shocking by Any Standards

The first oath, although latterly more violent in its implications, was relatively mild and lacking in bestiality, and it would appear that the intention of this oath was, by using the age-old Kikuyu magic symbols, to inspire nationalistic aspirations in the people, and by its terms to enforce absolute obedience of the Kikuyu to the wishes of Kenyatta and his associates. Its deliberate cleavage from the ancient cultural modes—forcible administration, administration by night, and administration to women—was no doubt intended to emphasize this new state of complete subservience, and, as Dr. Carothers remarks, "the institution of this oath provides the chief evidence of profound sophistication in the inaugurators of oaths."

The fourth or *batuni* oath, was a shocking oath by any standards. By the breaking of every tribal taboo in the actual ceremony, and by its insistence on the need to kill near relations, it ostracized its subjects from all tribal roots and from all hope, outside Mau Mau, in this world or the next.

The result was that the people of Kenya were faced with a terrorist organization composed not of ordinary humans fighting for a cause, but of primitive beasts who had been made to forsake all moral codes in order to achieve the subjugation of the Kikuyu tribe and the ultimate massacre of the European population. Only those who have had to deal personally with the human results of this oath can realize fully the terrible effect it had on their minds.

In October, 1954, I visited the Athi River Detention Camp, where personnel imbued with the tenets of Moral Re-Armament had, with so little success, endeavoured to rehabilitate the original "Jock Scott" detainees. It was a most disturbing experience. A disease of the mind was so self-apparent and the sense of hatred in their eyes could almost be felt; and it was not the fierce look of the caged leopard, which at least has the sparkle of life in it.

### Instituted by Kenyatta

The only reasonable conclusion to be drawn is that the general pattern must have been planned by a man knowing the psychology of his people, and Dr. Carothers has suggested that the fusion of black magic into the later pattern of the oathing ceremonies indicated at least a passing acquaintance with the practices of black magic current in the Middle Ages, a practice which made use of religious observances, but made a mockery of them. All this indicates that Kenyatta arrived back from England in 1946 with the outlines of a plan to enslave the Kikuyu and subjugate them to his will.

How far the leaders of Mau Mau who were detained at the beginning of the emergency were associated with the fouler and more bestial oaths which appeared during the emergency will probably not be known. They were obviously not connected with many of the foul variations, but it is hard to escape the conclusion that the general pattern of these ceremonies with its deliberate assaults on the old tribal taboos was in being before the emergency. The positive killing oath, which bound its adherents to kill all and sundry, emerged from their tribal affinities, and can only have been instituted by Jomo Kenyatta, their known and accepted leader.

# PERSONALIA

MRS. ARTHUR FAWCUS is back in England from her visit to Kenya.

SIR GEORGE and LADY PATERSON have arrived in London from Lusaka.

LORD COLERAIN is to join the board of the Prudential Assurance Co., Ltd.

MR. J. I. FURNISS, Director of Civil Aviation in East Africa, is home on leave.

GENERAL SIR BERNARD PAGET left £15,250, on which duty of £1,452 has been paid.

MR. DONALD C. BROOK is back in London from his visits to Nyasaland and Kenya.

THE MOST REV. L. J. BEECHER, Archbishop of East Africa, is on a six-weeks' visit to Britain.

MR. HAROLD SORF left London last week for an extensive tour of the Federation and South Africa.

THE OMWAMI OF RUANDA, KIGERI V, has paid a private visit to Buganda as the guest of the KABAKA.

MR. JUSTICE FRANCIS ARTHUR BRIGGS has been appointed Deputy Chief Justice of the Federation.

SIR ROY WELENSKY will today open the new cigarette factory in Salisbury of Rothmans (Rhodesia), Ltd.

SIR CHARLES and THE HON. LADY PONSONBY have returned from their visits to South, Central, and East Africa.

MR. S. L. E. HASTINGS, Conservative M.P. for Mid-Bedfordshire, has joined the board of Lomount Holdings, Ltd.

FIELD-MARSHAL LORD SLIM has succeeded SIR CHARLES HAMBRO as chairman of the council of the Fairbridge Society.

DOM WILLIBROD VANDYK, Abbot of Tilburg, Holland, recently dedicated a new Trappist monastery at Lumbwa Kenya.

SIR CHARLES HEPBURN JOHNSTON, Governor of Aden, is due in London in a few days for discussions at the Colonial Office.

MR. J. WATSON, Director of Public Works in Uganda, and MRS. WATSON are homeward-bound in the WARWICK CASTLE.

MR. H. E. I. PHILLIPS, Financial Secretary in Nyasaland, is about to return to Zomba after long leave in the United Kingdom.

LORD HOME is to accompany THE QUEEN and THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH on their State visit to Rome in the first week of May.

MR. J. K. DICK, a director of the Mitchell Cotts group of companies, has resigned from the board of British Xylonite Co., Ltd.

LADY ALBEMARLE's re-appointment as a Development Commissioner and as chairman of the Commission has been approved by THE QUEEN.

MR. B. H. KAPADIA, of Indo-African Exports, Ltd., has been appointed chairman of the Grey Cloth Merchants' Importers Association.

MR. JULIUS NYERERE, Chief Minister in Tanganyika, spent a few days in Nigeria and Ghana last week and in the first part of this week.

MISS MARGERIE PERHAM is to give the Reith Lectures this year in the Home Service of the B.B.C., taking as her title "The Colonial Reckoning".

SIR JOHN CLAYDEN, Federal Chief Justice, is Acting Governor-General of the Federation during the absence in Great Britain of LORD DALHOUSIE.

MR. and MRS. C. L. P. HEATH are outward-bound for Dar es Salaam in the BRAEMAR CASTLE, and MR. and MRS. I. R. McINNES are passengers for Mombasa.

SIR WALTER COUTTS, Chief Secretary of Kenya, was advised last week to spend a few days in a nursing home for rest. He is expected to resume his duties this week.

Company directors who have recently arrived in this country from Rhodesia include MR. C. J. HETHERINGTON, MR. F. MAY, and MR. O. SPEIGHT, all from Salisbury.

PRINCESS ALICE, COUNTESS OF ATHLONE, a former president of the Royal African Society, is to be admitted an honorary freeman of the Royal Borough of Kensington.

The name of MR. R. E. WILLIAMS should have been included in the list of the committee of the Rhodesian and Nyasaland Club. It was omitted by a printer's error which we regret.

MR. JAMES WARD, lately Secretary for Economic Affairs, is now chairman of the Federal Power Board. Born in Kent in 1907, he has been in Southern Rhodesia since 1911.

LORD COBBOLD has been elected an honorary fellow of the Institute of Bankers. Since the institute was founded in 1879 there have been only nine other recipients of this honour.

MR. GEORGE KAHAMA, Minister for Home Affairs in Tanganyika, represents that Territory at the independence celebrations in Sierra Leone, which will last from April 24 to 30.

THE RT. REV. DR. FRANK THORNE, who recently resigned the Anglican Bishopric of Nyasaland, has left for a three-months' holiday in South Africa before going to Zanzibar to live.

MR. JOHN FOOT, Federal Parliamentary Secretary for Information, recently met 40 chiefs and councillors from the Southern Province of Nyasaland in Blantyre to answer questions about the Federation.

LORD FARINGTON, who has been keenly interested in African affairs for many years, and who was defeated in the recent Woolwich West election for the London County Council, has been appointed an alderman.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, gave a luncheon party last week for the new High Commissioner in London for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and Mrs. ROBINSON.

MRS. MARGARET BALLINGER, who represented Africans in the South African Parliament from 1937 until last year, when such representation was abolished, has been awarded the Royal African Society's bronze medal "for dedicated service to Africa".

In Nairobi last week MR. JULIAN CROSSLEY, chairman of Barclays Bank D.C.O., inaugurated a branch of the Institute of Bankers. There is only one other branch outside Great Britain. MR. E. V. WHITCOMBE is chairman of the executive committee in Kenya.

MR. ROLAND A. SNOXALL has accepted an appointment as lecturer in Swahili and Luganda at the University College of Los Angeles, California University, for the academic year from September next to June, 1962. He will initiate the study of these languages in the university.

MR. A. E. P. ROBINSON, High Commissioner in London for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, will address the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies at a joint lunch-time meeting on May 4 on "The Year of Decision in the Federation". LORD ROBINS will take the chair.

MISS SIRJE MAAR, who started her medical studies in 1958, is to interrupt her course to take up a Federal Government scholarship at St. Mary's Hospital, London, with a view to taking an honours B.Sc. in physiology. She is a daughter of DR. MAAR, sometime Director of Fisheries.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, who sold his farm in Rhodesia some time ago, arrived in England at the beginning of this week to reside here indefinitely after some five years overseas. He has bought a Georgian manor at Shockerwick, Somerset.

MR. J. F. PERKINS, vice-chairman of the Pyrethrum Board of Kenya, is on a business visit to this country. Later he will fly to Rome, where he will be joined by MR. NORMAN HARDY, executive officer of the Pyrethrum Board. Both will go on to the United States.

The Royal African Society's Wellcome medal "for distinguished service to Africa" has been awarded to SIR JAMES ROBERTSON, lately Governor-General of Nigeria, and previously Civil Secretary in the Sudan. He is a director of the Uganda Company, Ltd.

MR. ROGER CLARKE, who recently became chairman of the Imperial Tobacco group of companies, has chosen Rhodesia and Nyasaland for his first overseas visit since taking up his new appointment. MR. and MRS. CLARKE left for Salisbury a few days ago.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, is to visit Ghana after leading the United Kingdom Government delegation to today's independence celebrations in Sierra Leone. He left London for Freetown on Monday, is due in Accra on Saturday, and should be back in London next Tuesday.

SIR SAVILLE GARNER is to become Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Commonwealth Relations Office when SIR ALEXANDER CLUTTERBUCK retires at the end of the year. Sir Saville, now High Commissioner in Canada, was Deputy Under-Secretary of State for the C.R.O. under SIR PERCIVALE LIESCHING and SIR GILBERT LAITHWAITE.

MR. A. Y. A. KARIMJEE, Speaker of the Tanganyika Legislative Council, and MR. W. D. FRASER MURRAY, an advocate in Dar es Salaam, have accepted invitations from the Governments of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda to serve as chairman and vice-chairman respectively of the provisional council of the new University College, Dar es Salaam.

QUEEN ELIZABETH THE QUEEN MOTHER has become patron of the Scottish National Memorial to David Livingstone in Blantyre. Her Majesty when Duchess of York opened the explorer's birthplace as a national memorial on October 5, 1929, and since then has continued to show a personal interest in what the late Dr. John Mott called "the finest shrine in the world".

## Obituary

LADY WOODLEY, wife of SIR RICHARD WOODLEY, of Nairobi, has died in Southport.

MRS. L. J. POWER, who has died in Southern Rhodesia at the age of 87, had lived in the Colony for 64 years.

MR. JOHN BURNETT GARDNER, who has died in South Africa, had played Rugby football for Southern Rhodesia.

DR. JULIAN TAYLOR, Professor of Surgery in Khartoum University since 1956, has died at the age of 72 while on leave in Great Britain. He was a past vice-president of the Royal College of Surgeons.

MR. WILLIAM LESLIE BAGSHAW, who has died at the age of 53, was secretary of the Union-Castle Steamship Co., Ltd., from 1953 until he retired owing to ill health last October. He had joined the company in 1924. During the last war he served in the R.A.F.

CAPTAIN HAMILTON YUPELL, aged 58, a former pilot to members of the royal family, was killed last week in a helicopter crash 175 miles north-west of Addis Ababa. His two passengers, American soil conservation experts advising the Ethiopian Government, were also killed. Captain Yupell, of Datchet, Buckinghamshire, had served as a captain with Imperial Airways, B.O.A.C. and R.A.F. Transport Command. He was decorated by Holland for helicopter rescue work during the Dutch floods of 1953.

## Mr. J. W. Deegan Retires

MR. J. W. DEEGAN, Deputy Inspector-General of Colonial Police since 1956, has just retired after 39 years of military and police service in the colonial field, all but five of them overseas.

In 1922 he was seconded from the Royal Dublin Fusiliers to the 2nd Bn. The King's African Rifles and was posted to Tabora, Tanganyika. Three years later he joined the Colonial Police Service in that Territory, from which he was transferred to Uganda in 1938. He became Deputy Commissioner in Uganda in 1947 and Commissioner of Police three years later. While in command he had to deal with various disturbances and political crises, including the deposition and deportation of the Kabaka in 1953. In the following year he was awarded the C.V.O. on the occasion of the visit of The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh, and two years later was made C.M.G.

On behalf of the Colonial Office he has in the last few years paid visits of inspection to East and West Africa, the West Indies, and the Pacific.

## Kenya's New Director of Agriculture

MR. A. R. MELVILLE has been appointed Director of Agriculture in Kenya, in which he has served since 1936. Born in 1912, he was educated at George Heriot's School, Edinburgh, and Edinburgh University where he took a B.Sc. in Agriculture, with honours in zoology. He did post-graduate work at the Royal College of Science, London, the Imperial Parasite Laboratory in Buckinghamshire, and the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad.

Going to Kenya as an entomologist, he worked on the insect pests of coffee, especially on the biological control of the common coffee mealybug, which he attacked with parasites discovered in Uganda and brought to the coffee growing areas of Kenya. It has been officially stated that the work was worth at least £10m. to the coffee industry.

During part of the last war Mr. Melville worked on malaria control for East Africa Command, from which he was released to undertake urgent work on the control of thrips when it seriously threatened the coffee industry. In 1947 he became senior entomologist (coffee) and officer in charge of the Colony's coffee services, and in that capacity developed the Coffee Research Station at Ruiru. He was promoted senior research officer in 1953 and chief research officer three years later.

Mr. Melville represented Kenya at last year's conference in London of the Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux.

## Tanganyika's Self-Government

ON MONDAY NEXT, May 22, Tanganyika will become self-governing in internal affairs, and about six weeks later there will be a conference in London to consider the future relationship of the Territory with the East Africa High Commission and to decide on other outstanding matters requiring settlement before complete independence is attained on December 28. A White Paper dealing with the recent constitutional conference in Dar es Salaam is expected to be published simultaneously there and in London during May.

## Orders in Council

THREE ORDERS IN COUNCIL laid before Parliament last Thursday give effect to the agreement reached at the recent Tanganyika Constitutional Conference in Dar es Salaam that full internal self-government should be introduced on May 1. The Governor, Deputy Governor, and the two official Ministers will cease to be members of the Council of Ministers, which will be re-named the Cabinet. The title of Chief Minister will be changed to Prime Minister and the Legislative Council will be re-named the National Assembly. Responsibility for defence and the conduct of external affairs will remain with the Governor.

# Struggle for the Minds and Hearts of Africans

Sir John Slessor on Means of Countering International Communism\*

THE REALLY VITAL ISSUE in the second half of the 20th century is the struggle for the minds and hearts of the still largely illiterate and inarticulate hundreds of millions in the uncommitted, emergent countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

The Moscow statement by the 81 world Communist parties after their conference last December was an astonishingly frank declaration of implacable hostility to the West and all that we stand for. It serves plain notice that they intend to destroy us and create a Communist world dominated by Moscow in the foreseeable future — by any and every means short of hot war.

It speaks of "peaceful co-existence"; and Krushchev in an important speech in January — when he was assuring Mr. Kennedy of his wish to improve relations between the U.S. and Russia — defined peaceful co-existence as "a form of intense, political, economic, and ideological struggle between the proletariat and the aggressive forces of imperialism" — *alias* everyone other than Communists.

The Moscow declaration makes a special point of what it describes as "the breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement". It is the sacred duty of Communism to support "wars of national liberation" — in other words, revolution in emergent and still dependent territories. "The complete collapse of colonialism is imminent"; it proclaims. Peaceful co-existence is to include "a determined struggle against imperialism and the remnants of feudalism" in Africa, Asia, and South America.

All this emanating from the capital of a country with the most cruelly oppressive colonial record in history.

You all know the technique of Communist revolution, the tactics of the termite: infiltration, subversion, corruption; the big lie endlessly repeated: vitrolig radio propaganda poured into the ears of illiterate millions in mud villages; exploitation of poverty, fanaticism, and immature nationalism; whipping up excitable mobs and gangs of silly students; supplying arms to anyone who can be relied upon to use them irresponsibly.

## Fishing in Every Troubled Water

The Communists fish in every troubled water — working tirelessly to exploit our difficulties where they exist and creating them where they do not. The Congo and Laos are the latest examples of the Communist idea of "peaceful co-existence" in Africa and Asia.

The Communists are devoting enormous resources to attracting increasing numbers of young people from the emergent countries for training in Soviet and satellite schools and colleges, where Communist indoctrination and hatred of the West are as much a part of the curriculum as technical or professional education.

Against that background, if somebody said: "You can have a great group of free nations, imbued with British ideas, world-wide, bridging the gulf between races, colours, creeds, even to some extent ideologists", wouldn't you jump at it? Well, you've got it in the Commonwealth, which in this respect is one of the great hopes for a troubled world, and which works much more effectively than appears on the surface.

From the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference there emerged for the first time a Commonwealth line of policy about such crucially important matters as the Congo, disarmament, and Laos. Is it too much to hope that this may be the beginning of an era in which the Commonwealth, by its own peculiar method of private, voluntary co-ordination of independent national policies, will exercise a much greater influence in world affairs than it has in the past or than any individual member could in future?

Again, against the background of the Moscow declaration,

most one not sadly admit that the secession of South Africa was inevitable? It is not a question of whether it was a good thing, but whether, in the lurid light of the battle for co-existence in Africa and Asia, it would not have been worse from the point of view of Commonwealth influence in the struggle against world Communism to have agreed on some meaningless face-saving compromise.

To me, who knew Smuts, and whose memories go back to the South African troops at Delville Wood in 1916 and the 27 stout South African squadrons under my command in Italy in 1944, it is a sickening blow to see South Africa go. But these bigoted Nationalists will not be in power for ever, and I believe that one day South Africa will rejoin us. Meanwhile, with all due respect to those two great men, Mr. Menzies and Sir Roy Welensky, it really is not good enough — in the context of the Moscow declaration — to say that *apartheid* as now practised is a purely internal domestic affair of South Africa's.

One may be sure that the Kremlin has a hopeful eye on the Federation. The situation there now is one that calls for restraint and discretion on the part of all of us who have no responsibility — certainly not for fantastic accusations against British Ministers of sharp practice.

## Courageous Statesmanship Needed

The vital need in Commonwealth Africa is for courageous statesmanship that combines wide vision with resolution — that goes forward fast enough, but has the strength to resist those who would have us go either too fast or too slow. If now we have to move faster than some think wise, that is due at least in part to our having hardly moved forward at all until too recently.

The factor of cold war against Communism cannot be the decisive one in Commonwealth Africa policy, but it must always be born in mind and weighed very carefully with all the other considerations that must contribute to the immensely difficult decisions that lie before us.

What makes the Commonwealth tick is the system of continued consultation between Governments and the vast network of more than 70 common institutions dealing all round the clock with every mortal subject of common interest, from dairy cows to locusts. I shall not enlarge on the complex subject of economic aid, of grants and loans and private capital investment, except to say that the Commonwealth can take pride in the Colombo plan, an excellent working prototype of how it should be done.

I have time today to deal with only one aspect of Commonwealth co-operation, and a crucially and urgently important one — that of technical and professional education for the young people of the emergent countries, particularly of Commonwealth Africa. It can make a direct and invaluable contribution to the winning of this battle for the minds of men; but it should be done even if Communism did not exist. To raise the efficiency, productivity, and standard of living in the developing countries is a matter not only of common humanity but of enlightened self-interest.

First, there are the people who come for training on the officer level in civilian life — as administrators, professional men, lawyers, doctors, nurses, vets, teachers, scientists, technologists, farmers, and so on. We must not be complacent, but we are not doing too badly in this line — far better than beyond the Iron Curtain. And the West has the enormous advantage of the English languages, and an immensely valuable part in that so many of the leaders in government and the professions in the developing countries have a background of education in Britain, the United States, and France.

There are today in this little island alone some 50,000 graduate and post-graduate students and trainees from overseas, the great majority from the developing countries. Two-thirds of them are from the Commonwealth; the great majority of other than British stock: about 6,000 from Nigeria, 3,500 from India, 2,300 from Malaya, and 2,000 from the West Indies. In Britain there are about five times as many in our universities, technical colleges, law and medical schools, etc., as there are in the United States or Europe; and there are large numbers in other Commonwealth countries, like Australia. Great numbers of Africans and Asians are training in other free countries like U.S.A., France, and Western Germany.

While all this is immensely important, it contains within it a danger which, if we do not make a conscious effort to avert it, may undo a great deal of good.

One of Communism's best allies is the colour bar. These young people return at the end of their training either as ambassadors of good will and Commonwealth unity or with a chip on their shoulder, a dangerous inferiority complex, and a bitter resentment against anyone with a white skin — open

\*Being points from an address to the English-Speaking Union.

dent on how they have been treated while they are here. All too often they are treated rudely and unkindly in this country, simply on account of the colour of their skin. That plays straight into the hands of Communism.

I urge you to use every influence, direct or indirect, to jump on this sort of thing wherever you find it, and to make a conscious effort to ensure that these young coloured people are treated in this country as what most of them are—fellow British subjects and Commonwealth citizens.

Much has been, and is being done to provide the steel framework of the building of modernized viable States in the developing countries of Africa—the educated politicians and administrators, lawyers, doctors, and professional men. But that is no good without the bricks and mortar of skilled tradesmen and artisans, technicians, junior administrative grades in the civil services, in industry, banking, insurance, hospital, the Press, farms, and so on.

In an old country like this one tends to assume the existence of the vast infrastructure of skilled and semi-skilled middle-piece personnel without which a modern State just cannot work, any more than a battalion can function without its warrant and non-commissioned officers. It is just that great middle-piece which is so disastrously short in the countries of Commonwealth Africa.

**Example of Experience**

Julius Nyerere said recently: "In Tanganyika it is not my kingdom for a horse; it is my administration for 20 stenographers. You can train stenographers by sending out teachers, and in the same way you can train a mechanic in the simple processes of industry or a farm hand to feed pigs. What you cannot do on anything approaching a big enough scale in these countries is to provide the necessary example and experience required to create capable secretary-typists, foremen or charge-hands in industry, farm bailiffs, reliable bank clerks, local government officials, and all that sort of thing—the non-commissioned officers of civil life.

You don't train N.C.O.s in schools. You put them under competent officers and sergeants and corporals in a platoon, letting them learn from the example and experience of others, and in due course you give them a lance stripe and let them try their hand in command of a section. But there are nothing like enough competent civilian officers and sergeants and corporals for them to learn from in these new countries of Africa."

There are plans for expansion and new building of technical and trade colleges in Africa, and for the provision of

technicians and instructors from Britain; but, compared to the need, that is only a drop in the bucket. Something is being done in England by some firms with associations in Africa to train African specialists in their particular trade; but again this is only on an infinitesimal scale compared to the minimum necessary.

This is a job that has to be undertaken on a vastly greater scale in this country—and ultimately in other free countries—if we are to do more than make an insignificant dent in the problem. It will cost money to Governments in this country and in Africa and to British industry, commerce and business, whose co-operation will be absolutely essential.

It will make a high demand on our voluntary welfare services and on thousands of individuals, because the success of any scheme will be measured not only in terms of technical training but of human relations and individual hospitality. But it will simply have to be done. It is a matter of enlightened self-interest on the broadest basis—the overall long-term benefit to British trade as a whole. And it is indispensable as a measure of defence and counter-attack against the insidious assaults of international Communism in Africa.

Active steps are being taken to prepare a scheme on these general lines. It is too important a thing to be allowed to go off at half-cock. When the plan is produced shortly, I beg you to give it your full support. Nothing could be more important for the future of the Commonwealth.

**Promise to the Paramount Chief**

**No Constitutional Change Without His Consent**

NO CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE affecting Barotseland will be made "without the consent of the Paramount Chief and Council"

That important undertaking has been given by H.M. Government, which is to amend the relevant Orders in Council to "put beyond doubt existing Barotse rights"

On Saturday last the following official statement was issued simultaneously in London, Lusaka, and Lealui (capital of Barotseland):—

"The talks with the Paramount Chief, the Ngambela, and the delegation accompanying them have now been concluded. In response to anxieties which the Barotseland delegation expressed about the future status of Barotseland, the Secretary of State for the Colonies assured the Paramount Chief that the special position of Barotseland would not be affected by the constitutional changes for Northern Rhodesia which are at present under consideration, and renewed the undertakings already given that no constitutional change affecting Barotseland would be made without consultation with, and the consent of, the Paramount Chief and Council.

"The Secretary of State also indicated his readiness to advise Her Majesty to make certain amendments of the provisions in the relevant Orders in Council in order to clarify and put beyond doubt existing Barotse rights.

"The Paramount Chief will communicate the assurances given to the delegation to his people on his return to his country.

"In the course of the Governor's current talks on the Constitution of Northern Rhodesia, further discussions will take place with the Paramount Chief, the Ngambela, and the Council on the representation of Barotseland in the Legislative Council."

It was also agreed during the discussions in London that the Paramount Chief should in future be officially known and referred to by the title which is used by the people of Barotseland themselves, namely, the Litunga of Barotseland Protectorate.

**Kenya Petition to Parliament**

AT TOMORROW'S SPECIAL CONFERENCE in Nairobi convened by the Convention of Associations of Kenya, Lord Delamere, chairman of the Kenya National Farmers' Union, will speak on a resolution: "That in view of the complete change in H.M. Government's policy towards Kenya, and its manifest inability to guarantee the security of titles granted to European farmers by the Crown, a country-wide petition to the bar of the House of Commons be prepared as a matter of urgency praying that H.M. Government takes the necessary steps to accept surrender of such titles after payment of fair compensation"

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## "Triumph" for Mr. Macleod

### Press View of Kenya Surrender

MR. MACLEOD'S SURRENDER last week to the clamour by African politicians in Kenya on behalf of Kenyatta was promptly hailed by some United Kingdom newspapers as a "triumph".

The Commonwealth correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* wrote that "the arrangement with Mr. Ngala, leader of the Kenya African Democratic Union, to bring Africans into a new Kenya Government in return for the prospect of a further easing of the restrictions on Kenyatta, former Mau Mau manager, is a triumph for Mr. Macleod". The comment was placed on the front page under the heading "Kenyatta Agreement Ends Kenya Boycott".

"Kenyatta Is Going Home" was the heading to a front-page story in the *Daily Mail*, a member of whose staff wrote: "Mr. Macleod, the Colonial Secretary, said to me at the end of a day of dramatic telephone calls between London and Nairobi: 'The Kenya deadlock is broken'. Fresh from his triumph, he told me of the big break-through."

"Under the settlement, 38-year-old Mr. Ronald Ngala has agreed to bring Africans into the Government. It has also been agreed to provide new steps to freedom for Jomo Kenyatta, the 71-year-old nationalist convicted of managing Mau Mau. Moved to Maralal only a fortnight ago, he is to have a house built for him and his family in his own homeland of Kiambu, a few miles from Nairobi, and is to be transferred there 'in due course'. It is part of a phased programme to allow him back into African life as a normal citizen; but for the present he will continue to be debarred from political life."

### "Giant Stride Forward"

The report in the *Daily Express*, also on the front page, had the caption "Governor to Build Home for Kenyatta". It said:

"In one swift stroke Mr. Macleod last night broke Kenya's political crisis—and brought the release of Kenyatta, convicted for managing Mau Mau, a giant stride forward; for he used Kenyatta as a bargaining counter to get Mr. Ngala, leader of the moderate K.A.D.U., to form a Government. In return, Kenyatta is to be moved to a new home on the outskirts of Nairobi."

The political correspondent of the paper quoted Mr. Macleod as having told him: "I am delighted with this. I have always hoped it would be possible to form a Government of all races and people in Kenya, for there are men of great ability."

The correspondent commented: "The announcement means a rapid shift by the Government over the issue of Kenyatta. Only 13 days ago he was moved into a £3,000 bungalow at Maralal, 200 miles north of Nairobi, with his wife and four children. When he moves into his new home he will be freely available to all African politicians a short distance away in Nairobi."

*The Times*, having stated that the formula had been worked out "as a result of exchanges between Mr. Macleod and Mr. Ngala when in London last week, and subsequently between him and Sir Patrick Renison in Nairobi," expressed the view that "Mr. Ngala has come off by no means second best."

### "May Not Be Patient"

THE KENYA AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC UNION'S decision to take part in Kenya's new Government has solved, at least temporarily, the country's political deadlock, but Mr. Tom Mboya, general secretary of the rival Kenya African National Union, has made a veiled threat of renewed violence, saying that Africans in Kenya may "not be patient for another six months."

He told correspondents in Nairobi on Sunday on his return from a visit to America, where he met President Kennedy and the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Diefen-

baker, and London, where he met Mr. Macleod, that encouragement of the split between the African parties could have serious repercussions on Kenya's development and peaceful transition to independence. He had, he said, informed Mr. Macleod that to persuade K.A.D.U. to join the Government was "the most dangerous thing he could do."

Asked about the possibility of violence, Mr. Mboya replied: "We must all wait and see. I think we all realize the gravity of the situation."

An earlier variant on his departure from London had been: "We do not think our people will be patient for another six months. What they do remains to be seen."

On Wednesday of last week Mr. Mboya, then touring the United States, described the Kenya African Democratic Union's decision to join the Government as "very cheap". He told reporters that at his meeting with President Kennedy he had asked the United States to use its influence to secure the unconditional release of Kenyatta.

In Nairobi other K.A.N.U. leaders called K.A.D.U.'s action a "sell-out". The vice-president, Mr. Oginga Odinga, said: "We shall see to it that this Government does not work."

Dr. G. Kiano, former K.A.N.U. Minister of Commerce and Industry, indicated that he was considering an offer from K.A.D.U. to take over his old Ministry. It was suggested that he might bring several other prominent K.A.N.U. members with him into K.A.D.U.'s ranks.

Mr. Arthur Ochwada, assistant general secretary of K.A.N.U., said: "My colleagues know that the best way to get Kenyatta freed and into the post of Chief Minister is to get into the Government and repeal the laws against him."

A statement issued by K.A.N.U. accused K.A.D.U. of going back on its promises and demanded that independence be granted this year. Meanwhile K.A.N.U. members were talking of setting up militant groups throughout the country the main task of which would be to discredit K.A.D.U.

K.A.D.U. members claimed that they had secured from the Governor as much as had been requested, not only by K.A.D.U. but even by K.A.N.U., with the exception of the immediate release of Kenyatta.

### Constitution "Now Dead"

Mr. Ngala, K.A.D.U. president, told correspondents in Nairobi that he did not consider that the party was merely co-operating with a colonial administration. "We are not going into the Government; we are the Government", he said. He added: "The Lancaster House Constitution is now dead."

On Thursday Dr. Kiano said that he would not go into the Government, but that he wished to revive the Kenya African Union, for which he had drawn up a new constitution. He intended to petition the Governor to permit that party, which was banned during the Mau Mau emergency, to be re-formed.

On Friday Mr. Mboya saw the Secretary of State in London.

Later that day, after a 40-minute talk with Mr. Macleod, he gave a Press conference at which he said that the Colonial Secretary had "nothing to offer in explanation" of the Governor's decision to form a Government with K.A.D.U., "but hid behind the well-worn assertion that it had been the Governor's own decision with which he could not interfere."

He accused Mr. Macleod of "a deliberate attempt" to build up K.A.D.U., the minority party, and thereby keep Kenyatta out of public life and prevent him from becoming the first Prime Minister. He considered Mr. Macleod "a very realistic man who wants to do the right thing", but that he was in serious trouble with his own party and a victim of a situation which he could not control.

From Nairobi it was reported, meanwhile that eight of K.A.N.U.'s 18 elected Legislative Council members had opted to join the K.A.D.U.-backed Government, but that they had been threatened with expulsion from K.A.N.U.'s parliamentary group. Mr. Gichuru and Mr. Odinga cabled Mr. Mboya to return urgently.

On arrival at Nairobi Airport Mr. Mboya said Mr. Macleod was "the victim of Sir Roy Welensky, Sir Patrick Renison and the wild men of the Conservative Party". Referring to members of his party who might join the Government, he said that few might succumb to the manipulations of the Colonial Secretary and the Governor and to such intimidation as threats of economic chaos.

Kenya is to have a census next year, the first since 1948. The count of non-Africans will begin in February and of Africans in August. Dr. J. G. C. Blacker has been engaged as an adviser.

About 150 young American graduates are to undergo teacher training at Makerere College, Uganda, later this year before joining the depleted staffs of secondary schools in East Africa.



## Tory M.P.s. Attack Prime Minister

### "Government of Little Englanders"

THE PRIME MINISTER was sharply criticized by three Conservative M.P.s. in the House of Commons on Monday when Mr. Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, moved the second reading of the Republic of South Africa (Temporary Provisions) Bill, a measure designed to prolong arrangements between the United Kingdom and South Africa for a maximum period of a year from May 31, on which date South Africa will cease to be a member of the Commonwealth.

MR. ANTHONY FELL (Cons., Yarmouth) called attention to the fact that when so tragic an event had caused a Bill to be submitted to the House there were only 12 Conservative and 15 Socialist members present.

The country had, he said, a Government of Little Englanders under a Prime Minister who had returned from his Commonwealth tour full of surprise at its greatness but had promptly forgotten the Commonwealth. How could a Prime Minister who had taken practically no interest in the Commonwealth over the years be expected to show leadership at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference?

Yet almost all Britons were behind the Commonwealth, a fact which held out the hope that we should eventually have a Prime Minister who was a real Commonwealth man. The risk was that the nation was being misled meantime, and was consequently becoming a country of Little Englanders, pro-European, and American satellites.

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON (Cons., Chigwell) described the Bill as the direct result of the flagrant failure of Commonwealth statesmanship. When a British Prime Minister spoke of the wind of change blowing through the world, many people took the words as an incitement to see that the wind rose to hurricane force.

VISCOUNT HINCHINGBROOKE (Cons., South Dorset) charged the Prime Minister with having failed the Commonwealth by his ineptitude, lack of foresight, lack of percipient planning, and lack of energy.

## Mr. Macleod Attacked by Tory M.P.s.

### Attitude to Kenyatta Campaign Resented

FURTHER SHARP CRITICISM OF MR. MACLEOD was voiced when he attended a meeting of the Conservative Commonwealth Affairs Committee in the House of Commons on Thursday evening last. The Secretary of State was especially attacked for his attitude of appeasement in the matter of Kenyatta.

The political correspondent of the *Daily Express* wrote:

"A pulverizing speech came from Sir Anthony Hurd. He declared: 'The Tory Party is getting a fixation about Kenyatta. The British Government should cut him down to size'.

"He was echoed by Mr. Paul Williams, who argued that it was clear Mr. Macleod was set on a course which must inevitably — and soon — lead to Kenyatta's release.

"Only two months ago, said Mr. Williams, Mr. Macleod had given the party an assurance that 'this wicked man' would never be freed. Mr. Macleod interjected: 'I said no such thing'. Mr. Williams was not deflected. He predicted that the setting free of Kenyatta would lead to 'another Congo'.

"Mr. Frederick Harris said that in a parliamentary answer Mr. Macleod had insisted that no capital was leaving Kenya. In fact, said Mr. Harris, 'it is pouring out at the rate of £1m. a month'.

"The argument swung from Kenya to the Central African Federation." Once more Mr. Macleod was barraged with criticism.

"Said Sir Harmer Nicholls, a former junior Minister: 'The Federation's economy is swiftly running down. Your policy is doing nothing to help it'.

Matiya Kiganira, known as "the prophet of the tree", recaptured recently from the top of Kungu Rock, Kampala, by members of the Uganda Mountain Club, has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment for escaping from prison.

A field office to serve East Africa is to be set up by the International Labour Organization.

## Trial for Lukiko Members

THE MEMBERS OF THE BUGANDA LUKIKO found to have registered and voted in the Uganda elections are to be charged before a special court, the Lukiko decided last week. A three-member committee appointed to investigate allegations that 18 members of the Lukiko had voted in the election in defiance of its boycott decision cleared eight of them, but recommended that the suspension from the Lukiko of the remaining 10 should remain in force indefinitely. The Lukiko's earlier decision to suspend those members suspected of having voted was vetoed by the Governor as being beyond its powers, but at last week's session members agreed to ignore the Governor's veto and to proceed with prosecution of the 10 suspended members under the Buganda Election Ordinance of 1953. Those suspended include Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka, leader of the Democratic Party and Leader of the House in the Uganda Legislative Council. He ceased, however, to be a member of the Lukiko on election to the Legislative Council and was therefore in any case not subject to the Lukiko's suspension order.

## Kenya "Dwindling to a Close"

THAT AFFAIRS IN KENYA ought to be debated in the House of Commons was suggested by Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, Conservative M.P. for Darwen, when future business came under consideration. He asked if Mr. Butler, leader of the House, was aware that "the economic life of this Colony seems to be dwindling to a close", and complained that "it is many months, if not years, since the House, which has responsibility in the matter, last debated Kenya". Mr. Butler, who promised to discuss the matter with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, did not accept the suggestion that "the Kenya business is dwindling to a close", but agreed on the importance of the subject.

## Federation with Ruanda-Urundi

MR. JULIUS NYERERE, Chief Minister of Tanganyika, has said that Tanganyika would welcome federation with Ruanda-Urundi provided the desire for it came from the people of that territory. He was commenting on a joint declaration issued in Dar es Salaam by the exiled Mwami of Ruanda, Kigeri V, and Crown Prince Louis Rwagasore of Urundi proposing such a federation. Mr. Nyerere commented that federation of Ruanda-Urundi with Tanganyika would represent a re-unification of the former German East Africa.

## Housing Africans

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA group of companies has lent £250,000 for African housing in Salisbury to the Southern Rhodesian Government; the loans are at 6½% for 36 years. Rents are to be graduated in accordance with means. An African earning less than £12 a month will pay 30s. monthly for a terraced house; if he earns up to £22 he may have a semi-detached house for 50s.; and those with higher earnings will pay economic rents.

## S. Rhodesian Voters

THE NUMBER of voters on the Southern Rhodesian electoral roll at the end of March was 82,928, of whom 76,438 were Europeans, 4,483 Africans, 1,010 Asians, and 997 Coloureds. A four-month "claim your vote" campaign by the Government of the Colony ended on January 31, but claims still come in at an average rate of about 300 a week.

## Uganda's Constitutional Advance

### Sir Frederick Crawford's Address

SIR FREDERICK CRAWFORD, Governor of Uganda, said last week in his first address to the new Legislative Council:

"When I addressed the Legislative Council on November 17, 1958, I remarked that it was an historic occasion because for the first time 10 of the African representative members had been directly elected. Today, less than two and a half years later, out of a total of 100 members no fewer than 81 have been directly elected. Of the remaining members nine are here as specially elected members, chosen by secret ballot of your ex-officio and elected colleagues: and after consultation with the leaders of the major political parties seven of you have been appointed nominated members, designed to bring into the Council extensive commercial experience, professional economic expertise, or special advice on affairs and interests affecting the women of the country.

"To the new Ministers I say: your responsibilities will be heavy and unremitting, but I am confident that with God's help you will bear those responsibilities with wisdom and good sense, acting always with the true interests of all in Uganda at heart, regardless of race, tribe, or party affiliation. Amongst you there is a wealth of talent and experience, coupled with a high standard of academic achievement. I wish you every success, and assure you of my personal support and that of the Civil Service.

"The eyes of the people of the Protectorate and well-wishers of Uganda everywhere will be focused on the new Government composed as it now is of ten non-official Ministers and only three ex-officio Ministers, with myself as chairman. The predominantly non-official membership of the new Council of Ministers signifies a very important step forward in Uganda's constitutional advance.

### Still Formidable Problems

"We should be deluding ourselves if we did not face the fact that there are still formidable problems to be solved before the goal of independence can be reached, chief amongst these being the problem of tribal and regional differences and the need to ensure that all parts of the country are happily and satisfactorily inter-related, so that present divergencies and suspicions cease. It is my earnest desire and prayer that the Uganda Constitutional Conference in London in September will be successful.

"That will be best assured if between now and then all shades of opinion in Uganda make an earnest endeavour to co-operate in a spirit of toleration and understanding. Co-operation will be especially necessary amongst those who at present are suspicious of this Council and all that it stands for.

"The Secretary of State has recently said that he hoped Uganda's constitutional progress would from now on be swift and sure. I am convinced that if every effort is made to solve the problem of Buganda's relationship with the rest of the country, and generally to make the forthcoming Constitutional Conference a success, resulting in a substantial measure of agreement, that hope will be realized.

"For the avoidance of any misunderstanding, I should state that the holding of further elections is not contemplated this year. The Government which has just taken office will remain in being until any new Constitution, involving a fresh general election, has been decided upon and can be implemented. There can be no question of a fresh round of elections immediately after the Constitutional Conference.

"The leader of the majority party, the Hon. Benedicto Kiwanuka, has been appointed Minister without Portfolio and Leader of this House. It will be my duty, and that of my principal adviser, the Chief Secretary, to bring the Minister into close consultation on matters which will fall within the

sphere of responsibility of the Chief Minister when the time comes to create that office.

"I have agreed, following consultation with the leader of the majority party, that posts of Parliamentary Secretary should be created in the Ministries of Finance, Local Government, Commerce and Industry, Education, Health, and Agriculture and Animal Industry.

"Of those who have left the Council I am sure you would like me to make special mention of Mr. H. K. Jaffer, who served continuously as a member for almost 25 years. His record of unselfish public service is unrivalled. This Council will greatly miss his wise counsel and mature judgement.

"I also like to mention the retirement from Uganda of three public servants; Mr. A. B. Killick, Minister of Natural Resources in the last Government; Mr. C. A. L. Richards, Minister of Local Government in the last Government; and Mr. C. C. Spencer, until very recently chairman of the Coffee and Lint Marketing Boards.

### Served for 21 Years

"Mr. Killick has served in Uganda at various times for a total of 21 years. His contribution to the country's development and progress—particularly to its vital cotton and coffee industries—has been quite outstanding.

"Mr. Richards joined the Administrative Service in 1934, served as district officer in many parts of the country, was Resident of Buganda for five years, and Minister of Local Government since June last year. He has given the best years of his life to Uganda.

"Mr. Spencer served in Uganda almost continuously for 25 years. He gave brilliant service during the difficult war and post-war years, during a period of shortage of staff and supplies. Later he has served with conspicuous success as chairman of the Coffee and Lint Marketing Boards, and has been primarily responsible for the disposal of the Protectorate's major economic crops—a very heavy burden for one man, borne cheerfully and with great ability and success.

"It is on such occasions as this that we are reminded how very much we are all of one company, how Uganda has been blessed over the years with those who have served her faithfully and well, and how we must always cherish and strive to maintain the good relations that happily exist here between individuals and peoples."

Mr. Serwano Kullubya, one of the specially elected members, regretted that no reference had been made to the services of Sir Amar Maini, former Minister of Commerce and Industry, and of Mr. Mungonya, former Minister of Lands and Mineral Development.

Mr. G. B. Carland, Chief Secretary, said that the budget would be introduced on May 16 and that there would then be an interval of three weeks before it was debated, so that members might have time to formulate their attitude towards the policies of the new Government as therein reflected.

## Jinja-Bukonte Line Opened

### Uganda's New £1½m. Railway

LAST SATURDAY Sir Frederick Crawford, Governor of Uganda, opened the Jinja-Bukonte cut-off railway line, which, built in 21 months at a cost of £1½m., shortens the distance between Jinja and Tororo, on the Kenya border, by rather more than 45 miles. It should save about 173,000 train-miles and 5½m. wagon-miles annually and produce overall operating economies of about £140,000 a year.

The Governor recalled that when the present general manager of East African Railways and Harbours, Sir James Farquharson, entered the service in 1923 there were only 65 miles of railway in Uganda—the Busoga Railway and the Kampala-Port-Bell line. Now there are more than 580 miles, and when the new commission to Gulu is finished the total will exceed 600 miles. An extension of another 60 miles to Pakwach is being considered.

Mr. H. W. Muloki, Kyabazinga of Busoga, said that he and his people were proud to produce traffic for the railways. In 1960 Busoga had sent out more than 100,000 bales of cotton, 7,000 tons of shelled groundnuts, 110,000 bags of maize, and 56,000 tons of sugar, and cocoa was now being grown experimentally where until recently the mowba fly had reigned supreme.

Sir James Farquharson said that by the cut-off passenger and goods trains between central and eastern Uganda would save about 2½ hours.

He thanked the resident engineer, Mr. J. G. Jackson, the engineering assistant, Mr. M. V. Grant, and all others who had worked so well from the start of the survey.

## Parliament

## Questions on Kenyatta Issue

ASKED FOR A STATEMENT about the Secretary of State's discussions with Mr. Ronald Ngala and Mr. Derek Erskine, members of the Kenya Legislative Council, and his reply to their request for the release of Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, MR. HUGH FRASER, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies replied: "My rt. hon. friend's discussions ranged over the general political situation in Kenya, and in the context of this he confirmed that he supported the line that the Governor had taken on Jomo Kenyatta in his statement of March".

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Will the Minister ask the Colonial Secretary to respond to this evidence of European interest in the immediate release of Mr. Kenyatta and release him forthwith? If he cannot do that, was an assurance given that if one or other of the political parties participated in a new Administration Mr. Kenyatta would be admitted within a period of three months?"

MR. FRASER: "No assurances have been given. This is a question of negotiation, and the formation of a new Government in Kenya, between the Governor and various political representatives. This was a private conversation about which I am not prepared to make any further comment."

MR. F. M. BENNETT: "Would my hon. friend agree that it is more important for all of us to try to concentrate on the formation of a stable Government in Kenya than to lend our support to the political clamour for the release of Jomo Kenyatta?"

MR. CALLAGHAN: "Is it not a matter of the gravest consequence to the people of Kenya whether as a result of these conversations there is a further prospect of a formation of a stable Government in that territory?"

MR. FRASER: "The hon. Member should wait and see until we achieve a stable Government. This is the main objective. I suggest that at this stage any publicity of private conversations cannot be helpful to the interests of the people of Kenya or indeed those in this House."

MR. TURTON asked how many persons had been convicted

in Kenya since January 1, 1961, on the charge of assisting in the management of an unlawful society in connection with Mau Mau activities.

MR. FRASER: "Two, sir, but in both cases the offence originated in 1960."

MR. TURTON: "In view of the fact that there is evidence that the Kenya Freedom Party is being organized as a successor to Mau Mau, and that there is oath-taking in many parts of the country, is my hon. friend satisfied that sufficient proceedings are being taken?"

MR. FRASER: "Yes, sir, I am convinced that the police and the Special Branch are taking every necessary step to deal with secret societies."

MR. STONEHOUSE asked the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations what arrangements he was making for a referendum of the African population of Southern Rhodesia with regard to the proposed new Constitution for the Colony, in view of H.M. Government's responsibility with regard to the African people, the latter's concern that the protective powers be retained, and the need for constitutional advance to be generally agreed.

MR. SANDYS: "It is not for me to arrange referendums in Southern Rhodesia."

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Does the Secretary of State realize that the African people in Southern Rhodesia look upon this country as the Protecting Power and that they regard the protective clauses in the Constitution as their safeguard against exploitation by a tiny white majority in the country? [HON. MEMBERS: "Oh."] This is very important for them. In view of this, why is the referendum to be conducted among that 3% of the population which happens to be on the electoral roll and which is a percentage almost wholly white? Why cannot the African population, who are greatly concerned about these proposed changes, be consulted?"

MR. SANDYS: "The hon. Member has asked me a lot of questions at the same time. First, I recognize, of course, our responsibility to ensure that the powers at present reserved to the Government in the United Kingdom are not dropped unless we are satisfied that equally effective or more effective safeguards can be put in their place. That is why the proposals for the new Constitution include a provision for a Declaration of Rights, a Constitutional Council, and a right of appeal to the Privy Council.

"This particular referendum is no concern of mine. I cannot decide that there should be a referendum among Europeans or the existing electorate. That matter is decided out there. I am fully satisfied that most Africans would be very sorry indeed to lose the substantial advances that the new Constitution offers to them."

MR. MARQUAND: "As the rt. hon. gentleman was president of the Constitutional Conference, has not he taken steps, albeit informally, to ensure that there is ample opportunity to consult African opinion about these proposals?"

MR. SANDYS: "That was the purpose of the conference."

## Progress in Tanganyika

MR. BROCKWAY asked the Secretary of State for a statement on constitutional progress in Tanganyika.

MR. MACLEOD: "I presided at a successful constitutional conference with the Government of Tanganyika in Dar es Salaam. It concluded on March 29 with an agreement that full internal self-government should be introduced on May 1 and that Tanganyika should be independent on December 28. A report will be circulated as a White Paper."

MR. BROCKWAY: "Is the rt. hon. gentleman aware that all hon. Members will wish to congratulate him upon this agreement and also to congratulate Mr. Julius Nyerere, the Chief Minister of Tanganyika? Has the rt. hon. gentleman seen the statement by Mr. Nyerere that he proposes that Tanganyika, when it becomes independent, should totally disarm, because arms would be useless against the Great Powers and would be wrong against other Africans? Will he give the greatest encouragement to Mr. Nyerere as an example not only to Africa but to the world?"

MR. MACLEOD: "Although many people were involved, the true credit belongs essentially to two men—Mr. Julius Nyerere and the Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull, who have acted magnificently in these years. At meetings which we shall have at ministerial level in June, we intend to discuss with the new Government of Tanganyika matters relating to defence, finance, and other matters."

MR. SNOW: "Will the rt. hon. gentleman add to his praise the name of the late Sir Donald Cameron, whose great work in the early thirties laid the foundation for what has happened in Tanganyika?"

MR. MACLEOD: "Yes, and also Lord Twining, to whom the Governor of Tanganyika and myself, on the date of the announcement, sent a joint telegram. There are many names, known and unknown, of people who have contributed to the very happy spirit which there is in Tanganyika. I wish it were the same everywhere else."

MR. CALLAGHAN: "And also Arthur Creech Jones."

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## Archbishop on Kenyatta

### Spiritual, Moral and Security Aspects

ASKED TO DEFINE his personal attitude to the question of Kenyatta's release, the Archbishop of East Africa, the Most Rev. Leonard Beecher, said at a Press Conference in London on Tuesday that there were spiritual, moral and public security aspects to be considered.

The Church had had to decide its attitude to those who were detained in the Mau Mau emergency—and he spoke as one who had stood by the graves of his closest friends. It was by the Christian precept "Forgive them, for they know not what they do" that he and his fellow Christians had sought to be guided. It had been a soul-searching experience.

On the moral aspect, Kenyatta had completed his sentence. It was not for the Church to pass judgment on the aspect of public security, which was the responsibility of the Governor. He hoped that the Governor and the members of the new Government would find a mutual satisfactory formula which would have full regard for public security.

The primary purpose of the Archbishop's visit is to establish the right pattern of relationship between the newly-formed Province of East Africa, the Church in this country, and the two organizations which have brought the Church in East Africa into being—the Universities' Mission to Central Africa and the Church Missionary Society.

He also hopes to raise money for certain projects, the most important being £20,000 for an ordination school for about 40 candidates. There is an urgent need for more African clergy, whose number ought, the Archbishop considers, to be trebled or quadrupled.

A second appeal will be for £350,000 to assist co-racial education, a sphere in which the Church has recently done some "dam-busting", when Limuru Girls' School has admitted African and Asian pupils for the first time.

Mentioning that two of the bishops in the former Diocese of Mombasa, now divided into four dioceses, were African, the Archbishop said: "Throughout East Africa responsible freedom in the Church has preceded responsible freedom in the political sphere".

### "Mad Scheme" of Federation

MR. KENNETH KAUNDA, president of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, said in London at the week-end that there was an "economic stalemate" in the territory because of the "mad scheme" of Federation. He was on his way back from the United States, where he had met President Kennedy. He said that his party was taking part in constitutional talks this week, and while it demanded "one man, one vote," as a basic principle, it was prepared to accept some form of compromise. Mr. Kaunda alleged that some of his followers had been imprisoned after receiving "a travesty of a trial" and had been beaten and humiliated in prison.

### Mr. Nkumbula to Serve Sentence

MR. HARRY NKUMBULA, president of the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress, has lost his appeal to the Federal Supreme Court in Salisbury against his conviction for causing the death of an African policeman by dangerous driving. He was taken into custody after the court had confirmed a 12 months' prison sentence.

### Rhodesian Land Act

THE SOUTHERN RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT has enacted measures to allow Africans to buy land and houses on freehold title in urban areas from which they have hitherto been excluded. The new Land Apportionment Amendment Act does not, however, accept all the recommendations of last year's Select Committee, which proposed the gradual repeal of the Act as a whole. Africans are still prohibited from buying land in European suburbs or from trading in civic areas.

## Attempt to Oust Dr. Banda

### Alleged Move by Chisiza Brothers

LEADERS of the Malawi Congress Party, of which Dr. Hastings Banda is president, are reported to have taken advantage of his absence in the United States to endeavour to thrust him from office.

Some of the most influential of his associates met privately last week and, according to telegrams from Blantyre, were discussing the best means of getting rid of their leader when one of the group, which numbered about a dozen, slipped away and warned Mr. Orton Chirwa, the deputy president, who quickly drove to the meeting place, upbraided those who had assembled without his knowledge, and broke up the gathering.

The immediate origin of the trouble is stated to be anger at Dr. Banda's insistence that he alone should decide upon the candidates to be supported by the party in the forthcoming general election.

Press reports name the Chisiza brothers, Dunduzu and Yautu, as among the men most anxious to depose Dr. Banda. Both were interned after the Nyasaland riots, both were named in the Devlin Report as among the extremist leaders of the now proscribed African National Congress (of which the Malawi Congress Party is the successor), and both owe their position in the Malawi Party to Dr. Banda.

While in London a few days ago on his way to America Dr. Banda said that his party would win the 20 lower roll seats at the forthcoming election and some of the eight upper roll seats. Malawi would sponsor African, Coloured, Asian, and European candidates. He would engage in no electioneering, so strong was his confidence in the outcome.

## Force If Necessary, Says Banda

### Insistence on Nyasaland's Independence

DR. HASTINGS BANDA, the Nyasaland nationalist African leader, said before leaving London Airport for New York last week that he was determined that Nyasaland should receive "our freedom and independence", adding: "I am quite prepared to die for independence".

When asked if that meant that he believed that force might still be necessary, he replied: "If necessary, yes; but I do not think it will come to that".

He had, he said, done some "snooping" in political quarters, and was quite satisfied with the results of his visit.

Referring to the back-bench Conservative M.P.s who are in revolt against the Government's policy in Central Africa, Dr. Banda commented: "That Salisbury gang is playing with fire. Its members are enemies, not friends, of Europeans in Africa. The only policy which will work is that of Mr. Macleod, who has restored African faith in Britain".

### Petrol-Bomb Sentence

PHILIP MASIMU, who last October threw a petrol-bomb into a house in Salisbury in which 22 Africans were asleep, has been sentenced in the Southern Rhodesian High Court to 12 years' imprisonment for attempted murder.

### No More Passes

AFRICANS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA are now required to carry only a registration certificate. They no longer need town passes, visiting passes, passes to seek work, or passes to be out late at night.

### U.N.I.P. Official Jailed

"BENJAMIN ZULU, chairman of the Ndola branch of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, has been jailed for six weeks for declaring at a U.N.I.P. meeting that Europeans would poison African beer.

## Strike Action Threatened in S. Rhodesia

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY in Southern Rhodesia has threatened strike action in protest at the new personal tax on all workers outside African reserves to be imposed at the suggestion of the Minister of Finance, Mr. C. J. Hatty. He proposes a graduated personal tax ranging from £2 to £12, a tax on employers of foreign labour of £1 a month per employee, higher stamp duties, and an extension of the betting tax to football pools.

At a Press conference spokesmen for the N.D.P. said that Africans would be called upon to resist paying the personal tax if the plan became law, and that strike action would be considered if employers deducted the tax from wages.

Mr. Enos Nkala, secretary-general, described the tax as "an inhuman attempt by the Government to reduce the pittance paid to African workers". Mr. Robert Mugabe, publicity secretary, said that the Government should increase wages for Africans, not increase taxes to finance the police force and military rule of its own creation.

Mr. Hatty's tax proposals, which come two months before the Budget is due, are regarded as an indication of Southern Rhodesia's serious financial position.

An emergency meeting of the Southern Rhodesian Trades Union Congress national council is to be held on Saturday to discuss action against the introduction of the personal tax. The president, Mr. Jamela, has said that this tax would perpetuate the recently abolished Native poll tax, which "exploited the poorest section of the community".

## Change in Leadership of Staff Assoc.

MR. GODWIN LEWANIKA, president of the Northern Rhodesia Mines African Staff Association since it was founded in 1952, did not seek re-election owing to the pressure of his Parliamentary duties, but the annual meeting insisted that he should continue in the office.

Mr. Lightson Kaoma, vice-president for the past nine years, also decided not to stand again; and another of the founder-members, Mr. Gladstone Longwe, central treasurer, was not re-nominated.

In his annual address Mr. Lewanika recalled that in 1959 the Trades Union Congress in Great Britain had at his suggestion invited Mr. Kaoma and Mr. Jairos Lunge, another founder-member, to take a course in industrial relations in London. A similar invitation had now been given to three other members.

The I.C.F.T.U. had met the travelling and maintenance expenses of Mr. Diddon Mwinga, central secretary of the association, who had taken a course at the trade union training college in Kampala. If the expenses could be met three or six members might be sent to the U.S.A. for trade union instruction.

Direct progress from conciliation to strike, and then arbitration, said Mr. Lewanika, who emphasised that it was part of the duty of a trade union to cultivate among its members a spirit of punctuality, obedience, honesty, team-work, and efficiency.

A strict line should be drawn between trade unionism and politics, and it was most desirable that trade unions should be led by men directly connected with the industries or by former employees in it. Now that vacancies were occurring in the association the members must beware of "dangerous wolves who may come to you in sheepskin coats".

## Party Troubles in Federation

EIGHT MEMBERS of the United Federal Party, including Mr. Ian Smith, Chief Whip in the Federal Parliament, and Mr. J. G. S. Chingattie, an African member of the Federal Parliament, resigned from the party last week in protest over the constitutional proposals for Southern Rhodesia. In Northern Rhodesia the party faces a by-election contest against the Liberal Party in the Cingola constituency, Mr. William Dunlop, lately Minister of Transport and Works, having decided to resign in a few days from the Legislative Council. A membership drive by the Liberal Party has caused spokesmen for both the United National Independence Party and the African National Congress to speak bitterly of "European-led parties" and to denounce Africans joining the Liberals as "stooges".

## Congo Leaders Meet Again

ANOTHER CONFERENCE of Congolese political leaders has begun this week; but already sharp differences between President Kasavubu and President Tshombe have developed, giving little hope of any effective agreement being reached.

On Wednesday last week General M'obutu returned to Leopoldville from talks with officers of General Lundula's forces on the Equator-Oriental border, claiming that the Stanleyville troops had agreed to accept him as overall Commander-in-Chief. In face of a denial from Mr. Gizenga, the Lumumbist leader in Stanleyville, that there had been agreement between the two factions, General M'obutu said: "I wish Mr. Gizenga the best of luck; he is going to need it if he does not believe this agreement has been signed".

In Elisabethville President Tshombe intensified his obstruction of U.N. operations by cutting off bread and petrol supplies to U.N. personnel. On Friday, however, he removed all sanctions against the U.N. in Elisabethville, but said that they would remain in force in Kamina and other areas of Katanga where there were Indian troops.

From Kasai came reports of renewed inter-tribal strife between the Baluba and Lulua, four people being killed on a train attacked by Baluba with bows and arrows. Albert Kalonji, hitherto self-styled "president" of Kasai, proclaimed himself "king" on the grounds that he was descended from the hereditary tribal "monarchs".

On Saturday it was announced that President Tshombe had signed an agreement with the General Mining and Finance Corporation of South Africa granting it prospecting and exploitation rights in southern Katanga.

In Kindu, Kivu Province, United Nations troops and Congolese soldiers imposed a dusk-to-dawn curfew to check a new wave of anti-white outbursts.

A contingent of 700 U.N. troops from Malaya arrived in Mombasa by sea at the weekend en route for the Congo by rail.

After prolonged debate the United Nations General Assembly approved a budget of £35m. for Congo operation up to October 31. Almost half the sum will be paid by the United States, poorer countries being given an 80% relief on what would have been their proportionate contributions.

On Monday 200 delegates met at a conference of Congolese political leaders in Coquilhatville in Equator Province to attempt to find a solution to the Congo's problems. Addressing the opening session, President Kasavubu said he hoped the Congolese people could decide their political future before September. It was not clear whether he meant to imply the recall of Parliament, elections, or a referendum.

The conference was asked to set up committees to consider reorganization of the army, relations with the United Nations, diplomatic representation abroad, and the country's grave economic situation. President Kasavubu hoped these committees would report next month to a round-table conference in Elisabethville.

On Tuesday President Tshombe threatened to walk out unless the conference accepted certain conditions, including repudiation of President Kasavubu's agreement to co-operate with the U.N. over reorganization of the Army and the withdrawal of foreign advisers.

## Land Purchase in Kenya

CONCERNED AT RUMOURS that it was not buying land, Kenya's Land Development and Settlement Board issued the following statement last week:—

"We are concerned to learn of current rumours that the Settlement Board is not purchasing land. This is quite incorrect. During March the board bought limited areas of land in the Uasin Gishu, Nakuru, and Kiambu districts, on which to carry out field trials of sub-divisional plans.

"Over the past six months the board has been carrying out a large number of investigations into offers of land for both the yeoman and peasant schemes. At the same time the board has been examining applications for the purchase of land from both Africans and Europeans.

"There have been a number of private negotiations between European landowners and Africans wishing to purchase land which have now reached the stage where the prospective purchasers have submitted applications for advances to enable them to purchase the land as assisted owners. Naturally the board cannot disclose the identities of the persons engaged in these private transactions. The transactions, once approved by the board, will be completed as rapidly as the normal legal processes permit."

### Oil Refinery in Kenya

AN OIL REFINERY with a capacity of 1.8m. tons a year is to be built at Changamwe, near Mombasa, by East African Oil Refineries Co., Ltd., jointly owned by the Shell and British Petroleum companies. Construction is to begin about the middle of this year, and it is hoped the refinery will be in production by late 1963 or early 1964.

A labour force of up to 1,000 men will be needed by the main contractors. Those invited to tender are McKee, Head, Wrightson & Co., Lummus-Werksboor, and Procon (Great Britain), Ltd.

The crude oil will be brought to a new jetty to be built at Port Reitz harbour.

### Imperial Chemical Industries

IMPERIAL CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES, LTD., which has large interests in South, Central, and East Africa, reports that in the year ended December 31 last manufacturing and trading profits at £93.6m. for the group and £74.5m. for the company showed increases of 17% and 18% respectively on the 1959 figures. The group had to provide almost £40.5m. for taxation, leaving £47.6m. after providing for various other commitments.

Dividends took £23.7m. Fixed assets are valued at almost £520m., interests in associated companies at £50m., and current assets less current liabilities at £124.3m. There is in issue £251.6m. of ordinary stock and £34.7m. of 5% cumulative preference stock, and reserves employed in the business represent another £270m.

African Explosives and Chemical Industries, Ltd., the capital of which is owned in equal shares by Imperial Chemical Industries (South Africa), Ltd., and De Beers Industrial Corporation, Ltd., again increased its sales.

The directors of I.C.I. are: Mr. S. P. Chambers (chairman), Messrs. E. Bingen, R. Holroyd, and L. H. Williams (deputy chairmen), Mr. P. C. Allen, Viscount Almore, Mr. R. A. Banks, Mr. R. Beeching, Mr. S. E. Burman, Mr. A. Caress, Viscount Chandos, Mr. M. J. S. Clapham, Mr. J. Ferguson, Lord Glenconner, Mr. J. S. Gourlay, Mr. G. K. Hampshire, Mr. P. T. Menzies, Mr. C. Paine, Mr. D. J. Roberts, Mr. W. D. Scott, Viscount Slim, Mr. H. Smith, Mr. J. Taylor, Mr. R. C. Todhunter, and Mr. C. M. Wright.

### The Globe & Phoenix Gold Mining Co.

THE GLOBE AND PHOENIX GOLD MINING CO., LTD., reports that in the year to December 31 last there was a profit of £314,695 (£292,279) before meeting taxation liabilities of £114,637. Dividends of 7s. per 5s. share, less tax, take £171,500, and depreciation £38,415, transfers to special development and abnormal costs reserves £27,000, and the balance forward is £64,339 (£50,563). The issued capital is £200,000. Fixed assets stand at £142,004, investments at £155,117, and current assets less current liabilities at £459,115, cash and short-term loans representing almost £500,000.

Ord reserves at the end of the year were estimated to contain 85,000 tons of an average value of 21.25 dwt. per ton compared with 110,500 tons averaging 20.45 dwt. a year earlier.

The directors are Mr. Alexander Macquisten (chairman), Sir G. S. Harvie Watt (deputy chairman), Mr. H. Younger, Sir Richard Snedden, and Mr. P. Macquisten (alternate).

### Rhodesia the First Choice

MR. D. T. L. RETTIE, managing director of A.E.I./Gala, Ltd., manufacturers of a washing machine, has said in Salisbury that his company has decided to launch its latest model in Rhodesia "in preference to all other world markets". He mentioned that Lord Chandos, chairman of the group, had a strong personal interest in Rhodesia's future, with which the parent company, Associated Electrical Industries, Ltd., has major commercial connexions and also a locally established trading concern.

### Rootes in Rhodesia

MR. J. D. DUNKLEY, general manager in Rhodesia for the Rootes Group, which has already invested about £500,000 in the Federation, has said that there is no intention to retrench, but, on the contrary, a determination to proceed with expansion plans. At a cost of about £20,000 there would be a new sales, service, and spare parts depot in Bulawayo, and in Salisbury about the same sum would be spent, half on an office block and the balance on improving production facilities at the assembly plant. Mr. Dunkley said that the group's annual salary and wages bill in Rhodesia is about £100,000, and that another £120,000 is spent on Rhodesian goods and services.

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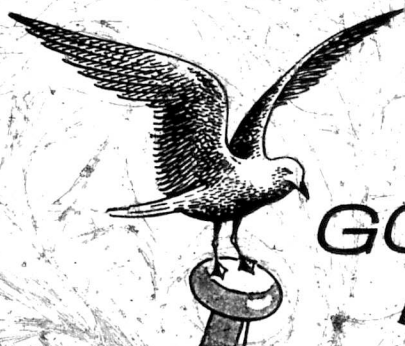
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Vol. 37

No. 1908

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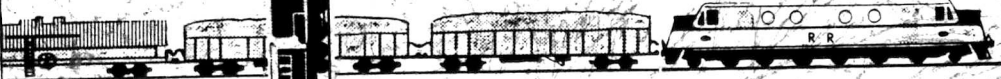
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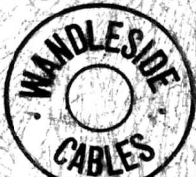
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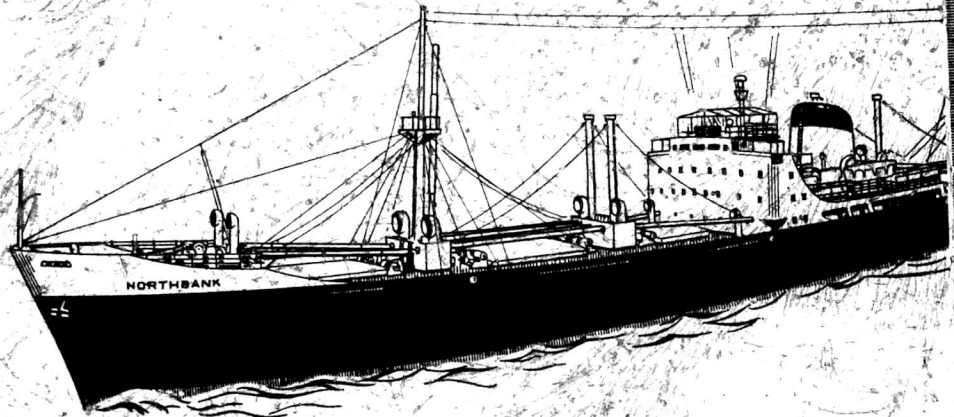
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The modern town of Bulawayo dates from 1893, and takes its name from the Zulu word 'ubulawayo', meaning 'killed'—thereby providing a grim reminder of the fate of a rebellious neighbouring tribe in the early 19th century. The Bulawayo of today however is concerned rather with growth and expansion. With an estimated population of 180,000 it is now the principal heavy industrial centre of the Federation.

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Jowson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

NOT ONE LONDON NEWSPAPER told its readers on Sunday or Monday that Mr. Macleod, Secretary of State for the Colonies, had been sharply criticized at the annual conference on Saturday

### Knowledgeable Tories Attack Mr. Macleod.

of the Conservative Commonwealth Council for his actions in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia. Every newspaper which reported the gathering gave the impression that the Minister had carried the day. As the special report in other columns of this issue makes clear, however, that was certainly not the case; and the way in which critical references were received afforded proof of the depth of the anxiety felt by an audience which contained many people with personal knowledge of Africa. What the East and Central Africa Group of the C.C.C. thinks was submitted to the conference in the form of a written statement which must have displeased Mr. Macleod, for the memorandum, which is recorded in full on another page, said: "The Group feel that H.M. Government have failed to appreciate the conditions and problems in Northern Rhodesia. The Prime Minister and British Government had repeatedly stated that they wished to preserve the Federation. It will not be preserved if the referendum in Southern Rhodesia on the Sandys Constitution is lost. Sir Edgar Whitehead, even with the aid of Sir Roy Welensky, is unlikely to win that referendum unless the terms of the new Northern Rhodesian Constitution . . . be of a nature to ensure that not less than half the members elected to the Legislative Council shall be supporters of a continued Federation

If the Constitution is of a nature to provide an elected majority hostile to the continuation of the Federation, the responsibility for the destruction of the Federation will lie inescapably on the Prime Minister and the British Government." The organization within the Conservative Party which was

especially created to keep under review the needs of the Commonwealth, and particularly of the territories still under United Kingdom administration, must therefore be added to the list of open critics both of the Prime Minister and the Colonial Secretary. Yet, as stated above, that fact, indubitably inconvenient to the party hierarchy, was obligingly withheld from the country by Fleet Street. Why? Assuredly not because anyone could think it either unimportant or without interest. Failure to report it adds one more item to the tally of occurrences unfavourable to Mr. Macleod which have gone unchronicled by the Press in general or received nothing more than inexplicably inconspicuous mention.

Mr. Macleod's tortuosity was again revealed at the week-end. He assured his Tory hearers that "it remains H.M. Government's view that a Federation is in the best long-term interests of all

**When Mr. Macleod Almost Resigned.** the inhabitants of all races", and he professed the friendliest feelings for Sir Roy Welensky — who only a few weeks ago was driven to say again and again in very direct phraseology that he regarded Mr. Macleod as engaged in wrecking the Federation. It was on that issue alone that the Federal Prime Minister came into head-on collision with the United Kingdom Government. One of the consequences was that Mr. Macleod was driven to the brink of resignation, from which he was dragged back, not because the inner circle of Cabinet Ministers had not recognized him as a serious liability, but because they feared what he might say in a resignation speech: in particular, he might have made the justifiable and very telling point that it was Mr. Macmillan's own policy that he, Mr. Macleod, had followed throughout. Having brought the Colonial Secretary back from the edge of the abyss in

order to be spared the risk of that damning indictment, the rescuers (of themselves more than their colleague) had to pretend that all was harmony within the Government; but equivocation wore very thin very quickly when Sir Roy Welensky appeared on the scene for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. He then told a large assembly of Conservative back-benchers that he would not allow the Federation to be destroyed to please Mr. Macleod; and the sympathy of the meeting was unquestionably with Sir Roy, not with the Minister, a member of their own party, whom their guest attacked.

At that time about one in four of the Conservatives in the House of Commons had signed Mr. Turton's motion critical of Mr. Macleod. In the light of these and other recent

### Blunder After Blunder In Northern Rhodesia.

happenings it is not surprising that he should now seek to divert attention from his wretched blunders by sympathetic words about the Federation. His acts, however, speak much more loudly than his words. Whatever he may now say, he deliberately endeavoured to scrap within less than two years the Lennox-Boyd Constitution for Northern Rhodesia which was to last about five times that period; he was so reckless in his anxiety to placate African extremists that he produced four widely differing draft Constitutions within a few days; and by the one which he rashly printed as a White Paper he risked (presumably understanding what he was doing) the creation of a Legislature in which the majority would pass from responsible hands into those of a group antagonistic to the Federation. In other words, he deliberately hazarded the Federation which he now professes to consider essential — for the key to the Federation is in Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. Macleod's words about Kenya were likewise unreliable. "It now seems," he declared, "that we shall have a strong multi-racial Government in Kenya." That is precisely what that sorely

### Little Ground For Confidence.

tried Colony will not get under Macblundellism. Of the sixty-five elected members of the new Legislature apparently only twenty-eight have indicated their willingness to support the new Government, created after weeks of huckstering, leading to fo a disgraceful surrender over Kenyatta. Half of the twenty-eight are members of the Kenya

African Democratic Union, and their associates are five Blundellites, four Asians and five Independents. Does that look like strength? And what of the open threat by Mr. Mboya, speaking for the opposing Kenya African National Union, to bring down the Government in less than six months? Whether that was intended to imply obstruction by constitutional means only is anybody's guess. Mr. Ngala, who is to be the head of the new Government, seems to doubt it; and so must many other Africans in Kenya, especially those who have been drawing attention to the resurgence of Mau Mau. And is it not striking that Mr. Gichuru, president of K.A.N.U., should have said in so many words that he cannot be sure that his party can continue to restrain the people who are angry at the turn of events? Statements of that type have preceded outrages in various parts of Africa in the last few years, and those who make them in Kenya should recognize that they are on the borderline of incitement to violence.

That outbreaks may recur in Kikuyuland is obviously possible, not least because K.A.N.U. is what it is — in the words of many Africans nowadays, "the Mau Mau party". It is in such a situation as this that Mr. Macleod has the effrontery to speak of a strong multi-racial Government! K.A.D.U., though much more responsible than K.A.N.U., polled only one-third of the number of votes cast for that last-named party, which will therefore find it easy to persuade many Africans that Mr. Ngala and his party colleagues are "European stooges". Though a false charge, it will nevertheless be insidiously and constantly propagated. K.A.D.U.'s Blundellite supporters were contemptuously rejected by the European electorate, and then, by a characteristic Macleod device, carried into the Council by African votes. Can such men be called a strong element in the Government? — especially considering that Mr. Blundell and his followers were elected by the well-organized efforts of K.A.N.U., allegedly on a private undertaking to support them, even in their demand for the immediate release of Kenyatta. Now that these men are in the camp of the enemy, K.A.N.U. inevitably feels that it has been tricked, and for that reason Mr. Odinga, Mr. Mboya, and the rest of the *claque* must be expected to be especially bitter in their hostility.



As the news columns make evident this week, the anger of the European farmers is near flash-point, and it is quite possible that, if they are not quickly offered a fair deal by

H.M. Government,

### Another Sordid Act Of Appeasement.

many of them may refuse to remain in Kenya, even if they

cannot sell their properties. Where there is no hope the people perish; and the economy of Kenya, which is wholly agricultural will be brought to disaster if the politicians in

this country who have betrayed the Colony — including the millions of decent Africans who want nothing better than British rule — do not now decide to treat with elementary equity the victims of their folly, impetuosity, lack of courage, and lack of principle. Ignoring all these basic considerations, the inef-fable Mr. Macleod comforts himself with hallucinations about a happy Kenya well out of its difficulties — just because, by another sordid act of appeasement, he has produced a "formula" acceptable to a few men of all races who are ready to take portfolios!

## Notes By The Way

### Historic Day for Tanganyika

IN A B.B.C. STUDIO on Monday morning I heard Mr. Nyerere take the oath of allegiance to the Queen and then the oath as Prime Minister of Tanganyika. He was in the drawing room at Government House, Dar es Salaam, where the Governor announced that he had just appointed him Prime Minister and received his list of Ministers, all of them non-officials. If the unity which had been a characteristic of Mr. Nyerere's Government were maintained, said Sir Richard Turnbull, the high hopes of Her Majesty's Government would be fulfilled. That ceremony over, the new Prime Minister was interviewed for the B.B.C., which that day and on Tuesday beamed the programme to many parts of the world. The transmission was clear, and so were Mr. Nyerere's replies to the questions put to him.

### Faith in the Commonwealth

NEUTRALISM was, he said, not a description of his policy which he liked. Because the intention was to deal objectively with every issue as it arose, it would be more accurate to describe his Government's attitude as one of independence — which did not mean that the importance of the Commonwealth was undervalued. It had, he believed, a great part to play in the world, and, having rid itself of a serious embarrassment, its influence should be greater than ever. His recent visit to West Africa had made him more than ever convinced that the right course for the East African territories was that of federation, and he sincerely hoped that Tanganyika's attainment of self-government and early independence would not interfere with plans for a federation, since balkanization of the region would be most regrettable.

### Faith, Hope and Charity

HAVING THE PRIVILEGE of saying something on that day, historic for Tanganyika, I recalled that I had lived and worked in the Territory 47 years ago — before Mr. Nyerere was born. Indeed, being of pre-1914 war vintage, my active connexion with the country went back further than that of anyone now prominent in its public or business life. What encouraged optimism, I felt, was that faith, hope and charity had been stamped so unmistakably upon recent events: Mr. Nyerere had triumphed by faith, had given hope to the Europeans and Asians who had feared the disappearance of British rule, and had enjoined upon his African followers charity towards

the non-Africans in their midst. Thus it was in the right spirit that tremendous change took place, a spirit likely to encourage that confidence overseas which could alone attract the men and money desperately needed if the great potentialities of a vast country were to be rapidly realized.

### Is Britain Sufficiently Alert?

MR. ROBERT BOSCAWEN, convenor of the East African Group of the Conservative Commonwealth Council, who recently spent two months in East and Central Africa, described the inter-racial harmony in Tanganyika as most striking, and emphasized the need for British participation in the tasks ahead. I mentioned that Continental businessmen, especially Germans, and Japanese, — and even Chinese — interests, were showing a keener concern with prospective developments than were people in the United Kingdom, and suggested that, since most of the money for the large Anglo-Dutch sugar growing scheme in the Kibomero Valley was British, it was highly regrettable that the equipment purchased should have been non-British. When finance from this country, whether from public or private sources, is provided for development schemes in Africa, it is surely reasonable to stipulate that British manufacturers should provide the necessary machinery and other equipment.

### End of an Era

PUBLIC BODIES so often produce dull and stereotyped annual reports, that those which depart from the norm are to be welcomed, especially if they stimulate thought. On another page are extracts from the Joint East and Central African Board's annual report, which will, I imagine, shake and perhaps shock, quite a number of people. I wish that I could share its optimism that "1960 marked the end of an era for the extremists, whether white or black", and its confidence that "henceforth merit and reasonableness in conference may count more than racialism in the emergent British territories". Those statements were sent to the printers in March, but between New Year's Day and that date African political extremists in Kenya, Buganda and Northern Rhodesia in particular had been quite as active and unreasonable as they were in 1960. There can be very few, if any, responsible people in Kenya or Northern Rhodesia who are satisfied that "merit and reasonableness in conference count more than racialism". If they did, Kenya would not now be suffering a crisis of confidence which threatens the country's whole economy

# Mr. Ngala at Head of New "National" Government in Kenya

## Flies to London with Delegation to See Colonial Secretary

ALL BUT TWO PORTFOLIOS in Kenya's new K.A.D.U.-backed Government have now been assigned. Three of the non-official Ministries go to Africans, two to Europeans, and one to an Asian.

The new Ministers are: MR. R. G. NGALA, president of the Kenya African Democratic Union, Minister of Education; MR. MASINDE MULIRO (K.A.D.U.), Minister of Commerce, Industry and Communications; MR. TAITA TOWETT (K.A.D.U.), Minister of Labour and Housing; MR. W. B. HAVELOCK (New Kenya Party), Minister of Local Government and Lands; MR. PETER MARRIAN (Independent), Minister of Tourism, Forests and Wild Life; and MR. ARVIND JAMIDAR (Kenya Indian Congress), Minister of Works.

Temporary appointments to the two Ministries of which political heads remain to be selected are: MR. M. N. EVANS, Permanent Secretary for Health, and MR. R. J. M. SWYNNERTON, Permanent Secretary for Agriculture.

The following Parliamentary Secretaries have been appointed: MR. J. H. OKONDO, Finance and Development; MR. D. T. ARAP MOI, Education; SHEIKH M. A. ALAMOODY, Commerce, Industry and Communications; MR. J. K. OLE TIPIS, Agriculture.

The official Ministers are: SIR WALTER COUTTS, Chief Secretary; MR. E. N. GRIFFITH-JONES, Legal Affairs; MR. K. W. S. MACKENZIE, Finance and Development; and MR. A. C. C. SWANN, Security and Defence.

Formation of the new Government was announced last Thursday after a meeting late on the previous evening between Sir Patrick Reilison and the K.A.D.U. leaders. Only the names of the Ministers were then given, without indication of their portfolios.

Mr. Ngala said that two unfilled posts at that stage were the Ministries of Agriculture and of Health and Social Welfare. The former had been offered to the outgoing Minister of Agriculture, Mr. B. R. McKenzie, and the latter to Mr. H. N. Mulii, one of those members of K.A.N.U. believed to be willing to join the Government, but both had refused.

Mr. McKenzie stated that he could not accept because he felt that the Government must represent a majority of the elected members, which the new Government did not.

"Unless that condition is met", he added, "the spirit of the Lancaster House Constitution is undermined. A Government which commands only a minority cannot formulate sound policies or build up stability. The formation of such a Government will serve neither the long-term interests of the minority groups nor the long-term interests of Kenya."

Mr. James Gichuru, president of K.A.N.U., had meanwhile flown urgently to London in a bid to delay the formation of a K.A.D.U. Government. He arrived on Thursday only a few hours before the announcement of the new Ministers' names was made. He then learnt that his cabled request for an interview with the Colonial Secretary had been refused, but that he might meet Colonial Office officials.

At a Press conference on Saturday Mr. Gichuru and Mr. F. Mbiti Maiti, a member of K.A.N.U.'s governing council, said in a joint statement that the party was determined to use its majority in the Legislative Council to secure the immediate and unconditional release of Kenyatta and independence for the country now.

The purpose of their visit to London was to see the Colonial Secretary to put to him their views on the formation of a Government with the support of K.A.D.U. If the object of the Macleod Constitution was to lead Africans to independence, that could not be achieved through the present Government. "Political and economic stability in Kenya can be achieved only through harmony between the various political groups."

On Sunday Mr. Ngala arrived in London, leading a seven-member parliamentary delegation, including Mr. Blundell, leader of the New Kenya Party.

Mr. Ngala said they would discuss with Mr. Macleod the

need for financial assistance from Britain and such problems as unemployment and expansion of educational facilities. He thought "a small grant of £25m. over five years, at the rate of £5m. a year, beginning with one instalment now" would be sufficient.

Asked if he expected trouble from K.A.N.U., Mr. Ngala said: "If by trouble you mean opposition, yes; but I think as long as this trouble is constitutional we are in a position to deal with it."

Mr. Blundell, who has been offered the post of Minister of Agriculture in the new Government, said he could not say whether he would accept until he had cleared up some personal commitments. Members of the N.K.P. in the Legislative Council had decided to support the new Government, although they were elected by predominantly K.A.N.U. voters.

Other members of the delegation are Messrs. Towett, Havelock, Jamidar, Okondo, and Alamoody. Mr. Blundell was stated to be accompanying the delegations as leader of the New Kenya Party and because of his long experience in agriculture. Mr. R. S. Alexander, also of the N.K.P., was expected to join the delegation during this week "to help in detailed discussion of financial matters."

Mr. Ngala issued the following statement on Monday:—  
"My colleagues and I who have accepted office in the new Government of Kenya have come to London to discuss economic questions with the Secretary of State as a matter of urgency. We represent all the groups who now form the National Government in Kenya, and I think it should be emphasized that although my own party, K.A.D.U., has four less seats in the Legislature than the Kenya African National Union, neither party can claim to be a majority party in the House."

"The Governor asked K.A.N.U. to participate in the formation of a Government. They found themselves unable to do so. Even if they had done so it would have been essential for them to obtain the co-operation of other groups in order to command support for their policies in the Council, just as it has been necessary for me as K.A.D.U. leader, to do this."

"Whatever number of elected members sit on the Opposition benches, only 19, or perhaps less, will be members of K.A.N.U. Many Independents have assured me that they will not oppose the Government in principle, although they may sit on the Opposition benches in order to criticize in detail. The three Coalition members I understand are in the same position. I am confident that the great majority of the elected members welcome the formation of the National Government and will support us on all important policies."

"It is important to realize that in present circumstances no single party could 'go it alone' in Kenya, and that those who have joined me provide the required strength to support the new Government."

"Members of the delegation, as a team, met the Secretary of State for the Colonies this morning. Further meetings are being arranged throughout this week."

### "We May Not be Able to Stop Mau Mau"

In Nairobi two African members of the Legislative Council, Mr. M. Sagira and Mr. Jeremiah Nyagah, a former Deputy Speaker, said the taking of Mau Mau oaths was increasing. Mr. Nyagah, a member of K.A.N.U., said:—

"If this so-called K.A.D.U. Government continues, anything could happen. We do not want violence, and we do not want Mau Mau, but we may not be able to stop it. Violence on the old patterns is inevitable in Nairobi and nearby districts, although K.A.N.U. will do everything in its power to prevent an outbreak."

He claimed that the taking of oaths was prevalent in the Meru and Fort Hall districts and that preparations for a Mau Mau revival had been made for some time in the Rift Valley and Central Province.

When Mr. Derek Erskine returned from London, where he had been supporting the campaign for Kenyatta's release, he was chaired by cheering Africans. He was greeted at the airport by Mr. Mboya.

### K.A.N.U. Being Recognized

It became known on Monday that K.A.N.U. is to undertake complete re-organization, based on some 40 "district conventions" which, despite the connotation of substantial membership in each case, will in fact have a strictly limited membership, probably confined to the district officials.

There are understood to be two main purposes: to bring into being under strict central control a hard core of devoted party members throughout the country, and, secondly, to have in each area a nucleus small enough to meet without licence under the laws affecting public meetings.

K.A.N.U. sources have suggested that another requirement is stricter control of those junior officials, who were detained during the Mau Mau rebellion and are still in contact with secret societies. There are so many such members of K.A.N.U., many of them junior officials, that the organization is often termed "the Mau Mau party" by Kenya Africans.

The Africa correspondent of *The Times* cabled from Nairobi early this week in the course of a long message:—

"The dispute between Mr. Mboya and Mr. Odinga has been settled for the time being after long talks between them at Mr. Odinga's home in Kisumu. Mr. Ngala will therefore be faced with the clamour of a powerful and united Opposition.

### K.A.N.U. Angry with Mr. Blundell

"Special bitterness is reserved for Mr. Michael Blundell, leader of the New Kenya Party, who was elected with K.A.N.U. support and is alleged to have given K.A.N.U. a verbal undertaking that he would work for Kenya's immediate

release. Indeed, one of the saddest results of the way things have gone is the fact that there are now very few Europeans left whom K.A.N.U., if it ever comes to power, is likely to trust — a notable exception being Mr. McKenzie, former Minister for Agriculture, who has refused to join the Government and has resigned from the New Kenya Party.

The immediate aim of K.A.N.U. is to dispel the belief that Kenya can now move smoothly to independence under Mr. Ngala's leadership. Its ultimate aim is the destruction of the present Government and the Lancaster House Constitution, precipitating another crisis which will give it a chance to tramp noisily back into leadership just in time for the independence celebrations. The threat is serious.

"Several prominent members of the Indian community, which is even more nervous than the European, have hedged their bets by providing assistance for such schemes as K.A.N.U.-sponsored scholarships.

"Probably only one event could induce K.A.N.U. to become co-operative again — creation of a single African party under the leadership of Kenyatta.

"It is ironic that the Governor, having paid a high price to persuade K.A.D.U. to form a Government without the immediate release of Kenyatta, finds himself faced with a situation in which Kenyatta's detention is more than ever the symbol of all strife and a block against all understanding."

## Kenya Farmers Resolve to Press U.K. Government In Certain Circumstances Would Wreck Farms and Walk Out

**WE WILL NOT STAY IN KENYA** unless our minimum requirements are met, said Mr. C. O. Oates, chairman of the Convention of Associations, at a special conference held in Nairobi last Friday.

The farmers would, he insisted, not be thrust into the position held by the Helots in Ancient Greece; and they were determined to make the United Kingdom Government, the ultimate authority from which they held their land leases, face its responsibilities.

Mr. Oates referred to the open rejection of the Macleod Constitution by the African political leaders; described as "the usual nauseating cant" a recent statement in the House of Commons by the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies; declared that the British Government "continue to treat us as though we are of no account"; and referred to the likelihood that many irreplaceable civil servants would quit Kenya.

Major B. P. Roberts, whose statement appears elsewhere in this issue, moved a resolution asking for a commission to work out a compensation scheme for farmers who, it said, would not remain in the country against their will, "but will disrupt the economy".

Mr. A. E. Cutwick, the seconder, suggested that H.M. Government should be told that if it had not found a solution satisfactory to European farmers in Kenya by the end of this year, "we shall have to do something to bring the British Government to heel and smash the economy of this country for many years to come".

He proposed that after gathering the next harvest farmers should sell their machinery if they could find buyers, dismiss their African labourers, and export all realizable assets. He said:—

"We have passed the point of no return and are embarked on a salvage operation. The British Government has made a howling hash of things. We have to get the Europeans out of Kenya on the best terms and make a start somewhere else. We have to produce such chaos that it will break not only Macleod but Macmillan and his Government."

Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Beaumont, who thought it not wise to say too much about "wilful destruction," moved an amendment to the resolution to make clearer

that the economy was being disrupted by British policies and not by Kenya farmers.

Lord Delamere, president of the Kenya National Farmers' Union, said: "Continued delay by H.M. Government in settling Kenya's vital problems cannot be morally defensible or economically sound. Evasion of a settlement, disastrous for the European farmer, will also be catastrophic in its effect on the African peoples of Kenya."

Mr. Oates said in the course of his speech:—

"Most Europeans in Kenya realized that when the Lancaster House (or Macleod) Constitution was implemented they would lose all political say in the country, but the fact that the candidates in whom they had faith were not allowed to represent them in the new Legislature has added to their already strong doubts about remaining in Kenya. Nothing that has happened since the elections has been in any way conducive to the restoration of confidence. The Constitution that we accepted with such reluctance has been declared by the strongest of the African parties to be not worthy of implementation.

"Now African leaders say that owners of land will have to wait until a new Government is formed after independence to see if their titles are valid; then if certain conditions as to citizenship are fulfilled, there is a possibility that the present holders may be given titles considered valid by the new and wholly African Government. From what Mr. Mboya said in Toronto recently it appears that he is trying to tie land titles to citizenship, knowing full well that most of us with British citizenship will not throw away that birthright.

"To a great number of Africans *Uhuru* means the taking over of land occupied by Europeans, and I doubt if an all-African Government could, even if it wished, stop wholesale trespass amounting to occupation.

"The leaseholder of land from the Crown in Kenya knows that in the not too distant future his ground landlord, i.e., the British Government, is going to hand the property over to someone else—an all-African Kenya Government. That potential landlord has said that when he takes over he will not necessarily agree that the leaseholders have valid title to their property. In certain undisclosed circumstances they may have, but none of the potential members of the new Government will best of giving any sort of guarantee. In consequence of this and other factors the leaseholder's property is no longer a realizable asset. It will therefore be necessary for us to have dealings with our present landlord—the British Government—whom we have no intention of allowing to evade its responsibilities.

"In the House of Commons in March the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Hugh Fraser, after the usual nauseating cant about not letting down their kith and kin overseas, made the frank admission that the British Government could not possibly assist the European to leave Kenya because he produces 80% of the exports; the Government's view was that this help would be needed here for at least a decade after independence, for otherwise the country would go bust.

"It is quite obvious from some African speeches that they want us to remain but will concede to us the sort of position held by Helots in Ancient Greece. This we are not prepared to stomach.

"When on December 6 last I led on your behalf a deputation to see the Governor on the land question, we told Sir Patrick Renshaw that it would be unwise to imagine that the European farmer will stay in Kenya in any circumstances. Today, after one of the worst droughts, combined with a catastrophic rust incidence in the wheat crop, the average mixed farmer is on the razor's edge between success and failure of his operations. Indeed, with inadequate rains in many areas and tremendous damage from army worm in others, the position grows worse even hourly.

"When this occurred in the past the farmer was hopeful of the future. Today he sees little hope in the future and wonders if it is worthwhile to battle on.

"I therefore say with the utmost emphasis to the British Government, the Kenya Government, and friends, that unless our minimum requirements are met we will not stay in Kenya.

"Kenya's whole economy depends on the European farmer and planter. We hoped that when political power had passed to the African we should be left alone to play our part in the

economy of the country. This does not appear likely. And what is the sense in staying if our land is not ours anyway?

"If conditions were right the ordinary farmer would be only too happy to plan for success; but conditions are not right, and though we have some good friends fighting in London to see that the Europeans are given a fair deal, the British Government and others continue to treat us as though we are of no account. Mr. Macleod, in his political expediency, has ignored the economy and the opinion of the majority of those who produce the money that runs Kenya.

"The revenue produced by the immigrant races has built up Kenya, and but for the Mau Mau rebellion the country would have continued to do without assistance. Now we are told that any loans raised—because of Mr. Macleod's attack on our economy—may be repudiated by the next Government.

"While I have concentrated on the plight of the mixed farmer, the position with regard to the Civil Service is also serious. Most of them on contract terms are leaving when their term ends, and they are irreplaceable. We read of getting help from other countries, but enthusiastic and dedicated as such helpers may be, they cannot take the place of a trained civil servant.

"The commercial community's security is inextricably bound up with that of the farming community, so that any action we can induce the British Government to take to restore confidence in land will inevitably assist them. I emphasize that every day that passes in the present uneasy economic dilemma will make it that much more difficult to induce the farmers to carry on. Wishful thinking by one section of the European community has tended to divide us. Let us now see if we can pull together on the economic issue."

## Macleodism Criticized at Conservative Conference

### Secretary of State Attacked on Kenya and Northern Rhodesia

**MR. IAIN MACLEOD**, the Colonial Secretary, was criticized for his departure from the principles of the Lennox-Boyd Constitution for Northern Rhodesia when he addressed the annual conference of the Conservative Commonwealth Council in London on Saturday.

Uneasiness was also expressed over the situation in Kenya and the promised relaxation of restrictions on Kenyatta.

The theme of the two-day conference was "Towards Victory over Poverty." Viscount Soulbury presided, and among the other guest speakers were Mr. Edward Heath, Lord Privy Seal, and Mr. B. R. Braine, Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations.

**MR. MACLEOD**, Secretary of State for the Colonies, said (in part):—

"Poverty can be overcome and the long ladder of progress surmounted only where basic conditions of law and order and security for the individual exist.

"There is a passionate desire for freedom in Africa today. It is our aim to see that freedom is realized in conditions where it can mean something in terms of individual fulfilment; where it will not be a mere mockery; and where anarchy in which productive life comes to a standstill, and the downward slope to poverty, famine and every form of degradation can be avoided.

"My predecessor, Lord Chandos, said in the House of Commons on November 14, 1951:—'Certain broad lines of policy are accepted by all sections of the House as being above party politics. We all aim at helping the colonial territories to attain self-government within the Commonwealth; to that end we seek as rapidly as possible to build up in each territory the institutions which its circumstances require. Second, we are all determined to pursue the economic and social development of the colonial territories so that it keeps pace with their political development'. We stand by those words.

"Last month I visited Tanganyika to preside at a conference which took another major step forward on the road to independence, with the promise of full independence at the end of this year. At further discussions to be held in London during the summer we shall tidy up and settle a multitude of problems, so that the final step in the discharge of our trusteeship responsibilities can be taken.

"Mr. Julius Nyerere, whose contribution to his country's progress is already so great, has expressed the hope that East Africa could have a united future, which would undoubtedly present a much brighter prospect for her peoples in the world of the future. I agree that many of the problems in East Africa might be simpler in the context of an East African Federation. If that is the true desire of the peoples who live there we would certainly welcome it. But we do not wish to impose it: it must be a 'grass roots' movement.

### Margin of One Vote

"In Zanzibar the election results were so finely balanced, even to the point where there was a margin of only one vote in one of the seats, that it proved impossible to form a Government with a non-official Chief Minister, as had been intended. A new election will be held early in June, and we may, I think, look forward with some confidence to the constitutional evolution of Zanzibar, which is in some ways more fortunate than some other territories in its historical and cultural background.

"In Uganda a new Ministry, following country-wide elections, was sworn in in the middle of April. I have especially warm feelings for the Legislature in Uganda, as I had the privilege of opening their magnificent new building in Kampala a few months ago. I hope so much that it is a symbol for the future of that country.

"What I also hope most sincerely is that Uganda can achieve something that we have achieved in this country—the reconciliation of a modern democracy with treasured traditions. We well understand the attachment of the Baganda to the Kabakaship. Lord Munster and his colleagues of the Relationships Commission are now working on their report, which will, I hope, guide us and the people of Uganda in the adjustment of the Kabakaship and the ancient offices of the other rulers to the progressive Uganda of the future.

"In my New Year broadcast to the Colonies I said that 1961 would be a year of exceptional importance throughout East and Central Africa. I added: 'Great opportunities exist

for wise and moderate leadership. Great tragedies follow the propagation of glib slogans. Time and again we have seen that constitutional progress comes most quickly in conditions of self-discipline and responsibility. Democracy demands these qualities and it cannot come to birth or develop where they do not exist.

"In Kenya, that lovely country whose economy owes so much to those who have settled there from Britain, we have passed through a phase during which it appeared that these factors might have been forgotten. After the elections under the arrangements worked out at the Lancaster House Conference in 1960 it looked as though some of those participating had become prisoners of a slogan and that the progress and prosperity of the country might be delayed and harmed. Fortunately, it now seems that we will have a strong multi-racial Government.

"If so, then we may hope that the massive help which is being given from this country, the World Bank and other friendly countries will lead to worthwhile development of Kenya's one great national asset — the land.

"Even though the tragedies of Angola and the Congo are so near to them, I for one do not regard the Central African scene with pessimism. It remains Her Majesty's Government's view that a Federation is in the best long-term interests of the inhabitants of all races. Our immediate preoccupation has been to carry through and support some measure of constitutional advance in the unit territories.

"In Nyasaland elections on the new basis are approaching, and in Northern Rhodesia discussions are proceeding in Lusaka to fill in the details of the broad plan for constitutional advance worked out in London.

"Last October I announced a bold plan to enable countries approaching or achieving independence to retain the services of experienced officers recruited in Britain and other overseas territories. In this way we hope to avoid a tragic waste of human skills and wisdom, at the same time providing a very real help to overseas Governments.

"I then said in the House of Commons: "The function of the modern Colonial Service is not one of Imperial domination. It is the constructive and practical task of helping countries forward in their development towards nationhood. We have the finest organization in the world for providing professional and technical assistance to under-developed territories. In fact, we already have the kind of service for which the United Nations is now groping in handling the problem that has been thrown up in the Congo."

"The total cost over the next 10 years might amount to something like £150m., starting at the rate of £16m. per annum. To date 33 separate Governments and Administrations have agreed to participate in the scheme. They employ about 16,000 officers who will be covered by the scheme.

"Then there is to be a new Department in Whitehall for the provision of technical assistance to overseas countries.

"Our financial contribution towards development in the Colonies in the last financial year was over £50m. — excluding general grants-in-aid or assistance to meet the cost of natural disasters such as last year's hurricanes in Mauritius."

### Appeasing Extremists

Mr. J. P. McDONAGH suggested that what Mr. Macleod had said was "almost unexceptionable", but that it was what he did not say that seriously concerned many in his audience.

Last year, against a background of disengagement by H.M. Government from Africa, Mr. Macleod had said that his task was "to harness the middle and not appease the flanks" — the extremists on either side.

"I feel there is now a danger of not harnessing the middle but appeasing the flanks", Mr. McDonagh said. That was particularly evident in Northern Rhodesia, where Mr. Macleod's departure from the policy and principles of the Lennox-Boyd Constitution had made the position of the moderates more and more vulnerable to the extremists. Why, he asked, had the Colonial Secretary departed from those principles?

Mr. Macleod replied that it was a mistake to think that the 1958 Constitution was accepted; it was imposed. "I would far rather find a Constitution that is accepted, and the present proposals are in fact an attempt to 'harness the middle'."

Miss C. E. Owen, chairman of the East and Central Africa Group, said she had been shocked to find in America and Canada, as well as in this country, a general feeling that "you must be either a Macleod man or a Welensky man". It was a comment that came most often from supporters of Mr. Macleod.

Mr. Macleod thought it unfortunate that politics traditionally

became personalized. "The only people who do not like Sir Roy are the people who do not know him. I like him very much. I have never had a cross word with him. We have had our differences, but we have disagreed amicably."

Asked for what the Commonwealth stood, Mr. Macleod said: "Most of all for the brotherhood of man. There is an immense rôle that it can play as a moral force."

### H.M. Government Criticized

Addressing the conference at a later session on the Central African situation, Mr. McDonagh said that a year ago his report to the conference had been hopeful for the future despite the gathering of political clouds.

"Today I would be less than honest if I did not admit that the uppermost feeling regarding the Federation is one of deep anxiety. Political leaders there have lost confidence in H.M. Government; and when confidence goes silly things happen. The most worthy intentions become misinterpreted.

"One recognizes the dilemma facing the Government. There are the mounting pressures from the Afro-Asian group and the United States. But the pace and tempo of changes for Northern Rhodesia reveal a complete misunderstanding of its unique conditions. They are different from Nyasaland and Tanganyika. I wonder if H.M. Government accepts that as a criterion.

"It is no exaggeration to say that H.M. Government has avoided a clear statement that its intentions are to preserve Government in responsible hands — not merely European hands. Despite what Mr. Macleod has said, the moderate Africans are becoming more and more vulnerable to the intimidation of extremists.

"Northern Rhodesia holds the key to the future of the whole Federation. Unless agreement is reached there the referendum in Southern Rhodesia cannot hope to succeed, and if it fails that will be the end of the Federation as we know it."

Mr. McDonagh said that a meeting of the East and Central Africa Group, after hearing a report from the Hon. Robert Boscawen on his return from a tour of those areas, had unanimously agreed to the following statement:—

"While congratulating the Government on the rate of progress in some other parts of the African continent, particularly in Tanganyika, the East and Central Africa Group feel that H.M. Government have failed to appreciate the different conditions and problems in Northern Rhodesia.

"The Prime Minister and British Government have repeatedly stated that they wish to preserve the Federation. It will not be preserved at the referendum in Southern Rhodesia on the Sandys Constitution is lost. Sir Edgar Whitehead, even with the aid of Sir Roy Welensky, is unlikely to win that referendum unless the terms of the new Northern Rhodesian Constitution are known in sufficient time for them to be considered.

"It is of paramount importance, therefore for the terms of the Northern Rhodesian Constitution to be published well in advance of the Southern Rhodesian referendum, and for that Constitution to be of a nature to ensure that not less than half the members elected to the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council shall be supporters of a continued Federation.

"It is understood that unless agreement is reached with all parties concerned, the new Northern Rhodesian Constitution will be imposed. We believe that the publication of the proposed new Northern Rhodesian Constitution is delayed till after the Southern Rhodesia referendum, or is of a nature to provide an elected majority hostile to the continuation of the Federation, the responsibility for the destruction of the Federation will lie inescapably on the Prime Minister and the British Government."

A young speaker who described himself as "an impassioned supporter of the Colonial Secretary" said that a slower pace of advance in Africa would be even more hazardous than the present one. That was the opinion of the overwhelming majority of young Conservatives, who stood behind Mr. Macleod. (An interjector: "Rubbish".)

Miss Owen said sharply that the future of the Federation was a great deal more important than the future of the Bow Group or Mr. Macleod. "I feel very distressed to find the Federation being thrown about like a ball at conferences such as this for political amusement. The future of the Federation is the key to the future stability of all Africa."

Reporting on the East African situation, Mr. Boscawen said that the remarkable success of Tanganyika was rightly attributed in large degree to the leadership of Mr. Nyerere. But the Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull, had not been given sufficient credit for his work behind the scenes.

Tanganyika's political success was in a vacuum if it did not have an economic boost to go with it — and Germany, Japan, Sweden, Switzerland, and even China, were already

exploring the prospects of investment. "I hope people in the City will take note of that". Of Uganda's future he was guardedly optimistic. Much would depend on the Relationships Commission finding a scheme whereby Buganda might take part in the Government.

### Kenya "Like an Economic Congo"

In Kenya the members of the Kenya African Democratic Union who had joined the new Government were men of great courage.

"We in this country must back them to the hilt, and we hope the Colonial Secretary will be extremely generous in providing financial backing. K.A.D.U. will be under terrific pressure. K.A.N.U. wants to destroy K.A.D.U., and in this connexion we are extremely uneasy about the fact that Kenyatta will be brought to Kiambu, where he will be the centre of intrigue that will be highly detrimental to good government.

"We hope the Colonial Secretary will play very slowly the next stage of bringing Kenyatta down the pipeline. We hope that that house will take a long time to build. As far as we know, Kenyatta still opposes co-operation either with Europeans or Asians, and he still has immense influence.

"Kenya looks very much like an economic Congo. There is no buying or selling of property. Land will not fetch anything at all. There is no question now of a scheme of compensation. It is too late. Eighty per cent. of the European settlers would go if they could, and even if the economic climate improved they would still not want to stay. When Britain has gone they feel there will be no British police or soldiers to protect them."

At a Press reception preceding the conference Mr. Boscawen had also referred to uneasiness at the influence Kenyatta might exert if his restriction were eased.

"We feel there is a great danger of Kenyatta controlling the country from Kiambu", he said. "If he condemns the peasant farming scheme, for instance, Africans will be too scared to operate it".

### Mr. Roy Thomson Enters East Africa

MR. ROY THOMSON'S *Sunday Times*, the Canadian *Globe and Mail*, and private financial interests in the United Kingdom, the United States, Switzerland, and Ceylon have become associated with the Aga Khan in the conduct of East African Newspapers (Nation Series), Ltd., founded two years ago by the Aga Khan. The group publishes 14 journals in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar. The Aga Khan said at his home in Gstaad, Switzerland, at the week-end that African participation in the company would be encouraged; already in Tanganyika there was an African editor and an African majority on the board.

### T.S.G.A.

MR. J. F. LLOYD, managing director of Bird & Co. (Africa), Ltd., was elected chairman of the Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association at the annual meeting in Tanga last Friday, when Mr. W. D. Lead, last year's chairman, accepted the office of vice-chairman. The other members of the executive committee are Messrs. E. J. Milton, F. Horsley, and V. T. Thakore. The association's president is Mr. H. Tanner, and Mr. Abdulla M. A. Karimjee, a past president, is the first vice-president. Now Sir George Arnautoglu has been elected second vice-president.

### Millionaires' Playground

SENATOR RENDELL MABEY, a millionaire from Utah, has suggested that he might provide about £750,000 for a "millionaires' playground" a few hundred yards from the Victoria Falls. He has asked the Northern Rhodesian Government for a 99-year lease on 45 acres beside the Eastern Cataract. An official spokesman has said that "the hotel would be the lap of luxury and a great attraction. It might be opened next year".

## Parliamentary Secretaries in Uganda

SIX PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARIES have been appointed in Uganda. They are drawn from all four provinces—two from the North, two from the West, and one each from the East and Buganda.

MR. ENOCH MULIRA, a 46-year-old Muganda, who represents Masaka South-West, is Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

MR. ALEXANDER LATIM, a 38-year-old Acholi, M.L.C. for Acholi North-West, is Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Finance.

MR. GASPARE ODA, a 40-year-old Lugbara from West Nile, and a former Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Natural Resources, now occupies that post in the Ministry of Local Government.

MR. BONIFACE BYANYIMA, a Muvankole, who represents Ankole North-East, is Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health.

MR. JAMES OCHOLA, a 37-year-old Mudama, from Bukedi, is Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture.

MR. ZAKARIC BABUKIKA, M.L.C. for Kigezi South, has taken the same office in the Ministry of Education.

MR. S. B. KIBUKA has been appointed Government Chief Whip in the Legislative Council.

MR. A. R. MRONVEBOYOMBI, Democratic Party candidate in the South-West Kigezi constituency, polled 8,407 votes, against 5,628 cast for Mr. Bazanyamaso (Uganda People's Congress). The defeated candidate sat in the last Legislative Council. His successful opponent resigned an appointment as an assistant engineer in the Ministry of Works to contest the seat.

If the specially elected members are added, the full composition of the Legislative Council of 101 members is now: Democratic Party, 50; Uganda People's Congress, 38; Independents, two; Uganda National Congress, one; Governor's nominated members, seven; and ex-officio members, three.

## Kenya Africans Want No Change

LADY CLAUD HAMILTON has written from Elmenteita, Kenya, to the *Daily Telegraph*—

"We who are at the receiving end of Mr. Macleod's African policy feel extremely grateful to Lord Salisbury and those peers who have followed his lead for their uncompromising defence of the European settlers.

"We all know, of course, that some day the countries of East Africa must have African government; but the time when the Kenyan African politicians can be trusted with the lives and fates of the rest of the Kenyan Africans is far distant.

"Out of the 6m. black Africans in Kenya it is probably true to say that 99% want no change from their present status, and dread the day when they will be at the mercy of their own politicians.

"We do not expect a 'Congo' here, though anything can happen. What we do expect is a run-down of the Government services. Taxation will be increased to sear, and it also possible that not all Treasury money will reach its proper destination. Probably then the roads, railways, telephones, hospitals, schools, security, veterinary and other services will begin to disintegrate. All our years of successful endeavour will be wasted, and the results of our hard work destroyed.

"We feel that what happens to the white people in Kenya does not really matter to our rulers in England. A large majority of the settlers here are quite poor, having borrowed the capital to start their farms and businesses, and being still in debt to the banks. What does the future hold for them now?

"They cannot sell, for no one will buy; they realize that the best thing is to cut their losses and go, hoping to start again elsewhere. This is a hard thing for these people to face, especially when they are no longer voting.

"But apart from them, is it fair to sacrifice the vast proportion of Kenyan Africans? Most of them are not very vocal; they are country people, respectable, decent and quiet, and they know they can trust the Europeans, though they do not trust each other.

"Only Lord Salisbury and his friends will speak for them, and for us, who are their friends; and we feel it is wonderful to have a champion who is so fearless and honest.

"I remind the Colonial Secretary that the White Paper of 1923 said: 'The interests of the Africans must be paramount. If this meant all the Kenyan Africans, and not just the African politicians, then who does he think is going to take care of the Africans interests if not the Europeans?'"

# Kenya Coalition's Warning to H.M. Government

Most Farmers and Businessmen will leave Kenya\*

UNTIL THE LAST ELECTION in Britain the colonial policy of H.M. Government towards Kenya was based on the concept of racial partnership. The Lyttelton and Lennox-Boyd Constitutions reflected that policy.

The Lancaster House Constitution, however, initiated a change of policy—namely, speedy transition to an African State. Notwithstanding this rapid political advance, some African leaders here have already declared this Constitution outmoded—before it has even been implemented.

The Kenya Coalition were prepared to try to make the Constitution, as agreed in London, work, but do not consider themselves committed to a changed pattern altered without consultation. Thus whilst we welcome any reasonable move to restore political and economic stability, we view with grave apprehension the chances of survival of a Government established on lines which depart so fundamentally from the Lancaster House Constitution, and excludes from amongst its members the largest and most powerful African party; and those who were clearly shown by the primary elections as chosen by the Europeans to safeguard their interests and who were not even asked to express their views.

We do not arrogate to ourselves any right to determine the future of other races, but we believe that without true co-operation between the African and European the future for both is bleak. Unfortunately, many Europeans now feel that events have forced them beyond the stage of being willing to co-operate into a dour fight for the survival of themselves, their farms, their businesses and their homes.

One of the main aims of the Coalition has been to safeguard the interests of the European community, although we maintain that the ultimate onus of doing so lies fairly and squarely upon the shoulders of H.M. Government who are responsible for inviting Europeans to develop Kenya. Furthermore, H.M. Government have declared that it is their policy to create conditions under which Europeans can continue to play their part in Kenya, such policy being dictated presumably by the realization that the withdrawal of the Europeans at this stage would bring economic disaster to all races.

The Coalition would have no quarrel with this policy, provided it were satisfied that it was being pursued honestly and realistically.

## Not an Expendable Guinea-pig

H.M. Government, however, take note that the Coalition, with all the weight of European opinion behind it, will bitterly oppose any attempt to use the European merely as a short-term economic pawn, with no regard for his long-term rights, welfare, or security. The European has no intention of allowing himself to be looked upon as an expendable guinea-pig in an interesting political experiment; nor will he run the risk of being possibly subjected to intolerable conditions under a future nationalist regime.

Should, therefore, the British Government feel impelled to hand over power before minimum conditions for the economic security and safety of the European community are established (upon which European opinion must be paramount), they must first agree to give the European an opportunity to withdraw himself and his assets, and to compensate him for any loss occasioned by such withdrawal. Unless a definite and detailed scheme covering this eventuality is introduced forthwith, there can be no revival of confidence.

The Coalition is thus pledged to insisting upon basic requirements being met for the safety of European life and property and for their future as a community. In the light of current events especial insistence must be placed upon the following:—

(a) Security and freedom from the intimidation which is at present rampant.

(b) A bold attempt in any future constitutional discussions to create a political machine which will fit the many problems of Kenya rather than trying to fit Kenya into a bogus substitute for a Westminster type constitution.

(c) Restoration of the economy by, *inter alia*:—

(1) The introduction of economic measures to ensure the transferability of assets within the sterling area.

(2) A guarantee by the British Government of the terms of issue of East Africa High Commission, Kenya Government, and local authority stocks.

(3) Provision of some form of insurance scheme on the lines of the I.C.A. against untoward political action.

(4) A guarantee of the continued validity of titles granted by the Crown.

(5) Realistic measures to render property of all types freely negotiable.

N.B. Britain must be forced to face the fact that she must either recreate conditions of economic confidence or continue to subsidize the Colony on an ever-increasing scale.

(d) Urgent and effective steps to restore the morale of the Civil Service by ensuring that contractual and moral obligations are met now and in the future.

(e) No compulsion to assume Kenya citizenship (naturalization) or discrimination against those who do not wish to do so.

(f) No return of Jomo Kenyatta to political life.

These are matters of grave moment, and, unless immediate measures to set them right are taken, the Coalition feel bound solemnly to warn H. M. Government that most farmers and businessmen alike will consider that their present existence in Kenya is justified only as a salvage operation, and they will leave a country which holds no future for them or their children.

We have an undeniable right to be consulted on future changes and to speak out on those matters which directly affect us.

The voice of the European has been too long ignored in the present clamour for power; it must be heard again—not only in our own interests but in the true interests of other minorities, not least of those many Africans who are defenceless in the march of events today. The Coalition provides the only rallying point.

## Collapse of Confidence on Kenya

### Marked Increase in Mau Mau Activities

DISCORD HAS INCREASED IN KENYA since the Lancaster House Conference, security has deteriorated drastically since the recent general election, and there has been marked and steady increase in Mau Mau activities and oathing to support the Kenya African National Union, which appears to have made no attempt to stop the resurgence of Mau Mau. Instead it now suggests that only Kenyatta—and by inference not the Government of Kenya—can ensure law and order in the country.

Those statements are made in a second memorandum by the Kenya Coalition, of which the president is Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck, lately Speaker of the Legislative Council.

The memorandum continues, in part:—

"Lancaster House, which was based on the proposition of good will and promised the Africans a majority, led instead to a decline in security and the collapse of confidence. The general election, which was weighed against the genuine expression of European

(Continued on page 954)

\* This statement was published in Nairobi last Friday.

# PERSONALIA

SIR RALPH HONE is revisiting the Federation. LORD DELAMERE is expected in London shortly from Kenya.

THE AGA KHAN will revisit East Africa later this month.

SIR KENNETH HAGUE is to receive the honorary LL.D. of Glasgow University.

MR. F. J. COOKSEY has arrived in London from Sinoia, Southern Rhodesia.

MR. AND MRS. WALTER F. JENKINS have left for a cruise to the West Indies in the ANDES.

MR. P. B. MCGOWAN sailed last week from Southampton on his way back to Southern Rhodesia.

MR. F. B. ARMITAGE, Conservator of Forests in Southern Rhodesia, has arrived in the United Kingdom.

MR. H. W. WILSON, lately Speaker of the Legislative Council of Nyasaland, is back in the United Kingdom.

MR. R. O. STOCKIL, M.P. for Victoria, will shortly retire from public life. He has been in Parliament for 16 years.

COLONEL R. A. G. PRENTICE, MAJOR C. E. WELCH, and CAPTAIN J. CRUTCHLEY, all of the Federal Army, are in London.

MR. J. G. ORR, secretary of the Engineers' Guild, has returned to London from a visit to Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika.

DR. FISHER, Archbishop of Canterbury, received last week from the University of Dublin the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF EAST AFRICA was the chief speaker yesterday at the annual meeting in London of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

MR. H. J. PENDER, passenger manager of the Union-Castle line for South and East Africa, and MRS. PENDER are due tomorrow in the CARNARVON CASTLE.

THE REV. RAYMOND CAPITO is the first African priest in Southern Rhodesia to join the Society of Jesus. He is shortly due in England to serve his novitiate.

MR. C. HARVEY RICHARDS has arrived in the United Kingdom from Cyprus. He was at one time general manager of Uruwira Minerals, Ltd., Tanganyika.

MR. R. S. FOSTER, Chief Secretary-designate of Nyasaland, and MRS. FOSTER are on their way by sea to the Cape, whence they will drive to Zomba.

MR. S. HORSLEY has been elected president of Nyanza Club, Kenya, and MR. P. D. DONALDSON vice-president. The hon. treasurer is MR. M. C. PARKER.

SIR FREDERICK HOYER MILLAR, Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, and LADY MILLAR spent a few days in Addis Ababa last week.

MR. E. G. HUDSON and MR. J. R. SHARPE have been appointed general managers of the British India Line, of which MR. A. G. HATCHETT is now a manager.

MR. ARTHUR CHRISTIANSEN, from 1933 to 1957 editor of the London *Daily Express*, arrived back from Rhodesia in time for publication of his book "Headlines Ah My Life".

SIR MAURICE DORMAN, who was sworn in as Governor-General of Sierra Leone last Thursday, its Independence Day, was for several years in the Colonial Service in Tanganyika.

MR. A. E. P. ROBINSON, High Commissioner in London for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and MRS. ROBINSON had the honour of being received by THE QUEEN last Thursday.

LORD CLITHEROE has been elected vice-chairman of Tube Investments, Ltd., from the parent board of which SIR FRANCIS DE GUINGAND has retired, though he will continue in charge of the group's interests in South Africa.

MR. STANLEY EVERETT, mayor of Kisumu, has been elected a life member of Nyanza Club, of which he is a past president.

Three more Kenya farmers, MR. A. J. RANDALL, MR. W. E. RANDALL, and MR. M. J. SMITH have left with their families on an overland trek to settle in South Africa.

MR. C. H. GLASSEY, chairman of the board of British Industrial Plastics Ltd., has been elected a director of Turner & Newall, Ltd., whose deputy chairman, MR. R. M. BATEMAN, has joined the board of the Plastics company.

MR. A. W. ANDERSON, U.F.P. Member for Kitwe in the Federal Parliament, has arrived in London to take part in a course organized by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. He will be here for about a month.

SIR HUGH FOOT is to succeed SIR ANDREW COHEN as British Representative on the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. SIR ANDREW COHEN is expected to receive a senior appointment in the new Ministry of Technical Co-operation.

SIR ROBERT KENWICK has been appointed chairman of British Space Development Co., Ltd., registered to examine ways and means in which Britain may assume a significant role in space technology. Ten leading companies are the founder shareholders.

SIR FERDINAND CAVENISH-BENTINCK has arrived in London to make representations to H.M. Government on behalf of the Convention of Associations of Kenya. He is to be joined in a few days by MAJOR B. P. ROBERTS, leader of the United Party.

MR. W. H. HARTFORD-JONES, since 1953 managing director of East African Breweries, Ltd., has been elected chairman in succession to MR. G. A. TYSON, who vacates the office at his own request but will remain on the board. The new managing director is MR. B. H. HOBSON, who has been a director for several years.

MR. CLARK GREGORY arrived in Salisbury on Sunday to take up his appointment as director of operations in Rhodesia and Nyasaland for the International Co-operation Administration. MR. GREGORY, who replaces MR. TRENPER LONGMAN, has recently been director of operations for I.C.A. in Iran.

MR. N. ASPIN, who has been appointed Deputy High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Sierra Leone, was First Secretary on the staff of the United Kingdom High Commissioner in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland from 1954 to 1957. In the last war he served in the Royal Navy.

MR. A. E. P. ROBINSON, High Commissioner in London for the Federation, lunched on Monday with the Secretary of State for the Colonies; called on the Leader of the Opposition on Tuesday; lunched that day with the directors of the Commonwealth Development Finance Corporation; and in the afternoon addressed the Commonwealth Writers of Britain, whom he afterwards entertained to a sundowner party. Today he is to speak on the Federation at a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies.

SIR JOHN HAMMOND, F.R.S., has arrived in Salisbury to join the South Rhodesian Government's Advisory Committee on African Agricultural Development. He is a world authority on the physiology of the reproduction of farm animals, and was until 1946 Reader in Animal Physiology at the University of Cambridge. He first visited Southern Rhodesia in 1948 when advising the Meat Board of South Africa. In 1951-52 he spent some months on the Gezira irrigation scheme in the Sudan investigating milk production. In his professional capacity he has visited Australia and New Zealand, the United States and Canada, the West Indies and the Argentine.



## Dedicated Service to Africa Royal African Society's Awards

THE ROYAL AFRICAN SOCIETY decided last week at its annual meeting to award its bronze medal "for dedicated service to Africa" to Miss Catherine Langham, of Southern Rhodesia, Miss Grace Ellen Mash, of Uganda, Miss E. J. von Mollendorf, of Bechuanaland, Captain Frederick Varley, of Tanganyika, and the Rev. D. O. V. Lot, of Nigeria.

A few days earlier the society had announced the award by its council of the Wellcome Medal "for distinguished service to Africa" to Sir James Robertson, lately Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria, and previously Civil Secretary in the Sudan.

Sir Charles Ponsonby, Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, and Mr. J. A. Gray, retiring vice-presidents, were re-elected, and three new vice-presidents, Messrs. P. B. Broadbent, W. A. Gibson-Martin, and Bernard Moore, were elected, vice Sir John Hall, Mr. J. K. Michie, and Sir Stewart Symes.

Professor J. N. D. Anderson was re-elected a member of the council, which is now joined by Sir Alfred Beit and Messrs. G. J. Cole, G. T. Gillespie, Philip Mason, and E. G. Mundell, in place of Messrs. P. B. Broadbent, W. A. Gibson-Martin, Bernard Moore, Jack Thomson, and J. S. Bevan.

Mrs. Ballinger, on whom the bronze medal was bestowed last year, was present and received the award from Lord Robins, the president.

When expressing her thanks, Mrs. Ballinger said that she deeply regretted that her country, South Africa, should have thrust upon the Federation, so much less developed and less wealthy, the burden of proving that civilization could be made to work in a multi-racial community in Africa. The Federation had already a highly creditable record, but was nevertheless under the disadvantage of constant criticism and discouragement from the United Kingdom, in which there was nothing like enough understanding of the difficulty of the problems which were being faced with courage and generosity of spirit. It was essential that the people on the spot should be given a fair chance, for it was in Africa that the problems of the non-homogeneous society must be solved.

The society's annual report contains a citation in respect of each of the persons to whom awards have been made. They are in the following terms:

"SIR JAMES ROBERTSON, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.B.E., served for nearly 40 years two of Africa's largest territories, the Sudan and Nigeria, and did more than any other man to help the proudest hands of his African successors to grasp, firmly and confidently, the reins of self-government. Born in Scotland in 1895, the year in which Britain and Egypt agreed to administer the Sudan jointly, he went out to that country in 1922, at a time when it was on the threshold of development.

The policy of indirect administration had just been started, and tribal leaders were taking over subordinate local authorities as a first step towards complete Sudanization of the Civil Service. The Sennar dam, the Gezira scheme, and the White Nile bridge had all been planned and were about to be constructed. For nearly 20 years Robertson served in the provinces—Kordofan, the White Nile, the Gezira, and others—before going to Khartoum as Assistant Civil Secretary. His intimate knowledge of the country from the grass roots up and his calm efficiency won for him the trust and loyalty not only of Sudanese of all walks of life but also of his colleagues of all races in the Civil Service. Almost his last duties in the Sudan were concerned with the drafting of the new Constitution, which he persuaded all opposing factions to accept. Finally, self-government in 1953, and Robertson, then Civil secretary, retired.

Within two years he was uprooted from retirement and appointed to Nigeria as Governor-General, where for five years he carried through constitutional developments which saw the Federal Council of Ministers become an all-Nigerian body, the appointment of the first Federal Prime Minister, the grant of self-government to all the Regions, the reconstruction of the Federal House of Representatives, and, finally, on September 30, 1960, complete independence. Sir James Robertson remained as first Governor-General of the New Nigeria for a few weeks to cover the transitional period before handing over to his successor, Dr. Azikiwe.

Few men have made the impact of their personalities so felt upon their successors to power, few have enjoyed so much as a missionary of the Anglican Church in Bechuanaland as a measure of the good will, loyalty, respect, affection and

complete trust of all races in two great countries of Africa."

"MISS CATHERINE LANGHAM first came to the Diocese of 1914 and continued until 1943, when she concentrated her energies on the Homecraft Village.

"Miss Langham interpreted Our Lord's 'Follow Me' in the following way. She had seen so much suffering caused by ignorance amongst the women and children of the reserves that she thought something more practical must be done to alleviate it by getting the women together and educating them in simple ways that they could understand. Miss Langham had a great benefactress who bought a piece of land bordering the Chiwashe Reserve. She made her village a success; she built a delightful chapel where regular prayers are said daily; and she opened the doors to any who were Christians, regardless of denomination.

### Homecraft Centre

"Miss Langham has pioneered and developed at M'Sonnedi a most excellent training centre in homecraft for African women. They are taught to use those materials which they have in their kraals—to do what they can with what they have. Miss Langham's devotion to her work for these African women has won the love and admiration of all who know her. She is now over 70, and very frail, and one wonders how she keeps going; but she has an indomitable spirit and still works daily at her school with cheerfulness and determination. She never gives a thought to herself or her own comfort, and is indeed doing a great service to this country and its people."

"MISS GRACE ELLEN MASH has devoted 24 years to the people of Kigezi in south-west Uganda. For the whole of that time she has lived and worked in the Lake Bunyoni Lepet Settlement—the first of its kind in Uganda—founding, organizing, and teaching in the schools in the settlement, often single-handed, playing her part also in the general administration of the settlement, which is situated on a lonely island in a very remote part of the Protectorate. Miss Mash has devoted her life to the needs of outcast lepers in one of Africa's most isolated areas. Her services to Africa, carried out without thought of personal gain or official recognition, are of the highest standard."

"MISS E. J. VON MOLLENDORF, a South African citizen, first went to Mochudi, Bechuanaland Protectorate, in 1950, as a worker among women. She assisted in starting the Girl Guides. In 1934 she was employed by the European School Committee in Francistown for a year. In 1945 she returned to Mochudi as a missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church principal of the Adolescent Training School. This school eventually became the Mochudi Homecrafts Centre, which is one of the principal responsibilities of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission, and which now provides teachers' training as well as homecraft courses. In addition to her absorbing work at the Homecrafts Centre, Miss Von Mollendorf is the District Guide Commissioner and runs three Guide companies. "By her work and example, Miss Von Mollendorf has exercised a powerful influence for good among the African women of the territory. Her character, personality, and Christian mode of life, have made a deep impression on all who know her. She has given devoted service to the people, without thought of recognition, in a remote and uncomfortable area."

"CAPTAIN FREDERICK VARLEY, M.B.E., a Church Army missionary, arrived in Tanganyika Territory in 1936 and was until 1950 the district superintendent in the Bugiri area of the Dodoma district for the Church Missionary Society. During that period of 14 years he devoted himself tirelessly to the welfare of the Africans in that area, by whom he was regarded with the greatest esteem. In 1960 he opened a school for the education of the African blind in the Bugiri district, where he is to this day doing extremely valuable pioneering work."

## Obituary

LADY SHUCKBURGH, widow of SIR JOHN SHUCKBURGH, sometime Deputy Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office, has died in a London hospital after a short illness. Her husband died in 1953. They were married in 1906.

MRS. BEATRICE MIRIAM SOMERHOUGH, widow of MR. JUSTICE SOMERHOUGH, who died in Northern Rhodesia some months ago, has died in Hampshire.

MAJOR ARTHUR OVERTON LUCKMAN, who at one time served in the Colonial Service in Kenya, has died in Amberley, aged 92.

LADY CHAPMAN, widow of the late SIR HENRY CHAPMAN, of Bulawayo, has been admitted to the London Clinic.

## Mr. Nyerere Now Prime Minister

### Tanganyika's New Cabinet

MR. JULIUS NYERERE became Tanganyika's first Prime Minister on Monday, when the Territory formally achieved internal self-government.

His Cabinet, replacing the Council of Ministers, includes two newcomers, Mr. Tewa Said Tewa, 35, Minister of Lands and Surveys, and Mr. Job Marecela Lusinde, 30, Minister of Local Government.

Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, former Local Government Minister, is now Minister without Portfolio to assist the Prime Minister, and Chief Fundikira, former Lands Minister, is now Legal Affairs Minister.

The other Ministers retain their previous portfolios: Sir Ernest Vasey (Finance); Mr. Derek Bryceson (Health and Labour); Mr. Amir Jamal (Communications, Power and Works); Mr. Clement Kahama (Home Affairs); Mr. Paul Bomani (Agriculture); Mr. Nsilo Swai (Commerce and Industry); and Mr. Oscar Kambona (Education).

Nine of the 11 Ministers were sworn in on Monday at a short ceremony in Government House. The two absentees are Mr. Bryceson, on an official visit to the United States, and Mr. Kahama, appointed to represent Tanganyika at the Sierra Leone independence celebrations.

## Tribute to the Empire

LORD HALLSHAM said at the week-end in the course of a long speech:—

"If it had not been for the Empire, the civilized world would today be under some form of Nazi tyranny, with a few outposts of human freedom existing precariously in the Americas.

"Europe, Africa and Asia will not remain free if the basic standards of civilized conduct, which we have sought to inculcate by precept and example wherever we have gone, are allowed to disintegrate and decay. Nor can freedom remain a possibility if, to the absence of armed conflict which marked the presence of British rule wherever it existed, a series of Congolese disasters is permitted by the conscience of the world to succeed. No talk of nationalism, no double-think about so-called wars of national liberation, should be allowed to obscure this fact.

### Doctrines of Racial Superiority

"The purpose of the transfer of our responsibilities to locally-formed Governments is not tyranny or anarchy but human dignity and freedom, and our policies can be justified by the event only so long as they achieve these objects. Precisely because we have these objects in view, we cannot allow the West to become identified in men's minds with white domination or doctrines of racial superiority, even though we retain, as we should retain a legitimate pride in the achievements of the European and British peoples in law, politics, literature, and science.

"The change is not the condemnation of the Imperial ideas held by our forefathers; it is their fulfilment and justification. The West is giving at least five times as much as the East in aid to Asia and Africa. Does it achieve five times as much effect? £50,000 spent by the Communists cynically, as opportunists, to foment disruption, to support strife, is often more valuable to them than £500,000 spent by us for construction and development is valuable to us.

"Man, a paradoxical mixture of body and spirit, will for ever ask: 'What is his ultimate nature? What is his final goal? Does sin exist? Is there a God?'

"We are here to promote not ourselves, not material goods, but a civilization which has taken 7,000 years to build. We are its heirs, guardians, protectors. We can lose it by unfaithfulness, folly, frivolity and maybe by sheer bad luck. But it is our duty to extend its spiritual frontiers."

## Threat by Mr. Nkomo's Party

### Sir Edgar's Warning on Violence

A NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY spokesman in Southern Rhodesia stated last week that in opposing the new constitutional proposals the party would receive all the support it required, moral and otherwise, from the All-Africa People's Convention.

Accusing the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Duncan Sandys, and Southern Rhodesia's Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, of "imperialistic chicanery", the spokesman said: "If the British Government tries to impose a Constitution, it will be over our dead bodies."

The party would repudiate all the results of the constitutional conference if Sir Edgar went ahead with a referendum before the land question was settled, he said.

In reply Sir Edgar issued a statement saying that any resort to violence would be crushed with all the forces at his disposal.

"I particularly stress that under our security legislation I have the power to proceed against organizations and individuals. I now warn all political parties, and especially any of their leaders who are foolish enough to believe that they can use violence or any other unlawful means to achieve their aims, that they will bitterly regret any attempt to do so. I would remind the National Democratic Party that the calling in of foreign Power is treason."

## N.D.P. Cables Mr. Sandys

### Claim That 600 Have Been Arrested

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY of Southern Rhodesia has telegraphed to Mr. Duncan Sandys, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, claiming that 600 people have been arrested in the reserves as a result of delay in settling the land issue in the constitutional proposals.

The allegation has been officially denied.

The message read: "Your attention is drawn to a serious situation developing in the country as a result of your document, which is unacceptable to the African people, and your continued refusal to recognize the view of the majority of people in Southern Rhodesia, and your continued private discussion with the Southern Rhodesia Government on the land issue.

### Will Not Remain Neutral

"Because of your delay in settling all the remaining important issues (notably the land), over 600 people have been arrested in the reserves. The N.D.P. will not remain neutral over this serious act. We call upon your good offices to intervene right now by settling now and for ever the remaining important issues of the document."

A second telegram, to the N.D.P. external affairs director in London, Mr. Leopold Takawira, read: "Six hundred people arrested in the African reserves. Land Husbandry Act is cause of arrests. Many branch leaders under arrest. We have got wind that even the N.D.P. leaders are going to be arrested. All facing serious charges of up to 20 years' imprisonment. Consult Sandys and notify him of this serious situation as a result of his confused document. There are new manoeuvres by the Whitehead Government, and our office must expose them to the world press."

A Southern Rhodesian Government spokesman described the allegation of 600 arrests as a gross exaggeration, made to help the N.D.P. raise funds in Britain and America.

Growing tension is, however, reported in rural areas where there has been opposition to land allocation under the Land Husbandry Act and where district commissioners are being defied.

## Rhodesian T.U.C. Multi-Racial

THE RHODESIAN TRADES UNION CONGRESS has decided to admit all unions regardless of race. Mr. A. C. Stevens, the president, has said that it is imperative for the T.U.C. to make a strenuous effort to bring in the African unions. To facilitate membership for the African unions, delegates, meeting in Bulawayo, agreed to waive affiliation fees for a year.

## Investment in Developing Countries

Address by Sir John Elliott

SIR JOHN ELLIOTT last week addressed an Overseas Management Conference in Brighton on "Industrial Growth in Developing Countries". It had been organized by the British Institute of Management. He said, *inter alia* :—

"About 70% of external investment in the sterling Commonwealth during post-war years has come from the United Kingdom, 15% from the U.S.A. and 10% from the World Bank.

"The bulk of capital from the U.K. has been from private funds. Much of it has been for mining, industrial manufacturing, and other enterprises, but a considerable part has been by public loans on the London market to help meet the needs of Commonwealth and Colonial Governments for basic development, such as power and communications.

"Total private investment by the U.K. in all countries is estimated to be running at the annual rate of about £300m., of which about half is in British overseas countries.

"Between the end of 1946 and the end of 1959 Commonwealth and Colonial Governments borrowed some £300m. on the London market, more than half since the end of 1952, the Colonial territories borrowing £73m. and the independent Commonwealth countries £115m.

"Under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts £22m. has been provided, mainly for basic and social development in colonial territories during the period 1946-60. More than 4,000 schemes have been approved since the 1945 Act came into force. Another £95m. is now in the pipeline.

"The Colonial Development Corporation was originally given powers to borrow up to £100m., and this was increased in 1958 to £150m. Within this amount the corporation may have outstanding at any one time from the U.K. Exchequer up to £130m. It has also powers to borrow up to £10m. in short-term loans.

### 91 Projects in Hand

"Along among agencies for helping under-developed countries, it has built up a strong decentralized organization with regional offices, each in charge of a senior executive experienced in overseas and business affairs, strategically placed throughout the Commonwealth. In East Africa there are offices in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, and the Central African region, covering the Federation of Nyasaland and Rhodesia, is based on Salisbury.

"Of the 91 projects now in hand, with £108m. capital approved, more than half are associated with commercial or governmental partners, who have committed a further £130m. in the enterprises.

"Not all the commercial associates are British; there is American capital in a fertilizer factory in Trinidad, Canadian capital alongside C.D.C. money in a copper mine in Uganda, and Dutch capital in sugar and cocoa projects and a niobium mine in Tanganyika.

"C.D.C. money is associated with World Bank investments in the large Kariba hydro-electric scheme in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and the International Finance Corporation is an associate with C.D.C. and others in the new Kilombero sugar project in Tanganyika.

"An important feature of the corporation's activities is its policy wherever possible of bringing the local people into close association with its projects. This can often best be done by means of smallholder schemes around nucleus plantation estates, so that the smallholder farmers can have the benefit of expert guidance, central processing facilities, and co-operative marketing. Projects of this nature are being tried with tobacco in Nyasaland, wattle in Tanganyika, and tea in Kenya.

"Political advances and constitutional changes, with power and responsibility being transferred to less experienced politicians and administrators, are now taking place so rapidly that investors tend to hold back in order to see whether the newly emerging regimes will be able to maintain political and economic stability in their countries.

"Events in the Congo and signs of unrest elsewhere in Africa have inevitably shaken confidence and increased the nervousness of potential investors, despite repeated declara-

tions by nationalist leaders that they will welcome foreign investment and will do everything to encourage it.

"Alongside political uncertainties there is in the new African nations the increasing demand for Africanization, not only in the Government services but also in commercial organizations. Expatriate managers and white senior executives are becoming more and more viewed with distaste. Some large and long-established concerns are wisely seeking to maintain good public relations and earn the good will of new Governments by increasing the recruitment and training of local people, even at the loss of some administrative efficiency, but newcomers, rightly concerned for the competent management of their enterprises, are less frugal.

"Some industrial concerns entering colonial territories for the first time also find labour relations difficult. Emerging trades unions in the Colonies are often immature, irresponsible, and sometimes dominated by politically ambitious agitators. Relations with them invariably call for a great deal of patience as well as firmness to help them to become stable and responsible; they cannot be ignored, however.

### Fruitful Field for Investment

"Despite the problems, the rapidly expanding economies and rising standards of living in many of the dependent or newly independent countries of the Commonwealth offer a fruitful field for investment. It is certainly true that their needs are great and their aspirations greater. Their industrial revolutions will race forward at a much greater pace than ours in Britain. If British enterprise and British investment does not take its place to help others with less disinterested political motives, will try to fill the gap.

"Let us therefore take our courage in our hands, and, with our unique experience of overseas investment going back hundreds of years, offer ourselves wherever the call for development comes urgently from newly emancipated or only now awakening countries. There will be risks—but we have not been frightened of these in the past, and provided they can be calculated we need not be frightened of them now. There will be disappointments too, but it is seldom that the rewards of prestige and profit can be won without some failure or other.

"In this spirit, but only in it, I believe firmly that Britain, has an honourable and worthwhile opportunity to continue to be at the service of this fast-changing world."



<b>GENERAL MANAGER</b> (Electrical Supplies)	Nigeria
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Parliament

## P.M. Urged to Visit Kenya No Plans at Present, He Says

THE PRIME MINISTER would like to visit Kenya.

He said in the House of Commons a few days ago: "I have no plans at present to visit Kenya, much as I should like to do so when opportunity occurs."

MR. GRIMOND: "Would not the formation of a new Government in Kenya offer such an opportunity? Is the Prime Minister aware that many of us have been receiving reports of white settlers in Kenya who are deeply perturbed because they feel they have been misled by Government statements in the past? Would it not be a good idea if he went and talked to them at first-hand and tried to allay their suspicions?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I have every confidence in the ability and experience of the Colonial Secretary."

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY asked the Colonial Secretary if he did not appreciate that the arrangements made with K.A.D.U. for the formation of a Government were not likely to be stable and might be very temporary, and that there was no likelihood of a stable Government in Kenya until Kenyatta was released.

MR. MACLEOD: "I do not accept the first or second part of that question. I believe that the Government which is being formed will prove to be strong and stable."

MR. F. HARRIS asked the average monthly number of Europeans leaving Kenya permanently and the corresponding number of new and permanent European immigrants into Kenya.

MR. MACLEOD: "The latest figures are for 1960, when permanent European emigration totalled 1,802 and permanent European immigration 1,733. Monthly emigration only once exceeded 200 persons, and twice fell short of 100; immigration was between 100 and 200 in all save one month."

MR. HARRIS: "I am rather surprised by that very pleasant reply. As 85% of the economy of Kenya is dependent on the efforts of the Europeans in Kenya and upon those efforts depend the maximum employment of people of all races and their standard of living, what has my rt. hon. friend in mind not only to encourage those people to remain in Kenya and to continue to make their homes there, but to send to Kenya further people to assist in the great work which has to be done there?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I too am very glad to see that the figures are steadier than some reports may have led us to believe. I entirely agree about the enormous importance of European agriculture, which is the backbone of the whole economy of Kenya. I am sure that the progress which we have been making in the last day or so in forming a stable Government for Kenya is an essential part of the process of seeing that people of all races have a future there."

MR. CALLAGHAN: "Will the Colonial Secretary give every encouragement to young men and women who are willing to go to Kenya and serve side by side with Africans on terms of equality? May I ask him not to listen to a great deal of propaganda which is going on and which gives the impression that there is no future for that great country?"

MR. MACLEOD: "Kenya is a great country, and I am certain that it has a great future. Whatever matters we may disagree on, everyone wants to see people of all races make a home there in future."

SIR A. HURD asked what provision would be made to increase the resources of the Land Bank and Settlement Board in Kenya to ensure that suitable land offered for sale was taken up at fair values to make new farms for both Europeans and Africans, and so give confidence for the further farming development which was essential to the economy of Kenya.

MR. MACLEOD: "H.M. Government have provided £4m. in Exchequer loans towards the Colony's development programme in 1960-61, and within that programme the Colony have allocated £300,000 in loans to increase the irredeemable capital of the Land Bank. H.M. Government have also agreed to make available for the Colony's land settlement scheme over £34m. in loans and grants in the period to the end of March, 1964. This and the money that it is hoped to obtain from the International Bank and other sources will enable the Settlement Board to undertake the purchase of the largest acreage of suitable land that can be efficiently handled by the board in the period of the current scheme."

### Arrest of U.N.I.P. Members

MR. CALLAGHAN asked the Secretary of State if, in view of recent incidents in the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia, he would review the administrative arrangements in the territory and ensure that the United National Independence Party was permitted to function freely during the forthcoming election period.

MR. SWINGLER asked if the Minister's attention had been drawn to the imprisonment, punishment, and ill-treatment of supporters of the U.N.I.P. in the Northern Province; what action he had taken to investigate those matters; and if he would take steps to ensure freedom of speech and association.

MR. IAIN MACLEOD: "I am confident that no restriction will be placed on the lawful activity of any political party. The Governor has found no evidence to support the statement that supporters of U.N.I.P. have been maltreated. Where members of U.N.I.P. have been imprisoned, this has followed breaches of the law, all of which have been brought to trial before the courts in the normal manner. Freedom of speech and association within the law are ensured to all inhabitants of the territory."

MR. CALLAGHAN: "Is the Colonial Secretary aware that his confidence is unfortunately misplaced and that the facts do not bear out his confidence? Is it not significant that the only complaints, some of which I have had an opportunity of investigating pretty well at first hand, are from this province? Will the rt. hon. gentleman ask the Governor to keep a careful oversight over the behaviour of some members of the administration in this part of the territory?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I have drawn the Governor's attention to a number of allegations. That does not mean that I accept them in any way. I should have thought that the hon. Member's suggestions were repudiated by the fact that in the last six months alone no fewer than 125 branches of U.N.I.P. have been formed in the Northern Province."

MR. SWINGLER: "Will the Colonial Secretary say what form of inquiries into the allegations have been made? Did he see a few days ago a report of a speech made by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, leader of U.N.I.P., giving chapter and verse about the treatment of some African citizens with whom he had stayed in the Northern Province? Have those allegations been examined?"

MR. MACLEOD: "They have not been examined, but they are being examined because, apart from making a speech at

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a Press conference in London, Mr. Kaunda came to see me and discussed some of these matters with me. I have drawn this to the attention of the authorities in Northern Rhodesia.

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "Will my rt. hon. friend do his utmost to see that all lawful parties in Northern Rhodesia are able to function free of the sort of intimidation which has sometimes disgraced sections of U.N.I.P. during an election period?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I am certain that it is essential that all parties, African and European, and every other party, should function within the law and free from intimidation."

## Relief for Development Corporation

THE COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION is to be relieved of £20m. of its obligation to the Treasury.

The following statement on the subject was made in the House of Commons last week by the Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

"The Government have decided to introduce changes affecting the financial liabilities of the Colonial Development Corporation to the Exchequer. In framing these arrangements the Chancellor of the Exchequer and I have been greatly helped by the analysis and recommendations in the report of the committee under the chairmanship of Lord Sinclair of Cleve (Cmd. 786).

"In the past the true financial position of the corporation has been greatly obscured by the arrangements whereby, in recognition of the fact that some of the corporation's projects do not immediately become revenue-bearing, it does not have to service long-term Exchequer advances during the first seven years after they are made. The accumulation of unpaid interest which has thus arisen amounts to about £11m.

"In order to ease the financial position of the corporation, it has been decided to release it from the obligation to meet this liability when it becomes due, and to place the sum into a special account, in a way similar to that proposed by the Sinclair Committee, where interest will not be payable. We shall also place in this account the corporation's debt—about £9m.—arising from the Exchequer advances for projects which have been wholly abandoned by the corporation.

### Profit-Sharing

"Towards payment of both liabilities in the special account—up to a total of £20m. in all—the corporation will pay over to the Exchequer 60% of its net annual profit in excess of £250,000. These profit-sharing arrangements are designed to relate the corporation's payments more closely to its financial capacities from time to time. These are, however, novel arrangements, and we propose to review them in three years in the light of experience gained.

"The terms attaching to future advances by the Exchequer will depend on whether the corporation requires them for making loans to third parties or for investment in equity-type holdings.

"In the case of loan transactions, the period over which repayments to the Exchequer will be made will be such as to conform generally to that of the capital repayments which the corporation will be receiving from third parties.

"In the case of investments in shares, the corporation will generally draw long-term advances for a 40-year period, and, for this type of investment only, the seven-year grace period will continue to be applicable.

"These arrangements will be of real assistance to the corporation in its important and difficult task. The corporation would have preferred the adoption of the Sinclair Committee's recommendations, whereby a part of the Exchequer advances would have been converted into equity capital. All the same, it considers that these changes will provide a sounder, stronger, and more realistic basis for its future operations. To this result the corporation has made its contribution by accepting a restriction of the type of project to which the seven-year grace period will now apply. I should like to acknowledge the help and co-operation it has given me over a prolonged period of consultation."

MR. G. M. THOMSON: "While welcoming the proposals to relieve the C.D.C. of the unfair burden of interest which it has been carrying from past projects, is the Minister aware that he has failed to use the very long time which he has had to consider this matter to produce proposals for the future of the corporation on a sufficiently imaginative scale? Is he aware that in particular there is regret on three points: (1) that he has failed to agree that enterprises of risk which are important in under-developed territories should be treated as equity investment; (2) that he has made no announcement

about expanding the amount of capital available to the C.D.C. since its capital is running out; and (3) and most important, that he has chosen this opportunity to announce that the C.D.C. will be able to go on initiating new projects in newly independent territories?"

MR. MACLEOD: "In many matters we have followed the Sinclair Report. The main recommendation which we have not been able to follow—converting part of the advances to an equity shareholding in the C.D.C.—would in our view have amounted to a subsidy over which there would not have been full Government or Parliamentary control. We therefore believe that ours is the better answer.

"I know that hon. Members attach great importance to the third question. I believe that the Government's attitude is right. In time it will inevitably have to be reviewed, but the needs of the colonial territories are such at this time that I believe it right that the efforts of the C.D.C.—which, after all, was set up specifically for this purpose—should be devoted to and particularly pointed at those needs."

SIR G. NICHOLSON: "Will not this require legislation? If it does—indeed, in any case—will not my rt. hon. friend take the opportunity to review the whole position of the newly independent territories? When he says that most of the C.D.C. work will go to the Colonies, he will no doubt bear in mind that the Colonial Empire is undergoing metamorphosis and that many of its members are coming out of the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office. Is he satisfied in his heart of hearts that there is no gap or hiatus when a territory becomes independent?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I am never satisfied that the arrangements are perfect. Ever after the independence of Sierra Leone today there are still more than 30 colonial territories. I am sure that it is right that the C.D.C.'s effort should be directed first to them. I admit that in view of the shrinking in the number of colonial territories these arrangements will have to be reviewed in the future."

## New Tanganyika Railway

CONSTRUCTION of a 227-mile railway in Tanganyika from Mikumi through the Kilombero Valley to Makumbako has been approved in principle, and East African Railways and Harbours and the Tanganyika Government are now negotiating for an early start on the first section of 24 miles to the site of a new sugar factory.

## Lukiko Court Powerless

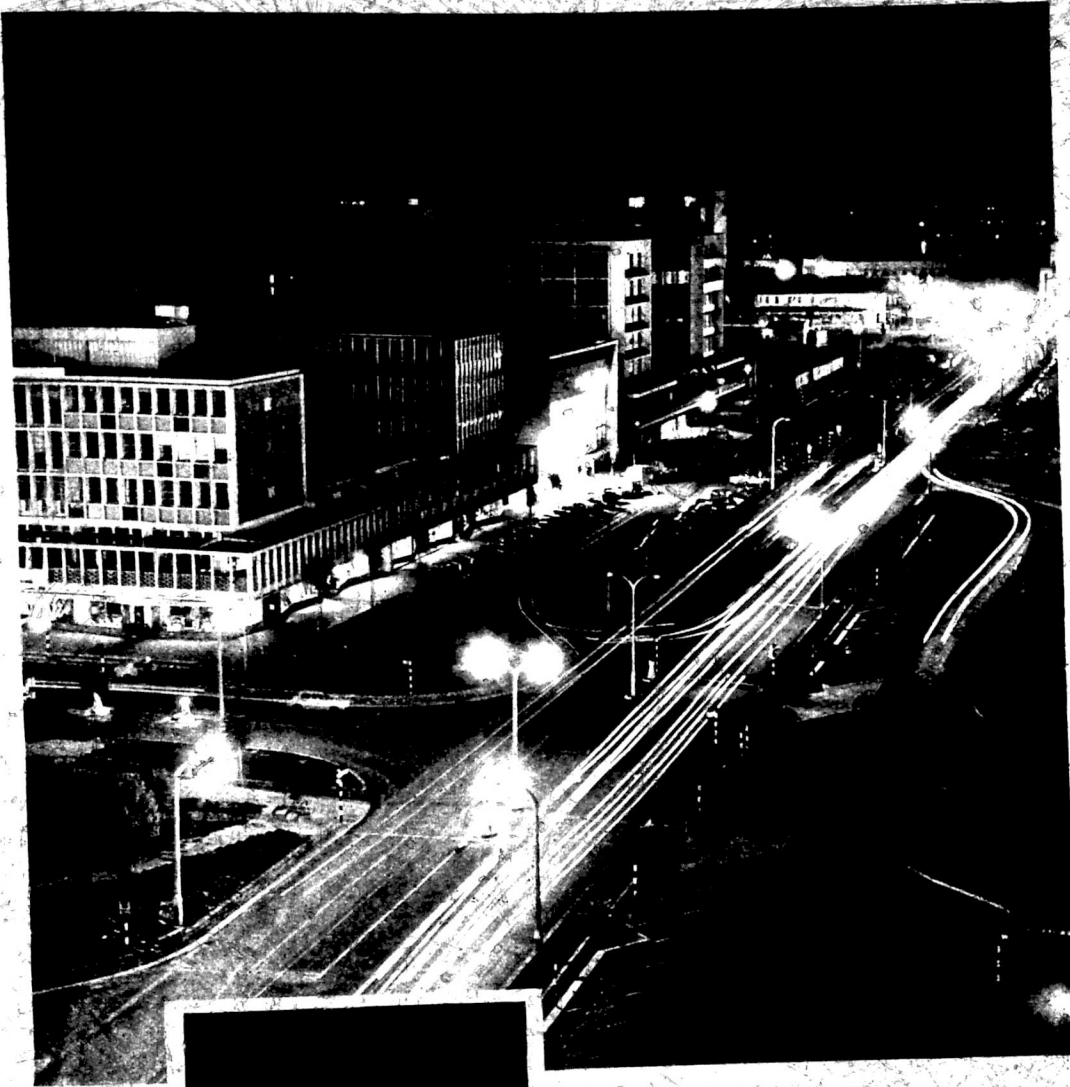
THE SPECIAL COURT before which the Buganda Lukiko proposes to try members whom it has suspended for allegedly taking part in the Uganda elections in defiance of its boycott has no power to try anybody, according to Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka, leader of the Uganda Democratic Party and one of the Lukiko's "suspects". He added that his suspension from the Lukiko was meaningless, for he was no longer a member of that body.

## U.N. Welcomes Tanganyika

THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY has voted unanimously to accept Tanganyika as a member when British trusteeship ends and the country achieves independence on December 28. Britain's representative, Sir Andrew Cohen, said that after December the United Kingdom would have only one territory under her trusteeship—Nauru, the Central Pacific island which is administered jointly with Australia and New Zealand.

## "Elsa Appeal" Launched

MRS. JOY ADAMSON, author of "Born Free", the best-seller about Elsa the lioness, has launched an appeal for money to save the lives of wild animals which would have to be shot for preying on stocks or damaging crops. The money would buy drugs, hypodermic darts, and box traps by means of which the animals could be moved to game reserves. Donations may be sent to "Elsa Appeal", National Commercial Bank of Scotland, 18 Regent Street, London, S.W.1. Elsa's three cubs are among the animals which Mrs. Adamson and her husband, Mr. George Adamson, a Kenya game warden, wish to move.



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## Nationalization of Kenya's Farms

Major B. P. Roberts Calls for Commission

**KENYA'S ECONOMY** is in the main based on European agriculture, but as a result of political changes the European agriculturist in general doubts whether he can remain in Kenya. In fact, he is already running down his assets and moving much of his income and what liquid capital he can from the country.

He has, of course, ceased to develop his holdings, and has thereby created unemployment, not only in his own industry but also in general commerce, which is dependent on the agricultural industry.

This state of affairs can be checked only if the farmer can be assured that he will be able to leave the country if he finds it necessary, taking with him the value of his assets, either in cash or in securities of which he can raise money. If he is unable to do this, he will still leave the country, but will leave little or nothing in the way of farming assets behind him, and so will wreck the economy, causing the new independent State grave economic worries, and placing a very heavy burden on H.M. Government, who must, without doubt, ensure that the new State remains solvent, the alternative to which can only be anarchy and chaos.

The problem is therefore to satisfy the fears of the European farmer and at the same time ensure that if he goes he will leave his farm intact, enabling African agriculturists, under guidance, to maintain the farming economy of the country.

It is futile to argue that attempts are being made to achieve this end by the introduction of the yeoman farming scheme or the provision of loans over a period of time which will enable Africans to purchase European farms, as, in the first place, the ordinary European farmer in Kenya is not prepared to wait very long, and certainly will not wait after the grant of independence, and the African is not interested in committing himself to what by his standards are large loans to enable him to purchase land which he believes will cost him little or nothing after independence.

### Loss of Profits

Africanization of the European farming industry, unless supervised, will result in the loss of profits, thereby adversely affecting Government revenue. Such supervision would not be possible if normal methods of farm management by private ownership were followed, and could be achieved only through large public companies, or by nationalization of the industry, or by a combination of both.

This memorandum therefore puts forward a scheme envisaging the nationalization of the European agricultural industry, other than that part of the industry owned by large public companies or persons willing to continue under a new regime.

Capital investment in European agriculture in Kenya is about £150m. though the figure which has often been stated is nearer £120m. Of the £150m., £50m. would be represented in the large public companies, and therefore the figure to be provided for the take-over of the farms under the scheme could be taken as £100m.

In order to avoid such a large capital outlay, payment could be made in the form of securities, redeemable in equal annual payments over 20 years, which would mean H.M. Government having to provide £5m. a year for 20 years.

Under the scheme the European farmer would be satisfied, as he would possess securities backed by H.M. Government and payable in sterling, on which he could realize money from banks of other financial houses to enable him to start

again elsewhere. Development would again be undertaken, thus creating trade and employment, to the benefit of commerce and industry. The revenue from agriculture would, in fact, be increased, as in addition to normal revenue accruing from the industry, the profits from the nationalized farms would be available to the Government, which would enable them to pay for the necessary supervision to ensure that the standards of the industry were maintained.

From the point of view of H.M. Government a payment of £5m. a year for 20 years could prove extremely cheap, as it would enable them to hand over a viable State to an independent Government. If they failed to do that, the cost would be a great deal more in order to avoid anarchy and chaos.

The African would, of course, be the greatest beneficiary from the scheme, which would, moreover, remove many difficulties from the political arena, such as land titles and the fear of expropriation of land—for it is possible that the African will not dispute land titles held by large public companies. The hostility of the European towards the rapid transfer of power would be greatly reduced, and this in turn could make the African more moderate and reasonable in his negotiations towards constitutional development and ultimate independence. In fact, a policy of co-operation more in tune with that of Tanganyika could be followed.

Commerce and industry would have an improved outlook, and there would be better prospects of attracting outside capital, not only for private enterprise but also for general development from international resources.

Much investigation would be needed, particularly in regard to the assessment of the value of farms, which would have to be taken at pre-Lancaster House figures. The question of the type of security and rate of interest would have to be discussed.

Control and supervision of the nationalized industry would need very careful study, but a number of European farmers and farm managers, together with Government technicians, might be prepared to stay, at salaries inducive to them, provided they also had certain amenities.

What is essential, however, is immediate action, and a commission therefore be appointed to investigate the scheme without delay.

## Statement by Coalition

(Continued from page 945)

opinion, has only sharpened the non-co-operative spirit of the African expressed most forcefully in their rejection of the Lancaster House Constitution which has given them power.

"Mr. John Connell, who visited Kenya during the election, wrote in the *Yorkshire Post* (2/3/61): 'the demand for Kenyatta's release, the resumption of oath-taking, and the presence of a great deal of secret intimidation, present grave and pressing security problems. I doubt whether the New Kenya Party gave any explicit pledges to Mr. Mboya's K.A.N.U. beyond some nauseating offers to back any move for Kenyatta's release, but K.A.N.U. certainly disciplined its followers in the Rift Valley, including 12,000 forest squatters most of whom are ex-Mau Mau, to troop to the polls in support of Mr. Blundell. Irreparable harm has been done'.

"In a case reported in the Press last September the prosecutor for the Government said that a letter headed 'The Land Freedom Army' had been found on the accused, and Police Superintendent Ian Henderson stated that he had translated a letter in Kikuyu found on the accused which read: 'The fire which was left burning is still burning, as it has never lacked firewood to keep it alight'. Another police witness said that 'Land Freedom Army was another name for Mau Mau'.

"In February Mr. Eric Downton reported in the *Daily Telegraph*: 'Mau Mau, the bestial terrorist society, is being vigorously resurrected by an extensive anti-European underground'. Travelling through the Kikuyu Reserve, I have heard many ominous reports of oath-taking. A number of lower echelon officials in the Kenya African National Union are also officers in the 'Land Freedom Army' and 'Kenya Parliament'. The union's membership is largely Kikuyu. The Mau Mau revival comes at a time when the campaign for the release of Kenyatta, convicted Mau Mau leader, is being intensified by African nationalist leaders.

"A feature of the mounting incidence of crime is the appearance as during Mau Mau of armed gangs. Typical East African newspaper headings recently are: 'Two burglaries every night in Nairobi now'; 'Crime rate soars in Nairobi'; 'Gang dress as police to rob homes'; and 'Rustlers still busy on Kenya farms'.

"Three cases of Mau Mau-type oathing have led to arrests in the Meru district. Two men have pleaded guilty at a Nanyuki magistrates' court to administering oaths. At Mitungu two Embu were stopped on the road by a number of

\* This memorandum was presented to last week's special conference of the Convention of Associations in Kenya by the leader of the United Party in that Colony.



men and given Mau Mau-type oaths. At Maya an illegal Mau Mau oath has led to the arrest of two men (*East African Standard*, April 10, 1961).

"Police Special Branch officers and C.I.D. men arrested seven people in Kigoma, in the Meru district earlier this week after the chief of the village had told them that 40 people had taken part in an oath-taking ceremony. Police found two homemade guns in the village (April 6).

The Government's plans to resettle Africans in the former White Highlands under yeoman and peasant farming schemes are endangered by intimidation and have been placed in further jeopardy by statements made by Kenyatta in his first Press interview.

The chairman of the Land Settlement and Development Board, Mr. J. F. Lipscomb, said at the annual meeting of the Thompson's Falls District Association that at this stage the board had expected to be able to get those Africans who should be in the Government to encourage their people to engage in the scheme, but that neither K.A.N.U. nor K.A.D.U. had made clear their stand. "Most of us feel that we are living in a realm of fantasy that could turn into nightmare or instability."

K.A.D.U.'s executive officer, Mr. Charles Asiba, said that his party agreed with Kenyatta that all land titles would have to be reviewed by a future African Government.

### Fined £50 for Breaking Game Laws

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE, 20-year-old son of the Marquess of Lansdowne, was fined £50 and bound over for six months in Nanyuki, Kenya, on Monday on charges of wounding a buffalo and failing to follow to make sure it was dead, and failing to report the wounding to the game authorities. In evidence Colonel N. S. Sandeman, a game warden, said he had warned Lord Shelburne not to shoot buffalo because of his youth and inexperience and the danger of trouble with a wounded buffalo. An African tracker said that on two occasions they followed animals which the earl had wounded, but turned back when they could have continued tracking.

## Government's "Disastrous" Policy

A SHARPLY CRITICAL MOTION on the Government's attitude to East and Central Africa was adopted with loud cheers by 60 votes to seven at the annual meeting of the Gosport and Fareham Conservative Association. The motion, proposed by Brigadier F. E. Spencer, read:—

"That this meeting views with concern the prospect of the disastrous effects on the white settlers and others and on the economy of the Central African States in general and of Kenya in particular, by the too hasty application of the policy laid down by the Colonial Secretary at the Lancaster House Constitutional Conference in February, 1960"

The mover, who described the Lancaster House Conference on Kenya as "a complete sell out", argued that immediate application of Mr. Macleod's ideas would mean death for Kenya.

Major T. W. Stallybrass, who seconded the motion, emphasized that politicians who went to Africa for a week or two often derived most misleading impressions and were therefore unsafe guides.

Mr. Antony Gordon who had arrived back from two months in East and Central Africa only a few minutes before the meeting began, spoke strongly in favour of the resolution.

### Extreme Views

An amendment, proposed by Mr. L. G. Cochran and seconded by Vice-Admiral J. Dorling read: "That this meeting, while sympathizing with the anxiety felt by some sections of the white population in Central Africa, believed that the implementation of extreme views held by any section of the community, white or coloured, can only increase tension and add to the problems facing the administration; furthermore, this meeting supports the policy of the Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs, Mr. Iain Macleod, and his colleagues in their determined efforts to establish stable, economically sound multi-racial communities in Africa, but asks that the legitimate rights and interests of British settlers should be guaranteed."

Dr. Reginald Bennett, M.P. for Gosport and Fareham, who is Parliamentary Private Secretary to Mr. Macleod, who did not take part in the debate, said after the motion had been carried with only seven dissensions, that he was exceedingly sorry at the result, which could not help the Government but must help the Opposition (cries of "No"). There were further cries of "No" when he described Mr. Macleod's policy as the sensible solution to the problems of East and Central Africa.

## Factional Bitterness in Kenya

THE GOVERNMENT OF KENYA issued the following statement last Thursday in reply to one made by Mr. Mboya:—

"Following the elections, and as a result of the very heavy strain placed upon the police during the election period and the pre-election period, during which a very large number of public meetings was held, the Government decided that the police should be relieved of this strain for a limited period.

"Now, as result of recent political developments, such violent political emotions and factional bitterness have been engendered that the Government considers that in many areas there is a grave danger that public political meetings would so exacerbate these already high feelings that breaches of the peace would be likely to result. In areas where this danger is not apprehended, meetings will be permitted at the discretion of the local administrative and police authorities.

"Mr. Mboya referred to the alleged refusal by the Kenya Broadcasting Service of facilities for a broadcast by the president of the Kenya African National Union. The K.B.S. could not grant facilities for a broadcast directed to the Kenya African National Union's organization and officials at its branches throughout the country. If the president of K.A.N.U. wishes to make a national broadcast on behalf of his party, facilities therefore will be made available to him, but K.B.S. cannot be used for the purpose of communications between different sections of party organizations. This is in accordance with usual broadcasting practice in this country and elsewhere.

In a clash between a Uganda Police Detachment and Turkana tribesmen engaged in a large cattle raid in Karamoja 12 Turkana were killed. About 100 of them had attacked Dodoth tribes, of whom a still unknown number were killed. A large number of looted cattle were recovered.

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## The British South Africa Company

### Mining in Northern Rhodesia

The President of The British South Africa Company Group has recently stated that it is the Board's policy that the primary field for investment by the Group will continue to be the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The growth of the Northern Rhodesian mining industry has been among the most spectacular developments in the sphere of mining that the world has ever seen, but the participants have not rested on their laurels.

The Group contributed very large sums for the development of the copper mines. In the case of Bancroft Mines Limited, the most recent mine to be developed, no less than £5 million was provided by the Group in the form of equity and loan capital in order to bring that large new mine into production.

The British South Africa Company Group has a large equity interest in the Northern Rhodesian prospecting companies which are searching for further mineral deposits, and spent over £1 million in 1960. This patient prospecting with the most modern techniques is fundamental to the long-term development of the natural resources of Northern Rhodesia. It is true that no new discoveries of any great value have been made recently, but it is not for want of trying, and if anything should be found the Group would be willing to participate substantially in providing the finance required to develop them.

## End of an Era for the Extremists?

### Annual Report of the Joint Board

THE ANNUAL REPORT of the Joint East and Central African Board, which has just been published, states *inter alia*—

"Much occurred in East and Central Africa in 1960 which tended to impair confidence and stability.

"There was a decline in both domestic and overseas investment, particularly in East Africa, and some outflow of capital. Its cause and its extent, however, may have been misrepresented. In some cases it was probably the result of a real weakening of confidence in the future, but overall it was largely caused by a natural hesitancy on the part of private investors to sink new capital until the results, or at least the prospects, of rapid constitutional development could be assessed.

"It is highly desirable for the economic stability of these territories that the lacuna should be filled by free-world agencies such as the World Bank and other international funds, as well as by the larger private enterprises which, having efficient research and intelligence services, are in a position to be confident about the credit-worthiness of the emerging territory.

"The dangerous alternative is that on practical grounds alone, and without deliberate ideological vacillation, the new leaders will be won over to the bulldozing tactics of Communism in order to achieve quicker economic results, at the expense of quieter progress through liberal education and social improvement.

"The tragic events in the Congo in the second half of the year shook the whole continent, and although they made widely differing impressions on different people, moderate opinions everywhere was shocked by the excesses of African nationalism run riot. Even extremists could not fail to admit the folly of precipitate withdrawal by a Colonial Power before the local people were adequately equipped to run their own affairs.

### Federation Triumphant Justified

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has prospered greatly in the seven years of its existence and the economy has been expanded in a remarkable way. Capital investment of £224m. from overseas and £581m. from domestic sources has been achieved in that period. Social services have been doubled, wages raised, roads improved. In fact, the whole framework known in modern terms as infrastructure has been solidly established.

The Monckton Commission delved deeply into the working of the Federation, and its report, published in October, amounted to a triumphant justification of the Federation in the economic sphere. It is tragic that major comment on the report has fastened on the suggestion it contained that provision should be made for voluntary secession by any of the three constituent territories. Clear evidence adduced of the great advantages of federation has been largely forgotten, and an atmosphere of political uncertainty and unhappiness has settled over the Federation, where, as in every other developing country, political stability and the maintenance of law and order are essential for the maintenance of economic progress.

"When the history of Africa comes to be written it is doubtful whether 1960 will be regarded as a year of destiny or of decision. In the general picture the emergence of Nigeria as an independent sovereign State will certainly outweigh the collapse of the Congo and the various groupings of some Afro-Asian territories for the exploitation of that situation.

"At the moment of writing the forces of evil have been barely restrained; but during the same period many forces for good, both natural and human, have been harnessed, not least of them the Zambezi River at Kariba.

"Advances in the field of both industrial relations and race relations have been spectacular, especially in Northern and Southern Rhodesia. Mention must be made of the convention of indaba held in Salisbury at the beginning of November. Taking that as a sign and turning-point, it may not be unduly optimistic to prophesy that 1960 marked the end of an era for the extremists, whether white or black. Henceforth merit and reasonableness in conference may count more than racialism in the emergent British territories.

"At the end of the year Kenya was facing the worst drought for 50 years. Nature is still the harshest enemy to African progress, and when human forces are at loggerheads, as in the Congo, she is quick to take an advantage through famine, disease, and the spread of the jungle.

[Comment is made in Notes By The Way]



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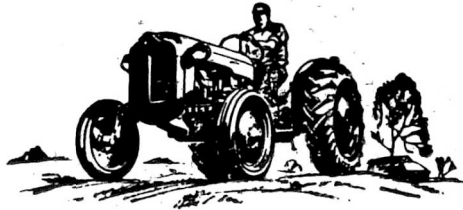
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## President Tshombe Arrested Effort to Force His Return to Conference

THE KATANGA GOVERNMENT has appealed to the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, to secure the return to Elisabethville of President Tshombe, who is being detained by the Central Government of the Congo.

On Wednesday of last week President Tshombe of Katanga was arrested by Congolese soldiers after he had walked out of the conference of political leaders at Coquilhatville and was about to board an aircraft for Elisabethville.

He had withdrawn from the conference because he had received no reply from the Central Government to his demand that President Kasavubu's agreement of co-operation with the United Nations should be repudiated. Arrested with him were his Foreign Minister, Mr. Kimba, and several European advisers.

At first it was assumed that the arrest was ordered by the Central Government, but later it appeared that the soldiers had acted on their own initiative, having earlier threatened that they would not allow any of the delegates to the conference to leave Coquilhatville until a settlement of the Congo's troubles had been reached.

Next day General Mobutu flew from Leopoldville to see Mr. Tshombe, having given orders that he should be detained until his arrival. Concerned at official silence on the affair, members of the Katanga Government meanwhile sent an urgent message to President Kasavubu seeking clarification. They feared that the troops who arrested Mr. Tshombe might be Lumumba sympathizers seeking revenge. That night Mr. Tshombe was still under guard at Coquilhatville airport.

### Two Days Without Food

Delegates from the Central Government, including the Prime Minister, Mr. Ileo, had tried to persuade him to return to the conference, which his guards were prepared to allow him to do. But the position was one of stalemate, with the soldiers refusing to allow him to leave for Elisabethville, and Mr. Tshombe refusing to return to the conference.

On Friday, after the arrival of General Mobutu, supported by 60 parachute troops, Mr. Tshombe was eventually persuaded to leave the airport and return to Coquilhatville. He had spent two days in the airport waiting-room without food and with little sleep.

It was understood that he would rejoin the conference, but on Sunday came the announcement that the Central Government had decided to keep him captive "indefinitely". Mr. Bomboko the Foreign Minister, who accused him of coming to Coquilhatville simply to wreck the conference, said that his release would depend on the course of events. He added: "We fought against Lumumba, who wanted to destroy the Congo. We shall do the same with anyone who wants to follow Lumumba's example."

Mr. Tshombe, who was then being held in a villa on the outskirts of the town, guarded by a ring of troops with machine-guns, was to be moved secretly to Leopoldville and detained in a villa there.

Meanwhile the conference, continuing without Mr. Tshombe, had authorized President Kasavubu to take immediate steps to rid Katanga of mercenaries and "harmful foreign elements". It called for the disarmament of all private armies or units not recognizing General Mobutu's authority.

In Leopoldville, a United Nations official reported that about 40 of 61 Chananian troops overwhelmed by Congolese soldiers in a clash at Perit Francoqi three days before were safe. Released by the Congolese Army, they were being flown to Luluabourg. The remainder of the garrison was believed to be scattered in the jungle, two British officers being among these missing, namely, Captain Trevor Ralph, of Radlett, Herts., and Lieut. A. P. G. Brown, of Gamberley, Surrey.

In the House of Commons on Monday Mr. Anthony Fell (Cons.) asked the Government to make urgent representations for the release of Mr. Tshombe. Mr. Edward Heath, Lord Privy Seal, replied that action would be considered as soon as more information was available.

The Government had, he said, no information about the two missing Britons.

A correspondent of the *Communist Daily Worker* has been refused permission to enter Kenya.

Tanganyika is to establish its own Foreign Service for which candidates are being urgently sought.

Addis Ababa's General Orde-Wingate School has received a gift of £100,000 from H.M. Government.

Mozambique's Legislative Council has voted £112,300 for the formation of a volunteer civil defence corps.

Citizens of the Federation who join the armed forces of the Katanga are to have their passports withdrawn.

A 10-member mission from Jamaica is visiting Ethiopia in quest of an African home for emigrants from Jamaica.

The Rockefeller Foundation has granted £50,000 to the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine for research on bilharzia.

Gifts totalling £5,000 for famine relief have been received from the Protestant Churches of Germany by the Christian Council for Kenya.

Refugees reaching Somalia have reported that more than 100 Somalis were killed by Ethiopian troops near Dagaabur, Ethiopia, in April.

Representatives of 13 African countries have attended a conference in Cairo on proposals for a federation of African broadcasting services.

A motion at an Oxford Union debate that total rejection of Sir Roy Welensky's policies would be disastrous for Central Africa was defeated by 191 votes to 105.

A revised estimate puts this season's Rhodesia flue-cured tobacco crop at 245m. lb. from the south-western areas and 1.5m. lb. from the north-eastern areas.

For the pilgrimages to Mecca, East African Airways are arranging for nine direct flights to Jeddah from Nairobi, Entebbe, and Mombasa by 54-seater Canadair aircraft.

The United States' Peace Corps will send its party of about 20 men, including geologists and engineers, to Tanganyika in September. Some 5,000 young Americans have volunteered for the corps.

Earlier estimates of maize production by European farmers in Kenya having greatly exceeded, the Maize Marketing Board has cancelled plans for a second consignment of the grain from Rhodesia.

The East African Transport Advisory Council has approved expenditure of £3m. on major works, half on relaying track on the Tanga, Mwanza, and Magadi branches to permit the use of heavier locomotives.

Millions of "army worms" (black caterpillars) are plaguing Kenya. Young crops are being devoured, and trains have been held up where the caterpillars have made the tracks too slippery for the wheels to grip.



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## Sharp Falls in Copperbelt Profits

RHODESIAN SELECTION TRUST, LTD., announced on Monday that for the nine months ended March 31 there was an estimated profit before taxation of £3,655,000, compared with £4,952,000 in the corresponding period of the previous year. The contribution from Mufulira, in which R.S.T. has a shareholding of 64.67%, was £3,196,000, and from Chibuluma, (in which the holding is 64.98%), £523,000.

Mufulira Copper Mines, Ltd., sold 76,109 long tons of copper at an average price of £231.4 per ton, compared with 76,619 and £247.1 in the previous year. The estimated profit before tax was £4,966,000 (£6,550,000).

Chibuluma Mines, Ltd., sold 14,266 long tons of copper at an average of £222.1, against 16,483 at an average of £236.5 in 1959-60. The profit before taxation was £869,000, against £1,298,000.

Roan Antelope Copper Mines, Ltd., sold 61,323 tons of copper (66,748) at an average of £230 (£242.3). The estimated profit before taxation was £3,441,000, compared with £4,671,000 in the first three-quarters of the previous year.

## Booker Brothers, McConnell & Company

BOOKER BROTHERS, MCCONNELL & CO., LTD., a group with large interests in Central Africa, announce consolidated profits for the year ended December 31 last at £1,344,603 (against £1,248,751) after meeting tax of just over £1½m. and providing more than £1½m. for depreciation and £260,798 for replacement reserves. Ordinary shareholders receive 1s. net per share on capital increased by last year's one-for-10 scrip issue. Unappropriated profits retained in the business after appropriations and dividends are slightly reduced, from £5.6m. to £5.5m. Capital and reserves representing the interests of shareholders in Booker Brothers, McConnell & Co., Ltd., at the end of the year somewhat exceeded £16m., and the interests of minority shareholders in subsidiaries were just over £3½m. Fixed assets were valued at £15.4m., trade investments at £260,331, and net current assets at slightly over £6m.

## Chilanga Cement

CHILANGA CEMENT, LTD., had a net profit after taxation of £133,000 in the year to December 31 last of £139,035, against £222,277 in 1959, but £47,242 over-provided for taxation in previous years fell to be added. A dividend of 5½d. per 5s. share was paid, taking £137,500, the general reserve was increased by £176,125, preference shares to the value of £33,000 were redeemed, and the carry-forward is £23,948. The issued capital is £1½m. in ordinary shares and £150,000 in 5% cumulatively redeemable preference shares of £1. Fixed assets stand in the balance sheet at just over £1½m. and current assets less current liabilities at £703,798. Demand is still insufficient to meet the full productive capacity of the plant. The directors are Messrs. G. E. Thornton (chairman), E. T. E. Martin (alternate: K. N. Dockray), K. C. Acutt (alternate: E. J. F. Harrington), C. H. Targett, D. F. Fairbairn (alternate: C. R. Fenwick), J. Thomson, and M. H. Barry (alternate: W. C. Krogh).

## African Miners Object

MR. JOHN CHISATA, the new president of the African Mineworkers' Union in Northern Rhodesia, has said that the union is not prepared to accept the mining companies' African advancement plan in its present form. The proposals were approved by the European union last November.

## Check-off System Resisted

EAST AFRICA RAILWAYS AND HARBOURS will not adopt the recommendation of Mr. H. A. Whitson, the commissioner who recently inquired into industrial relations, that, subject to satisfactory assurances from the trade unions, the management should introduce a voluntary check-off system for the deduction of trade union dues. The management, supported by a majority of the Transport Advisory Council, hold the view that "if negotiating is to be fair, each side should be able to pursue its own interests relatively free of pressure or domination, and that there are certain aspects of the check-off system which seem inimical to such freedom of association. The check-off system, no matter what safeguards are introduced, does not tend to the creation of the 'closed shop', and with the coercion of staff to become union members, Equally repugnant is the possibility of the check-off being used to enforce collective agreements (by threatening the withdrawal of its operation and so cutting off a union from its source of funds)".

## Chartered Company

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY'S estimated revenue from mineral royalties, rents and fees for the quarter ended March 31, after providing for payment to the Northern Rhodesian Government of 20% of the net revenue derived from the exercise of the company's mineral rights in that Protectorate, amounted to £2,677,000, compared with £3,112,000 in the first quarter of 1960. In the quarter to December 31 last revenue from such sources was £2,410,000, a reduction on the £2,720,000 for the last quarter of 1959.

## Benguela Railway Company

THE BENGUELA RAILWAY COMPANY'S operating receipts for the first quarter of this year totalled £1,051,410, compared with £815,755 in the corresponding period of 1960. Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., own all the debentures and 90% of the equity. In the three months goods (traffic of 431,119 tons yielded a revenue of £1,962,284, the comparable figure for the previous year being 400,605 tons and £1,663,370.

Messina (Transvaal) Development Co., Ltd., reports that in the quarter to March 31 the total ore production was 260,556 tons, containing 3,951 long tons of recoverable copper.

Witvoort's Consolidate are repeating the 10% dividend for the year ended September 30 last, though group profit was down from £62,419 in 1959 to £54,564 after tax of £40,490.

M.T.D. (Mangula), Ltd., has declared a 3% dividend. In the first quarter of this year 283,700 short tons of ore were milled for 3,239 long tons of copper. In the quarter to December 3 the output was 2,902 tons.

Kentana Gold Areas, Ltd., Tanganyika, produced 11,055 oz. gold in the January-March quarter from 64,230 long tons of ore milled, compared with 11,615 oz. from 67,500 tons in the fourth quarter of 1960. The working profit for January-March was £973, against £5,089 for October-December.

Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, which last year had a record production of 300,704 metric tons of copper and 8,240 metric tons of cobalt, is so increasing production facilities at its Lulu refineries that by the end of this year their capacity will be raised to about 100,000 long tons of copper and 3,500 of cobalt.

Power Securities Corporation, Ltd., which has large East African interests, reports that group net profits fell in 1960 to £374,717 after tax of £335,877, compared with £626,473 and £372,995 in the previous year. Ordinary shareholders, however, again receive 15%. The £1 shares fell by 8s. 6d. to 74s. on the announcement of the results.

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**Company Report****Ottoman Bank****"Future Prospects in East Africa Reassuring"****LORD LATYMER'S ADDRESS**

THE NINETY-FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE OTTOMAN BANK was held in London on April 26.

THE RT. HON. LORD LATYMER, the chairman, presided, and said in the course of his speech:—

In the three territories of East Africa in which the Bank is established—Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda—economic conditions were decidedly difficult throughout 1960. Nevertheless, each of our branches has progress to report. Moreover, a new branch was opened in Kampala, Uganda, in February.

One of the more disturbing features of the general economy was the flight of capital, to which there have been, as you will remember, a number of references in the Press. This tended not only to unbalance the markets but was, of course, a serious matter for the banks. On the other hand, the export trade in local produce was steady, and prices (with the exception of the price of coffee which, as had been expected, fell) were good. Indeed, sisal prices were better than had been expected. Combined export totals for the year were: coffee, £34,600,000; sisal, £20,100,000; and tea, £7,000,000.

Reflecting recent political developments in East Africa, the general commercial attitude at the moment is one of caution, and this is likely to continue for some time. In general, however, prospects for the future appear reassuring.

**Southern Rhodesia**

1960 will long be remembered in the Federation as the year in which Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother visited Rhodesia for the formal opening of the Kariba Dam. Work on the second stage of the Kariba project (namely, the North Bank power station) is now in progress.

It was a year of mixed fortunes: tension in the Union of South Africa and the grave events in the Belgian Congo naturally had their unsettling repercussions in the Federation.

It was, however, a good year for tobacco, with gross sales proceeds reaching the record figure of £31,000,000. It was not so good a year for all farmers. In many areas rainfall was below average and unevenly distributed; the drought in some districts severely affected a number of staple commodities, notably maize.

The mineral production of 1960 for the Federation was also a record. Copper once again headed the list, and for the first time the smelting and refining of copper is now effected in Southern Rhodesia itself, with a present annual production capacity of about 10,000-15,000 tons.

In the large towns there are important industrial developments: notably the glass works and carpet factory at Umtali; a metal box factory in Bulawayo; and motor assembly and meat processing works, as well as a maize mill, a brewery and a cigarette factory in Salisbury. There may also shortly be an oil refinery in Southern Rhodesia.

In Rhodesia also, as in East Africa, there has been a certain flight of capital. The markets are noticeably short of fresh funds for investment. The note circulation in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland at December 31, 1960, totalled £20,707,000, as against £19,490,000 at December 31, 1959.

You will recall that when we met last spring I men-

tioned our new 11-storey building, then approaching completion in Jameson Avenue, Salisbury. Ottoman House was completed early this year and opened to the public in February last. Although this event is strictly speaking outside the period we have in review, I felt I should mention it, and I know you will be pleased to hear that many visitors to the new building in Salisbury consider it as fine as anything of its kind in Africa. The upper floors, surplus to our own needs, have all been let on satisfactory leases.

**Sudan**

The improvement in the financial situation of the Sudan evident in 1959 continued during 1960. The output of the three Cotton Boards (Gezira, Gash, and White Nile) for the 1959-60 season was some 420,000 bales.

After an exceptionally hot summer, rains in the third quarter of the year were very poor and were followed by an unusually warm winter season. For farmers, especially cattle farmers, in outlying districts, it was an anxious time.

Industry continues to progress. Plans are in preparation for the establishment, with Japanese participation, of a second textile mill of similar size. The new glass works in Khartoum has started production, and the new flour mill has also begun operations. Among light industries, some 50 industrial concerns were approved and have started production; 70 others have obtained permits, but have not yet been established.

Port Sudan harbour was provided with three new berths; a fourth is nearing completion. No mineral oil has yet been discovered in the Sudan although prospecting continues. The building of an oil refinery near Port Sudan is, however, under serious consideration.

The Government sugar scheme at Geneid is progressing; production, which in a peak season should reach 4,000 tons of sugar per day, is expected to start next year. Among the major development projects now under official consideration are the final phases of the Managil Extension in the Gezira and dam construction on the river Atbara at Khazm El Girba and on the Blue Nile at Roseires.

Trade figures were: Exports £5,63,400,000 and imports £5,63,000,000.

The Paris and London offices of the Bank maintained their traditional activity.

The balance sheet totals show an increase of more than £11,000,000 compared with last year. The liquid position is satisfactory, with cash, money at call and bills receivable totalling nearly 47% of the current deposit and other accounts. Investments remain at much the same figure as last year, whilst advances to customers and other accounts have increased by nearly £8,000,000.

The result for the year is a profit of £324,397 (against £301,153 last year), whilst remittances in respect of profits of previous years to be brought into account are £125,102 (against £143,450 last year), giving a total of £449,499. Adding the figure of £24,936 brought forward, there is a total profit available of £474,435.

The Committee proposes that the dividend be maintained at 10s. per share, absorbing £250,000 and leaving £24,435 to be carried forward to 1961.

The report was adopted.

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