

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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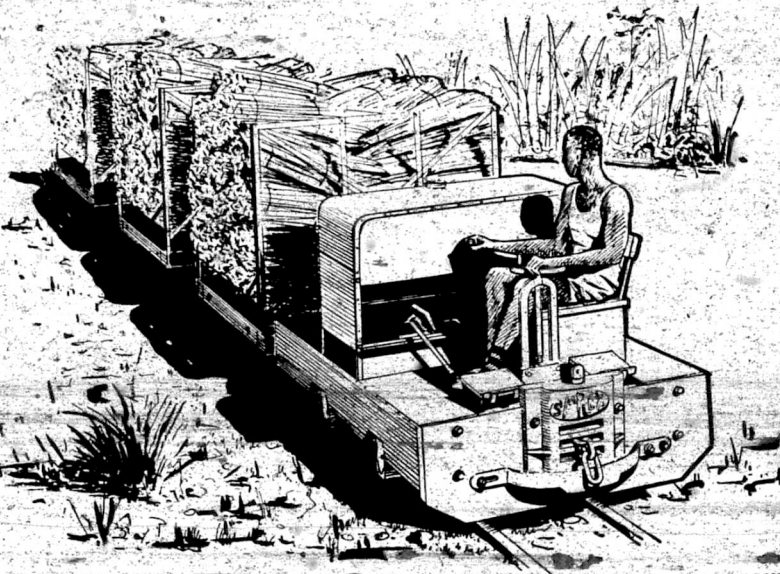
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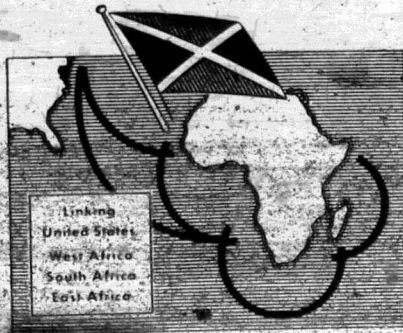
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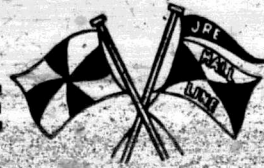
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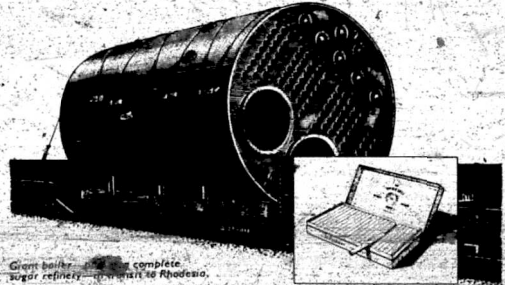
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, MAY 12, 1960

Vol. 36

No. 1837

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

NEVER SAY "DIE" is an admirable military maxim, the faithful observance of which has won many a battle when all seemed lost; never say "never" has become a pernicious but firmly established maxim among

Official Indecision Encourages Agitators.

Conservative politicians merely because some of their number have in recent years used the word, ill-advisedly in consequence of the failure of the Government of which they were members to assess a situation competently and conclusively. The blame which should have been placed on the Cabinet was unfairly transferred to its spokesmen. Past discomfitures resulting from inadequate study of the essential facts are not, however, a convincing argument for indecision in an entirely different case, especially when great damage will inevitably be done by the deduction that a change in the Government's mind can be forced by obduracy. In last week's leading article we again argued that, because the African elected members in the Legislative Council of Kenya have continued to clamour for the release of Kenyatta, the Mau Mau leader — whom they have even declared to be their choice as the first Chief Minister in a self-governing Kenya — Her Majesty's Government ought to declare in unambiguous terms that it will in no circumstances allow this man to resume political activity or return to normal society because of the immeasurable damage wrought by the indescribably foul organization which the courts have convicted him of organizing and managing. Shortly after our last issue was published the Secretary of State for the Colonies told the House of Commons that "in prevailing circumstances the release of Jomo Kenyatta would be a danger to security in Kenya" and that "his return to normal life in Kenya would in present circumstances bring a direct threat to the maintenance of law and order. This

emphasis on "prevailing circumstances" and "present circumstances" in two successive sentences was thoroughly unsatisfactory, but, as if to dilute even those weak words, Mr. Macleod quickly added that "this case, like all others, is kept under review by the Governor". Can neither he nor his party understand that such wavering merely encourages African extremists to persist in their pressure in the belief that an irresolute Government will in time give way to their importunity?

What is to be said of the silence of every Conservative member of the House of Commons on this issue critical for Kenya? Not one spoke a word in favour of a more determined declaration even when two Socialists made foolish and dangerous interventions. No Conservative may excuse himself with the plea that he would have done so if he had been in the Chamber at the time, for all knew days in advance that a question had been arranged in order that Mr. Macleod might make a pronouncement. Any M.P. who recognizes the need to keep Kenyatta permanently in a remote area (as many do) had therefore ample warning; but, just as the whole House has refrained from criticism of the Constitution thrust upon Kenya by Mr. Macleod, greatly to its hurt, so no one in his party will affront its leaders by asking for an inflexible decision and an unequivocal declaration about Kenyatta. Yet anything less puts a premium on clamorous irresponsibility in the Colony and adds gravely to the disquiet among all the best elements in all the races, and also among external investors. Mr. Patrick Wall nevertheless voiced the astonishing suggestion that the Ministers' reply will give considerable satisfaction in Kenya and do much to restore confidence.

How Not to Restore Confidence in Kenya.

Legal and moral

do precisely the opposite. How can words so hedged about with provisos remove the deep anxiety of those who fear Kenyatta's release? They can be reassured only when H.M. Government uses the word "never".

When we wrote last week that Lord Milverton had been the only man in public life in Great Britain to denounce in forthright terms the idea of allowing Kenyatta to re-enter political life, we inadvertently did an injustice to Lord Salisbury, who, as we recorded at the time, spoke quite unambiguously in the same sense in the same debate in the House of Lords. Since then, Sir John Macpherson, who recently retired from the office of Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, speaking of course in his personal capacity, has told a meeting of the Royal Commonwealth Society in reply to a question by the editor of this journal that he entirely agrees that an explicit official assurance against Kenyatta's release at any time is essential to the re-establishment of confidence in Kenya. That advice would certainly be given by all responsible people in that country. Indeed, the same Mr. Wall who put the question in the Commons and then expressed pleasure at Mr. Macleod's most satisfactory reply had on the previous day told the Royal African Society that he had found on a recent visit that the best elements in Kenya, including in particular the Churches, are adamantly opposed to the removal of restrictions on the man who is for everyone the symbol of Mau Mau and of the Kikuyu movement against Christianity and Western civilization. Is the guidance of highly experienced people, official and non-official, to be rejected for the hunch of a Minister whose acquaintance with Africa is so short and who in that time has crowned one blunder with another?

It is tragic that, because his party is so pliant, a stubborn Secretary of State should be allowed persistently to burke a vital issue. Mr. Macleod seems proud of his refusal to

Open Threats to Revive Mau Mau. official adviser in the Colonial Office until quite recently considers to be imperative if trust is to be re-established in Kenya. On the Minister's own reckoning, he has made the same evasive reply at least six times, and each occasion has, of course, further weakened the faith of the Africans, Europeans, Asians, and others who, longing for a categorical undertaking,

find themselves fobbed off with a formula which, though it may suit the temporary convenience of a politician, outrages the convictions of administrators and others in Kenya, external investors, and the great mass of Africans. That their well-being — which ought to be the first consideration of the Secretary of State — is jeopardized by his hesitancy has been proved again by the inflammatory speeches of African extremists whom Mr. Macleod has been gullible enough to treat as responsible leaders. Having rejected all warnings against his preposterous presumption that he could do a deal in London with men dominated by Mboya, he has to swallow an endless succession of insults and menaces from that fanatical aspirant for high office, who, not content with scornful repudiation of Macblundellism, now speaks openly of "bringing about another emergency" — which means rebellion; and that threat was repeated on the same day by the president of the new Kenya African National Union. Will not even these danger signals cause the Cabinet to heed the peril of its precipitate and pusillanimous policy?

Since these words were set in type the Governor of Kenya, echoing his master's voice, has pointedly refrained from commitments not to release Kenyatta at any time.

Sir Patrick Renison Leaves the Door Open.

Indeed, in a long statement which is given in full on another page (and which must have received the prior approval of Mr. Macleod), Sir Patrick Renison went out of his way to speak of circumstances in which Kenyatta and his close associates might be freed. The offending passage reads: "When the whole atmosphere of stable political achievement on the Lancaster House pattern is sufficiently firmly established in Kenya, where the threat of violence or intimidation is no longer a weapon of political or labour movements, and where the old Mau Mau antagonisms have entirely disappeared, there will no longer be security danger in the return of persons who held back Kenya's advance by trying to follow policies of violence". Since such "whens" and "wheres" have no relation to the actualities of Kenya or the certainties of the foreseeable future, no useful purpose can have been served by dressing them up as postulates for something which can never happen except as an act of appeasement.

The African politicians have made it transparently clear that they have no use for the Lancaster House pattern, any of the

most influential of their number openly threaten violence and intimidation, as do the immature but nonetheless dangerous local trade unions; and "the old Mau Mau antagonisms" can be expected to disappear only with the death of those who suffered outrages of all kinds. In plain English, the picture painted by the Governor cannot be expected to become a reality in Kenyatta's lifetime. Sophisticated folk may argue from that fact that the statement therefore means that Kenyatta will continue in exile for the rest of his days. That, unhappily, is not the interpretation which can be expected from the African politicians, the Kikuyu loyalists, or the other members of the tribe who suffered tragically under Mau Mau. Because the word "never" has not been used, they will all fear Kenyatta's release at some time, and the agitation to shorten the intervening period will therefore continue and grow. That a statement containing so much plain speaking should have omitted the one essential word is lamentable and deeply prejudicial to Kenya.

** ** **

IN NYASALAND the policy is precipitate and precarious. Its unreality must be revealed by the constitutional conference in July, when the unwisdom of releasing Dr.

Effect of Dr. Banda's Talks in U.K. and U.S.A.

will become apparent. Meanwhile the cheerleaders employ themselves in orchestrating popularity for the decision to set Banda free. Who should receive that praise—or dispraise? Mr. Macleod insists, quite unconvincingly, that the choice was the Governor's. Everyone in the Federation interested in public affairs is convinced that the decision was made by the Secretary of State—except the few who know that it was taken by the Cabinet, doubtless under pressure from the Prime Minister and the Colonial Secretary and with misgivings by the members with closer knowledge of Central Africa. Settlement of Nyasaland's political problems could, it was argued, be reached only with Dr. Banda. None but the naive or ill-informed could have expected such a result, and even their faith must have worn thin as he has made increasingly outrageous claims in public and private statements in the United Kingdom, the United States, and in the last few days in East Africa. Many people who have heard him in private meetings, including M.P.s of both political parties and well-known City leaders, do not the faintest

chance of reaching agreement with a man so extravagant in his language and his "demands" (a word never long absent from his lips), so devoid of concern with economic fundamentals, and so contemptuous of the questions of people who, while sympathizing with African nationalism, have sincere doubts about Nyasaland's ability to man an efficient Government.

So far as we know, Dr. Banda did not say in London that he had declined an offer of self-government for Nyasaland within the Federation because nothing less than independence outside the Federation would be acceptable. At the week-

Political Dream of Nightmare Quality.

end he made that specific statement in Kenya. The Secretary of State should be asked to comment upon it. Dr. Banda also said in Nairobi that he stood for union of Nyasaland with Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda, and Northern Rhodesia, but he explained in Mombasa next day that he had "merely been thinking aloud in order to stimulate the thoughts of other African leaders". Since he had made exactly the same suggestions in Britain and America, his definition of "thinking aloud" is not that in normal use. What was perhaps new was his claim that the Portuguese territory of Mozambique must be joined to an independent Nyasaland. The authorities in Lisbon—who have for years withstood the heavy pressure of India against Goa—are little likely to quail at Dr. Banda's new piece of cupidity. And does he imagine the Mr. Nyerere, who will need for development purposes in Tanganyika all the funds that he can obtain from any source, will want that Territory to be tied to a Nyasaland which has now to be subsidized by the Rhodesians to the extent of three or four millions annually? Is Dr. Banda so innocent as to believe that the walls of Northern Rhodesia will fall at the discordant notes of his trumpet? Are Kenya and Uganda, deeply disturbed by internal dissensions and fears, likely to see any advantage in closer union with Banda-run Nyasaland? His political dream is a nightmare.

* * *

Incredible though it may seem, this bitter eccentric is to be given the help of Mr. Kanyama Chiume, the most active propagandist for the proscribed African National Congress, who has been in England since a state of emergency was declared in Nyasaland. (It is fifteen months ago that a ban was issued against him, with the effect

Safe Conduct for Chiume.

ing Dr. Banda, Mr. Chipembere, and the other Congress leaders, and he would have been arrested and detained with them if he had not been out of the country at the time. A few days ago EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA received news that Mr. Macleod had promised Mr. Chiume that the detention order would not be executed if he now returned to Nyasaland, and we invited the Colonial Office to confirm or correct that report. The reply was in the following terms: "Mr. Macleod has told Mr. James Callaghan, M.P., in a private talk that he understands that the Governor of Nyasaland does not intend to detain Chiume in consequence of his past activities if he now returns to Nyasaland". It is common knowledge in Nyasaland that it has been the intention of the Government to arrest Chiume if he sets foot in the Protectorate, and we have reason to know that that was still the position quite recently. The only deduction

must be that the Government has changed its attitude under heavy pressure or direct orders from the Secretary of State. Is it surprising that men in public life in the Federation, including some in Nyasaland, say openly that Nyasaland is not governed nowadays from Zomba, but from Whitehall? But even Mr. Macleod recognizes—as he said repeatedly in Central Africa—that it would be folly to release the most extreme Congress leaders now. Since everybody in Nyasaland would bracket Chiume with them, how can it be logical to offer him safe conduct? This further act of appeasement will not pass without sharp protest in Nyasaland—which may well wonder why news of this gravity should be officially communicated as connected with a private talk with a Socialist left-winger. The first persons to be told should obviously have been the Executive and Legislative Councils of Nyasaland.

Release of Kenyatta Would be Disaster, says Governor of Kenya

But He Nevertheless Refers to Circumstances in Which the Mau Mau Leader Might Be Liberated

SIR PATRICK RENISON, Governor of Kenya, said in Nairobi on Monday, immediately after his return from London—during which he presumably discussed his draft statement with the Secretary of State for the Colonies—that in present circumstances there was no intention of yielding to the hysterical campaign to liberate Kenyatta, the exiled Mau Mau leader. That campaign, he said, had recently reached alarming proportions.

Though it was the longest and strongest official statement yet issued on the subject, there was careful avoidance of any undertaking that Kenyatta would not be set free at some time. A leading article in this issue of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA argues the need for that firm assurance.

Sir Patrick Renison's statement was in the following terms:—

"On March 31, 1960, the following statement was issued from Government House: The case of each person under restriction is regularly reviewed. Government policy remains as previously stated—that no person will be released while he is a danger to security. The Governor remains of the view that in prevailing circumstances the release of Jomo Kenyatta would be a danger to security."

"Since that date I have continued to receive memorials and petitions and other representations asking me to release Jomo Kenyatta from restriction. The question of his release is also being discussed outside Kenya and in the world Press. The pressures of the campaign for his release are growing. I therefore wish to state at some length the reasons for my recent decision and for its firm confirmation.

African Crisis

"During the Kenya debate in the House of Lords on March 28, 1960, the Archbishop of Canterbury twice referred to the African struggle between light and darkness, life and death. I believe that there is such a struggle, and that here in Kenya Africans are at the crisis of that struggle.

"Kenya, and particularly Kikuyuland, has for generations been divided in its leaders between those who thought that they would gain what they wanted for themselves or their people by co-operation with or vigorous but non-violent opposition to the Government, and those who believed in non-co-operation and violence.

"The culmination of such non-co-operation and violence was the struggle by Kikuyu demonstrators known as the Mau Mau movement, a rebellion of fearful, angry and despairing people whose terrorist, savage, and bestial attacks shocked the world

It tore the African peoples of Kenya asunder, and it cast doubts on the ability of African leaders in Kenya to separate politics from violence and intimidation.

"Jomo Kenyatta was the recognized leader of the non-co-operation movement which organized Mau Mau. Mau Mau, with its foul oath-taking and violent aims, had been declared an unlawful society. He was convicted of managing that unlawful society and being a member of it. He appealed to the Supreme Court and the Privy Council. In these three separate courts his guilt was established and confirmed. Here was the African leader to darkness and death.

"He was sentenced by due process of law to seven years' imprisonment (the maximum punishment then prescribed for his offences), and the court recommended that a restriction order should be made for such period as the Governor-in-Council should decide, to succeed the term of his imprisonment. The Governor-in-Council made an order restricting him indefinitely to the Northern Province.

"It has taken years to put the horrors of Mau Mau behind us. Anyone who seeks to resurrect its antagonisms or its intimidation and violence is an enemy of Kenya, a confederate of the old terrorist Africa of darkness and death.

Road to Independence

"The Lancaster House Conference should have made it clear to all in Kenya that there is an open road to independence, and that when independence comes, with the general acceptance by all of the right of each community to remain in Kenya and play a part in its social, economic, and public life, it will be the African voice which is the predominant voice in the Government.

"The speed of advance to independence will depend on the capability of those who share in the Government and the measure of support which their colleagues and followers give to them. The evolving Government will be judged not least by the producers and the commercial and industrial investors on whom Kenya economically depends, and that judgment will be based on the degree of stability achieved. Those who oppose the Government except by constitutional and parliamentary means will be obstructing their own people and holding back their independence. The Government is devoting all its ability and energies to becoming a Kenya Government instead of a Colonial Government.

"The way is clear to light and life in a modern world, as opposed to darkness and death in a throw-back world that is past. It is the responsibility of those Africans who are not blind to it to convince their people. I know that the legacy from the past of suspicions and jealousies and hatreds and selfish ambitions will not make their task an easy one.

"There may be further tragic descents into the darkness which will have to be met by firm restraint. But if there are to be a modern Kenya Government, the way is clear. It is only there, a way which offers progress and happiness to

all, a way which yet recognizes the vital need to human happiness of a soundly based economy and a capable administration, impartially free from political pressures.

"I wish, with much determination, to help Kenya show the world that the darkness is behind us and that we are capable of going forward together to an independent Government in which every community can play its part.

"It would be a tragedy for the major community, the Africans, if they were hindered from realizing that neither administratively nor economically can they do without the others. Their readiness for self-government will be measured by the readiness of their leaders to acknowledge those facts and their ability to carry their followers with them.

"I have at present no evidence whatsoever that Jomo Kenyatta will help Kenya in these aims. I have much evidence to the contrary. With the assistance of the researches carried out by Mr. F. D. Corfield, I have very carefully studied his life and modes of thought and speech and action, particularly in the period between his return to Kenya in 1946 and the declaration of the emergency in 1952.

"As I have said, he planned for Kikuyu domination; he was an implacable opponent of any co-operation with other people, tribes or races who live in Kenya. I have been here long enough to know that without such co-operation Kenya will not become a modern and developing nation but will split up into opposing tribes again and either stagnate with a threatened return to savagery or be subjected to the fears and intimidations of a dictatorship.

"But in the decision regarding his release from restriction politics is not my concern. My concern is security—security and a full stop to the use of violence and witchcraft, and intimidation for political or any other ends.

"From the security viewpoint I think that Jomo Kenyatta's return to political life in Kenya at the present time would be a disaster. I am mindful of the promises given by my predecessor to those brave men who helped their country to rid itself of the Mau Mau horror. We are not yet far enough away from all the tragedies, the hatreds, and the passions of Mau Mau.

Glorifying Mau Mau

Kenyatta's return would give encouragement to those who fought on one side of that struggle and would discourage those who opposed them. The administration would be demoralized. His return would tend to glorify Mau Mau and to identify it with African national advance, when the emphasis should be on how much Mau Mau and Jomo Kenyatta's leadership retarded that advance.

"Feelings are still at such a height and are being so much inflamed by the present Kenyatta campaign and the expectation of his release that I think outbreaks of violence would be inevitable.

"Whatever his own intentions—and in the light of my studies I should be compelled to receive with the greatest reserve any statement from Jomo Kenyatta of changed outlook or new intentions—his present return would be likely to promote a return to political violence. New outbreaks of violence would require firm counter-action by the authorities. That would affect political advance and the growing political co-operation. It could hold back constitutional progress for many further years. Mau Mau will not be finally dead until the antagonisms have disappeared and it is recognized by all as the disgrace which it was. That time has not yet come.

"However, many people there may be whose marks or signatures or names have been put on bits of paper asking for his release. I must trust my own judgment of what is best for Kenya at this moment of its history.

"With all the information which is available to me about Jomo Kenyatta and about our chances of going forward from the Lancaster House agreement on the only path in which I would have any pride, I have no hesitation whatever in confirming the decision which I published on March 31, 1960. I repeat and confirm that in my view Jomo Kenyatta's release would be at present a danger to security. The decision is mine. By this statement I wish to make it clear that accordingly he will remain under restriction.

"But at the same time I repeat that the case of each person under restriction is regularly reviewed. It is the Government's hope and design that eventually, however long it takes, all the few hundreds of those connected with Mau Mau who are still in detention or under restriction will be adjudged no longer a danger to security and will follow the tens of thousands who have been returned to normal life.

"I ask those who have been leading the campaign for Jomo Kenyatta's release to ponder deeply what I have said about light and darkness and about what we are trying to do for the Africans and other people of this country.

"If they wish to hasten his release, the door is not shut. They may still say for their part, I ask them to work actively. Many leaders are now doing so, trying to end and the divisions and animosities among the Kikuyu people and other people of Kenya and to produce an atmosphere in which political achievement at the Lancaster House pattern, which the threat

of violence or intimidation is no longer a weapon of political of labour movements, and where the old Mau Mau antagonisms have entirely disappeared.

"When such an atmosphere in Kenya is sufficiently firmly established and has become the pattern, there will no longer be security danger in the return of persons who held back Kenya's advance by trying to follow policies of violence in the past."

Demands for Kenyatta's Release

Threats by Mr. Mboya and Mr. Gichuru

DEMANDS THAT KENYATTA BE RELEASED were made last week-end by Mr. Tom Mboya and Mr. James Gichuru, rival African leaders, who sank their differences to appear on the same platform in Nairobi.

Mr. Mboya repeated that the Macleod Constitution was already out of date and that complete and total independence before 1961 was the aim. "That must be the only language that we talk to the British from now on. Even if it means bringing about another emergency we will not cease demanding *Uhuru*."

He condemned violence and asked Africans to act within a "peaceful framework", but he also called on the Government to "avoid creating situations that will lead to frustration and explosions".

Both Mr. Mboya and Mr. Gichuru expressed anger at Mr. Macleod's statement that Kenyatta would not be released while he was a danger to public security.

Mr. Gichuru said: "We have made it very clear to the Government that Kenyatta must come out, come what may. Kenyatta in prison is a danger to the security of this country. I am a Kikuyu and understand the people in the reserves. Nobody will blame me if something evil happens because we have made our position very clear."

The "come what may" reference contrasts sharply with the prepared speech, in which he had written: "We want Kenyatta back now, but no amount of Mau Mau oaths will bring him back. We must show the Government that we want peace and progress". That passage was not delivered.

Speaking near Fort Hall last week, Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, Minister for Commerce, put a motion to about 25,000 Kikuyu, who unanimously declared that "this meeting condemns all kinds of violence and dissociates itself categorically from anyone who might do anything that might breed an outbreak of violence."

Inquiries into Mau Mau Revival

Oathing at 10s, a Head, says Minister

MAU MAU OATH ADMINISTRATORS who charged 10s a head were mentioned in the Kenya Legislative Council last week by Mr. A. C. Swann, Minister for Defence, who said that police and security forces were trying to discover whether renewed outbreaks of lawlessness, incidents of oath-taking and singing of terrorist songs at public meetings indicated a revival of the Mau Mau organization. Government believed that there was a revival of the spirit of Mau Mau, mainly in Nairobi and the Central Province, and to some extent in Mombasa and Nakuru.

Later Mr. Swann explained that his references to Mombasa and Nakuru concerned only outbreaks of crime in those areas, not to Mau Mau incidents.

In his speech in the Legislature the Minister mentioned thugs and rained choirs who sang Mau Mau songs, and said that the spirit of crowds going home from meetings manifested itself by the stoning of Government officials, assaults on police and headmen, and the singing of offensive songs outside detention camps.

CID and Special Branch police officers were visiting the Thika and Nturu districts to see whether there was a pattern of intimidation in the wildcat strikes there. The police and security forces were acting extremely well, often in difficult circumstances.

Commenting on the large influx of Kikuyu into the towns since the ending of the emergency, Mr. Swann said a worrying fear was that many Africans felt it no longer necessary to pay regard to the law with the coming of "freedom". He urged African M.P.s to emphasize at public meetings that the need to respect other people's property would not mean independence.

The Government has announced that it will continue to

PERSONALIA

MRS. FAWCUS has returned from her visit to Kenya. THE RE. REV. O. ALLISON, Bishop in the Sudan, is in England.

MR. G. W. S. TEMBY is now Australian Government Trade Commissioner in Nairobi.

SIR PATRICK REMISON, Governor of Kenya, and LADY REMISON left London Airport for Nairobi on Sunday.

PRINCESS ALEXANDRA has promised to attend the golden jubilee ball of the Royal Overseas League on May 25.

THE REV. G. T. WILKINSON and the REV. H. SMITH, both of the U.M.C.A. diocese of Zanzibar, have arrived in England.

MR. L. G. TIEFFIN, a director of BP Southern Africa (Pty), Ltd., and MRS. TIEFFIN arrived in England last Thursday in the PENDENNIS CASTLE.

QUEEN ELIZABETH THE QUEEN MOTHER left London Airport on Tuesday for the Federation, in which she will spend the rest of this month.

MISS MARGERY PERHAM addressed Oxford University Africa Society on Tuesday evening on "Recent Political Developments in East Africa".

MR. CHARLES WALTER GOOT, late chairman of Eileen Atannah Mining Co., Ltd., left estate of £59,718 gross, on which duty of £20,882 has been paid.

Two Conservative M.P.'s, LORD BALNIEL, son of the EARL OF CRAWFORD, and MR. WILLIAM DEDEDES, a journalist, are visiting the Federation.

THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA sent to PRINCESS MARGARET and MR. ARMSTRONG-JONES on their marriage an Ethiopian golden *objet d'art*.

SIR KENNETH BLACKBURN, Governor of Jamaica, flew back from London at the week-end. He was at one time in charge of information services at the Colonial Office.

DR. JULES DE MELLO, of Nairobi, has been appointed a chevalier of the Portuguese Military Cross of Christ in recognition of his services to the Goan community in Kenya.

THE QUEEN and THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH will hold a reception at Buckingham Palace on 12th May for members of the Corona Club and the Women's Royal Society.

MR. VICTOR LAING has been appointed headmaster of the Duke of York School, Nairobi. He was previously on the staff of Prince Edward School, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

Two Tanganyika Africans have just been consecrated bishops by the Pope. They are MGR. J. KILASARA, Bishop of Moshi, and MGR. R. BUTIBUAGE LWAMOSTI, auxiliary Bishop in Mwanza.

MR. D. S. FERGUSON, who was Deputy Director of Drainage and Irrigation in the Federation of Malaya, has just taken up duty as Adviser on Land Drainage and Irrigation in the Colonial Office.

MR. SERETSE KHAMA, former chief of the Bamangwato tribe in Bechuanaland, arrived in London at the week-end with his wife, formerly MISS RUTH WILLIAMS, a Londoner, for a month's visit.

MRS. SUSAN MILLER-WILLIAMS, a chartered architect, is about to leave England for the diocese of Tanganyika. Her work will be in Tanganyika, and especially in connexion with schools, health centres, and housing.

MR. J. C. MCPETRIE, who became a legal assistant in the Colonial Office after serving throughout the last war, has been appointed Legal Adviser in succession to SIR KENNETH ROBERTS WRAY, who will retire in July.

At the Commonwealth Telecommunications Board's technical and traffic meeting in London the Federation has been represented by Mr. G. D. AVERTON and East Africa by Messrs. H. C. ELLIS, J. B. ATKINSON, and R. BELLOW.

SIR FERDINAND CAVENDISH BENTINCK, who recently resigned the office of Speaker in Kenya in protest against the Macleod Constitution, is expected to lead a delegation to London which will seek an interview with the PRIME MINISTER.

THE DUKE and DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER attended a reception given in London by the ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR to mark the 19th anniversary of the return to Addis Ababa of the EMPEROR at the head of Anglo-Ethiopian Forces.

MR. N. E. MUSTIE, G.C., chairman of the Anglo-Ethiopian Society, was the host at a small luncheon in London last week in honour of the new Ethiopian Ambassador, LIEUTENANT COLONEL MAKONNEN and MME. INDALKATCHEW MAKONNEN.

MR. CHRISTOPHER CHATAWAY, M.P. and MR. ALEC DICKSON are to address the Overseas Discussion Circle of the Royal Commonwealth Society at 7.30 p.m. on Thursday, May 19, on "What More Could the Society Do?". SIR HARRY BATTERBEE will preside.

CAPTAIN GEORGE MAYHEW, commodore of the Union-Castle fleet, who has commanded the PENDENNIS CASTLE, the flagship, will remain ashore until he takes over the WINDSOR CASTLE, which is due to leave Southampton on her maiden voyage on August 18.

MR. EUGENE BLACK, president of the World Bank, is expected in Kenya tomorrow for a three-day private visit before going on to the Federation. He will visit 10 other African and Middle East countries during May.

SIR RICHARD WOODLEY has been elected chairman of the Retail Trade Section of Nairobi Chamber of Commerce; MR. W. H. CHESTER-JONES of the General Purposes Committee; and MR. D. M. GOLDSTEIN of the Statistics Committee. MR. G. P. HENDERSON is now secretary of the chamber.

MR. G. E. M. LANDLESS, who has farmed in the Chisamba district of Northern Rhodesia for 35 years, recently invited a party of 30 African farmers to spend a day on his Kalabo Estate. In return, he has been asked to open a sports meeting of Lenje Native Authority, in which MRS. LANDLESS will present the prizes.

MRS. PATRICK McDONAGH has resigned the chairmanship of the East and Central African Group of the Commonwealth Council owing to the pressure of business commitments. He has been in the chair of the group and/or convened its central Africa sub-committee since the council was formed seven years ago.

MAJOR-GENERAL N. P. H. TAPP, G.O.C.-in-C. in East Africa, has just paid a 10-day visit to Ethiopia, primarily to represent the British Army at the silver jubilee celebrations of the Haile Selassie Military Training Centre in Addis Ababa. He was accompanied by LIEUT. COLONEL J. T. PAGET, who commands the 2nd Bn. The Coldstream Guards.

MR. MAHMOUD ABDI ARRAREH, Assistant Secretary for Development in British Somaliland, MR. HIREI GASSIM, D.C. in Kismayu, MR. ALI MOHAMED ALANE, of the Ministry of Commerce in Somalia, and two Ethiopians, Messrs. ABESEA HARTU and KETEMA DESTA, were among a party of 14 representatives of States south of the Sahara who recently visited Puerto Rico under the auspices of the United Nations.

Visitors to Tanganyika this month include PROFESSOR KENNETH ROBINSON, of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London University; DR. L. HORTON, assistant director of the research division of the Tropical Products Institute; MR. O. V. GARRATT, Colonial Office Adviser on Education; MR. I. C. JONES, an expert on rubber production; MR. W. H. R. LUMSDEN, director of the East African Trypanosomiasis Research Organisation; MR. J. A. GORDON, of the central husbandry division of the East African Veterinary and Forest Research Organization.

THE REV. FRANK J. BEDFORD, secretary in East Africa of the British and Foreign Bible Society since 1949, has been appointed assistant general secretary at the London headquarters. Before going to Nairobi Mr. Bedford had served in Northern Rhodesia for 14 years as a Methodist missionary. He made a special study of conditions in the African compounds on the Copperbelt, and served on the Central Welfare Advisory Board, the Minimum Wage Advisory Board, and the Advisory Board on African Education. He was a pioneer of scouting among Africans in North-Western Rhodesia, and was awarded the Scout Medal of Merit. Mrs. Bedford worked in Northern Rhodesia as a nursing sister.

Obituary

MR. V. F. C. PETO, who farmed in the Londiani district of Kenya from 1919 to 1938, has died in Jersey. He was an engineer, who served in France in the 1914-18 war, latterly as a field officer. After being badly gassed he was told that he could live for only about six months. So he went to Kenya and lived there for another 42 years. He was unmarried.

LORD GLYN, who has died suddenly at the age of 75, was keenly interested in East and Central African affairs when as Sir Ralph Glyn he sat in the House of Commons as Conservative member for Abingdon. He won the M.C. at Ypres.

THE REV. G. A. MICHELL, D.D., Principal of St. Stephen's House, Oxford, from 1919 to 1936, who has died suddenly at the age of 77, was from 1914 to 1943 examining chaplain to the Bishop of Zanzibar.

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR J. A. V. MORSE, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O., who has died in a road accident in Southern Rhodesia at the age of 67, served with distinction in both world wars.

VICE-ADMIRAL T. B. DREW, C.B., C.V.O., O.B.E., who has died at the age of 73, served for some time in East African waters as executive officer of H.M.S. EFFINGHAM.

MR. EDGAR MOSENTHAL, chairman of Mosenthal, Sons & Co., Ltd., a company with large interests in Rhodesia and South Africa, has died after a long illness.

MR. OWEN TWEEDY, O.B.E., who has died in Dublin, travelled widely in East and Central Africa as a journalist some 35 years ago.

MR. JAMES PENNEY, of the Lands Department in Kenya, has died in London at the age of 63 while on leave.

LADY McLEAN, wife of Sir WILLIAM McLEAN, has died in Tunbridge Wells. They were married in 1922.

LADY CHAMBERS, widow of Sir Théodore Chambers, has died in Exmouth. She was 85.

Sixteen to One

AN OLD SUBSCRIBER IN KENYA, who strongly approves our severe criticism of what we have called the "Macblundell" Constitution for that country, has instructed us to send the air mail edition of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA to 16 of his friends, who ought, he considers, to see the paper regularly. Many subscribers pay for copies to be sent regularly to one or two other people. Sixteen is an easy record. Ought YOU to have it sent to someone?

YOU CAN HELP TO MAKE THE TRUTH KNOWN

It was never so necessary to make the truth about East and Central Africa widely known.

The policy of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA is to discover and publish the truth on all major matters concerning the territories which it serves. It has often been the only publication anywhere to focus attention on an important public issue.

No other journal, for instance, has forcefully criticized the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for the Colonies for preparing, and Mr. Blundell for accepting, a Constitution for Kenya which completely and disastrously disregards the Prime Minister's pledge that the criterion for political advancement in British East and Central Africa must be merit.

In the very month in which that undertaking was given H.M. Government offered Kenya a franchise system in which merit in any normal sense of the word is not the criterion. Yet all Kenya's delegates except the four representatives of the United Party agreed to this cynical breach of promise. For that rejection of principle and resort to political expediency and dangerous appeasement they have been attacked by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA — and, so far as we can discover, by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA alone.

Anyone who wants the real facts about East and Central Africa must read EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA regularly. If there is someone of your acquaintance who ought to do just that, you could subscribe for the paper to be sent to him or her week by week. Why not do it NOW? The truth does need to be much more widely known, and in this way you could help to spread it.

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Reports on East and Central Africa

Visits by Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P.

NEWS OUT OF AFRICA was the title given to MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P., and MR. BRIAN MACDONALD for two 20-minute addresses at last week's joint meeting in London of the Royal Africa and Royal Commonwealth Societies.

Sir John Macpherson, lately Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, presided.

MR. WALL, who recently spent two months travelling in the Middle East, the Somalilands, and East, Central, and South Africa, this being his third such journey within four years, thought Southern Rhodesia the most stable of all those African territories.

In British Somaliland a Somali Minister, who said that he had spent much of his life talking against expatriate civil servants, told him that his short experience with a portfolio made him anxious to double the number of British officials.

Recent political changes in the Protectorate had caused great good will towards the United Kingdom, and that feeling was even stronger in Somali. British administration of which ex-Italian territory had so greatly impressed its Somali people that there was a strong desire for the two territories to join the Commonwealth after they had united as one independent State.

Because the ex-Italian Somalis had more developed political institutions and more experience, H.M. Government must see that the British Somalis had a fair deal when arrangements for union came to be worked out. Somali nationalism was a very potent force, and union of the territories would be most unpopular with Ethiopia.

Kenya Needs Clear Reassurance

In Kenya political opinion was in a state of ferment. The British did not understand that H.M. Government intended to hold on for many years, and clear reassurance on that point was needed.

Among the Africans there were great tribal differences and personal jealousies, and with growing unemployment, especially in Nairobi, an explosive situation had been created, largely through the rapid release of Mau Mau detainees.

About 630 Africans were still in detention and 330 under orders restricting their movements. About 150 of those still detained were probably irredeemable and therefore unfit to be released.

To set Kenyatta free would be absolutely fatal, for it would completely destroy confidence in H.M. Government, by no means least among missionaries and other Churchmen, to whom he was the symbol of Mau Mau and anti-Christian activities.

Among the African political activists there were great stresses and strains. Mr. Mboya was, Mr. Wall thought, likely to win the struggle for the leadership.

A fund of about £25m. for land stabilization and development—not for compensation—was urgently needed. So was assurance that there would be no further constitutional advance until it had been earned by all sections of the community.

Whereas in Tanganyika 18 months ago there was a widespread campaign of civil disobedience, the situation was now satisfactory, Africans doing whatever the Government wanted in the way of soil conservation and farming practice.

Everyone recognized that the future depended upon the leadership of Mr. Julius Nyerere and the continuance in their posts of British civil servants. In all three East African territories was absolutely vital to restore the morale of such officials.

An interesting point was that no Africans whom he met in Tanganyika seemed to take any notice of what had happened in the Belgian Congo; "but then Africans have overwhelming self-confidence".

Sir Edgar Whitehead's seeming satisfaction with his recent visit to London was important, because it had been regarded by everyone in Southern Rhodesia as a test of the confidence which could be placed in Britain; if H.M. Government failed that test there would be grave danger of Southern Rhodesia seceding from the Federation, the dissolution of which would be an economic and political disaster.

In Nyasaland the real test would come in July when the Africans had to be refused independence this year, for which of course they were nothing like ready. Then a dangerous situation might arise, as there could be no doubt that pressure would be put on the Government.

Britain's task in East and Central Africa was to channel African nationalism, as to create stable independent members

of the Commonwealth. The essence was speed. Having used the carrot, the time would come when it would be necessary to use the stick—perhaps in Nyasaland.

Africa's Most Impressive Sight

MR. MACDONALD said that wherever he went between mid-February and mid-April it had rained, was raining, and looked like continuing to rain, so that farmers, stock men, and all who lived by the land were happy.

News from the Federation must centre on Kariba, a terrific but lovely work of man which is changing the geography over more than 2,000 square miles of Africa. In less than a fortnight the Queen Mother would set in motion the second unit of the six which would supply both Rhodesias with their electric power.

He continued, in part: "The dam and power station are the most impressive sight in Africa today. Above the dam the lake level is rising a few inches every day. Already the lake stretches back 75 miles; already 10 or 20 tons of fingerlings have been tipped into the lake to form the basis of a new fishing industry."

"The Federal Power Board are thinking not only of the second stage of the scheme planned for completion in 1972, but are making hydrological investigations into the possibilities of a third stage."

"In Rhodesia 1958 was a year of retrenchment and consolidation, but 1959 a year of partial recovery and cautious optimism. Copper prices improved by £35 a ton; the tobacco crop was a record; the growth of new industry continued. An adverse visible trade balance of £15m. became a favourable balance of £44m."

"You cannot but be bullish about 1960 when you look at the exciting new skylines of Salisbury and Bulawayo. Great new industrial developments are planned, copper production is again being stimulated, and the tobacco crop just harvested is likely to provide yet another new record."

"Is the news bullish in East Africa? The letter 'B' has been hard worked of late in Kenya—with Blundell, Briggs, and other words, adjectives as well as nouns, used for some members of H.M. Government."

"Economically, Kenya has turned the corner; given some improvement in the prices of staple commodities, particularly of coffee, and the determination to make multi-racialism work, the tempo of development and economic growth will be quickened. But any forecast must be conditioned by such provisos."

Biggest Investment Since Uganda Railway

"Kenya's net domestic product increased threefold between 1947 and 1958. African production in 1959 was 20 per cent. higher than in 1958, and was valued at £9m. In 10 years the acreage of European-grown tea has nearly doubled, and that crop is now second in the export list. This year construction of the new Shell/BP refinery is to begin at Changanwe, near Mombasa. At £15m. it will be the largest single investment in Kenya since the railway was built."

"In Uganda 'B' stands for the boycott which has caused much disruption in trade and much harm to both Africans and Asians. 'B' too can stand for budget which won't balance by about £14m. at a time when revenue reserves are already down to £6m. One reason is the drop in export duties due to a fall in the sale value of primary products, in particular coffee."

"In Tanganyika 'B' could almost stand for boom, at least in the production of cotton. This year the crop is being talked up to between 220,000 and 250,000 bales—yet another record."

"The big news of the year in the Sudan has been the agreement with Egypt on the re-allocation of Nile waters. With this major dispute decided, it will be possible for the Sudan to go to the World Bank for the funds which to build the Roseires Dam, so necessary to service fully the Mafagil extension to the Gezira scheme and to open up land to the south of the Sennar-Kosti Railway. The second piece of good news out of the Sudan is the success which attended the Government's new selling policy for cotton introduced rather more than a year ago."

"But you cannot look at economics in the abstract. A country's wealth can be increased only if the population and the country's end can work in confidence and security. Lord De La Warr said yesterday that the main problem of Kenya is that of restoring confidence. That is also the problem of all the African territories which are moving over from one regime to another. If you cannot find some method of keeping the civil services intact and working for a decade or more for the independent African Governments still to come, you will not leave them a legacy of riches, but present them with chaos."

"The British Government has a duty to help Africa today, and there are no alternatives. It is to be hoped that it is doing so."

Week-End of Violence in N. Rhodesia No Changes Yet in Royal Tour Plans

AFTER STUDYING REPORTS of week-end outbreaks of violence in Northern Rhodesia the Federal Government and organizers of the tour of Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother have decided to propose no alterations to the Royal programme. A Government spokesman said on Monday. If adverse security reports are received from Northern Rhodesia the matter will be considered again.

The Queen Mother, who left London on Tuesday evening to open the Kariba Dam, is to visit the Nchanga and Mufulla mines, and Kitwe, but not Ndola where the attack on Mrs. Lillian Burton (reported below) took place.

On Monday European miners on the Copperbelt sent a telegram to the Colonial Secretary challenging the wisdom of the Queen Mother's visit while the country "is in a state of turmoil". The telegram demanded the dismissal of Sir Evelyn Hone, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, because of his handling of the "country's grave security problem" after a week-end of violence. On Tuesday the union cabled to Sir Roy Welensky in London requesting federal action to maintain public safety in the territory.

With public feeling running dangerously high in the Copperbelt, and faced with uninhibited criticism of its dilatoriness in dealing with agitators and marauding African mobs, the Government on Tuesday ordered the immediate call-up of police reservists in the mining towns. Extra police are also to be drafted to the Copperbelt and other parts of the territory.

A "considerable number of arrests" were made by the police in a dawn swoop at Kitwe on Tuesday after the latest European attack, the stoning of Mr. John Vivier. In Kitwe a police officer told a magistrates court that police vehicles were badly damaged and police heavily stoned when they tried to quell a riot at Mindola beer hall, near Kitwe, on Sunday.

Maintaining Law and Order

Mr. Martin Wray, the Chief Secretary, said in a statement: "The Government is determined to maintain law and order, and every possible step will be taken to bring to justice those who, whether from political motives or their hoodliganism, are guilty of breaches of the law."

Rioting occurred at Kitwe, Luanshya, and Kalushi, and there were cases of arson at Bancroft after police had broken up an unauthorized meeting of the United National Independence Party at an African housing estate.

After the police had dispersed them gangs of Africans ran through the bush to the mine townships and to the outskirts of Bancroft and Kitwe. They stoned at least 14 cars, smashing windows and windscreens and injuring many of the occupants.

Violence flared up again on Monday when a crowd of Africans stoned an unidentified European motorist near Kitwe, after an African woman had been injured by his car. The European was not seriously hurt, the woman was taken to hospital.

Tear-smoke shells and parabolic flares were fired by the police at one Copperbelt beer-hall where a riotous crowd refused to disperse, and at another beer-hall tear-smoke was used to break up a disorderly crowd. There have been incendiary or stoning attacks on several African houses and trading stores, and the premises of two African Federal M.P.s were attacked.

On Monday the police announced the arrest of five branch leaders of the U.N.I.P. who arranged the unauthorized public meeting at Ndola on Sunday. Altogether some 120 people have been held.

There is a general demand that Mr. Kenneth Kaunda and other U.N.I.P. leaders should openly and vigorously denounce lawlessness. Europeans are proposing the death penalty for arson endangering life, the proscription of the U.N.I.P., and the unrestricted issue of firearm permits to Europeans.

Mr. Harry Nkumbula, president of the African National Congress, has openly attributed the campaign of violence to U.N.I.P.

Mr. Shipalo, general secretary of the party, has sent an official to Ndola to inquire into the Burton and other incidents. "Until we have the facts we cannot comment," he said.

In the Commons on Tuesday Mr. Macleod in a statement on the disturbances in Northern Rhodesia warned that "any Government which would be tolerated and that the Government would have his full support in any measures he took to remove law and order."

Sir Roy Welensky's Reply to Mr. Louw Federal Policy Not Like South Africa's

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has found it necessary to issue a statement in explanation of remarks made in London last week by Mr. Louw, South African Minister for External Affairs.

In a long statement handed to journalists Mr. Louw said: "The riots in South Africa mainly confined to three urban centres, were caused by two subversive Bantu organisations, the African National Congress and the very extremist Pan-Africanist Congress. The A.N.C. was at the root of the trouble in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia last year. As in the case of Nyasaland, where 51 Bantu were killed and 99 wounded by the police for the purpose of maintaining law and order, so for the same reason police action was necessary at Sharpeville and Nyanga."

Asked whether he equated the attitude of the British Government towards Nyasaland with that of the South African Government to its Native population, Mr. Louw replied: "Yes. Basically you have a similar situation. You have a very subversive African National Congress." He added that he did not question the propriety of the British action. "Probably they had had very good reasons for shooting in the maintenance of law and order. Mr. Louw added that it looked as if Britain was abdicating in Central Africa."

Sir Roy replied: —

"I am one of those who have a great deal of sympathy for South Africa and its problems, and I have myself seen indications of what I consider to be a distorted representation of the position in South Africa."

"But I must join issue with Mr. Louw when he talks about the British Government abdicating in Central Africa. This is not in accordance with the facts. The position is that the Government of the United Kingdom are committed to a policy of advancing the dependent Colonies of the African continent to independence, and that policy is equally applicable to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland as to Sierra Leone."

"The policy in the Federation is a policy of partnership. The aim is the development of a multi-racial State based on a status that, when achieved, will recognize the individual's right to full participation in the government of his own country."

"I have no desire to become involved in South African affairs, but I would say that the policy of that Government is not the same as the policy being followed in Central Africa."

S. Rhodesian Constitutional Talks

THE SOUTHERN RHODESIA Government is to press its case for the removal of United Kingdom veto powers at a further meeting to be held in London later in the year and before the Federal constitutional review.

Announcing this in the Commons on Monday, Mr. C. J. M. Alport, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, said in a short statement that at the recent talks between Sir Edgar Whitehead and the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations H.M. Government had declared its readiness to accept a scheme which would "reduce or withdraw the powers vested in the Secretary of State" if arrangements could be devised and agreed by both Governments which would provide effective alternative safeguards.

The Minister said that Sir Edgar Whitehead had put certain broad proposals to provide such alternative machinery.

Closely pressed for further information Mr. Alport would go no further than to reassure the House that its views would be sought before the Government reached a decision, and that the Government was fully aware of its responsibilities to all sections of the community in Central Africa.

Africans Ambush European Women

MRS. LILLIAN BURTON and her two young children were attacked by 30 Africans who ambushed their car near Ndola on Sunday. The mother's condition is reported serious, but the children are out of danger.

Mrs. Burton and her daughters were returning from Ndola to their home in Kanda village when the car windows were smashed with stones. Petrol was poured into the car and set alight. Mrs. Burton, her dress in flames, struggled out with the children. She was clubbed by Africans who took her clothes off her, but she managed to rush with the children into the bush through the road, where a passing cyclist found her and took them to Ndola Hospital.

Letter to the Editor

Colonial Secretary "Discourteous"

Reply from Civil Servants in Uganda

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR, — I write on behalf of the Uganda European Civil Servants' Association in reply to the comments and criticisms made in your issue of April 21 under Notes By The Way regarding the action taken by the association in making a Press statement concerning our outstanding salary claim.

Many of your criticisms are accepted as constructive and fair. Some, on the other hand, have been made apparently without a full knowledge of the facts, and my letter is designed to amplify our first Press release.

In regard to your comments on loyalty, you may care to know that from March 14 the Uganda Government were aware that there existed the possibility of a Press release if the Secretary of State's assurance that a reply to our claim would be given within "a week or so" was not met. On March 29, in an interview which the Governor gave the association, and which was attended by senior officials of the Government, a further assurance from the Secretary of State was read, stating that "it was hoped to be able to communicate a final decision within a matter of days".

As a result of this, it was agreed between spokesmen of the Government and the association that no action would be taken by the association until April 5, but that if no decision had been received by that date the association would issue a Press statement. It was officially stated that such action would be regarded as legitimate. No decision was received, and a Press release was accordingly made as agreed. A decision has still not been made, and from March 29 to date (May 1) can hardly be regarded as "a matter of days".

We have been informed that throughout all negotiations the Uganda Government has kept the Secretary of State fully aware of the position and of the views and intentions of the association (which have always been transmitted to Government). It might be regarded that the Secretary of State, through his apparent refusal to take any action, is being disloyal to the Service for which he is responsible. To ignore or refuse to answer letters and telegrams which have been sent to him by an association of 1,100, to whom he has made specific assurances, is at the least discourteous.

Insofar as the method of demonstrating dissatisfaction is concerned, this association has received telegrams and letters of congratulation and support from all expatriate European associations throughout East Africa and from places farther afield. The correspondence columns of more than one national U.K. newspaper have contained letters and articles from past members of the service, which indicate their appreciation of the conditions of expatriate staff in East Africa. Lord Twining has referred to H.M.O.C.S. as a "completely bogus bureaucratic façade" and stated that "the Colonial Office, no doubt in the face of opposition from the Treasury, seemed to be unable to grasp their responsibilities in this matter". We deplore the necessity for publicizing our case, but what other positive line of action was open to us?

We have no representatives in Legislative Council to take up our case (other than the Chief Secretary to the Government, who is the head of the Civil Service). Our members do not have Members of Parliament, although we have in fact sent copies of our Press statements to a number of them, and some to their credit have already commented in writing on the poor conditions of service and uncertain future of H.M.O.C.S. in East Africa.

In regard to the facts on which the claim for a substantial increase in salaries is based, these surely were given in the Press release printed in your publication. Apart from any other considerations, the official cost-of-living index itself shows a 21% rise since January, 1954, with only a 5% increase in salaries. This alone shows a positive need for immediate examination and it has been officially stated in Uganda that there is a *prima facie* case for a pay increase. As regards the "hidden emoluments" to which you refer, surely these are not solely applicable to civil servants. We do not have expense accounts, and all our conditions of service are subject to public examination and comment — conditions which do not arise in commercial employment.

We fully agree with your comments in regard to salaries commissions. The last one held in East Africa took one year and five months to produce a report, and a further five months elapsed before the parts of that report which were accepted were implemented. But is not the concept of salaries commissions completely outdated? Such procedure is not used in the U.K. or, to the best of my knowledge, in any other country with up-to-date machinery for staff relations and negotiations between management and employees. One of the major defects in H.M.O.C.S. is that there is no universal form of positive negotiation between employer and employee, as exists in almost every other sphere of employment.

The members of the U.K. civil service (who in the Colonial Office are (?) dealing with our claim) do not have to wait years for the appointment of salaries commissions, and then years for a report. Their salaries are constantly under review, and any differences between official and staff sides are liable to be the subject of arbitration. What good reason is there for H.M.O.C.S. to be singled out for a different and far less advantageous machinery of negotiation?

To refer to the fair treatment of taxpayers is, of course, incontestable. It is relevant, however, to point out that the civil servant is himself a taxpayer, and in Uganda the expatriate civil servant pays considerably more in the way of taxation than does the African civil servant. In fact, in the higher salary scales the inducement factor is completely wiped out by the incomprehensible system whereby expatriates pay income tax whereas Africans do not.

In conclusion — and I apologize for the length of this letter — this association fully agrees that there are "in East and Central Africa scores of officials of little competence who could not expect commercial employment at anything like their present salaries". Are you prepared to admit that there are in commercial employment scores of employees who could not for like reasons obtain employment in the civil service?

Yours faithfully,

R. T. HOWELL

Kampala

Uganda

Hon. Secretary

TOBACCO
AT ITS BEST

SENIOR SERVICE
Satisfy

are almost always allowed to remain in the civil service until they reach pensionable age, usually receiving promotions, some of them astonishing and dangerous to the public interest, in the intervening years. We have great admiration for many members of H.M. Overseas Civil Service, which would, however, stand still higher in public estimation if the Colonial Office and Colonial Governments had shown less toleration in this matter.]

Points from Letters

Railway Strikers

"THE RAILWAYS ARE PARALYSED, according to the leader of the Tanganyika Railway African Union. Just after he had made that statement I found passenger trains running normally in the main railway town in the Territory, and at the station I saw many Africans at work with Asians and Europeans. Most of the strikers are in fact in such lower grades as porters, and their absence has certainly not 'paralysed' the working of the railways. Africans, it should be noted, receive the same rates of pay as other races for the same work, and many of them are drawing the same money as Asians. If an Asian can manage on his wage, an African should be well off. As with the postal strike, the cause is political rather than economic; but it is a fact that most strikers cannot say why they are out."

Dr. Banda

"THE DEVLIN COMMISSION and others tried to whitewash Dr. Banda at the time of the civil disturbances in Nyasaland a year ago. That he can control his mob has been demonstrated since his release from detention. When he got back here there were large gatherings of Africans outside his headquarters, in Blantyre, at the airport, and elsewhere; and not one stone was thrown. His orders to Africans were that they were to be 'peaceful' and leave him 'to do the shouting and fighting'. His power of control having thus been demonstrated, one asks why it was not used a year ago to prevent civil disturbances; and one asks what will happen when he finds that the constitutional talks will not produce his type of self-government."

Not Enough Partnership

"I DO NOT KNOW one businessman in the two Rhodesias — and I know very many — who believes that there can be continuing and developing industrial progress without Federation. For them this is a business judgment, not political. There is a rapidly growing conviction that our politicians have been and still are too slow in leading public opinion to accept necessary adjustments. Federation is based on partnership, but nobody would claim that there is yet anything like enough partnership in practice."

Worthless Assurances

"LORD PERTH, you have reported, has told the House of Lords on the authority of the Prime Minister that Europeans in Kenya and the Federation will not be 'let down or deserted'. Yet a few weeks before he spoke Europeans in Kenya had been let down as harshly as anyone could imagine. Judging from your long, and I am sure accurate, report, nobody seems to have contrasted Lord Perth's assurance with what in fact had already happened."

Crass Ignorance

"THE CRASS IGNORANCE of Kenya of those who have imposed this new Constitution on us is exemplified by their giving the vote to every African woman of over 40 years of age. The Kikuyu woman is used by her own menfolk as little more than a beast of burden and a slave; they are 100% illiterate and their understanding of economics on which politics must be based, is a negative quantity."

More Protests from Civil Servants

Warning to Potential Recruits

EUROPEAN CIVIL SERVANTS want to know where they stand, Mr. E. M. Hall, chairman of the East Africa High Commission Association of Professional, Technical and Executive Officers said in Nairobi last week.

Addressing the association's annual meeting, he declared that they did not wish to wake up one day and find that the bill for compensation to them was considered so high that ways and means had been devised for dodging its payment.

Turning to the Administrator of the High Commission, Mr. E. B. David, he said: "We have a tradition of service and loyalty. We cannot go on strike, but we are hard up and worried. We expect our employers to help us now."

Referring to advice given by Uganda civil servants that people should not join H.M. Overseas Civil Service, Mr. Hall said that expatriate civil servants generally in East Africa could say without over-dramatization to potential recruits:

"If you come to East Africa as civil servants your salaries and promotion prospects may well be considerably less than in the United Kingdom Civil Service, and your pensions may be less secure. You may serve in isolated or otherwise un congenial places, lacking in educational or other facilities. You may have to live in bad climates, in an atmosphere of political hatred, and in conditions of actual physical danger to yourselves and your families from savage attacks by stoning and slashing."

Mr. David, who said that it was too early to forecast the future of the High Commission, expressed sympathy with the civil servants.

The High Commission existed as an inter-territorial organization because of the advantages which accrued to each territory, and which would not be altered by constitutional changes.

As to fears that staff would be replaced by locally trained men, he pointed out that in many cases technical and highly specialized qualifications were needed, and locally qualified officials were not being produced at such a rate as to threaten existing staffs.

News Items in Brief

On internal air routes in Uganda Dakota aircraft are about to replace Rapides.

Nyasaland's first Queen's Scout is Michael Mhango, aged 21, of the Karonga district.

Expenditure on African education in Kenya has risen nearly 15-fold in the past 12 years.

In the drive against crime in Buganda, pamphlets have been dropped from police aircraft.

A joint Commonwealth Societies' service is to be held in the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, London, on May 29.

The Ford Foundation has given £43,000 for the development over four years of a secondary technical course at the Technical Institute, Dar es Salaam.

Ex-Chief Musingu, of Bwamba, Uganda, has died at what is believed to be the age of 110. He is said to have had 107 wives and 215 children.

Nairobi Chamber of Commerce has agreed to a gift of £100 to the new Commonwealth Institute in London. Nairobi City Council has promised £200 and Nakuru £100.

Nine African local government officials from Uganda and Tanganyika are studying local government in Britain during a three-months' visit arranged by the British Council.

A Central African College of Social Service is proposed. Representatives of the three territorial Governments and of municipalities are to consider the question at a conference in Lusaka on June 15.

A special consignment of 240 pineapples was recently sent to sick children in Cardiff by the Kenya Horticultural Co-operative Union, Ltd. The gift was made in connexion with the city's Commonwealth Weeks.

All shades of political opinion in Britain agreed that the vital importance of European agriculture to Kenya's economy made its protection essential. Mr. Peter Marrian, president of the Kenya National Farmers' Union, said on his return from his mission to London with Lord Delamere.

A new series of postage stamps will be issued by the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to commemorate the official opening by the Queen Mother on May 17 of the Kariba hydro-electric station. Each of six stamps will carry portraits of the Queen and the Queen Mother, and the two dams, both of the Queen and the Queen Mother.

Parliament**Kenyatta A "Danger to Security"****Mr. Macleod is Firmly Convinced**

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS last week MR. PATRICK WALL (Cons.) asked the Colonial Secretary whether, in order to reassure public opinion in Kenya, he would make a statement of his intentions regarding Jomo Kenyatta.

MR. MACLEOD: "The Governor stated on March 31 that he remained of the view that in prevailing circumstances the release of Jomo Kenyatta would be a danger to security. I am firmly convinced that his return to normal life in Kenya would in present circumstances bring a direct threat to the maintenance of law and order, and thereby prejudice the fulfilment of our recent decisions for orderly advance in that territory. I therefore fully endorse the Governor's decision."

MR. WALL: "The Minister's reply will give considerable satisfaction in Kenya and do much to restore confidence, particularly of African Government servants and the Kikuyu loyalists."

MR. MACLEOD: "I think that it should be said that there is nothing particularly new in my reply. I have made it at least half a dozen times."

MR. STEPHEN SWINGLER (Lab.) asked the Minister to take into account the not inconsiderable public opinion in Kenya and Britain that Kenyatta, having been sentenced and served his punishment, should now be a free man.

MR. MACLEOD replied that Kenyatta's case, like all others, was kept under review by the Governor. "But there are very special circumstances surrounding the detention of this man, and there never has been any disagreement between the Governor and myself as to how this case should be treated."

MR. SYDNEY SILVERMAN (Lab.) asked what would be the "special danger to security if this very old and very sick man were allowed to return to normal life."

MR. MACLEOD: "Kenyatta is in very good health indeed. He was charged with the offence of organizing Mau Mau and found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment on that charge. He was subsequently restricted by an order of the Governor, following a recommendation of the court. People who know the circumstances in Kenya think that these are special circumstances which must be in the mind of the Governor."

Corfield Report

Replying to MR. JOHN STONEHOUSE (Lab.), the Colonial Secretary said that Mr. Corfield hoped very shortly to complete the editing of his historical survey of the origin and growth of Mau Mau. Because of its importance it would be published as a Command Paper before the end of the month.

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Has the Minister seen reports that the original version included allegations that certain M.P.s had in some way been associated with Mau Mau? Will he assure the House that when it is produced the White Paper will be a full, uncensored version, so that the members concerned will have a full opportunity of replying to the unwarranted sneers and innuendoes?"

MR. MACLEOD: "You had better wait to read it before making observations of that sort. As the Attorney-General in Kenya made clear, the editing which Mr. Corfield is doing and any changes made will be only in agreement with the Attorney-General. There is no question whatever of modifying the strength of the report, either against individuals or against the Mau Mau movement itself. It is only on matters such as organization of intelligence and the names of witnesses that Mr. Corfield is undertaking the editing mentioned."

DAME IRENE WARD (Cons.): "When the report is published, does the Minister intend to release for publication the evidence on Mau Mau which was previously restricted to the library of the House of Commons? Is he aware that the decision, because of its horrors, to restrict that evidence to the library of the House did not permit the public to know the detestation of Mau Mau which is felt by most people who know anything about it?"

MR. MACLEOD: "Many of these matters are covered in the Corfield Report. Perhaps I should make it clear that the report is not something related in any way to any recent events which may have taken place, but was called for by the Legislative Council in Kenya in December, 1955, and has taken four years' preparation."

Civil Servants' Salaries

MR. MACLEOD stated that when negotiating with himself and the other East African Administrators, the Government of Uganda had last month informed the British European

Civil Servants Association that a review of the salaries and terms of service of all civil servants in the Protectorate was in prospect. He hopes to announce details soon.

Independence for Somaliland on July 1**Step to Facilitate Union With Somalia**

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES made the following statement last Thursday to the Somaliland Protectorate Constitutional Conference in London:

"In his statement in Hargeisa in February 1959, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that, in considering constitutional progress in the Somaliland Protectorate, H.M. Government thought it right to pay special regard to the fact that the neighbouring territory of Somalia was due to become independent in December 1960, and that in those circumstances H.M. Government thought there was justification for proceeding with constitutional development in the Protectorate at a faster pace than they believed to be suitable or advantageous in more normal circumstances elsewhere."

"Since then the General Assembly of the United Nations has brought forward the date of independence for Somalia to July 1, 1960."

"On April 6 all the elected members of the Protectorate Legislative Council supported a resolution in favour of independence and union with Somalia on July 1. As the Prime Minister said in the House of Commons on April 11, H.M. Government understand the deep feelings behind this motion."

"H.M. Government are also aware that political leaders from the Protectorate reaffirmed their desire for independence and union on July 1 in a statement issued jointly with representatives of the Somalia Legislative Assembly in Mogadishu on April 16."

"In pursuance of the policy announced by Mr. Lennox-Boyd for the Protectorate, and in view of the declared wishes of the elected representatives of the Protectorate, H.M. Government are now prepared to take further constitutional steps to make possible the independence of the Protectorate by July 1."

"In order that the Protectorate can become independent in so short a time, it will be necessary at the present Constitutional Conference, to examine further and reach agreement on a number of important matters, among them legal processes, financial assistance, the public service, and some aspects of international questions. Excellent progress on all these matters has already been made, and I am confident that I can count on the full co-operation of the elected Ministers in the completion of our task."

The leader of the Somaliland delegation, Mr. Mahomed Haji Ibrahim Egal, replied: "This is a happy day for us. On behalf of the elected Ministers I thank you for your statement, and on behalf of the people of Somaliland we express our great gratification and our appreciation of all that H.M. Government have done to promote our welfare."

The Conference ended last week. Sir Douglas Hall, Governor of the Protectorate, was already left London, and the four Somali delegates, Mr. Mohammed Ibrahim Egal, Leader of Government Business, Mr. Ahmed Haji Dualeh, Minister for Natural Resources, Mr. Ibrahim Noor, Minister for Social Services, and Mr. Ali Gerad Jama, Minister for Communications and Works, hope to leave London Airport tomorrow for Rome, where they will spend a couple of days. They are due back in Somaliland next Wednesday. Editorial comment on the results of the conference will appear next week.

Sir Roy Welensky

THE QUEEN gave an audience of Sir Roy Welensky on Wednesday, when the Prime Minister presented the Federation's christening gift for Prince Andrew. On the same day Sir Roy was sworn of the Privy Council. Earlier in the week he gave a sitting for Tussaud's waxwork. Today he lunches with the board of Unilever Ltd., attends a Services reception at Rhodesia House, followed by a dinner given by the Club of the City of London at Claridge's. He flies home tomorrow.

Rulers' Talks

TALKS ARE EXPECTED to be held in London during the latter part of June between the Colonial Secretary and the Kabaka of Buganda and the rulers of Toro, Bunyoro, and Ankole. It is understood that they will not be in London at the same time as the delegation of representative members of the Legislative Council, whom they had previously declined to join in talks with Mr. Macleod. The four rulers are, it is thought, now prepared to accept the general principles contained in the Wild Report, provided they obtain from H.M. Government adequate assurances on their position in a self-governing Uganda. Mr. Dingle Foot, O.C., who has been retained to advise Buganda on constitutional matters, is expected to act for the other kingdoms also. They are now engaged on a collective memorandum for the Colonial Secretary.

Oxford University Africa Society

OXFORD UNIVERSITY AFRICA SOCIETY has elected Mr. Gordon Hanson (Kenya and Lincoln) its president for the Trinity Term, 1960. He is the first East African to hold the office. Among the five ex-presidents two have been Rhodesians, Mr. Keith Kirkman (Southern Rhodesia and Corpus Christi) and Mr. David Whitehead (Northern Rhodesia and Trinity). Among the society's committee of 12 members are Messrs. Toher Adnan (Zanzibar and Keble), Kamal Ali Babiker (Sudan and Pembroke), C. H. M. Barlow (Uganda and Balliol), Yash Ghai (Kenya and Queen's), G. K. Kariithi (Kenya and Commonwealth Services Club), and Mambo Makoko (Tanganyika and Ruskin).

Change of Mind

THE CLERGY of the U.M.C.A. diocese of Masasi, Tanganyika, unanimously, and the laity by a large majority, have now resolved that the diocese should become part of the new Anglican province of East Africa when it is inaugurated in August. This represents a reversal of the earlier decision which caused the resignation of the then bishop, the Rt. Rev. Mark Way.

Archbishop-Designate

THE RT. REV. LEONARD JAMES BEECHER, Bishop of Mombasa, has been elected by his fellow bishops as Archbishop-designate of the new Church Province of East Africa, which the Archbishop of Canterbury will inaugurate in August. It will include the dioceses of Mombasa, Zanzibar, Masasi, Central Tanganyika and South-West Tanganyika.

For Prince Andrew

THE QUEEN has accepted a baby rattle for Prince Andrew made from Rhodesian copper, gold and ivory, and filled with Rhodesian lucky beans. It is the gift of the W.V.S. of Central Africa.

Church's Role As Cool Pilot in Africa

Sir Kenneth Grubb's Warning

SIR KENNETH GRUBB, president of the Church Missionary Society, said in the course of his address to the annual meeting in London last week:

"1960 is a year of years for Africa. Nigeria, the Congo, and Somalia achieve their independence. Kenya and Sierra Leone take further strides towards it. The future of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is in question. Strife in a tragic and terrible form has erupted into violence in the Union. Nor are other parts of Africa exempt from the signs of changes to come.

"British opinion has further hardened against racial discrimination of any kind. Many people ask with a fresh urgency what kind of a deal the African is getting. Urgency, indeed, is the keynote, and much trouble arises when great decisions must be made in pressing moments, often because they were not faced while there was time.

"Perhaps many of you, like me, have steered a small boat through dangerous rapids. As the crisis approaches, one is apt to lose control, not only of speed, but also of direction. Submerged snags appear where everyone said the river was clear. You are apt to go rapidly round in circles or to be seized by a violent backwater. The crew lose their heads and the pilot is lucky to keep his. If he has one and does so, he may save his ship. But the feeling of helplessness, of being in the power of untrainable forces which have an existence and *elan* of their own, is indescribable.

"It should be the earnest prayer of all of us that in these situations the Church and its leaders in Africa will play the part of the cool pilot. I mean not only the Church in its services, but the Church present through its members in politics, group relations, and public life generally. That is asking a lot, for in the moment of crisis the appeal to reason, even Christian reason, has little chance of being heard.

"The Church will not be exempt from the turmoil of the times. On the contrary, it is peculiarly exposed to them. Here we find it hard to realize how very Western, how very Colonial, the Church appears to the leaders of African nationalism. There is still time for European leaders of the Church in Africa to show unequivocally their sympathy with the aspirations of African nationalism and where they stand. If they do not, we may find that the Church will be discredited and Africans in large numbers will take refuge in schismatic sects far more nationalistic in their purpose than Christian in their faith and doctrine.

"In some parts of this seething continent Africans have been doing this for years past, and in large numbers. If this should become a landslide, which God forbid, then the hope that an African Christian leadership may season and mellow these crucial years of African political development will be rendered nugatory."

Eradicating Malaria

MR. B. D. GOLDBERG, Federal Minister of Health, told the World Health Assembly in Geneva last week that there was now the exciting prospect of eradicating malaria from the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, which recognized that expenditure on that campaign was an investment in health, happiness, and prosperity. With eight million people in its 500,000 square miles, the Federal Government spent on health 13% of its funds, or about £1 per head per annum.

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Strikes Threaten Kenya Coffee Crop

African Plantation Workers Intimidated

LABOUR TROUBLE in the coffee, tea, and sisal-growing areas of Kenya's Central Province is causing much concern in official and farming circles. The province, which depends on Kikuyu workers, has already had more than 30 strikes this year, and eight still continue. It is feared that the coffee crop, Kenya's chief export, may be seriously affected.

Last week in Ruiri about 60 representatives of the associations representing the three industries met Mr. W. F. Cassels, the Chief Secretary, Mr. A. C. Swann, Minister for Internal Security, Mr. R. E. Luyt, Acting Minister for Labour, and senior police and labour department officials.

In a four-hour session with Ministers the growers expressed their views most forcibly and appointed a committee of eight to continue talks with the Government.

Sir Charles Markham, M.L.C., for Ukamba, took up the matter in the Legislature last week, saying that in parts of his constituency and the Kiambu area there were strikes, intimidation, and general contempt for law and order. Wildcat strikes in the Thika area had seemed to follow a pattern, not of complaint about working conditions, but against headmen and other Africans who had been loyalists during the Mau Mau rebellion.

While violence had not usually occurred, there had been threats and people were told that their names were being noted against the day of reckoning when Kenya achieved independence. Mau Mau songs and battle-cries were being heard again, and he asked the Government if it knew whether the aims and objects of that movement were being continued under a different cloak.

The speaker expressed surprise at Mr. Macleod's "passing the buck" over the release of Kenyatta, and said that the Government should make clear its intentions and so end all uncertainty.

The Kenya Coffee Plantation Workers' Union, which is not recognized by the growers because they contend that it cannot control its members, has denied calling or inspiring strikes in the industry, except that some strike action was taken to obtain lower tasks and increased rations. Pickers are being paid about 76s. monthly, plus food and housing, and most receive a seasonal bonus varying from one to three months' pay. In order to help the union the planters allow union officials to recruit members in daylight if representatives of the employers, and often the local chief, attend any meetings called.

Kenya's Money Troubles

FURTHER INDICATIONS of the financial difficulties facing Kenya were reported on Monday, when two of Kenya's building societies, the Savings and Loan Society and the Kenya Building Society, ceased granting mortgages for an indefinite period because of the fall-off in investment. Another society, the First Permanent, will now give mortgages only on new owner-occupied properties. Employees of the Kenya Meat Commission have decided to liquidate their provident fund because of fears of money being frozen. Other concerns have altered pension schemes to make benefits payable throughout the sterling area, instead of in East Africa alone. Next week Nairobi Chamber of Commerce will discuss pension schemes with the Finance Minister.

Capital for Kenya

GROSS CAPITAL FORMATION in Kenya has recently totalled about £40m. annually, said the Finance Minister a few days ago, and net capital formations, the amount spent on additions to capital, about half the gross figure, much of it being financed from overseas. He estimated that £5m. of private money was invested annually in large-scale agriculture alone, in other words, in non-African agriculture.

I can hardly remember a shop owned by any Native south of Siaya that did not sell switches. — Mr. W. Gladstone Stewart

Minister's Advice to Sisal Growers

Planned Production by Kenya Africans

KENYA'S MINISTER FOR AGRICULTURE, Mr. Bruce McKenzie, said last week at the annual meeting of the Kenya Sisal Growers' Association that the agricultural industry would continue to provide the country with its most important stabilizing factor, adding:

"We must keep our heads and remain assured that our individual and collective merit will be recognized as the essence of the country's well-being.

"Sisal production has increased by 50 per cent in the past five years, based on the same acreage. The plantations generally occupy land which is marginal for other forms of cultivation, and on such land sisal is quite the most productive crop.

"With the rise in price, African producers have shown revived interest, which has been supported by the estates willing to buy as much green leaf as possible. However, it is important that the production of African-grown sisal in collaboration with the estates should be undertaken in a planned and orderly manner. It will do the industry no good if poor quality sisal fibre is bought and marketed.

"The Machakos sisal scheme is a good example of the type of planning I have in mind. There the African district council with help from Aldev, have developed a sound scheme for the purchase of washed fibre and its brushing and baling. I hope other districts will consider the adoption of similar schemes and the development of co-operative societies, in preference to concentrating on individual hand production of fibre. If this is done, then benefit will be felt by African farmers in areas where high-priced cash crops are scarce.

"We are substantially dependent on the import of soft fibres as material for bag making or in the form of made-up bags. I am sorry to say that we have not had the success for which we hoped with the growing of hibiscus under irrigation. The yields have not been high enough to make the large-scale growing of hibiscus under irrigation economic.

"The possibilities of Mauritius hemp are being explored. In Mauritius the whole sugar-bag industry is based on this fibre, and though yields and costs of production are not as good as for sisal, it might be in the interests of Kenya when we know more for sisal growers to devote a small portion of their acreage to this crop in order to supply the needs of the bag industry and eliminate importation, provided the bag industry can adapt its machinery to this type of fibre.

"You have had many strikes in the past few months. Trade unionism has entered the industry, and I am aware that through your labour committee you are adopting a realistic attitude towards industrial relations.

"There is a continuing need for the industry to plan in the long term for a labour force based permanently in the areas of employment. That would lead to increased efficiency and would eliminate many of the problems connected with recruited and written contract labour."

Agreement on African Advancement New Grades for Rhodesia Railways

AGREEMENT WAS REACHED in Salisbury last week on the advancement of Africans on Rhodesia Railways after the most protracted negotiations in the industrial history of Central Africa.

The Railways National Industrial Council — consisting of representatives of the railway administration and the two European trade unions — accepted by a majority vote the proposals by the Southern and Northern Rhodesian Governments amending the unratified agreement signed in January.

The first promotions into jobs hitherto reserved for Europeans will probably be in dining-carts, where a new grade of "waiters", as distinct from "stewards", is to be created. This will be among a group of jobs to be fragmented to provide opportunities at more realistic rates in relation to the labour market as a whole.

Under the new agreement African lorry-drivers on some duties will be reclassified and have their earnings at least doubled.

Whereas the Amalgamated Engineering Union voted for the agreement, the Rhodesia Railway Workers' Union opposed the new job categories and pay proposals, but when outvoted indicated that it would accept the majority decision and try to make the new scheme work.

The African Railway Union is not a member of the National Industrial Council, and at this time of affairs it is possible the unions on the agreement were not known of, but it is probable that the Africans will accept the scheme.

Commercial Brevities

Nairobi Chamber of Commerce has suggested that the East Africa High Commission and the Kenya Government should, in future pay only third class fares, not first class, for the great majority of officials proceeding on overseas leave, thus reducing the burden on taxpayers, who may shortly have to bear the cost of higher salaries for public servants.

For the next four months at least the Uganda Coffee Marketing Board will restrict the supply of coffee at its auctions to 5,000 tons monthly in order to avoid transgressing the undertaking given by I.E.M. Government when signing the International Coffee Agreement. Additional quantities will be sold by private treaty if for new markets.

British Overseas Airways Corporation made an operating profit in the year to March 31 last of over £4m, but all but £100,000 is absorbed in the payment of interest. The improvement on the previous year amounts to about £2m. Associated companies had a deficit of about £1m, which was nearly £2m better than in 1959.

A new **Fordson tractor factory** is to be built at a cost of about £10m. at Basildon, Essex, about 20 miles from the Dagenham factory in which all such tractors have hitherto been manufactured. This is part of the Ford Motor Company's £70m. expansion plan.

The **provisional value of mineral production** in Northern Rhodesia during February was £11,489,063, compared with £9,584,072 for the corresponding month in 1959. Blister copper produced totalled 13,170 tons, valued at £2,863,817, and electrolytic copper 33,835 tons, valued at £7,891,398.

Fourteen commercial leaders from the Congo, Kenya, Tanganyika, and Mozambique are expected in the Federation next week at the invitation of the Government to see something of local industry.

Richard Costain, Ltd., report group profits for the calendar year 1959 of £677,294 (£609,761 in 1958). Tax amounted to £309,000 (£232,600). Distribution for the year is 15 per cent, and the carry forward £413,359 (£370,034).

To encourage heavy industrial development in Blantyre-Limbe, the Nyasaland Government is reducing by about two-fifths rents which had previously ranged from £17 to £29 10s. an acre.

Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., are to pay an interim dividend of 1s. 6d. per 10s. unit of ordinary stock for the year ended July 31, 1960.

Homeward freight rates on sisal from East Africa are to be increased from July 1 by 10s. per 40 cubic feet, or about 15s. per ton weight.

Kilifi Plantations, Ltd., report a profit for the calendar year 1959 of £10,585, against a loss in the previous year of £6,146. A dividend of 12½% is being paid.

European farmers in the two Rhodesias are expected to deliver about 3m. bags of maize to the Grain Marketing Board this year and African farmers about 1m. bags.

Curfews on trading centres in the Masaka district of Buganda have been removed, but special police controls against acts of violence are being maintained.

Costing about £1m. a 30-mile pipe-line to carry water from the Shire River, Nyasaland, to reservoirs at Blantyre-Limbe is to be made in Britain by Stewart and Lloyds, Ltd.

Revenue from wireless licences in Kenya rose last year to about £60,000 compared with only £38,500 in the previous year.

African Cotton Adviser

IN SUPPORT of a drive to encourage African cotton growers to plant early and increase their yield in future seasons, the Kenya Cotton Lint and Seed Marketing Board is to have its own cotton field officers and assistants. Mr. J. D. Addero has been selected as an assistant cotton field officer in the Kendu Bay area of South-Nyanza, where the estimated target is a crop worth £400,000 a year. Successful African farmers in Nyanza are already earning about £200 a year from cotton alone. Mr. Addero finished his secondary education in Uganda.

African Assistant Manager

THE CENTRAL LEA PACKING FACTORY at Kericho, Kenya of Brooks Bond East Africa Ltd. which employs about 260 Africans has an African assistant factory manager. He is Mr. Francis Muri Borjati, who joined the company as a clerk after leaving the King's African Rifles in 1957. After working in every department of the factory, which has an output of about 100,000 lb. of tea monthly, he has just been appointed assistant manager.

MINING

London and Rhodesian Mining and Land

LONDON AND RHODESIAN MINING & LAND CO., LTD., reports a net profit after tax for the 15 months ended September 30 of £82,372 (£43,397). Dividends totalling 71% require £45,938, and after transfers to reserve of £49,821, there is a carry-forward of £72,942.

Issued capital of £1m. in 5s. stock-units. Fixed assets stand at £721,995, interest in subsidiaries at £862,596, and current assets less current liabilities at £206,669. The general reserve is £180,000. There is an outstanding loan secured by mortgage of £301,775. The market value of quoted investments is nearly £300,000 above the book value.

The company has a holding in Rhodesian Television (Pty.) Ltd., and in the independent aircraft operating organization in the Federation. Its ranches are now managed by Willoughby's Consolidated Co., Ltd.

The Cami & Motor mine, which Lonrho had administered for many years, has been sold to the Rio Tinto group. Lonrho Exploration Co., Ltd. has been registered to coordinate prospecting activities.

The directors are Messrs. S. K. Thorburn (chairman), A. H. Ball (managing), J. Whitehouse, N. Kiek, J. A. Caldecott, and J. Dee Shapland, with Messrs. H. E. Quinlan, A. J. B. Ogilvy, F. A. Butcher, and J. A. G. Mills as alternates.

Exploration Company

THE EXPLORATION CO., LTD., which has an issued capital of £375,000 and holdings in many East and Central African companies, reports a net profit of £80,107 after tax but before transferring £44,000 to contingencies and investment reserve. Quoted investments standing at the books at £916,624 had a market value of just over £1m. The dividend is 7%. The directors are Messrs. M. Woodbine Parish, H. G. Hall, and G. F. Hubbard.

Chicago-Gaika

CHICAGO-GAIKA DEVELOPMENT CO., LTD., is paying 10% and a bonus of 5% from profit of £12,061 (£10,078). Current assets appear at £155,752, including stocks and shares with a book value of £146,011 and a market value of £329,356. The company is largely interested in South African and Rhodesian mining. Mr. J. N. Kiek is the chairman.

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Company Report

London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Co., Ltd.

THE 51ST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the company was held on May 4 in London.

In the absence of the chairman, BRIGADIER S. K. THORNBURN, due to indisposition, MR. A. H. BART, the managing director, read the chairman's statement, from which the following are extracts.

The accounts cover a 15-month period following upon our decision to change the company's financial year-end from June 30 to September 30.

Total net revenues at £181,536 compare very favourably with the total for the 12 months ended June 30, 1958, of £128,000.

The profit before taxation at £124,973 was over 50% higher than in the previous 12 months, and of this amount taxation absorbed £40,855. The net profit amounted to £82,372 (as compared with £43,397).

In view of the necessity to maintain the group's liquid resources, the board has been conservative in providing for a total dividend of 7½%, less tax, absorbing £45,938 (as against 5% absorbing £20,750 in the previous year).

The consolidated balance-sheet discloses what I regard as a strong position.

Looking towards the future of your company, the figures that I hope to put before you in a year's time should be satisfactory and the profits at least as good as for 1959.

At the present market price of your company's shares the whole of your interests in Southern Rhodesia stand in at an absurdly low figure, and, provided one has the courage to face the political risk, I still believe that they are an extremely sound investment.

The report and accounts were adopted.

Rio Tinto's Rhodesian Interests

Stake in Copper, Gold and Emeralds

THE RIO TINTO CO., LTD., 41 per cent, of whose assets at book value are in copper, reports that the consolidated net profit after tax for 1959 totalled £1,847,000 (£1,470,000). The increase being due chiefly to higher dividends from investments in Northern Rhodesian copper companies. A 25 per cent. dividend on the ordinary stock requires £1,117,000.

An important development was the acquisition of the entire share capital of the Cam & Motor Gold Mining Company (1919) Ltd., Southern Rhodesia, where options on two small gold properties, Patchway and Big Ben, were exercised, they are within the 47 square miles near Gatooma over which Rio Tinto holds exclusive prospecting orders.

The company also acquired an interest in the Sandawana emerald deposit near Belingwe and exclusive prospecting orders over 47 square miles of neighbouring country.

With headquarters in Salisbury, Brigadier M. A. W. Rowlandson is chairman and managing director of Rio Tinto Mining Co. of Central Africa Ltd., Rio Tinto Management Services (Central Africa) Ltd., Rio Tinto (Northern Rhodesia) Ltd., and Rio Tinto (Southern Rhodesia) Ltd. He is also chairman of Cam & Motor Gold Mining Co. (1919) Ltd., and Rio Tinto Mineral Search of Africa (Pvt.) Ltd., of which Mr J. W. N. Shaipe is managing director.

Rio Tinto's interests in subsidiary companies aggregate £241m. and other investments have a book value of £5.6m.

Leyland Albion (East Africa) Ltd.

LEYLAND ALBION (EAST AFRICA), LTD., has been registered in Kenya with head offices and works in Nairobi. The directors are Mr Henry Sturges and Mr J. L. Blackwood Murray, a director of the parent concern, Leyland Motors, Ltd., who is resident in South Africa. There are already South African and Central African companies in the Leyland group, Gailey & Roberts, Ltd., who have been agents for Albion Motors, Ltd., for nearly 40 years and more recently for the Leyland and Scammell companies, will henceforth be concessionaires for Leyland group products in Uganda and Tanganyika. The general manager of the new East African company is Mr. Ian Dall.

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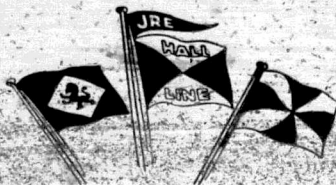
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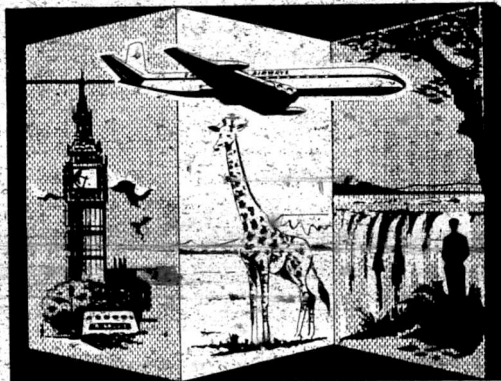
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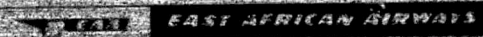


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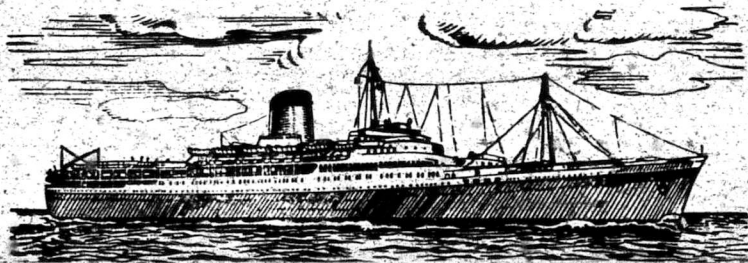
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EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, May 19, 1960

Vol. 36

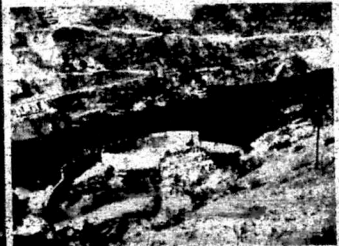
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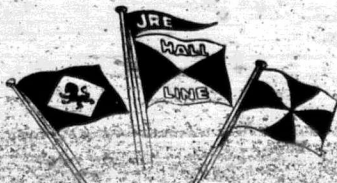
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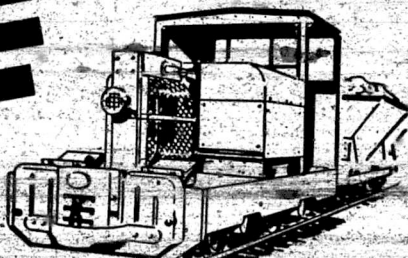


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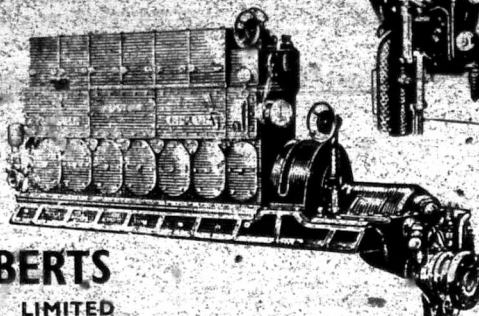
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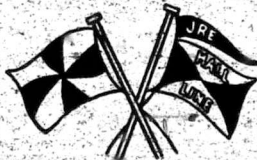
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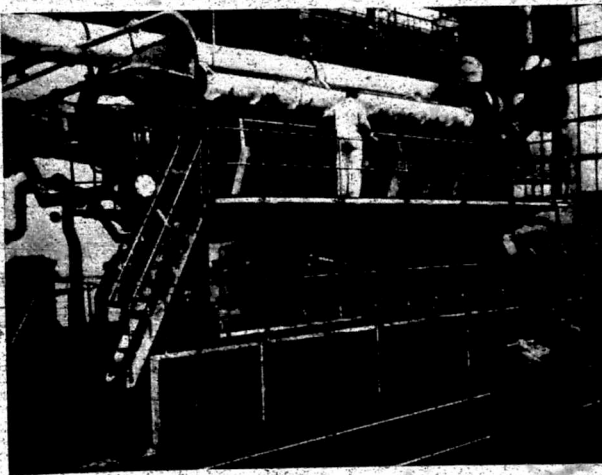
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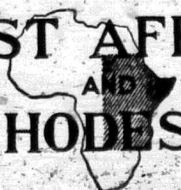


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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

SOW THE WIND, and reap the whirlwind.

That old and sound adage, which the Prime Minister and his Cabinet have so unwisely disregarded in their irrational attitude to major problems in East and Central Africa, **Kenya May Reap The Whirlwind.** may now convey a sense of caution in at least

some quarters, for not even the head of this Government can dismiss as "a little local difficulty" the developments of recent days in Kenya (or those in Northern Rhodesia). For months EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA—and this journal alone—has written week after week of the disregard of the fundamental facts in Kenya by self-opinionated politicians who are the victims of their own propaganda, which assumed that their liberal intentions, statements, and actions were being or would quickly be reciprocated by the African politicians, despite the fact that their record in and out of the Legislature had been consistently unco-operative and indeed antagonistic, and that all of them had either pleaded publicly for the liberation of the Mau Mau organizer and leader or declined to resist that demand. Though they had demonstrated their irresponsibility in this and other ways, Mr. Macleod began his tenure of office as Secretary of State by ignoring all the danger signs and essaying appeasement. That breach with the Lennox-Boyd policy of granting political advancement as it was earned, not merely in response to clamour, must have been sanctioned, if not indeed ordered, by the Prime Minister—though he had just declared in Cape Town that merit alone could be the basis for African political progress. Had Mr. Macmillan sincerely meant those words, he must have dismissed a Secretary of State who promptly flouted them, but the Prime Minister and his Cabinet carry collective responsibility for the Macleodism of the Lancaster House Conference.

An entirely natural result of that botchery

is the decision of the African politicians to select as president of the Kenya African National Union (which has still to receive the registrar - general's

United Front Formed By African Politicians. permission to operate) a man whom the Governor of

Kenya described only last week as a "leader of darkness and death", whose return to political life in Kenya would be a "disaster", since it would "encourage those who fought on one side of the Mau Mau struggle and discourage those who opposed them", and "demoralize" the administration. Sir Patrick Renison added that Kenyatta's release would "be likely to promote a return to political violence and hold back constitutional progress for many years"; and there was a good deal more in similar vein: As though deliberately to challenge the British Government (which had certainly approved the text of the Governor's statement before it was made public) more than one hundred Africans representing some thirty organizations last Saturday chose this man Kenyatta as their leader, and resolved that the fourteen African elected members in the Legislature and the four holding portfolios in the Government should resign within a month if the Governor did not meantime allow a visit to Kenyatta at Lodwar. There could have been only one answer to such a threat when Governments governed. Now that they scurry for cover at the first sign of trouble, especially if it will produce Parliamentary questions, it is not surprising to find journalists in Kenya and London making the ignominious assumption that a visit to Kenyatta will be sanctioned. Every African would interpret that as recognition by the authorities that supreme political power again rested with the Mau Mau leader, and the smooth phraseology of apologists for the Government here and in Kenya would not wash in that conviction. What he demanded at Lodwar Kenyatta would in African

ing, lead by remote control, and his puppets, being committed beyond possibility of retreat, would have to continue their agitation in his favour.

* * *

The chief blame for this ugly situation rests, of course, upon Mr. Macleod for his continuing refusal to declare quite bluntly that the United Kingdom Government would at no time release Kenyatta. As we have insisted in these columns time and again, the only sensible answer to the African agitators was the one word "never". Any administrator anywhere in Africa could have told the Secretary of State and the new Governor of Kenya (neither of whom has any African experience) that Africans expect Europeans to be decisive and unequivocal. Long before the Lancaster House Conference the African elected members were demanding Kenyatta's liberation. Instead of an absolute refusal, they were left by one statement after another with the idea that authority might give way if sufficiently pushed. When they reached London in January they at once put Mr. Macleod to the test by making the outrageous demand that Mbiyu Koinange, one of Kenyatta's old lieutenants, should be admitted to Lancaster House during the constitutional conference. Though fully warned of the implications of this dangerous manoeuvre, Mr. Macleod, who at first rejected the request as intolerable, reversed his own ruling; even more reprehensible, this capitulation was accepted (with perfunctory words of regret) by the whole Blundell group. Not surprisingly, and deservedly, the Minister and the Blundellites, having committed their gross blunder, were publicly humiliated by the decision of the victors to allow Koinange to enter Lancaster House on one occasion only. They had used the Minister and the New Kenya Group for Mau Mau propaganda purposes, and that was all that mattered. What happened last week-end in Kenya is merely another move in the game of subjecting the Secretary of State to trial (for the Governor would, of course, not decide without consulting the Minister).

* * *

Because they have convinced themselves that the United Kingdom Government will submit if the pressure is strong enough, the African activists in Kenya—who agree about little except **Confidence in British Policy Now At Stake**—pendence long before it would be fair to the mass of Africans of the country as a whole to grant it—have for the first time formed

a real common front. Strong personal dislikes have been submerged, temporarily at least, in order to constitute a new political instrument for Kenyatta, whose self-styled second-in-command, Mr. James Gichuru, emphasizes that he is merely keeping the seat warm for that exile. Mr. Oginga Odinga, the Luo vict chairman, has long been publicly at odds with the general secretary, Mr. Tom Mboya, also a Luo, who was apparently elected to that office in consideration of bringing into the new organization his Nairobi People's Convention Party, the largest and best-organized African political body in Kenya, and his Kenya Federation of Labour. The deputy general secretary, Mr. Arthur Ochwada, another open rival of Mboya's, will bring the trade union organization which he has dominated since he formed it after quarrelling with Mr. Mboya. The treasurer, Mr. Ronald Ngala, who was nominated leader of the African delegation at Lancaster House, has spent most of the intervening weeks in the United States, from which he returned so recently that he had not taken up his appointment as Minister of Labour when the new K.A.N.U. office-bearers were elected. This is a demonstration in force, mounted as a probing operation. Mr. Macleod (to change the metaphor) dressed the window for the Lancaster House Conference by ending the state of emergency in Kenya, although he knew that that action was considered premature and reckless by men far more capable than he of judging the risk involved. What he must recognize to be at stake now is the basic issue of confidence in British policy; and that confidence, we repeat, cannot be revived until it is made absolutely clear to friend and foe that Britain will never permit Kenyatta to resume political activities.

** **

THE QUEEN MOTHER officially opened, on Tuesday, the largest hydro-electric undertaking in the Commonwealth. Battles royal had to be waged with the turbulent Zambezi to bring it

Kariba Opened by The Queen Mother. Kariba, and it was fitting that a member of

the Royal Family should perform the ceremony marking a magnificent achievement. When the waters behind the dam reach their full height, three years hence the lake thus formed would, if plotted on a map of England, stretch from London to Exeter. The area already inundated contained some thirty thousand Africans, almost all living precarious lives on poor soil in an unhealthy climate. On both sides of the river, they have been transferred to higher, better land and

given generous compensation and a new start. Many had to be moved by force, because they were persuaded that the white man could not conquer the river, and, by building across a deep gorge, cause the waters to rise and flood their villages and gardens. White men of many races, jointly performing the miracle, beat the target date set five years earlier. It was recognized in 1953 that the Copperbelt mines could not operate to their full capacity beyond the beginning of 1960 unless a great new source of power could be developed, and towards the end of December 1959 electricity began to be fed experimentally to those distant consumers, who bear so much of the burden of financing the Federation. It was a triumph for human ingenuity, human determination, and human co-operation; and of the many men who deserve the warmest praise, all would agree that their work could not have been done without the vision, courage, and support of Lord Malvern, who drove the scheme forward as the first Federal Prime Minister.

* * *

Five years ago Kariba meant merely an inaccessible stretch of the Zambezi known to few white men. In that half-decade it has been harnessed to provide hydro-electric

Transformation In Five Years.

power for the mining and manufacturing industries of the two Rhodesias. The Parliament of the young Federation was told early in 1954 of a plan to provide hydro-electricity at Kafue, in Northern Rhodesia. Two months later officials of the World Bank visited Rhodesia to discuss the relative merits of Kafue and Kariba, and then, because it was desirable to have manifestly impartial advice, the French Electricity Authority was asked to nominate a team of experts, whose reports on both projects were reviewed by one of the world's leading consultants, M. André Coyne, who recommended priority for Kariba. There was inevitable resentment in Northern Rhodesia, which took little notice of the prospect that Kariba, when fully developed in 1971, would produce the cheapest power in the world.

* * *

For a total capital expenditure of £113m. it should then generate about two and a half times the output from the present first stage, which has cost £80m. (double the Federal budget at the time the commitment was undertaken). This has been an international effort in planning, execution, and financing. Commercial companies operating in the Rhodesias have provided £70m. (the copper mining groups finding £20m.) the

World Bank more than £28m., the Colonial Development Corporation £15m., and the Commonwealth Development Company £3m. The main construction contract went to an Italian consortium, whose tender was £7m. below any from any other source; and everyone agrees that Impresit did its work splendidly, making it a matter of pride to complete the contract to time, even though in two successive seasons the Zambezi floods surpassed all known ferocity, seriously impeding operations. Contracts placed with foreign concerns for the construction of the dam and the transmission lines aggregated £35m., but about £23m. of that sum was spent by them in the Federation and the United Kingdom. In the creation of this instrument for the service of man twenty Italians and ninety Africans lost their lives in the accidents which are unavoidable in an operation so difficult and at times dangerous. So few, if any, of those present at Kariba on Tuesday will have thought in terms of national rivalry, for the spirit of inter-racial co-operation has been dominant in the building of this monument to engineering genius and to faith in the industrial future of the Rhodesias.

NO COUNTRY IN AFRICA can have been

so swiftly thrust into politics and then into self-government, independence, and union with a neighbour as British Somaliland, which will become an inde-

Jet-Propelled Into Politics.

pendent State in less than six weeks and part of a new Somalia Republic a few days later. Its first elections were held but fourteen months ago, and only a few weeks have passed since the Protectorate was granted an elected majority of Somalis and a ministerial system with Somalis holding portfolios. It is therefore no exaggeration to write of manifestly inexperienced (but highly self-confident) politicians being jet-propelled into responsibility for the future of their country, which will be very much the junior partner in the republic. In this very special case—for which there is no parallel elsewhere in East or Central Africa—there was no practical alternative to the decision of H.M. Government to allow three great constitutional changes to be almost telescoped into one. This country lost all real power to restrain British Somali impatience when she surrendered the Haud to Ethiopia. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA was one of the very few critics of that lamentable episode and of British failure in earlier years to reach an understanding on the subject with the Emperor of Ethiopia. Who, with the restoration of his throne to British arms, could then silence

have been persuaded to amend a treaty which was half a century out of date and seriously detrimental to Somaliland without being correspondingly important to Ethiopia. Unhappily the Coalition Government in the United Kingdom threw away its opportunities, its Socialist successor was equally neglectful, and then the disastrous Eden Government signed an agreement which outraged all British Somalis.

Because they were united in feeling that their age-old and legitimate interests in the grazing grounds of the Haud and the so-called Reserved Area had been betrayed by Britain, the drive for independence became irresistible. Its pace could not be checked by those, British

Regrettable Procrastination.

and Somali, who recognized that disaster could be avoided only with the help of British civil servants and money from the British taxpayer; but the lesson was not as quickly learned in Whitehall as it should have been, particularly as the ex-Italian territory of Somalia had in 1950 been promised independence within ten years by the United Nations. That that pledge was recklessly made, without regard to the realities involved, did not excuse British procrastination: if Somalia was to be given autonomy, it was obviously prudent to move in the same direction in the British Protectorate. Yet years were wasted before the decision was made. Then trust in British intentions, which had suffered so much strain, began to be slowly renewed.

Already the tribalism which has been so abnormally strong among Somalis shows some signs of being diverted to the young political parties, and those who know the Somalis best are confident

Greater Somalia Inevitable.

that their deep racial sense will bring and keep them together. That almost all of them are Muslims provides another strong link. There is thus coherence in the fundamental tribal and religious spheres. When the former British and Italian territories unite, they will unquestionably ask Ethiopia for unhindered access to the disputed grazing areas, and it cannot be long before the question of the incorporation of Ethiopian Somaliland arises, for, even if the political leaders of the republic exercise restraint in the matter, their kith and kin in the Ogaden will expect to be taken into a larger union, which they will do all in their power to accelerate. Foreseeing this inevitable development, the Emperor has looked coldly on political transition in the Horn of Africa, but when the point of decision is reached he may decide that friendly acceptance of an inescapable situation will be better short-term and long-term policy than resistance by force, for while his army fought it would have to suppress his Somali subjects, whose sympathies would be wholly with the enemy. The Emperor will also have to consider that more than half the population of Ethiopia are Muslims. Whether peacefully or otherwise, a Greater Somalia must come; and there are therefore reasonable prospects that it may come peacefully, though doubtless after much tough talk.

Notes By The Way

Why Did Mr. Nyerere Agree?

WHEN DR. BANDA passed through Dar es Salaam last week, why did Mr. Nyerere agree to join with him in calling for the release of Kenyatta, the Mau Mau leader? — who was described in their statement as "our friend and colleague, whose leadership alone can bring peace and tranquility to Kenya". Within a few months Mr. Nyerere will become Chief Minister in a Tanganyika Government dominated by Africans, and, recognizing the duties which will then fall upon him, and those already his as the elected leader of the non-official members of all races in the Legislature, he has for some months demonstrated a determination to avoid the extravagant and harmful statements which he frequently made while his Tanganyika African National Union was extending its power throughout the Territory, often showing its authority by organizing its obedience to Government regulations, including those for the improvement of African health, agriculture, and animal husbandry. Everyone had hoped that there would be no reversion to irresponsibility, and this joint statement with the Nyasaland agitator will certainly

have disappointed many of Mr. Nyerere's colleagues, admirers and followers.

Has He Ever Met Kenyatta

THE EXCUSE WILL BE MADE that, if Dr. Banda had made up his mind to mark his brief stay in Dar es Salaam by adding public championship of Kenyatta to his other follies, Mr. Nyerere could not keep pointedly silent. Why not? The T.A.N.U. leader being too balanced a man not to have recognized the risk he was being invited to take, his action must be considered deliberate. Yes, the apologists will say, he spoke with premeditation, but because refusal would have angered Tanganyika African extremists within and without his party, which, being interpreted, means that the man who will soon lead the Government of a great country should say anything, even if it be outrageous and in-bamatory, if it will please the mob. Mr. Nyerere, however, has on several occasions chosen to say what was certain to displease both the mob and his associates in the national organization. It is therefore all the more regrettable that he should have shown such pliancy to

the Kenyatta issue. Has he ever met the man whom he now calls "friend"? Quite possibly not. It is inconceivable that he can believe that "Kenyatta's leadership alone can bring peace and tranquility to Kenya."

Singular Riot

THERE HAS BEEN TIME only to glance hurriedly at Mr. Justice Southworth's report on the incidents in Blantyre during the Prime Minister's visit in January to which so much prominence was given in London newspapers. The report, published just as this issue was due to go to the printers, contains this passage: "The amount of skin lost by both police and demonstrators as a result of injuries received would hardly cover one square inch, and it does not appear that the blood shed would test the capacity of an ordinary mustard-spoon. Contemplating the measures of the injuries sustained by the demonstrators, one cannot avoid the reflection that when the face of Helen launched a thousand ships and brought Agamemnon and the great Achilles to the shores of Phrygia, it hardly achieved as much as Miss Phombeya's toe when it brought the paladins of Fleet Street in the aerial argosies of our day across two continents to appear before your commissioner in the remote highlands of middle Africa". If there is more in this strain I shall enjoy reading the document more than some other journalists are likely to do.

Blame the Government

THE ASTONISHING SUGGESTION that "despite the risks, it might be wise to offer Kenyatta the opportunity to make a start as a free man in London", has been made by the *Economist*, which has completely lost sight of the evil effect of such an action upon African opinion. The nationalist propagandists would immediately declare that Kenyatta was so powerful that the British Government had been forced to release him and take him to London as their honoured guest, and it is quite likely that they would add that the orders had come from The Queen herself, who intended Kenya to have the kind of Government which Kenyatta wants—and which millions of Africans in the Colony dread. Such statements would be false and farcical, but they would gain widespread credence. United Kingdom theorists who, not reckoning with the facts of African life, make sophisticated proposals, should know that they can unintentionally do great damage. This idea of the *Economist*, fraught with peril, could not have found expression if H.M. Government had said long ago, as was clearly essential, that it would never put Kenyatta back into political or social circulation. Because politicians so frequently fear to do what they know to be right, preferring a precarious expediency, other politicians and journalists walk unwarily into traps set by the Government's infirmity of purpose.

Commonwealth Prime Minister's Clear Warning to South Africa

Emphasis on Need for Good Relations Between "All People of the Commonwealth"

THE COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS' CONFERENCE in London ended last Friday. It was the tenth such meeting held since the end of the last war.

Race relations in Africa, with special reference to *apartheid* in the Union of South Africa, had never previously demanded so large a share of the time available, or taken so prominent a place in Press comment.

The final *communiqué* said, *inter alia*:

"The Commonwealth is an association of independent sovereign States, each responsible for its own policies; but the primary objective of all is world peace and security. It is their declared purpose to do everything in their power to achieve that objective, and to continue to co-operate to that end with all the peace-loving nations of the world.

In this spirit the Commonwealth Ministers have reviewed the major international problems of the day, on the eve of the impending Summit Conference, which is to be attended by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. They hoped that that conference would make some significant progress towards an eventual settlement under international control of the problem of disarmament.

The Commonwealth Ministers discussed the problems of Africa, the Middle East, the Far East, and South-East Asia. They recognized that economic and social progress are essential for political stability. They agreed that throughout the less developed areas of the world the best hope of peace, stability, and political freedom lies in practical international co-operation.

Economic Situation

In reviewing the world economic situation, they noted that the economic expansion since their last meeting had been greater in the industrialized countries of the Commonwealth than in the primary-producing countries. They agreed that an important condition of the prosperity of these countries was their ability to develop their export trade, and they recognized the need to maintain and where possible increase the flow of economic assistance to the less developed countries. They reaffirmed the decision to establish an International Development Conference.

The countries of Europe formed an association that they called the Commonwealth of Europe. The Ministers expressed the hope that these countries would follow trade policies in accordance with the principles of the General Agreement on Tariffs and

Trade, and thus avoid damage to the economies of the primary-producing countries and those that are also developing exports of manufactured goods. In addition, European countries have an important contribution to make in assisting the economic development of the less advanced countries. The Ministers hoped that these problems could be speedily and satisfactorily resolved, with due regard to the interests of countries outside Europe.

The Commonwealth Ministers reviewed the economic development of Commonwealth countries in Africa which have recently attained or are approaching independence. They agreed that consideration should be given to the possibility of co-operative action among members of the Commonwealth in assisting the economic development of these countries. This possibility will be studied in the first instance by officials of Commonwealth Governments, and the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council will examine it at its next meeting.

The Ministers reaffirmed their belief in the value of exchanges between Commonwealth countries of persons with specialized skills and experience. They agreed that further efforts should be made to foster and encourage these exchanges, whether on a regional or other basis, and that the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council should take this question into urgent consideration.

Overseas Service

They trusted that employers in Commonwealth countries—whether Governments, statutory bodies, or private companies—would be ready wherever possible to encourage members of their staffs to undertake a period of public service abroad and would do their best to ensure that their prospects in their home countries would not thereby be prejudiced.

Noting that the Federation of Nigeria would attain independence on October 1, 1960, the Ministers extended to the Federation their good wishes for its future and looked forward to welcoming an independent Nigeria as a member of the Commonwealth on the completion of the necessary constitutional processes.

The meeting was informed that, in pursuance of the recent plebiscite, the Constituent Assembly in Ghana had resolved that the necessary constitutional steps should be taken to introduce a republican form of constitution in Ghana by July 1, 1960. The Prime Minister of Ghana assumed the meeting of his country's desire to continue her membership of the Commonwealth and her acceptance of The Queen as the symbol of the free association of its independent member nations and territories.

The Heads of Government of the other member countries also assured the Prime Minister of Ghana that the good relations between their countries and Ghana would remain un-

affected by this constitutional change, and they declared that their Governments would accept and recognize Ghana's continued membership of the Commonwealth.

"The Ministers reviewed the constitutional development of the Commonwealth, with particular reference to the future of the smaller dependent territories. They agreed that a detailed study of this subject should be made for consideration by Commonwealth Governments.

"Whilst reaffirming the traditional practice that Commonwealth conferences do not discuss the internal affairs of member countries, Ministers availed themselves of Mr. Louw's

presence in London to have informal discussions with him about the racial situation in South Africa. During these informal discussions Mr. Louw gave information and answered questions on the Union's policies, and the other Ministers conveyed to him their views on the South African problem. The Ministers emphasized that the Commonwealth itself is a multi-racial association, and expressed the need to ensure good relations between all member States and peoples of the Commonwealth."

Sir Roy Welensky attended the conference as Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Queen Mother Opens the Kariba Dam

"Symbol of New and Wider Understanding Throughout the Federation"

QUEEN ELIZABETH THE QUEEN MOTHER officially opened the Kariba hydro-electric project on Tuesday. She flicked a switch and set in motion an engineering marvel that she thought might well rank with the seven wonders of the ancient world. As the waters of the Zambezi began to turn the blades of the turbo-generator 600 feet underground a spontaneous cheer broke out from over 3,000 people of all races who thronged round the dais at the control building on the south bank of the Kariba gorge overlooking the dam.

Before she declared the project open the Queen Mother said: "I pray with all my heart that Kariba may be the symbol of a new and wider understanding throughout the Federation and indeed throughout this mighty continent of Africa."

People of many races, the Queen Mother emphasized, had helped to carry this gigantic task to its conclusion. French and British designers, Italian engineers, and thousands of Africans, had collaborated in creating Kariba. "I hope and pray that the co-operation which was possible here is not the least of the blessings to flow from the Kariba Dam."

In welcoming the Queen Mother Sir Duncan Anderson, chairman of the Federal Power Board, told of some of the difficulties overcome in the five-year construction period. In 1958 the flood of the Zambezi, which had been about twice the size of any previously recorded, destroyed two bridges across the river, and dislocated the works. "This embarrassed us quite appreciably, and we thought for a time that our programme might be delayed, but we accepted the challenge of the Zambezi. We think that the most significant human factor in this great venture has been here at Kariba where Europeans and Africans have worked together in harmony and partnership in conditions which have not been easy."

Underground Inspection

After the opening the Queen Mother descended by lift to inspect the underground powerhouse. She then drove out of the exit tunnel to the red and white canopied dais on the 420 ft. High Dam wall.

At the middle wall Her Majesty, in her capacity as President of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, accepted a cheque for £10,000 from Kariba's consulting engineers and contractors as a contribution towards the college's new department of geology. She also accepted the personal gift of a wrist watch from the "builders of Kariba."

Over 700 leading citizens of the Federation and distinguished visitors attended the ceremony, including the Governor-General Lord Dalhousie, and the three territorial governors, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, Southern Rhodesia, Sir Evelyn Hone, Northern Rhodesia, and Sir Robert Armitage, Nyasaland; Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister, and Viscount Malvern, Sir Malcolm Barrow, Federal Minister of Power, were also present. Among the principal guests were the Governor-General of Swaziland and Angola, the Vice-Governor-General of the Belgian Congo, the Belgian Minister of Labour and the South African Minister of Economics.

Some 400 guests from the 12 member States of the Federation were also present in the rear of Her Majesty's motorcade, and the 10,000 people of the Kariba Dam in the process had their old homes to escape the rising waters of the lake, heard the

Queen Mother express the hope that they would prosper in their new homes. Three African workers were presented to the Queen Mother.

The Queen Mother brought fine weather with her when she flew to the Federation last week. In brilliant sunshine, that contrasted strongly with heavy unseasonable rains of the past few days, she arrived in Salisbury to be given a "roaring welcome" by what some observers considered the largest crowd ever seen in the Federal capital. Europeans and Africans lined the beflagged streets to cheer and wave to Her Majesty as she drove the 10 miles from the airport to Government House.

At the airport she had been welcomed by the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, who presented the Governor of Southern Rhodesia and Lady Gibbs, the Acting Federal Prime Minister and Lady Barrow, and the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Edgar Whitehead.

On the drive into town in an open car the Queen Mother passed a group of African women who unfurled a banner reading "Distressed wives of detainees welcome you. Our husbands are jailed without reason." Her Majesty waved to the women, bringing smiles to their previously sullen faces.

After spending the day resting at Government House, the Queen undertook her first public engagement, of presenting degrees at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, of which she is President.

On Saturday she flew to Bulawayo to open the Royal Show and Trade Fair, later attending a reception at Government House.

A fly-past of Vampire jet fighters and Canberra bombers greeted the Queen Mother when she arrived at the Royal Rhodesian Air Force station at Gwelo on Monday. Driving through the town, the royal visitor was cheered by thousands of spectators.

Thrilling Progress

The chief engagement of the day was an *indaba* of Africans from all over Southern Rhodesia, attended by 220 chiefs and some 4,000 tribesmen. A wild welcome dance was followed by a dignified *amano* at which the chiefs, robed in purple and scarlet, exchanged gifts with the Queen Mother and made speeches of welcome and loyalty.

Thanking the assembled Africans, the Queen Mother said: "I am thrilled with wonder at the progress made by the people of this country. With wise leaders and good will among all races I am confident that all will share in the advances."

Having opened the Kariba Dam on Tuesday Her Majesty flew to Livingstone and later to Mongu, capital of Barotseland, where today she will meet the Paramount Chief in his State barge on the "little river." A garden party will follow at the Residency, Mongu, and in the afternoon Her Majesty will receive an address of welcome at the *kuta* (courthouse) at Lumulunga.

Tomorrow the royal visitor will fly to Chingola, where she will inspect the Nchanga mine open cast pit, and the morning she will travel by road to Queen's House, near Kitwe.

Owing to the disturbed conditions on the Copperbelt, there were many reports last week that that part of the tour would be abandoned, but Her Majesty made it clear that she was anxious to complete the whole of her Northern Rhodesian programme. A minor change, however, was announced on Tuesday. She will not attend a multi-racial rally at Mululira arranged for tomorrow. It has now been called off as European parents refused to let their children attend for fear of disturbances.

Her Majesty's departure from the Federation will be marked by her programme of the evening at Government House, Rhodesia, Sir Evelyn Hone.

Nyasaland's Three Outstanding Problems

Submission of Mr. Rolf Gardiner to the Monckton Commission

THREE OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS face the future of Nyasaland and its peoples:

- (1) the increasing pressure of population
- (2) the threat of desiccation, and
- (3) the need of money to finance civilizing projects sustaining increasing African self-government.

The African nationalist clamour for independence however, which impelled by "the wind of change blowing down the continent, as by dislike of Rhodesian supremacy, and by the need for political excitement (to replace the lost communal enjoyments of tribal life) — disregards these stark necessities, considering them secondary to "freedom" — "one man one vote", and "African self-government now". The problem of constitutional reorganization and advance is bedevilled by the psychological factors and the need for time to canalize emotions into constructive projects of self-help, as by the need for lowering the temperature of men's minds — in order to avoid violence.

Threats to Southern Province

These problems are most acute in the Southern Province of Nyasaland. It is here that European capital investment provides revenue for the country's administration and economy, and employment for a dense population. But this valuable region is that most threatened by overpopulation, unemployment, and desiccation; moreover, in spite of the annual migrations of young men to the South, there is continuous infiltration of Anguru from Portuguese East Africa.

These incursions, first noted by Sir Philip Mitchell when serving as a junior officer in the Mlanje district in 1914, have gone on unabated, till the escarpment of the Shire Highlands and the great Palombe Plain, but a short while ago covered with timber and running with game, have been skinned of forest-cover and become densely settled. The ravaging of the landscape by these forest destroyers and maize-hoers has created the greatest difficulties for the Agricultural Department, which has achieved wonders in the circumstances.

But the situation is most precarious; and, if the population is not decreased by resettlement elsewhere, there will be a "dust-bowl" all round the two most productive and revenue-yielding districts of the Southern Province, Cholo, and Mlanje.

What Nationalists Conveniently Forget

Until the second decade of this century the Southern Province, except along the shores of Lake Nyasa, was sparsely populated. The Angoni, crossing the Zambezi from the south about 1835, had clashed with the Yaos coming southwards to the lake, leaving the peaceful indigenous Manganja on one side. But in the fertile Shire Highlands the Anguru intrusions have created overpopulation. The vast majority of present-day Nyasalanders are immigrants, black, white and brown, a fact which is conveniently forgotten by African nationalists.

The African population of Nyasaland is doubling itself every 25 years. What will become of this small, potentially fertile country if there are no outlets in the adjoining territories? There is plenty of room in the two Rhodesias if such policies as the Land Apportionment Act are revised, if the primary problem of water procurement is overcome, and if communications are improved. It is only in the wider living-space of Central Africa (and this must some day include Mozambique) that an increasing population can survive.

The boundaries of the Nyasaland Protectorate are not defined by any abrupt changes of geographical feature. But communications across the Zambezi, except by air, are still rudimentary, and so there is a feeling of detachment between Southern Rhodesia and the Southern Province of Nyasaland as between two remote, disconnected countries. The wide corridor of Portuguese territory, straddling the Zambezi, makes a part of a great land laboratory and the other Rhodesian class have no historical associations with Blantyre and Zomba and the Shire districts.

Ideally Nyasaland, framed by its mountain escarpment and clustered along its 400-mile lake, forms an atyllic unit, and

were it not overpopulated could well stand on its own. Moreover, the legend of Dr. Livingstone casts over it a spell different from that of Rhodes the Founder in Mashonaland and Matabeland.

Psychological Impediments

These factors are undoubtedly reflected in the emotional attitude of Nyasaland Africans towards Federation. Sojourns in the Rhodesian South are as transient and perhaps as trance-like as used to be those of Italian and Greek peasants in the United States. The wanderer with his hard-won gold returns to his homeland, which in his subconscious he has never left. Such geographical and psychological factors accompany for Nyasalanders the fear of the Rhodesian way of life, and maybe the Nyasalander instinctively resents the possibility of that atmosphere percolating his tropical Arcadia. So might the Irish resent the idea of transforming the emerald isle into a replica of the Middle West of America.

Against these geographical, historical, and psychological impediments to acceptance of the federal area as a wider homeland and living-space for a multi-racial society (underlying the political prejudices and ambitions of African leaders) stand the staring facts of population-pressure and the threat of desiccation.

Ecologically Nyasaland is a forest country (and therefore a potential exporter of timber and wood-products). Human habitations and cultivation for crops, first for human consumption and then also for export, began as clearings in the forest. The forest mothered the soil, protecting the earth from the baking rays of the sun, the drying winds of the winter, and the torrential rains of the summer months. Shifting cultivation by a sparse population of hunters and fishermen achieved a rough rotation of forest and arable, the forest returning to close the gaps. But with increased population came bush fires, to which both the undergrowth and the best and most shade-giving trees were sensitive.

In the wake of repeated fires there grew only savannah of the brachyostegia type, a poorish sort of open woodland surviving drought and fire and giving but little cover to soil and water. The cumulative results of this process have been desiccation, a general lowering of the water-table, and the recession of the once plentiful streams, such perennial brooks often becoming *wadis*, dry for the greater part of the year.

Pointers to Famine

It may be difficult for most members of the Monckton Commission, visiting Nyasaland for the first time, and during a season of growth and harvest, to realize the appalling dryness to which the country is subject from June till December. This year the rains have been well below average and complaints by farmers and planters will be loud enough. But the worst is to follow. Except for the "ciperone" mist-drizzles, no big rains may come for months.

By August the country will be hung with veils of smoke, drifting across the mountains; by September the fires will be raging up and down the country, licking the very outskirts of Blantyre and Limbe, and devouring plantations, hillside woodlands, and the sparse grazing lands. Water then will be a major problem. From year to year this grows worse, and with increasing population and civilization it is accentuated. Fire and desiccation point only one way: to famine in the desert.

It may be considered that such cries of "wolf" are exaggerated, even romantic; but Nature works cumulatively, and in Africa with inexorable speed, either as destroyer or, with encouragement as builder. Cumulatively Nyasaland is drying up; and this not only because of what may prove to be a new drought-cycle, but because of human folly and disregard.

Against this disastrous trend only a concerted effort will help. Piping water from the Shire River to the towns and creating a barrage to irrigate the lands below the escarpment are praiseworthy plans costing vast sums of money; but they will not solve the general problem, which is to restore the forest-cover and replenish the brooks, streams, and rivers. The forest-cover cannot be restored unless drastic measures are taken to prohibit and prevent fires.

The African leaders could do no greater service to their country than by outlawing bush-fires and punishing all offenders. The water resources of the territory are the basis of its prosperity. As Professor Debenham, the greatest authority on the subject, wrote: "Every little upland stream should have a series of weirs thrown across it. All possible stops should be banded or terraced, even where they are not to be used for crops, and an cutting of trees should be an offence wherever near the head of a stream." The water and silt should be used to irrigate the land, and the water and silt should be used for irrigation, and in some places for power. So the country,

now fast losing its substance (the soil) to the Indian Ocean together with its life's blood (the water that carries it), would recover and become what it was destined to be: a forest-garden of productive health, wealth, and beauty.

Vast Capital Injections Necessary

Such a restorative transformation, the creation of an African *Kulturandschaft*, will cost money. Vast injections of capital will be needed over a period of time, but even more than capital is the need for good will and constructive desire.

The only capital available to an independent Nyasaland is that which can be spared by a heavily committed and indebted Britain and which has never sufficed to make the Nyasaland Cinderella become the princess of her promise. Private companies, many of which have sunk and ploughed back hundreds of thousands of pounds into the Protectorate and given employment to the population, will be reluctant to raise new capital in London for investment in a territory that gives to the European small security. Yet the Federation, with the momentum of an expanding economy, with its organized exploitation of mineral resources, and its harnessing of the Zambezi at Kariba, is prepared to do so. These are commonplaces of the present situation.

What are lacking? Trust as between Africans and Europeans, Nyasalanders and Rhodesians, and the goodwill out of which enthusiasm for a common cause and a common patriotism can be fired. How can Africans be shown that "political freedom" is worthless in an encroaching desert, and Europeans that, without the warmth of respect for the African's emerging personality, co-operation will be withheld?

Patience is not as attractive to emotional people as excitement. We have made life for the Africans, used to the drama and passion of tribal society, incredibly dull. Boredom and repression are the parents of political revolt. Political agitation is a natural answer to frustration and delay. It is a surrogate for religious devotion and the pursuit of high aims.

The conservation and husbandry of natural resources are the fundamental conditions governing the prospects of an expanding population and an expanding economy. Both opportunistic exploitation by Europeans and feckless misuse by Africans are against the long-term interest.

So far, after many initial mistakes and some reckless irresponsibility, Europeans have, by example and ordinance, enforced systems of conservation without which the country would long since have been destroyed. Most Africans grumble about these measures, which they consider tricks to steal "their" land for European exploitation. Meekness towards European authority has resulted in grudging acquiescence, and only a minority of chiefs (e.g., Kuntaja in the Chuleka district north of Blantyre) has shown understanding enthusiasm for the efficacy of agricultural reforms. If the handful of devoted and overworked European officials were to be removed, it is extremely doubtful if any African authority would or could control the natural fecklessness of the people.

Three Possibilities

This is a fundamental situation underlying all political change. There are in this, as in other fields, perhaps three alternatives:

- (1) continued paternalism;
- (2) surrender to African "freedom" and autonomy; and
- (3) multi-racial fraternalism.

(1) It is probably inescapable that the days of paternalism should be numbered. However sound at its benevolent best, the forces arrayed against its continuance are too impatient. At the moment one can hope that it will not be hustled out, but can be allowed time to adjust itself to social change.

Yet it would be well to remind ourselves of the considered views of two scientific writers, G. V. Jacks and R. O. Whyte, writing in a world survey of soil erosion ("The Rape of the Earth"). On the situation in Tropical Africa they came to the following unequivocal conclusion:

"Humanitarian considerations for the Natives prevent Europeans from winning the attainable position of dominance over the soil. Humanity may perhaps be the higher ideal, but the soil demands a dominant, and if white men will not and the black men cannot assume the position, the vegetation will do so, by the process of erosion, finally squeezing out the whites. For the tropical environment is so delicately balanced that the soil must have a firm ruler or chaos will supervene. Either the white man or the wild vegetation is destined to become dominant on the soils which the former now administers but does not rule. Soil erosion is precipitating a decision which might well have been deferred until all men in Africa had gained wider experience, and soil erosion will in the end negate any decision except the right one."

Is this the writing on the wall, to which history will add the word "Fate"?

The African nationalist desire of Africa for the African, with the European either a hired hand or an employed man, as a technician or investor of capital, is condoned by the European Socialist or Marxist theorist.

It is a point of view which I can best quote from a letter: "I find the Africans awfully Irish! It seems to me that it is only through their own muddles and mistakes, for which they can hold no one else responsible, that people learn discipline and responsibility. That self-government in many African States will produce a hell of a mess I don't doubt, but I think it will be a better mess in its ultimate outcome than the present one. What we should do is to help the change-over and make co-operation possible instead of closing down on it through producing the kind of frustration and bitterness that make it impossible (as in the Union of South Africa)."

This reasoning, however enlightened it may seem to the modern psychologist and educationalist, places inordinate faith in African judgment and ability to learn. It ignores fundamental differences of racial inheritance, the incredibly short background of emergence from primitive savagery, the extremely rapid reversion to anarchy, and, above all, the surrender to the encroaching desert, which might ensue if European authority relinquished its hold at all quickly.

(3) Is there time, and have we the imagination and resourcefulness to develop multi-racial fraternalism against the threat of anarchy and the desert? The number of accessible African minds is very small, and they are far too obsessed by the political excitement encouraged both by the more advanced African States and by the sympathy of anti-settler opinion in Britain (while both Cairo and Moscow radiate subversive propaganda at an ever intenser rate).

Benevolent Paternalism Must Be Upheld

It would seem that the only solution of the problem is to uphold benevolent paternalist authority in an unobtrusive manner as long as possible while endeavouring to persuade men such as Dr. Banda and Mr. Orton Chirwa to recognize the hopelessness of a viable economy in a self-contained Nyasaland faced with increasing population and shrinking natural resources.

Meanwhile every effort must be made to get the young men of all races, particularly at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and in such non-racial organizations as the Scouts and Guides, to train their minds on the problems of the conservation of natural resources and the protection and improvement of the landscape by afforestation, fire-control head-water arrestment, irrigation, and intensive systems of manuring and cropping.

In the face of a common danger, a common impoverishment, addressed to fear of the desiccation and famine which will affect everybody regardless of class or colour, can a united front be built up which says: "This is our homeland, for us to husband, plan, and develop for our children and our children's children. Let us combine before it is too late. Let us work with Nature to increase the substance of common wealth in the wider homeland of Central Africa. Here is a cause into which we can put all our ardour, hope, and love".

Royal Rules for Commonwealth

Dr. Nkrumah on Winning African Goodwill

"I BELIEVE that so long as we recognize every man's right to have a say in the running of his own affairs, so long as we recognize every community's right to pursue its own cultural and spiritual destiny... our Commonwealth will prosper and flourish", the Duke of Edinburgh said at a symposium organized in London last week by the English-Speaking Union.

Commenting on the political structure of the Commonwealth he observed that Ghana had recently decided to adopt a constitution "which I'm sure would have been thrown out in colonial days—but which, under present circumstances, is considered most suitable to her needs and character".

Dr. Nkrumah said that it was natural for Africans to judge the effectiveness of the Commonwealth in terms of its significance to the African situation. The Commonwealth could win African goodwill if it genuinely addressed itself to the great problems facing the continent.

Ghana recognized that territories with minority communities presented difficulties. "However, we believe that these difficulties cannot be sidestepped by any approach which compromises the principle that the majority of the people should form the basis of government. I believe the only genuine and permanent solution to this problem can come from the application of the principle of one man one vote."

The Commonwealth has an alternative to the British way of the protectorate with a dominant race. It can offer independence and dominion, at least in the constitution, for the protection of the legitimate rights of the minorities.

Governor's Statement on Kenyatta Nationalists Give a Month's Notice

THE GOVERNOR OF KENYA'S STATEMENT rejecting demands for Kenyatta's release, reported in full last week, was broadcast four times during the day of delivery by the Colony's broadcasting service. The timing of the statement and its firm tone took African nationalists by surprise.

Sir Patrick Renison said after making his statement that the African elected members who recently became Ministers might resign.

Asked whether he intended to resign, Mr. James Miumi, Minister for Health, replied, "Well, not yet". He would await talks with other Africans.

Dr. Kilimo, Minister for Commerce and Industry, who like Kenyatta is a Kikuyu, declined to comment, beyond saying that the matter would be discussed at a full meeting of the African elected members.

Mr. Towett, Assistant Minister for Agriculture, thought that what the Governor had said was "the sole and bitter truth about security measures in Kenya". He thought that every humanitarian would want to see Kenyatta released, but those who did evil things in his name were his enemies. If Africans kept quiet and peaceful, Kenyatta would soon be freed, but if they shouted and threatened no Government would tolerate it. Law and order must be maintained, and under a purely black Government some people would be detained and restricted, and those who tried to upset the regime would be dealt with according to the law.

Mr. James Gichuru, leader of the Kenya African National Union, was not available for comment, and the secretary of the union, Dr. Mungai Njoroge, declined to express any views.

Mr. Oginga Odinga, M.L.C. for Nyanza Central, attacked the Governor's statement on Kenyatta during a debate in the Legislature. Referring to Sir Patrick's warning of a return to savagery, he declared: "I think it is for the African people to decide what type of life they are going to live in their own country. If they decide savagery is the most fitting thing, then they will decide on it."

He believed Kenyatta to be innocent. "I know the time will come when I will be charred, as Jomo Kenyatta was charred. The time is coming when things will become worse and worse, and I will be taken as a victim."

The United Party expressed delight with the Governor's stand on the Kenyatta issue.

Kenyatta Elected

Jomo Kenyatta was on Sunday elected president of the new Colony-wide Kenya African National Union (which has not yet had the registrar-general's certificate to operate).

At a conference of African leaders in Nairobi, a resolution was passed demanding that the African elected members should be allowed to visit Kenyatta, rusticated at Lodwar, in order to ascertain his views on the political situation. It said if the request was not granted by the Governor within a month the African ministers, and all the African elected members would be asked to resign from the Legislative Council.

The Governor, Sir Patrick Renison, is said to have promised last week to give serious consideration to a request that a deputation should see Kenyatta. Mr. James Gichuru, acting president of K.A.N.U., said after Sunday's meeting that he and others would approach the Governor again. He foresaw no difficulty in securing the new party's registration because of Kenyatta's appointment as president. Mr. Norman Harris, Minister of Information, said later that "very serious consideration" would have to be given by the registrar-general to any application from such an organization.

At the week-end elections to office, Mr. Gichuru made it clear that he is only keeping the presidential seat warm for Kenyatta. Mr. Oginga Odinga was elected vice-president, Mr. Tom Mboya general secretary and Mr. Arthur Ochwada deputy general secretary.

Dr. Mungai Njoroge, a Kikuyu medical practitioner who recently returned to Kenya after seven years in America, and was secretary of the committee which drew up the party's constitution, has not been given a post.

The nature of the K.A.N.U. coalition is reflected in the election of Mr. Mboya and Mr. Ochwada. The latter was previously Mr. Mboya's deputy as secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour, but broke away and formed a rival trade union group. Since then he has been a bitter critic of Mr. Mboya, whose assistant he now becomes.

Mr. Mboya said that K.A.N.U. would incorporate all existing African parties and associations from parts of Kenya, and that African trade unions and co-operatives would be affiliated to it. Its chief aims were immediate independence and opposition to all forms of colonialism and imperialism.

The conference disapproved of the Government scheme for farms in the "White Highlands" averaging 50 acres for small farmers of all races. Mr. Gichuru said: "No future African Government will feel bound to adhere to anything that is done now—an observation which must increase the fears of European farmers about the future."

Shouted Down

Mr. Taita Towett, who was recently appointed Assistant Minister for Agriculture, gave a warning on Saturday that the union might be refused registration if Kenyatta was elected president. He was shouted down and left the meeting. He has since said that K.A.N.U. might survive for a few months only.

Mr. V. M. Kasimbi told the conference of African leaders in Nairobi on Monday that the Kamba would not support K.A.N.U. unless at least three members of the tribe were elected to its executive council. He criticized the presumption of the Kikuyu and Luo in regarding themselves as the bosses of Kenya, emphasizing that none of K.A.N.U.'s officers were from the Kamba, Nandi, Masai, or other tribes.

Mr. Peter Marrian, president of the Kenya National Farmers' Union, commented: "Instead of bread of understanding the Minister of Agriculture has offered the stone of sterile, comfortless disdain." He considered the plan inadequate in content and method.

On his return last week from a visit to this country, Mr. Blundell endorsed Sir Patrick Renison's statement on Kenyatta whose release, Mr. Blundell said, "would almost certainly have moved the Colony towards civil war".

Helping Nyasaland

THE NYASALAND GOVERNMENT will spend more than ever before in the next financial year. Mr. H. Norman Walker, Deputy Financial Secretary, said in the Legislative Council last week that he did not want to anticipate the budget—seven weeks away—but that the programme for the coming year was the biggest ever, thanks largely to H.M. Government's free grants and other financial assistance. Mr. Phillips, the Financial Secretary, had said that Nyasaland could raise little more than £5½m. at the present level of taxation, fees and duties, that public services in the Protectorate were being subsidized by £3m. to £3½m., and that his budget would show a considerable increase. During the past 12 years Nyasaland has received more than £10m. from Colonial Development Corporation investment.

No Confidence

AT A PUBLIC MEETING in Eldoret last Friday a resolution of no confidence in Mrs. Hughes, who sits in the Legislative Council as a member of the New Kenya Group, was passed by 376 votes to 52, evidence of the strong feelings in the Uasin Gishu against the N.K.G. attitude at the Lancaster House Conference. Mrs. Hughes was present. The resolution, though it paid tribute to her welfare work, called upon her to resign from the Legislature. Before the Lancaster House Conference some 700 constituents signed a petition demanding her resignation, and at a farmers' association meeting at Kipkabus, which she attended, a vote of no confidence was passed by 72 votes to nine.

Currency Board Moving

THE EAST AFRICAN CURRENCY BOARD is to transfer its headquarters from London to Nairobi on July 1, when a new board will be constituted. It will consist of Mr. E. B. David, Administrator of the East Africa High Commission (chairman), the Permanent Secretaries to the Treasury of Kenya and Tanganyika, the Secretary to the Treasury of Uganda, the Financial Secretaries of Zambia and Aden, Mr. J. B. Lynnes, Chief of Economic and Administrative Services, and Mr. G. H. G. The Currency Board will continue to be responsible solely to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

PERSONALIA

THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH was 62 on Monday. MR. H. TRAVIS, an alderman of Nairobi, is in London. MR. A. D. ("TAFFY") EVANS has arrived in London from the Federation.

MR. T. HUGHES has joined the board of the African Mercantile Co., Ltd.

MR. B. F. SUTTON is now Assistant Director of Civil Aviation in East Africa.

MR. ANTHONY BUTTERWICK is now chief passenger manager of the Union-Castle Line.

LORD MCCORQUODALE OF NEWTON has joined the board of the United Kingdom Provident Institution.

MR. J. O. W. FORESTER has been appointed Assistant Director of African Education in Northern Rhodesia.

MR. E. R. H. BOWRING has been elected an additional director of the Crusader Insurance Co., Ltd.

MR. W. A. HOLMES has taken up duty as operations manager of the new television company in the Federation.

SIR EDWARD and LADY WILSHAW leave London this week by air to spend about a month in Southern Rhodesia and the Union.

MR. IAN HESS has resigned the editorship of the *Central African Examiner* to take up a public relations appointment in London.

MRS. J. W. MORTON, wife of the deputy chairman and managing director of Smith Mackenzie & Co., Ltd., is on her way to Kenya by sea.

MR. J. R. T. GIBSON JAMIE has been elected chairman of the Finance Houses Association of Great Britain for the next two years.

MR. W. E. ARNOLD left London Airport on Tuesday for Salisbury after a short visit. He had not been in England for almost 10 years.

MR. R. H. V. BILES, Commissioner of Police in Zanzibar, and MRS. BILES are outward-bound passengers in the British India liner KENYA.

MR. J. L. RUBEN, a director of Express Transport Co., Ltd., Nairobi, and MRS. RUBEN left London last Thursday in the KENYA for Mombasa.

SIR DOUGLAS HALL, Governor of the Somaliland Protectorate, will retire from the Colonial Service when the territory attains independence on July 1.

SIR CLAUD HOLLIS, a former British Resident in Zanzibar, who was for many years in the Colonial Service in Kenya and Tanganyika, was 86 last week.

THE REV. W. J. PARNELL, lately a missionary of the U.M.C.A. at Manda, South West Tanganyika, is to be priest-in-charge of St. Agnes with St. Simon, Bristol.

MR. C. E. JOHNSON, Deputy Director of Agriculture in Northern Rhodesia, will take up his new appointment as Director of Agriculture in Nyasaland on June 1.

MR. B. S. EASTWOOD, chairman of the Nairobi local association of Boy Scouts, has received a Medal of Merit awarded by the Chief Scout of the Commonwealth.

DR. M. IRFAN, Ph.D. (London), of the University of the Sudan, has been appointed lecturer in pathology in the School of Veterinary Medicine of Trinity College, Dublin.

MR. J. W. KIWANUKA, chairman of the Uganda National Congress, has returned from Guinea, where he attended a meeting of the All-African People's Conference.

MR. E. S. HISCOCKS, at present director of the United Kingdom Scientific Mission in Washington, has been appointed director of the Tropical Products Institute.

MR. A. GERRON-BROWN, editor of the Southern and East African year books and guides, published by the Union-Castle Line, and Mrs. GERRON-BROWN have arrived in London.

SIR NUTCOMBE HUME, chairman of the Colonial Development Corporation, has joined the board of the Bank of Montreal.

LORD HEYWORTH, who visited East and Central Africa as chairman of Unilever, Ltd., has been appointed chairman of the Council on Prices, Productivity, and Incomes.

MR. P. A. CROUS, general manager of the British South Africa Company's citrus estate at Mazoe, and MRS. CROUS are on their way back to Southern Rhodesia in the PRETORIA CASTLE.

SIR GILBERT RENNIE, as a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the British Empire, will be in the Royal procession when the Chapel of the Order in St. Paul's Cathedral is dedicated tomorrow morning.

MR. J. HALL, former headmaster of Kitwe High School, Northern Rhodesia, has taken up his new duties as Regional Director of Education in Nyasaland. His predecessor, MR. R. KLETTE, is now senior inspector of schools in Salisbury.

MR. COLIN BOTHA, programme manager of the Federal Broadcasting Corporation, and MR. RHYNS MEIR, editor of the *Evening Standard*, Salisbury, are visiting the United Kingdom as guests of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

MR. E. J. LANGFORD, chairman of the Magadi Soda Co., Ltd., and MRS. LANGFORD are paying a short visit to Kenya. Mr. Langford is also overseas controller of I.C.I.

MR. J. A. METSON, a director of Blantyre & East Africa, Ltd., reached England last Friday in the ATHLONE CASTLE. A fellow passenger was COMMANDER W. M. LUNT, a former manager in Mombassa of the Kenya Landing & Shipping Co., Ltd.

The bronze statuette presented by Uganda to PRINCESS MARGARET and MR. ARMSTRONG-JONES was the work of a Kenya African sculptor, MR. GREGORY MALOBA, who studied at Bath Academy of Art. He is now a lecturer at Makerere College, Uganda.

SIR ROY WELENSKY, was received by THE QUEEN last week after he had been sworn of the Privy Council, to which he was appointed in February. The Federal Prime Minister gave Her Majesty a silver porringer for PRINCE ANDREW as the gift of the Government and people of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The Bishop of Northern Rhodesia has appointed the REV. JOHN KINGSMITH to be Archdeacon in Northern Rhodesia; REV. CYRIL MUDFORTH, R.D., to be Archdeacon of MSORO; and CANON ALFRED WEBSTER-SMITH and the REVS. J. C. HOUGHTON and GEORGE MULENGA to be canons of the new cathedral in Lusaka.

MR. J. S. EDNIE, a deputy chairman of the Association for the Promotion of Industries in East Africa, and MR. E. J. HOLLISTER, its executive officer, have just spent a week in Salisbury for discussions with the trade representatives of Kenya and Uganda and the Association of Rhodesian and Nyasaland Industries.

MR. AELEN L. STOCK has been re-elected chairman of the council of the London Chamber of Commerce. MR. RICHARD L. WILLS deputy chairman, and MR. F. H. TATE honorary treasurer. MR. WILLS has East African business interests as managing director of two London shipping companies. MR. TATE is managing director of Tate & Lyle, Ltd., a company interested in sugar in the Federation.

When the Prime Minister, as Chancellor of Oxford University, presides at his first encaenia in the Sheldonian Theatre on June 22, he will confer the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law on 14 recipients, among them the EARL OF HOME, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, the Archbishop of York, and the new bishops East and Central Africa, and St. David LINDSAY KEIR, Bishop of Bathurst, who has visited East Africa on several occasions.

MRS. REBECCA FANE has arrived in London from Kenya.

MAJOR-GENERAL G. E. PRIOR-PALMER has joined the board of the Union-Castle Mail Steamship Co., Ltd.

SIR DONALD PERROTT, who was deputy chairman of the Overseas Food Corporation in 1949-51, will shortly retire from the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority.

MR. F. E. BUCH, general manager of the Mufulira mine since 1955, having left Northern Rhodesia to take up his appointment in Salisbury as group vice-president. MR. NOEL KENNEDY, general manager of the Roan Antelope mine since 1957, has been transferred to Mufulira. MR. CECIL HALLEDAY, a mechanical and electrical engineer at Roan Antelope since 1951, has been appointed assistant manager.

MR. KEITH GRANVILLE, lately deputy managing director of B.O.A.C., will on June 30 become full-time chairman of B.O.A.C. Associated Companies, Ltd. Since SIR GEORGE CRIBBET resigned that office through ill-health last month, LORD RENNELL, a part-time member of the boards of B.O.A.C. and B.O.A.C. Associated Companies, has, in his capacity as deputy chairman of the latter company, acted as chairman.

MR. TONY LAWMAN has been appointed head of the public relations department of the Cementation group of companies. For the past year he had been chief press officer of the British Oxygen Company. Mr. Lawman, who was at one time editor of *East African News Review*, was later inspector of Information Services for the Government of Northern Rhodesia and then information officer to the Northern Rhodesia Chamber of Mines.

Obituary

SHAH ALY KHAN, a son of the late Aga Khan, has died in a Paris hospital after a road accident. He was 48. Keenly interested in horses, he had won more than 100 races as a gentleman jockey, and established and managed stud farms in Ireland and France. Soon after the outbreak of the last war he joined the French Foreign Legion and was sent to Syria, and after the short campaign in that country he crossed into Palestine, was commissioned as an intelligence officer in the British forces and made frequent broadcasts urging the Muslim people of the Middle East to support the Allied cause. Gazetted to the Wiltshire Regiment, he became a Lieut.-Colonel. After his son by his first marriage had been designated the successor of his grandfather, Aly Khan was appointed Pakistan Ambassador to the United Nations, where he acted as chairman of the Afro-Asian group.

Sixteen to One

AN OLD SUBSCRIBER IN KENYA, who strongly approves our severe criticism of what we have called the "MacBlundell" Constitution for that country, has instructed us to send the air mail edition of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA to 16 of his friends, who ought, he considers, to see the paper regularly. Many subscribers pay for copies to be sent regularly to one or two other people. Sixteen is an easy record. Ought YOU to have it sent to someone?

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The policy of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA is to discover and publish the truth on all major matters concerning the territories which it serves. It has often been the only publication anywhere to focus attention on an important public issue.

No other journal, for instance, has forcefully criticized the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for the Colonies for preparing, and Mr. Blundell for accepting, a Constitution for Kenya which completely and disastrously disregards the Prime Minister's pledge that the criterion for political advancement in British East and Central Africa must be merit.

In the very month in which that undertaking was given H.M. Government offered Kenya a franchise system in which merit in any normal sense of the word is not the criterion. Yet all Kenya's delegates except the four representatives of the United Party agreed to this cynical breach of promise. For that rejection of principle and resort to political expediency and dangerous appeasement they have been attacked by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA — and, so far as we can discover, by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA alone.

Anyone who wants the real facts about East and Central Africa must read EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA regularly. If there is someone of your acquaintance who ought to do just that, you could subscribe for the paper to be sent to him or her week by week. Why not do it NOW? The truth does need to be much more widely known, and in this way you could help to spread it.

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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U.N.I.P. Banned on Copperbelt

Strong Condemnation by N. Rhodesian Governor

THE UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY'S branches in the Western Province of Northern Rhodesia have been declared unlawful, and powers have been provided to ban meetings, restrict the entry of persons into the province, and arrest and detain any person or persons.

Making that announcement last Thursday, Sir Evelyn Hone, the Governor, said:

"During the past few days we have witnessed an outbreak of disorder, violence and crime on the Copperbelt which have led to an explosive and dangerous situation. Last week-end at least 17 incidents were reported, including arson, stoning of cars, and attacks on law-abiding citizens. African and European Property has been damaged and lives have been endangered. The most serious of all was the brutal and cowardly attack on Mrs. Burton and her two children while travelling by car on the Ndola-Mufulira road.

"These events form part of a pattern of lawlessness which has been increasing for some time. The latest series of disturbances followed action taken by the police to break up an illegal U.N.I.P. meeting in Chifubu township, Ndola, on Sunday morning. Gangs of men dispersed from the meeting-place and two attempts were made to set fire to beer-halls shortly before the ambush of Mrs. Burton's car.

"The first duty of the security forces following these outbreaks of crime was to arrest those responsible. Already 120 men, including some known leaders of U.N.I.P. have been arrested and are being dealt with under the law. The search for other offenders continues.

"The maximum available forces of the police have been deployed in the affected areas, and police reservists have been called up.

"Defiant Attitude"

"There is no doubt whatever that the present state of affairs has been brought about and stems from the defiant attitude of the U.N.I.P., particularly in the Western Province, and its deliberate flouting of the law relating to public meetings and its resistance to the police in carrying out their duties of enforcing that law. Last Sunday's outrages are clearly attributable to this cause.

"We are determined that law and order shall be restored without delay. Last night I took steps to bring into operation immediately the provisions of the preservation of Public Security Ordinance.

"I have taken powers to order the arrest and detention of any person or persons, and, with the advice of the Executive Council, I have declared as unlawful societies all branches of the U.N.I.P. in the Western Province. It is now an offence punishable by law for any person to function as an officer or member of the branches, or to attend any meeting of such branches, or to allow any such meeting to be held on premises belonging to him.

"I shall not hesitate to extend the scope of these measures of control within or outside the Western Province if circumstances require.

"We intend to stop the drift to lawlessness and to restore law and order; and I call upon all law-abiding citizens to co-operate fully with the forces of law and order, remembering that the police should at this time be relieved as far as possible from all calls on their services which are not directly related to the maintenance of peace and security.

"I do not intend to negotiate with anybody on the basis and under the threat of violence.

"The quickest way to restore mutual confidence and trust between the peoples of Northern Rhodesia will be through a clear repudiation of violence, and for those who claim political leadership to ensure that their followers at all times and in all circumstances pursue their aims by peaceful and constitutional means.

Mr. S. M. Kapwepwe, acting national president of U.N.I.P., accompanied by Messrs. M. Sipalo, R. C. Kamanga, N. Mundia, and S. Wina, asked to see the Governor, but were received by the Chief Secretary, Mr. Martin Wray, who told them that the fact that so many unlawful incidents had been connected with the name of U.N.I.P. and that a number of the party leaders had been convicted by the courts of serious offences meant that the Government could not fail to believe that the party leaders bore responsibility for the present security situation. They believe some committed by the party leaders had not seen fit to express it publicly in the outrages.

The delegates, who expressed concern at recent incidents, represented that they were the outcome of a general feeling that the police were too strict in the control of public meetings.

The Chief Secretary replied that such regulations existed for the security of the public. Where experience showed that meetings held by an organization led to disorder as a result of the thoughts which the speakers put into the minds of their hearers, the Government was bound to regard the holding of meetings as a potential cause of unrest. The regulations were therefore entirely justified and no relaxation could be expected in present circumstances.

Mr. Wray referred to exchanges in the House of Commons the previous afternoon, when the House had joined the Secretary of State in condemning lawlessness and fully supported the Governor in any measures he might think it necessary to take to restore and maintain law and order.

He informed the party leaders that Mr. Callaghan had asked the Secretary of State to convey to the Governor the very strong view of the Opposition that leaders of all the political parties in Northern Rhodesia should call upon their followers to renounce violence in any circumstances.

Mr. Wray invited the deputation to declare their own resolve that the party should renounce the use of violence in any circumstances and should make it plain to the general public and their followers that they would take every possible measure to secure that members of the party would conform with that policy.

Mr. Rodney Malcolmson, Northern Rhodesian Minister for Local Government, was shouted down with cries of "Don't wait for Macleod" after he had said: "We are determined to make Mr. Macleod tell the world and the Africans that the United National Independence Party's claim that black government is around the corner is a damnable lie."

A European meeting in Mufulira demanded the Governor's resignation and the cancellation of the Queen Mother's visit because the situation was dangerous. But there is no general support for a "Home Must Go" movement, according to the Salisbury correspondent of the *Financial Times*. The Colonial Office in general and Mr. Macleod in particular are, however, being blamed for the course of events by many Europeans, who consider it the sequel to allowing the proscribed Zambia Congress to re-emerge as U.N.I.P.; the only difference being the change of name.

Last week a police camp on the Copperbelt was declared to be a place in which persons detained under the new public security regulations might be held.

Regulations were also published listing offences with penalties up to 10 years' imprisonment for persons threatening at any assembly to cause injury or damage to persons and property or found in possession of petrol between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. except in a motor vehicle or cigarette lighter.

Two branch officials of U.N.I.P. were sentenced in Fort Rosebery to two months' and six months' imprisonment respectively for common assault and threatening violence.

Stoning incidents continue to be reported from the Copperbelt, where three illegal meetings were dispersed, one with tear-gas, at the end of last week.

The Western Province treasurer of U.N.I.P. was sentenced to five months' imprisonment for taking part in an unauthorized assembly in Ndola. Another U.N.I.P. member has been charged with unlawful possession of petrol.

Setback for Liberals

The Lusaka correspondent of the *Guardian* cabled on Saturday that the rapid growth of European liberalism had received a severe setback from the attacks with fire, stones, and clubs on both Europeans and Africans, and that protests, resolutions and demands for still stricter security measures were flooding in upon the Government from municipal councils, European political leaders, chambers of commerce, and trade unions.

Mr. John Roberts, leader of the non-official members of the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council, said last week: "The fact that the Secretary of State for the Colonies has never clearly defined his attitude towards the acts of nationalism being demonstrated here was given considerable impetus to extremists.

"U.N.I.P. is misleading its followers into believing that it will become the territory's legal Government this year. Ordinary Africans in urban areas and rural districts are being forced to join it at a membership price of 3s. 6d. as a form of insurance against assault by the party's thugs. To restore conditions we must feel that we are being backed up by London."

Mr. John Gausel said in Mufulira that the Government should ban U.N.I.P. and impose the death penalty for arson and attempted arson endangering human life.

In a "Emergency letter to Macleod" distributed in Lusaka last week, 62 U.N.I.P. leaders declared: "The letters of the Government and the press are full of threats and promises. You can do so only by restoring Africa to its rightful status."

Mr. Kaunda Condemns Violence But Followers are Slow to Follow Suit

AT A PRESS CONFERENCE IN LONDON on Monday Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia (which is now banned in the Copperbelt) repeatedly committed himself to a policy of non-violence. He called on his followers to refrain from acts of violence, saying that non-violent methods alone could bring about wholesale political changes in Central Africa.

"Violence, whatever its sources, I condemn without reserve in that it leads to loss of life, property, and happiness—the very things we are trying to secure and protect. I know the rude and provocative manner adopted by most white officials and police officers. I wish to appeal to my countrymen to refrain from any acts of violence and to remain calm and dignified no matter how trying the circumstances."

He deplored the death of Mrs. Lillian Burton, saying: "I am not accepting responsibility, but it was wrong, whoever did it. Whether it was hooliganism or political stupidity, violence is violence. We can find the solution to our present political situation only if we cool our minds. Anyone who resorts to violence is a man who must be brought to law. I don't care who he is."

He appealed for calm in the territory, so that men of all races could bring their minds and not their emotions to bear on political problems.

"What had led to this 'very sad and deplorable situation?' Northern Rhodesia, he said, had never really been stable since Federation was imposed on the unwilling Africans in 1953. He had therefore come to Britain (after lecturing for some weeks in the United States under the auspices of the American Committee on Africa) to ask the Colonial secretary to dissolve the Federation into its three original constituent parts and arrange a conference in London preparatory to introducing a Constitution for Northern Rhodesia based on universal franchise.

His party, he went on, was aware that Europeans knew that a black Government was inevitable, but they harboured certain fears. To put those fears at rest U.N.I.P. proposed a transitional legislature composed of 44 African members elected on a universal franchise; 14 members representing the minorities (11 seats going to Europeans, two to Asians, and one of the Eurafrians); and three officials—the Chief Secretary, Finance Minister and Attorney-General. The Governor would preside over the Executive Council and retain the power of veto. The three officials would take portfolios, the rest being left to the leader of the majority party to fill.

When questioned, he replied that a Constitution based on those proposals would run for "some years."

Outside Influence

Asked whether developments outside Northern Rhodesia had influenced the situation there, Mr. Kaunda said that the grant of independence to the Congo, the decisive steps towards self-determination for Africans in Kenya and Tanganyika, the proposed Nyasaland constitutional conference, the troubles in South Africa, and serious unemployment in Northern Rhodesia itself had all contributed to tension and unrest.

The impact in Northern Rhodesia of the independence of the Congo is going to be tremendous. It will be difficult to hold the people, to convince them they have nothing to gain by non-violence.

Mr. John Wallace, Commissioner in London for Northern Rhodesia, corrected some misunderstandings over the working of the new security regulations, saying that so far no one had been detained under them, as Mr. Kaunda had given reporters to understand. Mr. Wallace also pointed out that the Government had decided that legislation was the only way of dealing with racial discrimination, and that the colour bar in post offices had already gone—facts which Mr. Kaunda had neglected to mention in his general denunciation of partnership in practice.

The Lusaka correspondent of the *Guardian* reported on Tuesday that Mr. Kaunda's statement in New York (similar to that made in London on Monday) emphasizing U.N.I.P.'s policy of non-violence was regarded in the territory with much suspicion. Local party leaders had not then condemned the suspicion. Local party leaders confirmed their president's statement, or in Boston spokesmen, confirmed their president's statement, or in any way responded to the Chief Secretary's remark that they should tell their people that U.N.I.P. policy was one of non-violence and to all in their power to have that policy obeyed.

The Lusaka House of Chiefs was also in session. Major F. W. T. Day, addressing the Kenya Legislative Council.

Mrs. Burton Dies From Injuries Husband Pleads for "No Unlawful Reprisals"

MRS. LILLIAN BURTON died in Ndola Hospital on Monday from injuries received on May 8 when her car was stoned and set alight with petrol by a gang of Africans with herself and her two children inside. The children are recovering in hospital.

Mr. Robert Burton, who had been at his wife's bedside night and day, said that she died "with no hate in her heart for Africans." She had been deeply touched by a bouquet of flowers and a message asking forgiveness sent to her by Africans in the Chifubi location, near the spot where she was attacked.

Mr. Burton hoped that no "unlawful reprisals" would take place. "I strongly feel that any such action can only lead to further bloodshed on both sides." Funds for the Burton family have been pouring in from all parts of the Federation. Mr. Burton has decided to return to this country in the next few weeks.

When news of Mrs. Burton's death reached the African National Congress, it issued a statement deploring the "wanton attack", adding: "We wish to state that the policy of the African National Congress has always been and will continue to be political advancement by non-violent means. Congress desires a Government representative of all races resident in the territory, with the power to rule in the hands of the owners of the country. Congress has no wish to destroy anything or any person now in Northern Rhodesia; it desires a peaceful life for all people."

"I hope H.M. Government will make an early statement that our new Constitution will remain for sufficient time to ensure that anything that follows will follow only when they can be quite certain that the Government of Kenya will be in responsible hands". — Mr. W. E. Crosskill, Minister for Tourism, Game, Forests, and Fisheries in Kenya.

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Dr. Banda Returns to Nyasaland

Big Fish Would Become Second Fiddle

A CROWD OF ABOUT 14,000 gave Dr. Banda a rapturous reception at Chileka airport when he returned to Nyasaland last week after his visits to Britain, America, and East Africa.

His first word of greeting, "Kwacha" ("the dawn") drew a roar of approval. Members of the Malawi Congress Party co-operated with the police in keeping the excited crowd in order and there were no incidents.

Dr. Banda said he was seeking a United States of Africa consisting of Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, the Congo, Tanganyika, and "other countries not under colonial control". He had been accused of wanting to be a big fish in a small pond. "When that United States comes into being I will happily play second fiddle to anyone."

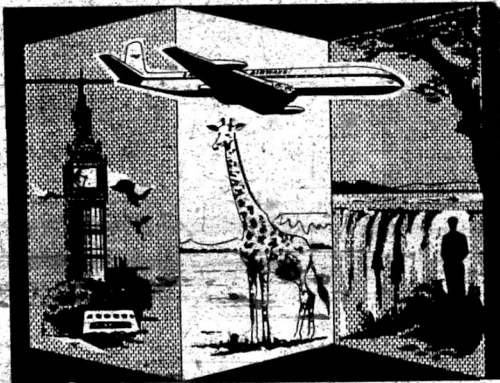
In Dar es Salaam, where he had talks with Mr. Julius Nyerere, president of the Tanganyika African National Union, Dr. Banda said:

"There can be no peace in Africa between Africans and Europeans other than by coming to terms with African nationalism. Europeans in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia accuse Mr. Macleod of being a sell-out. They do not know he is their best friend, their best insurance-broker for the future of Africa."

Commonwealth ties were becoming stronger as African countries achieved independence; "but if the Tory reactionaries in Britain follow the line of Briggs, Welensky, and Whitehead, then Britain is going to lose us."

Dr. Banda stated that he had been sounded by officials in Blantyre about accepting full self-government within the Federation. He had refused "because I can never envisage Nyasaland as being self-governing within any federation with Southern Rhodesia. It would be merely a glorified provincial council."

In a joint statement Dr. Banda and Mr. Nyerere called for the release of Jomo Kenyatta, the Mau Mau leader, and detainees in Uganda, Kenya and Nyasaland. Kenyatta was described as "our friend and colleague, whose leadership alone can bring peace and tranquility to Kenya."



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Nyasaland Emergency Will End Soon

Governor on "Widespread Intimidation"

SIR ROBERT ARMITAGE, Governor of Nyasaland, told the Legislative Council last week that he hoped to end the state of emergency within a few weeks, when new security legislation had been enacted if a peaceful state of affairs continued.

Commenting on new powers provided by the Detained Persons (Special Provisions) Bill, the Governor said that the territorial and British Governments were satisfied that they were necessary for the preservation of public security.

"I need hardly remind members that the first duty of this Government, as of any Government, is to establish peace, order, and good government for all people. These new measures are designed to enable Government to fulfil its primary duty."

"I ask that all members, all leaders of political parties, and their followers, should ponder these words, and that no party to the proposed constitutional conference should attend it already committed to predetermined and immutable proposals. If they do the conference cannot succeed."

"Remember, too, that there is no point in promising the impossible. Such promises will rebound on heads of those who make them. It is of the utmost importance that leaders of political parties should exercise reasoned restraint in their utterances and their behaviour, so that nothing is said or done which might prejudice the chances of success of the conference or provoke the kind of disorders which the territory so unhappily experienced last year."

"One factor which had made it very difficult to end the emergency was the widespread use of intimidation—a vile thing whatever cause it served. Those who incited intimidation were evil men and should be severely punished. For that, however, the victims themselves and witnesses to acts of intimidation should testify in court."

"I therefore appeal to all such persons to come forward, and in so doing seek protection of the forces of law and order. Such a decision calls for special courage. But only in this way can evil men who commit these deeds be effectively rooted out and given punishment."

Last Thursday the Legislature passed eight Bills, three of which provide powers to maintain public security when the state of emergency ends. Under them the Governor may ban, restrict, and control assemblies and public movements, maintain public services, guard airports, and so forth, and detain persons, order them to render certain services, and continue the detention of "specified persons."

Counter-Propaganda

The Chief Secretary, Mr. G. S. Jones, gave an undertaking that the Government would use every means within its power to refute all subversive rumours and false and misleading statements. He formally accepted a motion by Mr. L. A. Little calling for such action.

Mr. G. C. D. Hodgson, Acting Secretary for Native Affairs, told the House: "Although we do not have what might be described as a counter-propaganda machine, the Nyasaland Information Department has taken upon itself the irksome additional task of correcting or refuting any wild or deliberately misleading statements which may be calculated to undermine the integrity or good intentions of this Government. Similar action is being taken to counter any rash or malicious attempts to denigrate the efforts of those who are helping to advance this territory."

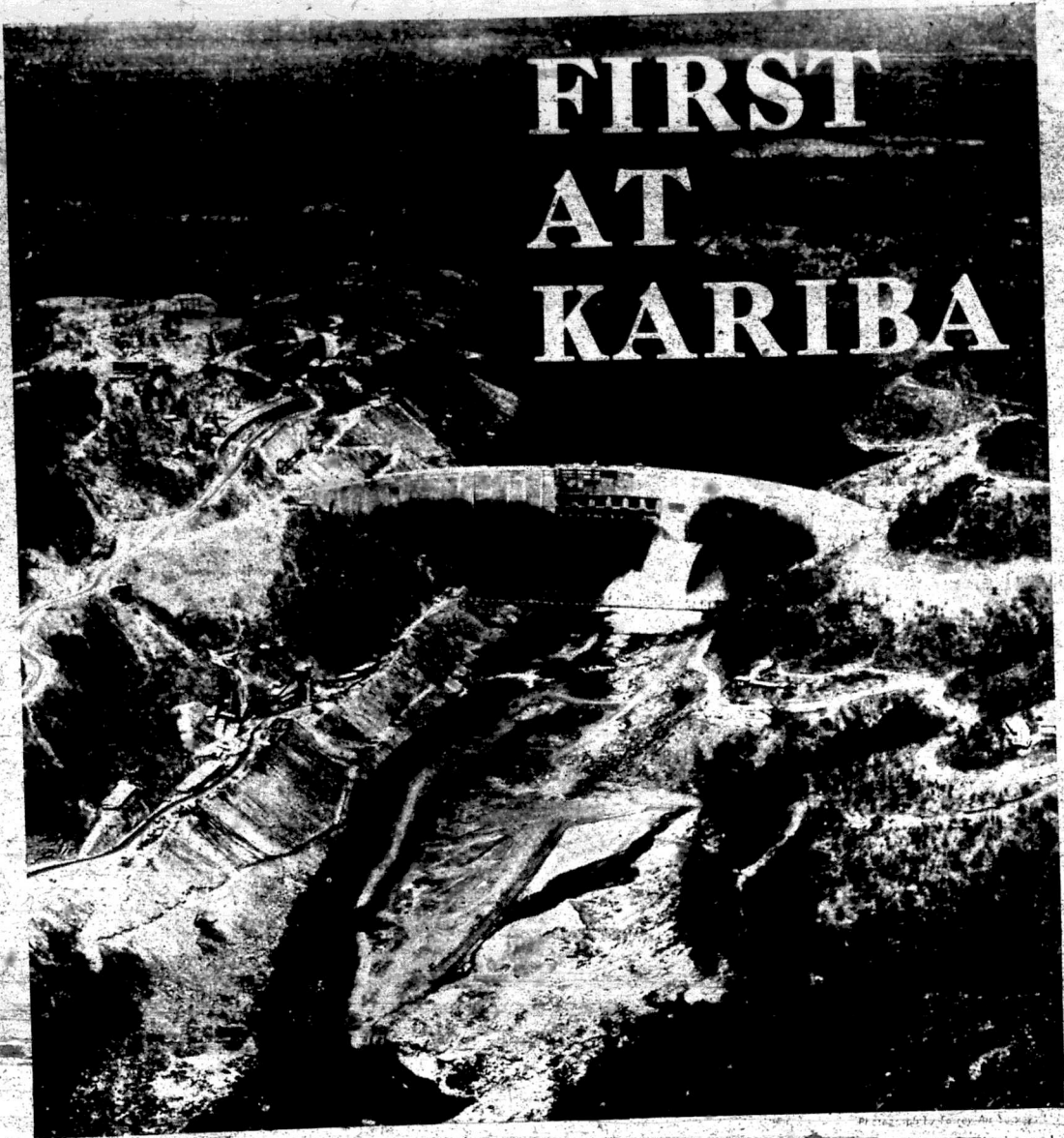
Mr. Little had said that some people were alarmed by rumours that Government was being handed over to Dr. Banda, that Dr. Banda had been crowned "King of Nyasaland" while he was in London, and that he was now Chief Minister.

Mr. Hodgson said that such rumours were patently absurd but were nevertheless likely to be believed.

"With many others, I was induced to go to the Lancaster House Conference under false pretences. It did not keep to its terms of reference. It was not a conference, but a symposium of intrigue. For the Colonial Office to declare that agreement had been reached is a heinous, cynical, and utterly dishonest act. It was a disgraceful lie."

M.L.A. Kenyatta

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Need to Recreate Confidence in Kenya

Continuing Need for British Leadership

EARL DE LA WARR, writing as chairman of the Joint East and Central African Board, said last week in a letter to *The Times*:

"It would be a tragedy if the Government missed the chance of making a success of their policy in Kenya by delaying steps that need to be taken to restore confidence. These steps are needed to reassure both Europeans and Asians, and also very many Africans, especially those who fought by our side against the beatitudes of Mau Mau, and those many others who are prepared, in spite of intimidation, to testify to their country's continuing need for British enterprise and leadership.

"To me the new policy, in spite of certain obvious faults, represents a wise decision to stop fighting rear-guard actions, to look ahead to where in fact we are ultimately prepared to go, and to get there without being driven. That, however, is for the moment beside the point, which is that without confidence no policy, whatever its merits, can possibly succeed and no community can flourish.

"On the economic side of the problem, we have been given to understand that the scheme for underpinning the position of the European farmer, put forward by the Kenya National Farmers' Union, is being actively considered. Let us hope that this is so, if only because on European agriculture depends the whole structure of Kenya's economic existence, let alone its prosperity.

"But of even greater importance (if possible) are the civil service and police. On them depends the maintenance of government and of law and order, which are the first condition of any form of civilized life. These, therefore, are the key to the situation. For how long could we carry on in this old and experienced country without our civil service and police? What then, of Kenya, above all just now when she is about to transfer so much more power to a people utterly lacking in experience?

Family Insecurity

"Yet we hear on all sides of the numbers that are already resigning or applying for posts at home. We read the published warning from their neighbouring colleagues in Uganda against joining their service. We hear of the lack of confidence and sense of personal and family insecurity, which trouble so many of those who are remaining. Nor are they worrying only for themselves or their families. It is hard to think of a body of men with a greater sense of dedication to a task which they all want desperately not to leave unfinished, the task of bringing security and civilized life and standards to primitive peoples. There is no question that these men will stay on if it is made possible for them to do so.

"The solution to the problem is doubtless receiving the careful consideration of Government departments, but time is not on our side in Africa and immediate action is needed. The Colonial Service must become an integral part of the British civil service and its members thereby be guaranteed employment, whatever happens in the country in which an individual may be serving.

"We must go further and see that Colonial countries, as they achieve self-government, are helped to keep their British Colonial servants, at the very least during an adequate period of transition. We owe it not only to the members of that service but even more to those of our own people and to the indigenous peoples for whom we have assumed, and cannot lightly drop, responsibility.

"The help we must give is to pay from our own Exchequer the excess cost of salaries over and above the cost of the corresponding indigenous employee. A revolutionary proposal? Perhaps, but no more revolutionary than the speed at which we are handing over increased powers to those who we know are for the most part quite unready for it.

"If a precedent from another country is of any interest to us, let me say that France, with her logical mind, has already adopted some such scheme, and I am informed that Belgium is considering it with regard to the Congo.

"If this were done, and at the same time the position of the settler was underpinned, then I believe that we should have gone a very long way to re-establishing that confidence which is essential to the success of any policy, and especially one which is based on the hope of understanding, justice and tolerance between races.

Government Must Say "Never"

Firm Stand Over Kenyatta

MR. F. S. JOELSON, editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, wrote:

"Lord De La Warr's plea for expatriate civil servants in Kenya is timely, but because the root of the problem is political, not financial, his proposals could, I am sure, not adequately meet the need.

"Among the officials who have resigned or contemplate that course are some of the best in the Colony, and their reason is ethical, namely inability to serve under the Mau Mau Constitution because in their view it involves the premature removal of proper protection for the interests of the mass of Africans and unfair discrimination against the Europeans who are the mainstay of Kenya's economy. Conscience is the decisive factor, not money.

"An essential element in any effective remedy must, I submit, be an unequivocal declaration by H.M. Government that it would not be consonant with Britain's duties of trusteeship to release Kenyatta at any time. The failure of the Secretary of State to say that quite plainly encourages the African extremists and discourages everyone else, including the African loyalists and their best friends, among them administrative and technical officers of the Government, missionaries, and European farmers.

"They fear that the principle of safeguarding the well-being of Africans in general and the country as a whole may be sacrificed to the political expediency of temporarily appeasing a few vociferous African politicians. Unless that fear of appeasement be dissipated by an irrevocable pledge that will be no restoration of confidence in any quarter. The long statement yesterday by the Governor of Kenya pointedly omits that pledge.

"To top-quality men, those whom Kenya most requires, stable and hopeful conditions for their activities are more important than United Kingdom guarantees of their salaries; and as political power passes progressively to Africans the need for first-class European advisers, administrators, and technicians must increase. Since they will not remain under a persistent sense of frustration (as second and third grade people may do for the sake of money), they must have the conviction that their work will be fruitful.

"That conviction requires two solemn pronouncements from Westminster: (1) that Kenyatta will in no circumstances be allowed to return to normal society, and (2) that Kenya will not be granted independence until it has achieved a society based on racial tolerance and earned equality in citizenship, not for all men but for all civilized men. This second point is well made in the new Conservative pamphlet, *Wind of Change*. Cannot a Conservative Government accept the advice of one of their own party committees in this matter?"

Government Must Lead

A letter from MR. R. S. RYDER, who recently revisited Kenya, said:

"The tide running throughout the world in favour of African nationalism and racialism must not, in all conscience, mask from us the need in Britain at times to have the courage and resolution to resist it, or to mitigate its onslaught. Appeasement may be right, perhaps the only, policy; but it takes little courage or intelligence to swim with the tide. South Africa's politics must not prevent us from realizing that in Kenya the Europeans and Indians who have achieved so much for the good of all in spite of many natural and unnatural hazards are in a desperate minority and that we in Britain must see that these minorities are properly protected.

"Black is not always right or white always wrong. A breakdown of law and order in Kenya may not be far away, just as it was not far away in the Mau Mau troubles, which could probably have been prevented if appropriate action had been taken in time. Having done all, it is sometimes necessary to stand.

"A great responsibility rests upon the British Government, the more so as public opinion in this country is extremely ignorant of African affairs and is easily swayed by well-meaning but illogical and sentimental thought. It is the clear duty of Government to lead. In the name of the people of Kenya, most of whom abhor violence, I appeal to our Government to have courage and a sense of fair play, and above all the gift of leadership.

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Somaliland Independent in July

Economic Aid from Britain

THE SOMALILAND PROTECTORATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, which opened at the Colonial Office on May 2, ended last Thursday, May 12, with the signing of the conference report by Mr. Macleod, Secretary of State for the Colonies, the elected Ministers from the Protectorate (all Somalis) and the Governor, Sir Douglas Hall.

It is officially stated that in the course of the discussions the Somaliland delegation proposed and the Secretary of State agreed on behalf of H.M. Government that further constitutional steps should be taken to make possible the independence of the Protectorate by July 1, 1960. Later, the elected Ministers proposed and the Secretary of State agreed that the date of independence should be advanced to June 26.

In order to meet wishes expressed by the elected Ministers that some of the British officials now serving in the Protectorate should continue to do so after independence, the Secretary of State proposed that for an interim period of six months after independence there should be a United Kingdom Aid Mission, formed of such officers as the United Kingdom Government might appoint, to be available in the public service of Somaliland at the request of the Somaliland Government.

Similar arrangements were offered for the continued secondment of British military personnel to the Somaliland Scouts, also for an interim period of up to six months. The conference recognized that the conditions and purposes under which such personnel could continue on secondment would have to be carefully defined, and the heads of an agreement for this purpose were approved.

The Secretary of State recalled the undertaking given by his predecessor, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, that H.M. Government would, in the light of circumstances prevailing from time to time, be prepared to give sympathetic consideration to the continuation of financial assistance within the limits of the amount of aid being provided to the Protectorate.

He proposed that, subject to Parliamentary approval, £14m. should be the amount of aid given during the first year after independence, of which half would be devoted to development expenditure. That sum will include the cost, which H.M. Government will meet, of the United Kingdom Aid Mission and of military personnel on secondment.

The Somali Ministers stated that it was their intention as far as practicable to maintain the level of economic and social services which are now available to the people of the Protectorate.

The Secretary of State said that, while H.M. Government were glad to give financial help to the people of Somaliland for a period after independence, he would expect that in due course dependence upon the United Kingdom for financial assistance would diminish, and that to this end the level of aid would be subject to annual review.

July 1 is to see the Somaliland Protectorate united with its neighbour Somalia, formerly Italian Somaliland. Arrangements were made last month in Mogadishu between delegations of the two territories.

Joint Statement

After discussions over 16 days the President of the Somalia Legislative Assembly, Mr. Adan Abdulla, and the Leader of Government Business in British Somaliland, Mr. Mohammed Ibrahim Egal, signed a joint *communiqué*, which said (*inter alia*):

Somalia and the Somaliland Protectorate shall be united on July 1, 1960, according to the unanimous votes passed by the respective Parliaments. The new Somali Republic will be a unitary, democratic, and parliamentary State.

The Legislative Assembly of Somalia and the Legislative Council of the Somaliland Protectorate shall be merged into a National Assembly by July 1, 1960.

The National Assembly will elect the President of the Republic.

A Coalition Government will be formed by the political parties now in power in the two territories.

The capital of the Republic will be Mogadishu, where the National Assembly and the Government will have their seats. The two administrative provinces of the Somaliland Pro-

tectorate, together with the present six provinces of Somalia, will form the territory of the new State, divided into eight administrative provinces.

"Some *ad hoc* committees will be set up in order to investigate and propose convenient solutions to the problems connected with the administrative, financial, and judicial systems now in force in the two territories.

"The Republic will need the co-operation of foreign experts and technicians. The conference calls therefore upon the Government of Somalia and the Government of the Protectorate to negotiate with the Powers administering the two territories the agreements that are required to ensure to the new State the continued co-operation by such experts and technicians.

"The Government of the Republic will also ask the United Nations to supply experts who may help in accelerating the integration of the two territories.

"A National Army will be created. Its first nucleus will be the present National Army of Somalia together with the Somaliland Scouts."

Parliament

Lawlessness in Northern Rhodesia

Period of "Tremendous Tension" Ahead

IN THE COMMONS last week Mr. Macleod deplored the "most regrettable outbreak of lawlessness in the Copperbelt." After giving details of the disturbances, he said:—

"I fear these events exemplify a growing tendency towards violence, which was already apparent during my recent visit, and which has its roots in extremist political agitation. I made it plain to all concerned during my visit that lawlessness could not be tolerated, that violence inevitably retarded political progress, and that if it occurred it would be firmly handled. I repeat that warning today. The Governor will have my full support in any measures which he may think it necessary to take to restore and maintain law and order."

Mr. James Callaghan, chief Opposition spokesman on Colonial affairs, asked Mr. Macleod to convey to the Governor of Northern Rhodesia Labour's very strong view that leaders of all the political parties should call upon their followers to renounce violence in any circumstances. He continued:—

"Will the Minister look further into the cause of these riots, and, in view of the fact that the very existence of the Federation itself is a cause of tension, satisfy himself that the actions of the authorities in banning meetings are well judged, and not calculated more to arouse tempers than to quieten them? Should there not be a further advance in the revision of the Constitution or an announcement be made, so that the Africans, who are now in an extremely volatile state of mind, may be assured that their interests will be properly safeguarded by their own people when they come to the review of the Federal Constitution later this year?"

Detestation of Violence

Mr. Macleod: "The whole House will condemn these outrages, and they have been condemned in Northern Rhodesia by all shades of political opinion, European and African alike—not just by the United Federal Party and the Dominion Party, but by the Central Africa Party and by Mr. Harry Nkumbula. It is right that the House should add its detestation of violence.

"We are inevitably coming into a period of tremendous tension in Northern Rhodesia, and I think that it is a time for measuring one's words very carefully indeed. For example, the elections in the Congo start tomorrow, and the numbers of incidents have been accumulating over recent times.

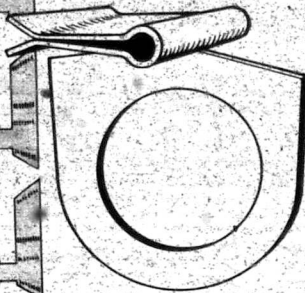
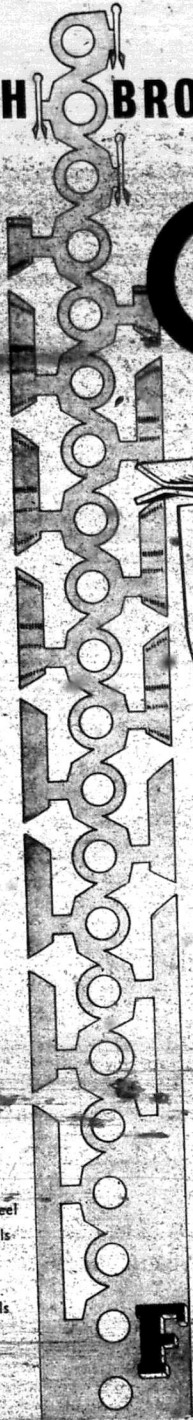
"With regard to public meetings and political advance in Northern Rhodesia, I made it clear when I was there that I thought that Nyasaland was a special case, and that therefore the conference planned for July should take place to replace the one that was lost owing to the emergency a year ago. I do not think that exactly the same argument holds good for Northern Rhodesia, but, on the general question, surely the position is this: I think that almost everybody in the House wants to see political advance for all the peoples, but lawlessness is not the way to bring this about, and in times like this the first thing to do is to unite with the Governor and with all responsible opinion—European and African alike—to condemn it."

African opinion will be represented at the Federal Constitutional conference, but it is very likely that the Government will be concerned to ensure that its representation will take

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Belgian Policy to Congo Unjustified

"Guardian" Condemns Attitude of Nihilism

THERE IS NO JUSTIFICATION for a policy of nihilism in Colonial Africa, "and those responsible for the acts of intimidation and brutality in Northern Rhodesia are pursuing a policy of nihilism", wrote the *Guardian* on Monday in a leading article which contained these passages:

"In the 40 republics, regions, colonies, and protectorates in Africa south of the Sahara the danger signals flash in bewildering succession like lamps on a control panel. Now the Union, now Nyasaland, now Kenya, now Ruanda-Urundi, now the Cameroons, now the Congo, and now Northern Rhodesia.

White supremacy is not the formula, but neither is one man one vote. The understanding and restraint which are needed for the functioning of a democracy cannot be introduced as a clause in a new constitution.

The Belgians are guilty of extremism in first governing the Congo as an autocracy, in which no political activity was allowed, and then handing it over without giving those who are to run it any grounding in government. The alternative for Belgium would no doubt have been a long and wearisome quarrel with the African leadership about the gradual devolution of political rights. Belgium decided to try (unsuccessfully as it has turned out) to avoid a quarrel by conceding independence without further ado. In so doing Belgium perhaps cut her losses.

But if Africa is to have benefited from the European connexion, which is the moral justification for our being there, cutting one's losses should rank second to a policy of not cutting the Africans' gains. We are not entitled to adopt at this late stage a policy of nihilism in Africa.

"We are not entitled to say, with Mr. Oginga Odinga in the Kenya Legislative Council: 'I think it is for the African people to decide what type of life they are going to live in their own country. If they decide savagery is the most fitting thing, then they will decide on it.'"

On Monday the Belgian Government decided to fly troops to the Congo and appointed M. Ganshof van der Meersch Minister of General Affairs in Africa. There were already a Minister of the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi (M. de Schrijver) and a Minister for Congo Economic Affairs (M. Scheyven).

The task of the new minister will presumably concern chiefly the maintenance of law and order.

Several companies of volunteers from the crack Liberation Division are to be flown this week to the Kamina base in the Katanga. There are understood to be about 2,400 Belgian paratroopers in the Congo, in addition to the Force Publique of about 1,000 Europeans and 24,000 Africans. Gendarmes may also be flown from Belgium.

"A special correspondent of the *Times* telegraphed from the Congo on Monday that trouble over the elections is threatened, but that troops have not yet had to intervene seriously though polling booths have been destroyed after scuffles. The message also said:

"Mr. Patrice Lumumba, wily leader of the Mouvement National Congolais, now claims credit for the relative quiet in Stanleyville. Having devoted much of last week to stirring up emotions there, he toured the city on Saturday night and Sunday appealing for calm and order—which may only mean, according to cynics, that he felt confident by then that his party had control of the town. His powerful propaganda machine—for which, his opponents say, the Communists are paying—has seen to it that he has gained plenty of publicity. For all his self-advertisement, however, no one is sure what he stands for, except a unitary Congo State with himself at the head of it."

Monckton Commission

LORD MONCKTON and 15 members of his commission arrived back in London last week after three months spent in taking evidence in all parts of the Federation. The chairman said that the commission had obtained a good cross section of opinion. They had interviewed about 1,000 people. Unfortunately the commission had been boycotted in the northern and central parts of the Federation. The headquarters of the commission would now be at Cornwall House, Waterloo Bridge Road, London, where they would resume hearing evidence on May 23. "I do not know just how much investigation remains to be done, but it will not be completed before the end of July". The commission hoped to be able to report by the autumn.

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Uganda Development Corporation Ltd.

Chairman's Confidence in the Future

UGANDA DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, LTD., reports consolidated net trading profit before tax for 1959 of £440,846, against £407,964 in 1958. Taxation required £66,567. Since its inception in 1952 the U.D.C. has earned just over £2m. in profits. After paying income tax of £326,000, the balance has been ploughed back into development.

The statement by the chairman, Mr. J. T. Simpson, expresses strong confidence in the prospects. About £1m. is to be spent in doubling the capacity of the textile factory, and fertilizer manufacture at Mukulu is to begin this year. Large-scale expansion in agriculture is planned, and by 1970 U.D.C. expects to have 5,000 acres under tea.

Accumulated loss at Kilemba Mines, Ltd., was reduced by £42,992 to £241,741, thanks to good copper prices and higher output of blister copper (1,930 tons, against 10,831 tons).

Sharp competition reduced the profit after taxation of Uganda Cement Industry, Ltd., from £210,387 to £143,950, but the dividend is raised from 7½ to 10%.

Nyanza Textile Industries, Ltd., made a profit of £225,187, reducing the accumulated loss to £176,478. Sales of Nylit textiles exceeded 134m. yards, and the labour force, 97% African, has been increased to 1,500, with three-shift working. Seventy-four African employees now earn more than £25 per month, another 20 more than £34, and 12 over £40.

Agricultural Enterprises, Ltd., made a profit of £35,556 after allowing for losses of £11,404 by subsidiaries; £30,000 goes to a special development reserve and £10,000 to contingencies.

The Ankole Tea Co., Ltd., which is being developed by U.D.C., the Uganda Co. (Africa), Ltd., and the Ankole Native Government, had 132 acres under tea at the end of the year, when total expenditure was £93,745. There are three other tea companies, Kawalya-Kagwa, Kiko, and Mwenge.

On the Bunyoro Ranching Co., Ltd., there was a loss of £6,578, and by 1963 the loss is expected to be £39,000; from 1966 an estimated return of 11% on the investment is expected.

Uganda Metal Products and Enamelling Co., Ltd., had a deficit of £30,842, bringing the total loss to £63,892. It is attributed to unfair and disruptive competition from the Far East, and dissatisfaction is expressed with the duty revisions undertaken by the Uganda Government and disappointment that the Tanganyika Government will not impose similar duties. The enamelling department will not be re-opened until large stocks of finished goods move into consumption and market conditions become normal.

Uganda Consolidated Properties, Ltd., more than doubled its profit at £33,852, and the board is satisfied with its "strong position". The dividend is raised from 5% to 6%.

Uganda Hotels, Ltd., which now owns six hotels and has a 51% interest in two safari lodges which it manages, lost £15,779. But it is providing facilities which enable the country to encourage tourism.

By a printers' error, we recently stated that the £14m. 6% local loan of the Northern Rhodesia Government was offered at £89. Since it carries a 6% coupon, readers will have understood that the figure should have been £99, not £89. The issue was fully subscribed, £500,000 was taken firm before issue of the prospectus by statutory boards and other quasi-Government bodies.

Commercial Brevities

Low & Bonar, Ltd., whose African companies and branches contribute 11% of the group's earnings last year, report group net profits at £528,337 (£390,977) after tax, of £454,903. The ordinary shares have received dividends of 17½% and a bonus of 4%. Issued capital is £2m. Fixed assets appear at £1,578,505, interest in subsidiary and associated companies at £444,510, investments at £1,247,137, and current assets less current liabilities at £3,296,226.

The Central African trade fair in Bulawayo was officially opened by the Queen Mother on Saturday, but the public were admitted from Wednesday. About 200 exhibits are housed in 90 pavilions and stands in a 64-acre site. Official guests were invited from Kenya, Tanganyika, Portuguese East Africa, and the Belgian Congo.

In order to improve the rail route between the port of Lobito and the Katanga Province of the Belgian Congo and the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia, the Benguela Railway has just completed construction of a 275,000 bridge at Catumbela. The steel was supplied by a Glasgow company.

Arthur Seall & Son, Ltd., of Bristol, have received a £500,000 contract to provide mechanical and sanitary services for the new Mulago Hospital in Kampala, Uganda. When completed it will be the largest hospital in East Africa.

There are now more than 900 African pyrethrum growers in Kenya. World demand exceeds the supply, and the Kenya Pyrethrum Board expects the market for Kenya-grown pyrethrum to increase to about 10,000 tons annually.

Liebig's extract of Meat Co., Ltd., has developed an interim dividend of 4% on the ordinary capital as increased by a one-for-one scrip issue and a one-for-four rights issue. Last year there was an 8% interim on the lower capital.

Northern Rhodesian Government departments have been instructed to give preference to cement made locally by Chilanga Cement, Ltd., following a decline in demand for the Kariba Dam.

Buret Tea Co., Ltd., Kenya, reports that the crop manufactured in the year ended March 31 was 1,842,556 lb. (1,860,972 lb.), and that the profit before tax was £147,647 (£121,828).

Legal & General Assurance Society, Ltd., which has five branches in the Rhodesias, reports a profit of £2.6m. for 1959 after tax of £453,213.

Power Securities Corporation

POWER SECURITIES CORPORATION, LTD., which has large East African interests, reports a consolidated net profit for 1959, after providing £478,458 for taxation, of £626,473 (£520,432 in 1958).

A 15% ordinary dividend and a 10% distribution on the participating preference shares take £214,375, general reserve receives £262,500, and the carry-forward is £786,716 (£637,118).

The issued capital is £2m. and the preference capital £500,000. Property and plant appear at £2,326,898, trade investments at £398,551, current assets less current liabilities at £3,477,956, and interests in subsidiary companies at rather more than £34m. The general reserve is nearly £12m.

Sir Andrew MacTaggart is chairman and managing director, Mr. H. G. Balfour is deputy chairman and assistant managing director, and the other members of the board are Sir Kenneth Hague, Sir Robert Renwick, Sir Ralph Stevenson, and Messrs. E. H. Ball, W. L. Marchant, and E. R. Wilkinson. Mr. H. A. Warren is the secretary.



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Company Report

Power Securities Corporation, Limited

Larger Profit and Increasing Field of Development

SIR ANDREW MACTAGGART'S STATEMENT

THE THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF POWER SECURITIES CORPORATION LIMITED, will be held in London on June 2.

The following are extracts from the statement by SIR ANDREW M. MACTAGGART (chairman and managing director) circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended December 31, 1959.

The consolidated profit before taxation, after adding the income and deducting expenditure and charges, amounted to £999,468, an increase of approximately £200,000 over the previous year.

The amount provided for taxation at £478,458 shows an increase of some £194,000, which is accounted for partly by taxation on the increased profit and partly by the fact that in 1958 the profits of a foreign subsidiary company did not attract any taxation. After taxation the profit of £521,010 is approximately the same as in 1958. Taxation over-provided in previous years of £105,463 results mainly from the settlement of double taxation relief claims extending over several years. The consolidated net profit amounts to £626,473, an increase of £106,041.

Satisfactory Results

In view of these results, which I think can be regarded as satisfactory, your directors recommend the payment of a dividend on the ordinary shares of 15%. This payment will entitle the preference shareholders to a participating dividend of 3% for the year, which, with the cumulative dividend of 7%, will for the first time give them their ceiling of 10%.

Deducting the net cost of the dividends, £214,375, the profit of the year retained in the business amounts to £412,098. The amount brought forward from the previous year was £637,118, making a total of £1,049,216. Of this sum £262,500 has been transferred to general reserve in the accounts of certain subsidiary companies, leaving £786,716 to be carried forward to next year.

There is little to which to call your attention in this corporation's own balance-sheet, except the increase in investments at £255,061, compared with £153,502 in the previous year. This increase is partly accounted for by payments on our investment in the Peace River Power Development Co., Ltd., and partly by increases in investments purchased in the ordinary course of our business.

In the consolidated balance-sheet property and plant at £2,326,898 shows a decrease of nearly £372,000, most of which is accounted for by the sale of plant. The sale of our office property at 58/60 Cannon Street resulted in a profit over book value of £77,459, which has been placed to capital reserve.

The item of development expenditure refers to a subsidiary company's investment in land of £109,349, which is expected to be of a temporary nature, and the balance of £98,051 represents an interest in a plastics process which we consider most promising. A separate company will be formed to take it over.

Capital and reserves attributable to the ordinary capital amount to £5,360,282. This increase of £489,557 comprises the amount shown in the consolidated profit and loss account as retained in the business, £412,098, together with the £77,459 capital profit mentioned above.

Last year I referred to our association with important Canadian, British, and other interests in the formation of the Peace River Power Development Co., Ltd., a company incorporated in British Columbia for the purpose of investigating the power potentialities of the Peace River. In December the Peace River Power Development Co., Ltd., filed with the British Columbia Government its report on the proposed utilization of water power potential of the Peace River. The Comptroller of Water Rights has stated: "I find the proposed development entirely feasible from an engineering standpoint and approve its overall outline", and the Minister of Lands and Forests having accepted those findings, the company can apply for the required certificate and licence. We have undertaken to subscribe for further shares in the Peace River Company.

In East Africa we have carried out various installations, including sub-stations for the East African Power & Lighting Group. Several 33 K.V. transmission lines are in hand and are making good progress. Additional generating sets with their ancillary equipment are being installed at Kipevu and Kurasini power stations.

After reviewing the year's operations of the subsidiary companies the statement continues:—

Future Prospects

Having left behind some "dead wood", which had to be disposed of satisfactorily, we look forward confidently to an ever-increasing field of development. With a new office building housing all the London staff of this company and of Balfour Beatty, which has been spread over six separate buildings for some time, we feel a closer integration will make for higher efficiency and economy.

The overseas markets in the underdeveloped countries, particularly in the field of power development, for which Balfour Beatty are especially equipped with a highly efficient technical staff, and 50 years of past experience over a very wide field are of considerable interest to our corporation.

The position of development calling for finance in our Colonies, is causing us some concern on account of the lack of security of tenure for a sufficient number of years to guarantee the private investor that at least if he does venture into an investment, he will not lose his capital. The return he may get for his venture is a matter of his own assessment and that of his colleagues.

If we are to retain our markets, and I suggest this a must, then the Government will have to give a lead, which so far is lacking, in order to inspire confidence.

A more inspiring lead than that shown in the last budget is necessary to encourage enterprise, so that we may not only hold the progress we have made in a country during the past few years, but expand it further.

Company Report**Gallaher, Limited**

(Incorporated in Northern Ireland)

Considerable Rise in Group Trading Profit**SIR EDWARD DE STEIN'S STATEMENT**

THE SIXTY-FOURTH ANNUAL ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF GALLAHER LIMITED, was held on May 18 in London.

SIR EDWARD DE STEIN, Chairman of the Company, presided.

The following is an extract from his statement circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended December 31, 1959.

I am pleased to be able to report an increase in the trading profits of the group for the year 1959, before tax, of £1,763,099, from £7,754,578 to £9,517,677. Taxation absorbs £4,513,342 in 1959 compared with £3,844,286, leaving profits after tax up by £1,094,043 at £5,004,335. Out of this amount the directors propose to transfer the sum of £2,000,000 to general reserve, making the total to the credit of that reserve account £7,500,000.

The directors also recommend to stockholders a final dividend of 15% on the Ordinary Stock — making with the interim dividend of 5% paid in November, 1959, a total distribution of 20% on a total Ordinary Capital of £20,625,000. This compares with a total dividend in 1958 of 25% on Ordinary Capital of £11,000,000 — equivalent to 16½% after allowing for the Capitalization Issue. The carry-forward is £3,887,714, against £3,834,966.

Leaf Supplies

In order to keep our stocks of tobacco in line with the higher turnover in 1959 we purchased during the year more than one year's usage of leaf. Overall our purchases cost us slightly more per pound in 1959 than in 1958, with the result that our stocks at the end of 1959 were carried at a slightly higher average price per pound than a year earlier, which will, of course, have to be absorbed in manufacture this year.

The crop in Southern Rhodesia last year was a large one, but it did not contain a sufficiently high proportion of the grades of tobacco which we prefer. However, the prospects for this year look more promising.

In America prices in 1959 were higher than in 1958 and we found it difficult to purchase our types at reasonable prices.

Now that Dollar tobacco is on open general licence we shall have greater freedom than in the past 20 years to take advantage of a favourable crop. At the present time we have no reason to believe that our new freedom to buy Dollar tobacco will have any material influence on the pattern of our buying over the long term, but it may have an effect on the quantity we buy in particular years according to the suitability of the crop to our particular requirements.

Sales

The expansion in sales of the group's products continued satisfactorily during the year, and our sterling turnover rose from £244,000,000 to £278,000,000, of which only a very small part was accounted for by the price increase of pipe tobaccos which took place in August, 1959.

Our main cigarette brands, both plain and tipped, increased their popularity with the public and our overall sales of tobacco and cigars were higher than in 1958. I attribute this continued success to the high quality of our products.

I stated last year that it was our intention to strengthen

our position in the tipped cigarette market by introducing a new brand retailing at 3s. 4d. for 20. Due to the recent increase in tobacco duty, tipped cigarettes previously retailing at that price are now retailing at 3s. 6d. for 20. We were unable to carry out our intention in 1959 owing, among other factors, to various problems arising out of the printers' strike.

We therefore decided to defer the introduction of our new brand "Nelson" until March this year. The reception of this cigarette by the trade and the consumer has been most satisfactory at a time when competition in the tipped cigarette market is intense.

General Matters

During the summer of 1959 the installation of machinery in the second new factory at Lisnafillan in Northern Ireland was completed, but, owing to the increase in our sales, our production problems are still with us; steps are being taken to deal with these problems by two developments. First of all, a further extension is being built on the Lisnafillan factory site and should be complete in the late summer of this year.

Secondly the factory in the Manchester area which J. A. Patteirouex, Limited, purchased at the end of 1958 will shortly be ready to receive production machinery, and we hope to commence manufacture there in September. When it is complete this will be the largest of our three factories in the Manchester area.

Neither the new Lisnafillan factory extension nor the third Manchester factory will be complete in time to make up for the production we shall lose during factory holidays this summer, as a result our cigarette factories have been and still are working under considerable pressure.

J. R. Freeman & Son, Limited, our cigar manufacturing subsidiary, has purchased a 10-acre site in Cardiff on which we are erecting a new factory. When this factory is completed the cigar manufacturing capacity of the group will have been substantially increased and it will be possible to reduce overtime and double-shift working in our cigar factories.

Since the last Annual General Meeting we have acquired a minority interest in a small tobacco drying and packing plant in the United States of America which has for many years been mainly concerned in handling and packing some of our tobacco. The cost of these shares — just under £71,000 — is contained in the item trade investments in the balance-sheet. The balance of trade investments is the amount paid-up on shares in the Commonwealth Development Finance Company, Limited.

Engineering Subsidiary

Our engineering subsidiary has had a difficult year and has not made quite as large a contribution to the group's profits as in 1958; nevertheless, we consider the results satisfactory in the circumstances.

Outlook

There has been an encouraging increase in the sales of all our main brands in the first three months of this year. It is impossible to say yet what effect the duty increase will have on overall tobacco consumption, but, whatever the effect, your directors feel confident that the group's brands will retain, and they hope increase, their share of the trade.

I am bound to say, however, that we are not certain

that the smoking public should again be singled out as the source of increasing the revenue, particularly since it already bears such a disproportionate part of the burden placed upon the public in order to finance the continued increase in Government expenditure.

I have already mentioned the fact that we start the present year with stocks of tobacco carried at higher prices than at the beginning of 1959; wage rates were increased half way through last year, and the working week was reduced by two hours at the beginning of 1960; these factors will lead to higher unit costs this year. Competition, which was already severe, has been further intensified by the introduction of new brands by a number of manufacturers, so that selling costs may also increase.

But, despite all these factors, your Directors remain confident in the future of your Company and hope to be able to show as good, if not better, results for 1960.

At a subsequent extraordinary general meeting a resolution was passed altering the Articles of Association in order to permit the appointment of a first President of the Company.

Union Corporation and Chartered

UNION CORPORATION, LTD. which, in addition to large South African interests, has substantial investments in the Chartered Company and Northern Rhodesian copper mining enterprises, reports a consolidated profit after tax of £2,856,915 (£1,903,957).

During the year 700,000 shares were offered to a B.S.A. Company subsidiary in exchange for 455,000 Chartered shares. That raised Union Corporation's issued capital to £14m. in 10m. shares of 2s. 6d. each.

Quoted investments of a book value of £3,657,355 had a market value of £21.4m. and holdings in subsidiary companies standing in the books at £10.2m. are valued by the directors at £40.4m. Government and municipal stocks, cash in bank, and debtors total £17.5m. and current liabilities £16.7m.

The directors are Sir Charles Hambro (chairman), Mr. T. P. Stratten (deputy chairman and managing director), Lord Harlech, Lord Leathers, Lord Robins, and Messrs. C. B. Anderson, A. V. Conrad (executive director in London), L. W. Douglas, H. L. Monro, C. T. Pott, and M. W. Richards. Mr. R. H. Macwilliam, the manager, is alternate to Mr. Anderson.

Higher Traffic Through Lobito

THE BÉNGUELA RAILWAY COMPANY reports greater activity at Lobito last year. The port was used by 653 ocean-going vessels, compared with 600 in 1958, and their gross tonnage was 4,708,590 (4.5m.). The number of Europeans landed for Angola was 11,453 (10,137), and in transit, almost all for the Congo and Rhodesia, 3,912 (3,701); those embarking from Angola were 8,589 (7,938) and from other sources, again chiefly Northern Rhodesia and the Congo, 2,468 (2,157). Cargo tonnage landed in transit to the Rhodesias and the Belgian Congo totaled 104,314 tons (97,480), and minerals shipped from the Congo and Rhodesia rose to 483,603 tons (454,992). Other shipments of Rhodesian and Congo origin reached 17,830 (7,452) tons.

MINING

R.S.T. Companies' Higher Profits

SUBSTANTIALLY HIGHER PROFITS for the March quarter are reported by Roan Antelope Copper Mines, Ltd., and Mufulira Copper Mines, Ltd., both in the Rhodesian Selection Trust group, owing to the higher price of the metal.

R.S.T. itself reports an estimated profit attributable to the parent company for the March quarter before tax of £1,904,000 compared with £1,577,000 in the December quarter, bringing profits for the nine months to £4,270,000 (£3,252,000).

Mufulira, in which R.S.T. holds 63.98% of the capital, has an estimated profit before tax for the quarter of £2,536,000, an increase of £528,000, and an additional £1,855,000 for the nine months.

Roan Antelope estimates profits before tax at £1,911,000 for the quarter and £4,746,000 for the nine months, increases of £347,000 and £1,479,000 respectively.

Chibuluma had a slightly reduced profit for the quarter at £469,000, but that for the nine months of £1,319,000 is almost exactly double the figure for the corresponding period of the previous year.

Rhodesian Selection Trust is increasing its interim dividend from 4d. to 6d. a share, Roan Antelope from 3d. to 4½d., and Mufulira from 1s. 9d. to 2s. 7½d., in each case less tax at 7s. 6d. in the £1.

Changes in R.S.T. Group Boards

MR. F. E. BUCH, lately general manager of Mufulira Copper Mines, Ltd., who recently joined the head office of the group in Salisbury as vice-president and assistant to the president, has been appointed a director of the principal companies in the group, in which the following board changes have occurred:—

RHODESIAN SELECTION TRUST, LTD.: Resignations, Messrs. R. M. Peterson and L. Tucker. Appointments: Messrs. F. E. Buch, D. D. Irwin, and J. Thomson.

MUFULIRA COPPER MINES, LTD.: Resignation, Mr. D. D. Irwin. Appointment: Mr. F. E. Buch.

ROAN ANTELOPE COPPER MINES, LTD.: Resignation, Mr. J. Thomson. Appointment: Mr. F. E. Buch.

CHIBULUMA MINES, LTD.: Resignations, Messrs. R. M. Peterson and L. Tucker. Appointments: Messrs. F. E. Buch and N. K. Kinkead-Weekes.

NDOLA COPPER REFINERIES, LTD.: Resignation, Mr. N. M. Kenny. Appointments: Messrs. F. E. Buch and J. L. Reid.

Mr. Buch has also joined the boards of the prospecting and service companies and those owning undeveloped ore-bodies.

Mineral Exports

MINERAL EXPORTS FROM TANGANYIKA in the first quarter of this year were 136% higher than in the corresponding period of 1959—£1,911,652 against £809,634. Diamonds of an estimated value of £4,312,803 were exported (£460,825 last year); gold bullion shipments reached £205,787; exports of lead concentrates rose to £337,500 (£134,699); tin concentrates were up from £7,966 to £16,658; and mica exports rose from £8,633 to £13,309.

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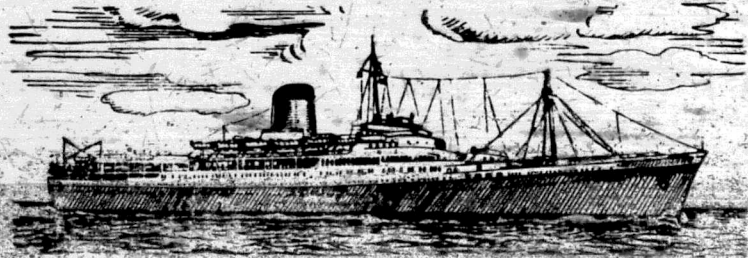
The association, through itself and its subsidiaries, provides orderly marketing and storage facilities for its constituents in Tanganyika, whose present production exceeds 100,000 tons p.a. Sisal production is taken over as produced and payment is made, as to 60% in the month following production and 40% in the month thereafter.

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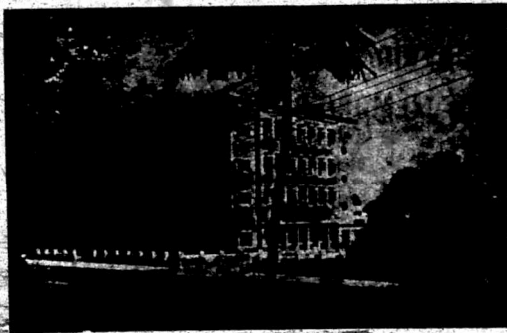
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