

# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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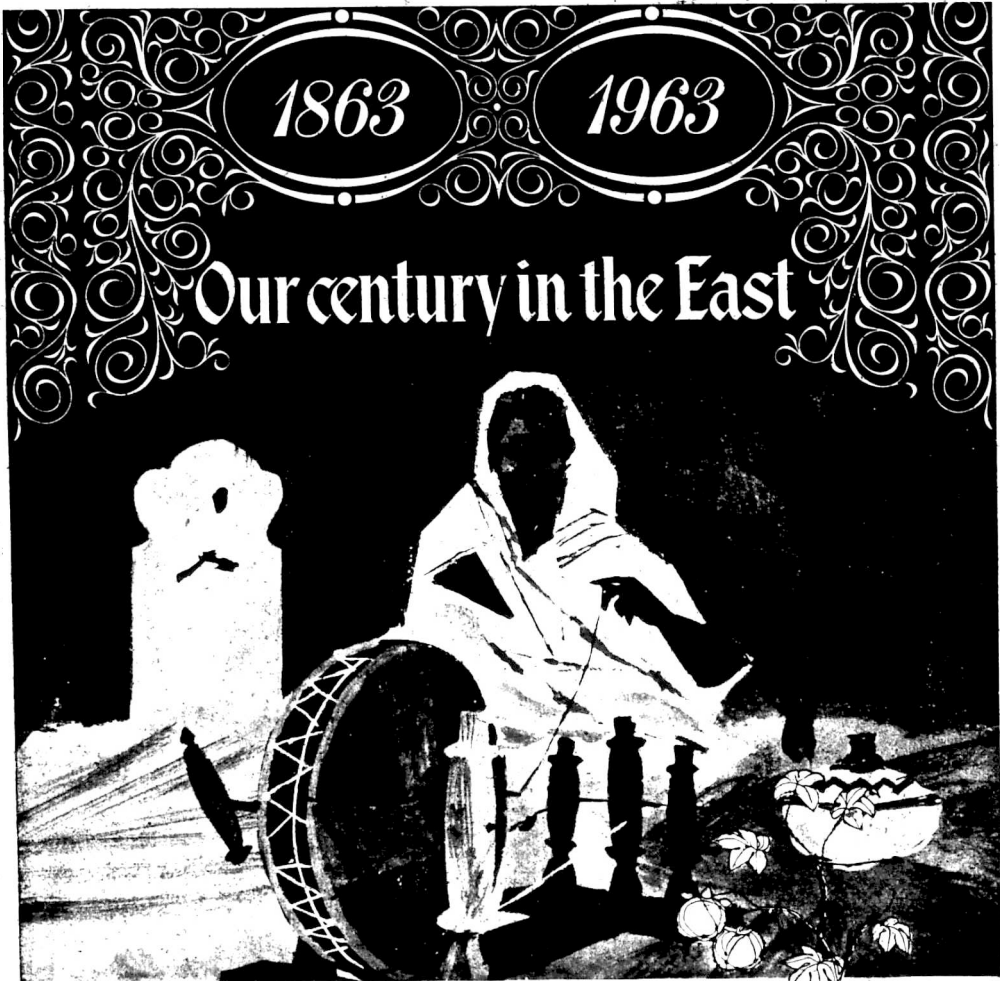
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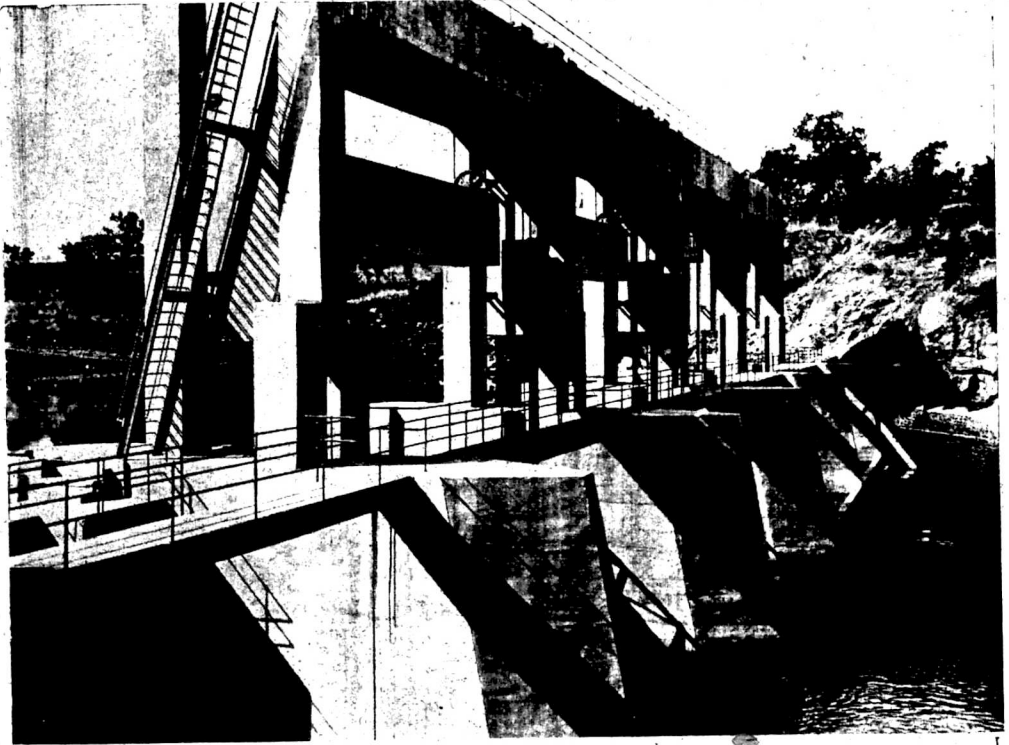
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1963

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**MISTRUST OF POLITICIANS** in Britain and Kenya was implicit in almost every statement made to journalists last week by the Kenya European Delegation now in London. They criticized the Macmillan Government sharply for its procrastination and febleness over almost four years, its refusal to act on advice given long ago for the protection of British nationals, its present disregard of elementary obligations to British subjects in a British Colony, its indifference to the consequential plight of a British community with a splendid record of loyalty to the Crown, and its despicable record of breach of pledges given by Secretaries of State and other senior Ministers. Not one of these charges was new, but they needed to be registered once more, for there is almost unanimous readiness in the Press and Parliament to dismiss these issues, though basically issues of probity, as little local difficulties requiring no more debate, and unfortunately kept alive by a few pernickety pedants who are so out of tune with the political immorality of the day as to protest that honour should still rank first in public affairs.

### Honour in Public Affairs.

Britain's dilemma in Africa is the product of the deliberate abandonment of honour as the touchstone of policy. Macmillanism, MacBlundellism, and now MacButlerism all result from compromises which everyone knew to be in conflict with honour. When revealing in his wind-of-change speech the intention to jettison the African policy followed by two Secretaries of State, Mr. Lennox-Boyd and Mr. Lyttelton, under his own leadership, the Prime Minister deemed it prudent to declare that merit would be the criterion for African political advancement. That promise, however, was cynically and immediately broken with his blessing at the

Kenya constitutional conference of early 1960. That was dishonourable—and, of course, disastrous—but this was the only publication anywhere which immediately emphasized the dishonour, analyzed the folly, and accurately predicted the inevitable and calamitous consequences; and, unhappily, it has frequently been the only publication anywhere to report those developments fully as they occurred, relate them to the prime cause of unscrupulousness (to use Lord Salisbury's damning one-word definition), and stress the contemptible complicity of the Conservative Parliamentary Party. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has evidently not sought popularity among the general run of Parliamentarians in the United Kingdom or in Africa, but among its staunch supporters are some of the men in public life here and there whom it respects, not least because they have had the principle and the courage to be among the small minority who refuse to drift on the tide of appeasement.

Faith in Kenya is much more likely to be further shaken by the statements in other columns of Wing Commander G. A. W. Saunders and Mr. L. R. M. Welwood and his colleagues than to be strengthened by the generalizations of Mr. Mboya which are also reported in this issue. Indeed, if the chairman of the Association of European Agricultural Settlement Board Farmers in Kenya could have spoken from the same platform as the Minister, the effect upon the audience would have been striking—and salutary. He has flown from Kenya with a petition to the Queen and in the hope of putting the truth before those who are attending this week's Conservative conference in Blackpool. The organizers of that jamboree are of course concerned to suggest that the party is a happy band of brothers, well and wisely led

\* \* \*

### Fact and Fiction From Kenya.

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by men of high principle. Nowhere has the Tory Party's abandonment of principle been more clearly and tragically demonstrated than in East and Central Africa. Lands of high promise have been set on the road to ruin; millions of ordinary, decent Africans have been permanently deprived of much that British administration and enterprise promised; and many thousands of Britons have had their life-work destroyed by the in-

describable follies of invincibly self-confident politicians in London who, though abysmally ignorant about Africa, refused to listen to dependable advice. Incipient democracy, which they purported to favour, has thus been transformed into enduring dictatorships, which, as Sir Roy Welensky has said, can be ended only by assassination. In Kenya the Land Freedom Army is openly planning that fate for Kenyatta.

## Notes By The Way

### Confidence Trick

SO-CALLED INDEPENDENCE in Africa has been gained by "one of the greatest confidence tricks in history". Sir Roy Welensky told an audience of journalists in New York last week. Britain, he emphasized, had not been driven out of Africa, but had abandoned Africa; and he contrasted the steadfastness of Russia in pursuit of her aims with the weakness of a Government in the United Kingdom which had foolishly destroyed its own experiment in non-racialism in the Federation, not because it had failed, but because it was anathema to pan-African extremists, some of whom had obtained political power by intimidation, the knife at night, and the petrol bomb. The purpose of the address was, of course, not to explain recent history to an influential American audience, but to alert opinion in the United States to the truth—of which that country, like Britain, is still almost entirely ignorant—that the ineffable miscalculations of Western politicians have brought the world to the point at which a war of colour is threatened, and the United States close to the point at which it will have to decide whether to support the bellicose misleaders of Africa's black millions in their dangerously active antagonism to Southern Africa.

### Challenge to America

THOSE IN AFRICA who have whipped up the frenzy which finances the training and arming of thousands of "freedom fighters" have felt so far that they have the covert encouragement of powerful circles in the United States—whose leaders have been incredibly slow to understand that the spokesmen for their own Negro millions were thereby incited to activities of which all the world now knows. Most serious racial trouble within her own frontiers may belatedly cause the Kennedy Administration to think again and decide upon a more prudent course. That the U.S.A. has contributed greatly to the African follies of the past few years is unquestionable. Sir Roy's remarks could not have been more tactful. Whether they will receive the attention they deserve in the highest quarters remains to be seen.

### Lack of Confidence in Kenya

MR. MBOYA'S ADDRESS last week to the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies was supposed to be about "The Future of Kenya", but he had scarcely anything to say on the subject he had chosen, contenting himself with a platitudinous, in parts unconvincing, but fluently delivered survey of the current situation. He emphasized that commercial confidence had been restored and that only a minority of the remaining European farmers lacked faith in the outlook. If that were so, why should the four representatives of the white farming community now in London—Mr. Welwood, Lord Delamere, the Earl of Enniskillen, and Mr.

Clive Salter—have asked H.M. Government only the previous day to finance the purchase by the Kenya Government of another million acres of land owned and operated by Europeans as small mixed farms? Acceptance of the proposal—at a cost of about ten million pounds—would leave only a few hundred European mixed farmers in the Colony, compared with about 3,500 such families when Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod, and Mr. (now Sir Michael) Blundell set about surrendering them to the Kenyatta-Odinga-Mboya *galère*. Is not the submission of such a scheme unequivocal proof of the Europeans' lack of faith in the future? It flatly contradicts the assertions of the Minister for Constitutional Affairs and Justice. About one thousand European farming families have already left Kenya because their confidence had been destroyed. The purpose of this new plan is to enable most of the remaining small mixed farmers to escape from their predicament.

### Attitude to the Press

I ASKED Mr. Mboya to state his own version of the burning of copies of two English-language newspapers during one of his recent visits to Mombasa, and to say whether he and the Government of which he is a member welcomed responsible Press criticism. He completely dodged the first part of the question, replying merely that the Government had neither banned nor burnt any newspaper. That had not been suggested. The obvious evasion was presumably due to intuitive recognition that he could not give an explanation which would satisfy his audience. Had he not been a visitor from overseas, he would certainly have been asked again to answer the question. What was more surprising than the tolerance which spared him that embarrassment was the fact that a few people in a singularly uncritical audience applauded his reply, presumably because they wrongly assumed that there had been no public burning of publications, and that the point put to Mr. Mboya had been misconceived. It is therefore perhaps necessary to repeat that that significant incident did occur, if not in the presence of the Minister, then immediately after his address to a large rally, and apparently without any remonstrance from him then or later. If the foregoing sentence is not strictly accurate, as I believe it to be, he has only himself to blame. It was to give him the opportunity of describing what has not yet been satisfactorily explained that the question was put. The deduction from his silence must be that nothing can be said which would be creditable from the pan-African standpoint.

### Responsible Criticism

MR. MBOYA was a little less evasive about responsible Press criticism, but his reply, as reported on another page, is not likely to commend itself to anyone who prizes freedom of thought and expression. The trick of pretending that it is difficult to distinguish between

responsible and irresponsible publications will have deceived nobody, as an astute and practised controversialist must recognize. He is well aware that responsible journals do not criticize merely for the sake of criticizing, and that honest journalists who consider it their duty to comment adversely on the actions or inaction of a Government or a Minister are equally ready to praise the Administration or the man if they can do so in good conscience. On at least one occasion EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has criticized in one leading article a person then prominent in East African public life who in a second editorial in the same issue was commended for his attitude in an entirely different matter.

### Change of Front

WHAT IS UNDENIABLE is that any strictures made by this journal on African politicians have been no more

severe than those passed on their opposite numbers in the United Kingdom. Indeed, the reverse is true—that it has more often and more sharply denounced the Prime Minister of Great Britain than any Prime Minister in Africa. That is as it should be. Of course, very few politicians anywhere really welcome anything but complimentary comment upon themselves and the policies with which they are identified. The tribute to local newspapers in Kenya was no more than a recognition of their recent general and very marked anxiety to win favour with the K.A.N.U. politicians. That change of front has been a major factor in increasing the sense of frustration among the Europeans, and no doubt an important influence in developing the perhaps dangerously exaggerated self-confidence of the Kenyatta party.

## Exodus of White Farmers If Government Does Not Act Now

### Demand for Another Large Land-Purchase Scheme and Guarantees About Citizenship

DEEP DISSATISFACTION with the United Kingdom Government on two particular issues, those of land and citizenship, was expressed last week by the Kenya European delegation now in London, consisting of Mr. L. R. M. Welwood, the Earl of Enniskillen, and Mr. Clive Salter, Q.C., with Lord Delamere, president of the Kenya National Farmers' Union, as adviser on agricultural questions.

Addressing a news conference, Mr. Welwood said that the present scheme for the purchase of one million acres of European mixed farming land in the Highlands for the settlement of Africans was proceeding at a rate of about 350,000 acres a year. Broadly speaking, the minority of European farmers who happened to be within the areas so blocked out for occupation by Africans—about 1,000 out of a total of 3,500—were getting reasonably fair prices.

#### Arbitrary Choice

Outside the areas thus arbitrarily chosen for African benefit there was now no true value for land. Such buyers as there were could dictate the price, and a good deal of land had been sold for less than half its old value. Owners outside the million-acre area were naturally bitter that, for clearly political reasons, they should either not be able to sell at all or only at giveaway prices.

Moreover, when Africans in proximity to Kikuyu-land were being given ready access to land it was clearly unfair to Africans elsewhere in Kenya that they should be denied comparable access. High feelings on the matter might lead to tribal trouble.

Just as Africans insisted on quick Africanization of the civil service so they would not be content to leave agriculture indefinitely to Europeans. That was understood by most Kenya Europeans, for whom therefore there could be no certainty about the future. In such circumstances they naturally had suspended development planning, and that was bad from the point of view of the land.

Mr. Maudling, during his visit to Kenya last year, had promised that H.M. Government would consider a further land purchase scheme when the present million-acre plan had been completed. If further economic deterioration of agriculture was to be avoided, and if African demands for land were to be met, it was urgently necessary to acquire more European farming land.

Mr. Welwood continued: "Despite the very helpful speeches made by Mr. Kenyatta and other African Ministers, the position of the smaller European farmer whose farm is not earmarked for settlement is extremely difficult. A considerable number wish to leave the country, but are unable to sell their land. This is disastrous for them, and most undesirable

for Kenya itself, as unwilling farmers are unlikely to be good ones. We shall therefore press the Secretary of State to agree to a further settlement scheme to run parallel with the present one, but on a rather different basis in the light of experience gained.

"Stock theft in some places is making farming almost impossible. There have also been a number of attacks on Europeans, although the Kenya Government is doing its best to suppress lawlessness. For the smaller European farmer, and these are the great majority, the education of their children is becoming beyond their financial means.

"For all these reasons we consider that H.M. Government has a duty to provide the money to enable the Kenya Government to buy further European farms to settle their African farmers on a willing-buyer-willing-seller basis".

#### Dual Citizenship

If the proposal were adopted there would remain only a few hundred European mixed farmers in Kenya. The plan did not deal with the large ranches and plantations, for they were not under similar pressure because Africans did not want that land and could not deal with it at present.

Turning to citizenship, the leader of the delegation said:—

"The Europeans in Kenya have always pressed for the recognition of dual citizenship after independence. The Kenya Government refused to accept this. Naturally the British looked to the British Government to support their case for this principle. In this they have looked in vain.

"The result is that those who acquire Kenya citizenship may well find themselves stateless for a period of up to five years if they subsequently lose it or have for compelling reasons to renounce it. This would especially be so if Kenya were to leave the Commonwealth.

"This question requires immediate solution. It is not a matter for discussion with the African political parties, but lies fairly and squarely to be dealt with by the British Government—and before independence is granted in December.

#### As of Right

"Contrary to statements in some newspapers, the European delegation do not and will not accept this attitude on the part of the British Government. They are actively pursuing this with the Secretary of State and his advisers from the Home Office. They will continue to do so until they receive satisfactory assurance that appropriate measures will be taken to enable British people in Kenya to secure their citizenship of the United Kingdom immediately—and as of right—irrespective of residence, whenever it is necessary for them to ask for it".

The new African Government in Kenya was adamant against dual citizenship, and H.M. Government's attitude was that in such circumstances they could do nothing. On the contrary, it was for them alone to say that a Briton relinquishing the Kenya citizenship which he might have accepted for compelling reasons was entitled to resume his British citizenship immediately, and as a matter of right, not of grace, if he returned to reside in the United Kingdom.

H.M. Government had been urged long ago to make dual citizenship one of the conditions for independence. They had failed to act at the right time, and the present completely

unsatisfactory situation had consequently arisen. It was intolerable in the circumstances that any Briton who might return from Kenya to his native land should face the prospect of being a stateless person for years.

The British Government had been more anxious to rid itself of responsibility in Kenya than to consider its own nationals. Under existing legislation the Home Secretary had discretion to permit resumption of citizenship, but that was not enough; there should be legislation to give the undoubted right of resumption of U.K. citizenship.

Asked how many people might be affected, Mr. Welwood replied that it was impossible to hazard a guess. At the time of the 1960 Lancaster House Conference there had been more than 60,000 Europeans in Kenya. Probably there were now not more than 50,000. Of some 3,500 European families farming the land about one-third had left.

It was not only the ex-soldier settlers after the last two wars who had been directly induced by H.M. Government to take up land in Kenya. Until 1960 the East African Office in London, under Colonial Office control, had been actively engaged in inducing people to settle in the Colony. It could consequently be said that a very high proportion indeed of the Europeans affected had gone to the Colony at the direct invitation of the British Government.

The Earl of Enniskillen interposed that as late as 1960 the Kenya Government, which was under the direct control of the Colonial Office, was actively engaged in persuading European farmers with 99-year leases to convert to a term of 999 years.

Mr. Welwood emphasized that, whatever the present attitude of African Ministers might be towards European mixed farming, after independence they would be under enormous pressures from their own people who wanted land.

British newspapers frequently stated that H.M. Government had already spent £27½m. in buying out European farmers. Only about £10½m. had been so spent, the balance of £17m. being solely for the assistance of the Africans placed on the land.

Lord Delamere expressed confidence that money provided, preferably through the Land Bank of Kenya, for a second million-acre scheme, would be repaid in time by the Africans who were put on the land.

In reply to another question Mr. Welwood said that if the British Government rejected the representations about citizenship and declined to provide funds for the purchase of much greater areas of mixed farming land, there would unquestionably be a rapid exodus of white farmers. That exodus could be prevented only by the right decisions being taken now.

He ended by reciting the statement of Mr. Lennox-Boyd (now Lord Boyd of Merion) while Secretary of State that the British Government would not be likely to encourage people to settle in Kenya and then abandon them to their fate.

## Nearly All Kenya Farmers Would Quit If They Could

Wing-Commander G. A. W. Saunders on Bad Security Situation in the Colony

**WING-COMMANDER G. A. W. SAUNDERS**, chairman of the Association of European Agricultural Settlement Board Farmers in Kenya, arrived in London at the week-end in connexion with the presentation of their petition to the Queen and to explain to the Press and Members of Parliament the plight of some 200 ex-Service settlers who insist that they have a special case for compensation by H.M. Government.

He told EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA that the security situation in Kenya was now so bad that many European farmers who as recently as two or three months ago intended to remain in the Colony would not now contemplate that course if they could sell their property at almost any price. Indeed, he doubted whether more than 10% of them would remain if fair compensation were offered. A high proportion of those still in the country had no choice in the matter, for their capital was sunk in land which had become unsaleable.

### New Secret Society

Wing-Commander Saunders dismissed as nonsensical the almost daily claims of Kenya African National Union Ministers and other spokesmen that sentiment among the European farmers had changed in their favour in the past four months as a result of the visits paid to the farming areas by Ministers and of a number of speeches in which the Prime Minister had assured European settlers of fair treatment.

The truth, he insisted, was that in the four months since the formation of the Kenyatta Government faith in the future had diminished enormously, largely because of the activities of the Land Freedom Army, and, quite recently, the formation and rapid development of another Kikuyu subversive organization.

Turning to the security situation, he said that in the first six months of this year there had been 246 attacks by Africans on African policemen in Kenya—that figure having been given by the police prosecutor only a few days ago in a case in Nairobi in which 26 men were sentenced for riot and assault.

In the 10 days before his departure from Kenya there had been five separate attacks on Europeans in farming districts, and in August alone, according to a statement by Mr. J. B. Pollard, vice-president of the Kenya

National Farmers' Union, livestock stolen from Europeans had been worth at least £16,000. In such a state of affairs how could the settler community be satisfied?

Even more worrying was the great activity among members of the Land Freedom Army, many of them former members of Mau Mau gangs. There was clear evidence that L.F.A. men had infiltrated to a dangerous degree into the Kenya African National Union, with which there was sometimes openly advertized rivalry. In Londiani, for instance, there were two K.A.N.U. offices, one run by the L.F.A. At Elburgon the Land Freedom Army was in almost complete control. Thomson's Falls was another bad area, and its activities were spreading fast in the Njoro and Molo districts.

There had been oath-taking everywhere, much of it now being directed against Kenyatta, the K.A.N.U. president, by ex-Mau Mau who resented his assurances to Europeans and were determined to hold the K.A.N.U. Government to fulfilment of the promises held out to the Mau Mau gangs that they would be given the white man's lands as soon as Kenya became independent.

Though the promises had been made mainly to the Kikuyu, other and more martial tribes did not intend to be deprived of their share of the loot. In some places encroachment on European land had already begun, and it would certainly increase at the time of independence.

Claims by the K.A.N.U. politicians that the L.F.A. did not constitute a serious danger had been widely reported in the local Press, but scarcely any emphasis had been placed on the statement made just a year ago by the then district commissioner in Nakuru, Mr. John Cumber, that something like 99% of the Kikuyu were members of K.A.N.U. and that perhaps 98% supported the Land Freedom Army.

### Threat to Sew Up Mouths and Eyelids

Was it surprising that the K.A.N.U. Government was hoping that a play in memory of Dedan Kimathi, one of the so-called Mau Mau "generals", would be performed in Nairobi in connexion with the independence celebrations?

Another subversive society had quite recently been discovered among the Kikuyu. Translated into English, its name meant Weeping Kamau, the implication being that Kamau, a common name in the tribe, wept because he was still deprived of the land promised to him.

This secret society appeared to be especially feared because those whom it oathed were told that betrayal would be punished by the sewing up of their mouths and eyelids. Weeping Kamau oath-taking, which had apparently started near Njoro, was now developing in the Londiani and Thomson's Falls localities.



# Federal Experiment in Non-Racialism Did Not Fail

Britain Abandoned Africa, Sir Roy Welensky Tells Americans\*

TRUTH is often neither easy to understand nor comfortable. I shall tell you something of the truth I have learnt from experience, the most exacting teacher of all. If I dispense with some of the niceties of diplomacy, I do so only to serve the interests of truth. The experience we have had in Central Africa could possibly be helpful in the difficult times which lie ahead for us all.

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is made up of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland. I have been Federal Prime Minister since 1956. Before the Federation was brought into being 10 years ago Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were under the direct control of the British Government through its Colonial Office while Southern Rhodesia was a self-governing Colony, not fully independent in such matters as external affairs, but not in any way subservient to Britain in internal matters. In fact, it had had responsible government since 1924.

The population of the area is some 10 millions, of whom 325,000 are whites. The blacks are divided into over 100 tribes. The whites, many of whom are in the third and fourth generation, are principally of British and South African stock, though there are strong Italian, Portuguese, and Dutch communities and a sprinkling of other nationalities.

## White Africans

The economy is based mainly on mining and agricultural products. Northern Rhodesia possesses about a quarter of the known world reserves of copper, and Southern Rhodesia is the world's second-largest exporter of flue-cured tobacco. Nyasaland is an agricultural and poor country, with the majority of its population on a subsistence method of living, the average income per head being as little as 48 dollars.

The Federation was founded in 1953 to bring the complementary economies of the territories together into the prosperous whole which it proved in the event to be, and in an endeavour to bring about a non-racial society by means of a policy of partnership between the various peoples of the country and a franchise requiring qualifications to gain the vote but open to all races.

The Federation was in effect brought to an end last March, when the British Government gave the right of secession to Northern Rhodesia, having earlier accorded it to Nyasaland. Those territories elected to secede and are on their way to independence under black nationalist Governments.

## Good in Colonialism

I am a white African. I have struggled for the whole of my political life against colonialism. I share the belief that as soon as people and young countries are able to stand on their own feet to conduct their affairs and govern themselves they should be allowed to do so.

But I am anti-colonialist with a difference: I want to see colonialism go but in an orderly way and only when it gives place to something better. Being a white African, and knowing no other home but Africa, what happens when it doesn't go in this way is perforce of considerable personal concern to me.

Only the ignorant or the casuist will deny that there has been good in colonialism as well as bad. It has given a start to people and nations, and it has taken many of them all the way to where they are today.

\* In an address last week to the Overseas Press Club of New York.

Some find it embarrassing to admit this; it is certainly not the fashion to do so. It is also a fact that over the years many thousands of administrators in the field have given devotion, and some of their lives, to bringing health, education, skill, justice and peace to primitive societies. Their work is not everywhere complete, but they have hastened the process of civilization by centuries, and with few exceptions the people of the Colonies and former Colonies have taken from the mother countries as well as given to them. It has not been a one-sided matter.

## Fought against Colonialism

Nevertheless, for 25 years I have fought against colonialism, believing that fundamentally it has served the Metropolitan Power better than it has the Colony. In terms of investment or lack of it, in terms of industrial development, the case against colonialism is clear; the men who have ruled the lives of millions have been transients, and we have had to stay to take the consequences, as we have to do for any ineptitude or at times dishonour on their part or on the part of their masters in the metropolitan countries. Nor does remote control lend itself to seeing problems as the Colonies see them. It can be slow and sometimes inefficient.

I can recall thinking after my first visit to the Colonial Office in London how much more clearly I then understood the issues of 1776! So I have fought against Colonial control; but I have learnt that if colonialism goes the people may be no better off than before—and it is the people who should count, not the politicians or ruling clique.

There has been exploitation in Colonial history. For example metropolitan industries and economies have gained considerable benefits at the expense of Colonial development. Yet though masters may have changed, has the independence of recent years freed the new States from this sort of exploitation? I doubt it.

## Pride, Pomp and Exploitation

The laws of economics remain as realistic as before. Independence has brought no magic passport to investment. The price for labour is still low and until, as I have strongly urged over a long period, the West fixes fair and stable prices for primary products, these new countries will stay at the mercy of the industrial economies abroad.

Now there is a new form of exploitation—the price that pride and pomp must pay to those who provide the fleets, aircraft and armies. The passing of colonialism does not do much in real terms to free the people from exploitation. Unfortunately, its passing has had other results. In medicine, education, law and administration there has already been a lowering of standards, sometimes excused in the name of local custom, yet nonetheless falling hard upon the people.

As to law and order, on which so much else depends, some of the new leaders have come to power on the weapon of intimidation—the knife by night and the gasoline bomb—or have condoned their use. Now they have to eradicate this poison before they can even start to build up a body of law. What shape it will finally take we don't yet know, but there are indications that it will not be as you know it or like it.

In recent months the new courts and new judges of Nyasaland have sentenced men and women to prison merely for criticizing the head of State—and in two cases for refusing to buy the card of the ruling party! This happens when the passing of colonialism is not orderly.

The extreme example is the Congo, which the Belgians left

too soon and which swiftly slipped back into the twilight that was Africa 70 years ago. Little now appears in the Press about most of this vast land, because stagnant countries are not news. Yet despite all that the United Nations have been able to do, despite millions of dollars of aid, most of the Congo is utterly stagnant. Its people have been forced back decades in their development. There is safety only in a few towns. If you travel by land you travel in guarded convoy. Health services are a pitiful fraction of what are needed.

Authority and order go little beyond the United Nations garrisons or the reach of the stronger tribal chiefs. If the U.N. troops were withdrawn it is certain that violence and bloodshed would break out again, not only in Katanga but quite possibly throughout the whole country. It would be a foolish man who ignored the possibility that something similar might happen elsewhere. The economic soundness of a number of the new countries is in doubt. Economic failure could be serious amongst people promised much with independence. Tribal jealousies and differences always smoulder in Africa and can easily flame. There is real and added danger since so many of the normal restraints of law and order are going. Finally in some cases independence has been gained by deliberately fostering the practice of violence amongst the people and the habit of violence is exceedingly hard to eradicate.

### Britain's Weak Surrender

Then there is the matter of allegiance to the West in the great struggle against Communism. The record on this is an almost frightening one of fumbling appeasement, bribery, withdrawal, and failure year after year. At the end of the last war the West controlled every major position in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. True, they controlled many of them through Colonial administrations, but they controlled them. If it was important then to have the allegiance of these areas, it is vital now. But the "liberation" of country after country from Colonial dependence, the most ardent wooing of their new leaders, and millions of pounds and dollars in aid have done little to secure it.

Britain has of course not been driven out of Africa. She has abandoned it. Instead of holding firm against pressures to speed on independence and grant it before its time, she has been weak and given in. By sharp contrast the Russians have been steadfast. The plain fact is that today many of these new States in Africa may claim non-alignment but are anti-West and few do not boast leaders or prominent politicians trained in Moscow or Peking.

Britain has been by no means by herself in this withdrawal; nor has it been in Africa alone. The strategic loss in the Far East has been serious indeed, and the cost tremendous. Nor have the losses been confined to former Colonies, as Cuba shows.

But the African story sums it all up in terms which are all too clear though thoroughly disconcerting to the West and of the utmost comfort to the Communists. First, Suez, the crucial gateway between West and East, described as vital to the Western cause, was abandoned. Then Cyprus in the Mediterranean became the key to Middle East defence. Then Kenya. But Kenya has gone—and with all Southern Africa under attack, where can the West be sure of the base it vitally needs?

Because the struggle against Communism is over-ridingly important, certain situations have had to be accepted; but, looking at the results, it is perhaps not too much to suggest that the expediency of recent years and the tolerance of double standards have been misplaced.

### Violent, Racialist Nationalism

Much of this has happened because Colonial control has gone too soon and not in an orderly way. The passing of colonialism, one new force of the post-war world, meets up with a second, the power of racial nationalism, which pan-Africanism epitomizes in purpose and in method.

I believe in a healthy nationalism, in the drive and pride it can bring, especially to young nations, and in its purposes of liberty and self-determination. It has made America great, and has done the same for other nations. I believe profoundly in the duty which every Government, and indeed every individual, has to do what is possible to remove handicaps and discriminations suffered because of race.

But I condemn as utterly evil nationalism, or any other movement when it is extreme, which is prepared to resort to violence and above all is racialist in texture; and I say that a group within the movement of pan-Africanism, supported from without, have given that movement all three of these unsavoury labels.

Millions of Africans, given the chance would choose moderation against extremism, and would, if they could, reject what has now been done in their name by a few who have, I believe, pulled one of the greatest confidence tricks in history on the West.

The 1939-45 war was a war against dictatorship. The Allies condemned Hitler's Reich as profoundly evil and bringing

only intolerable misery to many millions of its subjects. They condemned dictatorship in principle and in practice. They fought it and beat it. They fought for freedom and the preservation of democracy; and the two were synonymous, as the Western world still says they are.

What now? How does the West excuse the dictators of today in the new countries of Africa? What has changed in 20 years? There can be no denying that what is called liberation has brought dictatorship to Africa, a rash of dictators in one-party States, dictators who with skilled help have been so successful in their propaganda that not only is their existence condoned but many even believe the one-party system to be some new form of democracy trimmed to African needs and admirably suited to its people.

### No Democratic Understanding

It is neither new nor democratic; nor in terms of civilized standards does it suit the African any more than it would suit the people of the United States, of Germany, France, or Britain. A dictatorship is a dictatorship whatever the colour of the dictator.

Of course, the African is unaccustomed to democracy. In my country less than 70 years ago—the lifetime of a man—Lobengula of the Matebele ruled by distinctly autocratic methods. He brooked no opposition; he merely put his opponents, political or otherwise, to death by cudgelling. The Africans' own culture, which is deeply ingrained and centuries old, reflects scarcely a trace of democratic understanding.

The Opposition and Government-in-waiting have no place in the African's history or legend, and are dismissed today as unnecessary innovations. So is the poll, except to get him to power and for the purpose of window-dressing. The next step is to eliminate the Opposition; and the next to see that it stays eliminated. Thereafter, if you don't conform, you suffer. You have no choice and no redress.

It is argued that if that's the way the African wants it, then let him have it that way—that freedom of choice is everything. But it is open to question whether it is the politicians or the people who are doing the choosing; and the results are disturbing to those who dislike Fascism in principle or practice, to those who know the methods of the new dictators once in power and think in terms of humanity, and to those who would like to see Africa go forward, not back.

I for one cannot accept that thinking people really believe that a man with a black skin is so different from a white man that he can be condemned to this. Yet it is what is happening; and voiceless millions are paying the price or going to pay it in the years to come.

It is understandable that some of the new leaders in African politics have taken advantage of the innocence of their following, understandable too that they have paid what lip-service to democracy has been necessary to gain their ends; but the West's callous indifference to the fate of the ordinary man and woman in letting these leaders continue on the road they are treading is unforgivable. It can only be expediency and spinelessness, for I cannot believe that sophisticated men can be so blind to what has really happened.

### Curtain of Colour Across World's Future

This cannot be forgiven; but no one could foresee the cold-blooded and deliberate injection there has been of the factor of race at every opportunity into the consideration of every possible problem, with grave enough consequences already but graver still to come.

The problems of race are not confined to Africa, to this country, Great Britain, or anywhere else. Nor are they uniform. Some stem from historical antagonism, others and perhaps most from the massive poverty of so much of the world. When this world, sick from war in 1945, turned to the banding together of free peoples as its greatest hope and the United Nations was born, there was also a new awareness that so many live in poverty. So to the political functions of the United Nations were added the great humanitarian organizations which have worked so well over the years. If the two had gone hand in hand the world would be a very different and better place today.

First there came a switch of emphasis to politics, and then to race; and this great body, set up for the good of man and to bring the races together, is today the instrument of those who are drawing a curtain of colour across the future of the world. What do they care for democracy, these people who by setting race against race are draining the very blood of democracy from the body in which freedom was to be enshrined?

The West has seen fit to tolerate the double standard in its dealings with these new States. One-party States are good enough for Africa; dictators suit the continent. It does not seem to matter that "democracy" brings the vote but not the choice. The West is remote from the results.

(Concluded on page 134)

## Kenya Talks "Plodding Along"

K.A.D.U. Await U.K. "Betrayal"

SEPARATE DISCUSSIONS with the K.A.N.U. (Government) and K.A.D.U. (Opposition) delegations have been held daily for the past 10 days, including sessions on Sunday, by Mr. Duncan Sandys, the Colonial Secretary, Lord Lansdowne, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Governor of Kenya.

Mr. R. C. Catling, Inspector-General of the Kenya Police, was summoned from Nairobi at the week-end for consultation.

On Monday evening Mr. Macmillan, the U.K. Prime Minister, called Mr. Sandys to Downing Street for a meeting which was also attended by Mr. R. A. Butler, First Secretary and Minister for Central African Affairs, Lord Home, Foreign Secretary, and Lord Dilhorne, Lord Chancellor.

### "Expect the Worst"

After studying K.A.N.U. proposals in regard to the present Constitution, K.A.D.U. stated last week that they did not meet their complaints, and Mr. M. J. Seroney cabled Mr. Daniel arap Moi, the party chairman in Kenya, warning him to "expect the worst" from the talks, in that there might be a "possible betrayal by H.M. Government", and asking him to "alert" the Kalenjin, the Rift Valley Region (Mr. Moi is president of the Assembly) and the party machine in general.

Mr. Ronald Ngala, Leader of the Opposition, is demanding that the Constitution should be brought into effect by November 1 — if necessary by Britain, if the Kenya Government refuses. "If K.A.N.U. does not want to follow the Constitution, we might as well go home", he said at one stage last week. "Let us give the Constitution a trial".

The deadlock notwithstanding, Kenya's Prime Minister has claimed that "things are going very well; we have got nearly everything we want".

His party headquarters in Nairobi issued a statement on Monday urging the delegation merely to confirm December 12 as the independence date and to return home, "so that a new Constitution can be prepared to be approved next January by referendum". That should be done unilaterally if the U.K. did not "yield".

Attacking Mr. Seroney's slogan, the statement postulates: "It must be clearly understood that the army and police are loyal to the Government of this country. If these misguided gentlemen are trying to interfere with members of their tribes who are serving in the armed forces, the normal processes of law should be applied so that they can be silenced."

"There can be no question of partitioning Kenya, because K.A.D.U. does not have the means, let alone the courage, to do so. K.A.D.U. is a spent force. The African people are fed up with their tricks and strange manoeuvres to try to revive K.A.D.U."

### Security Alert

[In August Mr. Catling stated that many local and expatriate police officers were worried that after independence "party politics may impinge on their work and calculations of party advantage may dictate who should be prosecuted".

Stock thefts, totalling 8.3% of all crime so far this year, were a "nightmare" to the force and had rendered farmers' lives a "misery".

Conservative Party "backstage manoeuvres" and K.A.D.U. "obstinacy" were also blamed for the delay in reaching agreement.

Police and general service units have been alerted in the Rift Valley area — where K.A.N.U. candidates have just won 17 of the 18 municipal election seats in Nakuru.

Mr. Moi has sent a telegram telling the K.A.D.U. team that there must be "no concessions".

Mr. Sandys's only comment to date, on Monday, was: "We are plodding along".

Uganda troops are patrolling the border after reports of a revolt in Southern Sudan.

## Letter to the Editor

### Mboya's Speech Condemned Whitewash for Kenyatta Government

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR, — The speech delivered by Mr. Mboya at the Royal Commonwealth Society last Thursday was surely ominous. Those who responded with resounding applause are likely to feel otherwise before long.

Mr. Mboya white-washed the blue-print for the black mischief envisaged by his Government. It is apparent that upon independence the Kenya Government will expect endless and abounding generosity from the British tax-payer in the years to come, whilst they will follow not only a policy of neutralism and identification with the Afro-Asian bloc at the United Nations, but are apparently committed to financing and supporting a revolution in South Africa, attacking the Portuguese territories in Africa, and conducting guerrilla warfare against Southern Rhodesia, the only remaining loyal and stable part of the Commonwealth in all Africa.

Messrs. Kenyatta and Mboya claim that they are being loyal in remaining within the Commonwealth upon Kenya's independence; but is it not in fact to blackmail the Commonwealth into supporting projected pan-African aggression and to pursue a policy contrary to British strategic and economic interests?

This defiant attitude by the new rulers of Kenya will certainly do little to restore external confidence in that country. There is prevailing disbelief in politicians of every colour through their disregard of pledges over Africa, as Mr. Welwood has wisely reminded us.

Yours faithfully,

London, S.W.3.

HAROLD SOREFF.

## Points from Letters

### Attacks on Settlers

"WEEK AFTER WEEK you have reported cases of attacks on European farmers in Kenya by gangs of Africans. You have, however, apparently not heard of a recent raid by an armed gang upon the home of Mr. Norman Whitewood, who lives six miles outside Kitale. In the middle of the night there was a knock on his door, and when he refused to open it a number of Africans smashed windows, entered the house, slashed him about the head and neck with bush-knives, left him unconscious, set fire to the thatched roof, and fled when the headlights of a car approached. Had it not come he would have been burnt alive. Such serious attacks are becoming increasingly frequent—but their effect in undermining confidence is entirely overlooked by the African Ministers who make so many ultra-optimistic speeches. Incidentally, there are far more cases of assault upon Europeans than are now reported in our local newspapers".

### Governor-General Africanized

"SIR WALTER COUTTS, Governor-General of Uganda, has neither 'resigned' nor 'retired'. Like many other British civil servants, he has been 'Africanized'".

# PERSONALIA

SIR ANDREW COHEN was 54 on Monday.

MR. JAMES LAUGHLAND has retired from the board of Nyali, Ltd.

SIR DENYS LOWSON has joined the board of Lena Investment Trust, Ltd.

MR. JOHN CONNELL has returned to London from a short visit to Southern Rhodesia.

SIR ROY WELENSKY saw MR. R. A. BUTLER, Minister for Central African Affairs, yesterday.

THE REV. R. W. and MRS. GIBBIN, of Lusaka Northern Rhodesia, are at present in London.

SIR DIARMAID and LADY CONROY are outward-bound for the Cape in the R.M.M.V. CAPETOWN CASTLE.

SHEIKH AMRI ABEDI, Minister for Justice in Tanganyika, is in New York to attend meetings of the United Nations.

MR. NIGEL FISHER, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, will be in Aden from October 11 to 18.

MR. MILTON S. HOLTAN, an American, is now adviser to the management staff of the Uganda Co-operative Central Union.

SAYED AHMED KHEIR, Foreign Minister of the Sudan, arrived in London this week from the U.N. for a five-day private visit.

MR. NICHOLAS CAMBITZIS has been appointed chairman of Southern Rhodesia's new Agricultural Production Committee.

MR. CHAD CHIPUNZA urged the Rhodesia National Party at its congress last week to aim towards the one-man-one-vote system.

SIR OSBORNE MANCE, who inquired into transport questions in East Africa many years ago, reached his 88th birthday last week.

MR. NATHANIEL ADEPEYIN MARTINS has presented his credentials as High Commissioner in Tanganyika for the Federation of Nigeria.

THE REV. D. J. M. EDWARDS has returned from Bulawayo to take up the appointment of Rector of Barborough, in the diocese of Derby.

AIR-VICE MARSHAL F. E. ROSIER, Air Officer Commanding the Middle East Air Forces, has paid a brief farewell visit to R.A.F. units in East Africa.

MR. W. J. McNEILL and MR. A. WATSON have joined the board of British Overseas Stores, Ltd., which has interests in Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa.

THE REV. RALPH HATENDI has arrived in England from Southern Rhodesia to take up an appointment as curate in a Lincolnshire parish. He intends to undertake extra-mural study for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity.

## ISLE OF MAN BANK LIMITED

### Returning to the United Kingdom?

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Founded in 1865, the Isle of Man Bank Ltd. was the first limited liability company to be registered in the Isle of Man.

PRINCE SADRUDDIN AGA KHAN, U.N. Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees, has opened an office for Africa south of the Sahara in Usumbura, Burundi.

DR. J. G. KIANO, Minister of Commerce and Industry in Kenya, addressed the East African Section of the London Chamber of Commerce yesterday afternoon.

MR. KENNETH KAUNDA, leader of U.N.I.P., left Lusaka last week to visit Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda. He expected to be away about a fortnight.

SIR FREDERICK ELLERTON, a director of United Dominions Trust, and a former vice-chairman of Barclays Bank, left £68,908, on which duty of £26,765 has been paid.

DR. RICHARD KATONGOLE, Permanent Secretary to the Uganda Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, has completed a 23-day visit to major German cities.

MR. E. C. RUGGLES-BRISE, a member of the London Committee of Barclays Bank D.C.O. for the past 22 years, is about to retire. MR. T. H. BEVAN will fill the vacancy.

SIR NICHOLAS CAYZER, chairman of the British and Commonwealth Shipping Group, gave his presidential address in London last week to the Institute of Marine Engineers.

MR. E. W. ORYEMA, Deputy Inspector-General of the Uganda Police, has returned to Kampala from Britain after attending a special four-week course on police work.

DR. W. B. BANAGE, lecturer in agricultural biology at Makerere College, will represent Uganda in December at a Commonwealth conference in Ceylon on science-school teaching.

MR. SARGENT SHRIVER, director of the American Peace Corps, has announced a large-scale "books for Africa" campaign. He has been visiting schools in the Somali Republic.

MR. AMOS SEMPA, Uganda's Finance Minister, was accompanied to Washington for the I.M.F. and World Bank meetings by MR. J. G. HUDDLE, Acting Secretary to the Treasury.

MR. R. C. HAY-COGLAN, chairman of the Allen, Wack and Shepherd group of companies, arrived in London at the beginning of this week on a business visit of about 10 days.

MR. ROBERT CARR, Secretary for Technical Co-operation, was host at a reception in Cambridge last week for overseas delegates attending the Conference on African Administration.

MR. DONALD C. BROOK, chairman of the British Central Africa Co., Ltd., and MR. GEOFFREY S. NAPIER-FORD, a director, have retired from the board. The new chairman is MR. A. H. BALL.

DR. IVAN KADAMA, Uganda's chief medical officer, was accompanied to Geneva for the W.H.O. African regional committee's annual session by DR. GEDION BOGERE, district M.O. in Toro.

MR. R. P. FAWCUS, Resident Commissioner in Bechuanaland, has been appointed Her Majesty's Commissioner. The new post, created by Order in Council, is equivalent in status to that of a Governor.

MR. JOSEPH MURUMBI, Acting Prime Minister of Kenya, opened last week's show in Mitchell Park, Nairobi, of the Royal Agricultural Society of Kenya. This year's president is MR. R. D. M. MASON.

MAJOR STANLEY CAYZER, a director of Cayzer, Irvine & Co., Ltd., Clan Line Steamers, Ltd., Caledonian Investments, Ltd., and other companies, and MRS. CAYZER will sail today for the Cape in the PENDENNIS CASTLE.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, left London on Sunday to represent the United Kingdom Government at this week's celebrations in Kampala to mark the first anniversary of the country's independence and the introduction of further constitutional changes.

MR. M. J. BABINGTON SMITH and members of the committee of the Ottoman Bank gave an informal buffet luncheon in London on Friday for the Kenya delegation attending the Independence Conference at Lancaster House.

MR. DONALD TELFORD, editor of the new *Times* of Nyasaland, condemned in his first editorial last week its predecessor the *Nyasaland Times* for having lost touch with the people. He pledged his paper to help shape Nyasaland's "dynamic future".

Rhodesians now in London include COLONEL NORMAN EARL-SPURR, CAPTAIN A. H. WOOLLS-KING, MR. J. A. BURTON, MR. & MRS. W. A. CORLYON, MR. W. M. HAMMOND, MR. K. MILWARD, MR. & MRS. F. J. MASON, MR. & MRS. A. W. POPE, MR. M. STUART-SHAW, MR. R. H. SUTTON, MR. & MRS. F. L. WALLICH, and MR. J. WALMISLEY.

SIR GLYN JONES, Governor of Nyasaland, flew back to Zomba at the week-end after a brief visit to London to attend the talks between MR. R. A. BUTLER, Minister for Central African Affairs, and DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Nyasaland. The GOVERNOR and DR. BANDA were entertained to luncheon by the directors of the Standard Bank last Friday.

In honour of the SULTAN of ZANZIBAR, the chairman of the Royal Commonwealth Society, LORD JOHN HOPE, gave a dinner party last week. The others present were LADY JOHN HOPE, SHEIK SAID HILAL BUALY, LORD and LADY CARRINGTON, MR. D. K. DANIELS, MR. and MRS. W. B. DRYSDALE, LIEUT.-COLONEL A. H. HAWKER, and BRIGADIER SIR GEOFFREY MACNAB.

MR. M. J. K. SMITH, who scored 57 runs for the M.C.C. in Nairobi on Monday, and MR. M. J. STEWART, who made 152, are to be captain and vice-captain respectively of the M.C.C. team which will tour India this winter. MR. C. COWDREY, who was to have been captain, has had to withdraw in consequence of an injury received during the Test match at Lords.

MR. CHRISTOPHER TUMBO, formerly High Commissioner in London for Tanganyika, has likened that Republic's security provisions to those of South Africa, alleging that they deter freedom of expression and guarantee a monopoly in State affairs to a small group already in power. Now residing in Mombasa, Kenya, MR. TUMBO has asked for registration of his Peoples' Convention Party in Tanganyika.

THE EARL OF DUNDEE, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, was host at a Government luncheon on Monday in honour of SAYED AHMED KHEIR, Sudanese Foreign Minister. Among the guests were the SUDANESE AMBASSADOR, the HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR UGANDA, SIR JAMES ROBERTSON, SIR GEOFFREY HARRISON, SIR GAWAIN BELL, SIR GEOFFREY MACNAB, MR. HUGH FRASER, M.P., MR. HARVEY RHODES, M.P., and MR. HUMPHRY BERKELEY, M.P.

LORD NUFFIELD, who died in August at the age of 85, left his home and about £500,000 to Nuffield College, Oxford. He left £3.1m., of which duty takes £2.4m. Apart from small bequests, he directed his trustees to hold what capital he left and to apply that money and the income from it for the general purposes of Nuffield College, the establishment of which he had financed. Lord Nuffield is known to have given away more than £28m., largely for medical and scientific research.

At a Joint Commonwealth Societies' symposium on "The Commonwealth in Principle and Practice" to be held in London on October 16 and 17, MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, M.P., will give the opening address. MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P., and MR. GEORGE THOMSON, M.P., will speak on Commonwealth political problems; MR. WILLIAM CLARK on technical co-operation; MR. W. LIONEL FRASER on trade and development; and SIR ERIC ASHBY on educational co-operation. SIR HILARY BLOOD will preside.

## Obituaries

### Mr. W. Dawson

MR. WILLIAM J. DAWSON, of Menzie Estate, Njoro, who has died in Kenya, was one of the best known settlers in the Colony, in which he arrived from Scotland 56 years ago. In all that period he had been out of the country on only three occasions, each time for a short holiday.

At first he was engaged in rubber growing at the coast, and then for a short time in the Agricultural Department. He joined the East African Forces on the outbreak of war in 1914, but before the end of the campaign in "German East" was specially released in order to grow flax, which was badly needed in the United Kingdom for military purposes. He expanded his area under the crop with characteristic energy, and was at one period believed to be the greatest individual flax grower in the world. He was the first chairman of the Kenya Flax Association. During the 1939-45 war he again produced flax on a large scale.

He was one of the founders of the Social Maize Growers' Association, a forerunner of the Kenya Farmers' Association; one of the pioneer coffee growers, owning estates in the Ruiru and Ngong districts; one of the earliest experimenters with sisal, which some 25 years afterwards he grew in partnership with the late Lord Egerton and Mr. "Sandy" Wright, and later on his own account at Chemillil; and one of the first experimenters in wheat, of which he became Kenya's biggest grower.

He pioneered the essential oil and pyrethrum industries in the Colony, and sugar growing at Miwani.

"W.J.", as he was known throughout Kenya between the wars, was a true pioneer, a great agriculturalist, a devoted Kenyan, and withal a modest man.

He is survived by Mrs. Dawson (née Catherine Graham Cowan). One of his daughters married Mr. Venn Fey.

MR. HAROLD D. HILL has died in his 83rd year at his home in Machakos, Kenya.

SIR GEORGE USHER, who has died in Bavaria at the age of 73, had for some years been chairman and managing director of International Combustion (Africa) Ltd.

MR. CECIL THOMAS HUTSON, C.B.E., of Kenya, and formerly of the Sudan, has died in a London nursing home. He is survived by MRS. HUTSON, two daughters and a son.

SIR FREDERICK HOOPER, Bt., who died in London on Friday, aged 71, was managing director of the Schweppes group of companies, which have East and Central African subsidiaries.

MR. NURMAHOMED M. MALIK, headmaster of the Moslem School in Limbe, and president of Mpingwe Sports Club, has been killed in a motor accident near Lilongwe. Born in the Punjab in 1903, he went to Nyasaland in 1927 and was on the staff of Nyasaland Railways until 1944. Three years later he founded the school and started a hostel for Muhammedans.

MR. ERIC JOSHUA RADCLIFFE, for many years a farmer in the Mau Summit area of Kenya, who was one of the early growers of pyrethrum and an original member (in 1945) of the Pyrethrum Agricultural Research Advisory Committee, has died at the age of about 60. After leaving Repton he was commissioned towards the end of the 1914-18 war, and soon after demobilization went to Kenya. In 1928 he married Mrs. Mable Constance Waters, a neighbour, and they farmed on an extensive scale between Molo and Mau Summit.

# White Man's Future Involves Acceptance of Kenya Citizenship

## Mr. Mboya's Address to Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies

**MINORITY TRIBES** and communities will have only one true safeguard when Kenya becomes independent—the good will and understanding of the Government, Mr. T. J. MBOYA, Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs, told a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies in London last week when he spoke on "The Future of Kenya".

Rigid provisions for their protection would only destroy the chances of the minorities. Circumstances prevailing in Kenya at the time of last year's Lancaster House conference—a minority Government and a majority Opposition—had been such that K.A.N.U. had judged it necessary to agree to certain compromises in order to get Kenya moving again and to avert possible conflict.

### Great Expectations

The resultant self-government Constitution, probably the most inflexible in the Commonwealth, sometimes required parallel administration between the Central Government and the regional authorities and duplication of local government procedures. It was undesirable that the Senate should have to muster a 90% vote in favour of major constitutional amendments.

K.A.N.U. did not want to go back unnecessarily on the present Constitution, but amendments were needed to ensure that Kenya emerged into independence with a sensible, workable Constitution which would stand the strains to be expected. "This one must break under them. It will not help unity and stability. Every day it gives rise to fears and contentions".

The new Government, popularly elected and controlling 75% of the Legislature, had in the past four months seen growing stability and had gained increasing support throughout the country. There was economic recovery, with internal and outside investors seeking opportunities to put money into industries, and the European farming community—which had done nothing of the sort for five years—was preparing to expand. All races were filled with great expectations.

### Their Only Home

Two entirely false interpretations of the situation were that K.A.N.U., representing Kikuyu-Luo-Kamba domination, was opposed by K.A.D.U. as the protector of all minorities, and that the Prime Minister's promises were valueless because they would not be adhered to.

"The majority of Europeans would disagree", Mr. Mboya expostulated. "We have been able to create a most cordial relationship between the races, such as has never existed before. Many of the smaller tribes support K.A.N.U., including those at the Coast and in the Rift Valley. Many European farmers support the Government's efforts for unity and are preparing to take out Kenya citizenship. Their representative at the constitutional talks here, Mr. Welwood, has said that many more have decided to stay because of what we are doing."

"These are people whose only home is Kenya. Their interests, land and properties will be safeguarded exactly as that of the Africans. Ownership of land will be allowed without possession of Kenya citizenship. Commonwealth citizens will not have to become Kenya citizens. South African whites living in Kenya who qualify may become Kenya citizens."

We are concerned to create a community of shared interests and thinking, so that the Kenya nation can be built. If independence is to mean anything, it must bring tangible material improvements to all our people, particularly with the speedy removal of poverty and the spread of health and education.

"We expect the Europeans, with their economic and educational advantages, and those educated Africans who are professional men and skilled craftsmen, and the Asians, to give the leadership that will enable those less fortunate to advance

socially and economically. We have not got many resources, but those we have we shall exploit to the maximum—and I use the word 'exploit' advisedly."

"I cannot over-emphasize that the future position of the white man lies only in his individual acceptance as a full citizen of Kenya. Many are already completely committed. We want to give them a chance to work with us in a new relationship to create our new community."

### Future of White Residents

"But there is a minority whose members are not genuinely interested in Kenya citizenship or our future. Such people are helping neither Kenya nor those of their own community who have decided to stay. We appeal to them, and to those who still have doubts, to leave us alone, to leave the country and find somewhere else to live, so that we can put all our efforts into the more urgent and important task of building a new nation together. We promise that we are capable of building Kenya with those Europeans who decide to stay."

The Government was dispatching Ministerial teams to various countries to seek out potential investors—not only for agriculture, but for all forms of service, secondary, processing and even heavy industry. There was no longer any need for investors to hesitate, waiting to see how things turned out. All were invited to come to Kenya to see for themselves what was under way and to discuss their uncertainties and fears, which had arisen from a lack of appreciation of the changes involved.

They would be told not only about the investment worth of Kenya's eight million people, but also of the whole East African market of 25 million people, all living under stable Governments offering meaningful guarantees of security.

Mr. Mboya ended with an attack on Southern Rhodesia, the Portuguese territories, and South Africa. Britain should not ignore or betray its responsibility for the Rhodesian Colony. "Practical" steps were needed against the Republic, which was impervious to the pressures hitherto applied.

Kenya would find no inconsistency in pursuing pan-African ideals while playing her full part in the Commonwealth.

Answering a question from Mr. Harold Soref, the Minister said that he had not made anything veiled threats against the Southern African countries; but he wanted to state categorically that the Kenya Government would never support the policies of such territories while they denied the majority of the people basic democratic rights. No intelligent investor would quarrel with them on that score.

In reply to another question he declared that the groups "fighting" in South Africa against the present régime would have to receive material aid from outside; economic sanctions had won little world support, and a boycott just by African States would have little effect.

### Burning of Newspapers

Mr. F. S. Joelson asked for the Minister's own version of the public burning of two Kenya newspapers at a rally in Mombasa addressed by him. Mr. Mboya replied, "The Kenya Government has not banned or burned any newspaper at any time."

Asked if his Government welcomed responsible Press criticism, he rejoined: "What is the definition of a responsible newspaper?"

Freedom of the Press was guaranteed in the Constitution. The Government would require its participation, with the contributions of those in other walks of life, in emphasizing the task of nation-building and promoting the necessary spirit. "The Press can be very important or very wicked. All we ask is that it be positive and constructive in the hands, not of the Government, but of the whole country. We in Government are not afraid of criticism—we have been criticized so often that it has ceased to matter—but we insist that it be genuine and aimed at helping us to avoid mistakes, and not just for its own sake or to destroy. It is the society in which we live that must decide these standards."

Another questioner asked if that implied the introduction of censorship if newspapers failed to conform to the Government's criterion of constructive criticism.

Mr. Mboya replied that there was no wish to impose unnecessary restrictions on Press freedom. A successful working relationship now existed with the local Press, from which

there had been no complaints about its co-operative rôle in generating a new atmosphere. "The Press is doing a very big job in Kenya today." But the Government, with its responsibility to the people and for the building of a nation, would have to restrict and guide the people sometimes, and that would have to include the Press.

Rejecting the epithet "controversial" in relation to the N.F.D. problem, the Minister said that Kenya could not

accept the Somali Republic's claims to territory in the North-Eastern Region merely because Somalis inhabited parts of it; there were other indigenous Kenya tribes there too. The issue should be settled under the aegis of the Organization of African Unity as a boundary matter under a general formula for all such disputes in Africa as a whole.

[Comment appears in Notes By The Way.]

## Ex-Service Farmers in Kenya Petition the Queen

### Moral Obligations of H.M. Government "Overwhelming"

A PETITION TO THE QUEEN from the Association of European Agricultural Settlement Board Farmers in Kenya, now numbering about 200, states:—

"Settlement Board farmers are former members of Your Majesty's Forces who came to settle and farm in Kenya under conditions approved and encouraged by the Government of the United Kingdom.

"Those accepted for the scheme were required to liquidate and put into the Kenya endeavour all their capital assets. Many sold houses and investments.

"The whole emphasis of the scheme was for settlement. It was an invitation backed by the British Government, primarily for the ex-Serviceman to make a career and home for himself and his family in a Colony described as eminently suitable, for that purpose, which presupposes education, medical care and personal security suitable for a family and a future for children.

#### Numerous Pledges

"Apart from the fact that schemes were represented chiefly as a reward and privilege for the ex-Serviceman, it was clearly part of Government's policy to induce Europeans to settle in Kenya, to develop the country to the advantage of the economy, and thus ease the burden upon the British taxpayer. The necessarily protected position of the settler was guaranteed by numerous pledges given by both parties in Parliament.

"Since 1959 the position in Kenya has radically changed. Your Majesty's Government has introduced sweeping constitutional changes which will culminate in the grant of independence to Kenya in December.

"The vast majority of your petitioners no longer believe that, in the face of such changes and growing African population pressure on land, there is any long-term future for them or their families in Kenya, such as was envisaged, and indeed represented to them when they first took up land under the settlement schemes.

#### Threats and Boycotts

"Some have already been the subject of threats and boycotts by local branches of African political parties and trade unions.

"Your petitioners have therefore decided humbly to petition Your Majesty in the hope that before independence is granted to Kenya some action may be taken to alleviate their plight.

"The age of the majority of your petitioners is 45, an age after which it becomes extremely difficult to take up careers elsewhere. Unless they can realize their assets here they will be tied to them for an indefinite period with no foreseeable future, and with the added danger of being deported without compensation if they displease the Government of the day.

"Your petitioners therefore most humbly pray that Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take note of the difficulties and dangers which beset Your Majesty's subjects, due to changed conditions in Kenya, and will make available to your loyal subjects such aid as will enable them to realize their farms and farming assets and take up their new careers elsewhere without suffering financial loss or hardship and with reasonable allowance for rehabilitation or re-establishment."

A memorandum submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Governor of Kenya, and the chairman of the Central Land Board of Kenya emphasizes that the ex-Service tenants were promised security of tenure for 48 years, being given an option to purchase their farms at the in-going valuation after five years and up to 48 years after accepting the lease.

The "Kenya Settlement Handbook" issued by the Kenya Government's Settlement Board in 1945 stated:—

"He (the tenant) will enjoy complete financial security, under landlord and tenant legislation, for all improvements and developments that he carries out on his farm with the consent of his landlord, the Settlement Board."

The memorandum continues:—

"No such legislation has been enacted. Leases were prepared for tenants and they were persuaded to accept them on the grounds that in a politically stable environment developing farms would constantly increase in value and it was assumed that, should a tenant for any reason have to terminate his tenancy, he would be able to arrange for the purchase and re-sale of his farm, thereby recouping himself for his labour and capital invested. Therefore, contrary to British practice and to the scheme as laid out, leases have not been subject to proper landlord and tenant legislation, nor do they contain proper provision for compensation of the tenant for improvements carried out. There is provision for compensation for improvements carried out by the tenant but this is not defined and the landlord has not interpreted this in accordance with British practice.

"In addition to tenants there was another scheme with those with more capital and they became 'assisted owners'. Now they are being given the option of becoming tenants.

"Extremely generous and attractive terms were offered which persuaded men to set up as farmers who would otherwise have had insufficient capital for such an enterprise and who would therefore have taken up or returned to a different career. Many gave up pensionable careers. Bursaries and travelling expenses were available for ex-Service men and some were, in fact, paid.

"Personal interviews given by the Kenya Government and Settlement Board representatives stressed the fact that there were excellent European schools and hospitals in Kenya, and that farms would be in an area permanently reserved for European farming and in which European influence was dominant."

#### Strong Grounds for Preferential Treatment

Mr. Elwyn Jones, Q.C., whose advice was sought, points out that when the scheme was initiated under a European Agricultural Settlement Ordinance in 1945 the Settlement Board was not a corporate body and acted primarily in an advisory capacity, so that at that period ex-Service applicants were dealing direct with the Kenya Government. Ten years later a further European Agricultural Settlement Ordinance completely changed the status of the Settlement Board, which became a corporate body to which settlers under the scheme before joining the one in 1946 had henceforth to look for any remedy for breach of contract.

After examining the legal position, Mr. Jones wrote:—

"Despite the lack of any present legal nexus between Settlement farmers and the Crown I am of the opinion that the argument advanced by those instructing me is strong reason why the Government should give preferential treatment to the Settlement farmers. As I understand it the intention is not to present a legal claim in a Court of Law but to go to the Government and say, 'Look, you induced us to give up everything and go to Kenya. We did so. Now as a result of your policy we are going to suffer heavily. Although there is no binding contract between us now, there was until removed by legislation'. The peculiar and special position of the Settlement farmers is not made any the less so by the non-existence of a binding contract.

"In my opinion, therefore, I do not think that the Association or its members could successfully maintain an action against the Kenya Government or the Trust. Nevertheless in my view the moral obligation of the British Government in the circumstances is overwhelming and the special position in which the members of the Association find themselves demands quite special consideration and recognition. The fact that there is technically no legal redress does not in my view diminish the extent of that moral obligation."

## Kabaka President of Uganda Republic Opposition Accuses Coalition of Appeasement

UGANDA CELEBRATED the first anniversary of independence yesterday. The Kabaka of Buganda took office as President, replacing the Queen as Head of State of the new Republic, which remains within the Commonwealth. The Vice-President is Sir William Nadiope, Kyabazinga of Busoga.

On Tuesday afternoon, Dr. A. Milton Obote, the Prime Minister, opened a £60,000 television centre at Nakasero Hill, Kampala. Five more TV stations should be operational within a year at Mbale, Soroti, Lira, Masaka and Mbarara. A reception was given that evening at Parliament House, culminating in a midnight tattoo and fireworks display at Nakivubo.

An independence arch in front of the National Assembly was unveiled on Wednesday morning. A State luncheon was followed by a street pageant through Kampala. A garden party is being held at Government House this afternoon at Entebbe.

The President, without executive powers (his official engagements will be directed by the Prime Minister), will hold office for five years, during which period he can be dismissed by a two-thirds vote of the National Assembly, which elected him last Friday by more than that majority.

Only the four kings and the heads of two districts were eligible (constitutional heads for other districts have not yet been chosen). The Opposition condemned a last-minute decision to have a Vice-President too as an expensive Government manoeuvre to prevent an internal split in the ruling coalition between supporters of the Kabaka and of the Kyabazinga, who is also vice-president of the U.P.C.

### "Boiling Arguments"

MR. A. A. LATIM (D.P., North-West Acholi), said when Parliament debated the Bill that "African Socialism today really means African capitalism of a new kind. There is no reason whatsoever why this post should have been introduced, except for political reasons to calm down certain boiling arguments between members of the parties in power. A post has been created so someone can be given a big job, and can earn plenty of money and squeeze the common people".

One section of the Bill had been drafted to provide that whoever was going to be Vice-President would automatically succeed the President if he were removed. "I am beginning to wonder whether he who is elected President will have long to stay in office".

MR. J. S. M. OCHOLA (D.P., South-West Bukedi), demanded that Parliament be dissolved immediately because it was exploiting the common man in the country. "There is a tremendous amount of extravagance and the public has to suffer. To create a Vice-President for a President who will have nothing to do is in itself unimaginable. We know this post is being created to appease a certain section of political supporters in the country".

### "Misérable" Alliance

Referring to the U.P.C./Kabaka Yekka alliance, he said it was a source of misery; "since the Government cannot get the majority to run the country effectively, the only solution is that Parliament must be dissolved".

MR. D. A. PATEL (D.P., Kampala South), questioned whether there were concealed reasons, not known to the country, which had resulted in the Minister of Justice coming to the House and asking for the creation of the new post.

MR. Y. M. CHEMONGES (U.P.C., Sebei and Bugisu North), pointed out that the district councils had speakers and vice-speakers, as in Parliament itself. "We request the Opposition to be sensible".

MR. GASPARE ODA (D.P., West Nile and Madi West), claimed that the post was being created to appease opposing factions on the Government benches, and that since the President was only going to act on the advice of the Prime Minister, there was no reason for a Vice-President, as this would only confuse the people as to who was doing what.

Uganda was seeking financial help from other countries, but that money was now being concentrated in the hands of a few rich people.

MR. F. X. B. MUGENI (D.P., South Bukedi), ventured, to cries of "shame", that "the common man was better off under the Colonial Government".

DR. ERIA BABUMBA (U.P.C., North-West Masaka), strongly supported the Bill, saying that in a politically complicated country like Uganda, it was necessary to have a Vice-President to assist the President. The latter would find himself too busy with State matters, while at the same time being expected to perform his duties as constitutional head of the region he came from.

The President was not expected to act like a rubber stamp, signing whatever was given him without even reading it through. The President could advise the Cabinet, which would have to take final decisions.

MR. A. K. BALINDA (D.P., Toro Central), said that the House had "saturated" the Prime Minister with power to the exclusion of the powers the House enjoyed. The Head of State was divested of all duties. The Government was creating a multiple of symbols in the country. The creation of the Vice-Presidency was merely appeasing some dignity in the country so that he would not be offended. It merely minimized the position of the President.

### Four Rulers Wanted the Presidency

MR. GRACE IBINGIRA, Minister of Justice, said the violent attacks against the motion were intended to make political capital. That the creation of these posts was political did not seem wrong. The premiership was a political post. The Government was not saying that candidate "A" must take post "A" and candidate "B" post "B". The Government felt that it was a good idea that the most proper person to act in the place of the President was a Vice-President.

The exercise of executive powers by the President and Vice-President had to be played down as much as possible, although at some later stage their functions might increase with the country's continued development.

MR. B. K. BATARINGAYA, Leader of the Opposition, suggested that the Government had found it necessary to propose the post of Vice-President because the Prime Minister and the U.P.C. had committed themselves to offer the post of President to the Kabaka and in the meantime the Kyabazinga had sought to get it, which had developed "a tug of war". The Prime Minister and the Cabinet had found themselves in a dilemma to create the post of President before October 9.

"If the Prime Minister found himself in difficulties, we find it unnecessary to have another post of Vice-President created".

Mr. Ibingira denied the truth of the allegations, pointing out that he himself had already heard of four rulers wishing to contest the post. "I am not aware that the Prime Minister or this Government here has committed itself to anyone, but we have committed ourselves to the principle of having a Uganda African President, and it is not open to only two people, Nadiope or the Kabaka, it is open to all rulers".

## Emperor of Ethiopia at U.N.O.

### Emphasis on Honourable Alternatives

SOUTH AFRICA AND PORTUGAL will not commit economic suicide if reasonable and honourable alternatives to their present policies can be found, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia suggested to the U.N. General Assembly when he appealed to all members to boycott the two countries in trade and to the world organization itself to obtain a peaceful solution so that Africans would not have to fight for their freedom.

"I have lived too long to cherish many illusions about the essential high-mindedness of men when brought into stark confrontation with the issue of control over their security and their property interests". His Majesty admitted in an appeal for an end to racial discrimination, for moderation and negotiation in international affairs, and for the U.N. to be accepted as maker and guardian of peace.

"Yet this is the ultimatum presented to us: secure the conditions whereby men will entrust their security to a larger entity or risk annihilation; persuade men that their salvation rests in the subordination of national and local interests to the interest of humanity or endanger man's future".

Delegates gave the Emperor a standing ovation.

A Kenya National Fund is to be used to finance extensions to the Parliament Buildings in Nairobi; for materials and skilled help for communal schemes; and for capital for public or private charities.



## Anarchy Widespread in the Congo

### Another Mutiny Feared in Congolese Army

MR. HARRY FRANKLIN, lately a Minister in the Government of Northern Rhodesia, who has recently revisited the Congo, has contributed to the *Guardian* as unfavourable a report on the state of that country as any published in Britain for months.

Writing from Elisabethville, he says, *inter alia*:—  
“The official exchange rate is 185 Congolese francs to the £, the unofficial rate 450, and the black market rate from 1,000 to 1,500 francs.

“The Katanga mining towns run by the Union Minière are still in good shape, but other towns are rubbish-littered, dirty and unkempt. In the rural districts there is generally village anarchy.

“Crime is soaring. Corruption among African junior officials is increasing. The Belgian officials are becoming more and more apathetic and disheartened. The courts of justice still work well. The police in general do their best, but are subject to indifference by army officers and sometimes even Ministers.

“The Congolese are afraid of the Katangese. The Katangese are afraid of the Congolese. The whites are afraid of both. All are afraid of the army.

“The skilled white officials in the Government, municipalities, railways, and so on, are afraid to discipline their subordinates in case they are denounced to the politicians as anti-African. The subordinates are apathetic.

### U Thant's Hypocrisy

“Most of the blame for the continuance, even worsening, of this state of affairs will be on the United Nations if it removes the rest of its troops in December. For U Thant to proclaim that order is restored is hypocrisy. Order is not restored outside the towns which U.N. troops protect.

“There have been many incidents of murder, rape and robbery along the road from the Northern Rhodesian border to Elisabethville. Ill-disciplined Congolese troops harry the villagers but have little effect on the ex-gendarmes responsible for these outrages.

“The U.N. Congo headquarters has issued a *communiqué* expressing the belief that the rebel gendarmes will tire of life in the bush and return to the fold. They are hardly likely to, knowing the fate that they will meet once the Congolese Government gets hold of them. Many ex-gendarmes are living respectably in the villages waiting for the day when the U.N. has gone and Mr. Tshombe has returned.

### Revolt Will Follow U.N. Departure

“The Belgians in Katanga—to a man as far as I can ascertain—are convinced that a revolt will follow the U.N. departure. Neutral observers in industrial, commercial, and diplomatic quarters are equally emphatic. An African who had been a sergeant in the Force Publique until it mutinied told me: ‘When the U.N. goes the army will mutiny again all over the Congo.’

“No man who travels any part of the Congo today can fail to see that it is in a hopeless mess, and that apart from the best troops, which are kept in Leopoldville, the discipline of the Congolese Army is bad.”

## Difficulties of the Press

MR. J. D. ST. C. HENNESSY, general manager of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd., has said in Salisbury that the problems facing newspapers in Central Africa were becoming increasingly acute. Freedom of the Press, like other freedoms, was seriously threatened in Nyasaland, but the realistic thinking of Dr. Kaunda and his lieutenants encouraged the belief that in Northern Rhodesia newspapers which provided objective and honest news had, if not an assured future, at least one more promising than in most of the African emergent countries. Southern Rhodesia's newspapers could stand comparison with any in the world, and if they adapted themselves to the rapidly changing circumstances, as all must do who wanted to continue to live in Central Africa, there was a fair chance of survival and of ultimate expansion and prosperity.

## The British South

### Africa Company

# Commercial Expansion in Rhodesia

The President of The British South Africa Company has recently stated that there has been no change in the investment policy of the Group. The Rhodesias are, and continue to be, the primary field for its activities, and this has always been so since its formation. In considering new ventures the Directors have always been guided by this tradition.

The profits of the Rhodesian Milling Company, in which the Group is associated with Spillers Limited, have been reinvested for many years to meet the requirements of a fast growing community. The Company is at present modernising and expanding its mills in Salisbury and Bulawayo at a cost of over £1 million, and it has in the last few years built a modern flour and maize mill in Lusaka and a depot in Kitwe.

The Ridgeway Hotel in Lusaka, in which a subsidiary is the largest shareholder, is an outstanding hotel which has benefited Northern Rhodesia by the high standards it provides for visitors, many of whom have contributed to the general development of the country.

It was recently announced that a Subsidiary is to make a loan of £2 million to the Northern Rhodesia Government over a period of three years for the purpose of building houses for Africans. The Group will thus be able to make an important contribution to the social problem created by the shortage of modern African housing in Northern Rhodesia.

A Subsidiary has also made available a sum of £200,000 for Africans to be able to buy their own houses on mortgage in Lusaka and in some of the main towns in Southern Rhodesia.

The British South Africa Company Group has made substantial contributions to the multi-racial University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Cathedral at Lusaka, the Barotseland Development Fund and the Oppenheimer College of Social Service in Northern Rhodesia. These—to name a few—are investments in the progress of the Rhodesias.

## Expanding Kenya's Farm Markets

### No "Unnecessary" Fragmentation

**K**ENYA HAS A healthy and prosperous agricultural industry, probably unrivalled by any other African State, but "we have in truth scarcely begun to scratch the enormous potential that lies in our soil". MR. JOSEPH MURUMBI, the Acting Prime Minister, said when he opened the Royal Show at Mitchell Park, Nairobi, last week.

"So far the country has been kept going mainly because of the high standard of European agriculture and the production of such cash crops as coffee, maize and sisal. That has been the basis of our economy under the Colonial system.

"With the advent of independence, great changes are inevitable. Already African farmers are taking over huge areas of agricultural land previously farmed by European settlers. The land settlement schemes have been regarded as a means of settling landless African peasant farmers, mainly Kikuyu. We must be careful that not only are the previous high standards of farming maintained, but improved. We need quality production and increased production if the living standards of our people are to be raised.

"The Government must be particularly careful not to settle African farmers without regard to the overall economy of the country. We have to see that the new settlement schemes are integrated into a general economic plan and that crop production is related to the needs of the world market.

"Are we going to maintain our traditional trade markets in Western Europe and America and develop new markets in Africa? There are vast possibilities in Africa if we plan continentally with our fellow independent African nations.

"There is no reason why we should not organize a vast expansion of our canning industry, particularly now that so many independent African States are stopping trade with South Africa.

"Are we going to search out new markets in Asia? Are we prepared seriously to develop trade with Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and China?

"Our export potentialities have scarcely been scratched. We have been trading with an extremely limited section of the world. We shall not build a new prosperity for our people by waiting for trade to come our way. We must have long-term national planning, find new markets, and plan production to meet their needs.

"Is the market for coffee saturated even in Kenya? There is every possibility of coffee-drinking becoming more popular in Africa. Dozens of non-coffee-producing African countries import processed coffee from Europe and America. Much of that coffee has been grown in Kenya. Why should we not process it ourselves and sell it in the African market?

"Why should we not seek agreement within Africa to keep trade within Africa of African-produced commodities? We often fail to protect even our own products within Kenya. There is no protection for our canning industry or for the Uplands (bacon) factory. Why should we leave our own producers at the mercy of unnecessary foreign competition?

### Devoted Services of Expatriate Officials

"It would be churlish not to acknowledge that an important stride forward in agricultural development was made by the old Colonial Government. The Agricultural, Veterinary, and Settlement Department officers are working very devotedly to put across modern techniques of husbandry to our people. But the old Government could by its very nature not accomplish any spectacular result. It could not command the loyalty and co-operation of the average farmer.

"Although we have large patches of highly successful and prosperous farming and ranching areas scattered throughout the country, the broad picture for the overwhelming majority of farmers is, to put it mildly, highly unsatisfactory. The average cash income of an African farmer in Kenya is £10 a year. The new Government of Kenya is not going to allow that to continue.

"We have set the target of doubling our exports of agricultural products and our domestic exports over the next seven years. The effect would be to produce an average additional £30 to £40 a year for all farming families. It is not an unrealistic target; it is based on the best technical advice available in the Ministry of Agriculture.

"We have the land potential to achieve such a target many times over. We have the trained technicians who are vital to success, including, as well as a loyal and devoted body of expatriate experts who are willing to stay on in Kenya and get the job done, fully qualified local officers, with many more coming forward.

"Where there are gaps in the ranks of technicians, our friends all over the world will come forward with experts to fill them. We are optimistic that we shall receive, also from old and new friends, the funds needed to achieve our target.

"Above all, we have one asset which was denied to former Governments—the enthusiasm and co-operation of all our peoples. In the spirit of 'harumbee', we shall get the necessary response from the average farmer—the willingness to be taught the right ways and to accept the discipline involved in conservation of the soil and in grazing control.

"The livestock industry produces exports worth £64m. a year.

"It has a potential of many times that figure. The industry is built round the nucleus of about a million head of high-grade cattle—once predominantly European-owned, but over recent years increasingly spread amongst farmers of all races.

### Standards Will Be Upheld

"This valuable herd depends for its existence on strict quarantine and movement control, on expert diagnostic services, and skilled treatment with the most modern drugs by qualified veterinary officers. These services we are determined to maintain at not less than the present standards.

"Fears have been expressed about the number of veterinary officers who will leave the country. But a large number of expatriates will remain; and let me assure them once again that they will always be very welcome in Kenya.

"It is the Government's intention to complete the million-acre scheme and to seek funds from the British Government to carry out a tidying-up operation. This means the purchase of islands and salients of European farming which would otherwise be left after the scheme is completed in the Lugari, Muhoroni, and Ol Kalou areas. Perhaps 500,000 acres are involved, but by no means all of this is classified as mixed farming land. It is not intended that the farms taken over as part of this tidying-up operation will necessarily be subdivided into small holdings.

Further funds from Britain to continue a fairly large-scale programme of change of ownership would be sought, principally for the remaining mixed farming areas, operated by finance made available through the Land Bank and the Agricultural Finance Corporation.



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"The basis of our thinking is that it is not in the best interests of the economy—either from the point of view of production or employment—that large-scale farms should be broken up more than is necessary. Our aim will be to provide funds in order to enable mixed farms to change ownership but to remain as large, economically viable units, to be operated either by experienced individual African farmers, as co-operative undertakings, or as companies.

"This will take place in the area of mixed farming remaining after the million-acre scheme and the tidying-up operation are completed.

"Just over two million acres of mixed farming land will then remain in non-African ownership in the former Scheduled Areas. As we are now taking the original acreage of mixed farming to be 3.2m., the remnant of 2m. acres may cause some puzzlement. The reason is that not all of the million-acre and tidying-up schemes are classified as mixed farming.

"This change of ownership will depend on a willing seller coming into contact with a willing buyer—whether in the form of an individual, co-operative, or company—and striking a mutually acceptable bargain with, in most cases, the Land Bank coming in to help the purchaser. For the European mixed farmer this means that, if you do not fall within the million-acre scheme, nor within the tidying-up operation in the three main areas, the choice to go on farming, or to find a buyer within the change of ownership scheme is entirely yours.

"The Prime Minister has already given very firm and sincere assurances that those who farm well and are willing loyally to accept an African Government and to serve the national interest will be warmly welcome in the new independent Kenya. The hard working and skilled large-scale mixed farmer is one of Kenya's greatest economic assets, and will always be so."

## Power Passing to African Racialists

MR. RONALD M. BELL, Conservative M.P. for Buckinghamshire South, has written in a letter in *The Times* :—

"Settlers in Kenya are far from the secure abstractions of London. What would be their condition if, having committed their families and resources in reliance upon assurances given now, they should later find that the ruling party consider that the compact is undesirable in principle, unworkable in practice, and washed out by their political successes ?

"Suppose that K.A.N.U. argue that the assurances were given in abnormal conditions and that they are absolved from their pledges in conditions that are changing out of all recognition ?

"Arbitrary exercise of power is never restrained by a lack of exculpatory phrases; and these, which you used to describe and condemn certain attitudes to the recently concluded constitutional agreement, are only too easily serviceable in other fields.

"The sad truth was contained in Mrs. Elspeth Huxley's very courageous letter—that if white people now relinquish power in Africa, then the black majority will take it, as in Kenya—and as blacks, African racialists, and not as so-called 'civilized men' measuring up in some common non-racial standard."

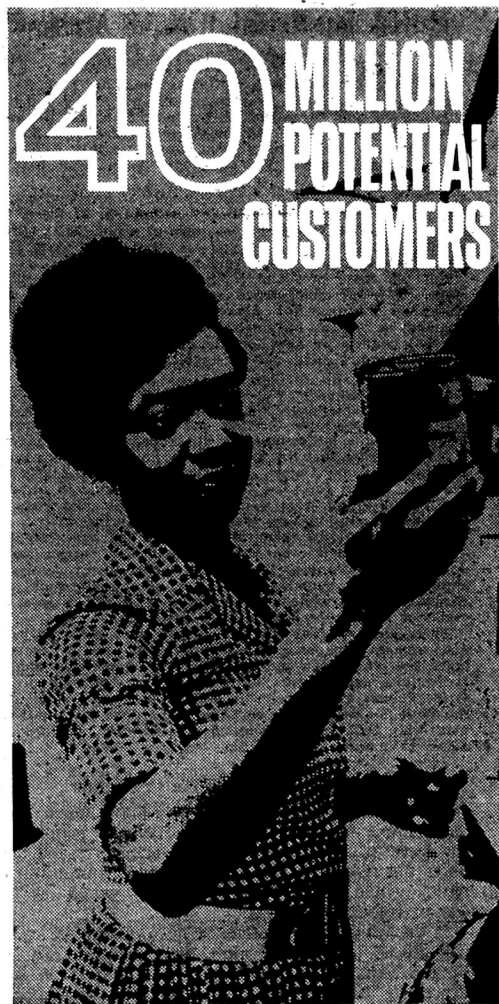
"These are hard words, but they are true. Those responsible for the death of the multi-racial experiment in Central Africa carry a heavy responsibility into the future. I have always thought it a waste of time to attack South African policies. If our British multi-racial experiment in Central Africa succeeded, the error of South Africa would be inconvertible everywhere. If our experiment failed, what could we usefully say ?

"Many people are still averting their eyes from the stark consequence of the tragedy in Central Africa."

## Sovereignty Ceded

THE SULTAN and Prime Minister of Zanzibar signed an agreement here on Tuesday with the Colonial Secretary and the Kenya Prime Minister renouncing all claim to financial compensation when the Coastal Strip becomes part of Kenya at independence, on the relinquishment of the Sultan's sovereignty and of any revenue derived from the mainland Protectorate.

Six Africans from the Government Press in Nairobi have arrived in London to take a year's course at Twickenham College of Technology on Kenya Government bursaries.



How much is spent on consumer goods in Kenya? What is the population profile of East Africa? What are the import regulations in South Africa? There are 101 other questions which you would want to ask to assess the potential for your products in the fast growing markets of East, Central and South Africa. To get the answers—contact the Standard Bank in London—the Bank that has grown up with Africa.

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## Risk of Racial War in Africa

(Concluded from page 124)

Already the African States, who are no more than 5% of the people of the world, exercise an influence far beyond their numbers and gain advantages far beyond their share. But some of the new dictators are out for more, and the Great Powers would be wise to beware of what future use they will make of the United Nations now that they know what use can be made of colour.

I see no easy solution to this problem of race and colour. Had Britain backed us in our own venture in Rhodesia and Nyasaland, I believe that our example of a non-racial society, steadily liberalizing its life, and its vote, could have been taken up elsewhere; but she did not.

Nor are these profound problems of race ours or yours alone. It is no co-incidence that China is competing with Russia in the race for Africa; and there is Birmingham, England, as well as Birmingham, Alabama.

In my country we have seen the disaster of the Congo rich on our borders, and the miserable mess that once-great country is.

We have seen our experiment in non-racialism rejected, though it never failed. We have no reason to believe that the new dictatorship, the fall in standards, the uncertain justice, and the lawlessness are not intended for us as well.

Now we learn that for the attack on Southern Africa forces are being openly trained in Ghana, Algeria and Uganda. We have known for some time of their training in Moscow and Peking—and what a mockery these last two make of the Western effort against the Communist intrusion!

In material terms there are at stake the vast resources in agriculture, and even vaster in gold and copper and a dozen other materials. In strategic terms Africa is already almost gone. In human terms, if ever there were doubt that Africa needs the white man for the sake of the African, the events of recent times should have dispelled it.

There are few short cuts to acquiring skill and knowledge, and none to experience and responsibility, and for years to come the white man must be the catalyst between the old civilizations and the new order in Africa. Yet what do the Great Powers expect the white man to do? Above all, does the West not realize just what they have done to those white men who, with many thousands of Africans, deplore and detest extremism and racialism, black or white?

### Racialism Destroyed the Federation

In breaking the Federation they have taken away the example and almost the one hope these people had, and have driven them back upon themselves and back upon the risk of a racial war. And a racial war in Africa would solve no problems; nor would the first war of colour be the last.

If the white man is attacked in Southern Africa, he will defend himself and more than hold his own; but by the same token a choice will be forced on such Powers as America whether to fight for the whites or against them. It is not a choice I should like to have to make.

There can be no answer at all if the Great Powers do not soon become aware how little has been gained from the policy of the past 10 years by the former Colonial people in terms of freedom and a better life and by the West as well in the bitter struggle against the Communists.

I wish that some man of courage would now come forward and lead the West in admitting the failure there has been—for if this is not done, and done soon, the irrational, destructive forces of race and colour, demanding more than a man's share, are going to be turned upon the older countries and their domestic affairs as much as they have been turned upon us in Africa. If this is done, what then?

The only answer is that every man, woman and nation should be treated on their individual merits, without regard to race or colour. This is what we tried to do in Rhodesia and Nyasaland. We were forced from it by the power of extreme black racialism. It broke the Federation. There is a lesson in this for others, as well as the seeds of danger; but there is comfort too in knowing how many today would back the leader of fibre who stood up against its spreading.

## Pan-African Confidence Trick Assassination Only Political Weapon

PAN-AFRICANISM is bringing to Africa dictatorships and single-party States—a confidence trick in that these new dictatorships are now accepted as suited to the African, SIR ROY WELENSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation, told the National Press Club in Washington on Monday.

By what standards do the United States, Great Britain, and other great democracies judge the affairs of Africa? By what right do they condemn its people to dictatorship? What, indeed, was the very purpose of the last war? And how can one deplore the trend in South America and yet condone the same in Africa? The evils of dictatorship remain what they have always been. The limitation of freedom which dictatorship invariably brings is the same for black and white. Both need and value freedom of speech, freedom of political choice, a free judiciary, and freedom to choose a Parliament and a Government.

"I cannot understand the double standard by which such standards are judged anathema to the United States, Britain, or France but acceptable for Africa and its people.

There are those who believe these new dictators in these single-party States to be lovers of freedom. In Nyasaland in recent months 15 Africans have been imprisoned for no more than criticizing the Head of State. Parliamentary opposition in Ghana is a shadow of itself—the substance being in gaol.

"I have heard it argued that this new dictatorship suits the African people, their background and their culture. Of course it does if you look to the past of Africa, its tribalism and tribal wars, the rule of force, and the elimination of rivals which was its character 70 years ago. Must the African be forced back into that past?

They cry out for education, skill, and work. Their condition is as poor today as ever. Yet all they are getting is the costly pomp of independence which to them means subservience to more ruthless and exacting masters than ever colonialism came near to being.

There are no checks and balances in these new States—and little integrity. Power is growing more absolute day by day, and poverty for the people remains as real as it was before. The gift of freedom has been to the politicians in power, not to the people.

Nor can the people now easily change the Governments they have got. They cannot do so by constitutional means. Change can now come only with the death of the dictator, and in condoning what has happened, the Western Powers have made it almost certain that political change in Africa must be by assassination. In the last two years in Africa one such dictator has been assassinated and at least two attempts have been made on the life of a second."

### U.N. Meddling in S. Rhodesia

A RESOLUTION was passed by 85 votes to two, with 11 abstentions, by the U.N. Trusteeship Committee on Monday inviting Britain "not to transfer to her Colony of Southern Rhodesia as at present governed any powers or attributes of sovereignty until the establishment of a Government fully representative of all the inhabitants". H.M. Government was asked "not to transfer the armed forces and aircraft as envisaged by the Central African Conference" at the Victoria Falls.

The U.K. did not participate in the discussion. Portugal and South Africa voted against the motion. The resolution will be submitted to the General Assembly.

When the debate opened last week Mr. Cecil King, for Britain, castigated the Afro-Asian move as "based on misinformation, distortion, and prejudice", and recommended that all delegates should acquaint themselves with the "balanced picture" presented in a document prepared for circulation by the Southern Rhodesian Government.

He reiterated that the Colony was self-governing and that the U.N. had no competence to interfere. There was no "explosive situation" and no "grave threat to peace".

The armed forces which would be re-acquired were simply those which Southern Rhodesia had already possessed before the Federation was formed. Neither Northern Rhodesia nor Nyasaland had objected to their reversion to Southern Rhodesia.

## R.N.P. Wants Wider Franchise

### S. Rhodesia Government's Policy "Unworkable"

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, Leader of the Opposition in Southern Rhodesia, was unanimously elected president of the Rhodesia National Party at its congress in Salisbury.

He told the 260 delegates—who included 79 Africans—that the present Rhodesian Front Government was unlikely to obtain independence for the Colony in the foreseeable future. Africans had to be given increased representation in Parliament if Commonwealth and world support were to be gained for the country's independence.

All races must have a voice in governing the country, but the Rhodesian Front was not considering non-European views. Any political party drawing its entire support from one race could never bring happiness or prosperity to the country in the long run; neither African nationalists nor the Front could do so. The country was not ready for an African majority Government.

Close links with the northern territories were essential for the full realization of Central Africa's potentialities, but Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would find it difficult to forge enduring ties with a Government in Southern Rhodesia which meant to keep power in European hands.

The congress voted "progressively to develop the enfranchisement of the nation in accordance with the Constitution".

Sir Edgar told a Press conference afterwards that the Front's policy would become unworkable within months. It had promised independence, but was not prepared to make the changes essential to obtain it. "If we had been in power we should have got it with minor changes in our policy". The R.N.P. had lost white support but had gained more African followers.

## Zanzibar's Reply to Sir Keith Fraser

### Minister's Tribute to Opposition

SHEIKH JUMA ALEY, Finance Minister in Zanzibar, replying to the letter of Sir Keith Fraser which was quoted in last week's issue, has written in the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"It is nearly 10 years since Sir Keith was last in Zanzibar. It is unfortunate that he should write from a position of aloofness. If he only knew how during the last 15 months the people of Zanzibar of all political affiliations have rallied together he would not grudge independence to a State which in the words of the Zanzibar Prime Minister is only regaining her former status.

"The Independence Conference was remarkable for the attitude shown by the Opposition. They were co-operative and helpful all along, and the Leader of the Opposition, the Hon. Abejd Karume, in welcoming the decision of the Secretary of State, was confident that Zanzibar would go forward together forgetting her past ills and sinking her bitter memories.

"There is no such thing as a rule by any minority in Zanzibar. Of the 10 Ministers in the Government three are Afro-Arab, one is of Asian extraction, and six, including the Prime Minister himself, are Africans proper.

"The question of the Government party polling less votes than the Opposition is normal, a feature of the one-man-one-vote system. It has happened in this country on very many occasions.

"Nor could Zanzibar be the Cuba of East Africa. All the parties in Parliament are agreed to seek every possible assistance, but without strings, and to build a new Zanzibar on the best Zanzibar traditions.

"May I remind Sir Keith Fraser that Zanzibar already had its independent Rulers, as our Prime Minister said at the Independence Conference, when England was engaged in the Wars of the Roses?"

## Passengers for East Africa

PASSENGERS outward-bound for East Africa via the Mediterranean in the S.S. RHODESIA CASTLE include:

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**Dar es Salaam**:—Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Craven, the Rev. R. and Mrs. Grey, Mr. and Mrs. K. G. A. Joels, Mr. D. C. Kennedy, Dr. and Mrs. J. G. Kneafsey, Mr. and Mrs. F. Nyman, Mr. and Mrs. C. G. Pepper, the Rev. J. G. Robinson, Mr. and Mrs. D. E. Sandall, Mr. and Mrs. F. N. Scaife, and Mr. and Mrs. R. S. Tonkin.

**Beira**:—Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Bain, the Rev. G. Burroughs, Mr. and Mrs. H. J. P. Davidson, Mr. J. D. Downton, Mr. G. M. Maunder, Mr. D. B. Nel, Mr. and Mrs. H. Newcomb, Mr. C. Orr, and Mr. and Mrs. R. N. Oswald.

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## Rebuff for Mr. Stonehouse

MR. JOHN STONEHOUSE, M.P., who some years ago worked in Uganda for a short period, and has since made himself prominent among Labour speakers on African affairs, suffered heavy defeat in the elections at last week's party conference for membership of the national executive. In the constituency section, in which he was a candidate, he came 15th in the contest for seven seats, polling only 69,000 votes, as against 183,000 a year earlier, and the 475,000 cast for Mr. Mikardo, the successful candidate with the fewest votes. Mrs. Barbara Castle, who has visited East and Central Africa and often spoken about them, came second in the women's section with 729,000 votes (compared with 651,000 last year). Mr. Denis Healey, until recently the Socialist front-bench spokesman on Colonial affairs, was unsuccessful (with 282,000 votes, against 239,000 in 1962). Mr. Callaghan's support rose from 444,000 to 562,000. Mrs. Eirene White was also successful with just over 5m. votes, but lost more than 400,000 supporters. In the trade union section Mr. R. J. Gunter came third with more than 5.3m. votes, and Mr. Fred Mulley sixth with just over 5m. Both have spoken fairly on East and Central African subjects.

## Expatriate Wives

MISS KOMIE, a member of the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia, said in a debate in which she asked for much greater attention to the education of African girls: "Educated boys return from their training, find that the girls are not educated, and therefore do not want to marry them. Even among the Members of this House everyone who has had a very good education has a wife either from California or South Africa". The "everyone" referred, of course, to the African members.

## Assets of Tanganyika Concessions

TANGANYIKA CONCESSIONS, LTD., report that in the year to June 30 group profit before tax was £1,048,775, against £1,282,411, and after tax £778,139 (£874,842). The dividend is maintained at 9d. per 10s. share, taking £574,712. "Tanks" has a large stake in Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, from which it has received no dividends this year or last because the authorities in the Congo have not given permission for the dividends earned to be remitted. "In view of changing circumstances, including the political situation in Africa", the directors have made a re-assessment of the company's assets and have decided to provide £1.6m. from capital reserve to reduce the value of some of them. The value is now deemed to be fair and reasonable in the prevailing circumstances.

## Alex Lawrie & Company

ALEX LAWRIE & CO., LTD., report profit to June 30 after tax of £118,000 at £112,277, compared with £107,463 in 1962. Ordinary shareholders again receive 12½%. After increasing the general reserve by £50,000 to £390,000, the carry-forward is £95,808. The issued capital is £728,000 in ordinary shares and £120,000 in 6% preference shares. Investments appear at £957,323, interests in subsidiary companies at £588,123, tea estates at £97,195, and current assets less current liabilities at £59,759. The company controls Kettles-Roy & Tysons, Ltd., Horace Hickling & Co., Ltd., Stone Valley Tea Co., Ltd., Tanganyika, and Kumadzi Estate, Nyasaland.

## News Items in Brief

The Foreign Ministry in Bonn has announced that West Germany will grant economic aid to Nyasaland.

Two Africans have been jailed for 15 years in Umtali, Southern Rhodesia, on a charge of throwing petrol bombs.

African primary school pupils in Kenya who married after July this year are to be expelled, the Education Minister has decided.

C. T. Bowring & Co. (Insurance), Ltd., a group with large East and Central African connexions, has acquired a leading Glasgow broking business.

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., of Southern Rhodesia, sold 235,858 tons of coal in September and 8,407 of coke. The August figures were 242,429 and 9,825 tons.

To commemorate the first anniversary of Uganda's independence, a service of thanksgiving was held yesterday in London at St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square.

Anglo American Corporation announces that nearly all holders of the 50,000 convertible bearer bonds issued five years ago have exercised their right to convert into ordinary shares.

Masal spears were used to spike cheques and paper money when the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief collected more than £684 at a Trafalgar Square rally in London at the week-end.

In the first nine months of this year diamond sales through the Central Selling Organization reached the record value of £86,410,368. The next highest total for the nine months was £71.3m. last year.

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa has sent a team to investigate industrial development possibilities in East and Central Africa. The visits are being made at the invitation of the Governments of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Rwanda, Burundi, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Madagascar, the Somali Republic, and Ethiopia.

Rhodes Scholarships for Germans, which lapsed in 1939, will not be revived, the Rhodes trustees have decided. They consider that the growing needs of the Commonwealth have a prior claim on the trust's resources.

Sudan Airways and Ethiopian Airlines were two of 10 African airlines which demanded the expulsion of South African Airways from the International Air Transport Association at its session in Rome on Monday.

Dalgely and New Zealand Loan, Ltd., a group with substantial interests in East Africa, report group profits to June 30 after tax at £1,661,000, against £1,242,000 in the previous year. The dividend is raised 1% to 9% tax free.

W. & C. French, Ltd., building contractors with an East African subsidiary, report profit after tax to March 31 at £283,073, against £196,986. The dividend is raised from 6½% to 7½%. A further £600,000 of capital is to be raised by a rights issue.

A subsidiary of the Gulf Oil Corporation of America has been granted exploration rights over some 28,250 sq. kilometres on the coast of Ethiopia. Ethiopian Gulf Oil Co., Ltd., is to be registered within three months of signature of an agreement.

Kenya's new Agricultural Finance Corporation, which has just held its first meeting, hopes to obtain a £34m. loan from international sources. It has assumed the financial responsibility lately held by the Land Bank and the boards of agriculture.

## Maiden Dividend

E. S. & A. Robinson (Holdings), Ltd., a group with a Rhodesian subsidiary, is to make a three-for-four scrip issue. The interim dividend is being raised from 6% to 7%. The capitalization will involve the issue of nearly 9.2m. ordinary shares of £1 each.

A maiden dividend of 25% is to be paid by Rhodesia Television, Ltd. The net operating profit after tax was just under £84,000, against £75,000 last year. Revenue from advertising increased by £120,000 to £587,906. The chairman is Sir Andrew Strachan.

Lewa Sisal and General Investments, Ltd., reports profit to June 30 at £32,176 (£34,104) subject to tax of £16,799 (£17,776). Dividends of 22½%, less tax, on the preferred stock and of 12½% on the deferred stock (the same) will require £16,756, leaving £13,947 to be carried forward.

Solel Boneh's Overseas Harbour Works Company, of Haifa, has been awarded the contract to build the sea-front hotel in Dar es Salaam which is to be operated by Milont, Ltd., of Israel. The Tanganyika Government is to borrow £500,000 from the Israeli Government for participation in the project.

Europeans in Northern Rhodesia have not bothered to register for the electoral roll. Registrations ended on Saturday, and by Thursday only about 6,000 had asked to be put on the new reserved roll, or fewer than one-fifth of those on the old upper roll. African registrations numbered almost 14m.

Aberfoyle Plantations, Ltd., which has a tea growing subsidiary in Southern Rhodesia, reports net profit after tax to March 31 at £15,258 (£28,243). Shareholders receive 1d. per 2s. share free of tax, taking £21,352. The issued capital is £512,455. Fixed assets appear at £876,772 and net current assets at £262,439.

## Contract Reduced

The Government-controlled television service in Kenya has been forbidden by the Minister of Information, Mr. Oneko, to show an American Negro comedy called "Amos n' Andy", about which American Negro organizations had protested. The Minister said that the production would give many people in Kenya a quite misleading impression of Negro life in the United States.

Reallocation to local contractors by the Sudan Government of much work at the new town of Khashm-el-Girba will mean that the Turriff Construction Corporation of the U.K. will do work to a value of nearly £6m., not £13m. as originally contemplated, Mr. Mahmoud Gadein, Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Irrigation and Hydro-Electric Power, said in London on Monday. The corporation will do the work of infra-structure and construct some public buildings and about 2,000 of a total of 8,000 houses.

A Bulgarian trade delegation has just spent a week in Dar es Salaam. Led by Mr. Petar Georgiev Stefanov, Chief of the Trade Agreements Administration in the Ministry of Foreign Trade, its other members were Mr. Anastas Borissov Dontchev, the newly-appointed Commercial Attaché to the Bulgarian Embassy, and Mr. Georgi Assenov Toromanov. They saw a number of Ministers and senior officials, the president of the Tanganyika National Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture, Mr. P. V. Mutabuzi, the general manager of Mwananchi Development Corporation, Mr. A. C. Faraji, and the president, Mr. A. B. Nihili, and members of the board of management of Dar es Salaam Chamber of Commerce.

NORTHERN RHODESIA



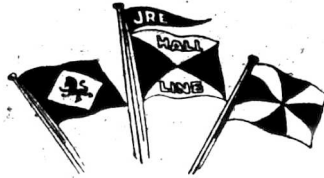
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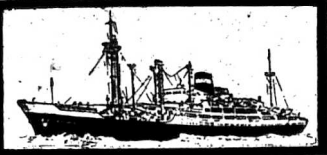
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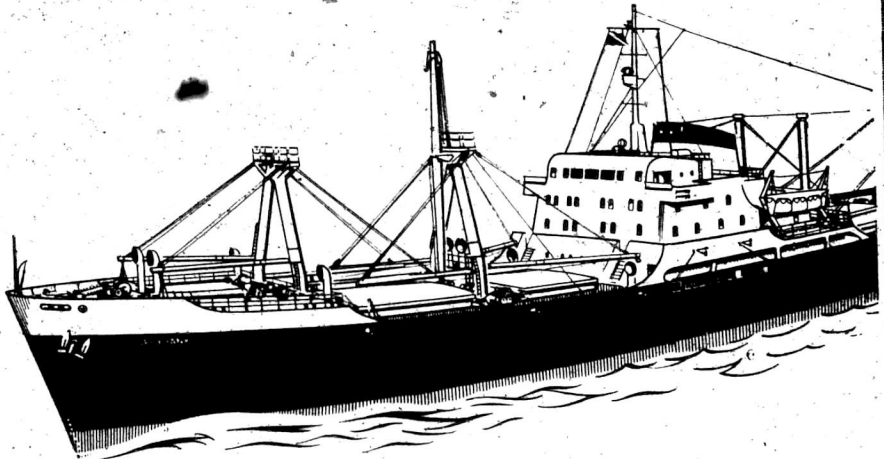
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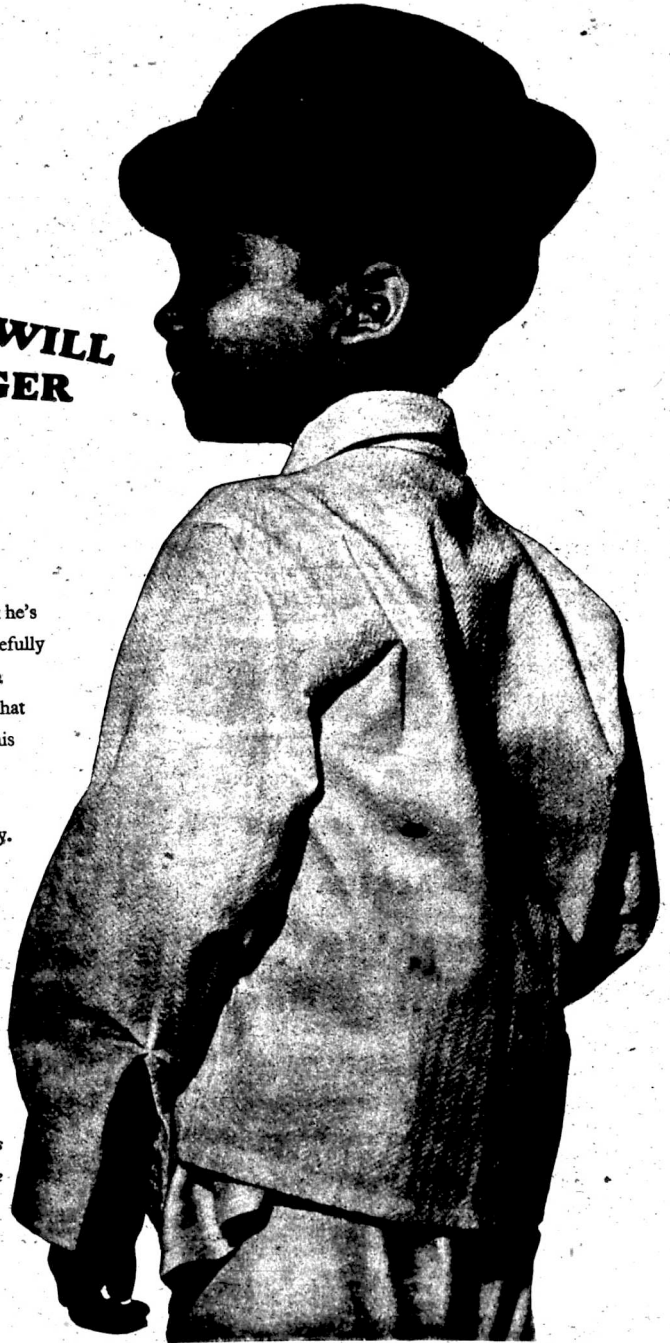
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**PERFIDY**, the hallmark both of the Macmillan Government's gamesmanship in Kenya and of the pro-Kenyatta faction of African nationalists, has brought the Colony so close to civil war that that prospect has been openly debated during the last few days. To such a pass has the country been carried in less than four years by the malign manœuvres initiated by Mr. Macleod. It was already evident in the first few weeks of 1960 that his shabby opportunism must quickly rehabilitate Mau Mau, the foulest conspiracy in British African history, and cause the release, to become the country's African nationalist leader, of the man whom the courts had condemned as the manager of that movement; but the then Secretary of State was nevertheless able to enlist the active help of Mr. (now Sir Michael) Blundell and his obedient party, though some of its most influential members privately admitted that the course was wicked and destructive. Some Members of Parliament in Britain likewise recognized the procedure to be as calamitous as it was unprincipled. But neither here nor in Kenya did even one man in the party either of Mr. Macleod or Mr. Blundell resign in protest. Had even a few of those who saw that Kenya was being doomed to disaster taken the honourable course of resignation in order to demonstrate their conviction that the Macmillan-Macleod-Blundell plan was false to Britain's pledges, principles and policy over three-quarters of a century, many others who were at least as disturbed by the onset of a political chicanery of which Kenya had had no previous experience would assuredly have proclaimed their dismay—not selfishly on account of the damage which was about to be done to the country's economy and the white settler community, but primarily on behalf of the millions of trusting Africans who were to be committed by their British rulers to the mercies of men infected by the

still persisting pestilence of Mau Mau (which apologists were already ominously mis-describing as a nation-wide political party). The Speaker of the Legislature and Major Day, an elected Member, did resign later in disgust, but by that time the acquiescence of the New Kenya Party enabled the Secretary of State to treat their rebukes as no more than eccentric symbolism.

Specific promises had been repeatedly given by the Government that Kenyatta would never be allowed back into the Kikuyu tribal area, and that the thousands of Kikuyu loyalists who had courageously fought terrorism in all its most evil forms—often with father against son, brother against brother, and even mother against daughter—would be protected against future intimidation and violence. Because the Macmillan-Macleod-Blundell policy cynically disregarded those solemn undertakings it is termed perfidious. This is not wisdom after the event. The happenings of the past three and three-quarter years are the direct consequences of decisions which this journal immediately attacked as shameful; and the consequences have been accurately foretold in these columns ever since January 1960, the date of the first Lancaster House Conference. The fourth of the series of such conferences has been held in London during the past three weeks, most of the time being spent by the Kenyatta delegation of no fewer than a dozen Ministers—for Kenyatta is now, of course, the Queen's Chief Minister in Kenya, and must have a larger entourage than any other leader from any part of the Commonwealth has ever brought to London!—in pressing the Secretary of State to abandon the system of regionalism in government to which H.M. Government and both political parties in Kenya pledged themselves last year. The document then

signed was swiftly repudiated by leaders of the Kenya African National Union (some of whom had similarly disavowed the 1960 agreement, in the case of Mr. Mboya within hours of its signature). During the recent general election many K.A.N.U. candidates appealed for support on the ground that the party would ignore the Constitution which it had helped to devise. Having won the contest—largely because it had received large sums of money, much from behind the Iron Curtain, for the purposes so well known in African elections (and afterwards)—K.A.N.U. speakers, including some who had now become Ministers, vied with one another in threats to the K.A.D.U. Opposition; and in the speech which he read at the opening session of the conference in Lancaster House on September 25 Mzee Kenyatta declared bluntly that if the United Kingdom Government would not agree to scrap those parts of the Constitution which he and his associates disliked, they would act as they pleased as soon as Britain had granted Kenya independence on December 12 of this year.

\* \* \*

It has been under that insolent, well advertised, and not unexpected menace that the exchanges of the past three weeks have occurred. Under any Prime Minister of modern times except Mr. Macmillan that type of blackmail would have been

### **Independence Could Still Be Postponed.**

met with prompt warnings that the grant of independence (which was stated at the time of the announcement to be subject to two conditions, neither of which has yet been fulfilled) might be postponed, and that Britain's responsibility for law, order, and the fair treatment of minority tribes and interests would be transferred only when H.M. Government felt completely confident that there was a successor Government in the Colony which would prove trustworthy in these and other matters. More than one Constitution in the Commonwealth has been suspended within recent years, and the lesser penalty of imposing delay if necessary in the case of Kenya would therefore not be as unthinkable or impracticable as the K.A.N.U. extremists imagine. It is because more than half of Kenya's Africans deeply distrust the Kenyatta party that the plan for regionalism was evolved to give them protection and to register their suspicions, antagonisms, and fears. That accommodation was and is resented by those whom it inferentially indicts, and upon whom it serves notice that they will be resisted if they should be reckless enough to try to impose their will by force.

Alarmed at the trend of events, and inflamed by reports that the British Cabinet was about to capitulate once more to K.A.N.U. intransigence, whether real or synthetic, a blue-print for the partition of Kenya was suddenly published in Nairobi last week by K.A.D.U. spokesmen. They

### **Plan for Partition.**

were promptly called to order from London by Mr. Ngala, the party's president. Whether he was privy to the plan or not—and K.A.N.U. attributes it to him—its publication was opportune, for it emphasized to Ministers in Whitehall at a crucial moment that very grave risks would be involved in breaking yet another British promise. While H.M. Government continues to administer Kenya, it can, and of course will, deal swiftly with any outbursts of tribal exuberance or seditiously planned disorder by the Land Freedom Army, for instance. In anticipation of trouble, troops are being held ready to move and police riot squads have been sent to especially sensitive areas. That a K.A.N.U. Government would be similarly capable of coping with disturbances, which would probably be on a far greater and wider scale, is very doubtful, for there are scarcely any African military or police officers with experience in handling more than a few men, the Kenya battalions of the King's African Rifles (soon to become the Kenya Rifles) are recruited mainly from tribes which dislike and mistrust the Kikuyu and K.A.N.U., and a large majority of the Africans in the Kenya Police are also on the side of K.A.D.U. Both forces have respect and regard for their British officers, most of whom will not stay after independence; and their departure will weaken discipline and allow the display of tribal loyalties and enmities in ways which may quickly prove to the Kenyatta-Odinga-Mboya *galère* that their strident optimism has been fundamentally misplaced.

\* \* \*

This tragic situation, it must be repeated, is not a fortuitous complication which has arisen unexpectedly to frustrate sound planning. On the contrary, it was foreseen, repeatedly foretold in these

### **Unprincipled Trafficking.**

columns (and scarcely anywhere else), but recklessly disregarded by Mr. Macleod, a disastrous Secretary of State who was impervious to expert advice, official or non-official, which it suited him to disregard. A Governor who in two broadcast talks termed Kenyatta "the African leader to darkness and death" was nevertheless willing to cooperate with Mr. Macleod in preparing the way, even to the extent of changing the law, for that Kikuyu misleader's entry into the

Legislature, well knowing that he would then soon become Prime Minister. European politicians holding portfolios in Kenya, especially Mr. Blundell and Mr. Bruce McKenzie, who knew far more than Sir Patrick Renison about tribal divisions and antipathies and the serious prospect of widespread resistance to a K.A.N.U. dictatorship, were equally supine. It was these men and their dupes who prepared the present predicament. It is not the product of mistaken liberalism, but of calculated (or, rather, miscalculated) and unprincipled trafficking with Kikuyu-dominated groups which had been directly or indirectly implicated in actions which had cost many thousands of African lives, untold misery, indescribable degradation, and scores of millions of pounds from British taxpayers. Pledges have been broken in Kenya with a cynicism and perfidy rivalled only by similarly dishonourable conduct towards the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

\* \* \*

An inkling of the price to be paid in and by Kenya for such faithlessness and folly is at long, long last discerned by an increasing number of our purblind politicians. The price, unhappily, will not be paid by them, the chief culprits, but by millions of Africans and thousands of

### Faithlessness And Folly.

our own fellow-countrymen and countrywomen whom poltroons in power have callously betrayed. Thrusting out of mind this abominable record, some five thousand Conservatives gathered in conference in Blackpool last week heard members of the Cabinet claim that the Government's record has been one of high principle! The distinguishing characteristic was said to be the party's "moral integrity" — and not one newspaper which we have seen has questioned that deliberate falsification of the facts, or recalled the verdict of Lord Salisbury, one of the most trusted of Tories, that his party's behaviour in Africa under Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod had been "unscrupulous". Mr. Butler's short record as Minister for Central African Affairs has been deplorable, but he has the arrogance to assert that his decisions have "proved right"; and that characteristic piece of self-praise, though manifestly unreliable, has not been questioned. Time alone will prove how much damage has been done by his abject appeasement of Dr. Banda, for example; already it can be seen that the rule of law is being dangerously eroded in Nyasaland, where political murders and cases of torture, extortion, and oppression of all kinds are now so numerous that many of them are no longer

reported. Such are the first fruits of the destruction of a Federation which the United Kingdom Government lacked the faith, courage and perseverance to preserve until multi-racialism could be firmly established for the common weal. In Africa Macmillanism has spelt surrender, betrayal, and abandonment of honourable and necessary labours long before Africans could be expected to be ready to bear the burdens themselves.

\* \* \*

As we close for press there is amply confirmed news that Kenyatta authorized K.A.N.U. party officials in Nairobi to send him a telegram on Tuesday urging him to fly back at once with his entourage of Ministers and declare Kenya independent on Sunday. Such is the irresponsibility of the exhibitionist to whom the present U.K. Government has transferred power, for, as Mr. Ngala, Leader of the Opposition, promptly commented: "If Kenyatta declares independence without waiting for the necessary Act of Parliament through Westminster he will be asking for a very serious rebellion". Sunday will mark the eleventh anniversary of the declaration of the Mau Mau emergency and the arrest of Kenyatta. The nostalgia for Mau Mau in K.A.N.U. ministerial circles revealed in their choice of date could scarcely be more emphatically demonstrated. Nor could the basic absurdity and practical failure of Macmillanism in Africa.

### Statements Worth Noting

"The basis of a strong Government is a strong party able to mobilize public enthusiasm".—Mr. Edward Avira, North Mara district chairman of the Tanganyika African National Union.

"Lord Malvern is the greatest of great men that Southern Rhodesia has produced. He played a great part in shaping my thinking".—Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation.

"The Government of the Republic of South Africa will defend the homes of its people, not desert them as our own Government has so wickedly deserted the people of Kenya".—Mr. T. G. Jameson.

"White racialists who fail to improve their attitude towards Africans will be deported when Northern Rhodesia becomes independent next year".—Mr. Simon Kapwepwe, Minister for African Agriculture.

"The total loss of life in all the independence movements in Africa represents something less than we lose on our highways in accidents *per annum* in the United States".—Mr. Adlai Stevenson, American ambassador at U.N.O.

"It is hard to be convinced that children of different races should be compelled to attend the same schools unless their parents agree and are well disposed". — From the report of the Southern Rhodesian Education Committee.

## Notes By The Way

### Another Breach of Faith?

PROMINENCE has been given by newspapers favouring the appeasement of extremist African politicians to reports that large numbers of Europeans in Northern Rhodesia have disappointed the National Progress Party (formerly the Northern Rhodesian Division of the United Federal Party) by failing to register for the new reserved electoral roll. What no publication has mentioned—and I have reason to believe that it is very definitely a fact—is that during the constitutional discussions in Lusaka it was agreed that those on the upper roll (who included almost all the white voters) should not be required to re-register. Why has that understanding been disregarded? My guess is that Mr. Kaunda and his United National Independence Party are not to be blamed, for what matters to them is not the size of the new register compared with that which did duty for the recent election, but the number of seats in the Legislature reserved for European representatives. U.N.I.P. would, I believe, concede ten; various sections of the European community have proposed from 15 to 20, and the wrangle has continued for weeks. Mr. Roberts and his associates would obviously not ask for re-registration, because there was complete re-registration between April and June last year, because that procedure is always considered a bore, and because applications must represent a sharp reduction in numbers, since many people have already left the country and more have probably decided not to remain when the country becomes an independent African State next year. Why should they waste time applying for a vote which they do not want?

### Blunder or Plot?

IF BOTH PARTIES can for these reasons be absolved, it must be those in charge of the official machine of the Government who set in train the process for registration for the new reserved rolls. Why? It is widely known that some European officials in Northern Rhodesia have for years worked to frustrate the Federal Government and latterly to favour U.N.I.P. Did the idea that Europeans wishing to preserve their right to the franchise should have to make a new claim on a new register originate in such circles? Those concerned, and certainly their superiors, must have known that that demand involved the disregard of an understanding already reached. My information—from a responsible source—suggests that there has been another cynical breach of faith. An explanation from the Government appears highly desirable.

### Mr. Obote Mised

MR. MILTON OBOBE, Prime Minister of Uganda, has expressed resentment at the appointment of Sir Geoffrey de Freitas as British High Commissioner to the East African Federation as well as to Kenya. "To whom is he designated?", Mr. Obote asked as he passed through Nairobi. "I do not know whether the Prime Minister of Kenya has been told. I have been told nothing, and so I feel that I have been slighted". There was no justification for that sentiment, for the Macmillan Government—which has to its discredit a colossal collection of follies in Africa—has in this matter acted with circumspection. The invitation to Sir Geoffrey, now British High Commissioner in Ghana, to transfer to East Africa was issued when the political leaders of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika were publicly declaring that an East African Federation would be created about the end of this year. EAST AFRICA AND

RHODESIA declined to believe those assurances, which it regarded as part of a manoeuvre designed to persuade H.M. Government to concede independence to Kenya in December, months earlier than had been intended.

### Whose Blunder?

THE BRITISH POLITICIANS fell into the trap, of course. Then, December 12 having been announced as the date on which British rule would end in Kenya, spokesmen for Uganda and Tanganyika admitted that negotiations for federation were meeting difficulties. Now nobody expects union of the territories in the near future; one influential African leader told me a few days ago that if it comes at all it will not be for years (and in other matters he is no pessimist). Circumstances having thus changed, Sir Geoffrey de Freitas accepted the appointment of United Kingdom High Commissioner in Kenya only; and the official announcement that he would be the first head of the British mission in Nairobi made no reference to the proposed Federation. There was Press speculation that he would be the first High Commissioner to the Federation if it emerged; but that was all. Mr. Obote has evidently not been properly informed. As there is a British High Commission in Uganda and a High Commissioner for Uganda in London, the Commonwealth Relations Office has two channels of communication. Either the C.R.O. or one of the High Commissions apparently performed its duty incompetently.

### Case for Resignation

MR. BURUDI MABWERA must stand well with the hierarchy of the Kenya African National Union, the party which provides the country's Government, for when the Prime Minister left for London with his cohort of 11 other Ministers—incidentally creating an easy Commonwealth record for wholesale transfer of a Government—Mr. Mabwera was left behind as acting general secretary. How, then, does it happen that he should write in *Pan-African Magazine* that "Mr. Bruce McKenzie, the European (or, rather, South African) who is Minister of Agriculture in the Kenyatta Government, and Mr. Peter Marrian, Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Land Settlement, are "devoted to a device to split the radical African front", namely to the idea of creating an African middle class by giving fragmented smallholdings to Africans? This open attack on the only two white men in the Government—and two of the few white members of the Kenyatta party—needs to be explained.

### Mr. Bruce McKenzie's Position

IF THE WRITER is at variance with his party's policy, he should be promptly removed from office. If he is not discharged, it will inevitably be deduced that he has expressed the K.A.N.U. view. In that case Mr. McKenzie and Mr. Marrian should resign. Mr. McKenzie in particular has among his critics a high proportion of the white farming community, but I doubt whether one of them would accuse him of trying to "split the radical African front". They might take the opposite view—that he has gone to the limit in helping to repair what many people in Kenya still consider to be something very near a Mau Mau front. There has been a general conviction among Europeans that he will be dropped once his usefulness to K.A.N.U. is over, but that did not seem likely to happen for some months at any rate. Is the Mabwera attack a warning arranged with other leaders in the party who dislike a policy of patience in this regard?



### Basis for Confidence

WHILE AFRICAN MINISTERS in Kenya exhort European farmers not to quit the country — as about one-third of the 1960 total have already done — there is almost daily discouragement of those who would be most reluctant to leave. There are frequent assaults upon white men and women, some of them aged and others infirm, and many cases of burglary in which the occupants of a house are attacked, tied up, and sometimes seriously injured. In some localities there is a constant fear of raids by thugs in the Kikuyu Land Freedom Army. In other areas thugs of other tribes are similarly feared. In this connexion it is interesting to note that the Kitale correspondent of the *Kenya Weekly News* reported quite recently that some European farmers are already being named by Africans

as marked for immediate expulsion after independence because they have objected to members of the party youth wing trespassing and causing general trouble on their farms; that continuous theft of wire and the movement of undipped cattle have driven farmers out of business near Eldoret; and that at a meeting at Soy an African elected member of the regional assembly told him: "If we don't get Kitale we shall never get these bloody settlers out". Still worse is the last sentence of the short report, namely the assurance that: "I could fill a page with similar instances". How, then, can anyone in Kenya with any regard for the truth assert that the European farming community has lost its fears and is now confident? The most optimistic or lethargic persons would be driven into serious anxiety in such circumstances.

## K.A.N.U. Threatens to Seize Independence on Sunday

### Crisis Telegram from Acting Prime Minister Concerted With Kenyatta

AFTER telephoning Mzee Kenyatta, Kenya's Prime Minister, Mr. Joseph Murumbi, his deputy in Nairobi, sent a cable to London late on Tuesday deploring the "half measures, vacillations and double dealing" at the Lancaster House independence conference and demanded its abrogation and the delegates' return so that independence could be declared this Sunday, the anniversary of Kenyatta's arrest in 1952 on Mau Mau charges.

Mr. Sandys, Colonial Secretary, was accused of insulting the Kenya nation deliberately by his "deplorable" attitude.

On Wednesday last week 25 K.A.D.U. senators and M.P.s. in Nairobi announced, "as the only alternative", the formation of an independent "Republic of the State of Kenya", comprising the present Rift Valley (Nakuru would be the capital), Western, Coast, and North-Eastern (Somali) Regions. That would leave K.A.N.U. with the Central, Eastern and Nyanza Regions.

Led by Mr. Daniel Moi, the party chairman, they said that Mr. Ngala, Leader of the Opposition, was to be recalled from London to assume the presidency. Mr. Moi would be his deputy; Mr. Masinde Muliro would be Prime Minister; and Mr. John Seroney would be Attorney-General. The Somalis would be invited to an independence conference for the new State.

### No Compromises

When Mr. Ngala heard the news, he cabled Mr. Moi to delay further action and sent Mr. Martin Shikuku, the party's general secretary, back from London to Kenya. Mr. Shikuku flew back to Britain on Saturday with an assurance that no secessionist moves would be made.

He reported that the K.A.D.U. proclamation had been provoked by news that Mzee Kenyatta, the Prime Minister, had allegedly said that K.A.N.U. had won all and K.A.D.U. lost all at the London conference. Taken with the movement of troops to K.A.D.U. areas, it had seemed that an unfavourable decision had been reached in London.

The secession threat came a day after Mr. Seroney had told correspondents after a meeting with the Colonial Secretary that Mr. Sandys had been trying to make the K.A.D.U. delegation agree to compromise with K.A.N.U.

"We are not prepared to make any compromises", he said. "We expect the British Government to honour the last Lancaster House agreement and leave the rest to the people of Kenya."

"We told Mr. Sandys that if the balance between the regions and the Central Government is upset, we shall no longer be bound by that clause in the existing Constitution concerning the creation of a united Kenya. If Mr. Sandys makes his decisions along the lines he is engaged in, then

partition will be a fact in Kenya, as it was in India. We are hoping that good sense will prevail and that the integrity of the British Government will be respected. If it is not, anything can happen."

The Kenya Government on the same day referred to its alarm at reports that "certain Kenya leaders have sent messages to some of our people in the Rift Valley Region spreading despondency and alarm and attempting to incite them to violence if the wishes of the leaders are not met at the London conference."

"The Government urges all the people of Kenya to ignore such subversive and irresponsible action, and asks the people to co-operate in maintaining peace and stability, which are essential for the development of Kenya. The Government re-affirms its stand to deal swiftly with any person spreading ill-feeling, alarm or despondency calculated to disrupt the peace of the country."

### Accusations of Blackmail

When the news of the secessionist move broke Mr. Ngala said that it was not surprising, in view of the "false claims K.A.N.U. has been putting across" and of the frustration felt by many Kenyans.

"It is absolute moonshine to imagine that a group of disident politicians can challenge the authority of the Kenya Government", commented Mr. Kenyatta.

Mr. T. J. Mboya, Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs, condemned the move as highly irresponsible licence, but nonetheless argued that it was not to be taken seriously. It was just a manoeuvre by people "who feel that the only way they can get any attention now is to create this idea of crisis."

Throughout Thursday the following message from the Prime Minister was broadcast in English from the Nairobi station:—"I wish to call all the citizens of Kenya and to ask them to keep calm, not to take seriously the things that have been said by K.A.D.U. who, being defeated in various places in elections, in county elections, in municipal elections, are desperate. What they are doing now is blackmailing the Government, and also H.M. Government, to give them concessions."

### "No Trouble"

"Will everyone please keep calm until we return? I want to assure you that the Government is firm and the Government will take strong action against anyone, any person or group of people, who would try to make trouble in Kenya. We have enough forces to deal with any trouble at the moment. So all I am asking everybody is to keep calm."

"We are doing very well here, and the conference is going on very well in committees. So now we have nearly finished the conference. Until we come back I want everybody everywhere to keep calm, to obey the laws. I can assure you there will not be any trouble at all."

"K.A.N.U. is capable of governing. So please don't be afraid of threats which have been uttered by K.A.D.U. They can't do anything because Government is ready to take action at any time. The forces of law and order are ready to deal with anybody who is likely to make trouble."

A second message (translated from the Swahili) said (in part):—

"The Kenya Government will rule Kenya peacefully and lawfully, and anyone who wants to break the law—it is the Government's job to deal with him.

"These things are done by people who do not love our country, who want to delay our independence. Have nothing to do with people like this. Obey the laws of the Government. Remain quiet until we return and say what has been done at the conference we are holding now. Our discussions are going well.

### Avoid Congo Affair

"Those who are showing discord are trying to wreck the talks. They are using trickery to overthrow our Government and divide our country. A divided country cannot be strong. Therefore, my brothers, follow one path—the path of orderliness. As to the trouble-making by K.A.D.U., do not have any part of it. Think only of the one way of advancing our country—the way of unity. Let us speak with one voice. If we do this the people of the whole world will respect us; they will know that the African can rule his own country.

"I beg you not to have anything to do with trouble, so that we shall not have a Congo in Kenya. The whole people of East Africa do not want the sort of things that happened in the Congo. These stupid people, through ignorance, are trying to destroy our country."

Interviewed on the B.B.C. African Service, Mr. Kenyatta said that K.A.D.U. had been "blowing whistles and war horns, sharpening spears, and making imaginary poisoned arrows to frighten the British Government.

"They want to gain points by threat. This we don't believe in. We believe that we can achieve our goal by intelligent discussions. K.A.D.U., having less intelligence, think they can use these threats."

"Do you expect then that they will carry out their threats?"

"I do not think so, because if they try to do it we have sufficient forces in Kenya to deal with them."

"Have you talked to the K.A.D.U. leaders here in London since these reports have come out?"

"I have not seen them. They hide; I don't know where they hide. They're not to be seen anywhere. I haven't been able to see them. I think they'll also be frightened to see me."

"I asked that because Mr. Ngala has asked his supporters in Kenya to keep calm and not to take any urgent action."

"This is just another manoeuvre because he knew that he had been sending telegrams, telephones, asking these people to act as they have done, to act as a threat, so as to help them to gain points with the Secretary of State. He knows very well what has been happening."

"So you think that he really is to blame for this, and it's not a question of a revolt within his party?"

"No, no, no! He and Seroney are to blame—the whole of them because they have been sending messages. We know what they have been doing, and now, to look as though they are angels, they are trying to show that they are peace-loving. So they are sending appeals to their people. They have provoked their people to act as they're doing."

Questioned earlier by Mr. James Kangwana for the B.B.C. Swahili service, the Prime Minister maintained that "these threats have no foundation whatsoever. They are just a way of getting something by improper means. They have no basis, because K.A.D.U. cannot do what they say they can do because we, as the Government, have enough police to deal with matters like this, and K.A.D.U. know this perfectly well."

### Danger of Bloodshed

Mr. Ngala's message restraining his followers from further action was dismissed as "complete lies, because if a man starts a fire and then starts shouting and saying, 'who started this fire? Let us go and put it out,' and they are the ones who started this fire because they can see that they have already been beaten everywhere.

"We beat them in the general election, municipal election and in the county election, and they can see that they remain only bare bones; all the meat is finished.

"They are lacking in sense. The way to do it is for us to debate the matter like men and use some sense. But if you say, 'either you give me this or I will beat you, I will hit you with a club,' then you are not a man, because you are not following the path of law."

KANGWANA: "Don't you think it would be better for you to make a joint statement calling on the people to live in peace?"

KENYATTA: "We are always asking them. If I see them at Lancaster House I ask them to come and talk, but they can see no way of coming to reach agreement because they think if we threaten, if we tell the British Government there will be bloodshed, there will be this and that. The Government will

be afraid and give them all they want, so for our part we tell our people every day, to remain peaceful, because even the Opposition know we have plenty of strength.

"If we had wanted to use force we would have used it, but we know that force cannot settle matters; it cannot bring agreement. The path of law of talking together is the one K.A.N.U. puts its trust in. But they don't want this. They say, 'we shall get people to fight'."

KANGWANA: "How far have you got towards a compromise on the Constitution?"

KENYATTA: "We have made considerable progress, but what is wrecking everything is that when K.A.D.U. are at Lancaster House and these things cannot be changed. But even God's things can be changed, let alone man's. Everything man-kind does must be changed at one time or another. They cannot remain exactly as they are; so we say those parts of the Constitution which cannot work must be changed.

"Let us draw up a Constitution which can work, which the people of the country can approve of. I don't know whether they are out of their minds or whether they lack understanding—they cannot see this. They say the way it was in the beginning it must be for evermore. This is impossible."

KANGWANA: "What have you done to stimulate a peaceful attitude on the part of the Opposition?"

### Land "No Problem"

KENYATTA: "We have considered everything from the point of view of the country. We say that every part, every region, every province will have its own land. They will be in charge of their own land. There is no one who will deprive them of their land. Many people say, 'Oh, the big tribes will take our land'—there is no one at all who wants to take land away from anyone else.

"We want Africans everywhere to be united. We want to build up the country so that we are together, and that is why we use our slogan 'harambee', meaning 'let us pull together'. But if we pull, the Opposition pull another way. If we try to build, if we place the stones, they come to demolish."

"I have travelled everywhere, whether it's K.A.N.U. or K.A.D.U. areas, as leader of the Government. I am not the leader of K.A.N.U.; I am the leader of Kenya, and to me all people are my people. I do not differentiate—this one is K.A.N.U., this one is K.A.D.U., this one is a European, this one is an African, this one is an Indian, this one is an Arab. To me, all are people of the country, and we show this."

"We had a meeting with the Arabs and with the Sultan of Zanzibar, and we reached agreement like civilized gentlemen. We signed everything without any trouble, without any quarrelling, and now the countries of Kenya and Zanzibar are working together like brothers. These agreements are the one way of progressing to bring unity in the country, but K.A.D.U. think force, force, force, is the thing. But what will they do? It will be completely useless."

### Partition Demand

In Kenya Mr. Joseph Murumbi, the acting Prime Minister, conferred with Mr. Achieng Oneko, acting Home Affairs Minister, and Sir Eric Griffith-Jones, the Deputy Governor, as the K.A.R. was put on stand-by.

An amendment to the Preservation of Public Security Ordinance published next day gave a warning of a year's imprisonment or a maximum fine of £250, or both, for "any person who by word of mouth or in writing or by any other means utters or disseminates any statement, information, report or opinion calculated or likely to cause alarm or apprehension to the public or to any sections of the public or to prejudice public order."

Mr. Oneko (who is also Minister for Information) admitted that the regulations would strengthen the Government's hand against those who uttered irresponsible statements.

Mr. Shikuku complained before he left Nairobi that the measure was meant to silence the Opposition permanently. He added when he returned to London that his party would never "tolerate repression and denial of individual freedom as reflected in Mr. Kenyatta's four-month old régime."

Mr. Ngala protested to the Secretary of State, contending that Kenya seemed to be following the path of Ghana. "We have no wish to follow that path. Britain should definitely allow the division of Kenya into two separate States before independence."

The Prime Minister denied that he had ordered the immediate arrest of the 25 K.A.D.U. M.P.s, an order said to have been countermanded by Sir Eric Griffith-Jones.

European settlers were accused by Mr. Daniel Moss Chepnoi, Parliamentary Secretary for Home Affairs, of complicity in the partition demand.

(Concluded on page 152)

# Lord Home's Address to General Assembly of United Nations

## Charge of Neo-Colonialism Is Deadly Dangerous, Says Foreign Secretary\*

WAR between African or Asian countries may easily lead to catastrophe.

Many of the newly independent countries in Africa realize what chaos there would be in that continent if there was an attempt to alter boundaries by force. If I read the conclusions of the Addis Ababa Conference aright, there certainly seemed a recognition of the red light in that respect.

Yet surely in contemplating wars of liberation, either to alter the direction of Portuguese Colonial policy or to compel the South African Government to abandon its policy of *apartheid*, some of them are in danger of falling into the error which they have so vigorously denounced in others. The lesson of the 20th Century and the nuclear age for African, Asian and European is that force can never solve anything.

### Persistent Patience

Example and negotiation, patience and persistence are the only legitimate means of altering the *status quo*. Nations everywhere, great and small, have to accept that truth—because a nuclear explosion may take place in Europe, the Soviet Union or America, but nuclear dust has no frontier, and unless that truth is accepted all men will die.

Inspired very largely by the newer members of this organization, more and more of its time is being given to accelerating political change in dependent territories. We have always held in the United Kingdom that the dependent Colonies which we own should be made independent and that the territories should stand on their own feet in the world. That we accepted long ago. But, frankly, certain repercussions deriving from the policy of decolonization by our country we have lately found it difficult to understand.

Kenya's passage to independence has been marked by a rupture of diplomatic relations between Somalia and the United Kingdom. Why? Because the United Kingdom refused, before Kenya achieves its independence, to dismember Kenya and has insisted that, if there is to be any alteration in Kenya's frontier, that must be decided by the people of Kenya and the Government of Kenya after independence, not before. I doubt if anybody would quarrel with the United Kingdom on that. Yet it has led to a breach in diplomatic relations between one of our great friends and ourselves.

### Constantly in the Dock

We have proclaimed the independence of Malaysia, giving thereby complete independence to three former Colonial territories. The result has been a vicious attack on us by Indonesia.

The General Assembly should ponder these strange by-products of the grant of independence which is urged upon us as a policy by every Asian and African country. Imperialism can come in any guise. I leave that thought with you.

The issue for Britain is not whether any territory should gain its independence, but when. The only check on the transfer of power from the United Kingdom to the Government of the country concerned is that we want to be sure that when independence is granted the country will be able to make both ends meet economically and that it will accept a Constitution from the day of independence, which will work for the well-being of every section of society in that country. All we want is to be able to say with a good conscience that we have provided the country with responsible Government within, so that it may be a good neighbour without.

Would any member of the Committee of Twenty-Four quarrel with that? Yet we in the United Kingdom constantly find ourselves in the dock on matters of colonialism.

We have accepted the principle of self-determination without

qualifications—that the majority should rule. We insist, as far as we are able to do before independence, that minorities must be protected. I do not think any of you would quarrel with that.

But if, because of our scrupulous care, having established the rule of majority, and our very scrupulous care to safeguard the interest of minorities—because that after all is the essence of democracy—we are to be put in the dock for that, then I, or my Permanent Representative here, will stand in the dock with our heads high.

I should very much like to have a definition of what is called "neo-colonialism". I have never understood what it means, and I doubt if the authors of the word understand it either.

### Adolescent Parrot-Cry

But my answer to the charge of neo-colonialism, is crisp and direct. I shall put it in the form of two questions. Do the newly independent countries want capital for development or do they not? Is the world's greatest problem the gap which is developing between the earnings of the countries that are rich and the earnings of the countries that are poor, or is it not? My Government believes that the greatest problem before the world is the gap between the rich and poor countries, and that that gap must be bridged. If the gap is to be bridged by means of capital for development, where is that capital to be found?

Now if the cry of "neo-colonialism" was just a parrot-cry of adolescence, the countries possessing the capital would shrug their shoulders and invest. But it is now, it is coming to be the prelude to the seizure of assets. A few more cases like Indonesia and the supply of capital will dry up, not only there but further afield as well.

Our Government passionately desires to spare a portion of the national income for investment in under-developed countries. It will not be the desire of Governments that the capital should dry up, but the investor will put his capital in places—and there are many such places in the world—where that capital can fructify.

I hope that the countries of Asia and Africa in particular will heed this warning in time, and that we shall hear less about neo-colonialism. It is at best a synthetic grievance, and at worst deadly dangerous because it encourages poverty and racialism—and those are two dangers which we should eschew like the human plague.

### Protecting Rights of Minorities

We intend to transfer power with speed, but to do it in good order, recognizing everywhere—there is no exception to this—the rights of majorities while at the same time protecting the rights of minorities in so far as we are able.

Most people would agree that membership of the United Nations must be universal. I see no alternative to that, and I doubt if any other representative here sees one. If that is so, then Communist China and South Africa should be members and so should any other independent country which establishes its identity to our satisfaction. If singly or in groups we carry the process of deploring the politics of one country or another to the point where eviction is allowed by majority vote, this Organization will cease to represent the realities of the world.

No one asks that the United Nations should tolerate wrong. But our influence on each other should not be achieved by eviction or boycott; it should be achieved by example.

If universality is a rule of membership, universal obligations are a necessary counterpart. There are two paramount obligations: to keep the Organization solvent, and to equip the Secretary-General with means of keeping the peace and of taking peace-keeping action.

The United Kingdom does not always approve of the methods of the United Nations. We did not approve of some of the ways in which the Congo operation was conducted. But we paid. We support the opinion of the International Court of Justice. If the United Nations forces have to remain longer in the Congo, we shall again pay our share.

What would be intolerable would be a situation in which some countries, having refused to pay their assessed contributions, claimed the right to vote on matters concerning peace-keeping operations of the United Nations.

Somewhere back in history the cry was raised not far from here: "No taxation without representation". There should be no representation without taxation.

I want to see the element of improvisation removed from the peace-keeping operations of U.N.O. In particular, a start should be made to strengthen, on a permanent basis, the chain of command at the disposal of the Secretary-General. If certain operations have to be undertaken, it is surely better that they should be undertaken efficiently.

\*Because Lord Home's speech dealt with the major world problems of the day, this report is restricted to the passages of direct interest to East and Central Africa.

# PERSONALIA

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE of Ethiopia visited Canada last week.

SIR ANGUS GILLAN, former Civil Secretary in the Sudan, was 78 on Friday.

MR. CECIL BURNBY, M.L.C., left London yesterday to return to Northern Rhodesia.

DR. HASTINGS BANDA, Prime Minister of Nyasaland, left London for Rome yesterday after arriving from New York.

MR. ANGUS OGILVY has sold for about £25,000 the Mayfair home in which he lived before his marriage to PRINCESS ALEXANDRA.

MR. HAROLD WATKINSON, M.P., is now managing director of the Schweppes group, which has East and Central African subsidiaries.

MR. H. C. B. MYNORS, deputy governor of the Bank of England, who has visited East and Central Africa, will retire at the end of February.

CHIEF ADAM SAPI MKAWA, Speaker of the Tanganyika National Assembly, is visiting China, accompanied by MR. PIUS MSEKWA, the Assembly Clerk.

MRS. ELSPETH MUIRHEAD, daughter of MR. and MRS. R. S. CAMPBELL, is revisiting her parents in Mombasa after an absence from Kenya of six years.

When DR. HASTINGS BANDA, Prime Minister of Nyasaland, called at the White House last week, he invited PRESIDENT KENNEDY to visit Nyasaland.

M. PATRICE MUKOKA, Minister for Hunting and Fisheries, has plans for a fourth large national park in the Congo along the Tshuapa River east of Coquilhatville.

Two horses were killed and bags of maize destroyed when fire broke out on the Featherstone ranch of MR. CLIFFORD DUPONT, Southern Rhodesia's Minister of Justice.

MR. B. J. J. STUBBINGS, deputy managing director of Bird & Co. (Africa), Ltd., has succeeded MR. J. F. LLOYD as managing director. MR. LLOYD remains on the board.

The proposed visit to Aden this week by MR. NIGEL FISHER, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, was cancelled at short notice owing to other commitments in London.

MR. JOHN DRYSDALE, a Briton who has advised the Somali Prime Minister about the Northern Frontier District of Kenya, has been refused an entry permit to Kenya, where he had hoped to open a business.

M. PIE MASUMBUKO, Vice-Premier of Burundi, is attending the present session of U.N.O., where he has urged that Portugal should be forced to change its African policies or withdraw from the United Nations.

MR. C. W. ROBBINS, who has been manager of the trust department of the Standard Bank in London, has been appointed an assistant manager at the head office. MR. L. G. COMBEN will take charge of the trust department.

SIR THOMAS CHEGWIDDEN told the annual meeting of the Rhodesian Institute of African Affairs that Southern Rhodesian industrialists who were worried about losing their northern markets should not ignore the rural market of some 2m. people on their own doorstep.

## PROPERTY FOR SALE

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THE BISHOP OF RUWENZORI and MR. T. B. BAZARRABUSA, High Commissioner in London for Uganda, have issued a joint appeal for funds for a chapel for Nyakasira School, of which MR. BAZARRABUSA is an old boy.

MR. ROBERT MUGABE, secretary-general of Z.A.N.U., has appeared as a petitioner before the U.N. Trusteeship Committee. He accused the Southern Rhodesian Government of applying *apartheid* under the guise of community development.

THE EARL OF PERTH has been elected chairman of the Ditchley Foundation and its council, SIR JOHN WHEELER-BENNETT having resigned on grounds of health; he will remain a governor of the foundation and a member of the council of management.

SIR JOCK CAMPBELL, chairman of the Booker group of companies, which have large Central African interests, has been elected to the board of the Statesman and Nation Publishing Co., Ltd., publishers of the Socialist *New Statesman*.

Rhodesians now in London include MR. & MRS. D. P. BARTON, MR. A. BATHURST, MR. N. R. BERTRAM, MR. & MRS. C. A. HEURTELY, MR. N. A. FRERICHS, MR. W. E. KERR, MR. J. A. LAWRENCE, MR. T. MAYBANK, and MR. H. POPPLESTONE.

A call by MR. JOSHUA NKOMO, leader of the People's Caretaker Council, for a referendum to decide which of the two main African parties should represent nationalists in Southern Rhodesia, has been rejected by the REV. N. SITHOLE, interim president of the rival Z.A.N.U.

MR. I. M. D. LITTLE, an Oxford economist, who is on a tour of 18 African countries for the Overseas Development Institute, arrived in Salisbury at the weekend to discuss economic aid for Southern Rhodesia from Great Britain with members of the Cabinet and senior officials.

MR. L. NANGWANDA SJAONA, Minister for National Culture and Youth, MR. M. P. MAZINGE, Regional Commissioner for Mtswara, and MR. R. S. MSANGI, Area Commissioner for Lushoto, are visiting China. They are expected to be absent from Tanganyika for about a fortnight.

Apologies from the Foreign Office and the Metropolitan Police have been made to MR. JUSTICE HASSAN ABDEL RAHIM, a Sudanese judge who was questioned by the police by mistake while observing court proceedings in London. With two other judges from the Sudan he is attending a British Council course.

DR. BERNARD GRZIMEK, director of the Frankfurt Zoo, and author of "Serengeti Shall Not Die", is revisiting Tanganyika, where his son MICHAEL was killed in an air crash near Ngorongoro early in 1959. On his grave is the inscription: "He gave all he possessed, including his life, for the wild animals of Africa."

MR. APOLLO K. KIRONDE, Uganda's permanent representative at U.N.O., has asked in the General Assembly what the world's nuclear Powers will do when the "big show-down" occurs in Africa. He declared that an "arms build-up" in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia presaged a "shooting war in the near future".

MR. ROBERT HUGH CHALMERS, a 30-year-old Scot who was arrested in Elisabethville by Congolese National Army troops while fighting as a lieutenant in the Katanga Army, arrived in London at the beginning of this week after spending seven months in Congolese jails. In 1961 he was arrested by the United Nations and held for eight months.

That Africans would soon edit the Kenya daily newspapers, the *East African Standard* and the *Daily Nation*, was the hope expressed by SENATOR JAMES MACHIO, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, at a graduation ceremony of the new International Press Institute for the training of local journalists.

MR. D. F. PEARL, of Commonwealth Development Finance Co., Ltd., and Mr. C. G. W. Robson, late of the Tanganyika Association, will be visiting Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda between October 20 and late November to meet Ministers, officials and members of the business communities to examine ways in which C.D.F.C. might participate further in the economic development of the countries.

MR. ADOULA, Congolese Prime Minister, told the United Nations General Assembly a few days ago that he had proof that elements in neighbouring countries had still not given up hope of securing Katanga's secession. That, he said, justified his demand that United Nations troops should remain in the Congo until the middle of next year. He recalled that his country had only 15 graduates when it achieved independence.

SIR CHARLES WESTLAKE is to relinquish the office of chief executive of the Metal Industries group, but will remain chairman. The day-to-day responsibilities which he has been carrying will be assumed by MR. JOHN BLACK, who becomes managing director, and by MR. W. PADLEY, formerly of the Colonial Service in Uganda, and MR. E. JONES, as deputy managing directors. MR. A. I. MACKENZIE, a director since 1957, is now deputy chairman.

MR. DUNSTAN OMARI, Permanent Secretary in the President's Office in Tanganyika, MR. B. J. MAGGIDI, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Communications, Power and Works, and MR. J. A. NAMATA, Administrative Secretary in the Ministry of Development Planning, have just attended a week's seminar on civil service matters held in Enugu, Eastern Nigeria. After making a short tour of the Republic of Nigeria, MR. OMARI is to visit Ghana.

MR. W. T. CHARLES, an Australian, who has been appointed a puisne judge in Northern Rhodesia, was educated at Melbourne University, practised at the Bar in the country of his birth from 1932 to 1941, and then joined the Australian Army Legal Service. He was in the Middle East during the rest of the war, and in 1946 was appointed Legal Adviser in the British Solomon Islands. He was transferred to Hong Kong in 1953 and to Nigeria in 1958, as a judge of the High Court of the Western Region.

MRS. ESEZA KIRONDE, wife of the chairman of the Uganda Electricity Board, MRS. EVASI RUTH MAGEZI, wife of a Minister of State in Uganda, and MRS. JOYCE RWETSIBA, whose husband is Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Education, arrived in the U.K. by air at the week-end to spend a month as guests of the Commonwealth Relations Office. All are interested in social welfare matters. Their programme will bring them into contact with the work of the Red Cross, the Y.M.C.A., the Save the Children Fund, film censorship, and various aspects of local government.

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## Obituaries

### Lieut.-Colonel Laurence Holbech

LIEUT.-COLONEL LAURENCE HOLBECH, C.V.O., D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C., a Military Knight of Windsor, who died on Saturday at Windsor Castle at the age of 75, was well known in East, Central, and South Africa, with which he had been connected over many years.

The son of Canon Hugh Holbech, of Farnborough, Warwickshire, he was educated at Queens' College, Cambridge. Joining the Grenadier Guards in 1916, he served in France until the end of the war, winning the D.S.O. and M.C., and was then appointed A.D.C. to the General Officer Commanding the London District. Three years later he went to Ceylon as A.D.C. to the Governor, and was then A.D.C. in Kenya until 1931, when he went to South Africa as private secretary and A.D.C. to the United Kingdom High Commissioner. Appointed A.D.C. to the Governor of Southern Rhodesia in 1935, he went back to South Africa in the following year as comptroller to the Governor-General. Then for a decade, from 1937 to 1947, he held that office in the household of the Governor of Southern Rhodesia.

Made C.V.O. in 1947 during the royal tour of the Rhodesias, he retired shortly afterwards.

LIEUT.-COLONEL "DICKY" DAINES, who has died in Southern Rhodesia, aged 75, joined the British American Tobacco Company as a young man, served that group for many years in the East and in the Army in the 1914-18 war, and was in Belgium when war broke out again in 1939. He rejoined the Army and was one of the last to leave Dunkirk. He was on General Alexander's staff in the campaign in North Africa and Sicily, and in action in Italy, and later took part in the D-Day landings in Normandy. After the war he retired from the B.A.T., went to Central Africa and bought farms near Ruwa and Broken Hill. He leaves a widow, son and daughter.

DR. A. G. W. COMPTON, M.C., for the past 40 years a director of De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., whose death is announced at the age of 78, was the son of Mr. G. W. Compton, an associate of Cecil Rhodes. After serving in the 1914-18 war, in which he won the Military Cross, Dr. Compton practised in London until he went back to South Africa in 1923 to take the seat on the De Beers board which had been held by his father.

MR. FRÉDÉRIK RIGHTON PAVER, who has died in Natal at the age of 81, was on the staff of the *Bulawayo Chronicle* for a short time some 40 years ago, but was then transferred to Johannesburg. Soon afterwards he was made assistant editor of the *Star*, of which he was editor from 1939 to 1946.

MR. DUDLEY RAYMOND SIMLEIT, who has been killed in a car crash, had represented both Southern and Northern Rhodesia at baseball. He had announced his engagement only three days before the fatal accident.

SISTER MARY EUTHEMIA, who has died at the age of 81 in Nagongera Convent, Busoga, had been in Uganda for just half a century. In that period she had returned to Europe only once.

MRS. MARJORIE M. G. MUNDY, wife of Mr. H. G. MUNDY, C.B.E., has died at her home in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

CHIEF MWANYA, since 1947 a Chewa chief in the Lundazi district of Northern Rhodesia, has died at the age of 67.

## Sir Roy Welensky's Visit

### Thousand Civil Servants Will Lose Jobs

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation, arrived in London from the United States on Wednesday of last week more than four hours late, the aircraft having been delayed by mechanical trouble before take-off.

Being therefore unable to keep an appointment that morning with Mr. R. A. Butler, Minister for Central African Affairs, who had left before noon to attend the Conservative Conference in Blackpool, he flew to that town on Friday to discuss various matters connected with the dissolution of the Federation, especially the treatment of Federal civil servants, who, he considered, were not receiving the square deal promised by Mr. Butler.

In the last Commons debate on Central Africa there had been evidence of a general desire to show generosity to the officials displaced by the action of H.M. Government, but Sir Roy was emphatic that there had been no evidence of it when he had left Salisbury less than a fortnight earlier.

### Legal Advice About Books

When he received journalists at Rhodesia House, the Prime Minister said that he had no wish to continue in politics, but that he would not refuse to make his contribution if at some future time that should appear necessary. His fellow-countrymen were generously arranging to present him with a 69-acre farm outside Salisbury, and he was looking forward greatly to developing the land.

Meantime he would start on his first book. He had been gathering together the background documents, would begin the writing next month, and hoped to have the manuscript in the hands of the printers not later than February. He added, amid laughter, that some of the contents would be of a nature which would make it desirable for him and the publishers to take legal advice.

That prompted a question about an allegation said to have been made in a new book by Mr. Harry Franklin, recently a Minister in Northern Rhodesia, that Sir Roy had prepared to use Federal troops for a *coup d'état* some years ago.

"I have not read the book, and I shall not buy it", he replied. "If my local library gets a copy I shall put my name down for it—and then perhaps discuss it with my lawyer."

His nine-day visit to the United States had been a private affair, the costs being met by himself, not the taxpayer, and he had not therefore asked to see anyone in office. He had, however, been most hospitably received.

### Telling America About Africa

He had spent about half-an-hour with President Kennedy, who was anxious for information on a number of points about Central Africa; had been with Mr. Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State, for a couple of hours, and had had talks with Mr. Mennen Williams, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. Barry Goldwater, the Republican leader, whom many people expect to be a candidate in the next Presidential election, Mr. Adlai Stevenson, other members of both Houses, and Commonwealth representatives in the U.S.A.

A couple of days after his address to the Overseas Press Club in New York (a speech adequately reported in the United Kingdom only in EAST AFRICA AND RHODÉSIA of October 10) he had been told by a prominent American journalist that it had received considerably greater coverage in the American Press than any utterance in the U.S.A. by any previous African visitor. His talk at the National Press Club in Washington a few days later had also been a means

of explaining Central Africa to a great audience. He had also appeared in a number of television and broadcasting programmes—one said to attract some 41m. viewers every week—so that despite the short stay there had been valuable opportunities of pointing out some of the mistakes made in Africa.

"I am becoming a back number, but my experience might, I thought, be of some value," Sir Roy continued. "I am going to be kicked out, not by my electorate, but by the British Government—which has destroyed the Federation. Politics in Africa are getting out of hand. They have been allowed to run ahead of social and economic development. Millions of Africans will be disillusioned when they find that 'one man one vote' does not bring the millennium."

"You ask about a multi-racial society. That is what I have failed to create. My Government has been destroyed because the United Kingdom Government is under heavy pressure from groups that don't want a non-racial society."

### Pomp and Ceremony

"Balkanization of Africa is a great tragedy. The pomp and ceremony now enjoyed by those African political leaders who have attained power will, I believe, do a great deal to discourage the actual formation of the federations about which they talk so much. I only hope that I shall be proved wrong in this opinion."

"All these new African States get immediate representation at the United Nations, where the real democracies will soon be in an ever-increasing minority. Such a situation was certainly not visualized by the founders of U.N.O."

"The persistent attempts of the United Nations to interfere in Southern Rhodesia cannot be tolerated by the U.K. Government. If the U.N. persists, and dabbles with the ideas of expelling South Africa, and the Portuguese territories, the U.N. will destroy itself. Once it starts to devour parts of its own body, there will be no end to the process until the U.N. itself is destroyed."

Asked about external aid, the Prime Minister said that the best form of help for Africa would be for the Western world to guarantee prices for its export commodities which would be high enough to raise the standards of life of Africans and leave sufficient balance for the development of their countries.

He knew no reason why the Federation should not be dissolved on December 31, the target date set at the Victoria Falls Conference, for, the decision to proceed to destruction having been taken, everyone concerned was anxious that the operation should go as smoothly and quickly as possible.

### Central Money Market Destroyed

One damaging result of the decision was that each of the three territories had decided to have its own currency and reserve bank, thus destroying the central money market created within the Federation. To split up the Rhodesia Railways system would be a major tragedy. The railways, Kariba, and Central African Airways ought certainly not to have divided control.

News having just reached London that Mr. Jack Halpern, a free-lance journalist in Salisbury, had lost his appeal to the Governor-General against an order declaring him to be a prohibited immigrant, and that he was to leave the Federation not later than October 23, the Prime Minister was asked to comment on the case. He said—

"The Federal Government has never had its own police, and in such matters it has always had to act on information provided by other Governments. When deciding to expel somebody, no Government discloses the reasons. My Government has not been concerned with Mr. Halpern's activities as a journalist. It acted upon information supplied to us by another Government."

Sir Roy said on reaching Salisbury Airport on Sunday that in London he had been approached by lawyers acting for the Federal Public Service Association and been given a memorandum for submission to Mr. Butler. He had also asked Mr. Butler to see representatives of Federal civil servants, and had been told that the suggestion would be considered.

It was still not possible to say whether H.M. Government would show generosity to those who lost their jobs through the destruction of the Federation, though Government and Opposition speakers had demanded generous treatment in the last Commons debate. Sir Roy expressed the opinion that the number of Federal civil servants losing their appointments might run into four figures.

His visit to the United States suggested to him that a tremendous change had occurred in the American attitude to Africa. Whereas the State Department had previously thought that it had all the answers to Africa's problems, now, perhaps in consequence of the crumbling of its South American policies, it was being realized that there were no easy solutions.

## Strange Speech of Mr. Nigel Fisher Tory Conference and Overseas Aid

AID TO THE COMMONWEALTH is paltry compared with what Britons spend on gambling and tobacco, Mr. N. Scott, national chairman of the Young Conservatives and a prospective Parliamentary candidate, told the Tory conference in Blackpool last week when moving a resolution advocating more Commonwealth co-operation, generous help where needed, and increased Commonwealth trade. It was carried unanimously.

His call for a Commonwealth Service Corps to recruit young volunteers for work in emergent countries was supported by Mr. Nigel Fisher, Under-Secretary for Colonial Affairs, who suggested that such service should seriously be considered as an undertaking to replace national service. This year, 550 young men and women would be dispatched on voluntary service overseas, and next year 800.

Private investment in the Commonwealth ran at nearly £300m. yearly. Government expenditure this year would be between £180m. and £220m., the highest figure yet. Half would be loans, the remainder grants. Only one-third would be "tied"; a much lower proportion than any other donor country demanded. Technical assistance would cost £30m., six times the amount required six years ago.

### Complacency Condemned

European prospects in Kenya seemed better than for many years, with a brisk property market, peak rents, a booming stock market showing share prices 50% up on last year and fewer sellers, and the first residential construction work for five years.

Britain's true genius was to give up ruling people and to bring them to self-government and independence in the "most creative, constructive and exciting" thing that had happened in politics.

Opposing the motion as a warning against complacency, Mr. David Bagnall, secretary of the development group of the Conservative Commonwealth Council, asked when Southern Rhodesia would be granted independence. There had still been no clear statement from the U.K. about the Colony's future.

Missionaries there had advised that it would be immoral for those professing to be Christians to surrender their responsibilities, having regard to the present stage of African civilization.

Mr. W. C. S. Corry reminded delegates that not all their kith and kin in Kenya were prepared to accept the honeyed words of the new Prime Minister, Kenyatta. Britain's record—and she still had a duty to discharge to such people—was not unblemished with regard to the settlers.

Mr. Ian Macleod, a former Colonial Secretary, and now joint chairman of the party, gave aid to under-developed countries, particularly those in the Commonwealth, as the third priority of the Conservatives should they form the next Government.

### Facts Avoided

Wing-Commander G. A. W. Saunders, chairman of the Association of European Agricultural Settlement Board Farmers in Kenya, wrote to the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"Mr. Nigel Fisher, winding up the poorly attended debate on the Commonwealth, chose to avoid the latest facts about Kenya and made some inaccurate assessments. Although Mr. Fisher is not responsible for Kenya affairs, it is hard to believe that it was a speech made by a Minister.

"The millions of pounds given to the Land Settlement Scheme and Land Bank have not restored the value of land. The re-emergence of the Land Freedom Army—and it is gaining strength every day—was not mentioned; neither was outhing by extremist Kikuyu, nor the increase in subversion against the K.A.N.U. Government by Kikuyu because Mr. Kenyatta has said he wants the European farmers to stay.

"Attacks on Europeans in the farming areas take place nearly every other day. I cannot believe the British Government is not aware of all this.

"The strong tribal feelings between K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U. were reported in the Press the morning of October 10, after K.A.D.U. had decided to form an independent State. Yet Mr. Fisher said: 'European prospects in Kenya look better than for many years past.'

"I regret that I cannot see how trouble can be averted in Kenya. I hope there will not be a lot of European lives lost before the British Government acts and meets its overwhelming obligations to the settlers in Kenya, and in particular to the ex-Servicemen who are Government-sponsored farmers."

## Problem of Aid for Zanzibar Disagreement with U.K. Terms

ZANZIBAR HAS REJECTED British offers of financial aid because of the danger of "very serious political repercussions" in the islands if they had been accepted, Sheikh Ali Muhsin, Minister of Home and Legal Affairs, told a Press conference before leaving London last Thursday with Sheikh Mohamed Shante, the Prime Minister, and Sheikh Juma Aley, Finance Minister.

A minimum of £5m. had been sought for the first three years of a five-year development plan, beginning next July. The aim was to develop cottage industries, fishing and tourism (as an attempt to move from dependence on cloves), and to improve communications and water supplies; but there had been disagreement about the period during which U.K. assistance would be forthcoming.

"The offer put forward by the British Government would hardly have been conducive to good relations between the Zanzibaris and the people of Britain", Sheikh Muhsin said. "We could not accept the proposals. But the situation is still fluid, and the doors for further negotiation are still open. H.M. Government must consider very seriously the consequences of a complete breakdown."

Zanzibar will become independent on December 10. The U.K. has already agreed to provide £450,000 to meet this year's budget deficit.

Sheikh Aley's "bitter disappointment" was thrown into relief by Sheikh Muhsin when he recalled the "resounding success" of the recent independence conference itself and the "honourable and gentlemanly compromise" reached over the Kenya Coastal Strip.

## Uganda's Sovereignty

UGANDA last week became "an independent sovereign State under a President" within the Commonwealth. The Kabaka of Buganda, who wore the uniform of a captain in the Grenadier Guards, was sworn in as first President. Sir William Nadiope, Kyabazinga of Busoga, is Vice-President. Before leaving Entebbe for Britain, Sir Walter Cousts, the first and last Governor-General of Uganda, said that the country's political independence must be reinforced as rapidly as possible with economic independence. Dr. A. M. Obote, the Prime Minister, told the National Assembly after opening a £60,000 ceremonial arch outside Parliament Buildings to commemorate independence that "our new constitutional form will not diminish our affection and respect for the Queen. It is our free decision to acknowledge, accept and cherish her as the head and symbol of unity of the free and independent Commonwealth nations."

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## K.A.N.U. Pressure Must Be Resisted Bloodshed If Britain Breaks Her Pledges

MR. MEREDYTH HYDE-CLARKE, who was one of the three commissioners appointed last year by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to "devise a regional pattern for an independent Kenya", to quote his own description of their task, says in a letter published by *The Times* on Monday:—

"No one who went through the searing experience of taking evidence from all sections of the community in every part of the country could possibly agree with the suggestion in your leader that K.A.D.U.'s threat of secession 'may be an empty one'.

"Again and again we were told that the future peace and prosperity of large sections of the population depended upon our finding a just solution, and many said, with desperate anxiety, that they regarded our task as providing the last means of preventing a return to tribal bloodshed.

"As a former administrative officer in Kenya of some 25 years' standing, it is to me quite unthinkable that there could be any possibility of Britain breaking her pledges to these people.

"Some have argued that emergent Africa can succeed only through a unitary form of government, such as exists in some of the newly independent countries, and that regionalism, particularly in the case of Kenya, is unworkable and will only dissipate an already weakened economy.

"But if that principle was recognized as an accepted policy, then the 1962 Lancaster House decision, which provided for a regional set-up, must be interpreted as a cynical and costly attempt to buy time, which now demands payment with interest.

"Failure to adhere to the constitutional arrangement solemnly agreed upon by K.A.N.U., K.A.D.U., and

H.M. Government would be a breach of faith so serious that even the possibility of it has led to the alerting of troops in Kenya.

"I pray that no British Government will ever find itself having to use troops against a people to whom it has given its pledge".

MR. L. R. MACONCHIE WELWOOD, leader of the European delegation from Kenya which is now in London, wrote:—

"Your appraisal of the Kenya situation contains one serious omission: I refer to the position of Europeans if the disasters you envisage take place.

"You say that 'the stage is now set for the tragic tribal trial of strength which for years Britain has been trying to fend off. To avoid it after independence may now be impossible. The immediate danger is that it will start while Britain is still responsible for law and order.

"The British civil servants have rightly been looked after and are now largely departing. The British settlers and their families who were encouraged to develop the country are generally in no position to do so. It would seem that you advocate a course of action which, in a sinking ship, might well be described as 'first the crew and then the strongest passengers'—a course of action that in the past has seldom been considered respectable by the British, however great the political or other advantages".

### Provocation to Secede

The leading article, headed "K.A.D.U. Shows Its Teeth", had said, *inter alia*:—

"Mr. Ngala says with some reason that if the British Government had compelled the Kenya Government, for which it is still responsible, to hand over the agreed regional functions the fears behind the threat to set up a secessionist State in Kenya would not exist. If Mr. Sandys had unequivocally turned down Mr. Kenyatta's demand for the dilution of regional autonomy, K.A.D.U. would not have to show its teeth. It was left with only one strong card—the threat of the minority tribes to secede if the compact on which they agreed to live with the majority tribes in an independent Kenya is torn up.

"Mr. Kenyatta and his colleagues have been pooh-poohing the danger that the Kalenjin, Masai and other tribes would revolt. The regional Constitution, however, was devised to make it unnecessary to put the matter to the test. By declaring, from the morrow of its electoral victory, that regionalism would be emasculated the Kenya African National Union has goaded its opponents to threaten secession—impracticable and disastrous as this may be. Mr. Sandys provoked the wild words in Nairobi because he has let it appear, no doubt accidentally, that he is yielding to K.A.N.U.'s urgings.

"Britain's only wise as well as honourable course has been all along to stick to the pledges. Now permanent damage has been done. Even if the Governor were immediately to give the K.A.D.U. regions their functions and finance, they would not disarm, for Mr. Kenyatta has said he would not be bound by such a decision; his own side will prepare to deal with K.A.D.U. 'treason'.

"The stage is therefore being set for the tragic tribal trial of strength which for years Britain has been trying to fend off. To avoid it after independence may now be impossible. The immediate danger is that it will start while Britain is still responsible for law and order. K.A.N.U. would then expect British authority, backed by British troops, to be exerted to put down civil disobedience. K.A.D.U. may wish to provoke that very move, for it would be hard to hand over independence on December 12 if British troops were deployed or operating.

"Both parties are playing with fire. Mr. Sandys must turn on the hose—and he can begin only by declaring that what Britain signed stands".

### Mad Idea

MR. KAUNDA, the leader of U.N.I.P., said as he passed through Nairobi last week that hundreds of well-armed mercenaries from France, Portugal, Spain and South Africa were massing in Angola to create a "new country" when U.N. troops withdraw from the southern Congo. The "new country" was to include parts of Northern Rhodesia, the Congo and Angola. It was, of course, "a mad idea, but these people are madmen".

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## Good Business and Kenya Socialism

### Dr. Kiano at London Chamber of Commerce

FREEDOM IN KENYA must be buttressed by sound economics, sound business practices, and sound development planning in order to ensure that the standard of living of the people would continue to improve. Dr. J. G. Kiano, M.P., Minister for Commerce and Industry, said last week when addressing the East African Section of the London Chamber of Commerce.

Dr. Kiano continued (in part):—

"Following the 1960 Lancaster House Agreement we saw almost total stagnation in commercial and industrial development in Kenya. That agreement stated unequivocally that very soon Kenya would be governed by the majority of its inhabitants—the Africans. The resultant economic stagnation and considerable decline were blamed on political uncertainties as to how we Africans would govern Kenya.

"In my opinion that uncertainty was knowingly or unknowingly manufactured by those persons who did not believe in either the aims or the ultimate victory of African nationalism. I am glad to say that such persons have left Kenya—and that is good-riddance.

"Kenya's economic infrastructure is more developed and its manufacturing industry more diverse than that of any other tropical country in Africa. Kenya, at the centre of the communication system of all East African territories, is the workshop of East Africa, catering for a market of over 25m. people. The very wide variety of agricultural products grown in Kenya makes it possible for us to supply many of the raw materials of industry locally.

"But Kenya's economy still displays the basic pattern of a comparatively underdeveloped country—production and export of primary commodities, and import and consumption of manufactured articles from abroad. Our balance of trade is quite adverse. In 1962 we imported £69m. worth of items and exported about £31m. worth; the value of our imports was approximately double that of our exports. In the first six months of 1963 there was a trade deficit of about £16m.

If this trend continues during the latter half of the year our imports will again be approximately double our exports.

"The situation is not as desperate as these figures indicate. Kenya receives considerable earnings from 'invisibles'. Tourism brings us a fair share of foreign exchange. Many of the companies and financial institutes operating in Eastern Africa have their headquarters in Nairobi, and that increases our earnings. Earnings from the magnificent international airport in Nairobi and the port of Mombasa improve our balance of payments.

"Our economy is on the rise again. Export earnings increased by approximately £2½m. during the first half of this year compared with the same period last year. Imports rose even more sharply by £4½m. There certainly is no trade stagnation. But we must go a bit more rapidly in our process of import substitution. A great many imported goods could be manufactured locally.

"Perhaps most important of all, the incomes earned by the African population, particularly in the agricultural field, are rising steadily, and this growing consumer market provides entirely new and attractive opportunities for manufacturing industries. Our Government is determined to encourage local manufacturers by protecting their production against imported items.

### Overriding Needs

"Overseas investors will benefit from this protection when they invest in Kenya, because their industries will also be classified as local industries. The policy of protecting industries from imported items will not differentiate between the local and foreign investor so long as both have their industries in the country.

"The Government's policies are pragmatic. We cannot afford to be careless. We cannot forget the overriding needs of our people for a higher standard of living. We must provide conditions and opportunities for our people to achieve a better life and to obliterate exploitation of the poor by the unscrupulous few speculators. We believe in good business, not merciless exploitation. This is the essence of our Socialism.

"Judged by net output, our most important industries are brewing, basic chemicals (which include soda ash and wattle extract), printing and publishing, cement, grain milling, sawn timber, sugar, meat and fat products, clothing and textiles, machinery (including repairs), canning, leather goods, utensils, and other household goods. From this list it will be seen that the process of substituting locally manufactured products for imported articles has only just begun.

"Among the industries for whose products a sizeable market already exists the most promising seem to be timber and timber products, such as paper and pulp, textiles and ready-made clothing, and light engineering. The prospects for these industries seem outstandingly good.

"A most promising market for consumer goods is developing rapidly. Many of the comparatively simple type are eminently suitable for local manufacture. Examples are enamelware, metal saucepans, cheap ready-made clothing (particularly shirts and cotton frocks), agricultural implements, oil lamps, and electric torches. Any investment in industries of this type would have to be accompanied by an energetic sales effort.

### No Class Warfare

"We intend to stress and facilitate our people's integration in commerce and industry, so as to avoid developing the familiar problem of having an indigenous working class on the one side and a non-African employer class on the other. African society does not operate in that way, and we are not going to allow the imposition of a wholly alien class structure on our basically egalitarian unstratified society. For this reason we are urging firms to develop partnership and share-owning schemes for Africans, and we are promoting widespread development of producers' and consumers' co-operatives. In this way we can set up institutions amenable to capital accumulation but without creating a base for class warfare.

"For this purpose we have expanded the work of our Government-sponsored Industrial Development Corporation, which is undertaking projects for widespread small and medium-sized industries. We have also established the Development Finance Company of Kenya, Ltd., with the assistance of the Commonwealth Development Corporation and the Federal Government of West Germany; it will undertake a more limited range of larger projects.

"The safety of foreign investment is well guaranteed, particularly in view of the machinery of legal enforcement which will protect overseas interests. We expect a really rapid development of our economic and industrial sector, based partly on local resources and partly on overseas investors.

"We plan for the wide development of orthodox businesses and a similar development of Government-aided firms; but we intend to do this within an African social framework—through organizations which, as far as possible, will ensure an equitable distribution of wealth and equal economic opportunities for all."

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## "Partition Only Alternative"

(Concluded from page 144)

Mr. Timothy Chokwe, Speaker of the Senate, accused expatriate civil servants of organizing separatist groups to form a "stooge" Government because they did not fancy an independent African Government; K.A.D.U., he said, was suffering from "power mania". Mr. G. Kariuki, M.P. for Laikipia (K.A.N.U.), claimed that K.A.D.U. had planned mass killings in the Rift Valley.

Emphasizing that the move for partition had only been postponed, Mr. Ngala said that the Kenya and U.K. Governments were responsible—for the K.A.N.U. Government had gone back on its word and introduced changes very different from the pattern prepared at the last constitutional conference; "and the same British Minister who finalized the agreement is inclined to go back on his word".

Since the Constitution designed to carry the minorities was being purposely destroyed, the only alternative was partition. "I do not believe in violence", Mr. Ngala insisted. "I do not believe in unconstitutional methods in altering the present Constitution, but I expect the British and Kenya Governments to fulfil their obligations. They cannot expect good will from my party if they do not".

The timing of the possible secession was not as important as the ultimate chaos and misery that were likely to descend on the people if the wrong decisions were made. The Colonial Secretary should heed this serious warning in terms of his own personal integrity and that of the U.K. Government; it was not a question of politics.

Regionalism and constitutional reform were matters of life and death. Tension in Kenya was running high. Should Britain break her word, the K.A.D.U. supporters would want to express their self-determination.

### Civil War Disclaimed

Making another statement the Prime Minister said that there would be no civil war in the Colony, nor would his Government be provoked by "the pranks of leaders who have lost touch with reality". Their intransigence on refusing to adopt amendments for a workable Constitution was a sign of their desperation. The electorate had voted on that very issue.

At the week-end Mr. Sandys told the Deputy Governor in a telegram—with whose contents Mr. Kenyatta was "in full agreement"—that the Kenya Government "have reaffirmed their intention that the regional structure of the Constitution shall be maintained and that this will be strongly entrenched. The present human rights provisions will be continued in the independence Constitution and will be given the strongest entrenchment".

The cable also announced the intention to try to hold elections before or after independence in the North-Eastern Region, where Somali secessionists boycotted the general election earlier this year. These arrangements would give "adequate opportunity to the inhabitants to enjoy in full measure those benefits of the new Constitution which are expressly designed to give all the people of Kenya a large measure of self-government in the conduct of local affairs." There can be no question of changing the frontier of Kenya before that country achieves independence", it added.

The apparent K.A.N.U. commitment to regionalism in this message was dismissed by Mr. Ngala as mere lip-service.

A Colonial Office official stated that some progress was being made, although negotiations were difficult. "Mr. Sandys is trying to secure a comprehensive settlement of the

points at issue acceptable to both delegations. The discussions are proceeding without commitment on all sides. No decisions on individual points will be made until the lines of a possible settlement can be considered as a whole".

The Kenya Government delegation conferred in its London hotel on Monday after the Prime Minister and Mr. Mboya had met Mr. Sandys and let it be known that they were considering whether to return home forthwith without awaiting a formal conclusion to the conference.

They accused the Colonial Secretary of yielding to K.A.D.U. threats, and argued that he was out of touch with the "realities" of the respective positions of the parties in Kenya. It was hinted that the K.A.N.U. Government might declare independence unilaterally.

Mr. Robert Matano, K.A.D.U. vice-president in the Coast Assembly, flew back to Kenya the same evening to report on the latest state of affairs in London, whence instructions were telegraphed to Mr. Moi to convene sessions of the Rift Valley, Coast, and Western assemblies at noon yesterday "to consider their attitudes to the present Kenya Constitution in the light of progress or otherwise of the London talks so far".

A K.A.D.U. spokesman explained: "We want Mr. Sandys to hear what the duly elected representatives of the regions think of the business".

### Oath-Takers Warned

OATH-TAKING among the Meru was denounced last week at a large tribal gathering in the Kianjai location by Mr. J. H. Angaine, Minister for Lands and Settlement in Kenya. He said that the Government would jail oath-takers if the practice continued, adding: "There is no oath-taking in the Coast Region, in Nyanza, or in the Rift Valley. Why should we have it in Meru?" [The denial of oath-taking in the Rift Valley will surprise many residents in that part of Kenya, from which there is evidence of much oath-taking by the Land Freedom Army adherents.—Ed.]

### Independence Gifts

THE THREE BRITISH BANKS operating in East Africa—Barclays Bank D.C.O., National and Grindlays Bank, and the Standard Bank—will each mark Kenya's attainment of independence by a gift of £8,000. Barclays will endow Egerton College, Njoro; National and Grindlays will re-equip the operating theatre of King George VI Hospital, Nairobi; and the Standard Bank gift will be applied to veterinary purposes at Kabete.

### No National Dress

THE KENYA GOVERNMENT has given public notice that it has not approved any national dress, adding: "When the Government has sanctioned a form of national dress, full details will be given through the medium of the Press, radio and television services".





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## U.N.O. Opposes S. Rhodesia Again Territorial Defence Arrangements

A GENERAL ASSEMBLY resolution inviting the British Government "not to transfer to Southern Rhodesia—as at present governed any of the powers or attributes of sovereignty, but to await the establishment of a Government fully representative of all the inhabitants of the Colony" received 90 favourable votes on Monday, with two negations (South Africa and Portugal) and 13 abstentions. Britain did not participate.

The reversion to Southern Rhodesia of her contributions to the Federal army and air force was also opposed in the motion. The U.K. was accused by Ghana of inconsistency and hypocrisy for not voting, since she had vetoed a similar resolution in the Security Council last month.

After the Federal dissolution, the Southern Rhodesian Army will comprise about 3,400 officers and other ranks, based on the present four and a half months' conscription. The paratroop corps, the territorial artillery and regular and territorial support units will be retained.

The air force of six squadrons—transport, Vampires, Hawker Hunter fighters, Canberra bombers, training planes, and helicopters—will have just over 900 officers and men. One Canberra squadron and the Selous Scouts armoured car unit will be disbanded.

Northern Rhodesia is to have a non-racial regular army of two infantry battalions and an armoured car squadron. Air wing support will come from transport and reconnaissance aircraft. This defence force will consist of 182 officers and 2,749 men.

Brigadier C. M. Gregg will be Defence Commander. A military school to be opened after December 31 will have 165 European n.c.o. instructors to train African counterparts.

### Common Deterioration

SIR ARCHIBALD JAMES has written to *The Times*:— "Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are showing the pattern of deterioration common to emergent African States; inefficient (and for the British tax-payer expensive) heady, dictatorial 'nationalism'. But in Southern Rhodesia multi-racialism has every chance to develop under the progressive 'Sandys' Constitution accepted as lately as December 1961 by all racialists. This Constitution gives equal opportunities and safeguards to all men and all races.

"The country's strong diversified economy and its quarter of a million Europeans render it independently viable and able to sustain the necessary administration and services.

"Too little is heard of the many Africans, land-owning, whose intelligent co-operation is increasing. When Southern Rhodesia attains full responsibility to work out its own destiny multi-racialism will be proven.

"The tranquillity and confidence prevailing there (I returned three weeks ago) contrasts with beliefs—and some wishes—held here."

MR. F. D. CORFIELD suggested that history showed that once Africans were in a position to acquire full political power it would never be shared.

"It is wishful thinking to hold out any hope that European

communities will be able to make their permanent homes in African States for many generations to come. Mrs. Huxley is right: multi-racialism as a political creed is dead. It is against human nature to expect otherwise; and it is this fact that highlights the cruel dilemma which faces the white populations of South Africa."

## Six Estates Lose Tobacco Licences Dr. Banda's Action Against Dr. Conforzi

DR. HASTINGS BANDA, Nyasaland's Prime Minister and Minister of Natural Resources, using his wide powers under the new Special Crops law, has forbidden six estate owners to grow or deal in certain types of tobacco.

Among those who have been refused the necessary licences are Conforzi Estates, Ltd., headed by Dr. I. Conforzi, and Mr. J. N. S. Chaudhri, an Asian under threat of being declared a prohibited immigrant when the Federation ends. Names of the four other estate owners are not yet known. The full list of "special crops" has still to be detailed. So far only fire and sun-cured tobacco are affected.

Dr. Conforzi, who has spent more than 50 years in the country, was a prime mover in the establishment of Nyasaland's tobacco auction floors. Last year his company opened a £200,000 blanket factory, which was opened by Sir Glyn Jones, the Governor. His estates employ several thousand people of all races.

The Special Crops Ordinance, introduced last month, gives the Minister of Natural Resources power to designate any crop which he deems a "special crop". Once a commodity is so designated no one may grow or sell the crop without a licence. Dr. Banda, the sole judge in the matter, is not compelled to give reasons for refusing a licence, and there can be no appeal against his decision. During the Legislative Assembly debate on the Bill, he said that it had been introduced to end exploitation of the African.

Asians have been told to stop sending money out of the country. Warnings were also given about Asian trading practices at a meeting organized by the ruling Malawi Congress Party and addressed by two Ministers.

Mr. C. Cameron, Minister of Transport and Communications, said he would visit every store in a campaign to boost the sale of the country's Development Bonds of 5s. each. There was too much money going out of the country. He knew exactly how many postal orders were being bought and where they were being sent. It was a sign that Asians had no confidence. "Stop showing indecision; it annoys me, I want to see it stop," he said.

Mr. John Ness, chairman of the Settlers' and Residents' Association, has said that the people of Nyasaland are not ready to govern themselves. The independence announced for July 6 next year should have been delayed until law and order were being maintained.

## Agricultural "New Look"

A "NEW LOOK" Ministry of Agriculture will be formed in Southern Rhodesia on December 1 when the existing separate European and African departments will be fused, Lord Graham, the Minister, told Parliament last week. An advisory agricultural production committee, comprising farmers of both races and industrial and commercial representatives is proposed. Import controls and protective tariffs are to be used to "galvanize" the nation into becoming agriculturally self-sufficient and to help increase exports.

## U.N.I.P. in Nyasaland

NORTHERN RHODESIA'S United National Independence Party has registered a Malawi Branch in Blantyre, with Mr. F. U. Miti as chairman, Mr. A. Mutale as vice-chairman, Mr. A. J. Chimkumbi as secretary, Mr. P. C. Lungu as vice-secretary, Mr. D. D. Chitambo as treasurer, and Mr. G. B. K. Phiri as organizing secretary. There are estimated to be about 500 paid-up U.N.I.P. members in Nyasaland.



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## News Items in Brief

In the first eight months of this year 333 motor-cars were stolen in Kampala.

Algeria has offered nine scholarships in medicine and engineering to students from Tanganyika.

Streets and other public places in Kampala are to be re-named in order "to reflect an African city".

Rift Valley Regional Assembly, Kenya, has agreed that Kitale should be included in the Western Region.

The Kenya Plantation and Agricultural Workers' Union has been recognized by the Tea Growers' Association of Kenya.

The Aga Khan Ismaili Provincial Council in Tanganyika has presented two drums to the 1st Bn. The Tanganyika Rifles.

This year's Kenya Royal Agricultural Show outside Nairobi had a record attendance over four days of some 59,000 visitors.

The finances and administration of the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation are being investigated by a six-member commission.

British troops withdrawn from Kenya are likely to join the Rhine Army to bring it to full strength, the War Minister has stated.

Two Africans from Kenya arrived in Germany last week to attend a three-week seminar in West Berlin on youth welfare work.

The Tanganyika High Commission in London moved at the week-end to Tanganyika House, 43 Hertford Street, W.1 (Tel.: Grosvenor 8951).

Emigration of Europeans from the Federation is officially stated to have totalled 1,132 in August and 953 in July. Most gave South Africa as their destination.

Tax-free severance pay for overseas officials will be available in Nyasaland from November 1. Compensation, paid partly in lump sums and partly by five annual instalments, will have a maximum of £12,000. It may be claimed even by officials who continue at their posts under contract or on pensionable terms.

Two Parliamentary dispatch boxes carved by disabled ex-Servicemen in New Zealand have been presented by the Government of that country to Tanganyika as independence gifts.

At least 24 private houses are to be requisitioned in Nairobi by the Kenya Government in order to provide accommodation for Heads of State and other visitors for the independence celebrations.

African airline representatives led a walk-out of 31 delegations from the International Air Transport Association's Rome conference in protest at South Africa's policies and the inclusion of S.A.A. members on two committees.

Dar es Salaam Association of Master Printers has recognized the Tanganyika Transport and General Workers Union. A one-year wage agreement and one of two years on other conditions, including a 43-hour week, have been signed.

Thirteen African girls from Kenya arrived in Besancon last week for a seven-week course in colloquial French. They will be attached as interpreters to French-speaking guests attending Kenya's independence celebrations in December.

Expenditure on regional affairs in Kenya for the current financial year has been estimated at £410,950 in the Central Region; £407,800 in Rift Valley; £376,150 in Eastern; £250,920 in Nyanza; £229,690 at the Coast; £180,450 in Western; and £80,070 in the North-Eastern Region.

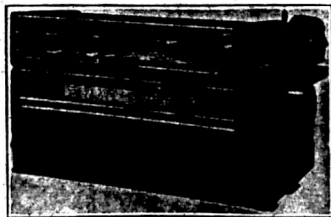
The Regional Commissioner for the Coast of Tanganyika, Mr. Abbas Sykes, has told African parents during a visit to the Rufiji that if his warning against the premature marriage of their daughters is not heeded, the District Council will take legal action to make the practice unlawful.

A Sunday newspaper in Kitwe, called *Zambia News*, will be published next month by the Heinrich Syndicate, which intends to convert it next year into a daily paper called *Zambia Times*. The *African Mail*, of Lusaka, proposes to publish *Financial Mail of Northern Rhodesia* and an illustrated magazine for Africans.

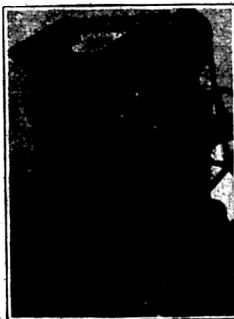
A bank clerk in Southern Rhodesia, Hamilton Jubilee Stanfield, has been jailed for five years in connexion with the theft last July of gold bullion worth £15,000 from the Gatooma branch of the Standard Bank, at which he was employed. The judge said that the accused had been influenced by older men.

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**Company Report**

# Inchcape & Co., Limited

## Higher Dividend and Scrip Issue

### LORD INCHCAPE ON A YEAR OF SATISFACTORY DEVELOPMENT

THE FIFTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF INCHCAPE & CO., LIMITED, will be held on Thursday, November 14, 1963, at 40 St Mary Axe, London, E.C.3.

THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF INCHCAPE, the chairman, in the course of his review which has been circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended March 31, 1963, says:—

#### Profits, Dividends and Scrip Issue

The Group profit for the year ended March 31, 1963, before charging taxation was £1,209,225. Taxation absorbed £465,794 and, after deducting minority interests of £82,769, the taxed profit attributable to Inchcape & Co., Limited, was £660,662. Of this, £356,040 has been retained by subsidiaries (other than those in India), leaving £304,622 for disposal by the holding company. These results include dividends of £197,368 paid from the taxed profit of the subsidiaries in India, leaving £126,418 attributable to Inchcape & Co., Limited, which has been retained by these subsidiaries.

The board has recommended a final dividend of 11 per cent., making with the interim dividend of 5 per cent. already paid a total of 16 per cent. for the year, absorbing £221,679 and leaving £82,943 to be transferred to reserve in the holding company's accounts. This compares with a total dividend of 15 per cent. for the previous year.

The board has also recommended that a capitalization issue of shares be made on the basis of one share for every two shares held, utilizing for this purpose the share premium account and part of the revenue reserve to the extent of the balance required.

I mentioned last year that our interests overseas must remain on a self-financing basis. We continue to be faced with a general need for retentions at a fairly high level.

#### Geographical Spread of Interests

The geographical spread of the Group's assets and income is, I know, of interest to shareholders. A broad indication is given below of these on the basis of the net assets of the Group at book values at March 31, 1963, attributable to the interests of shareholders and loan stockholders, and of the sources of income for the year ended on that date before charging taxation and interest on the holding company's unsecured loan stocks. As in the statement which I made in my review of last year, the percentages given take into account the proportion attributable to Inchcape & Co., Limited, of the underlying net assets and profits of the subsidiaries operating in India.

	Net Assets	Income
United Kingdom (including investments in sterling companies operating in India), Australia and North America	36%	26%
India and Pakistan	38%	47%
Persian Gulf and East Africa	26%	27%
	100%	100%

Trade in the areas in which we operate is seldom easy, and the year under review was no exception. Difficulties were experienced and were successfully

overcome and, in general, the year can be regarded as one of satisfactory development of our Commonwealth and other interests.

So far as the current year is concerned, it is difficult to forecast with any certainty, bearing in mind our diverse and widespread interests, but on the information at present available to me the results should again be satisfactory.

#### East African Subsidiaries

The chairman continues with a detailed review of the operations of the subsidiaries, and in relation to those in East Africa says:—

Smith Mackenzie & Co., Ltd., had another good year and reported once more a satisfactory rise in profits in nearly every department, and was able to pay an increased dividend.

While conditions in East Africa are still uncertain, I am glad to say that there has been an appreciable improvement in the political atmosphere, and it has been reassuring to read the encouraging and responsible statements made by prominent African politicians.

British investment in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar is substantial, and I am sure you will join me in wishing these countries every success in their endeavour to resolve the many difficult problems with which they are faced.

The tea producing subsidiary in Tanganyika, Musekera Estates, Ltd., has had a reasonably successful year, and although prices at the auctions were not as good as expected, a satisfactory final result was achieved and the dividend was maintained. During the year Musekera purchased a small neighbouring estate comprising a total of 944 acres, of which 165 acres are under tea and a further 150 acres are plantable land.

In Kenya, Karirana Estates, Ltd., which is still under development, has maintained its excellent progress as a quality garden and some good sales have taken place in London. The estate is also manufacturing a substantial quantity of green leaf supplied by African growers under the aegis of Government.

#### Two New Directors

Lord Inchcape concludes as follows:—

I take this opportunity to welcome on your behalf two new directors who have joined the board since my last review, Sir Hugh Mackay Tallack and Captain O. N. Bailey, R.N. (Retd.). Sir Hugh is at present chairman and a managing director of our important subsidiary in India, Macneill & Barry, Limited, and has just ceased to be president of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India. In that capacity he has given service of the utmost value, not only to Indian but also to British commerce and industry in India. I know it was a very real pleasure to all of us that his great contribution to good relations between Britain and India and his service to British commercial interests in India should have been recognized by a knighthood in the Birthday Honours List of this year.

We are deeply grateful to our management and staff, both at home and overseas, who have rendered admirable service often in circumstances of much difficulty. The help which they have given us, and their devoted service to the interests of the Group, have made a con-

tribution of real significance to the results for the year.

As I have said earlier in this review, we have had many problems to deal with during the past year; situations of complexity and gravity have arisen both in the political and economic field.

I said last year that a Group such as ours, with such widely diversified interests in so many different parts of the world, had to keep a constant watch on developments, political and economic, which might affect our progress and well-being, and I expressed my belief that, in the light of past performances, we could look forward with confidence to the future. Despite the problems, some of them not yet entirely resolved, which have confronted us in the past year, I would like to express my satisfaction with the progress which we have continued to make and which is reflected in the results shown in the Accounts.

## Rhodesian Selection Trust

RHODESIAN SELECTION TRUST, LTD., reports consolidated profit for the year ended June 30 at £13,320,422, almost exactly £1m. above the 1962 figure. Taxation took just over £5m. (£4.6m.).

The interests of minority shareholders in subsidiaries amount to rather more than £2.3m. (£2.1m.), leaving £5,928,843 (£4,203,461), of which subsidiaries retain £718,050 (£970,497). The general reserve, which was not increased last year, receives £450,000, and shareholders get 7s. 9d., less tax, an increase of 9d. per £1 share. The interim of 2s. 3d. required £1,385,993 and the final distribution of 5s. 6d. takes £3,388,208 leaving £41,400 to be carried forward.

The profit of the Roan Antelope division was just over £3m. (£2.9m.), and the holdings in the Mufulira, Chibuluma and Ndola Copper Refinery companies yielded £2,924,442, £292,422, and £204,000 respectively, to which interest of £282,782 is added. Taxation took just over £1.5m., leaving £5,210,793.

## New Headquarters in Northern Rhodesia

On April 1 next the group will open an executive office in Lusaka and a central office in Ndola, the duties of the chairman, president and vice-presidents being exercised from the capital, and other headquarters functions, now performed in Salisbury, being undertaken in Ndola.

The duties of Sir Ronald Prain (chairman), Mr. F. E. Buch (president), Mr. A. B. McLaren (technical vice-president), Mr. H. R. Fin (administrative vice-president), and Mr. G. B. Brebner (vice-president and controller) will be unchanged, and they will be joined by three new vice-presidents, Messrs. Jack Thomson, N. M. Kenny and J. L. Reid.

Mr. Thomson, now group resident director in Lusaka, will surrender that office at the end of March and become vice-president for special duties in Lusaka. Mr. Kenny will cease to be general manager of Mufulira at the end of January in order to become vice-president in charge of operations, and on the same day Mr. Reid, now general manager of the Roan Antelope division of R.S.T., will be appointed vice-president in charge of industrial relations.

Mr. A. M. Vere, vice-president in charge of sales, who was transferred to London some time ago, has just become managing director of R.S.T. International Metals, Ltd.

Mr. J. H. Lascelles, continues as resident director in London.

Mr. L. Tucker will retire at the end of March from the executive.

The central office in Ndola will be under the charge of Mr. R. H. Page, secretary to the main companies in the group.

At the beginning of February Mr. C. A. O'Connell, now manager of Mufulira Copper Mines, Ltd., will become general manager, and Mr. H. J. Wedgwood, manager of the Roan Antelope division, will become general manager of that division.

Mr. R. Cornthwaite, manager of Chibuluma Mines, Ltd., (which company manages Chambishi Mines, Ltd.) will become general manager and Mr. J. Ainsworth manager. Mr. O. G. H. Gale, assistant manager at Mufulira will be promoted manager, and Mr. C. Halliday will be made manager of the Roan Antelope Division.

In 1965 Mr. O'Connell is to become general manager of the Roan Antelope Division, vice Mr. H. J. Wedgwood, who will go to Mufulira as general manager.

## Rhodesian Anglo American's Dividend

RHODESIAN ANGLO AMERICAN, LTD., reports that in the year to June 30 last group profit before tax amounted to £26,715,097, compared with £32,615,208 in the previous year. Tax took just over £9m. (against more than £11.5m.), leaving £17,691,781 (£21,063,250), of which the proportion of net profit attributable to the parent company was £7,961,971 (£9,513,824).

The dividend is maintained at 10s. per 10s. stock unit, less Federal income tax of 6s. 8d. and Northern Rhodesian territorial charge of 1s. 4d., equivalent to a net dividend of 6s. per unit. An interim of 2s. net had already been paid. Dividends take just under £5.5m. General reserve again receives £1.5m.

Rhoango, a holding company, has a 52.397% interest in Rhokana Corporation and a 39.057% interest in Nchanga (21.429% by direct shareholding and the balance by virtue of Rhokana's 33.643% interest).

Mr. Harry Oppenheimer is the chairman.

## Rhokana Corporation, Ltd.

RHOKANA CORPORATION, LTD., reports that in the year to June 30 the operating profit amounted to £7,159,287, compared with £9,617,195 in 1961-62. Tax liability was down almost exactly £1m., to just under £2.5m., leaving £4,679,287 (£6,137,195). Net investment income added £4,658,759 (slightly more than in the previous year) and adjustment of tax in an earlier period brings the profit to just over £9.5m., against nearly £10.8m.

A final dividend of 9s. 2d. per £1 stock unit, less Federal and Northern Rhodesian tax, is equivalent to 5s. 6d. net. There had already been an interim distribution of 1s. 6d. net. The dividends take £8,750,007.

£1m. is appropriated to capital expenditure (£1.5m.). There is no addition to the general reserve, which received £750,000 in the previous year.

Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer is the chairman.

## Bancroft Mines

BANCROFT MINES, LTD., will not pay a dividend for the year to June 30 owing to its capital expenditure programme and reduction in profits from £2,121,690 to £1,119,105. The directors announced in March that difficult conditions at the mine made it unlikely that ordinary dividends would be paid this year or next. It has now also been decided to pass the cumulative dividend on the £7½m. of 6½% redeemable participating preference shares. The whole of the profit will be used to finance the capital programme.

Rhodesian Television, Ltd., has announced a maiden dividend of 6d. net per 2s. share.

The British & Commonwealth Shipping Group has placed an order in Greenock for three 173-knot ships of about 10,600 gross tons.

In just under a year the number of cashew co-operative societies in the Southern Region of Tanganyika has increased from six to 60.

Bulgaria and Tanganyika signed a trade agreement in Dar es Salaam last week. It provides for mutual most-favoured-nation treatment.

Trans-Zambia Railway Co., Ltd., has moved its London offices from Finsbury Pavement, E.C.2. to 48 Upper Thames Street, E.C.4. (Tel.: City 1074).

Under regulations recently published employers in Tanganyika are required to deduct trade union subscriptions from the wages paid to workers who are union members.

Senior officials of the Co-operative Department of the Government of Madagascar are spending three weeks in Tanganyika to study its marketing co-operative organizations.

Sisal outputs for September: Bird & Co. (Africa), 1,892 tons, making 5,693 for three months; Central Line Sisal Estates, 424 tons, making 1,298 for the three months (1,071 in 1962); East African Sisal Plantations, 330 tons, making 680 for three months (600); Dwa Plantations, 163, making 1,189 for nine months (1,295).

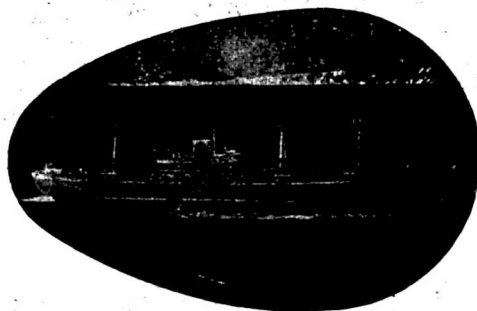
New company registrations in Southern Rhodesia between April and July inclusive had an average monthly nominal capital rate of £1.4m., almost exactly £1m. monthly above last year's comparable figure. In Northern Rhodesia in the same period the nominal capital registered was about £728,000 monthly, whereas a year earlier investment was trivial.

Commonwealth Development Finance Co., Ltd., has agreed to lend £200,000 to Windsor Ferroalloys (Pvt.) Ltd., of Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, towards the cost of a smelter nearing completion at Que Que. This is part of a £600,000 loan guaranteed by the Government of Southern Rhodesia. Barclays Overseas Development Corporation, the Industrial Promotion Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and the Gratian Assurance Company are other major subscribers to the loan.

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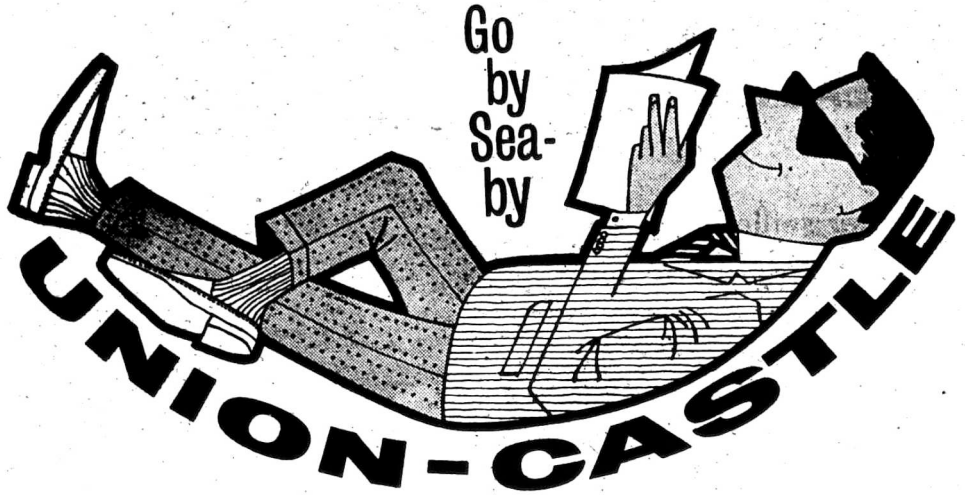
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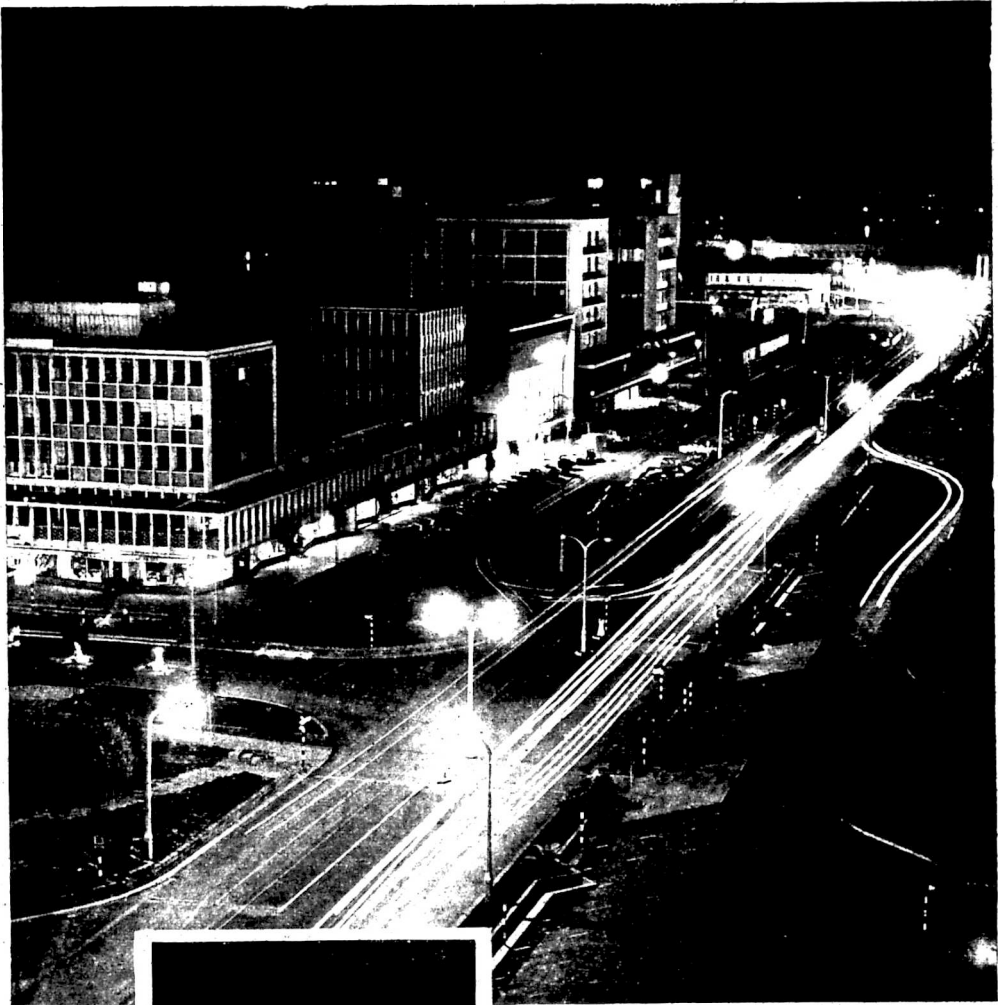
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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

AS AT DUNKIRK Britain's military forces were miraculously saved when all seemed lost except to those who would not surrender their faith, so Britain has now had a providential escape from a desperately dangerous political situation. The country will soon find that it has in the Earl of Home a man of shining sincerity, who is concerned with principle, not expediency, who will speak the truth, not the convenient half-truth, who deems a pledge a matter of honour, not of debate, and who does not swerve from his duty to placate noisy and guileful adversaries. There has been so much deceit and duplicity in high places in recent years that politics had fallen to a lower level of disesteem than ever before in living memory; not even in the appeasement era of the 'thirties was there such widespread cynicism among and about politicians. That contempt will be dissipated by the integrity of the new Prime Minister. What he does will, we believe, be wise; but more important in this state of crisis is what he is. Britons will quickly recognize the honour and fair dealing which are certain to be the hallmarks of a Government headed by this thoughtful, high-principled, straight-speaking, unself-seeking, and good-humoured man. His appointment as the Sovereign's Chief Minister is in our opinion the best political news for years. Recent calamities in British Africa have been basically the product of Ministerial infidelity. The distinguishing characteristic of the new Administration will be honesty; and, given time, on that can be built a new faith within the nation and a faith elsewhere in the world that Britain is once more inspired by honour and duty.

### Best Political News for Years.

scene—but, unhappily, four years too late; and now there is no possibility of setting right the major mistakes caused by the faithlessness and folly of those three arch-appeasers. Since the beginning of 1960 they have strewn Africa with wreckage, breaking pledge after pledge in respect of Kenya and the Federation in particular. They have brought prospering, highly promising, but still immature countries to the brink of ruin; delivered millions of uncomprehending Africans into the hands of dictators of their own race who had learned only to exploit the opportunities offered by the theory of parliamentary democracy; and destroyed much of the work done for Africa and Africans over three-quarters of a century by hundreds of thousands of the best men and women of our race. Changes were, of course, necessary; they always are in a changing world. This journal had often pleaded that Africans should have an increasing share of responsibility of all kinds—but on the basis of merit, not merely of colour. The gravamen of the charge against Macmillanism in Africa is not that it was susceptible to a "wind of change", but that, while specifically declaring that individual merit must be the criterion for advancement, it deliberately and persistently rejected in practice the criterion on which it professed to be based. Had merit been made the test, the reckless, ruthless procedures of the past four years would have been avoided. Change would have come helpfully and hopefully over a very much longer period, during which many thousands of Africans could and would have qualified themselves for burdens which have now been thrust upon them so prematurely that the standards already established by mainly white Governments and enterprises cannot be expected to be maintained.

The malign influence of Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod, and Mr. Butler has been removed from the East and Central African

Mr. Macmillan himself, and his two chief henchmen in African affairs, Mr. Macleod and Mr. Butler, will long be remembered for their equivocation. That their party should

**Deceit and Duplicity.**

have tolerated the continuing trickery is still past understanding by those who do not recognize the professionalism, the inordinate ambition, and the subservience of the vast majority of M.Ps. to a dictatorial Prime Minister, who little more than a year ago, on the "day of the long knives", rid himself of one-third of a Cabinet chosen by himself. The actions of Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod in Central Africa so transparently disregarded Britain's solemn pledges that the then Archbishop of Canterbury felt it incumbent upon himself to tell the House of Lords after one visit to the Rhodesias that he had never known a United Kingdom Government so generally distrusted; Lord Salisbury, who had been both Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies, denounced their manoeuvres as "unscrupulous"; and the Federal Prime Minister complained of "deceit and duplicity". Protests within the Parliamentary party, checked by the customary processes, never really became threatening, even though disgust among back-benchers deepened and widened with continually increasing evidence of devious and cynical dealing with the problems of Kenya and the Federation.

When irreparable damage had been done, Mr. Macleod had to be moved (partly because of dissension with Mr. Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations), and

**Scandalous Record.**

Central Africa became the responsibility of Mr. Butler, who already had an unrivalled reputation in the House for what his admirers called finesse and diplomacy and his critics cunning and circumvention. An ardent appeaser in Munich days, he was soon busily appeasing such African extremists as Dr. Banda, for whom he was ready to destroy the Federation—though, true to form, he publicly pleaded with Britons to invest in Rhodesia, with the promise that "we will be behind you", while he was scheming to abandon this country's greatest achievement in Africa long before it had had the opportunity of succeeding. If the Macmillan Government were to be judged on its scandalous African record—and it is scandalous in the exact sense of the word, not merely calamitous—it would be condemned as one of the worst that this country has ever suffered. No Administration in Britain can have broken so many solemn pledges so quickly and so cynically.

**THE LAST ACT** of the Macmillan Government in Africa was, characteristically, a betrayal—of the Kenya tribes who stood loyal throughout the Mau Mau rebellion to a political party headed by a man whom the courts held to be primarily responsible for that foul conspiracy against

**Last Act A Betrayal.**

the Queen's peace. On that ground alone the decision announced by Mr. Sandys on Saturday was squalid. What was involved, however, was more than the sacrifice of the large majority who had shown themselves trustworthy to a party then and now dominated by a tribe in which at one period nineteen out of every twenty adults, male and female, were officially stated to be active or passive rebels. After constitutional discussions in London lasting two months last year the United Kingdom Government and the two rival political groups in Kenya agreed that the basis for self-government and then independence should be the maximum possible decentralization of power from the Central Government to "effective authorities capable of a life and significance of their own" in seven separate regions of Kenya. That was the minimum safeguard for minorities which K.A.D.U. and H.M. Government deemed necessary.

Though K.A.N.U. accepted the plan, some of its most influential spokesmen, among them Prime Minister Kenyatta, promptly ridiculed the conception of regionalism, and

**Long Tally of Broken Promises.**

on various pretexts there were such delays in transferring the promised powers to the regions that the Constitution was never given the chance of showing its strengths or weaknesses. K.A.N.U., however, having declared it to be unworkable, persuaded the expiring Macmillan Administration so to amend the Constitution that the Leader of the Opposition in Kenya has denounced the action as "dishonest". Kenyatta had said at the opening of the conference that if the amendments demanded were not granted his party would tear up the Constitution when Kenya became independent on December 12. In reinforcement of that piece of blackmail, he authorized the Acting Prime Minister to telegraph him last week urging him to withdraw from the conference, fly back to Nairobi, and unilaterally declare Kenya independent on October 20, the eleventh anniversary of the outbreak of the Mau Mau rebellion and the arrest of Kenyatta and other leaders. The announcement that Mr. Butler, who was acting as Prime Minister, had thereupon summoned a group of Minis-

ters to confer was ominous, for his intervention has always been likely to mean weakness, even if that meant shuffling out of another obligation. When Mr. Sandys, negotiating from some strength, might have called the K.A.N.U. bluff, it was decided to give them the last trick, thus sacrificing Kenya to the Kenyatta-Odinga-Mboya group of extremists, betraying Mr. Ngala and those whom he represents, risking civil war in the Colony, and adding to the long Macmillan-Macleod-Butler tally of broken promises.

A paper pledge is all that the Kenyatta Government has given in return. However phrased, it would have been worthless from a party with such a record. It so

### Worthless Paper Pledge.

happens that the wording, obviously by design, will enable the promise to be broken while the claim is made that no breach of faith is involved. The material sentence offers two opportunities for evasion. It states that "it is not our intention to make further amendments to the Constitution except in so far as subsequent experience shows these to be absolutely necessary". Who is to say that the intention of today will not be cast aside the day after tomorrow? And since Kenyatta and his cronies are to be the judges of whether experience should show later amendments to be necessary, what value can be attached to the proviso? Unless civil war or assassination should sweep them away—and neither risk can be left out of account—the power will be theirs, and only the very naïve will doubt that they will make whatever changes they deem expedient. The Secretary of State, who cannot be happy about Saturday's capitulation, professes to find comfort in the notion that if the concessions had not now been made there would have been amendment sooner or later by unlawful means. Recent experience shows that, whatever their undertakings before independence, African States do just what their dictator leaders find convenient once they have power. But the possibility, even the probability, of faithlessness by Africans in Kenya at some time is no good reason for Britain to repudiate her signature now.

Britain's purpose, said Mr. Sandys, had been to protect "the basic liberties". If that was so, her politicians have shown incomparable incompetence. So far from satisfied that

### Possibility of Congo-Type Tragedy.

the basic liberties have been protected is Mr. Ngala that he demands the right of self-determination for those areas in which

the Kikuyu and Luo do not predominate. Could there be clearer proof that Kenya is not a nation and is not ready for independence? Because tribal loyalties and resentments are so strong, tribalism being still the basic fact of life in the Colony, there will be a continuing risk of resistance to the strong-arm methods to be expected from K.A.N.U. In the seven weeks left to Independence Day troops and police under British leadership will be available to deal with civil disturbances, which the leaders of the Kalenjin, Somali, and other bellicose tribes will therefore be especially anxious to restrain. It is inconceivable that British subjects left in the Kenya Rifles and the Kenya Police when British authority expires would take part in inter-tribal war; and forces left without their direction might very quickly expose the real weakness of the Kenyatta clique, especially as many thousands of Africans who supported the Kenyatta movement until a few months ago are now bitterly antagonistic because they believe that they have been cheated out of the promise that they should inherit the white man's lands. All who know Kenya must pray that she will be spared civil war; but the possibility of a Congo-type tragedy is not to be dismissed. Mzee Kenyatta, blowing hot and cold, protesting at one moment that he wants all Europeans to remain and at the next that he has "the British lion by the tail", will quickly find that words and exhibitionism will solve none of Kenya's real problems, which are aggravated by animal passions threatening to express themselves in savage manner.

### Statements Worth Noting

"The Afro-Asian-Communist bloc dominates and misuses the Assembly of the United Nations to cover up the blasting of the homes and bodies of Yemeni tribesmen and the denial of self-determination to Goans and Papuans. The bloc includes African States which have preached and prepared race-war across the frontiers of fellow members of the United Nations and then denounced Britain for not depriving the Rhodesians of the means of self-defence".—Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M.P.

"The world market for copper is uncertain in the short term. It would be foolhardy to suggest how long the present cuts in copper production may continue. There have been more red faces over predictions about the behaviour of the copper market than about almost any other aspect of economic forecasting".—Mr. Trevor Gardner, Finance Minister in Northern Rhodesia.

"Seven years ago I said at a public rally, quoting Nkrumah, that if I failed to bring independence to Zanzibar, I should be buried alive. Today I say that if within five years this Government fails to banish poverty from our shores, then it deserves to be buried alive".—Sheikh Ali Muhsin, Minister for Home and Legal Affairs, Zanzibar.

## Notes By The Way

### Mr. Nigel Fisher's Speech

THE SPEECH by Mr. Nigel Fisher, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Colonial Affairs, to the Conservative Party Conference in Blackpool was briefly reported in last week's issue under the heading "Strange Speech of Mr. Nigel Fisher". The full text, which has now been obtained, shows that that caption was fully justified, and that the assembled Tories were asked to believe that the betrayal of East and Central Africa by the Macmillan Government had sprung from a sense of proud patriotism and Britain's true genius! There was, of course, not a word about the deliberate breaches of solemn pledges, not a suggestion that freedom had been sacrificed to dictatorship, not a hint of the deprivations callously imposed upon many millions of Africans in order to accommodate the ambitions of a tiny minority of their political extremists. "We are not just a race of romantics and idealists; we are very hard-headed realists too", Mr. Fisher declaimed. There has been no romance, no idealism, and no hard-headed realism in Britain's African policy in the past four years, especially in Kenya and the Federation. Lord Salisbury's one-word definition, "unscrupulous", was much more trustworthy than Mr. Fisher's evaluation.

### Misrepresentation

THE UNDER-SECRETARY has an obvious talent for misrepresentation, either because he is remarkably glib or because he speaks with reprehensible inexactitude. He invited the conference to believe that "in Kenya the property market is brisk, rents are at peak figures, people are building houses for the first time for five years, and the stock market is booming, with share prices 50% higher than a year ago and a shortage of sellers. All in all, European prospects in Kenya look better than for many years past". A less reliable summary it would be difficult to imagine. If Mr. Fisher had said "in Nairobi", not "in Kenya", there might have been some justification for his words; but they would still have been ill chosen, for the vast majority of his hearers, knowing little about East Africa, could not have drawn a distinction between the situation in the capital and that in the country at large. In many countries there is great disparity between conditions in the capital and those in the country.

### "Boom", Forsooth

THERE HAS NOT BEEN improvement in the property market throughout Kenya, as the Minister implied; but values have risen in Nairobi, not from any general resurgence of confidence, but from the political factor that when Kenya becomes independent in less than two months there will be competition for the best houses by ambassadors of the many nations which will require representation, and that meantime African Ministers, African and international agencies, and other political and semi-political bodies need house and office accommodation. As to the stock market "boom", business has been so restricted for years that a few inquiries for a few shares can at once raise the price inordinately. Mr. Fisher's audience must have pictured thousands of buyers scrambling to participate in the soaring profits of hundreds of companies supplying an abounding economy, for that is the state of affairs represented by a "stock exchange boom". In that sense there was not the slightest warrant for the statement.

### Fruits of Folly

EUROPEAN PROSPECTS in Kenya look better than for many years past, the Minister declared. He was careful not to define "European prospects"; not to speak of "British prospects"; not even to mention the white farming community; and not to hint that most of the British officials will soon have left the country. Sales prospects for manufacturers on the Continent of Europe, to the obvious detriment of traditional suppliers in Britain, were presumably not in Mr. Nigel Fisher's mind. Is he aware that in the first six months of this year five of the six chief suppliers of new motor-cars to Kenya were German, French and Italian factories, and only one British (or, rather, an American-owned company operating in the United Kingdom)? Does he not know of the eagerness of some of the most influential men in the K.A.N.U. Government to switch trade from the United Kingdom to Europe (including Iron Curtain countries) and Asia? "Hard-headed realism" suggests that that is an unsatisfactory consequence, not of British "romance and idealism", but of the faithlessness and folly in Africa with which the names of Harold Macmillan and Iain Macleod ought to be especially commemorated in the histories of the period.

### Sir Roy's Farm

THE FARM near Salisbury which grateful Rhodesians are to present to Sir Roy Welensky in recognition of his staunch fight for the Federation is, I hear, of 69 acres, of which two are already irrigated. The soil is good, and the property admirably chosen for occupation and development by a man who has been a devoted gardener and keen fruit grower for years. Deciduous fruits are certain to be planted, and those who know the Prime Minister's love of roses will not doubt that he will soon have splendid displays of his favourite flower. When he is relieved of the cares of politics he will assuredly derive great pleasure from this new interest. Lady Welensky, happily in much better health after her stay at sea-level, will, I am sure, still find a constant trek of loyal visitors, for one outstanding feature of their years at the top politically is that both have remained unchanged in their relations with old friends, many of them people of little position, no wealth, and no pretensions. On their veranda a Cabinet Minister might at any time expect to find himself drinking coffee with an artisan on one side and on the other a millionaire, a mine worker, or a railway pensioner.

### Last Fling

ON RESIGNING the office of Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan invited the Queen to approve a special list of honours and awards. His unpaid private secretary, Mr. John Wyndham, has been raised to the peerage; his Parliamentary private secretary, Mr. Knox Cunningham, M.P., his physician, Sir John Richardson, and his public relations adviser, Mr. Harold Evans, have been made baronets; and two private secretaries are to be knighted. Never previously in my lifetime had a Prime Minister asked the Sovereign to scatter titles with such prodigality among the members of his entourage. Why should any recognition earned be transmitted to offspring through baronetries?



**Nothing But the Best**

BANKRUPT KENYA, kept from financial collapse by British taxpayers, will soon have for the use of its

Prime Minister a £7,300 Rolls-Royce limousine, the most expensive car on view at last week's Motor Show, where it was bought by the ex-Mau Mau leader.

## Constitution Changed Under Pressure of Kenyatta Party

### K.A.D.U. Leader Charges United Kingdom Government with Dishonesty

**ACCUSING BRITAIN OF "DISHONESTY"** and breaches of its own recent pledges to Kenya, MR. RONALD NGALA and his delegation representing the Kenya African Democratic Union declined to attend the final session on Saturday of the Independence Conference in Lancaster House which had lasted from September 25 to October 19.

MR. SANDYS said that he had received a letter from the Prime Minister of Kenya stating that his Government accepted various amendments to the Constitution as a settlement of the issues raised at the conference, and that it was not his Government's intention to seek to make further amendments to the Constitution except in so far as subsequent experience showed them to be absolutely necessary.

A second letter reaffirmed the intention of the Kenya Government to transfer to the Regions with all possible speed the departments and services still remaining to be handed over. The greater part of the remaining transfers would be effected on December 1 and they would be completed not later than January 1 next.

It was the wish of both parties in Kenya that on attaining independence Kenya should be a member of the Commonwealth. If that were confirmed by a resolution of the National Assembly, H.M. Government would be pleased to convey the request to the Governments of other Commonwealth countries.

### Queen as Head of State

The Kenya Government had declared its desire that the Queen should become Queen of independent Kenya.

During the first stage of the conference agreement had been reached on most of the amendments and additions to the Constitution necessary to effect Kenya's change of status from self-government to independence. Other amendments, mostly uncontroversial, but by no means unimportant, had also been agreed.

"The Government of Kenya proposed a number of further amendments which they considered necessary in order to make the Constitution workable.

"The K.A.D.U. Opposition delegation recognized in principle that, if the Constitution was not workable, amendments which could be shown to be necessary must be made. However, they did not consider that the further amendments proposed by the Kenya Government were justified.

"In their view all necessary decisions of substance had been taken at the Lancaster House Conference in 1962, at which the 'framework' of the Constitution was agreed. They accordingly refused to discuss any of the amendments proposed by the Kenya Government other than purely technical ones consequential on independence.

"It was thus clearly impossible to make further progress in plenary sessions. I therefore decided to pursue the discussions separately with each delegation in an endeavour to secure agreement. These difficult and protracted talks have been proceeding for 18 days, and the time has now come to take decisions.

The constitutional framework, agreed between all parties in 1962, had declared that the objective was a united Kenya nation, capable of social and economic progress in the modern world—a Kenya in which men and women have confidence in the sanctity of individual rights and liberties, and in the proper safeguarding of the interests of minorities.

"Throughout these discussions the problem has been to reconcile the first and the last phrases of that declaration—on the one hand, to create a united Kenya nation, and, on the other, to safeguard the interests of minorities.

"As was to be expected, the Kenya Government have been primarily concerned with national unity and the Opposition with minority safeguards.

### Framework Approved by All

In support of their amendments, the Kenya Government have drawn attention to § 7 of the constitutional framework which states that there should be a strong and effective Central Government, whereas the Opposition have based themselves on § 9, which states that there should be the maximum possible decentralization of the powers of Government to effective authorities capable of a life and significance of their own.

"I have been keenly aware of the critical nature of the decisions to be taken and of the heavy responsibility which rests upon me. In discharging this task I have been guided by one thought—to do what is best for the people of Kenya.

"Throughout I have been acutely aware that the constitutional framework of April 1962 was approved by both the Kenya parties and by the British Government, and embodied a number of keenly debated compromises. It was important that no changes should be made which conflicted with the provisions of this basic document unless they could be shown to be not merely desirable but necessary in order to make the Constitution workable.

"For amendments which do not conflict with the terms of the framework a somewhat more flexible approach was permissible. But even then I considered it my duty to weigh the possible effects of such changes upon the distribution of powers between the Centre and the Regions and upon the delicate checks and balances which the Constitution was designed to provide.

"On the basis of these criteria, I reached the conclusion that a number of amendments needed to be made. The most important are concerned with the police, the public service, and the procedure for amending the Constitution.

### Anxiety and Suspicion

"The most difficult were those relating to the police. My difficulty arose from two conflicting considerations. I had to recognize that the maintenance of law and order is one of the basic responsibilities of Government and that consequently the efficiency of the police organization is a matter of vital importance. On the other hand, I was faced with the agreed framework of 1962, which set out in the utmost detail a scheme for the distribution of police control between the Central Government and the Regions.

"I took the view that, in the interests of public safety, any changes must be made which were necessary to enable the police efficiently to perform their duties. Owing to the anxiety and suspicion which surrounds this question I did not consider that I would be justified in making any adjustments which were not essential for this purpose.

"Before coming to a decision I asked the Inspector-General of the Kenya Police to come to London and thoroughly discussed the problem with him. As a result I reached the conclusion that several of the amendments to the police organization proposed by the Kenya Government, although desirable, could not be said to be absolutely necessary. On the other hand, a completely convincing case was made out for a few important changes.

"The first is concerned with the establishments of the regional and central contingents of the police. In order to ensure that no Region should build up an excessive police force, the framework provided that the maximum strength should be laid down by the National Security Council, which is composed of a Minister of the Central Government and one representative of each of the seven Regions.

"But it is equally important that the overall strength of the police in Kenya should be maintained at a reasonable level and that all parts of the country should bear their fair share of the expense. For this reason I consider that the

National Security Council should be charged with the duty of fixing not merely the maximum strengths but the actual establishments of the central and regional contingents.

"The second change relates to the transfer of police from one contingent to another. The framework provided that, except in the case of gazetted officers, of whom there are only about 200, the Inspector-General should not have the right to make any transfers without the consent of the Regional Commissioners concerned. It is clearly necessary that the Inspector-General should be able without hindrance to draw freely upon the regional contingents in order to secure sufficient and suitable personnel to man the all-important mobile reserve of General Service Units and the specialized branches, for which he is directly responsible. I consider it essential that he should be empowered to post all ranks of the police force into or from any regional contingent.

#### "Incompatible Restrictions"

"Thirdly, there is the question of the Inspector-General's rights to move police reinforcements from one part of Kenya to another. The framework provided that before doing so he must obtain the consent of the Law and Order Committee of the Region concerned, or, failing that, he must within 48 hours secure the approval of the National Security Council. Otherwise the reinforcements must be withdrawn. Recent experience has shown that these restrictions on the movement of police are quite incompatible with the maintenance of law and order, and there is a clear case for their abolition.

"There is one other important amendment in the security organization which I consider should be made. The framework provided that the independent Police Service Commission should be responsible for the recruitment, promotion and discipline of officers of the gazetted ranks throughout Kenya. From the inquiries I have made I am satisfied that, in order to make proper use of the limited officer material available, the commission's sphere of responsibility should be extended to include the inspectorate ranks. This would mean that about 1,000 police officers out of a total force of about 10,000 would come within the purview of the commission. The other nine-tenths, up to and including the rank of sergeant, would continue, as at present, to be recruited, promoted and disciplined by the Regional Commissioner within the regional contingent."

There were also some amendments concerning the public service which did not involve a departure from the terms of the framework which read: "The Constitution would entrench appropriate provisions to ensure the independence of the public service from political control. Suitable arrangements will have to be worked out to meet the staffing needs both of the Central Government and the Regional Authorities."

#### "Unwieldy" System

Existing arrangements, based on an earlier ruling by Mr. Sandys, provided for eight Public Service Commissions (one for the Centre and one for each Region), each composed of seven members, four common to all the commissions being appointed by a procedure designed to ensure their independence. The intention was to maintain consistent standards throughout Kenya while ensuring consideration for regional interests.

"These arrangements are undoubtedly most unwieldy and have been severely criticized by the civil service unions. They make it difficult to distribute the talent available to the best advantage and are likely to discourage new entrants.

"For these reasons I am satisfied that there should be a simple Public Service Commission, composed of seven independent members, all of whom should be appointed in the same manner as the four independent members are at present.

"If civil servants are to move smoothly from one employing authority to another, as was always envisaged, there must be common qualifications and standards throughout Kenya, particularly in regard to pay and conditions of service. These should be prescribed by the National Assembly.

"Before making a posting the Public Service Commission should be required to consult the regional authority concerned and should endeavour as far as practicable to meet their wishes in regard to any special attributes, such as knowledge of a particular language. The Region should not be entitled to insist on tribal connexions as a qualification.

"However, the commission should be required, as at present, to endeavour to secure that, so far as is practicable, the staff on the Central Government establishment should include a reasonable number of persons from each Region, and that the staff of a Region should include a substantial proportion of persons drawn from that Region.

"During the period of internal self-government the Kenya Legislature had no power to amend its Constitution. Consequently this issue did not arise in the Nairobi constitutional talks last spring.

"The framework agreed at the Lancaster House Conference 18 months ago did deal specifically with this question. It provided that, except with a 75% vote in the House of Representatives and a 90% vote in the Senate, no amendment should be made to the 'entrenched rights of individuals, regions, tribal authorities, or districts', and that all other amendments should require a 75% vote in each House.

"I had no difficulty in concluding that the level of entrenchment proposed in the framework, although unusually high in comparison with other Constitutions, should be maintained for the following subjects: the rights of the individual (including the judiciary and citizenship), tribal authorities (including the all-important tribal land rights), and districts (including the Senate, for which the districts form the electoral constituencies).

"It was right that the structure of the Regions (the provisions governing regional boundaries, and the composition of the Regional Assemblies) should similarly be included in the highest category of entrenchment. I found it hard to convince myself that it was appropriate to attach the same degree of immutability to the sections of the Constitution which define in detail the various powers of the Regional Assemblies.

#### Element of Flexibility

"The formulation of Kenya's unique Constitution, which is neither federal nor unitary, has raised problems on which there are no exact precedents or experience to guide us, particularly with regard to the allocation of functions between the Centre and the Regions. It must be recognized that the present provisions are the product of inter-party bargaining rather than of any objective planning.

"It is not surprising that some unworkable features have already revealed themselves; and it is certain that others will emerge. There is therefore a strong case for leaving some element of flexibility, so that mistakes can be corrected in the light of experience.

"I felt it my duty to consider not merely the formula agreed in 1962 but also the purpose which it was intended to serve, namely to make the Constitution more durable. If necessary changes are made virtually impossible, the Constitution will fall into disrepute. In that case there is a danger that frustration will sooner or later drive people to amend it by unlawful means.

"Once a breach is made in any part of the Constitution the whole of the remainder is liable to crumble. Thus the over-entrenchment of rights which are not fundamental can well result in the destruction of the basic liberties which it is our prime aim to protect.

"In view of the importance which has been attached to the formula in the framework, it is most desirable to maintain as nearly as possible the procedure it prescribes for the amendment of the Constitution. I consider that the percentage votes laid down in the framework for both Category I and Category II should be retained. However, in order to permit somewhat more flexibility in Category II, the alternative of a two-thirds majority in a nation-wide referendum should be provided.

#### Allay Anxieties

"Ultimately the strength and durability of any Constitution depends upon the respect it enjoys among those who have to work it and the confidence it inspires among those who look to it for protection. That is why I attach special importance to the letter I have received from Mr. Kenyatta, in which he informs me that the Government of Kenya accepts the amendments which it is proposed to make as a settlement of the issues raised in this conference, and that it is not their intention to make further amendments to the Constitution, except in so far as these are shown to be absolutely necessary in the light of subsequent experience.

"As further evidence of the Government of Kenya's desire to allay anxieties, they have, in another letter to me, announced a timetable for the rapid completion of the process of implementing the present Constitution. They propose to hand over most of the remaining regional powers to the Regional Authorities on December 1 and the remainder not later than January 1.

"Some will feel that it was wrong of me to approve any departure whatsoever from the provisions previously agreed. I fully understand their feelings. The British Government has given most earnest thought to this problem. As a result we came to the clear conclusion that our duty was to do what was in the true interests of Kenya in the years ahead.

"I sincerely believe that the amendments which are to be made will make the Constitution more workable

(Continued on page 172)

Letter to the Editor**Few Kenya Farmers Want to Stay****Wing-Commander Saunders on the Risks**

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA  
 SIR, — I came to Britain from Kenya at the urgent request of members of our Association (our last money has been spent in sending me here). We in the ex-Service Settlement Scheme number about 200. We are all farmers in a small way, who have no resources whatever to fall back on.

We see absolutely no future for ourselves, let alone our children, as the security situation deteriorates as Kenya gets nearer the date of independence. Violence may or may not break out because of the changes made last week in the Constitution, but the changes will certainly not restore the confidence of the majority of European farmers.

Since my arrival in London I have received letters from individuals and groups of farmers in Kenya and they all make the point that about 80% wish to leave as soon as possible. Very few are, I am sure, prepared to risk their freedom for the doubtful privilege of Kenya citizenship.

The man really responsible for the present situation in Kenya is Mr. Iain Macleod, M.P. In 1960 he was warned what the outcome of his policies would be, but, as Lord Salisbury has said, he was "too clever by half". Mr. Macleod thought politics more important than economics. Presumably that was also the view of Mr. Blundell, then the settler leader, for without his acquiescence and active assistance Mr. Macleod could not have imposed his will. Security is dependent upon a solvent and expanding economy, and it will be years before that appears in Kenya.

Our members are deeply depressed. They can (1) stay and run the very grave risk of being attacked, and possibly killed; (2) stay and possibly be deported at short notice, either for being critical of Mr. Kenyatta or on some trumped-up charge; (3) leave and lose everything. To decide in such circumstances is difficult for any man. What of those who are married and have children?

The risk is greater in areas where the extremist Kikuyu live and where the Land Freedom Army is gaining strength. As recently as last week a Kenya newspaper reported that there are some 15,000 illegal African squatters in the Nderagwa district of the Rift Valley. That is in one district only! With independence on December 12 masses of Kikuyu will, I believe, move on to European farms.

Our association is asking H.M. Government for a relatively small amount of money to enable the British ex-Servicemen to exercise their option to be bought out at a fair valuation and to receive an allowance to re-establish themselves elsewhere. Ours is a very special case, for there was a clear contract between the ex-Service settler and the Kenya Government, who acted under the direct control of H.M. Government. There should be no doubt about our case — but I believe H.M. Government have a responsibility to all European farmers in Kenya.

Yours faithfully,

G. A. W. SAUNDERS,

Chairman,

London, S.W.1

Association of European  
 Agricultural Settlement Board Farmers.

Points from Letters**The King Size Cigarette of International Success**

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**Kenya Not Confident**

"THE KINANGOP has not been mentioned in your recent reports of oathing in the Kenya Highlands, but it is serious, really serious, in this area. It is bad at Ol Kalou. Africans say that these new outbreaks are connected with the promises made by K.A.U., Mau Mau, and afterwards K.N.U. that Africans would be given the white man's lands. Many who were tricked still have receipts for payments to Mau Mau which professed to give title to specific farms. Not surprisingly, the holders believe that they have been betrayed by the African politicians. Such men have for some time been talking an oath to kill Kenyatta, whom they consider to have double-crossed them. When he was in Ol Kalou a few weeks ago the Kikuyu leader, condemned not only the administration of oaths (perhaps knowing that he was the target in many cases) but also the manufacture of home-made guns in the Nyandarua forests. Yet English papers report him as saying again and again during his visit to London that Kenya is peaceful, happy, and confident. Nothing could be further from the truth."

**Disagreeable Threats**

"A NEWSPAPER so consistently favourable to African political aspirations as the *Guardian* has felt it necessary to comment editorially that 'Dr. Banda and some of his flamboyant Ministers have uttered disagreeable threats', and to remind its readers that 'independence will not make Nyasaland viable; it cannot do without external aid, and British subsidies will no doubt outlast British suzerainty'. These disturbing facts — and they are facts — do not seem to have caused anxiety to the Minister for Central African Affairs, who appears to be guided (or misguided) by Dr. Banda's words instead of checking the pace of change in accordance with conditions in the country."

# PERSONALIA

PRESIDENT ABOUD OF SUDAN is to pay a State visit to London next May.

MR. E. R. H. BOWRING has been appointed a director of C. T. Bowring & Co., Ltd.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE, lately Governor-General of the Federation, was 49 last Thursday.

MR. R. A. BUTLER, one of the trustees of the Sir Ernest Cassel Educational Trust, has resigned.

MR. ROBERT C. FOULON has been appointed an American Consul in the Rhodesian Federation.

MR. T. E. DORMAN, an education officer in Northern Rhodesia, is spending his long leave in New Zealand.

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE of Ethiopia is mediating in the border dispute between Algeria and Morocco.

MR. J. I. G. BORTHWICK, residing in Blantyre, is acting as Honorary Consul for Belgium in the Federation.

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH yesterday opened the British Council London Centre for Overseas Students.

MR. ABDULLAH AFIF, who led an uprising against the Maldives Government, is now in voluntary exile in Seychelles.

MR. MARTIN HAULE, M.P. for Kondoa, has been appointed Area Commissioner for the Kondoa area of Tanganyika.

MR. NORMAN HYDE-JONES is chairman of the Southern Rhodesia Electricity Supply Commission until December 31.

DR. M. H. WEBSTER will become Secretary for Health when that portfolio reverts to Southern Rhodesia from Federal control.

DR. WAYNE SLAUGHTER has led a tour of Southern Rhodesia by American members of the International College of Surgeons.

MR. KWANG HO AHN recently arrived in Nairobi to open a Consulate-General for Korea. He had previously served in Washington.

DR. HASTINGS BANDA, Prime Minister of Nyasaland, returned to Blantyre on Sunday after visits to Britain, the U.S.A. and Germany.

THE QUEEN has approved the use for life of the title "Honourable" by MR. JOHN GRAYLIN, former Federal Minister for Agriculture.

DR. KAMUZU BANDA, Prime Minister of Nyasaland, has received an honorary degree from Brandeis University, Massachusetts.

MGR. CLEMENT KABUKASANSHA, hitherto Vicar-General, has been appointed Auxiliary Bishop of Fort Rosebery, Northern Rhodesia.

MR. J. C. WHITE, deputy chairman of Express Transport Co. (Mombasa), Ltd., and MRS. WHITE have made a short visit to South Africa.

MR. F. L. GRESHAM, secretary of the Dairy Board of Kenya, has retired on account of ill-health. The new secretary is MRS. E. M. DOIG.

DR. KAI-UWE VON HASSEL, who has been appointed Defence Minister in the new Cabinet of West Germany, was born in Tanganyika.

MR. G. T. GILLESPIE, general manager in London of National and Grindlays Bank, has been elected to the board. He will continue as general manager.

THE REV. PETER MATHEWS, executive director for many years of the Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation in Kitwe, has left Northern Rhodesia to return to Australia.

MR. WINSTON FIELD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, expects to announce shortly the appointment of representatives for the Colony in the U.K. and U.S.A.

MR. LEANDER KOMAKECK, studio manager, and MR. JAMES BWOGI, programme assistant, both of Radio Uganda, have been visiting the U.S.A. to study television.

THE REV. D. J. M. EDWARDS, lately priest-in-charge of Famona, Bulawayo, is leaving Southern Rhodesia to become Rector of Barlborough, near Chesterfield, Derbyshire.

MR. B. W. KATENGA, the first African Social development officer in Nyasaland, has been transferred to Zomba from Lilongwe, where he has been replaced by MR. A. E. WILSON.

MR. WILLIAM RUGOVI, head agricultural supervisor in the Southern Rhodesian Native Agriculture Department, has arrived in England for a year's course at the Surrey Farm Institute.

DR. BASILE ADJOU-MOUMOUNI of Dahomey, and DR. A. S. ELSONE, of the Soviet Union (Daghestan), have arrived in Brazzaville as public health advisers at the W.H.O. African regional office.

MR. JOHN MSONTHI, Nyasaland Minister of Trade and Industry, has returned from a tour of India, Pakistan, Hong Kong and Japan. He was accompanied by MR. R. B. CHIDZANIA, M.L.C.

PROFESSOR T. F. CARNEY, Professor of Classics at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Salisbury, is to go to Sydney University, Australia, as Associate Professor in Ancient History.

MR. DINESH SINGH, Deputy Minister of External Affairs in India, called on MWALIMU NYERERE in Dar es Salaam last week. He was accompanied by MR. R. D. SATHE, Indian High Commissioner.

SIR EDWARD BEETHAM and MR. FREDERIC SEEBOHM have been elected directors of Barclays Bank Development Corporation, Ltd. MR. A. C. BARNES, a member of the board since 1948, has retired.

MR. E. R. CAMPBELL, chairman of the Rhodesian Tobacco Export Promotion Council, has urged farmers to increase their Burley crop output to 10m. lb. a year by 1967. The current production is under 1m. lb.

The African Affairs Board for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland now consists of COLONEL J. P. FEENEY and MESSRS. J. R. N. CHINYAMA, F. B. MACRAE, S. J. MOYO, J. J. SHIMUKONDA and E. J. WHITAKER.

MR. MILTON OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, who is to be married shortly, is seeking a housekeeper in Britain to run his houses in Kampala and Entebbe. He intends to do more entertaining at home after his marriage.

MR. JAMES LAURENCE HEYWORTH, a former director of Unilever, Ltd., who left £146,527, on which duty of £73,416 has been paid, left the residue of his estate on trust for his wife for life and then to the Fairbridge Society.

MR. HUMPHREY SLADE, Speaker of Kenya's House of Representatives, has been appointed the first chairman of the trustees of the Kenya National Fund, opened so that people may make contributions for national purposes.

A Mufulira district messenger, MR. CLAIMS MUSONDA, who threw himself across the body of an African schoolteacher to protect him from being beaten by thugs for refusing to attend a political meeting, has been awarded the Queen's Commendation for Brave Conduct.

SIR CYRIL HAWKER, chairman of the Standard Bank, left London on Saturday by air for New York to attend a function in celebration of the bank's centenary. He is accompanied by MR. R. E. WILLIAMS, the general manager. They will be in the U.S.A. for about a fortnight. SIR CYRIL recently returned from a month's tour of East and Central Africa.

SIR ATHOL EVANS, chairman of the Federal Tourist Board, has said that the number of tourists visiting the Federation rose in the last seven years from about 80,000 to 140,000. Last year they probably spent £8m.

MR. JOHN PARRY, who controls the general services of the Federal Broadcasting Corporation, is advising the Southern Rhodesian Government in regard to the transfer of broadcasting functions to the Colony on December 1.

SIR GEOFFREY DE FREITAS arrived in London at the beginning of the week on relinquishing his appointment as British High Commissioner in Ghana. He will shortly go to Nairobi as United Kingdom High Commissioner.

MR. PAUL BOMANI, Finance Minister in Tanganyika, signed in Washington last week a loan agreement with the Agency of International Development for \$800,000 (£285,700) for the expansion of the University College, Dar es Salaam.

MR. N. JOOSTE, Consul-General in Kenya for South Africa, and his staff are to be recalled at the end of this month. South Africa's only diplomatic representation north of the Zambezi will then be the Consul-General in Salisbury.

MR. HARRY REEDMAN, Parliamentary Secretary for the Public Service, is chairman of a committee in Southern Rhodesia which is considering the cases of civil servants who will become redundant when the Federation is dissolved.

MR. J. J. WRATHALL, lately Deputy Speaker in Southern Rhodesia, is now Minister of African Education, to which portfolio will be added Health and Non-African Education when those functions are transferred from the Federal Government.

SIR JOHN FLETCHER-COOKE, a former Deputy Governor in Tanganyika, is the Conservative candidate in the Luton by-election, where polling day is to be November 7. He has Labour, Liberal, Communist and National Socialist opponents.

MR. IAN SMITH, Southern Rhodesia's Minister of the Treasury, has arrived in London for a short visit, concerned mainly with the financial consequences of the dissolution of the Federation. He is also expected to discuss Southern Rhodesia's demand for independence.

MR. C. W. DUPONT, Southern Rhodesian Minister of Justice, Law and Order, is to control the Government's information and public relations services as a department independent of any Ministry. MR. W. H. HAMMOND was recently appointed Director of Information Services.

MR. HARRY NKUMBULA, leader of the A. N. C. and a Minister with the Coalition Government, has again alleged that the recent registration of voters for next January's general election in Northern Rhodesia was so abused as to render itself illegal by slipshod identification methods.

MRS. GOLDA MEIR, Foreign Minister of Israel, who recently visited Tanganyika, has expressed support in the U.N. General Assembly for the view of African members that independence should not be accorded to Southern Rhodesia "in circumstances that do not guarantee equal rights for all".

THE REV. A. M. JONES, Lecturer in Musical Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University is to address the Institute of Rural Life at Home and Overseas on Friday, November 1. The meeting will be held at Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1. On December 6 MR. DAVID D. CARMICHAEL, secretary to the Overseas Appointments Bureau, will speak on "Education in the African Revolution".

MR. GEOFFREY LAWSON, assistant secretary of R.S.T. Secretariat, Ltd., who joined the group in London in 1951, went to Lusaka two years later and to the Salisbury office in 1955, has resigned and returned to Britain. He was honorary secretary and treasurer of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland and Yachting Association.

ABDILLAHY SHNEIDA PLANTAN and HAMISI JUMANNE HAMISI ABEDI, president and general secretary of Dawat ul Islamia, have been deported from Dar es Salaam to Arusha and Mbeya respectively by the Tanganyika Government for endangering the peace by exploiting religious differences for political purposes.

MR. C. H. FOX, M.P. for Umniati, has suggested in the Federal Parliament that pensions or gratuities ought to be paid to Ministers or other Members of Parliament who will be seriously prejudiced by the dissolution of the Federation, to which they have given long service, in some cases as Ministers over the whole life of the Federation.

Industrial development rather than agriculture and mining will solve most of Southern Rhodesia's problems, MR. F. G. HARPER, a Salisbury city councillor, has suggested in a memorandum calling for Government loans to industry, devaluation of rating areas, trade protection preferences, export promotion, and cheaper electricity and water.

MRS. GERTRUDE SENEKAL, who has been in Northern Rhodesia for 50 years, has been elected a member of the Rhodesia Pioneers' Association, and has received from the mayoress of Kitwe a gold brooch set with pearls and rubies. Her husband, who died in 1954, had been employed for many years by Rhokana Corporation, Ltd.

SIR HARRY PILKINGTON, chairman of the family firm of glass manufacturers in Lancashire, and also a director of the Bank of England, has just spent a few days in Southern Rhodesia consulting with political, industrial, and financial leaders and visiting Umtali, where Pilkington Brothers, Ltd., operate Rhodesian Safety Glass (Pvt.), Ltd., with another group.

MR. DONALD SCOTT, who has been appointed engineer-in-chief of Cable & Wireless, Ltd., served in his earlier days with the company in Port Sudan and Seychelles, and in 1957 was adviser to a Royal Navy mission which visited Kenya, Seychelles and Mauritius to select a site for a radio relay station in the Indian Ocean for the naval signal system.

VISCOUNT BOYD OF MERTON, who as MR. LENNOX BOYD was Secretary of State for the Colonies, has said that he became a patron of the Monday Club in March last year "because in particular I believed that the views then being put forward by the Bow Group on Central Africa needed balancing by those who did not regard as hopeless the development and preservation of a genuine non-racial State in Central Africa".

Four more senior Federal civil servants who are to assume duties with the Southern Rhodesian Government when their Ministries are transferred to territorial control are MR. D. J. MORRIS, Comptroller and Auditor-General, MR. A. SCHATTL, Commissioner of Taxes, MR. C. H. V. COOKE, Controller of Customs and Excise, and MR. A. T. INGLESBY, director of the Tourist Board.

DR. MICHAEL GRANT, first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Khartoum, and now President and Vice-Chancellor of Queen's University, Belfast, has been appointed chairman of the National Council for the supply of Teachers Overseas. He is a past member of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas, and in 1961 was chairman of a Commonwealth conference on teaching English as a second language which met at Makerere College, Uganda.

## The New British Government

### Lord Home's First Appointments

THE EARL OF HOME, the new Prime Minister, has kept many members of the Government in the offices which they previously held, but there have been some changes.

Mr. R. A. Butler, lately Deputy Prime Minister, First Secretary of State, and Minister for Central African Affairs (who was a contender for the leadership), is now Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He loses the titles of Deputy Prime Minister and First Secretary.

Mr. Reginald Maudling remains Chancellor of the Exchequer. He had previously been Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Mr. Duncan Sandys, already Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and Secretary of State for the Colonies, adds to those offices responsibility for Central Africa.

Mr. John Hare, who becomes Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and a Viscount, was Minister of State for the Colonies from December 1955 to October 1956.

Mr. Hugh Fraser, Secretary for Air, was Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1951-54.

The Hon. Richard Wood, formerly Minister of Power, and now Minister of Pensions and National Insurance, was for some years president of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, and in that connexion visited East and Central Africa.

Mr. Julian Amery, Minister of Aviation, is a former Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Mr. Robert Carr remains Secretary for Technical Co-operation.

Lord Lansdowne remains Minister of State for Colonial Affairs.

The Duke of Devonshire continues as Minister of State in the Commonwealth Relations Office.

Lord Dundee, appointed Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, is a former chairman of the governors of the Commonwealth Institute.

Mr. Macleod declined office.

### Tribute to Integrity

SIR ROY WELENSKY said in Salisbury:—

"Lord Home's appointment as Prime Minister comes as a pleasant surprise to me. If there is one man in British public life who can re-establish the Conservative Party in the image that Sir Winston Churchill bequeathed, that man is Lord Home. I consider he has been one of the greatest Foreign Secretaries since the First World War.

"I am sure he has accepted the challenge to form a Government fully appreciating the tremendous task that will face him in trying to get a fourth term for the Conservatives; but if anyone can do it he can. I worked with him when he was at the Commonwealth Relations Office, and I have the highest regard for his capabilities and his integrity.

"I always considered that a real change in policy towards the Commonwealth—and I include the Colonies in that term—came about after Lord Home left Commonwealth Relations and Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, as he then was, left the Colonial Office".

MR. KAUNDA, leader of U.N.I.P., told a political rally in Lusaka at the week-end that Lord Home would be inviting trouble if he tried to disallow Northern Rhodesia's independence. The party was determined that the country should be independent between July and September next year. Britain's new Prime Minister should take note of that fact.

### Barotse Premier Resigns

MR. EVANS SIYUBO, Ngambela (Prime Minister) of Barotseland, resigned last week. The 25 members of the United National Independence Party who were elected to the Barotse National Council in August in the first elections in that Protectorate had campaigned for his removal because he was a main stumbling-block to the weakening of the traditional tribal rule.

### Doctors Leaving Nyasaland

THE NYASALAND BRANCH of the British Medical Association will be wound up at the end of this month because when the health services are transferred from the Federal to the Nyasaland Government not enough British doctors will remain in the country to warrant continuance of the branch.

## Second Thoughts on Federal Forces

### Northern Rhodesian Alarm at Air Base

U.N.I.P. OF NORTHERN RHODESIA has changed its mind about the re-allocation of the Federal Defence Forces, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, the party leader, and a Minister in the Protectorate, has told correspondents in Lusaka.

Four reasons were (1) that Mr. Field, the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, was reported to have said that he wanted a top-line defence force to fight the "evil force of pan-Africanism"; (2) the "alarming" explanation recently revealed by Sir Roy Welensky that British troops were preparing in 1961 to "crush" African nationalism in Northern Rhodesia; (3) that the U.K. was said to be planning to set up an air base in Southern Rhodesia; and (4) that there was no other non-independent country under British rule that was being afforded the same opportunity as the Colony to establish as formidable an air force.

### Cannot Change Agreement

Mr. Kaunda suggested that Britain should therefore take over the whole of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force.

Mr. Field replied from Salisbury that he could not see how the Victoria Falls agreement, to which Northern Rhodesia had been a party, could now be changed. There was a Rhodesian Air Force before Federation; Southern Rhodesia was only getting back what was really her own—though she had not asked for a settlement but had been told what part she would receive.

He had at no time stated that he wanted the air force to combat the evils of pan-Africanism.

The reference made to the Federal Prime Minister comes from a television interview early last week. An interviewer asked for Sir Roy Welensky's version of an incident described in a book by Mr. Harry Franklin, former Works Minister in Northern Rhodesia, as a *coup d'état* by Federal troops who were to arrest the Governor and displace the judiciary in order to resolve a difference of opinion with Mr. Macleod, then Colonial Secretary.

Recalling that he had already explained the affair to Mr. Franklin when asked to do so, Sir Roy replied: "The facts are that I was at the height of this row with the U.K. Government, mainly with Mr. Macleod, when I was told by friends in Nairobi that the British were collecting air-borne forces to land troops in Northern Rhodesia. I sent a Canberra bomber up to have a look and get a report on what was happening. Of course, the report confirmed that aircraft were massing in Nairobi.

### "Tears in his Eyes"

"Now, just to show the extent to which Mr. Franklin is talking through the back of his hat, when Mr. Macmillan and I had an argument about this particular thing, he suddenly said to me—almost with tears in his eyes—'Did I really believe that the British troops would shoot down Rhodesians?' He went on in a most dramatic way to remind me that he lived through two world wars; did I really believe that he would be party to British troops shooting Rhodesians who fought with them on the battlefields all round the world?"

"I said: 'Before you go any further, let me remind you that, in fact, you were collecting the troops at Nairobi'. He said: 'Oh, it was a mistake. We should have told you. We thought you may be in trouble in Northern Rhodesia and you may have called upon us for help'. So I said: 'Well, I suppose that story is as good as anyone else's'. But I have my idea as to what he intended to do."

Sir Roy added that he would give more details about the incident in his own book about the Federation.

### "Colossal" Building Programme

MR. HARRY REEDMAN, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Public Service in Southern Rhodesia, has announced that the Government of that Colony will start before Christmas on a "colossal" nation-wide programme which should restore "full employment" in the building industry. Skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled African labour will be employed, and local products will be used wherever possible. The work programme includes the provision of housing, dams, and irrigation, and the improvement of tourist attractions.

## Mr. Nigel Fisher's Strange Speech

### "Misguidance for Conservative Conference"

**MR. NIGEL FISHER, M.P.**, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, gave a very optimistic report on Kenya when he addressed the Conservative Party Conference in Blackpool.

A brief report of his speech appeared last week. The full text having been obtained, the following passages are quoted:—

"You have a very remarkable Secretary of State in Duncan Sandys. I have worked closely with him for 15 months, and I have never worked for anyone who himself worked so hard. He is an immensely thorough and a very, very strong Minister. I have sometimes heard people complain that the civil servants really run this country. No one who has worked with Duncan Sandys would ever say that.

"Private investment in the Commonwealth is now running at nearly £300m. a year. Government aid grew from £60m. when we took office in 1951 to £160m. in 1961. This year we expect to spend between £180m. and £220m. in Government aid to the under-developed countries of the Commonwealth, half in loans and half in grants; and only one-third of it is tied, which is a much lower tied proportion of aid than that of any other donor country.

### Sixfold Cost of Technical Assistance

"Technical assistance will cost us £30m. this year, six times what it cost six years ago. Last year 1,400 specialists, including 660 qualified teachers, left Britain to work in the Commonwealth, and over 15,000 Overseas Service officers are helping Commonwealth Governments at a cost to us of £15m. a year.

"Voluntary Service Overseas, which will send out 550 young men and women this year and 800 next year, are doing a wonderful job. It is a year's voluntary service which any young Conservative seriously ought to think about undertaking in place of the National Service of a few years ago. You would give a great deal, but gain far more than you gave.

"There are more than 40,000 Commonwealth students in Britain today. We shall spend £3m. this year in direct financial assistance to them.

"But aid is no substitute for trade. The under-developed countries want to stand on their own feet and pay their way.

"As a great trading nation, it is in our interest to work for freer trade. We cannot support the Kennedy Round to reduce tariff barriers and at the same time increase the Commonwealth preference. Nor would Commonwealth countries want this, because their interest is to develop their total trade, not just the Commonwealth part of it. They are as keen on the Kennedy Round as we are. They must increase their exports, and the British market of 50m. people is no longer large enough to take all they want to export.

"The Commonwealth share of our total trade has fallen from the 40% peak of 10 years ago to about 30%—the same percentage as pre-war. But this fall is a consequence, not a cause, of the changing pattern of the Commonwealth. The

value of Commonwealth trade has increased, and of course we must try to increase it further.

"It is suggested that we ought to set up new organizations to develop Commonwealth co-operation. There is an awful lot of machinery already—the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council, a Ministerial Council of Commonwealth Finance and Trade Ministers, normally meeting twice a year, the Commonwealth Economic Committee, a Commonwealth secretariat with a staff of 70 working in Marlborough House; the Commonwealth Liaison Committee and many other specialist committees. Commonwealth Governments take the view that there is enough machinery, and they are very reluctant to create new organizations which might infringe the independence of their own economic policies.

"A Commonwealth Economic Development Council, suggested by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, could be established only if the other Commonwealth countries agreed to it, and, with all the respect and great affection I feel for him, I say that there is no sign that they want it in the least. The same applies to a Commonwealth Export Council.

### Misinformation About Kenya

"I cannot really comment on Kenya while the Constitutional Conference is still in progress, but perhaps I could say a word about the Europeans in Kenya. We have expanded the Land Settlement Scheme to a total of over £27m., which will greatly restore the market in land, and which is based, I should remind you, on 1959 prices. To help outside the settlement area we have provided an extra £1m. this year for the Land Bank and another £700,000 to buy farms owned by old or sick people or those in very remote areas.

"My latest reports from Kenya are that the property market is brisk, rents are at peak figures, people are building houses for the first time for five years, and the Kenya stock market is booming, with share prices 50% higher than a year ago and a shortage of sellers. So I believe—I hope I am not being too optimistic—that all in all European prospects in Kenya look better than for many years past.

"Anyone of my generation was brought up to be very proud of the red on every atlas. The Empire was the essence of our patriotism; and we are right to be proud of all that our ancestors achieved. But we are right to be proud too of what we are doing today.

"This evolution of an Empire into a Commonwealth is the most creative, constructive, and exciting happening in politics in my lifetime. No Empire of the past ever even attempted it. The British were said to have a genius for ruling subject peoples. I think we did it very well, but our true genius perhaps has lain in giving up ruling them, in bringing them to self-government and independence. Some people say we have gone too fast and others that we have gone too slowly, but we have never so far left behind us either a Congo or an Algeria.

"For avoiding these disasters we owe a great deal to Alan Lennox-Boyd in his long and dedicated tenure at the Colonial Office; to the Prime Minister for the great wind-of-change speech and the policy decision to get a move on in Africa; and to the impetuous of that policy in the remarkable, and I believe history will say the very great, Colonial Secretaryship of Iain Macleod. In the last phase, this year, we owe much to the wisdom, skill, and experience of Mr. Butler in Central Africa and the driving force of Duncan Sandys in Malaysia.

### New Tasks

"Whatever may be said in the United Nations Committee of Twenty-four—which is the bane of my life—we have met the new challenge of nationalism with the helping hand of friendship, political guidance and economic aid. The people of this country have so much in 1963; many millions in the Commonwealth have still so very little. We have brought the Commonwealth to political nationhood, but we have still to raise the living standards of their people and help them to the fuller and richer lives that we ourselves enjoy. Here is a task, an outlet for our humanity, a purpose of which we should be very proud.

"But we are not just a race of romantics and idealists. We are very hard-headed realists too, and before us now is not only a moral purpose but a very practical economic purpose as well. Today the only large Commonwealth markets for our sophisticated industrial products are Canada and Australia. But think of tomorrow if we share our wealth, if we spread our education; think of the demand for our exports in an industrialized India, and Pakistan and throughout Africa. It is a frightfully exciting thought. These are the new markets we want to try to help to create. This is the vision of future Commonwealth trade.

"So let us try to build anew in our Colonies and our Commonwealth across the seas, with the same sense of purpose and the same spirit of adventure as our forebears did 300 years ago."

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[Comment appears in Notes By The Way.]

## Moving Money Across the Zambezi

### "Despicable" Says Southern Rhodesian Minister

MR. JOHN GAUNT, Minister of Mines in Southern Rhodesia, has denounced as "despicable" those persons who have moved money from Southern Rhodesia to Northern Rhodesia in the hope of circumventing the exchange control regulations.

He said that he found it impossible to credit Press reports that Mr. O. B. Bennett, Minister for Rhodesia and Nyasaland Affairs in Washington, had described Rhodesia's chances as slim, for any such statement would greatly encourage the Afro-Asian group in their "dastardly attempt to supercede peace, law and order by confusion, corruption and tyranny".

Mr. Gaunt said, *inter alia*, when opening a fete of the Rhodesian Forces Club:—

"Sir Albert Robinson, until recently the Federal High Commissioner in London, and previously a United Party M.P. in South Africa, who has considerable financial interests in Southern Rhodesia, is reported as saying: 'Independence can be secured only by a negotiated settlement that enjoys the general support of the vast majority of peoples of all races in Southern Rhodesia'.

"The gentlemen who wear fur-skin hats, and the others who are now fighting them, are determined to have only a black Government on the basis of one man one vote. Although a minority of their own people, through their methods of intimidation and speeches they are unfortunately able to sway the mob. So any chance of getting a negotiated settlement satisfactory to the Europeans who made this country is out of the question.

#### Plan Likely to Fail

"A number of people in Southern Rhodesia whose patriotism is measured by their bank balance have been moving fairly large sums of money from Southern to Northern Rhodesia, hoping that after the break-up of the Federation they will be able to get that money out of Northern Rhodesia to the United Kingdom or South Africa. Such people are despicable.

"I should not be surprised if in the long run they are not hoist by their own petard. Despite the revenue from the Copperbelt, I cannot see the future Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia allowing large sums to be removed from the territory for some considerable time, because it would show a lack of confidence which a new independent State could scarcely afford.

"We are in the midst of war, cold war, a war as vital, as ruthless as the cold war between the Western world and the Communist countries. We are fighting for our very existence. Yet we are paying for African education a fifth of our income—which shows in practical terms the truth of our attitude towards the Africans, as compared with Ghana's allegations of brutality, degradation, and all the rest of the 'poppycock' that they put over at the United Nations. In addition, we shall very shortly be entirely responsible for our own defence.

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"In time of war all kinds of exactions are made on the civil population, and no man worthy of the name shrinks from bearing the burdens. It is for such a short time. You have all heard of the various schemes which are now well under way. Prosperity, I am quite sure, is just round the corner.

"Is it too much to tighten the belt just a little? I don't think any of us, despite the hard times—a part from the unemployed, whom I put in an entirely different category—are really suffering, judging by the large crowds at the races and international matches.

"I enjoy a very high standard of living compared with the rest of the world. It is because we want to keep these standards for our children and their children, and raise the rest of the community to the same high level, that you are asked to make temporary sacrifices.

#### Dastardly Attempt

"I must refer to a statement attributed to Mr. O. B. Bennett, the Minister for Rhodesia and Nyasaland Affairs in Washington. I have had no opportunity of studying the original statement, but I find it very difficult to believe that Mr. Bennett made any such statement in the words attributed to him. I cannot imagine that he would state just before the Security Council was due to debate Southern Rhodesia—which, incidentally, it has no right to do—that we were a racial minority trying to get equal rights, that the way things were going our chances were slim, and, further, compare us in our so-called struggle with the Negroes of the United States.

"I cannot believe this, because if there was any single utterance likely to encourage the Afro-Asian group in their dastardly attempt to supercede peace, law and order by confusion, corruption and tyranny, it would be a statement made by the accredited representative of the Federation of which Southern Rhodesia is still a part that our chances were slim. "Again, I cannot believe that he compared us with the Negroes trying to achieve their rights. We have our rights—earned and achieved at the cost of the lives of many pioneer settler families. We have these rights because we have turned what was once a savage, barbarous land, covered with bush and the haunt of wild animals, nomads and cave-dwellers, into a green, fair and pleasant country which can proudly compare itself with any country in the world.

"It would be rank hypocrisy to let it be thought by inference that we shall not get our independence except, as stated by Sir Albert Robinson, on the basis of a negotiated settlement which would 'enjoy'—with inverted commas, so far as I am concerned—the general support of the vast majority of peoples of all races in Southern Rhodesia.

"We can survive, suffer a quick death, or have a slow, lingering death, such as is now being undergone in Kenya and Nyasaland. I intend to survive, if because of the chicanery, the dark and foul forces at work in the world, the alternative for Southern Rhodesia, politically speaking, is sudden death, so be it.

#### No Party to Appeasement

"I will not be a party to appeasement or to the suggestion that we should agree to whatever terms the British Government may feel like negotiating for settlement, and then, having achieved our independence, tear up the agreement and go our own way. That would be the foulest hypocrisy.

"It has been done elsewhere. It was done by Ghana, who promised to have a Declaration of Rights, and a Chiefs' House and to protect the independence of the judiciary. As soon as they were granted their independence they tore up their brand-new Constitution with all its safeguards—and without any remonstrance from the United Kingdom Government.

"We are not, thank God, built that way. Our word is our bond, and we shall not deliberately try to deceive the British Government and the world, knowing that we have no intention of keeping a solemn undertaking to which we have put our signatures.

"It is high time that the responsibility for the future should be placed fairly and firmly where it belongs. The United Kingdom Government knows full well that after 40 years of self-rule, 40 years of peace and prosperity, this country is far more fit to rule as a sovereign independent State than any other nation in Africa outside the Portuguese territories and South Africa; and yet it refuses to give us our just legal and moral rights because of international power politics, with all its chicanery, lying and deceit.

"Whatever may befall us in the future, and whatever action we may have to take to protect our vital interests, will be the complete responsibility of the United Kingdom Government. Let there be no mistake concerning this issue. Let right be done in accordance with the traditional usage of the British Government in the past towards its self-governing Colonies, lest the brand of Cain be indelibly marked on cowards who forsook their kinsfolk."



## Mr. Greenfield on the Halpern Case

MR. JULIAN GREENFIELD, Minister of Home Affairs, told the Federal Parliament a few days ago that the Southern Rhodesian Government had supplied the Federal authorities with the information which had caused the decision to expel Mr. Jack Halpern, a freelance journalist living in Salisbury who has been the correspondent of the *Observer*, *Scotsman*, *New Statesman*, the *Johannesburg Sunday Express*, several publications in the United States, and *Expressen* of Stockholm.

In order that Mr. Halpern might wind up his affairs, the expulsion order had already been extended for 31 days, and there could be no further concession.

Under the Immigration Act, the wife of a prohibited immigrant herself becomes prohibited from residence. While Mrs. Halpern could not be exempted from the operation of the law, she had been given permission to remain until the end of the year.

Asked if Mr. Halpern would be arrested if he did not leave, Mr. Greenfield replied: "I have no reason to believe that he will not go. If he did not do so, steps would be taken to remove him".

## De Courcy Trial

MR. KENNETH DE COURCY, editor of the *Intelligence Digest*, pleaded not guilty at the Central Criminal Court in London on Monday to 14 charges, including eight of forgery, uttering forged documents, or fabricating false evidence, and four of perjury. The case is expected to last about six weeks. It is alleged that in circulating particulars of a company floated in connexion with building New Cerney township in Southern Rhodesia he dishonestly concealed that Overseas Land Purchasing Trust, the promoting company, had undertaken to pay an underwriting fee of £50,000 to Ridgway Courcy, another of his companies. When the Rhodesian scheme ran into difficulties in 1958 he turned his attention to Canada, and some of the charges relate to Canadian transactions.

## Standard Bank's Deputy Chairman

MR. C. R. P. HAMILTON, who has been appointed deputy chairman of the Standard Bank, recently retired as deputy chief cashier of the Bank of England, with which he served for 40 years, latterly in connexion with the administration of exchange control. He took part in the establishing of the Special Areas Reconstruction Association before the war under the guidance of the late Lord Norman, and after the war in the creation of the Uniscan arrangements with the Scandinavian countries. He was also concerned with the early negotiations in Paris on payments arrangements under the O.E.E.C. and other international negotiations. Mr. Hamilton at one time captained the Bank of England's hockey XI and played cricket regularly. He is a keen golfer.

## £45,945 for Mr. Thomas Marealle

MR. THOMAS MAREALLE, former Mangi Mkuu (Paramount Chief) of the Chagga tribe, was last week awarded damages of £45,945 in the High Court of Tanganyika, sitting in Arusha, against Kilimanjaro District Council. Mr. Justice Murphy held that there was an implied contract between the council and the appellant that he should hold office for life. Mr. Marealle had been ceremonially installed as Mangi Mkuu in November 1952 after being nominated for the office by the district council. His claim was for salary and other emoluments from May 1, 1960, when he lost the office, until December, 1974, when, at the age of 60, a chief would normally be expected to retire. The award includes costs and compensation for loss of allowances, rent, and the value of an insurance policy.

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## "Safety of the Minorities"

(Continued from page 164)

and more durable. The willing acceptance of this settlement by the Kenya Government will increase confidence in Kenya's political stability, and will, more than anything else, contribute to the safety of the minorities, whose interests have been so much in our minds. I am firmly convinced that for Kenya and all her peoples the advantages of this settlement will more than justify the constitutional amendments which have been made to secure it."

Mr. Sandys concluded by confirming that December 12 would be the day of Kenya's independence.

The first letter from Mzee Kenyatta recorded that "the Kenya Government accept the amendments which are now proposed to the Kenya Constitution as a settlement of the issues which have been raised at the conference. It is not our intention to seek to make further amendments to the Constitution except in so far as subsequent experience shows these to be absolutely necessary".

The second read: —

"I wish first to re-affirm our intention to transfer to the Regions with all possible speed the departments and services still remaining to be handed over. In order to effect this the following programme will be carried out: —

### Settle Outstanding Questions

"(a) A committee will be set up immediately under the chairmanship of an official nominated by the Prime Minister which will include representatives of the Government departments concerned and of each Region. This committee will work out the sizes of the Central Government and Regional establishments and settle outstanding questions regarding the transfer of personnel, records, equipment, and other relevant matters. The committee will complete its work and report its decisions not later than November 15, 1963.

"(b) Action will then be taken at once by each of the Ministries affected to implement these decisions. It is intended that all the departments and services concerned will, with the exception of Education, be transferred to the Regional authorities on December 1, 1963, save for those few services which, for administrative reasons (the time taken to complete the physical transfer of equipment and records and in some cases personnel), cannot be fully transferred on that date. The transfer of these remaining services will be completed not later than December 31, 1963.

"All the officers concerned in carrying out Regional functions will come under the control of the Regional authorities as soon as the service for which they are responsible is transferred.

"(c) The Treasury will arrange for the transfer by November 30 of the necessary funds to the Regions to cover the relevant services from December 1.

"(d) The appropriate educational services will similarly be transferred to the Regional authorities on January 1, 1964.

"(e) In so far as it is necessary in order to implement the transfer of responsibilities, staff and funds in accordance with this time-table, the powers provided in Section 11 of the Kenya Order in Council 1963 will be employed."

### Success Despite Critics

MZEE KENYATTA, Prime Minister of Kenya, said that the four weeks of hard bargaining had had their heated moments and hours of despair. The Press had had a full measure of fun and speculation. But both sides had emerged with credit, tempering force with restraint, and a settlement had been reached to confirm Kenya's independence on December 12.

"We have already created the atmosphere necessary for closer relationships between Kenya and Britain as free nations within the Commonwealth and are confident that it will be to the good of our two countries.

"We have some critics and many friends. Our friends, like ourselves, will have no anxiety at the prospect of independence. We look forward to sharing with them in the celebrations. What is more, we expect and hope for support, co-operation and understanding in our important task of nation-building after independence.

"We may make mistakes or encounter difficulties, but we are confident we shall succeed. Our critics may be hoping to seize on any mistake, we make or difficulties we encounter in the early stages of independence. We are used to criticism, and welcome constructive criticism at any time. I hope we shall succeed with the co-operation of all. If not, we shall succeed nevertheless despite them.

"Our independence must have meaning for all our people.

not for one tribe or race. It is for this reason that we do not look upon the results of this conference as a victory for K.A.N.U., but as a sensible and practical arrangement for Kenya's future. It will enable all our people eventually to participate in the task of nation-building. There is no objection to this objective among our people, and I invite the Leader of the Opposition—even though he is not here today—to join with the Government in the interests of Kenya and our children in the spirit of *harambee*."

MR. L. R. H. WELWOOD, on behalf of the European delegation, made the point that "none of us will be directly concerned with the future politics of Kenya".

He continued: —

"We welcome the decision agreed to by all that those matters which we deemed to be of the highest importance remain entrenched in the Constitution and that the Kenya Government intend to implement by far the greater part of the framework agreed at the last conference, and, moreover, that it is not intended to make any important changes unless time and experience have shown them to be necessary for the well-being of the country as a whole. We believe this to be very wise.

### Tolerance in Diversity

"It is an inevitable outcome of conferences such as this where a country is about to be launched into independence that no-one will be entirely satisfied, and I deeply regret that the K.A.D.U. delegates have felt unable to attend this meeting, for I count many of their people as my personal friends over many years.

"We would like to express the hope that real tolerance and a determination to ensure peace between all sections of the Kenya community will be the guiding principle of all of us, who have taken part in this conference. Tolerance and understanding between tribes and races is essential to a country as diverse as Kenya. If these exist we can go forward towards the future without fear."

He thanked the Colonial Secretary for his "careful attention to the special problems which concerned our own people."

MR. RONALD NGALA, president of K.A.D.U., had met Mr. Sandys that morning and had then announced that his delegation would not attend the plenary session in the afternoon. He then sent this letter to the Colonial Secretary: —

"We are frankly appalled at your decision to impose changes in the present Constitution without the agreement of one of the two main political parties of Kenya, in concert with the Kenya Government and in complete breach of the solemn pledges and undertakings made by you and your predecessor in London and in Kenya during the last 18 months.

### Misled by Dishonesty

"Apart from the main issue of principle involved, there are two specific matters we wish to place on record. Firstly, we condemn it as wholly misleading, even dishonest, for you to pretend that the proposed constitutional changes are not basic but are attributable to unworkability, since the present Constitution has not yet been implemented, let alone tried out in practice.

"Secondly, we dismiss as no less misleading the suggestion that, because certain powers to be unlawfully removed from the regions are to be handed to so-called independent central commissions rather than directly to the Central Government, no breach of faith is involved. For, you are well aware, allegedly independent commissions in African emergent countries come under governmental control almost before the ink is dry on their charters.

"Under these circumstances we cannot possibly accept your conclusions at the end of this conference, and you will have to take sole responsibility for imposing your decisions against the will and wishes of a very significant proportion of the people of Kenya, whom we have the honour here to represent.

"Nor can we share the responsibility for any of the consequences for the future of Kenya that may flow from your actions. For us to react otherwise would be wholly against our own judgment and convictions and contrary both to the best interests of all Kenya and especially of those we represent, and to the only mandate we have received from them.

"Hence, as you and the Kenya Government have seen fit to repudiate in fact a Constitution forming the only acceptable

basis of one united Kenya, we must now regard this concept as no longer valid, and hence we demand the inalienable right of the people and tribes we represent to separate self-determination outside the shackles of arbitrary, out-dated Colonial national boundaries."

Speaking to journalists afterwards, Mr. Ngala gave a warning that H.M. Government "may have to use their arms in Kenya to uphold their dishonour".

K.A.D.U. had agreed to internal self-government because the Colonial Secretary had given a clear undertaking earlier this year that the Constitution would be given effect long enough before independence for any obstacles to be discovered.

Now that the Colony was to be pushed into independence under an imposed Constitution, the party no longer felt bound to observe the first paragraph of the Constitution—"... our objective is a united Kenya nation". What had happened was not a surprise, "but it is a serious thing for Mr. Sandys and the British Government to go back on their word, particularly when that word was intended to protect the minorities".

Answering questions, Mr. Ngala said that in the interests of the minorities he favoured the establishment of a separate republic, about which he would consult with his colleagues in Kenya.

He was not perturbed that he might be arrested under the recently introduced security amendments, drafted to prevent the dissemination of "alarm or apprehension". He said: "I must be free, at least before independence, to express my views. If I go to prison for it, that is what any politicians can expect in Kenya today".

When interviewed after the final session, the Prime Minister scoffed at Mr. Ngala's expectations of arrest, adding that he wanted the Opposition to join in building one Kenya nation. Calls for a republic were "all rumours: we still have regionalism".

A White Paper entitled "Kenya, Independence Conference 1963" (Cmd. 2156), has been published by H.M. Stationery Office at 1s. 6d.

## "British Lion By The Tail"

### Kenyatta's Boast to 150,000

**ELEVEN YEARS** to the day after his arrest for managing Mau Mau, Mzee Kenyatta, now Prime Minister of Kenya, told a crowd of some 150,000 people in the African stadium outside Nairobi on Sunday: "I have the British lion by the tail after 40 years of fighting for our independence, and I do not want to lose my hold, because other people want to divide Kenya".

He was speaking after the return of the Government delegation from the London Independence Conference. Thousands of dancing, shouting, and drumming supporters had greeted the party at the airport, and then formed a cavalcade behind the motor cars of the Government and party officials for the drive into the city.

Calling on the crowd to promise to keep the peace, to obey the Government, and to stop squabbling among themselves—to which it roared its assent—he reminded the people that "if we fight among ourselves we shall be laughed at as fools. Only the imperialists can gain out of our quarrels".

But now the imperialists' hopes had been "strangled". He would "lower the British flag with my own hands on independence night".

He had already spoken to correspondents in different terms, emphasizing that the "victory" was not one for either party but for Kenya as a whole. The Constitution had been made workable and would enable the new Kenya to be built.

"It is not a Constitution for a tribal or racial group. It is a Constitution for Kenya and Kenya's future, so I want all citizens to look upon it as something which belongs to everybody who loves Kenya".

The changes made would produce a more flexible Constitution, which would provide security for all, regardless of race or tribe, in a unified nation. There was no room for domination by anyone. The country would thus be able to show the world after independence that an African Government could govern and make progress like any other State.

The conference had not been a struggle of one African against another. "What we have been struggling for is to redeem our country from the yoke of colonialism and imperialism and to be able to build a Kenya that Africans can be proud of. My Government is ready to show, not by words

but by actions, what we can do for our country".

He urged people not to be swayed by their emotions or by rumours.

In a prepared statement issued afterwards, he promised security for all the people, irrespective of race or tribe. "There is no room for autonomy or secession. Such talk is idle and will lead nowhere. Anyone who talks such language should be regarded as a coward afraid to face the task of nation-building."

"Let nobody be misled into reckless action or thought. Let nobody take the law into his own hands. Even when provoked, remain calm. The Government will ensure the security of all".

The Kalenjin and Masai peoples would be afforded the right to be part of the nation and would not lose their land. He invited the Opposition to join the Government in "a united front to fight our real enemies—poverty, disease and ignorance".

When spectators on a roof at the rally ignored the Prime Minister's plea to get off because it was collapsing, their neighbours in the crowd stoned them until they fled.

### Unilateral Demands

The K.A.N.U. Parliamentary Group had met in Nairobi on Wednesday last week to demand the immediate withdrawal of the 7,500 British troops unless an acceptable decision was reached in London. The delegation in London was urged to return at once so that the Colony could be declared independent the following Sunday.

Announcing these moves, Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Acting Prime Minister, accused Mr. Sandys, the Colonial Secretary, of "displaying a deplorable attitude of seeking to equate the insignificant K.A.D.U. minority with the Government of the country led by Jomo Kenyatta. This is an unprecedented state of affairs and confirms the view that the Secretary of State for the Colonies is completely out of touch with the realities of the situation in Kenya."

"We are confident that immediately upon our declaration of independence all African States will accord unqualified recognition to our national sovereignty. We have no doubt that all the freedom-loving nations of Asia, Europe and Latin America will recognize our Government."

"It appears as if Mr. Kenyatta's statesmanlike approach has been deliberately misinterpreted by a section of the British Press, whose editorials appear to be inspired by Colonial Office handouts. They are prone to exaggerate unauthenticated and fabricated reports emanating from enemies of Kenya's progress. We condemn these mischief-mongers and trouble-makers".

Mr. Sandys had been guilty of "gross discourtesy". Future relations with the U.K. had been jeopardized, and would force a reappraisal of Commonwealth membership.

### "Independence" Last Sunday

The party's governing council issued instructions to prepare for celebrations on Sunday and called on the Government to see that the Governor was out of the country by then.

A telegram from Mr. Murumbi to Mr. Butler, Deputy Prime Minister, stated: "Owing critical state of Kenya constitutional talks and popular demand for unilateral declaration of independence, strongly urge your personal intervention in the interests of all Kenya's inhabitants and future relations of our two countries. We are asking for constitutional changes to enable us to govern the country effectively and well. We are not asking for the destruction of the present Constitution. Land and human rights will be fully protected".

The Prime Minister then cabled Mr. Murumbi telling him to postpone any action in Nairobi. This followed a notable alignment by the U.K. with the K.A.N.U. viewpoint on Wednesday in the Colonial Secretary's draft proposals submitted to them. A meeting which he held later with K.A.D.U. lasted into the early hours of next morning.

Mr. Butler called a Ministerial meeting next day. Admiral of the Fleet Lord Mountbatten, Chief of Defence Staff, attended.

Conflicting reports have emanated from the North-Eastern Region, where the Government hopes to stage general elections before and after independence. Mr. Muhammad Yusuf, president of the Somali Independent Union, said to be the least militant of the secessionist groups, appealed to the Somali Republic Government to advise Somalis in the area to participate, so that "stooge" candidates supported by anti-secessionists could be blocked.

Somali chiefs meeting later in the week rejected the proposals out of hand, demanding nothing less than full secession; but Mr. Osman Araru, executive officer of the pro-K.A.N.U. Northern Province United Association, claimed that 50% of politicians there were prepared to contest the elections as candidates themselves. He suggested that African civil servants should be posted to the region.

That last point was at variance with Britain's agreement a few days previously to staff the administration after independence.

Regionalism was still alive. Mr. Ngala asserted when he returned to Nairobi on Monday, but, without control over the police and civil service, each region would be like a body with two broken legs.

"If independence is to be meaningful, and if we want to avoid tyranny or dictatorship and domination, we must struggle to mend the broken legs at all costs or review our policy altogether. But regionalism is not dead and buried, as K.A.N.U. wanted."

Partition was still part of K.A.D.U. policy. He repeated the accusation that Mr. Sandys had "ditched the minorities" by dishonouring an agreement with K.A.D.U. "The British and Kenya Governments will have to uphold their dishonour just like two thieves struggling together."

After reporting to his Parliamentary group, he accused Kenyatta of moving towards a Ghana-type Government. The new security regulations were meant to kill the Opposition, the Press, and freedom of expression. "Kenya will soon be an independent country with no freedom for individuals". A Government representative was already "sitting in" at the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, supposedly an independent body.

Mr. Ngala complained particularly that the new regulations had been imposed without prior debate in the National Assembly.

"I do not want to see violence break out; but there comes a time when people must express their self-determination in an appropriate way. An explosion may be completely uncontrollable by their K.A.N.U. leaders, as happened with Mau Mau."

Mr. Taita Towett, the party's political adviser, said that the outcome of the conference was no surprise. He had warned his colleagues that the U.K. could not be trusted. "The only sensible thing is for K.A.D.U. to enter into an agreement with K.A.N.U. about what is to be done for Kenya in the future."

This suggestion was greeted as courageous and wise by Mr. Mboya, Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs, who spent three hours the same day reporting to the K.A.N.U. Parliamentary Group on the conference amendments, but was rejected by Mr. Ngala.

About 8,000 distributive workers have been on strike in Kenya for over 10 days.

A skull said to be about 230 million years old, found in Northern Rhodesia, is now in London.

Avocado pears from Southern Rhodesia are now on the London market. They are grown by a Melssetter farmer.

Final plans for removing the two Abu Simbel temples have been prepared for a seven-year operation costing about £13m.

For relief work after the Longarone disaster the Government of Tanganyika has given £3,000 to the Italian Chargé d'Affaires in Dar es Salaam.

The Congo has now a third university, The Protestant University of the Congo, situated in Stanleyville. The first 50 students were admitted on Tuesday.

Shirts manufactured in Tanganyika are now on sale in the United Kingdom, a factory recently established in Tanga having sold a first consignment of 12,000.

A 16-year-old African boy died in hospital in Mufuhira on Sunday after a day of political disturbances in that Northern Rhodesian town. Nine arrests were made.

Royal Navy helicopters are rescuing Hunter's antelope from the Tana River poaching area, so that a breeding herd may be preserved in Kenya to prevent the species' extinction.

The Federal Parliament's portrait of the Queen is to be presented to the City of Salisbury and hung in Town House. The Northern Rhodesian Legislature is to inherit the Parliamentary Library.

Federal postage stamps will not be valid in Nyasaland after October 31. A new issue, placed on sale on October 14, consists of 11 revenue stamps overprinted for postal use. They range from 4d. to 1s.

The Tanganyika Government has protested to Portugal at the arrest on an island in the Ruvuma River of nine Tanganyikans by Portuguese authorities last week. The river marks the frontier with Mozambique.

Southern Rhodesian independence should be withheld by the U.K. until the Colony has African majority rule, and a constitutional conference should be held; the U.N. Trusteeship Committee voted last week by 79 to two (South Africa and Portugal) with 19 abstentions.

A state of emergency has been declared for at least six months in the Leopoldville area of the Congo, following Mr. Adoula's return at the week-end with news that the U.N. General Assembly had approved the retention of over 5,000 troops for an additional six months after December 31 at a cost of nearly £7m.

Ethiopia, holders of the Africa Cup, have recently played Soccer against Kenya in the pre-Olympic tournament and in a friendly match against Uganda. They are now to meet several teams in West Germany and then play in Dakar against the Senegalese team before competing against Ghana and Tunisia in championship cup matches.

## Coastal Strip Agreement Preservation of Muslim Interests

AN EXCHANGE of identical letters between the Prime Ministers of Kenya and Zanzibar on the future of the former Kenya Protectorate (the so-called Coastal Strip), which is to be ceded by the Sultan to Kenya when the Colony becomes independent, has been published.

The five-point agreement states:—

(1) The free exercise of any creed or religion will at all times be safeguarded. In particular, His Highness's present subjects who are of the Muslim faith and their descendants will at all times be ensured of complete freedom of worship and the preservation of their own religious buildings and institutions.

(2) The jurisdiction of the Chief Kadhi and of all the other kadhis will at all times be preserved and will extend to the determination of questions of Muslim law relating to personal status (marriage, divorce and inheritance) in proceedings in which all parties profess the Muslim religion.

(3) Administrative officers in predominantly Muslim areas should, so far as is reasonably practicable, themselves be Muslims.

(4) In view of the importance of the teaching of Arabic to the maintenance of the Muslim religion, Muslim children will, so far as is reasonably practicable, be taught Arabic, and for this purpose the present grant-in-aid to Muslim primary schools now established in the Coast Region will be maintained.

(5) The freehold titles to land in the Coast Region that are already registered will at all times be recognized, steps will be taken to ensure the continuation of the procedure for the registration of new freehold titles, and the rights of freeholders will at all times be preserved save in so far as it may be necessary to acquire freehold land for public purposes, in which event full and prompt compensation will be paid.

## "Cherish Kenyatta as National Beacon"

EXPRESSING RESENTMENT at constant accusations and allegations against the Kikuyu, Dr. J. G. Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry in Kenya, declared himself "privileged to be a K.D.—Kenyatta disciple". Concluding an address to a Nyeri co-operative group "on a rather sour note", he said:—

"I favour no one nor discriminate against anyone. I hate and deplore anyone who speaks or acts against this race or that community or another tribe.

"By God's will I was born in the Central Province and classified as Kikuyu. I am absolutely distressed by the constant accusations and allegations against the Kikuyu or any other tribe, race or religious community. The Kikuyu are part of the Kenya nation. They have their rights like all other people in Kenya. As a Government Minister sworn to serve all people impartially and justly, I shall defend them with as equal vigour as I apply for all other Kenyans.

"I shall not tolerate discrimination against the Kikuyu in Government service, in the political power structure, or in any aspect of building the new Kenya nation. If the Kikuyu are a majority in politics and the civil service, they are also the majority in prisons, in hospitals, and in Satan's Hell among all Kenyans. Why envy them on the positive side of life and ignore their plight on the painful side? No kind of discrimination, tribal, racial, religious or geographical, can ever make sense.

"Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya's first Prime Minister, is the exciting and total embodiment of all we love and cherish and aspire to achieve. Kenyatta is our national beacon. We must respond to this beacon of his. We must also be worthy of being his followers. It is a privilege to be a K.D.—Kenyatta disciple. That is what I believe I am. That is what I want you all to become."

## Rival K.A.N.U. Offices

WING-COMMANDER G. A. W. SAUNDERS, chairman of the Association of European Agricultural Settlement Board Farmers in Kenya, told EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA in a recent interview that there were two rival offices of the Kenya African National Union in Londiani, one being run by the Land Freedom Army. We now learn from another source that there have been two K.A.N.U. offices in Ol Kalou, where the rival factions have bitterly denounced each other. We have also received confirmation that the K.A.N.U. branch at Elburgon is dominated by Land Freedom Army men.

## Inchcape & Co.

### Important Interests in East Africa

INCHCAPE & CO., LTD., a group with large East African interests, report group profits to March 31 after tax at £660,662 (£644,675 last year), of which £356,040 has been retained in the accounts of subsidiaries, leaving £304,622 (£267,556). Interim and final dividends totalling 16% take £221,679 (against 15% last year, at a cost of £207,824). The carry-forward is £82,943 (£59,732).

The directors recommend that just over £1m. from the share premium account and £61,663 from revenue reserve should be capitalized in order to issue to members one fully-paid £1 share for every two shares now held.

Judged by net assets, 26% of the group's interests are in East Africa and the Persian Gulf. By income the proportion is 27%.

The group has a 71% interest in Smith Mackenzie & Co., Ltd., and the same proportion of the share capital of Smith Mackenzie & Co. (Tanganyika), Ltd., and Muskeria Estates, Ltd., tea growers in Tanganyika. During the year Inchcape & Co. increased its holding in Smith Mackenzie, which acquired from another company a 40% interest in Muskeria, which is now wholly owned by Smith Mackenzie. The group also owns Karirana tea estates in Kenya.

The consolidated balance-sheet shows issued capital of £2,262,031. Capital reserves are £3.3m. and revenue reserves £1.4m. Investments appear at just over £4.5m., fixed assets at £3.5m., and current assets less current liabilities at £2.3m.

Profit after tax has risen each year, being £441,664 in 1959, £578,138 in 1960, £644,356 in 1961, £683,618 in 1962, and £743,431 in 1963. Five years ago the dividends, less tax, received by shareholders of the parent company amounted to £118,575. For the past year they are £221,679.

The Earl of Inchcape is chairman and managing director. Mr. Hamilton Shedden is deputy chairman, and managing director, Sir Gilbert Laithewaite is deputy chairman, and Mr. John Mackay Sim is also a managing director.

The other members of the board are Lord Craigmyle, Viscount Simon, Sir Hugh Mackay Talbot, Captain Oswald Nigel Bailey, R.N. (Retd.), and Messrs. A. W. Giles, A. T. O. Deas, A. Mackinnon, H. F. Morford, H. C. Waters, R. E. Castell, and H. C. Bannerman.

Lord Inchcape's annual statement was reported in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA last week.

## Insurers' View of Kenya Risks

MR. JOHN CONNELL, who revisited Kenya last month, has stated in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* that the evidence which he then obtained conflicts directly with the assurance given to the Conservative Party Conference in Blackpool by Mr. Nigel Fisher, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, that "European prospects in Kenya looked better than for many years".

He preferred, he said, the judgment of a Scottish insurance company to that of the Minister, and cited the experience of a farmer in Kenya whom he had known since they were at school together more than 30 years ago.

"In August my friend proposed to take out with a Scottish company an insurance on his own life in order that his son's school fees should be paid. On October 7 his insurance brokers told him that, since he is a resident of Kenya, it had become necessary to increase by 24% the premium demanded of him on August 19.

"My friend says with some restraint that, though the British Government is confident that there will not be another Congo in Kenya, hard-headed Scottish insurance companies do not hold the same view. My own opinion concurs completely with that of the insurance company; and I believe that I am doing him a better service by saying so than by lauding out the kind of soft soap which Mr. Nigel Fisher produced at the conference".

Nigel Finance & Investment, Ltd., now a subsidiary of Thames Estates and Investments, Ltd., has announced net profits for the year to June 30 of £37,004 (£42,987) after tax of £41,191. A dividend of 6d. per 3s. share (the same) has been declared.

In Rome last week the Congolese Prime Minister, Mr. Adoula, said that his Government would honour its petroleum refining agreement with E.N.I., an Italian State-sponsored company, "despite continued and heavy diplomatic pressure from the American, British, Dutch and Belgian Governments".

## Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd.

### Coal and Coke Sales Drop

WANKIE COLLIERY CO., LTD. reports profit before tax for the year to August 31 at £1,388,000, compared with £1,182,000 in 1962 and £1,532,000 in 1961. Taxation took £412,000 this year (£340,000 and £535,000 in the two previous years). A dividend of 2s. 1d. less tax, equivalent to 1s. 3d. net per 10s. share, has been paid on each occasion. The carry-forward is £411,000.

The issued capital is £5,278,000 and outstanding 5½% debentures slightly exceed £1.8m. Fixed assets stand in the books at £6.2m., investments at £5.2m., and current assets less current liabilities at £20,000.

The company's main investments are £2.1m. lent to Anglo American Rhodesian Development Corporation for the purchase of railway stock hired to Rhodesia Railways; holdings of Federal Government stocks totalling £991,000; a loan of £500,000 to Bulawayo for African housing; £500,000 in 5½% mortgaged debentures in Rhodesian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., one of Wankie's largest customers; £150,000 in £1 stock units in Rhokana Corporation and Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd.; £122,250 in shares of Clay Products, Ltd., 30% of its capital; £100,000 in Southern Rhodesian Government stock; £100,000 lent to the Federal Government for the development of rural resources; and a balance of £200,000 due from Rhodesia Railways.

Coal sales totalled 2,880,342 tons, compared with 2,901,264 and 3,418,934 in the two previous years. Those of coke amounted to 123,069 tons (152,210 and 182,515).

Mr. P. H. A. Brownrigg is the chairman, and Mr. L. Wishart the managing director. The other members of the board are Sir Keith Acutt, Sir Frederick Crawford, Sir Ronald Prain, Sir Albert Robinson, and Messrs. J. W. Shilling, H. H. Taylor and M. Van Weyenbergh.

There are four alternate directors, Messrs. F. S. Berning, F. E. Buch, I. M. Cowan, and D. G. Nicholson; and a London Committee consisting of Sir Keith Acutt and Messrs. E. C. Baring, B. W. Pain, and A. H. Pike.

Mr. Brownrigg's annual statement appears on another page.

## Boosting S. Rhodesia's Mines

FINANCIAL INCENTIVES to open new gold mines in Southern Rhodesia and other stimulants for the mining industry have been announced by Mr. Ian Smith, Minister of the Treasury, and Mr. John Gaunt, Minister of Mines. Officials from both Ministries form a committee with instructions to effect the Government's plan.

It is hoped that the production of gold may return to its earlier level of 900,000 oz. annually. Now the output is about 500,000 oz.

Prospects which have not yet reached the production stage will be paid the highest rate of subsidy, and marginal mines will receive a middle rate for all gold produced above their average production in the past three to five years. Larger mines will be paid the lowest subsidy.

A prototype copper smelter at Que Que is a possibility. £6m. is estimated to have been spent by mining companies on investigating the country's deposits.

## New Tea Factory Opened in Kenya

NYAMBENI TEA CO., LTD., had its new factory in the Meru district of Kenya opened last week by Mr. J. H. Angaine, Minister for Lands and Settlement. Formed early in 1960, the company has a capital of £250,000, the Commonwealth Development Corporation and Eastern Produce (Holdings), Ltd., each possessing 120,000 shares and Meru County Council the balance. There is provision for an increase in the African shareholding up to one-third of the total.

About 400,000 acres are already under tea, and African smallholders in the area have planted a similar acreage. The expectation is that the factory will ultimately process about 1½m. lb. of tea annually.

Mr. W. Rendell, general manager of the C.D.C., flew to Kenya for the opening of the factory. Mr. P. M. Wise, C.D.C. regional controller in East Africa, is chairman of the company. Others present included Mr. C. O. Oates, representing East African Produce (Holdings), Ltd., Mr. A. E. D. Windus, a director of the Nyambeni Company, and representatives of Meru County Council.

Company Report**Wankie Colliery Company Limited***(Incorporated in Southern Rhodesia)***Concentration On Mechanized Colliery****Growing Importance of Investment Income**

THE FORTIETH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF WANKIE COLLIERY COMPANY, LIMITED, will be held in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia, on Wednesday, December 18, 1963.

The following is from the statement by the chairman, Mr. P. H. A. Brownrigg, D.S.O., O.B.E., which has been circulated to members with the annual report and accounts:

The productive capacity of Wankie since reorganization has always exceeded demand. In 1957 sales reached a peak just below 4 million tons, and in each year since then except 1960 there has been a decline, the chief cause being the increase in hydro-electric power from Kariba and the consequent falling off in demand from thermal power stations.

**Sales and Prospects**

Sales for the year to August 31, 1962, were 2,901,000 tons, and in the year under review there has been another slight drop to 2,881,000 tons. The main reasons have been an unexpected further reduction in demand from thermal stations, increased use of diesel locomotives by Rhodesia Railways, and a number of strikes on the Copperbelt.

Our estimate of sales for the present year is 2,675,000 tons. The downward trend has necessitated a review of our mining policy, and our consulting engineers have made an extensive study of the most suitable method of mining during what we hope is a temporary period of sales at the present low level.

As a result, we now propose to work North Shaft No. 2 Colliery, which is mechanized, on two shifts to produce 2 million tons per annum; and the balance of our requirements, mainly for the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company, Limited, will be produced from No. 3 Colliery, where we can best meet that company's special needs. By this method we hope to avoid any increase in the notified average price of 22s. per ton, while retaining the flexibility to increase production at short notice if demand increases. Every effort will be made to reduce hardship to employees.

**Inland and Export Markets**

During the year we made proposals to Government for the increased use of coal locally on special terms for a limited period for power generation, and for the processing of raw materials for export. Unfortunately it has not been possible to implement these proposals, though both have received the careful attention of the Minister and the co-operation of the Rhodesia Railways. The inland market offers little immediate hope of substantial increase, although we are achieving some improvement in sales for domestic use.

In the export market we are handicapped by Wankie's distance of 882 miles from a seaport.

A scheme for the movement of 3 to 4 million tons a year of coking coal to the coast by pipeline was submitted to us during the year by Lonrho, Limited. Con-

siderable investigations will be necessary before its feasibility can be assessed.

The prospects of an oil-from-coal industry in Southern Rhodesia have again been under public discussion. This company's investigations showed that it would require an immense capital expenditure, and would not be competitive with imported oil. Although research is now being carried out on certain processes which may in time prove feasible for Wankie, we cannot see any prospect here for some years.

It is our policy to base estimates only on demand considered to be reasonably certain. Thus, in our estimate of sales for next year no account has been taken of possible expansion of the iron and steel industry, of the establishment of a nitrogenous fertilizer plant based on coal, or of the developments in regard to overseas exports.

**Higher Investment Income**

Without these particular avenues for increase in coal demand, we hope nevertheless for some gradual improvement in sales in possibly two years' time, so long as there is no serious setback in the economy of Southern Rhodesia or in its trading relationships with other countries. Against this we must take into account the possibly adverse effect on coal sales of the new oil refinery at Umtali.

The trading profit for the year improved from £987,000 to £1,141,000, chiefly owing to the increase in the coal price in November last year from 20s. to 22s. per ton, and the deficiency revenue owing to the company in terms of the price agreement has been reduced from £160,000 to £141,000. Income from investments rose from £333,000 last year to £380,000. Total profit before taxation was £1,388,000, and after net tax of £398,000 our net profit was £990,000. An amount of £418,000 was expended on fixed assets. Dividends equivalent to 1s. 3d. per share net have again been declared, absorbing £660,000.

We have increased our holdings in Nchanga and Rhokana to 150,000 units of stock in each. In addition we have purchased £500,000 of 6½% first mortgage debenture stock in the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company, Limited, one of our largest customers. We have received repayment of a further £100,000 of the company's loan to Rhodesia Railways, and this and a further £100,000 have been invested in Federal and Southern Rhodesia Government stock.

*The annual report and accounts are obtainable from the London office, 640 Holborn Viaduct, E.C.1.*

The British Central Africa Co., Ltd., has declared an interim dividend of 5% for the year to September 30.

Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., reports that in the September quarter 5,238 long tons of lead and 11,649 of zinc were produced, compared with 4,517 and 12,617 tons in the previous quarter.

Cable & Wireless (Holdings), Ltd., reports earnings for the three months to September 30 at £710,000, compared with £736,646 for the same period last year. The respective figures after tax were £416,000 and £431,946.

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