LOCATION ANALYSIS FOR A CAPITAL CITY:
A CASE STUDY FOR THE PROPOSED
FEDERATION OF EAST AFRICA

by

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We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
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Date May 8, 1964.
ABSTRACT

The three former British possessions, on the East coast of Africa, namely, Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika have much in common because of their past history and British rule. They are planning to form a Federation of East Africa, with one Central Government, one President and one flag. One of the points being considered is the location for the Federal Capital. Some of the existing East African cities and towns have forwarded their claims for the seat of the Federal Government.

The purpose of this study is twofold. Firstly, the author feels that new Capital cities are often designed as prestige cities, or as monument cities. Their locations are often based upon the political decisions, usually as a compromise between two existing major cities claiming for the seat of government. The result is an entirely new city designed from the start as a monumental city. The best examples are Ottawa, Washington, Canberra and Brasilia, the national capitals of Canada, United States, Australia and Brazil respectively. Such capitals lack social and economic activities that exist in more developed capital cities of the world like London, Paris and Rome.
In this age of space ships, science and technology have made so much progress that man in the street has not been able to catch up with these. New cities can now be built in a matter of months, or a few years, but social warmth and comfort, social atmosphere and civilization still take their course. Man still grows at the same rate as he did centuries ago. We are far from the world Aldous Huxley has predicted, his world of mass production of human beings and of test tube babies. There is no doubt that technology has shown us ways and means of mass producing the buildings, but one cannot see the day when social structures will be established overnight. The people who provide the life and vitality of the community are still the backbone of the society.

For the Federation of East Africa to have a new Capital that will have a good set of social facilities as quickly as possible, in order to have people that make a society and a city, the existing social amenities and facilities in the various existing towns and cities should be examined and evaluated.

Secondly, to find a suitable location for the new Federal Capital of East Africa, a study was made by reviewing and evaluating some of the existing new capitals of the world. This gave the author an
insight of the reasons for their existence, techniques and problems involved in selecting their locations, and the problems like social and economic, that exist in these capitals today. This gave a picture of their success and failure.

Based on this study and on existing physical, social, economic, administrative and political conditions in East Africa, criteria were established under the same five headings. The criteria were then applied on those towns and cities that have forwarded their claims for the seat of the Federal Government. The results were evaluated on their merits, and three existing towns were selected in order of preference as potential locations for the new Federal Capital of East Africa.

The results of these findings are that the Capital for the proposed Federation of East Africa should be located adjacent to Nairobi, and it should share available social, economic and physical facilities and amenities with this cosmopolitan centre, and that in addition the new capital should be a national monument.
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INTRODUCTION

Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, the former British possessions on the east coast of Africa, are considering the formation of a Federation of East Africa with one Central Government. Such a Federation, when formed, will need a new Federal Capital to accommodate the Federal Government. One of the points being considered by the Governments of the three countries is the location for the Federal Capital, and some of the existing towns and cities have forwarded claims for the seat of the Federal Government.

In the opinion of the author, new capital cities are often designed monumentally for the sake of national prestige. Their locations are often based upon political decisions. Other factors such as existing social, economic, and physical conditions, which are equally important in the selection of a location for a capital city, are not given adequate consideration. The result is that such national capitals lack adequate social and economic facilities and amenities which are to be found in more developed metropolitan capitals of the world, such as London, Paris and Rome.
For the purposes of this thesis, it is the contention of the author,

THAT THE CAPITAL FOR THE PROPOSED FEDERATION OF EAST AFRICA SHOULD BE LOCATED ADJACENT TO NAIROBI, AND SHOULD SHARE AVAILABLE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND AMENITIES WITH THIS COSMOPOLITAN CENTRE, AND THAT IN ADDITION THE NEW CAPITAL SHOULD BE A NATIONAL MONUMENT.

To test this hypothesis, a review and an evaluation of some of the existing new capitals of the world is carried out. Based on this review, and an examination of existing physical, social, economic, administrative, and political conditions of East Africa, criteria are established for the selection of a new Federal Capital for East Africa. The criteria are then applied to potential locations for the Federal Capital, to determine the city which would be most suitable to serve as the potential location for the new Federal Capital of East Africa.

This study is based primarily on library research and the knowledge of the author, who being a Kenyan, and having travelled in East Africa, is quite familiar with some of the conditions that prevail in the three countries, namely Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika.
CHAPTER I

THE FEDERATION OF EAST AFRICA

On the globe, East Africa lies between $5^\circ$N and $12^\circ$S of the equator, which passes through Kenya and Uganda, and touches the northern slopes of Mount Kenya, rising 17,040 feet above mean sea level. East Africa consists of the three independent countries of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, with their own respective capitals, Nairobi, Kampala and Dar es Salaam. Because of their past history, and the British rule, they have a lot in common. Attempts are at present, being made to unite the three separate countries into a Federation of East Africa, with one central government.

THE GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES

The mainland of East Africa consists, essentially of a vast interior plateau, which averages over 3,000 feet in altitude. The plateau is scarred by the huge fissure of the East African Rift. A series of more or less conspicuous scarps, deep troughs containing salt lakes, and isolated mountainous blocks commonly tilted in a direction opposite to that of the surrounding land, break across the territory from the northern extremity
of Lake Nyasa - the point of convergence of the eastern and western branches of the great Rift Valley - to the frontier of Sudan. Several towering masses raised by volcanic activity, Mount Kilimanjaro (19,565 feet above mean sea level), Mount Kenya (17,040 feet), and Mount Elgon (14,000 feet), add to the relief. The Ruwenzori range (16,785 feet), a rugged non-volcanic massif, stands on the western boundary between Lake Edward and Lake Albert. In the northern and north-eastern portion of Kenya, an extensive parched depression of quasi-barren rocks and sands cover close to 106,000 square miles (about three-fifths of the country), stretching between forlorn Lake Rudolf and the East African coast. At approximately the latitude of Malindi, the desert ceases hugging the sea board, and instead, pushes a rope southward, behind the narrow but littoral strip. Another comparable arid depression lies along the northern marches of Uganda, across the neck of the Rift Valley, and extends into the Bahr el Jebel region of the Sudan.

The interior plateau drops to the coastal plain by an escarpment, over which the major streams draining to the Indian Ocean tumble in falls, or stretches of cataracts. Westward and southward, it also descends by a steep wall, some 1,200 to 1,400 feet, to the level of
of Lake Tanganyika and Lake Albert, and 2,400 feet to the level of Lake Nyasa. The communications with the interior are thus rendered difficult from the start. At present there are four main routes of penetration into East Africa, all four from east to west, and all by railway. The northern route is from Mombasa in Kenya, to Kasese in Uganda, near the border of the Congo. Covering a distance of 1,087 miles, this trunk line has a number of branches, and joins through the papyrus-choked waterways of Lakes Kioga and Kwania, with the railway administration motor road services from Masindi Port to Butiaba, and further with steamers navigating on Lake Albert and Albert Nile.

The central route of penetration, that is, the Central Railway system in Tanganyika, drives 775 miles straight across the country, from its eastern terminal of Dar es Salaam to Kigoma, on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika. It has an important branch from Tabora to Mwanza, on Lake Victoria.

The Kenya Uganda Railway, and Central Railway of Tanganyika were, thus, the two principal arteries of transportation in British East Africa. The Northern Railway of Tanganyika, departing from Tanga, and ending at Arusha, is a much shorter length of track (272 miles), located between the two main lines. It taps the
prosperous farming region around Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Meru, and at Kahe, supplies the only railway link, 92 miles to Voi in Kenya, between the Tanganyika and the Kenya railway systems. In Tanganyika itself, there was no railway connection between the Northern and Central Railway lines until 1963, when both of these lines were linked with a new railway.

In the past, the heavy transport facilities in British East Africa were operated by two governmental organizations, known as the Kenya and Uganda Railway and Harbours, and the Tanganyika Railway and Port Services. In May, 1948, these separate offices were amalgamated into a single department, the East African Railways and Harbours Administration. The union was made to avoid competition of the two systems, and for obvious economic reasons.

THE FEDERATION

All three countries were formerly ruled by the British. Tanganyika was the first to achieve its independence, on 9th December 1961; she was followed by Uganda on 9th October 1962, and Kenya was the last to join the ranks on 12th December 1963. Today these nations have separate governments, but because of their past history and British Administration, they are already
linked by the East African Common Services Organisation, which provides joint control of the post and telegraph system, the railways, a common market, a common currency, a common financial policy, so that it is only natural that the three countries, which for the last sixty years have been separated by artificial boundaries, should reunite.

It is also felt, that if the countries involved wish to attract foreign capital, as most newly developing countries do, they may find that overseas investors would be more willing to invest in a single large country, rather than in a number of smaller states. Another advantage would be, that the government would have a wide financial base, so that it could go to the assistance of any region that might be hit by a slump in its basic industry.

Freedom of movement of goods, labour, and capital within the Federation would make it possible for each area to specialise in a kind of production for which it was most suited, and internal free trade would provide a large market, with opportunities to produce on a large scale in one place, instead of on a small scale, uneconomically and in several places.

The skilled manpower of the three countries could be shared for their combined benefit. Great
economy could be achieved in the overseas representation, by sharing duties in the staffing of a Diplomatic Corps. A large political unit, brought about by a federation, could command more influence in world affairs than could several smaller independent countries.

Attempts are now being made by the leaders of the three countries involved, to form a Federation of East Africa. This could eventually become a nation of 25,000,000 people, the third largest in Africa. This would form a nucleus of an even larger economic unit, which would not only raise the standard of living, but would become an even more stable and progressive nation of the world. There is no clear plan yet, as to who will run the Federation, or what its structure will be; however, a joint committee is drafting a programme of economic planning, the establishment of common defence, foreign and diplomatic representation, and a central bank. The Federation, the three leaders of East Africa contend, will create "a formidable force and a vast market."\(^1\) Kenya's Home Minister, Mr. Oginga Odinga, in his opening speech at the U.N. in December 1963, had this to say:

\(^1\) \textit{Time} (The American Weekly Newsmagazine), June 14, 1963, p. 29.
The political philosophies of the three ruling parties, namely, KANU, TANU and UPC are identical and it is for this reason that, when the time comes, we shall gladly surrender our territorial sovereignty for the good of East Africa as a whole . . .

In June 1963, when a newsman in Nairobi complimented President Nyerere of Tanganyika on how quickly the plan for the Federation had been launched, Nyerere smiled broadly, "What do you mean, quick?" said he, "This is something we have been thinking 40 years." This means that, in the very near future, there will be a Federation of East Africa, which will include Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika,

The House of Representatives approved, on June 27, a motion welcoming the establishment of an East African Federation this year and urging the Kenya Government to negotiate on the basis of creating one East African nation "embracing, among other fundamental aspects, one flag and one Prime Minister." The Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Mr. Mboya, said he would like to record the appreciation of the Kenya Government and people to Dr. Nyerere and Mr. Obote for their wisdom and foresight in pledging themselves to the unity of East Africa. In doing this, he said, they were working for the unity of Africa and, like Kenya, they were prepared to surrender the sovereignty of their States, offices they enjoyed, flags and seats at the United Nations. The Kenya Government wanted to see a total commitment to Federation and not a confederation of little states. The leader of the

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3 *Time*, op. cit.,
Opposition, Mr. Ngala, said the question of federation was above party politics and steps to carry it out should be taken immediately. Kadu, he said, did not want a confederation which would create "jobs for the boys", but a federation which was close and meaningful to ordinary people. 4

This means that the proposed Federation of East Africa would have a more centralized planning approach, and this

... would mean creating at the outset a federal government with adequate powers and revenue to assume responsibility for the larger part of economic development in East Africa. This would necessitate assigning company and individual income tax revenues to the federal government, as well as income from tariffs. Federal responsibility might include economic development and planning, agricultural marketing boards, land tenure transportation, communications, immigration and citizenship questions, labour ordinances, secondary, technical, and higher education, and a central bank. A federal judicial structure would also be required. This centralized federation would resemble the proposed Malaysian Federation or, it might be argued, the historically evolved federal governments of the United States, Canada, Australia, and Switzerland. 5

A centralized government would require a new Federal Capital to accommodate the offices of various functions and responsibilities thus created.

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Kenya

Kenya occupies the north eastern part of East Africa, an area of 224,960 square miles (including 5,171 square miles of inland water). It supports a population of 8,676,000 (1962 census figure). Its real economic development started little more than fifty years ago, and except at the coast, there were no towns, or even villages before the turn of the century. The coast has a history of its own - of Portuguese and Arab invasions, forts, sackings, slave and ivory trading, dhow traders from Arabia, the Persian Gulf and India. Mombasa is the major port and gateway to Kenya and Uganda. Kenya's great assets are a pleasant and equable climate, fertile soil, and abundant wild life.

The coastal belt is essentially tropical; the climate is hot but the heat is mitigated by the strong monsoon winds. The average temperature is 80°F. In the highland area, the climate is generally temperate. There are two rainy seasons, the "long rains" from March to June, and the "short rains" from October to December. Mean annual rainfall varies from 10 inches inland to 40 inches on the coast, and 70 inches near Lake Victoria (3,726 feet).

There is a very good network of communications. Mombasa is the main sea port, and regular services from
many parts of the world call here. The Kenya and Uganda lines run north-westwards from Mombasa to Nairobi (330 miles), Nakuru (452 miles), Eldoret (577 miles), and on into Uganda and Kampala (879 miles), and Kasese (1,087 miles from Mombasa) near Lakes George and Edward on the border of Uganda and the Congo. There is a line from Nakuru, in the centre of the Kenya Highlands, to Kisumu on Lake Victoria, and many more branch lines. The total road mileage is 25,800 miles, and it is well spread over the whole country. International air services connect Kenya with Europe and India, and with other parts of Africa. Internal air transport is provided by the East African Airways Corporation, which operates an efficient network of services, connecting the centre of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar.

Kenya's modern capital city of Nairobi, situated at an altitude of 5,500 feet above sea level, with a population of 270,000, is an international air centre, and is connected by an efficient air, rail and road network with Uganda and Tanganyika. Nairobi is also the administrative and commercial centre of Kenya, and to a certain extent of East Africa. It is the location of the head offices in East Africa, of most of the export and import firms, of East African Common Services Organisation, and the East African Railways and Harbours
Board. Nairobi has the Royal College, which is now a part of the University of East Africa.

Mombasa, with a population of 178,400 (1962 census), is the principal port of Kenya, Uganda, and a part of Tanganyika. It consists of Kalindini Harbour on the south west side of Mombasa island, and Mombasa Old Harbour on the other side of the island which accommodates the extensive dhow trade with the Persian Gulf, Arabia, and India. Vasco da Gama reached Mombasa in 1498, on his historic voyage to India, and later on Fort Jesus was built by the Portuguese in 1593. The Mombasa area has beautiful beaches, with good hotels equipped with facilities for underwater fishing.

Nakuru is the centre of European farming in the Rift Valley, and has a population of 37,900 (1962 census). Kisumu is the principal port on Lake Victoria, and has a population of 23,200 (1962 census). Other towns are Eldoret 19,600 population, Thika 13,400, Nanyuki 10,500, and Kitale 8,500.

The basis of Kenya's economy is agriculture and pastoral, and its principal products are coffee, tea, sisal, meat and meat products, pyrethrum, hides and skins, dairy produce, maize and wheat. The main industry is coffee.

For the tourists, Kenya is one of the world's
latest holiday playgrounds with unrivalled scenery and abundant wild game; it is a photographer's paradise. Tourist trade now ranks as Kenya's second largest industry.


Kenya, like Uganda and Tanganyika, is primarily an agricultural country, with no known mineral resources of importance. Asian and European communities dominate the financial field of the country. A world bank report on the Kenya economy, published in 1963, advises the new government, that its principal need is to create conditions for these communities to regain confidence to use their savings in Kenya, and to lend funds to the government. Kenya, having a far more advanced economic and social infrastructure than Uganda and Tanganyika, also has far more to lose from the possible disruption of the East African common market, and the consequent economic dislocation and loss of confidence by internal and overseas capital. As the most industrialised of the
East African countries, and the one with the most acute unemployment problems, Kenya cannot afford to lose, and must expand its present market in Uganda and Tanganyika.

For these pressing economic reasons, as well as because of a genuine commitment to the creation of a political association of the peoples of East Africa, KANU regards the achievement of an East African Federation as an essential objective.

Uganda

The first penetration of Uganda by Europeans was in 1862, when Speke discovered the source of the River Nile from Lake Victoria in Jinja. Uganda forms part of the central African tableland and has as its neighbours, the Sudan to the north, the Congo to the west, with Rwanda and Tanganyika to the south, and Kenya to the east. Uganda covers an area of 93,981 square miles, of which 13,659 square miles are open water and 5,670 square miles are swamp including grassy swamp. The greater part has an altitude between 3,500 and 4,500 feet. It supports a population of 6,845,000 (1961 estimate).

Variations in temperature are small; the mean maximum is between 80°F and 85°F, and the mean minimum is between 60°F and 65°F. Rainfall averages vary considerably from place to place, but the greater part
of Uganda is likely to obtain at least 30 inches of rainfall rising to nearly 60 inches in the Lake Victoria Region.

The East African Railways and Harbours Administration has a very good network throughout the country. Uganda boasts of having the best roads in East Africa. There is quite a sizeable inland waterways system; steamers ply on Lake Victoria linking Uganda ports with those of Kenya and Tanganyika. There are also services for passengers and cargo facilities on Lakes Albert and Kyoga, and on Albert Nile.

Entebbe airport is a stopping place on the Europe to Southern African routes, and it links Uganda by air with the rest of the world. The East African Airways Corporation provides a daily service to and from other parts of East Africa. Entebbe is a small town on the shore of Lake Victoria, and has beautiful botanical gardens. Before the independence it was the capital of Uganda; some government offices still remain in this former administrative centre.

Kampala, located some 28 miles from Entebbe, is now the capital of Uganda. It has a population of 47,000, and is the biggest city in Uganda, situated on several hills with a beautiful setting. It has Makerere University College, now part of the University of East
Africa. Kampala has always been the commercial capital of Uganda. As in all East African towns, commerce is dominated by the immigrants - Indians and Europeans.

Jinja, located 50 miles east of Kampala, on the shores of Lake Victoria, has a population of 30,000 (1955 estimate); it is at the point where the River Nile leaves Lake Victoria. A few thousand feet from the source of the Nile, is the hydro electric dam at Owen Falls, which supplies power to most of Uganda, and to part of Kenya. Jinja has a copper smelter (for the copper from Kasese mines), saw mills, plywood factory, and a textile mill. The proportionate number of Indian millionaires living in Jinja is higher than any other town in East Africa.

Uganda attained its independence on 9th October 1962, and is governed by UPC, the Uganda People's Congress, with Milton Obote its Prime Minister. On October 9, 1963, it became an independent sovereign state; Sir Frederick Mutesa II, the Kabaka of Buganda, was elected by the National Assembly as its first President. Uganda is also a member of the United Nations,


Uganda, like other East African countries is primarily an agricultural country. Coffee and cotton account for 80 per cent of export by value, tobacco, sugar and copper are also exported. The Owen Falls hydro-electric dam at Jinja, inaugurated in 1954, has encouraged the development of a growing range of secondary industries — notably plywood, steel, textiles, soap, and building supplies.

Although Uganda participates in the East African Common Services Organisation and is committed, in principle, to the idea of East African Federation, it has more reservations about the union than Tanganyika and Kenya. Cut off from the coast and with a smaller population than either of the other territories, Uganda is apprehensive that it might become a slight junior partner. The traditional kingdoms of Uganda are especially wary of the scheme, because of their fear that they would soon lose their separate identity in a federation led by such advocates of highly centralised government as Jomo Kenyatta's KANU, and Julius Nyrere's TANU.
Tanganyika

Tanganyika includes the whole of the former colony of German East Africa. From 1922 to 1946, it was administered under a mandate from the League of Nations. In 1946, the British Government placed the country under the international trusteeship system of the U.N. Tanganyika covers an area of 362,688 square miles, of which 20,650 square miles is open water. It supports a population of 9,538,000 (1962 estimate).

Tanganyika lies entirely within the tropics, and climate conditions on the coast are hot and rather humid. Further inland, there is a hot and moderately dry zone, while beyond this lies the central plateau with an altitude varying between 2,000 feet and 4,000 feet. In this region, the climate shows considerable variation, but it is characterised, except round the lakes, by low humidity, small rainfall, and fairly high average temperatures with great daily and seasonal variations. In the mountainous and highland region, the climate is healthy and bracing. Generally speaking, the rainfall is low for a tropical country, except for the northern and middle sections of the coastal belt, and the areas around Lake Victoria and Lake Nyasa, where there are two distinct rainy seasons; the greater part of the country has a one season rainfall, from
about November till May.

Dar es Salaam, with a population of 150,000, is the capital of Tanganyika. It is the principal harbour of the country, and its hinterland extends even as far as the Katanga Province of the Congo. Dar es Salaam airport is a frequent stopping point on Malagasy and Mauritania route, the island countries in the Indian Ocean. East African Airways Corporation provides a daily service to and other parts of East and Central Africa. It has the University College of Dar es Salaam, affiliated with the University of East Africa.

Tanga is the second port for Tanganyika, but does not have harbour facilities like that of Dar es Salaam; it is the outlet for the sisal and coffee estates along the railway line. Tabora with a population of over 14,000 people, and the largest of the inland towns, is an important railway junction. Mwanza is an important port on Lake Victoria, the only cargo and passenger connection with Kenya and Uganda with the central line. Moshi and Arusha, with population of 8,000 and 7,000 respectively, near Mount Kilimanjaro, are two centrally located towns of East Africa, serving the surrounding agricultural land. Arusha, centrally located between Cape and Cairo, has become the safari centre of East Africa with its ideal climate and ideal
location near the biggest wild game reserves of the
world.

Tanganyika's economy is dominated by subsistence
agriculture. The most important cash crops are sisal,
cashew nuts, cotton and tobacco. Together with diamonds,
they supply the major share of the country's revenue.

Tanganyika achieved independence on 9th December
1961. Led by Julius Nyerere, TANU, the Tanganyika
African National Union is the ruling party.

Tanganyika strongly favours the proposed East
African Federation. President Nyerere's commitment to
the idea of regional unity was so deeply felt that he
tentatively offered, in 1960, to postpone Tanganyika's
independence until such time as Kenya and Uganda could
also make the transition.

Conclusion

It is quite evident, that in the near future,
the three East African countries, namely, Kenya, Uganda
and Tanganyika, will join together to form one economic
and political unit, under one Federal Government, one
central government and one flag.

Such a Federation would form a third largest
nation in Africa, which would be a nucleus of a very
large economic unit. The combined benefits of three
countries, with such an economic unit, would be tremendous. The freedom of movement of goods, labour and capital within the Federation would make it possible for each area to specialise in a kind of production for which it was most suited. The skilled manpower of the three countries could be shared, and great economy could be achieved in overseas representation of a Diplomatic Corps by sharing duties. The large political unit would command more influence in world affairs. A common fiscal policy for East Africa, would provide the Federation with a co-ordinated approach to planning or development, and provides for external loan, and an East African central bank. This approach would raise the standard of living of the people of East Africa, and it would become a stable and progressive nation of the world.

The disadvantages of such a unit are negligible compared with advantages. Such a Federation might provide no incentive for interterritorial co-ordination on the development and planning in one state or a region. The elected members may find it hard to convince their electorates that such arrangements are clearly to the benefit of East Africa as a whole, and not to the benefit of a particular area or region. Discontent might also demand the establishment of
industry in Tanganyika or Uganda, rather than a financial payment to allow it to be maintained in Kenya.

It is felt, that this is a small point; incidents such as these could take place in any size of country, and any democratic system. Even in a municipal government, there is always a rivalry between two or more areas or districts, both trying to have maximum out of every development proposals.

The leaders of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika are sincerely willing to surrender the sovereignty of their countries, offices they enjoy, their flags, and seat at the United Nations; there is no reason why this Federation should not work.
CHAPTER II

THE FEDERAL CAPITAL

One of the problems, facing the members of the federating countries of East Africa, is the location of the Federal Capital, a city which is to be the seat of government and the administrative headquarters of the nation. The selection of the location of such a capital depends upon the objectives and policies of the government. History has shown that the locations of national capitals are the result of government policies based on different objectives. Some of the early examples are the Hague, Madrid, Washington, Ottawa, Canberra and New Delhi, while more recent examples are Brasilia and Islamabad. A national capital may be defined:

... as the place wherein the political authority of a territorial unit is concentrated; it is the seat of legislature, the headquarters of the executive, exercising a higher or lower degree of supervision over local administration according as the structure of government is highly centralized or federal. It is often, although not invariably, the cultural focus of the country; but in many cases, especially in federal states, its commercial and industrial importance is less than that of other cities in the same country, since the factors
that influence the choice of the site for a capital are often political and strategic rather than economic.

The policy of the government for the creation and location of a national capital for the Federation of East Africa, should not be restricted to the political factors, and the objective should not be merely to have an administrative capital containing the seat of government. It should include other objectives, which have commonly been ignored, such as having a national capital as the social, commercial and economic centre of the Federation. The long and short term objectives for the national capital should be:

1. to be the seat of legislature and the administrative centre;
2. to be a national monument to freedom, and the unity of the nation;
3. to be a social, educational, and economic centre;
4. to be a model of new town building, and an example for the future towns to be built in the country;

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5. to have a pleasant climate and an attractive countryside.

To fulfil these objectives, a national capital could take many forms. There are many examples of national capitals that one can study for the purpose of forming a policy to fulfil these objectives. What should a national capital be?

... Should it be a metropolitan centre, in which government activities are a minor aspect of the complex life of a great city - a city in which the majority of residents can go about their daily life without being acutely aware that they live in a seat of government, a city like London, Paris, and Rome? There is much to be said for this kind of national capital, it is not well for officers of government to be too much confined to their own society. If Montreal had been the national capital, as well as being a cosmopolitan centre, uniting the two major Canadian cultures, and some minor ones as well, what a city it could have been! ... Should the capital then be a city especially created as a seat of government, designed from the start as a thing of beauty, a national monument, like Canberra and New Delhi?

Another form of a capital could be twin city, a capital based on an existing community or settlement. The best examples of such a capital are New Delhi, the national capital of India built adjoining Delhi (now known as Old Delhi), and Islamabad, the new capital for

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Pakistan, now being built adjacent to Rawalpindi;

Islamabad was conceived as a twin city to Rawalpindi. It was believed that only if Islamabad was to be created close to Rawalpindi would it be possible to start its life as early as possible by using all the services (highways, railways, airport, water supply, accommodation, etc.) which can be provided by Rawalpindi, until such time as Islamabad would grow big enough to rely on its own services.

It is hoped that Islamabad will be able to function as a small independent settlement in five years time, and then to become a completely independent city within ten years. By then Islamabad and Rawalpindi will be twin cities with certain common facilities, like the airport, but otherwise they will be physically separate cities, although economically they will function as one major metropolitan unit.

With reference to the above quotations, a national capital, therefore, could be:

1. A metropolitan centre in which government activities are a minor aspect of the complex life of a great city.

2. A city especially created as a seat of government, designed from the start as a thing of beauty, a national monument.

3. A twin city based on an existing city that must from the start be able to provide the amenities and services, which a capital should have.

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For a new nation such as the Federation of East Africa, the national Capital should be based on the study of the above three types of capitals, and their advantages and disadvantages; this should give the country, a new Federal Capital that should fulfil the objectives as outlined.

To utilize one of the existing larger cities in East Africa as the national capital, could mean that the government activities would be a minor aspect of the complex life of these cities. There is much to be said for this kind of national capital; the officers of the government are not confined to their own society, a society of white collar workers. Other advantages, this type of a capital would have, are that they have well established places for social and commercial amenities, and facilities such as theatres, cinemas, night clubs and restaurants, art galleries, museums, libraries, parks, good schools, colleges, hotels, department stores and above all they are important economic centres and give employment to the citizens. These facilities are shared by people from all walks of life, people of all ages, and people of all races and nationalities. Such a national capital could be very successful as a capital for the Federation of East Africa. The capital of the nation accommodates
foreign diplomats, and this type of national capital has a lot to offer to foreigners in the form of the country's social, cultural and economic activities. Foreign diplomats can have direct contact with the public in general, which is partly the reason for having diplomatic exchanges with other nations.

The disadvantages in such a national capital are that the cities are over crowded, the street systems are usually obsolete, and have unbearable traffic congestions. Most of the buildings are old and out of date for present day needs; there are very few open areas and recreational parks for the growing population. It costs a lot to improve the existing facilities, and also this means destroying a great portion of the existing physical and social structure of the community, which creates problems of relocation.

The other type of capital is one especially created as a seat of government, designed from the start as a thing of beauty, a national monument, such as New Delhi, the capital of India, Canberra, the capital of Australia, and Brasilia, the new capital of Brazil. Other national capitals, which would come under the same classification are those built where very small and unimportant settlements existed, and the character of a national monument was imposed on
these settlements by planning the new city as a national capital on the same site. The best examples are Ottawa and Washington, the national capitals of Canada and the United States respectively. Whittlesey refers to Ottawa and Washington as exemplifying "a novel phenomenon - a seat of government selected for the purpose without regard to economic considerations". The phenomenon is not entirely novel; we may for instance take the Hague, the capital of Holland, and also Madrid, the capital of Spain, as earlier examples. Nor is it absolutely non-economic, for there is evidently a negative economic motivation - the desire to avoid the concentration of both economic and political power in the same city. Washington, Canberra, Ottawa, the Hague and Berne are all cities of much less economic importance than other cities in their federations. Having a capital built on a completely new site or on a town of small importance in itself, must be regarded as a normal, though not universal principle in federating states.

The selection of the locations of Canberra and Brasilia were also dependent on other reasons apart

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from being the administrative centres. Their location was meant to solve disputes between two or more existing cities fighting for the location of the national capital, or to help in opening of the new frontiers. None of these cities have social, cultural and economic facilities and amenities as satisfactory and well established as those of a metropolitan capital. Brasilia was built to open parts of Brazil which were not inhabited. It was designed as a national monument. Today it houses a few businessmen, and the white collar workers employed by the government. There are not enough social and cultural facilities for its citizens, which could be due to its relative newness.

Work on the construction of Canberra began in 1913. In the case of Canberra the choice of site was dictated largely by the need to placate the two major political units entering into the confederation. Jealousy between Victoria and New South Wales precluded the selection of Melbourne or Sydney. The site of Canberra is graced with hills and rivers, and is surrounded by attractive and sparsely populated country, offering an opportunity for developing a city of unusual beauty. But it is not convenient in its location, it is very far from major cities. What is
true about Canberra is true about Ottawa, the capital of Canada. In Canada, Montreal and Toronto were the two cities trying for the seat of government.

The disadvantages in a city specially created as a seat of government are that they become political and administrative islands, socially only one class of people predominate - the white collar workers. These do not tend to become cosmopolitan centres. The foreign diplomats and the citizens of the country have very little contact with one another.

Both New Delhi, the capital of India, and Islamabad, the new capital of Pakistan, are designed as national monuments; they are administrative national capitals. The advantages in the case of New Delhi, which has been functioning for about forty years, are many. It is so close to Delhi that when the British decided to move the capital from Calcutta, New Delhi did not have any problems in establishing itself. Delhi for some centuries was a well established social, cultural and economic centre of India. During the Mogul rule, it was the capital of India. New Delhi grew up as a twin of an existing community sharing Delhi's facilities and provided employment to the citizens of Delhi. Now it is a part of a metropolitan area, and is a well established and highly successful
capital. It is a place where new and old go side by side, a national monument built as a part of the national tradition; and a capital where east meets west, and where citizens and diplomats gather. All this was achieved in a very short period of time. Whereas in the case of Canberra, which was built much before New Delhi, very little has been achieved and it is still an administrative island.

It is probable that Islamabad will become a well established capital of Pakistan in a shorter time than those capitals which were built away from the well established metropolitan centres.

**Conclusion**

Both, a metropolitan city as a national capital, and new city especially created as a seat of government, have their advantages and disadvantages and very little in common. In the case of an existing metropolitan city, it is difficult to make a national monument out of it; small individual monumental buildings can be built, but the whole city can not be rebuilt or replanned; however, it might be replanned to a certain extent. It would be cheaper to have a new city designed from the start. Even a new city has the disadvantages of not having well established facilities
and amenities, which a capital should have.

On the other hand, a twin city as a capital has the advantages over both the other type of capitals, it has the best of both, an existing metropolitan city, and a new city designed from the start. To fulfil all the objectives as outlined, it is suggested that the answer to the national capital for the Federation of East Africa may be a twin city.

For the purpose of this study, it is therefore the contention of the author,

THAT THE CAPITAL FOR THE PROPOSED FEDERATION OF EAST AFRICA SHOULD BE LOCATED ADJACENT TO NAIROBI, AND SHOULD SHARE AVAILABLE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND AMENITIES WITH THIS COSMOPOLITAN CENTRE, AND THAT IN ADDITION THE NEW CAPITAL SHOULD BE A NATIONAL MONUMENT.

The policy of the government for the location of the new Federal Capital should be based on the outlined objectives, and the location of the capital for East Africa should satisfy these objectives.
CHAPTER III

THE APPROACH TO SITE SELECTION

Having described the various types of Federal Capitals, and the reasons for their existence in Chapter II, it is important to review and analyse the various approaches to site selection, and to identify the criteria for site selection and their application in these Capital Cities. Very little information has been published on this aspect of new Capital Cities; the reports available which do discuss the approach to site selection of various Capital Cities are:

1. Vera Cruz, Brazil's New Federal Capital.
3. Lake Europa, a New Capital for a United Europe.

1Vera Cruz, was formerly the name for Brasilia.


The idea of moving Brazil's Federal Capital from Rio de Janeiro, on the east coast, into the interior, was not a new one. One of the first recorded statement came in 1789. Then in 1822, soon after the independence from the Portuguese, it was felt that moving of the Capital from the coast would be one very important step in bringing about the unification of the country.

It was not until the founding of the Republic in 1889, that the plan was revived. In 1891, the Cruls Commission was established to locate a quadrangle, which by law was to contain 14,400 square kilometers, in the Central Plateau, for the location of the New Capital. After the publication of Cruls Report in 1894, the interest in actually moving the Capital subsided. It was not until 1946, that the Coelho Commission was set up to establish a definite area in the Central Plateau, for the future studies to select a definite site for the new Capital. The Brazilian Congress talked about the suggested sites for almost five years, during which, President Dutra's term ended and Vargas took his place. Finally, after much discussion and politicking, Law No. 1803 was passed on January 5, 1953, which,
... required that a Commission in charge of the Capital site and the New Federal District be appointed by the President and that within two years the work should be completed and the choice reported to Congress.  

The recommendations of the Cruls Commission, and to some extent, the Coelho Commission were reread, and the decision was finally made that the most suitable area for the location of the new Federal Capital must be selected within a rectangle of approximately 52,000 square kilometers, whose parallels and meridians were as follows:

15° 31' to 17° south, and
46° 30' to 49° 30' west of Greenwich.

Within this area, the new Federal District of 5,000 square kilometers should be located. This rectangle is a compromise. It includes almost all the original Cruls area, and some of which was considered by Coelho Commission.

President Vargas appointed the Commission, and named General Aguialdo Caiodo de Castro as its President. This Commission decided to seek foreign assistance. In April, 1954, Donald J. Belcher and Associates, Inc. of Ithaca, New York, were awarded the contract for the job of site selection.

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5Kent, Hollister, op. cit., p. 51.
Site Selection

Problem. According to the contract between Donald J. Belcher and Associates, Inc., and the Brazilian Government, certain studies were to be made within the 52,500 square kilometers quadrangle outlined. These studies would result in presentation to the Technical Directors of the Commission, of five alternative sites of roughly 1000 square kilometers a piece, each one capable of containing a city of 500,000 inhabitants.

In order to arrive at five alternative sites, studies were to be made of the general area of 52,500 square kilometers at a scale of 1:50,000 as follows:

a. Uncontrolled Photomosaic,

b. Topography -- with form lines (not precise contours) -- contour interval to be 20 meters,

c. Geological Information,
   1. Type and occurrence of rock and outcrop
   2. Type and occurrence of unconsolidated deposits
   3. Depth of soil over underlying rock

d. Drainage Conditions,
   1. Surface
   2. Internal

e. Land Use and Land Classification,

f. Ground and Surface Water Resources,

g. Engineering Features,
   1. Sites for hydro-electric development
   2. Potential location of Airports
   3. Potential location of Highways
   4. Potential location of Railroads
   5. Construction materials for highways, railroads, airports and buildings, including limestone suitable for cement.

Ibid., pp. 85-86
When the five sites were selected, the second phase of the work was to do the same studies on five areas of 1000 square kilometers as were done on the whole quadrangle, except at a scale of 1:25,000, and with much more detail. In addition, the topographic maps were to be done by photogrammetry with a contour interval of five meters.

At the end of ten months, detailed information was to be put down on transparent overlays over the photomosaics. Models and oblique photographs of the general study area and five sites were to be prepared. A comprehensive report, which was to contain much general and specific information about climate, terrain classification, transportation, soil borings and tests, and recommended agricultural products, and the description of each site was to be completed, and presented in an exhibition.

Upon the presentation of this material, the Technical Directors of the Commission would have an opportunity too read the report, question members of the survey team, and possibly visit the site. They would then indicate their choice of the five sites.

The planners considered it a mammoth job; to map an area of this size within ten months would have been an achievement in itself, in addition the task of
doing detailed work of many kinds was an almost inconceivable task.

It was a miracle that the job was completed within the contract period and it was only because of the use of aerial photography in interpretation and photogrammetry and the unselfish cooperation of a number of extremely capable individuals above and below the equator, that the presentation was made within the specific ten months. With normal ground methods alone, ten years would not have been sufficient to accomplish the same work, and even then, although certain aspects of the work might have been of higher calibre, there are things which can be seen from the air that are never even suspected by those on the ground.

It would have been very easy to get led astray by going into the sociological and economic aspects of such a move; how it would effect the present capital city and its population, what impact it would have upon the economy of the area surrounding the new site and how the country as a whole would be changed. Perhaps a complete population study should have been done. But to do this at all would have meant that a thorough job would have to be done. If a study of ethnic groups or the problems of movement from rural to urban centers had been made, the work for which we were responsible, the control of the Brazilian section involved in selecting five sites for a capital city of 500,000 persons, would never have been finished.

This is not to belittle the part that sociology and economics play in the total planning picture, because they are quite definitely parts of the integrated whole which is called planning, but in this case, it had to be assumed that these factors were being taken care of by Brazilians. They were responsible for making population estimates and it was the job of the survey team to do the physical site selection.7

7Ibid., pp. 87-88
The planners involved in the site selection realised that it was impossible to do a physical site selection without thinking of density of population within that area, the habits of the people, or the kinds of recreation facilities needed, and so forth. Although these thoughts were not put down in great detail in the report that was presented to the Technical Directors of the Commission, a good deal of philosophical discussion went on as to the components of an ideal city, and whether the particular spot under consideration had the space or physical amenities necessary for such a city.

The final five sites were a result of some scientific recommendations concerning:

- Elevation,
- Topography,
- Soils,
- Rock,
- Water,
- Climate,
- Communication,

and a group of standards set up by philosophical discussion, placing the Brazilian as a person in this capital city.
Aerial Photographs. The aerial photographs upon which so much of the work depended were taken by a Brazilian company; 8,000 photographs, 540 uncontrolled mosaics at scale 1:25,000, and eighteen photo-indices were used.

The work was set up in three offices; the head office in Ithaca, New York, the main Brazilian office in Rio de Janeiro, and the field office in Anapolis, State of Goias, within the general study area.

The work of photo-interpretation, the making of the models, the studies of the terrain classification, climate, reservoirs, transportation, and the preparation of final report were done in Ithaca.

The great advantage to the planners, of the contemporary techniques in the development of aerial photo-interpretation is such, that a trained interpreter, who never went to Brazil, could sit in Ithaca, and by looking at the stereo pairs of aerial photographs could identify an underlying bed of limestone or the boundary line between two types of soils, and their approximate depth to bedrock.

In order to satisfy the contract specifications, and provide material so that the planners could make certain basic decisions as to site selection, it was the primary job of the photo-interpreters to make five
studies of the entire general study area. These consisted of:

- Drainage,
- Geology,
- Landuse,
- Agricultural Soils,
- Engineering Soils.

The information for each one of these studies was done at a scale of 1:25,000, on tracing paper directly over the mosaics. This meant that 540 tracing overlays were done for each of the five studies, making a total of 2,700 overlays for the general study area alone. These overlays, or photographs of them, were then sent to Brazil, where the information was prepared for final presentation.

**Basic Decisions.** While some of the photointerpretation was being begun, the Ithaca office worked out the technical method of conducting the survey, and they felt strongly that much more was required than just the application of techniques. During the discussions, they made studies to simplify the bulk of work on the project immeasurably easier. They felt that certain basic decisions had to be made, and the sooner they were made, the sooner the secondary and
more technical stages of the work could begin.

The basic decisions concerned the effect of altitude upon the climate and temperature. One of the main reasons for moving the capital from Rio de Janeiro to the Central Plateau was to get away from the hot, littoral, monotonous humidity. It certainly would not be very sensible to forget this, or not to take advantage of the change in climate and temperature offered by the high plateau. After some study, it was decided that 800 meters would be the lowest elevation that would be considered. Consequently, an overlay was made, showing areas up to 800 meters shaded one colour, those between 800 and 1,000 in another colour, those 1,000 and 12,000 meters in another colour, and so on with remaining above 12,000 meters. This information was presented only in a very general way, and with the knowledge that it was not accurate in detail. However, to make a first general elimination of unsuitable areas, it was sufficient.

Special consideration was given to all areas above 1,000 meters for purposes of communication, recreation, agriculture, urban construction, or other reasons.

The second basic study was made concerning the elimination of heavily dissected areas. In order to
show the sections, which were dissected sufficiently enough to make them undeveloped without a good deal of repair work; the aerial photographs were used for the first time. To begin with, dissected areas were marked out on the photo-indices; then this information was checked on the photo-mosaics, and transferred to the 1:250,000 map. The results of this study were put on an overlay, and heavily dissected areas were shown shaded.

This overlay was then placed over the first coloured overlay showing the different altitudes, and the sections of the first coloured overlay which were not covered over by the shaded areas of the second overlay, were then areas above 800 meters in altitude which were not heavily dissected. This, then, left about one-third of the total area to be searched; and of this part only the area above 1,000 would be given particular attention.

A Slope Classification map of the general study area was made from the aerial photographs. Here the basic decision was made, that all large areas with slopes over 15 per cent were unacceptable. If a large area was over 15 per cent, the whole area was discarded, but a small section of a large area was not sufficient to make that whole area unacceptable.
"The planners were not looking for a monotonously rolling prairie, and some sharp differences in elevation were not only acceptable but looked for."\textsuperscript{8}

The use of aerial photographs in making the two studies of the heavily dissected areas, and the slope classifications saved months of time which would have been spent if the work had been done by the usual ground methods, and this narrowed the search down tremendously.

At the same time that these three studies on Terrain Classification were being conducted, some studies on microclimate were started.

Within the area left after the three Terrain Classification studies were completed, a team of four men with city planning background and experience proceeded to mark out the first sites. The photo-mosaics of the 18 quadrangles at a scale 1:25,000, which made up the general study area had been put on separate sliding panels. These first outlines of the areas were done with terrain as the most important factor. The questions about soil and drainage were discussed; at this stage, no definite answers could be given as

\textsuperscript{8}Ibid., p. 120
to the classification of the soil, but it was possible to determine if the soil was well drained, if it looked potentially good for agriculture, if it would support construction of roads, buildings and airports, its probable depth to bedrock, and in short if it was generally a factor in favour of the general site which had been outlined.

The planners were not looking for detailed answers at this stage, as the soils and geology specialists had not been on the ground yet. The stereo pairs were used whenever there was a really vital question to be answered.

An attempt was made to keep these preliminary sites about 1,000 square kilometers in size according to the contract; but naturally there were some that were larger or smaller, and a great deal of overlapping took place. At this stage each site was thought of as a separate entity, and the sites were just rough outlines.

However, as different studies began to get beyond the preliminary stages, new factors as described in the following sections, were brought into the general picture, and the amorphous blobs of the sites began to change, to take shape and to have more meaning.
Water Supply. This factor was extremely important; basically the problem was a difficult one to solve. Not only was the general study area in the Central Plateau, but it was one of the highest areas in Brazil, and thus naturally all the water drained away from it.

... One of the reasons given for moving the Capital from Rio was the insoluble potable water situation, yet there was no place within the general study area that was below a very large watershed, high enough so as to take advantage of the favourable change in climate due to the increase in elevation and large enough to contain a city of 500,000 people with some room for expansion. ... 9

A complete drainage basin of the entire general study area was prepared, and this resulted in the location of eighty-three separate dammed reservoirs. The locations of these were indicated on an overlay, and the watershed area calculated.

Amenities. It was felt that the place of the human beings in this urban complex should be considered, and the philosophical approach to city planning took precedence.

... After the dramatic site of Rio de Janeiro, things were going to seem very dull and monotonous to people who expected a great backdrop for their surroundings. However, in rolling country there

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9Ibid., p. 126.
can be interest too, and the planners were looking for sites which were not absolutely flat, but which contained a varied topography, a possibility of future neighbourhoods with natural boundaries, recreation and reservation areas, waterfalls and other natural features which would dispel the monoton of the rolling plateau.

It was felt . . . that the city had to have a monumental aspect also. This can be achieved on a flat plain if there is something on a backdrop. Chandigarh accomplished this very dramatically. There should be some high point within the city site to give this feeling of monumenity. . . .

The planners were not looking for a particular kind of site, because it was felt that preconceived ideas blind one to more imaginative solutions; but they wanted a place where the city planner would not be forced into one and only one solution by the nature of the site.

This was one of the reasons why the five sites finally chosen were all different in character, since this would offer the possibility of different solutions.

Airports. Since Brazil is so air oriented, and because no city has ever really been sited with complete and satisfactory airport facilities, it was considered very important that sufficient study be made of the potential location of airports. In the initial stages, the planners merely considered areas sufficiently large

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10 Ibid., pp. 130-131.
and with little or no change in grade. Without definite knowledge of soils, they could not decide upon any particular airport sites, although the photos showed many potential and well drained sites.

**Regional Transportation.** The basic question to be answered was whether the existing road and railway system should be maintained and extended, or discarded. The planners felt, that it was important to realise that the Capital was not being moved merely to have it at the end of the line. It was to be in the middle of the country as ultimately developed, and transportation routes should connect it with all parts of the country. To make decisions based upon present inadequate transport facilities would be neither good nor sensible.

**Power Supply.** Little attention was paid at this early stage to the important problem of the generation of power. The situation in respect to hydro-electric generation was similar to that of water supply.

The first stage, as far as the planners were concerned, was one of elimination, and the establishment of basic philosophical ideas. Using the photo-indices, mosaics, and occasionally the photo stereo pairs, they had first roughed out innumerable sites,
many of them overlapping. The emphasis was on terrain, and natural boundaries were used exclusively. This finally gave the planners sites which they wished to investigate further with the assistance of the information gained from the detailed studies which were being produced by the photo-interpreters.

Because of the shortage of time, the photo-interpreters, instead of doing necessary studies of Drainage, Land Use, Geology, Agricultural Soils, and Engineering Soils for the general study area were asked to do first those areas in which the planners had indicated preliminary sites. Much of the general study area was studied for more information to be used on the basic overlays after the final sites had been chosen.

In the primary stage, the site were considered as separate entities, cut off from their surroundings, but these were related in many ways, not only to the immediate regions but also to many outside factors. In the matter of water, each site was considered in relation to the sources of water which were immediately available, or could be made so within the general region around. Consequently, not one of the fifteen sites was eliminated just on the water supply alone.
To reduce the fifteen sites to six, very little information was available to the planners as far as the study of soils was concerned. At this stage, two soil specialists were sent to Brazil in September of 1954.

By a process of rating and eliminating, six sites were selected. An example of the rating sheet which was used is shown below:

Confidential

Evaluation by: Date.
Site Number. Quadrangle Number. Mosaic Number.
Area
Topography - Slope
Geology - Soils - Subsoils
Land Use
Water Resources
Power Supply
Communications
Climatology
Conclusions

TABLE 1

Source: Kent, Hollister. Fig. 34, p. 144.
VERA CRUZ, SITE LOCATIONS

1. AMARELO, 2. AZUL, 3. MARRON, 4. CASTANHO, 5. VERDE, 6. VERMELO

SOURCE: Kent, Hollister, Fig. 44, p. 218
As a result of evaluation and balloting, the following six sites were selected:

Site 1. Amarelo
Site 2. Azul
Site 3. Marron
Site 4. Castanho
Site 5. Verde
Site 6. Vermelho

At this stage, a model of general study area was made; the planners felt that from the information available it was a good job, and gave an excellent idea of the study area of 52,500 square kilometers. The vegetation was placed on the model from the photo-index sheets, and the major towns, roads and railways, and the final five sites were outlined so as to give to the members of the Commission the relative position of the sites, one of which would become the site of the new Federal Capital of Brazil.

Final Decision. The Technical Directors of the Commission established the criteria to be used in selecting the site. This was something that could have been done months before, but was done hurriedly at the last moment. The list of criteria with assigned point values was very similar to that
established by Guimaraes group of Coelho Commission in 1947.

At this stage, the members of the Commission decided that it would be to their advantage to see the sites before making their final choice. The last week in March, 1955, the expedition flew to Goiania for a four day visit. Within the first three days, the Commission had already eliminated sites Azul and Amarelo from consideration, and since it was so difficult to get into Vermelho, even by jeep, the Commission decided that only Castanho and Verde would be seen from the ground; the other three would have to be seen from the air. In order to cover as much territory of the sites as possible from the air, and to be sure that those seen from the ground would also be seen from the air, it was decided to design a tour which would show the salient features of each site within a short time.

Finally, in April 1955, the Commission on the recommendation of those who visited the site, voted to accept Castanho as the best choice for the new Federal Capital. Thus it was that the site called Castanho, the same area recommended in the Cruls Report, sixty one years before, became the location of Brazil's new Federal Capital.
In his thesis, Kent has evaluated all five sites. For the purpose of this study, in the opinion of the author, it is only necessary to study the specific site selected for the new Federal Capital, as this will describe and clarify the general approach taken.

**Site Castanho**

The physiography of this site, 25 kilometers southwest of Planaltina, is distinctly different from that of other four. Its central feature is an extensive triangular-shaped dome defined by the Corrego Fundo and the Ribeirao Bananal, as they join to form the Rio Paranoa, which then flows eastward to the Rio Sao Bartolomew. . . . The flat dome between these water courses reaches an elevation of 1,200 meters and extends many kilometers to the west beyond the boundary of the site. The valley bottoms are about 1,000 meters above sea level. This site and Site Verde, which adjoins it, are at the highest elevation of the five sites. . . .

The extensive plain, sloping gently to the bounding streams, lends itself to the development of a large city in almost any possible pattern without the dictation of interrupting topographic features. . . . The organic matter in the soil is relatively high for upland areas. Much of it is covered with second growth forest rather than the typical scrub growth of the chapadas.

The focal area of the site, as delimited, is the triangle at the confluence of the Corrego Fundo and the Ribeirao Bananal, but the valley to the southeast and northeast have been included, together with the slopes to the ridges beyond. These slopes across the valleys are gradual and are suitable for buildings. The valleys themselves could be developed for recreational purposes. This site is unique among the five sites in that it possesses one outstanding focal point for the grouping of federal buildings and the seat of the
government. The slopes of the area are such that, if the city were to be constructed here, there would be many sections of the city that would have unlimited views across the nearby valleys. . . . At the same time, the association of nearly level ground with the sloping make it an excellent combination for airport to be located close to the city yet with a minimum of interference from the operational nuisances of an airport.

The configuration of the land is such that a comprehensive drainage system for the city would be a very simple matter. The soils of the site are probably the best drained of all the sites. Site Castanho is particularly favoured by the regional drainage since it would be possible for adequate reservoirs to be developed on the watersheds above the city, while the wastes of the city could be discharged downstream and thereby eliminate the possibilities of contamination. In this respect, it is also fortunate that the Rio Paranoa drops over a long series of falls and rapids -- a condition that constitutes a natural purification of the waste waters discharged from the city. The slope of the ground and the presence of the two major drainageways also provide a break in the monotony that exists in many other surrounding locations.

The engineering soils and geologic conditions of the site equal or exceed that of the others. The soils are well drained, granular, and of considerably greater stability. The soils depth varies, but in all places particularly for the city development itself, bedrock is at a reasonable depth below the surface where it will not interfere with near-surface construction. At the same time, within the site itself and in the low areas out of view of the city, there are sandstone rock outcrops that will furnish aggregates of reasonable quality, and perhaps it will be found, upon testing, that they will provide satisfactory building stone. In areas adjacent to the site, limestone is also available.

The climate of this area, as well as microclimate within the site, has many favourable aspects. The slope of the ground and the low valley area of the Rio Paranoa to the east promote air circulation and air drainage from the site.
Its average elevation of 1,100 meters ranks it with Site Verde as having the lowest average annual temperature of all the sites.

The nearby recreational facilities are both varied and excellent, ranging from the heavily forested slopes of the Rio Paranoa to the nearby points where artificial lakes are possible.

The agricultural potential of this area is shared in common with Sites Verde and Vermelho. The soils of these areas would require proper fertilization and soil management, which could not come about in the first few years of the city's existence. However, the opinion of the agricultural experts is that, under proper management and fertilization, adapted crops can be grown on these areas and productivity of the entire area greatly diversified and increased. The disadvantage of this site in that respect is that the early food supply must be imported from the south and the west. This is offset somewhat by the fact that the main road from Anapolis to Planaltina passes through this site and that supplies could be immediately transported to the site.

From the standpoint of future transportation, the three eastern sites lie on the natural north-south axis of an excellent potential railroad location. The existing road network connects along this axis with Formosa and Crystalina to the south and the permanent road to Anapolis is the major east-west artery.

The water supply potential is excellent. Large watersheds above the west of the site promise to give adequate quantities of water with, perhaps, a minimum of pumping required to bring it to the city.

Local power could be developed by minor hydroelectric facilities on the Rio Paranoa and Rio Sao Bartolomeu. Regionally, the hydroelectric power could be brought in from either the Cachoeira Dourada or from the proposed Tres Marias project.

The economics of this site are favourable in that the cost of the land is anticipated to be next to the lowest; the lowest being that of Site Vermelho. There is no problem of resettlement since it is largely rangeland. 

\[11\] Ibid., pp. 273-80
Conclusion

This is a very good report, and explains how modern techniques of aerial photography can be used to establish the character of a piece of land without actually visiting the site. In selecting the site of Brazil's new capital, the planners have shown a new, and an efficient method of analysing facts that normally took much longer. For anyone involved in the selection of a site for a new city in an underdeveloped area, the technique might differ according to the availability of time and funds, but the actual criteria, and the method for their application would be similar to those used for Brazil's new capital.
On 1st June, 1956, the British Secretary of State for the colonies appointed a British Caribbean Federal Capital Commission. Its terms of reference were to submit recommendations to the Standing Federation Committee on the three most suitable sites, in order of preference, for the capital, bearing in mind the following factors:

1. political and social sentiment throughout the area;
2. the convenience of the site in relation to the Federal area;
3. the availability of land, both for immediate buildings, and for future expansion;
4. the cost of the necessary buildings on the selected site and other works, taking into account the availability of temporary accommodation, and costs of construction in the island in question;
Trunk Air Routes serving the territories of the new West Indies Federation.

General Map of the West Indies, British possessions in black.


Figure 4
5. the suitability of communications by sea, air, cable, telephones and roads;

6. the services available:
   (a) general accommodation, including housing for staff;
   (b) hotels;
   (c) general urban facilities;
   (d) water supply;
   (e) electricity and power;
   (f) education facilities;
   (g) the availability of suitable recruits for subordinate posts in the Federal Service.

The Capital Commission was charged with the task of recommending the three most suitable islands for the Capital, in order of priority. The Commissioners spent about two months on these islands and were called on to recommend, generally, where the capital should be; they included in their survey of relevant evidence, in addition to that relating to communications, conveniences, and cost, "both the general feeling throughout the colonies about the kind of Capital required and where it should be, and also the effect on the development
of the Federation of the political, social and intellectual atmosphere of the island chosen for the capital."\textsuperscript{12}

The problem of finding a capital for the British Caribbean Federation was considered unique, because of the island character of that Federation. It consisted of the Windward and Leeward Islands, comprising the seven colonies of Granada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica, Montserrat, Antigua and St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, stretching north and south in an arch of nearly 500 miles, together with Jamaica lying a thousand miles to the west, Barbados a hundred miles to the east and Trinidad and Tobago, a hundred miles to the south. The Federating colonies apart from being scattered, differed widely in population, size, wealth and many other ways. Their total population in 1953 was just over 2,800,000 persons, of whom more than half, about 1,500,000, were in Jamaica, and more than half of the remainder, about 700,000, in Trinidad and Tobago. Of the remaining 600,000, one-third were in Barbados. Similarly in terms of area, the total land area of the Federation was about 8,000 square miles, of which 4,700

\textsuperscript{12}British Colonial Office, op. cit., p. 4.
is in Jamaica and 2,000 in Trinidad and Tobago, leaving only 1,300 for the remaining eight colonies. It was felt that the Federation would thus fall naturally into two almost equal halves, separated, by 1,000 miles of sea, the western half comprising the single colony of Jamaica with the eastern half of the remaining nine colonies.

For the purposes of this thesis, only those factors related to the selection of a site for the British Caribbean Federal Capital are reviewed here. The Commissioners, after describing the Federating Colonies discussed their recommendations under the following six headings:

- The Nature of the Capital,
- Possible Base Towns,
- Communications,
- Political and Social Considerations,
- Our Order of Preference,
- The Choice of the Site.

**The Nature of the Capital**

At the outset, the Commissioners indicated that the functions and objects of the capital were that it was to be:
the place which will draw people from all the islands and foster the growth of that West Indian patriotism which is essential if the Federation is to be a success, . . .

the place of residence of the representatives of Commonwealth and foreign countries, . . .

the federal shop-window and should be a place of which West Indians could be proud. . . .

typical of the British West Indies and an affirmation, and not a denial, of the history and traditions of these islands.  

They argued that to fulfill the above functions and objectives the criteria of an ideal capital should be that it should have dignified buildings, well related and well built, and the capital must be a pleasant place in which to live and work. Both people from the other islands and those from other countries should feel that they can be at home there, and the general standard of living and way of life should be up to that to be expected of the capital of a small country, that is a place of standing in the world. In addition to good roads and the usual public services, there should be:

. . . hospitals, newspapers, educational institutions, libraries and cultural societies, as well as shops, hotels and places of entertainment. There should, too, be service garages, laundries and dry-cleaning and hairdressing establishments. Not only should an educated man be able to work in the surroundings to which he is accustomed, he should, for example, also be able to get his shirt cleaned

\[\text{Ibid., p. 9.}\]
in twenty-four hours and to find something to do at the weekend. His wife will want a variety of things of good quality in a variety of shops, and a chance of making a comfortable home. . . . 14

If the capital is to serve its purpose fully, however, it should be something more than a place where administrators and diplomats live and work. The atmosphere should be representative of all that is best in the political and social life of the West Indies, and it should stimulate the growth of wide ideas. If the Federation is to fulfil the hopes of those who have created it, it is essential that it should be a place:

. . . where new ideas can flourish and where the people, without being intellectuals, are well informed and take a keen interest in public affairs. Its outlook should, as far as possible, be metropolitan and not provincial. Persons of distinction who work in, or visit, the capital will expect to find there a society which is congenial to them. The presence of ministers and civil servants from the other islands and of the representatives of other countries will, of course, tend to bring about these conditions, but they will form only a very small part of the population of the capital, if it is to be a place of any size. Unless the sort of social and intellectual atmosphere which is needed is provided by those not directly connected with the Government, the newcomers will not be able to create it. Instead of being stimulated and uplifted by the capital, they are more likely to be depressed and frustrated, or to come to accept the low standard that they find around them. 15

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14 Ibid., p. 10
15 Ibid.,
Thus it was decided that the above mentioned are the criteria by which the success of the Capital was to be judged when it was fully developed. It is understood that a somewhat lower standard could be accepted, but it was considered vital that it should not be too low, as the first impressions of those living in the Capital would be very important. It was felt that "Great harm would be done to the Federation if, for the first ten or fifteen years of its existence, the capital were somewhat between a dead-end or a construction camp."\(^{16}\)

At that time the Commission was faced with two alternative concepts as to how the Federation might secure the best capital:

1. that the capital should be an entirely new town,
2. that it should be based on some existing town, and be capable of acting as the capital from the start.

The argument in the favour of an entirely new town was that such a town would proclaim to the islands, and to the world, "the new era inaugurated by

\(^{16}\)Ibid.
Federation and the hope of future advancement.\textsuperscript{17} It was also considered that "temporary difficulties at the start must not prevent the adoption of the obviously ideal solution."\textsuperscript{18} It was thus suggested that it is the long term and not the short term view that is critical.

The Commission agreed broadly with this idea but rejected it on the bases that the objectives would not be best achieved by building an entirely new town as the Capital located well away from existing towns. It was also felt that for a great many years, and possibly indefinitely, life in such a town would be artificial;

\ldots Society would consist of ministers, judges, civil servants and diplomats, and of those who supplied their needs. Not only would these ministers, judges, civil servants and diplomats have practically no one else to talk to but themselves, which they would find very dull, but they would become isolated from public opinion and tend to get out of touch with reality. They would not be able to see themselves as others see them, which would be as it is for other people, and much worse in its consequences. The atmosphere of the capital would be dead and depressing, save in so far as it was enlivened by pressure groups.\ldots\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{17}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., p. 11
\textsuperscript{19}Ibid.
Because of these purely social reasons, the Commission rejected the idea of an entirely new town on a new site well away from other towns, and it clearly stated that, "Far from being the capital that we want, an absolutely new town is the just the sort of capital that we do not want." This left the Commissioners with the second alternative.

It was, therefore, decided that the capital should be based on an existing town. That town must, from the start, be able to provide the amenities and services which a capital should have, and also the outside influences and social contacts, which are essential if the capital is to be alive and vigorous. It was suggested that:

... as the capital developed, it would depend less and less on the base town, but it would depend on it to some extent for many years to come. Initially the capital might be little more than a park containing the federal buildings, but in course of time it would develop into a twin town of the base town. The capital should, therefore, not be situated too far from that town. The two must, however, be quite distinct, for the capital must not be a suburb. It must have an individuality and character of its own. . . .

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The Commission felt that a Federal capital designed as a suburb of an existing town would not be acceptable to the Federation, as it would fail to play the part which the capital should play, and it was suggested that a twin town would be an appropriate thing provided the distance between the new capital and the base town was less than seven miles.

Other factors supporting the twin town idea were purely economic. Unless the capital could rely on some other town for its services and amenities, new facilities such as hotels, shops, clubs, libraries etc., would have to be built at the cost of the Federation, and to begin with it would be only those connected with the Federal Government who would benefit from them. The Federation will be a poor one, and will not be able to afford the luxury of erecting new buildings for purposes for which buildings already exist elsewhere. This money could well be used for economic development. It was felt that:

... the new capital has to be created, not on the cheap, but with the strictest attention to economy, and this can be done only if the fullest use is made of existing civic amenities and services before any attempt is made to create new ones. This clearly will be possible only if the federal capital is situated close to some existing town and if that town is a town of some size and standing. ... 22

22 Ibid.
Thus, based purely on social and economic criteria, the nature of the capital was decided before selecting the actual site for the capital. The climate criterion was also mentioned, but it was felt unimportant, as the islands enjoy a similar type of weather, and only the direction of trade winds was considered important; however, it was felt that the capital should get the benefit of the trade winds. This gave the Commissioners some criteria upon which to select a town site that was to be the base town of the capital. No one town fulfilled the requirements, and thus it was decided to narrow down the field by stating that "no town should be accepted as a base town which cannot accommodate the Federal Government before the capital is built, or which cannot from the start provide the necessary services and amenities." A base town was then selected purely according to these criteria.

Possible Base Towns

For the selection of the possible base town, another criterion was established to consider the requirements of the base town while the capital is

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23 Ibid., p. 13.
being built. It was felt that the base town would have to provide accommodation both for those connected with the Federal Government who reside there, and for those who are required to visit it from time to time. The residents would include the Ministers and Official Members of the Council of State, judges, representatives of Commonwealth and foreign countries, and some thirty to forty administrative and advisory staff and so on. Accommodation would also be required for businessman, and for contractors and others concerned with the building of the capital. These additional people will require certain services as well.

The impact of those additional visitors who will be attracted to the base town on account of its new function and status as the seat of the Federal Government was also considered. While the Federal Legislature is in session there will be heavy additional demand for accommodation for the members of the House of Representatives from other colonies, together with their advisors and secretaries, and possibly families. On such occasions the demands on accommodation are likely to be swollen by representatives of the world press, and by other persons having interest in the activities of the Federal Parliament.
The bulk of these visitors would require hotel accommodation.

It was felt that a base town should be able to provide accommodation for the above mentioned residents and visitors.

The procedure for selecting the base town for the capital was a very direct process, and it seemed, a short cut to the whole approach. The Commissioners first took the colonies of the Windward and Leeward Islands. Each of these colonies has only one town, which in the opinion of the Commissioners was worth considering from this point of view, namely its principal town. They started with Antigua, Granada and St. Lucia, as the Governments of these colonies had put in a claim for the capital. The principal towns of these islands are: in Antigua, St. John's with an estimated population of 11,000; in Grenada, St. George's with an estimated population of 6,000; in St. Lucia, Castries with an estimated population of 18,000.

The Commission studied the housing situation and the hotel accommodation of these towns, and found that,

... this accommodation varies greatly in quality and that much of it falls below the standard which many of the residents in, and the visitors to, the capital would have a right to
expect. Moreover, the charges at the better class hotel would not be likely to suit the pockets of ordinary civil servants. . . .

On these bases, it was considered that none of the three principal towns under discussion has anything like the hotel accommodation that would be needed to cope adequately with the influx of new residents and the visitors, which the establishment of the Federal Government would bring about in these locations.

It was also felt that the temporary office accommodation would present a serious problem. There was not enough office accommodation available, and that which was available was not very suitable to be used as Federal Offices.

The living conditions and general characteristics of the towns were considered having regards to the financial and economic resources of the colonies in which they are situated.

. . . Shopping facilities are poor, both in Respect of the number and variety of shops and the quality and range of the goods displayed for sale. In many cases wholesale and retail business is carried on in the same premises, and the manner in which goods are displayed for sale is not impressive. Shops which undertake to deliver

\[\text{Ibid.}, \ p. \ 15.\]
goods to customers are few and far between, and the marketing arrangements for fresh food, such as meat and fish, are not good. There is a lack of restaurants. The public libraries which we visited were only fair, and in Castries the public library which was destroyed in 1948 fire has not been rebuilt. The standard of public buildings is generally not high. In Castries there is no daily newspaper, and while St. John's and St. George's have two dailies each their standard is not high and they contain practically no foreign news.  

Public services such as water, electricity and telephones, schools and hospitals were more or less adequate for present needs. The possibility of placing the Federal Capital in an under-developed island because of the economic boost it would have given to the island was considered as an additional expenditure, that the island would be called upon to incur in improving the services rather than in boosting the economy. No detailed study was made to this effect as the Commissioners felt that:

... In any event we are concerned with finding the most suitable location for the capital of the Federation, and not with conferring a benefit on any particular island.

To sum up, we find firstly that the principal towns of these three colonies are deficient in accommodation, and that it would be extremely inconvenient to all concerned, and very costly, to accommodate the federal capital in any of them. In a state of emergency all things are possible and all inconveniences can be endured. It is not, however, in such an atmosphere that we would wish

\[25\text{Ibid.}, p. 16.\]
the capital of the new federation to begin its life. Secondly we find them deficient under the general head of living conditions. In assessing living conditions we have chosen certain items which we regard as representative. Our description of these items shows that none of these towns measures up to the high standard we have set for the twin town to the federal capital. Lastly, our enquiries have shown that public services would need to be expanded, that this expansion would be very costly, and that these small colonies have not got the money to pay for it. For these reasons we conclude that there is no town in any one of these colonies which would be suitable for the base town.26

The governments of the other colonies in this group, Dominica and St. Vincent in the Windward Islands and Montserrat and St. Kitts-Nevis-Auguilla in the Leeward Islands put no claim in for the capital site. The Commission did consider these islands but they were rejected for the same reasons as the other islands of the same group. Therefore, it was decided that there was no town in any of these colonies that satisfied the requirements set forth for a base town. This left the Commission with the remaining towns in Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados, and that the principal towns of these colonies, Kingston, Port-of-Spain and Bridgetown, could each suitably be used as the base for the new capital. This gave the Commissioners three suitable sites for the Capital.

26Ibid., pp. 16-17.
In earlier discussions, it had been concluded that the Federal Capital should be based on an existing town. By examining the available accommodation and the services and amenities of the existing towns of the federating colonies, they eliminated as possible base towns all towns except Kingston in Jamaica, Port-of-Spain in Trinidad, and Bridgetown in Barbados. This completed the first part of their task, the selection of the three most suitable places for the capital. There remained the second part: their arrangement in order of preference.

To establish this, the Commission turned to the investigation of the suitability of communications, and to political and social considerations.

**Communications**

Communications by sea and air, and by wireless were considered. It was decided that air rather than sea communications were most important. Those visiting the capital on business would do so by air, and not by sea. The capital, therefore, must have good air communications with the other federating colonies, and with the outside world. The main difficulty in inter-island communications by air is the crossing of the thousand mile gap between Jamaica and the other
islands. The important problem to solve was "whether that half of the population that lives in the islands in the east had to go to a capital in Jamaica, or the half that lives in Jamaica had to go to a capital in one of the islands in the east;" it was felt that if the capital were to be located in Jamaica, then it would be important that the communications between it and all the colonies in the east should be good, whereas if Barbados or Trinidad were to have the capital, then all that was considered important was the system of communications between Jamaica and Barbados or Trinidad. There were through flights between Jamaica and these two islands and Antigua, but no through flights between Jamaica and any of the Windward Islands. This would make Jamaica a very awkward place in which to have a capital.

Analysis of internal and external air flights were made and these showed that advantages clearly were with Barbados and Trinidad, and against Jamaica. Trinidad was preferred to Barbados. The reasons for this conclusion were summed up as:

\[27\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 18.}\]
From the point of view of internal communications within the Federation, Jamaica would be a far less convenient place for the capital than either Trinidad or Barbados. From the point of view of external communications both Jamaica and Trinidad would be better than Barbados. If the traffic demands it there would, presumably, be no difficulty in making suitable adjustments to these schedules, provided the necessary airport facilities exist. Communications could, therefore, be improved between these three islands, or between any one of them and the outside world, if this were found to be necessary. It would, however, be difficult to improve communications between Jamaica and the Windward Islands, where airport facilities are either non-existent or unsuitable for long-distance aircraft. There is therefore in the long run very little to choose between these three islands in the matter of communications with the outside world. If, however, Jamaica were chosen for the capital, the problem of internal communications would remain and could only be got over at great cost.

Political and Social Considerations

Turning to the problems of the desired political, social and intellectual atmosphere, the existing conditions prevailing in Kingston, Port-of-Spain and Bridgetown were examined. It was felt that the atmosphere of the capital for many years would be influenced strongly by that of the base town. As the capital grows and comes to possess a distinct society of its own, it will then influence the base town. It

28Ibid., pp. 19-20.
was felt that "the political traditions and practices of the base town should be sound, that its society should be united and progressive and that its people should be well educated, broadminded and susceptible to new ideas."²⁹

Trinidad was considered first, as it was felt that it was politically less advanced, and that up to that time it had no Chief Minister, and no clear-cut political parties with established programmes. The Commission suggested that a disturbing element in the public life of Trinidad is the presence there of a large population of Indian (from India) descent. It was alleged that they have ideas and loyalties differing from those to be found elsewhere in the Federation, and that they would exercise a disruptive influence on the social and political life of the capital, if it were placed on that island. There was also a mention of corruption in the public life of Trinidad.

Jamaica and Barbados, the Commissioners felt, had a healthy political atmosphere. It was felt that there existed in Barbados a prejudice against colour.

²⁹Ibid., p. 20.
that was not found elsewhere. The Commissioners stated that colour prejudice was strong throughout the islands some ten to fifteen years ago, and was fast disappearing. Thus, discreet inquiries were made into the colour question. The general level of education in Barbados was considered higher than in any other federating colonies. Barbadians were found all over the eastern islands in positions for which a good education is required, and Barbados schools had a considerable number of pupils from other islands. On the other hand Jamaica had the University College of the West Indies, which would be the intellectual centre of the Federation; Trinidad had the world famous Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture.

In the matter of the press, however, both Jamaica and Trinidad were considered as superior to Barbados. "The 'Barbados Advocate' is quite a good paper but it contains far less foreign news than the 'Daily Gleaner' in Jamaica, or either of the two dailies in Trinidad. The 'Trinidad Guardian' circulates throughout the eastern islands but no other paper has any appreciable circulation outside its own island." 30

30 Ibid., p. 21.
One thing that struck the Commissioners about Jamaica was its aloofness from other islands. There was a considerable movement between the islands in the eastern half of the Federation, but little between these islands and Jamaica. In Jamaica very little was known about the islands in the east. Jamaicans, when they left the island went to Britain, the United States or Canada, and only very occasionally to the other islands of the British West Indies. Thus the two halves of the Federation were widely separated by more than water. The Commissioners felt that one of the tasks of the Federation was to bring them together.

Order of Preference

Here the fact finding ended, and the Commissioners felt that there was no objective method of combining the marks that the different islands got under different tests, into one combined set of marks indicating their final choice. The report does not show or explain any of the methods that were used by the Commissioners in assigning marks to the different Islands. They decided that the final order of preference must be an act of judgement. The main considerations that led them to their conclusions were:
Trinidad is wealthy and go ahead and has good communications and a good Press, and Port-of-Spain would be suitable from the material point of view, as a base town. Nevertheless we consider it would be better to put the capital either in Jamaica or in Barbados than in Trinidad. Our reasons are the instability of that island's politics and the low standard accepted in its public life. To put the capital near Port-of-Spain would, in our opinion, be to run a very great risk, which need not be run.

The decision between Jamaica and Barbados is a difficult one. . . . Kingston is a better town than Bridgetown and has a better Press, but the average intellectual atmosphere in the daily life of Barbados appeared to us to be keener. From the point of view of inter-island communications, however, Barbados would be distinctly better than Jamaica. . . . Also, Barbados has direct air communication with the colonies of the Windward Islands, which Jamaica has not. But our main reason for preferring Barbados to Jamaica is that we hold the view, that, if possible, the capital should be on a small island. Jamaica is so large and its potential development so great that the fears of the other islands that it would dominate the Federation, if it were chosen for the capital, would be real. . . . To place the capital in Jamaica would therefore, we think, be psychological mistake which would give the Federation a bad start and so might have serious consequences.31

It was, therefore, decided that the three islands be placed in the following order of preference which alone have towns that could act as base towns:

Barbados,
Jamaica,
Trinidad,

31Ibid., pp. 22-23.
The Choice of Site

Visits were made to all the possible sites originally suggested by the various Governments. The Commissioners felt that no one at this stage should try to choose the actual piece of ground that should contain the capital of the new Federation. They recommended that the capital site should be, if possible, between three and seven miles from the base town. The choice of the actual piece of land should follow upon far more searching enquiries, and more careful balancing of pros and cons than they had time, or opportunity to undertake. A snap decision on such an important and great matter would be hazardous in the extreme.

Conclusion

The criteria established for the selection of the site for the Federal Capital were quite reasonable; where this report falls down is the approach to establishment of criteria and their application to existing islands and towns. Had they applied the criteria, as they did to the towns of Antigua, Grenada and St. Lucia, first to Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad, they might have come to the conclusion that none of these islands was suitable to have the seat of
Federation. Would they have then accepted the towns on the Windward and Leeward Islands as the three possible sites and then by applying the communication and the social criteria on these come out with the order of preference?

All they did was to pick the islands, which in their opinion should not have the capital, and then they devoted much of their energies to demolishing the claims put forward on behalf of these towns by pointing out that they were too small, too inaccessible, and altogether at too backward a stage in economic and cultural development to be made the seat of the new Federal Government.

Instead they should have established comprehensive criteria, including the availability of facilities, communications, political and social setup, and then applied these criteria to all the islands at the same time, and should have considered the points against and in favour of all the possible locations in islands. This could very possibly have given them different conclusions. It might also have been a good idea to consider selecting an underdeveloped island as the seat of the Federal Government, because of communication, political and social reasons. The Commissioners might have concluded that an existing
town or a new town away from existing towns, after all, was the answer to the Capital of the Caribbean Federation.

LAKE EUROPA: A NEW CAPITAL FOR A UNITED EUROPE

This report is based on the objective of defining and proposing an idea, the concept of the creation of a new capital for a rapidly uniting Europe. The author of this report is convinced that the idea of a new European Capital is both valid and timely, a conviction based on the following facts:

1) The proven success of the Common Market demonstrates that the countries of Europe can effectively cooperate, set common goals and achieve those goals. It also seems to be a foregone conclusion that it is only a matter of time—and a relatively short time—before all the countries of Western Europe will be members of one economic community.

2) In spite of the war-damaged cities which are now built, practically every city of Western Europe is crowded and becoming more so. . . . No existing European city is a reasonable, suitable, or proper location for a new capital. This conclusion holds true, especially of the present capital cities.

3) It would be practically unrealistic to assume that the countries of Europe would look with favor on the idea of choosing an existing city wholly within any country for a European capital.

4) History has demonstrated that most new capitals have been located as a compromise—usually the result of a struggle between two or more centers of population. The same philosophy of compromise would apply to the location of a new European capital. . . .
5) Administrative efficiency in any organization, public or private, demands the centralization of central functions. . . . 32

Based on these fundamental facts and conclusions, the author of the report has accepted the fact that political factors have always dictated the location of new capitals, and one always likely to do so. He has not suggested any reasons or facts that might prove that there are other factors apart from political, that are as important in the location of a Federal Capital. Thus the criterion for the site selection is that "the new capital district be so located that its territory would not be removed wholly from any one existing country—but rather at a junction of two countries and where urban development does not exist." 33

With this basic criterion in mind, the author concludes that since three Common Market countries meet at one point, the ideal location for the new capital would be at the junction of the three countries meet at one point, the ideal location for the for the new capital would be at the junction of the


33 Ibid., p. 63.
Proposed location of City of Lake Europa.

Source: Miller, J. Marshall, p. 65

Figure 5
three countries of Luxemburg, France and West Germany.

General Conclusion

The three different studies give a good example of site selection under various set of circumstances and conditions.

In the case of Brazil's New Federal Capital, a decision was made by the government to move the capital into the interior, and about the area for the location of the possible site. The planners were then asked to find suitable sites for the location of the capital. Here the planners were faced with investigating an underdeveloped part of the country, the report explains clearly the approach taken by the planners under such circumstances. It shows how a given piece of land can be divided into smaller units by applying the first set of major criteria. This then gives the planner a smaller field with a certain number of potentially desirable sites against which another set of criteria to select one site for the capital, can be applied.

The second report on the British Caribbean Federal Capital is different in the respect that here the planners were faced with existing communities and had to choose one of these for the seat of the Federal
Government. The criteria were different but the actual approach of site selection by elimination was the same, although some of the human factors considered differed.

The third report on Lake Europa, is based on a different set of objectives, the author of this report knows, or has made it clear that the existing communities or towns are not capable of accommodating the seat of government. The only compromise solution for the nations involved in the Common Market would be to have the New Federal Capital on a common ground. Based on this criterion, the obvious answer would be the meeting point of the national boundaries. This is more of a political approach rather than an approach oriented to finding the most suitable site based on social, physical, and economic factors which are an integral part of planning. Ideally no one factor should be investigated seen in isolation.

There is no doubt that these various factors carry different weights depending upon the circumstances, as in the case of Brazil where the planners ignored the social and economic factors, and gave more emphasis to physical factors. In the case of the British Caribbean Federation, more emphasis were given to existing social and physical conditions than
It is felt that these studies have given a very clear picture of problems involved in the selection of a location for a National Capital, and that each report had a different answer to the approach required, depending upon the different sets of circumstances involved.
CHAPTER IV

CRITERIA FOR THE SELECTION OF A LOCATION FOR
THE FEDERAL CAPITAL OF EAST AFRICA

It is not the intention, in this thesis to pinpoint a specific site for the new Federal Capital, but rather it is the objective to select a location for the new Federal Capital. The Oxford Dictionary defines 'location' as an 'established place', and a 'site' as 'a ground on which a town or building stands.' The specific site for the new Federal Capital will be determined by consideration and evaluation of alternative potential sites within the selected general location. The selection of a particular site involves a separate study, and it is not possible to proceed with such a detailed study without actually being able to visit alternative potential sites.

The formulation of criteria for the location of the new Federal Capital depends upon the various objectives and policies of the three governments involved; the purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to establish the criteria for the selection of a location for the new Federal Capital, within the broad policy objectives outlined in Chapter II which state that the Federal Capital is:
1. to be the seat of legislature and the administrative centre;
2. to be a national monument to freedom and to the unity of the nation;
3. to be a social, educational, and economic centre;
4. to be a model of new town building and an example for the future towns to be built in the country;
5. to have a pleasant climate and an attractive countryside.

The selection of the location should be based on a consideration of the existing physical, social, economic, administrative, and political conditions, and these should fulfil the above objectives. The physical characteristics of the country were discussed in Chapter I. In accordance with the objectives of the new Federal Capital, and based upon a physical study of the country, the climate, geography, topography, landscape and countryside, water supply etc., of the potential alternative locations are studied. Similarly under social criteria, the investigation covers existing population, social conditions etc. The economic criteria determined include an investigation of existing economic activities, transportation
and communications, and the political, administrative 
and legislative framework of the country is also 
considered.

From an analysis of the criteria listed above, 
an attempt will be made to determine what existing 
facilities could be used by the new Federal Capital; 
what existing communities could be expanded by using 
their buildings to accommodate the new Federal Govern-
ment offices; what social and commercial activities 
could be used and expanded to suit the needs of the 
Federal Capital; and what existing streets, water 
supply, power and other municipal facilities could be 
used by the Federal Capital.

The criteria must be such that their appropri-
ate application can provide East Africa with a loca-
tion having excellent climate and countryside, 
maximum use of existing social, economic and physical 
facilities and amenities, and a reasonably well 
established economic base together with a satisfactory 
network of communications. There should be enough 
land for expansion, and for new buildings as the need 
arises to make the Capital a "national monument to 
freedom and unity of the nation, and a model of new 
building", thus fulfilling the remaining objectives.
Physical Criteria

The physical criteria may be considered under the following subsections:

1. Climate
2. Countryside
3. Water Supply
4. Power Supply
5. Recreation

Climate. East Africa lies on the equator; as described in Chapter I, the climate of the country varies from place to place, depending mostly on the topography. The new Federal Capital could be located to have its choice of climate anywhere from hot and humid to cool and pleasant.

A tropical climate can be so hot and humid that it does not permit one to dress in normal woollen clothes to work and for formal occasions. The heat and humidity necessitate air conditioning in the homes and in commercial and administrative buildings in order to achieve normal comfortable working conditions. Hot tropical weather is good for a change during a vacation, but for every day living it can be monotonous, uncomfortable, and can make workers inefficient.

By selecting a suitable elevation above sea
level, East Africa can overcome the problem of tropical heat and humidity. Part of East Africa consists of a plateau and upland country varying in height between 4,000 feet and 9,000 feet above sea level. A mean temperature ranging between 60°F and 70°F, with a humidity of 65 per cent is considered by the climatologists as normal for good working conditions. The table on page 97 shows the altitude, temperature, rainfall and humidity of some of the selected towns and cities of East Africa, and it is quite evident that those towns and cities situated at or above an altitude of 4,000 feet have a mean temperature very close to the figures mentioned above, and a humidity of about 65 per cent. Thus the new Federal Capital should be so located as to have a mean temperature ranging between 60°F and 70°F, and a mean relative humidity of not more than 70 per cent. This would give the new Federal Capital a pleasant climate with normal comfortable working conditions.

To have a healthy climate, the question of malaria should also be considered. The incidence of malaria is greater near tropical forests and swamps. Here again, at higher altitudes, there is very little tropical growth, and because of the topography, very little water stays in one place to form swampy
The table below gives representative figures of certain meteorological elements for the more important centres of East Africa.

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conditions, and the cooler climate does not help in the breeding of the mosquitos. A location free from mosquito breeding areas should be selected for the new Federal Capital; this would give East Africa a Capital with both a pleasant and a healthy climate.

Countryside. An "attractive countryside" is rather difficult to define. Desert, coastal strip, rolling hills and mountains could all be attractive, depending upon the situation and circumstances. It is quite evident that in the tropics, desert, and lowlying coastal strips would have very hot climate, which could be unpleasant to live, as described in the preceding section. The highlands of the country have beautiful landscapes, with evergreen rolling hills. For the Federal Capital, to have a monumental character, there should be some high point within the city site to provide a feeling of monumentality, and from an aesthetic point of view, the topography should have small depressions and gentle slopes. As in the case of Brazil's Federal Capital, areas with slopes over 15 per cent should be considered as unacceptable. Grades lower than 15 per cent are desirable, because they are economical for building roads, and for construction, and because the installation of sewers and
water-mains is relatively easy and economical. For these reasons, the same criterion as was used in the case of Brazil's Federal Capital should be accepted, and no location with slopes over 15 per cent should be considered for the new Federal Capital of East Africa.

**Water Supply.** The availability of water supply in abundance would be a distinct benefit in the location of the new Federal Capital. Water supply is an extremely important factor to be considered in selecting a location. The location should be close to a large watershed, so that enough water could be stored for drinking, public health services, other community needs, and also industrial use. There should be water for recreational use; the location should be close to a lake or other similar source of water supply, where artificial lakes are also possible to provide such facilities.

**Power Supply.** This is also another very important factor that must be considered in determining the location of the Capital. It is difficult to determine the potential of hydro-electric power without having first-hand information about the rivers and their
potential to generate enough power. It is quite evident that some of the larger rivers in the country could generate enough power for this purpose. Apart from the hydro-electric dam on the River Nile at Jinja, which supplies power to Uganda and many parts of Kenya, and the two proposed locations on the Pangani River in Tanganyika, the author is not familiar with any other potential sites for power supply.

Recreation. To a certain extent, this is connected with water supply. In North America, when one talks of building dams for the purposes of storing water for flood control, irrigation and hydro-electric generation, the potential recreation use comes in automatically. Most of the reservoirs above the dams in North America can easily be used for swimming, water skiing, skin diving and other similar water sports.

This is not true in East Africa. Most of the fresh water lakes, and many of the larger rivers have crocodiles and hippos in them, and this limits the recreation potential to sailing and fishing. Only those streams, or small rivers having their sources from the high mountains could be used for swimming. Of course there are facilities for swimming, surf
riding, water skiing, and underwater fishing all along the coast of East Africa. The capital should be located close to areas where the construction of artificial lakes is feasible, and these could be developed for multi-purpose recreational use.

The beautiful countryside and wildlife of East Africa attracts tourists from all over the world. The question of countryside has been discussed earlier. The desirability of having the new Federal Capital located close to a game reserve or a potential National Park, where people could watch and photograph wild animals in their natural surroundings, should also be considered in the selection of the location of the new Federal Capital.

Social Criteria

Since one of the outlined objectives is to make the capital a social and educational centre for the whole country, the factors that will play an important role in defining the social criteria will be the types of facilities, services and amenities required in the new capital, and how well the existing facilities could be used for this purpose.

It has been wisely said that "the City is the People". A city is made up, primarily, of the people
of the city; they provide the life and vitality of the community. Lacking people, a city is only a ghost city, a lifeless shell. No other single resource is as essential to the welfare of a community as its people. The energies and abilities of the people of a capital city constitute a boundless reservoir of ideas, which, when freely pooled together, may well generate a vast stream of creative compositions in many fields of education; it should be a fountainhead of knowledge and wisdom, which would benefit not only the new nation of East Africa, but all the underdeveloped and developed countries of the world. The people of the new capital, their way of life, and their creative work, should be a monumental inspiration to East Africa, and to all the new nations of the world.

The new Federal Capital should be one of the most outstanding, educational, social, and cultural centres in Africa and the world at large. The Capital should have universities and other institutions of learning, as integral part of its social, political, cultural, religious, and commercial life. The primary objectives of education is to train the men and women needed for the rapid development of the country. Thus, education should be an integral part
of the social and cultural structure of the new Federal Capital.

The Federation of East Africa is fortunate in having three major component cultures and ways of life, namely, African, European (British), and Indian. The Europeans and Indians came as immigrants to the three countries, and have played a very important role in the social, economic, and physical development of the countries, which had no towns or any permanent settlements of note. They have given to East Africa the best of the two worlds, East and West, in Africa. Some cities have developed more than the others, depending on social, physical, economic, and political factors. These cities have social facilities and amenities, which could be used by the new Federal Capital.

In a free society, it is natural and logical that some individuals will choose to associate with certain other individuals with whom they feel they have something in common. Therefore, there will naturally emerge a wide variety of individual and family groups, which must be recognised and accepted. People will naturally segregate themselves into intellectual, cultural, economic, professional and social groups. The diplomats are socially an upper
class of people, and are used to certain facilities and amenities in their countries that are not equalled by the underdeveloped countries. They like to have exclusive sports and social clubs, where they can meet other diplomats and federal politicians after a game of cricket, tennis, golf etc., or in the cocktail lounge over a drink. Diplomats, and people of higher income and of the intellectual class prefer to send their children to public schools (the British concept) with boarding facilities etc., because of social class distinctions. Cities in East Africa have these facilities available; it would be advantageous, if these could be made available to the Federal Capital. The work of a diplomat includes goodwill missions; this brings him constantly in contact with the citizens of the country. For them to be in direct contact with the general public, and to understand each other, there should be places where they can meet informally, where the atmosphere should be a representative of all that is best in the political and social life of East Africa.

There is a lot to be said in favour of utilizing the availability of existing, well established social amenities and facilities; it is advantageous for a new capital to be able to use the existing
facilities and amenities, such as sports clubs, hospitals, educational institutions, libraries and cultural societies. Not only should an educated man be able to work in the surroundings to which he is accustomed, he should be able to find the services which one expects in a larger and well established community. There should be a good press, with daily newspapers having world wide coverage. The availability of television and radio services is another asset. These facilities are shared by people from all walks of life, people of all ages and nationalities, from the very start. In the case of the development of an entirely new city as a capital, although it could have the advantage that such a city would proclaim to East Africa, and the world a new era inaugurated by the Federation and the hope of future advancement, there would nevertheless be a lack of established social facilities and services for a great many years to come, and possibly indefinitely, and this could make life in the new Federal Capital very unattractive. There are lessons to be learnt from the lack of social facilities and amenities in Brasilia, the new Capital of Brazil, where the social, historical and atmospheric background which provided the great chain of long-established towns is noticeably absent.
... I longed for solid ground, for civilization, for people huddled together for warmth and comfort and comfort — for a city. But Brasilia, the wondrous new capital of Brazil, is not that kind of a place and won't be for a long time to come. It is not a city where, in Lewis Mumford's words lovers can meet, friends can walk and talk, parents and children can occasionally come together on a common ground and where anything can happen.

A newspaper journalist on the staff of one of Brazil's leading daily newspapers, after spending eight months in Brasilia in close contact with the city administration had this to say about the social problems in Brasilia:

... Teenagers — and adults in their free time—have nothing at all to do. There are only two movie theatres in town and one is a flea-palace. When the people don't go to the movies, they give parties at home, or if they have cars they go for drives. The adults play canasta. Most of the city's night clubs have closed down; their prices were very high. Except for the swimming pools of the Yacht Club another private club, the only Sunday entertainment is watching the planes come in at the airport or going to Soccer games...

Weekends in Brasilia are deadly dull. On Friday night most members of the government fly to Rio or Sao Paulo. Those who live in the satellite cities and camps dress their children in Sunday best and bring them into the city to play on the escalator in the Brasilia bus station. Government officials who have not yet found a place to live and whose families are still in Rio or Sao Paulo spend their time in hotels talking

politics, criticizing Brasilia and playing cards. Some go to Goiania or Anapolis for a change. Bachelors who can afford it drink whisky at the Brasilia Palace or - if they are lucky - follow the senators' example and fly off to civilization. Since Brasilia is quite without entertainment, either pure or impure, it would seem logical that concerts, art exhibitions, plays and movie festivals would be well attended. Strangely enough, nothing like this happens. . . . Partly because transportation is so poor and partly because of a low cultural level of population. Brasilia certainly has enough educated people to fill its theatres many times over. However such people are accustomed to complimentary tickets, and the higher government officials even consider them a prerequisite of their offices. It costs a fortune to bring cultural events to Brasilia and it simply cannot be done if no one is willing to pay.2

It is understandable that such social problems do exist in the early days of a new city. But the whole problem with this is that society cannot be changed overnight; science and technology have made so much progress in the last two decades that the man in the street has not been able to catch up with these. New cities now can be built in a matter of months or a few years, but social warmth and comfort, social atmosphere of civilization still takes its course. Man still grows at the same rate as he did centuries ago. We are far from the world Aldous Huxley has predicted, his world of mass production

of human beings and of test tube babies. There is no doubt that technology has shown us ways and means of mass producing buildings, but one cannot see the day when social structures will be established overnight. The people who provide the life and vitality of a community are still the backbone of a society. For the new Federal Capital to have a good set of social facilities as quickly as possible, in order to have people that make a society and a city, the existing social amenities and facilities in various centres should be examined and evaluated, to determine whether an existing city should be selected for the seat of Federal Government.

Economic Criteria

The new Federal Capital could be built virtually anywhere within the three component countries; but at a cost level which would reflect the difficulties. If there were a special attraction for specific site, the extra costs of building on this sight might be acceptable. However, in the case of underdeveloped countries, where a limited amount of capital is available, to afford the luxury of building an expensive city, there are no special circumstances in East Africa which would justify an unusually high
site cost such as was the case of Brasilia. All other factors being favourable a site having low development and access cost should be selected. The new capital should be created, not cheaply, but with strictest attention to economy and efficiency, and this can be done only if the fullest use is made of existing amenities and services where ever this is feasible, and before an attempt is made to create new ones.

If an existing settlement were to be chosen for expansion, as a Capital, the availability of facilities and services in the existing settlements would constitute an important economic consideration. Development of an existing community or a settlement would seem to be a practical thing to do, but it possibly could be much more costly than building an entirely new settlement.

Other economic factors to be considered for the selection of the location are that there should be enough electric power and water supply for the potential industry, and for the use of the city.

Transportation and communication facilities are vital to all modern settlements, and tend to be not only costly to provide in the beginning, but also costly to maintain and operate. Highways should be of good quality, to promote good national connections.
A location permitting easy communication with the different regions of the country would tend to unify the country, and maintain good communications with other centres of the Federation. Adequate roads and railway facilities are very important to support economic activities, especially for the large enterprises.

The location for the new Federal Capital should be selected to permit, economically, connections by road and railway to all the major centres of East Africa. It should have a direct railway connection to main sea port on the Indian Ocean.

The Capital site should be selected to permit having an international airport, or an airport capable of handling supersonic aeroplanes. For obvious economic reasons, it would be an advantage to have an existing international airport, or an airport that could be easily expanded to meet the needs of the new Federal Capital. A good network of air communication is very important. People visiting the capital on business will do it by air, rather than by road or rail, and in this jet age the Capital must have good air communications with the Federation, as well as with the outside world.

The availability of a good railway and road
transportation network, an efficient air transport system, electric power and water supply are important criteria for supporting the economic life activities of the new Federal Capital.

Other factors to be considered in selecting a location are the availability of good industrial sites, the cost of availability of sites for expansion, and the quality and presence of necessary labour skills.

The availability of financing will also have a bearing on the location. It is quite obvious that an entirely new site on a new location would require more capital funds than, if an existing area were to be expanded by using some of the useable existing facilities, services and amenities. The question of public and private investment influencing the selection of the location for the capital does not arise in an underdeveloped country like East Africa. In any case the funds will have to come from the public sector.

Administrative Criteria

The need to have efficient administration within the Capital is another criterion, which could influence the selection of a location for the Capital. It might be decided to have an independent Capital, where the main function would be governmental administration,
The reasons behind the birth of Versailles still guide the present day world in which there is no place or explanation to justify the governmental seat remaining subject to social unrest or to disturbances which effect the peace of mind of those in charge of the Nation who are thus bound to sacrifice essential tasks in order to attend to matters of secondary importance which take time, attention and energy.

Leaving aside its frivolous and artificial aspects and the futile atmosphere which characterized the creation of "annex capital", specially after the arrival of Marie Antoinette, Versailles is the standard to be followed by the liberators of peoples and builders of States for the great tasks of the future. The fancy of a king was the reason for "administrative capitals", devised, as they were, to avoid conflicts, between crowded cities and seats of governments.  

One of the reasons for moving the Capital of Brazil was suggested by those interested in improving the efficiency of the government. It was felt that moving the governmental bureau would automatically mean that there would be an opportunity of employing qualified and efficient people, thus improving the efficiency of the government. It is hard to believe that this is true; no written material is available that shows whether the working efficiency has actually improved by moving the Capital to a new location.

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3 Osvaldo Orico, Brasilia, Capital of Brazil, (Translated by Manoel Antonio de Pimental Brando), p. 10.
Another kind of administrative efficiency is that of the location of Federal Buildings; a great deal could be accomplished by making a move to a city where the convenience of the workers and the public was given some thought.

The embassies could also be so located as to minimize any confusion, and to maximize efficiency, by providing better facilities, improved access, parking places etc.; working relationship among the workers of separate embassies and consulates, or with the Federal Government could be improved. If this could be achieved in the new Federal Capital, it would be very pleasant, as well as time saving, for the person who wants to visit a number of governmental agencies within a limited time.

Political Criteria

Political objectives and decisions could determine the location for the new Federal Capital. These decisions might over rule the rest of the criteria for selection of a location. To establish and develop political stability, the three countries may want the new Capital to be located on a common ground or area, for example touching the state boundaries. As described in Chapter II, many new
Capitals have been located as a compromise due to the struggle between two or more centres of population. The best examples being Canberra, Ottawa, and Washington, the national Capitals of Australia, Canada, and United States, respectively. A similar solution as described in Chapter III is suggested by J. Marshall Miller in his report on Lake Europa, a New Capital for a United Europe.

Sometimes political decisions, based on certain conditions put forward by the states joining the federation, may influence the location of the new Federal Capital. For example, Uganda has little political urge towards Federation; but economically Uganda cannot afford to remain aloof, so she might agree to join the Federation subject to certain conditions, and one of these could be the location of the new Federal Capital in Uganda. To quote the Buganda Minister of Education, Mr. Abu Mayanja:

Now that the Kabaka has become Uganda's Head of State, Buganda Kingdom could no longer think of separate independence. But East African Federation was another matter. Buganda would be prepared to enter it only on conditions that the Kabaka became President of the Federation and Entebbe the Federal Capital. 4

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Tanganyika has least to gain and the most to lose from the Federation. Yet under the leadership of President Nyerere, pro-federation sentiment has encouraged ambitious development programmes involving land tenure and trade union policies that differ from those in the other two countries. Tanganyika cannot be expected to alter these policies radically in order to achieve the Federation. President Nyerere is willing to contribute Tanganyika's stability to this whole by merging with the greater economic strength of Kenya and Uganda. The possibility of establishing the Federal Capital in the Kilimanjaro highlands of Tanganyika at Arusha has also been mentioned. It is possible, that because of so much interest shown and sacrifices made by Tanganyika in the formation of the Federation, the politicians might decide to locate the seat of Federal Government at Arusha.

Any other political criterion which could influence the politicians in their selection of a location for the new Federal Capital is the question of economic compromise. At a conference on the Federation, a Uganda businessman, Mr. Dandi Ochieng pressed Entebbe's claim by suggesting that "Kenya and Tanganyika, should show a 'spirit of give and take' ... Kenya had the railway (headquarters) and
Tanganyika was twice the size of Uganda, his country should have the capital."

The political decisions that determined the location of Brasilia were that Rio de Janeiro was too vulnerable to attack in the event of war, in addition, because of the disparity between the coast and the interior, it was decided to open the vast under-developed interior. It was thought that the new capital in the interior could bring about a miracle by connecting the separate regions, and by attracting all forces to the heart of the country. It is a geopolitical reason, because Brasilia will change the entire economic and demographic position of the nation.

The East African Federal Government could also decide to choose a central location for similar reasons. It could also select an entirely new site purely for economic reasons, to encourage development of new areas. These political decisions may outweigh other criteria.

To conclude, in the opinion of the author, in the selection of the location for the new Federal

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EAST AFRICA
TOWNS BY POPULATION

FIGURE 7
Capital, the physical, social, economic, and administrative criteria should all be considered and evaluated at the same time. There is no doubt that certain factors will be predominant in the application of criteria to existing conditions. It would be a folly to ignore one criterion in preference to the other. By doing this, certain important factors that govern the location of a Federal Capital would be ignored, and it might not provide the Federation with the Capital location which would fulfil its objectives most satisfactorily.

**Conclusion**

The ideal location for the new Federal Capital of East Africa should fulfil the following conditions; it shall be over 4,000 feet above sea level; it shall have a mean temperature ranging between 60°F and 70°F, and a humidity of not more than 70 per cent. The average annual rainfall shall be in the range of 35 to 45 inches. The climate will be non-malarial. This will then give the Federation a capital with a pleasant climate and normal comfortable working conditions.

The location shall be such that it will be on rolling hills and will have an attractive countryside. For the Federal Capital to have a monumental character,
there shall be some highpoint within the city site to provide this feeling of monumentality. No part of the site shall have slopes over 15 per cent grade.

There shall be an abundance of water to satisfy all domestic, public health, and community needs. There shall be enough water to generate adequate hydro electricity, and enough water to be able to use it for recreational purposes by creating artificial lakes if natural lakes are not present.

The location of the Federal Capital shall be near a potential game reserve, with wild animals, which would attract tourists to the Capital; the game reserve will give the Capital a unique character.

Socially, the Federal Capital shall have urban facilities similar to those that are expected in more developed capitals of the world. These facilities will preferably be available from the day the seat of the Federation is established there.

The location shall permit an easy communication with the different regions of the country. This will tend to unify the country and maintain good communication with other centres of the Federation. There shall be good railway and road facilities, an airport large enough to be able to handle supersonic aeroplanes and international traffic.
There shall be availability of good industrial sites and commercial facilities. The location shall be such that there will be room to plan administrative buildings and embassies, in such a way that there shall be no confusion or lack of administrative efficiency.

In short, the selection of the site for the Capital shall be such as to encourage the rapid development of all the facilities that are expected in a twentieth century Capital city. It shall be planned with foresight, and the experience of other nations shall be utilized as far as possible in the selection of a site for the new Federal Capital of East Africa.
CHAPTER V

APPLICATION OF CRITERIA

Having established the criteria for the selection of a location for the new Federal Capital of East Africa, it is now necessary to apply these criteria to the potential alternative locations in order to select a location for the new Federal Capital of East Africa. Nairobi, Kampala and Dar es Salaam, the capitals of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, respectively, for obvious reasons, would be considered as the primary potential locations. Nairobi and Kampala together with Eldoret in Kenya, Entebbe in Uganda, and Arusha and Moshi, both of which are located in Tanganyika, have all advanced their "claims"\(^1\) for the seat of the Federal Government.

In this chapter, all the above potential locations will be considered in terms of the criteria developed in the previous chapter, and a possible location for the Federal Capital will be selected.

\(^1\) *Reporter*, November 30, 1963, p. 15.
NAIROBI

Nairobi, with a population of 270,000, is the Capital of Kenya, and the largest city in East Africa. It is the commercial and administrative hub not only of Kenya, but of the whole of East Africa.

The work on a railway into the interior of Kenya started in 1895, when 32,000 Indians were brought in from India as skilled labour, and this represents the origin of the present Indian communities in Kenya and Uganda. Work had to be stopped, often for weeks, due to the celebrated man-eating lions of Tsavo. In 1899, the line finally reached the point, which is now Nairobi, 330 miles from Mombasa, situated at an altitude of 5,500 feet above sea level, with a pleasant climate.

Nairobi became the Capital of Kenya by accident. A better location for the Capital, and the one first planned was Limuru, 28 miles further up country, and at a higher altitude. Men pushing ahead with the railway found (after passing through the semi-desert dry area of lowlands, and the memories of man-eating lions) the site of Nairobi pleasant, and they stopped there with the result that a camp grew up, and this became the headquarters of the railway, and in turn the Capital of Kenya. Nairobi means "cold water" (for cattle) in the
NAIROBI, CITY CENTRE, AERIAL VIEW LOOKING SOUTH

Source: East African Railways & Harbours
NAIROBI, SOUTHERN END OF GOVERNMENT ROAD

Source: East African Railways & Harbours

Photograph 2
Masai language. The Nairobi River which passes through the city is now a dry stream for most of the year; it was formerly a watering station for Arab traders.

Government headquarters were set up in Nairobi shortly after the railway reached the site; the city has grown strikingly ever since, and some of its modern streets, bordered by mauve jacarandas, scarlet flamboy-ants of brilliant purple, red and orange bougainvillea, are among the most impressive to be seen in any town in Africa.

Physical

Climate. Even though Nairobi is situated so close to the equator, the high altitude of 5,500 feet above sea level gives the city a pleasant climate. There are no marked seasonal changes, and the seasons are differentiated by the amount of rain. The average annual rainfall is 34 inches, during the two rainy seasons, the 'short rains' from October to December, and 'long rains' from March to early June. Nairobi has a mean temperature of $67^\circ\text{F}$, and a relative humidity of 64 per cent.

This makes Nairobi one of the most pleasant and healthy cities of Africa in which to live, with sunny weather all the year round, and an absence of malaria.
The buildings do not need any air-conditioning or heating. The nights are cooler than days, and most Europeans have fire places built in their living rooms.

**Countryside.** Nairobi's site has often been criticised, but although the greater part of its 32 square miles is on a plain of black cotton soil, (which, being an expansive clay increases materially the cost of road and buildings) there are decided advantages in such a tableland for commercial and industrial development, where a considerable length of level ground is required for the railway marshalling yard and an extensive rail serviced industrial area.

The suburbs of Nairobi have a hilly forested and rather attractive countryside. None of these hills have any grades to mention that have slopes over 15 per cent.

**Water Supply.** Nairobi is situated on the southern slopes of Aberdare mountain range. Dams have been built on the mountain streams and rivers that supply fresh water to the city. Nairobi dam, built on the southwest boundary of the city, stores water for emergency use, and also provides facilities for sailing and water skiing. There is no shortage of water for drinking, public health services, other community needs
and for industrial use.

**Power Supply.** Very little information is available to this effect. Nairobi has hydro-electricity dams on rivers not far away. It also gets its power supply from Owen Falls hydro-electric dam at Jinja, in Uganda. There is generally no shortage of power supply for domestic and industrial use.

**Recreation.** In one respect Nairobi is a unique city. Along the main Nairobi to Mombasa railway line, lies the Nairobi Royal National Park touching the south west part of the city boundary, within fifteen minutes drive from the city centre; with the exception of elephants, one can see all the African wild animals including many varieties of deer, giraffes, zebras and the lions. This National Park is a great tourist attraction.

Nairobi enjoys a pleasant all year round climate, and its people are keen on sports and outdoor recreation. There are facilities for all kinds of sports in Nairobi, and the city has many athletic and social clubs. There are facilities for sailing and water skiing at the Nairobi Dam. Horse racing is also popular, and Nairobi has an excellent country racecourse just on the outskirts of the city.
Nairobi is a cosmopolitan city with a population of 270,000, comprised mostly of Africans, the remainder being about 95,000 Asians, a majority of whom are Indians, and about 24,000 Europeans. Africans have been attracted to towns by the prospect of an increased money income to meet the new wants of a cash economy. The city also, undoubtedly, has other attractions: the prospect of amenities and an atmosphere of sophistication for those educated to an extent that they feel superior to the agricultural workers, and it also represents a release from traditional communal restraints. The Africans face many problems: the population is largely transitory; men far outnumber women, and the standards of living are often poor. Yet a class of permanently settled city dwellers is undoubtedly growing up, including those employed in the civil service and industry. It has been estimated that 50 per cent of the African male population of Nairobi have been resident there for more than three years. The Africans are mostly employed as unskilled labourers on building sites, railways, small factories, and as office messengers, house servants etc. It is only recently that they have been able to fill some of the civil service posts. Those who returned from British, Indian and
North American universities, where they studied on government scholarships, have been able to fill some of the professional posts.

Indians, as in all East African towns, control the retail and wholesale trade, as well as a fair amount of light industrial manufacturing. They are also represented in medical, engineering and other professions, and above all fill the middle section of civil service. All the professional men and women are trained in India or Britain.

The Europeans, apart from being in the same professions as the Indians, had positions such as the heads of all departments of civil service (the positions which are now being filled by Africans) or European owned business firms; they are also manufacturers' representatives from Britain and Europe.

Plans for the creation of a University of East Africa reached fruition on 28th June, 1963, when an inauguration ceremony was held in Nairobi and President Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika was installed as the first Chancellor. The University brings together three existing inter-territorial institutions: Makerere University College in Uganda, the Royal College in Nairobi, and the University College of Tanganyika.

The Royal College was founded in 1954 as the
Royal Technical College of East Africa, and was transformed into a University College in 1961. It offers degree courses in five faculties: arts, science, engineering, art and architecture, and special professional studies.

The Kenya Polytechnic and Technical Institute in Nairobi was opened in May 1961, and caters for full-time day release and part-time courses.

Nairobi has good hospital and nursing home facilities. The Government's King George the Sixth Hospital is one of the largest and best equipped in Africa. There are nurses' training schools attached to the bigger hospitals.

There are excellent restaurants and hotels to cater for an ever-increasing tourist industry. Nairobi is known as the Safari Centre of the world. The city is proud of its green belts, well landscaped parks, and avenues bordered by trees and colourful bouganvillea.

The Kenya Broadcasting Corporation in Nairobi operates in English, Hindustani (Indian Language), and many local African languages, and 1962 launched a television service covering an area around Nairobi. There is also an Armed Forces Broadcasting Station providing programmes for units of the British Forces stationed in Kenya.
Nairobi has two daily English language newspapers and one daily Swahili newspaper. There are seven English language weeklies and a few Swahili and Indian language weeklies published in Nairobi. Most of these newspapers are also in circulation throughout East Africa. A wide variety of trade and technical journals are also published, most of them monthly.

Nairobi has a National Theatre for the presentation of plays, concerts and other functions, while there is also a local repertory company. The city has a large number of cinemas, and two night clubs are very popular with visitors and citizens alike.

Nairobi has, comparatively, very good facilities for school education. It has former European public schools with facilities for boarders. These schools could be compared with the British Public Schools, and would make a capital proud of such excellent facilities for children's education.

**Economic**

Nairobi is centrally located on the main railway line from the coast to Lake Victoria in Kenya and Uganda. It is a railway junction for a branch line northwards to Nanyuki on the foot hills of Mount Kenya, serving the agricultural region of the country.
Nairobi is also the link of a vast network of services throughout East Africa, and also operates regular flights to and from Britain and other European countries, Aden, Pakistan, India, and Central Africa.

Nairobi is the chief industrial centre and also the commercial hub of Kenya and East Africa with many companies having their East African headquarters established in the city. Similarly, the headquarters of the East African Common Services Organisations, the East African Railways and Harbours, and the East African Corporation are all located in Nairobi. The Common Services Organisation, the railways and the administrative functions of the capital, employ most of the civil servants in the capital, both in clerical and professional fields.

Among the more important industries established to serve the country's needs in Nairobi are brewing, soft drinks, flour mills, cigarette manufacturing, clothing and food stuff manufacturing, light engineering and soap making.

There are very well laid out industrial sites supplied with power, water, road and rail access, and there is room for industrial expansion.
Administrative

The Government of Kenya is housed in very modern buildings with all modern facilities. All these buildings are located close to each other, in the City Square, thus maximizing efficiency in intergovernmental functions by locational convenience.

The office accommodation in Nairobi is generally very good, and could be compared with any in the more developed countries.

If politically possible, the Federal Government offices could be accommodated in these existing buildings. Otherwise there is not enough room in the city centre to provide for a new set of federal buildings, if in case the existing accommodation is to be used by Kenya as its provincial headquarters in the Federation.

Conclusion

As a location for the Federal Capital of East Africa, Nairobi comes very close to meeting the requirements of the established criteria. The city is situated at an altitude of 5,500 feet above sea level, with a mean temperature of 67°F; the average rainfall is 34 inches, and the relative humidity is 64 per cent. Malaria is practically non-existent. This makes the city a pleasant place in which to live and work.
There is no doubt that part of Nairobi is on flat ground, but there are hilly and rather attractive areas not far from the city centre, and none of these have grades over 15 per cent.

The water supply is from the reservoirs built on the fresh water rivers and streams coming from the Aberdare Mountains not far from the city. Nairobi dam stores water for emergency use, and provides recreational facilities. The Nairobi National Park is another attraction for the city.

Social facilities are the best to be found in the whole of East Africa, and even better than many capitals of Africa. There are good schools, colleges and other educational institutions. The population is cosmopolitan, the atmosphere is healthy and excellent for developing new ideas. There is a very good press; the radio and television services are similar to those in the western countries.

Nairobi is centrally located on main railway, road and air routes. The airport is modern and well equipped to handle all modern aircraft. The city is a commercial and administrative centre of East Africa, and ample land is available for industrial expansion.

A disadvantage is that there is no room for building entirely new administrative buildings for
the Federal Government in the city centre. The Kenya Government is housed in modern buildings built during the last decade; however, these buildings could well be used for the seat of Federal Government.

KAMPALA

The beginning of settlement can be said to date from 1890, when Captain Lugard sent out by the British East Africa Company pitched his camp on a little hill of Kampala. The name of Kampala is derived from the Luganda word 'impala', a species of deer, as the hill was formerly used by the Kabakas of Buganda to keep the antelope the Africans called by that name. Kampala is situated at an altitude of 4304 feet above sea level. Today it is an important commercial, missionary, educational, and medical centre.

Kampala is a beautiful city located on several distinct evergreen hills, which form part of a series of hills not far from the small gulf of Lake Victoria, on which stands Port Bell, its harbour.

From the beginning of the century, Kampala developed as the commercial capital of Uganda. Situated as it is in close proximity to Lake Victoria, Port Bell, some six miles away, and the former administrative capital and the international airport
KAMPALA, AERIAL VIEW LOOKING EAST

Source: Ministry of Information, Broadcasting & Tourism, Uganda.

Photograph 3
Entebbe, 20 miles away. Main roads connect it to all parts of the country, while the railway line links it with Kasese in the west on the border of Congo, with Jinja, Kenya and the coast.

Physical Climate. A great deal of work has been put in hand in draining the malarial swamps and planting of the low-lying areas. Kampala falls within the Lake belt, where rainfall is highest compared with other parts of Uganda. The average annual rainfall is in the region of 60 inches, and the climate generally may be said to be a perpetual summer, one with high humidity of 74 per cent. The shade temperature during the day ranges from 75°F to 90°F, and during the night drops from 65°F to 75°F. Dry and wet seasons are not clearly defined although over a number of years it is possible to identify a comparatively dry season between December and March, whilst April and September are usually wet months. When considering the whole region in which Kampala is located, it is still a city surrounded on all sides by large swamps where the incidence of malaria has by no means yet been eradicated.
Countryside. The beautiful hilly cityscape of Kampala has excellent public and private open spaces located throughout the city. The topography has some disadvantages; the roads running across the contours are steep, at places over 15 per cent grades; the houses are built on terraces with roads running along the contours; many lots are only accessible from one side of the buildings, because of the sloping nature of the sites.

Water Supply. There is no shortage of water supply in Kampala. The water is enough to meet its domestic, public health, and industrial needs.

Power Supply. Kampala is supplied with its power by hydro-electric dam at Jinja. This supply is more than enough for future needs of the city.

Recreation. Lake Victoria is an excellent place for sailing and fishing, but not for swimming because it contains crocodiles and hippos. Kampala has many good athletic clubs, and a National Stadium for both indoor and outdoor recreation.
Social

Kampala is the largest city in Uganda, with a population of 47,000 within its boundaries, and 68,000 in the surrounding urbanised areas. Like other East African cities, the population is comprised predominantly of Africans, followed by Asians of whom the great majority are Indians, and Europeans. The Africans own small retail business, a few are in the professional business, some are employed in the civil service, and the majority are semiskilled and unskilled workers in industry. Most of the African workers in Kampala are transients from other provinces who save as much of their wages as possible and then return home. The remainder of the workers from Buganda province, who hold the better skilled jobs and are permanent workers, usually live on small holdings on the outskirts of the city, and commute daily to work.

The Indians, as in other East African cities, are engaged in trading and professional activities, and control most of the commerce, while the Europeans are administrative, professional and technical workers. The administrative posts are now being filled by Africans.

Higher professional education facilities are provided at the Makerere University College which is a
part of the University of East Africa. The college has for long been a centre of medical studies in East Africa. The opening of the new Molago teaching hospital considerably extends the facilities for training doctors, as well as providing the principal training centre for nurses and other medical auxiliaries. Kampala Technical Institute provides a variety of courses in building, engineering and allied trades, as well as advance courses for more responsible posts in the building industry and in the municipalities.

Part of the hotel industry in Uganda is run by the government, but there are many private hotels with excellent facilities. There are cinemas and theatres, with good social and night life. Many private athletic clubs have their own playing fields with good facilities for its members. Kampala also boasts of having the only national sports centre in that part of Africa, with facilities to match any in the world.

There is a daily English language, and a few Swahili newspapers published in Kampala. The Uganda Broadcasting Service broadcasts daily for a few hours, reaching a radius of 50 miles round Kampala.
Economic

The main railway line from the coast did not reach Kampala until 1931, when the 260 feet bridge was constructed over the River Nile at Jinja. This established railway connections between Kampala and Mombasa. Prior to that, the western terminus of the railway in Kenya was Kisumu, and in Uganda, Jinja, both on the shores of Lake Victoria. From here the passengers and goods for Kampala were transported by the steamers to Entebbe and Port Bell. In 1956, the railway was extended 208 miles westward to Kasese near the border of the Congo to serve new copper-mining areas.

A very extensive network of roads connects Kampala with all parts of the country. Kampala is served by an international airport at Entebbe, lying on the main trunk routes through Africa, and is capable of handling the largest commercial aircraft at present flying on these routes.

The postal and telecommunication network provides services connecting Kampala with rest of the country, East Africa, and the capitals of the world.

Kampala is the local centre of functions related to the East African Common Services Organisations, such as the railways, post and telecommunications. These functions, and the administrative functions of the
government employ most of the civil servants in the capital. This includes people of all races, skilled, unskilled and professional men. Kampala is also the commercial and business centre for Uganda.

There are also quite a number of light industrial workshops in Kampala producing soap, furniture, retreaded tires, window frames, doors, pre-cast concrete blocks, beer, soft drinks etc. Most of these are run by Indians, and a small number of these enterprises are now owned and run by Africans.

Kampala is an important centre for the distribution of dairy produce, and the area around it is suitable for building up a profitable dairy industry with considerable beef potential also.

Administrative

At the time of Uganda's independence, Kampala became the Capital of the country. The administrative offices are housed in modern new buildings. All these buildings are located in one central location, and if required, can easily be used to accommodate the new Federal Government functions and offices.

The office accommodation in Kampala is generally good, though the buildings lack air-conditioning. Due to the hilly nature of the city site, the location is
not ideal for building construction and the related fields.

Conclusion

Although Kampala is situated at an altitude of 4,304 feet above sea level, its climate is generally poor compared with Nairobi. The mean temperature is 71.5°F; the average annual rainfall of 60 inches is very high, and the humidity is also high at 74 per cent. Kampala is a city surrounded on all sides by large swamps, where the incidence of malaria is high. The city itself is situated on hills, and many of these have grades of 15 per cent or more.

The hydro-electric dam on the River Nile, at Jinja, supplies Kampala with ample power. There is no shortage of drinking water. Lake Victoria is an excellent place for sailing and fishing, but not for swimming, because it contains crocodiles. The National Stadium provides facilities for both indoor and outdoor recreation.

Social facilities are very much similar to those of Nairobi. The schools are not as good as good as Nairobi schools; a great number of European children from Uganda did, and still do, attend the public boarding schools in Nairobi. Kampala has good
daily newspaper and radio services, but Nairobi's newspapers are commonly read, and the Kenya Broadcasting station is popular in Kampala.

Kampala, until lately, was a railway dead-end. It has no airport of its own, and uses Entebbe's International airport. Due to the hilly nature of the countryside, there is no proper room for expansion. Uganda's seat of government, like that of Kenya, is housed in very modern buildings. These could accommodate the Federal Government offices.

DAR ES SALAAM

Dar es Salaam, the Capital of Tanganyika, was founded a hundred years ago by the Sultan of Zanzibar, who named it "Heaven of Peace". The Sultan liked the look of the spot on the mainland, where there was a fishing village on a creek known as Mzizima, and there he built himself a summer palace, which he thought might be cooler than his sultry island. On his death, the town fell into disrepair only to be revived by the Germans at the close of the century.

Dar es Salaam is a fine city in a beautiful setting on the Indian Ocean, just 7° south of equator. Its hinterland extends as far as the Congo. It is one of the principal ports of call for ships from the
Persian Gulf, Arabia, India, Europe and other parts of the world. The city lies along the north and north-west shores of an almost land-locked harbour about three miles long. The shore line of Dar es Salaam has many sandy beaches with coconut palms.

The city has a mixed character representing East and West. It is older than both Nairobi and Kampala; the streets in the centre of the city are rather narrow and were planned as Indian Bazaars, and not as through highways for automobiles. The suburban and the sea front areas are well landscaped, and here the higher income residential development has taken place.

**Physical**

**Climate.** Dar es Salaam has a hot and humid climate; the trade winds, which blow in from the sea during most of the year, keep temperatures from soaring above the 100°F mark, and rarely is the mean maximum temperature in Dar es Salaam above 90°F. The warmest months are January to March, while June to August are the coolest months with a low humidity, and a mean temperature being 71°F.

The mean temperature is 78°F, and the mean relative humidity is 77 per cent. Average rainfall is 40 inches, April and May being the rainy months,
DAR ES SALAAM, AERIAL VIEW LOOKING SOUTH

Source: East African Railways & Harbours

Photograph 4
and the weather becomes rather unhealthy during these months. Due to the mangrove swamps that fringe the coastal estuaries, Dar es Salaam has a highly malarial climate for six months of the year.

**Countryside.** Dar es Salaam enjoys the beautiful view of the Indian Ocean. The landscape is flat with abundance of palm trees along the beautiful sandy beaches. The city streets are bordered by palm and acacia trees, and this provides shade from the hot tropical sun. The hinterland is rather dry and swampy.

**Water Supply.** Very little information is available regarding Dar es Salaam's water supply. It seems the city has sufficient water for its needs.

**Power Supply.** Dar es Salaam has enough power for its present day needs. The proposed hydro-electric dam on the Pangani River, about hundred miles north of Dar es Salaam would be able to supply enough power that will exceed the requirements of the city in the foreseeable future.

**Recreation.** Dar es Salaam has beautiful sandy beaches along the sea front. There are facilities for bathing, surf riding, sailing and fishing. Many sports clubs cater for indoor and outdoor recreation.
Social

Dar es Salaam has a population of 150,000 (1962 estimates), of whom over seventy per cent are Africans, about twenty per cent are Indians, and the rest are Arabs and Europeans. As in other cities of East Africa, Africans are civil servants, semiskilled and unskilled workers; Indians are engaged mainly in commerce and trade, and a few are in professional business and civil service occupation; Europeans are administrative officers, in private business, professional men and missionaries.

Dar es Salaam has the University College with a Faculty of Law, and it is affiliated with the University of East Africa; the Technical Institute provides instruction in many trades. There are good medical facilities, and a Medical Training Centre.

The city has excellent hotels, restaurants, parks, beautiful beaches and drives along the seafront. There are many sports and social clubs which are shared by all races.

An English language daily newspaper, and a few Swahili newspapers are published in Dar es Salaam. The Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation, set up in 1951, provides programmes in English, Swahili, and other vernacular languages of the country.
Economic

Dar es Salaam is the terminal of the Central railway in Tanganyika, which runs 775 miles straight across the country to Lake Tanganyika, with a branch line from Tabora to Mwanza on Lake Victoria, connecting it with Kenya and Uganda transport system by lake steamers. A 117 mile long connection between the Central line and the Northern line from Ruvu to Mnyusi has linked it with Tanga, and the northern region. Before that there was no direct railway or road link between the two main cities of Tanganyika except the sea route.

By road Dar es Salaam is connected to Morogoro, 100 miles to the west, and the closest major road junction to Dar es Salaam; the only all weather route to Tanga is via Morogoro, a round trip of over 300 miles.

Dar es Salaam is the main port, and by far the most important port of Tanganyika. It is an important port of call for ships from East and Europe. The harbour facilities are also used by the rich Katanga province of the Congo.

The airport at Dar es Salaam is built to international standards. It is modern, well planned, but rather on a smaller scale than Entebbe or Nairobi.
East African Airways provides daily services to major centres of the country, and the neighbouring countries.

The postal and telecommunication network provides services connecting the city to the outlying small centres, and also to other large towns and cities of East Africa.

Dar es Salaam, apart from being the capital and the administrative centre of Tanganyika, is the regional centre for the East African Railways and Harbours Administration, East African Posts and Telecommunications, and other similar functions of East African Common Services Organisation. These functions play a major role in the employment of the citizens. The city is also the commercial and business centre for Tanganyika, and large East African firms have their branch offices here.

The main industry here is for the domestic market. This includes a large cigarette factory, a razor-blade plant, beer and soft drink plants, and a shoe factory. Among other industries now established are aluminium ware, brick and tiles, metal containers, chemical products including insecticides, paint and precast concrete works. An Italian oil firm has plans to establish an oil refinery in Dar es Salaam. For export trade there is a canned meat and meat extracts
plant, and there are proposals to enlarge its facilities.

A British motor firm is also planning to establish an auto assembly plant in Dar es Salaam, to serve the needs of the local market and the neighbouring countries.

Administrative

Dar es Salaam does not have any permanent government buildings. The parliament assembles in a former community hall. New office blocks are now springing up in the city and the skyline has changed tremendously within the last five years. There is ample room to accommodate new administrative buildings. The existing office and commercial facilities are out of date, and could be redeveloped if required.

Conclusion

Dar es Salaam has a beautiful coastal setting. The climate is hot and humid; the mean temperature is 78°F, and the humidity is 77 per cent. The average rainfall of 40 inches is favourable, but the swamps along the fringes of the city have made it conducive to malaria.

Dar es Salaam is the oldest city in East Africa. The city streets are rather narrow, which creates a
problem for automobile traffic.

Very little information is available regarding water supply and power. Social facilities are very much similar to those of Nairobi and Kampala. It could be that Nairobi's facilities are rather more developed and a little better, being the Capital of a former Colony. Dar es Salaam has its own daily newspaper and radio services. Here also, as in Kampala, the Nairobi's daily newspapers and radio are popular.

Dar es Salaam is an important sea port, and is connected to the rest of East Africa by railway, road and air. As it is not centrally located, it will not be a convenient location for the other centres of the population. Besides, there is very little room for expansion into the interior because of the swampy nature of the surrounding ground.

Dar es Salaam does not have any permanent government buildings. Even the parliament assembles in a former community hall. But there seems to be enough room in the city to accommodate new Federal Government buildings.
ELDORET

Eldoret, with a population of 19,600 is the fifth largest town in Kenya. It is the important farming centre of Kenya, situated on the main rail and road systems between Nairobi and Kampala in Uganda.

Physical

Situated at an altitude of 6,863 feet above sea level, makes Eldoret the highest situated town amongst all those making claims for the seat of Federation. Even though it is only 30 miles north of equator, the high altitude gives it a very pleasant climate. The mean temperature is 62.5°F, with a mean relative humidity of 59 per cent. The average annual rainfall is 41 inches, the climate is non-malarial.

The countryside in and around Eldoret is one of the most beautiful in whole of Kenya, and also East Africa. Some of the highest inhabited areas of the country are around Eldoret. Equator, a small town on the equator has an altitude of 9,062 feet. The countryside is exquisite, and the rolling hills are compared with those of Scotland. Eldoret is situated on a site which does not have grades over 15 per cent.

Eldoret has enough water for its present needs.
Source: Ministry of Information, Broadcasting & Tourism, Kenya.
The rivers and streams that flow into Lake Victoria could supply enough water if there is need. Power supply is no problem, it gets enough from Nairobi area and the hydro-electric dam at Jinja, in Uganda. There are not any potential recreational sites to name near Eldoret.

Social

The population of 19,600 mainly consists of Indians who control the commercial and retail trade. Eldoret is the centre of the highlands, which were formerly reserved for the Europeans, and most of the farm still belong to the Europeans. There are quite a number of Europeans settled in town and they control the farming business.

Eldoret has two small hotels with restaurant facilities and these are frequented by the farmers over the weekends. There are two cinemas, and a sports club. Socially, it is lacking in most of the facilities that are available in larger East African cities. Schools are not adequate, there are no theatres or social clubs. There is no local daily newspaper; Nairobi's daily newspapers are made available; Nairobi's radio broadcasting services are also the only radio services in Eldoret.
**Economic**

Eldoret's economy depends a lot on the surrounding farmland, and to some extent on the saw mills. It is an important railway station on the main Kenya-Uganda line, serving the intensively cultivated farming areas. A large maize (corn) and wheat mill uses the farm produce, and there are no other important industry. There is a provision of sites for industrial expansion. Eldoret has no airport, but it is connected by an all weather road to Nairobi and Kampala.

**Administrative**

Eldoret is not a developed town; there are no commercial and administrative buildings that could be used by the Federal Government. There is ample room for expansion, and new administrative buildings could easily be accommodated in the town.

**Conclusion**

As a location for the Federal Capital, physically, Eldoret meets the requirements for the established criteria. The town is situated at an altitude of 6,863 feet above sea level, with a mean temperature of 62.5, and a humidity of 59 per cent. The average annual rainfall is 41 inches, and the
climate is non-malarial. The countryside is hilly and this makes it a pleasant place in which to live. No part of Eldoret has slopes greater than 15 per cent. There is no shortage of water and power supply. Eldoret is lacking in potential recreational sites. Socially, the facilities are not good enough for a Federal Capital. The town is centrally located on the main railway line from the coast to Uganda, and a good road connects it with Nairobi and Kampala. Lack of airport facilities is a disadvantage. There are no local press or radio services; it depends for these on Nairobi.

Eldoret lacks in economic activities, and there is not enough office accommodation, the existing office facilities are out of date. New land has been laid out for industrial and commercial expansion, and there is room for replanning and expansion of existing facilities.
Entebbe was established in 1893 as a military post on the Lake Victoria. It is the former administrative capital of Uganda with a population of about 11,000.

Physical

It is situated at an altitude of 3,878 feet above sea level. The mean temperature is 70.8°F, with a mean relative humidity of 77 per cent. The average annual rainfall is 59.28 inches. Because of the closeness to the lake, and the swampy nature of the surroundings, there are many mosquito breeding places, thus, making Entebbe a place with a malarial climate.

The countryside like that of Kampala, is hilly. Entebbe has a beautiful view of the Lake Victoria. There is no shortage of water and power supply; power comes from hydro-electric dam at Jinja.

Entebbe has beautiful botanic gardens, situated in close proximity to the Lake.

... Entebbe can boast of the well laid out botanic gardens, open to the public and carefully maintained for the enjoyment of all who care to visit them. Here a variety of trees, shrubs and flowers are at their best all the year round. The grass is carefully cut and the paths gravelled...
Source: East African Railways & Harbours

Photograph 6
and tidy. This is an amenity used not only by the residents of Entebbe but of Kampala as well, especially during week-ends and on public holidays. 1

Other recreational facilities include sailing on the lake, fishing, a beautiful golf course and other sports clubs.

Social

Socially, Entebbe lacks almost all the facilities which a Federal Capital would require. Except for one very modern hotel with restaurant facilities, and a cinema, there is nothing else worth mentioning in Entebbe. There is no local newspaper. For social facilities it depends upon Kampala, twenty miles away.

Economic

Entebbe is connected with the rest of Uganda by road and air. By lake steamers it is connected with the lake towns of Kenya and Tanganyika. Entebbe has an international airport with facilities to handle all modern aircrafts. It is a stopping place on the Europe to Southern African routes, and it links Uganda by air with the rest of the world.

There is a lack of industry and commercial

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activities in Entebbe.

From a planning point of view Entebbe lacks balance since there is not, or ever likely to be, any industrial development within the boundaries of the township. Furthermore, the number of shops required to satisfy the day to day needs of the limited population is restricted, especially with Kampala only twenty miles away on a good road.

Administrative

The moving of Uganda's administration to Kampala has left Entebbe as the only place in East Africa with the basic accommodation for a Federal Capital already installed and not being used.

Conclusion

Physically, Entebbe is situated in a very poor location. The altitude of 3,878 feet above sea level is below the established criterion of 4,000 feet. The climate is generally poor, the mean temperature of 70.8°F is fair, the average annual rainfall of 59.28 inches is very high and the humidity is very high at 77 per cent. The incidence of malaria is very high. Entebbe has a beautiful view of Lake Victoria. There is no shortage of water and power supply. Lake Victoria is an excellent place for boating and fishing, the

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2Ibid., pp. 34-35.
botanic gardens are an added attraction to the country. Entebbe lacks in social facilities and depends for these on Kampala.

Although it has an international airport, there are no railway facilities. Economically it is dependent on Kampala, which is situated 20 miles away. There is very little room for expansion because of the swampy and hilly nature of the countryside.

It has a big advantage of having lying vacant former administrative buildings which could accommodate the Federal Government offices.

ARUSHA

Arusha is situated at the foot of Mount Meru, arising 14,979 feet above sea level. The railway reached here from Moshi in 1929, and it is the railhead on Tanganyika's Northern Railway. It is the agricultural and safari centre of Tanganyika, and supports a population of 7,000 people.

Physical

Very little information is available regarding the physical aspect of Arusha. The altitude is the same as that of Nairobi, over 5,000 feet above sea level. The mean temperature, relative humidity and annual rainfall is similar to that of Nairobi. This
makes it a pleasant place in which to live.

The closeness of Mount Meru and Mount Kilimanjaro makes the countryside rather attractive. The surrounding areas of Arusha are similar to those near Eldoret, rolling hills and green pastures.

There is no shortage of water supply. Proposals have been made for a hydro-electric dam at Nyumba ya Mungu on Pangani River southeast of Arusha. This dam would be able to supply enough power to the present day needs and for future industrial expansion.

On the outskirts of Arusha, there are facilities for sailing and boat launching on a small lake. This could be developed for potential recreational facilities. Not far from Arusha towards the west are the world famous Ngorongoro and Serengeti National Parks; seventy miles north, near Kenya's border is the Amboseli Masai National Park. This makes Arusha the safari centre of Tanganyika. Practically every East African wild animal could be seen in these National Parks.

Social

Arusha's population of 7,000 people, consists of 3,000 Africans, 3,000 Indians, and the remaining 1,000 Europeans. Indians, as in all the East African towns, control the commercial and retail trade;
Europeans are farmers, hotel keepers and owners of Safari Companies. Arusha has a few good hotels to cater for the tourists; there is generally a lack of social facilities. It has two cinemas which are not of the same standard as those of larger towns. It gets daily newspapers from Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. The town also receives television and radio services from Nairobi, which is 180 miles away.

**Economic**

Arusha serves the surrounding coffee growing and dairy farming areas of the country. This part of the country is best suited for dairy farming, and keeping European breeds of dairy cattle. There are proposals to erect a pasteurizing and processing plant at Arusha for bottling of milk. There is also a small meat canning plant at Arusha. A large phosphate deposit is now under development southwest of Arusha, and this would bring some of its operations and a number of inter-related developments to Arusha.

Within the last fifteen years, Arusha has become the safari centre of Tanganyika as it is centrally located to the best game reserves in East Africa. This has brought the tourists industry to the town. In 1962, Hollywood film "Hatari" was shot on location
near Arusha.

The commercial facilities are quite reasonable, and practically every thing is available in this town. The town, is relatively underdeveloped, and there is ample room for expansion. It has a small airport which could be expanded.

By railway, it is connected to both Tanga and Mombasa ports, and lately the construction of a new railway link between Northern and Southern Railway system of Tanganyika has given it a direct railway connection with Dar es Salaam. The proposed railway line from Moshi to Nairobi will bring it closer to Nairobi by railway. At present it is linked with this city by a good road.

Administrative

Arusha is the provincial capital of Northern Province of Tanganyika. The provincial headquarters are housed in modern buildings. Otherwise, there is generally a lack of any good buildings.

Conclusion

As a location for the Federal Capital, Arusha also comes very close to meeting the requirements of the established criteria. It is situated over 4,000 feet above sea level. It meets the climatic
requirements, and thus makes it a pleasant place to live.

The countryside is very attractive, and there are very few places with grades over 15 per cent. There is ample water supply. The proposed hydro-electric dam at Nyumba ya Mungu will be able to supply enough electric power for present and future needs of the town. The lake, very near the town, has a very good recreation potential as there are facilities for sailing and could also be used for swimming. Nearness to East Africa's best game reserves is another attraction for the town.

Arusha lacks in social facilities; there are no theatres or social clubs; it gets daily newspapers from Nairobi and Dar es Salaam.

It is centrally located, and the location permits an easy communication with other regions of the country. The railway facilities are good and the existing airport could be expanded as there is ample land available for a modern airport.

Although its industrial and commercial facilities are reasonable, there is a great potential for industrial expansion. There is also room to plan administrative buildings. The town itself could be developed and expanded to accommodate the seat of Government.
MOSHI

Moshi, some fifty miles south of Arusha, is situated at the southern slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, Africa's highest mountain, rising 19,340 feet above sea level. It serves the farming country around the Kilimanjaro, and supports a population of 8,000 people.

Physical

The town is situated at a low altitude of 2,668 feet above sea level. The mean temperature is 74.1°F, with a mean relative humidity of 63 per cent. The average annual rainfall is 35.08 inches.

The presence of Mount Kilimanjaro gives the countryside a beautiful landmark. The countryside is generally flat with gradual slopes. There is no shortage of water supply. Proposals to have a hydroelectric dam at Nyumba ya Mungu, south of the town, on Pangani River, would give Moshi ample power supply for future expansion.

Not far from Moshi, at a higher altitude, on the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro, is the Outward Bound School for mountain climbing. No mountaineering skills are required to climb this mountain; the school trains the youth of the country for fitness and stamina before
MOSHI, RAILWAY STATION WITH MOUNT KILIMANJARO IN THE BACKGROUND

Source: East African Railways & Harbours

Photograph 7
climbing the mountain. There are no other potential recreational sites near Moshi. Although Arusha's location is more central to wild game reserves, Moshi is also close to all these game reserves.

Social

Moshi's population of 9,000 people consists of 5,500 Africans, 3,000 Indians, and about 500 Europeans. Indians are the commercial and retail businessmen while Europeans are the farmers. Moshi like Arusha has a few good hotels, and services are similar to that of Arusha. Social facilities, to some extent, are more developed than Arusha; it has a small College of Commerce for technical and vocational training. There are no theatres or social clubs, no press or radio; it gets Nairobi's and Dar es Salaam's daily newspapers. Moshi generally lacks those social services that are expected of a Federal Capital.

Economic

Moshi serves the farming land around it. Because of relatively warmer climate than Arusha, there are some sugar plantations in the area. The industrial sites in Moshi have been well planned and supplied with water, electricity, road and rail access.
Moshi is an important railway junction, by rail it is connected to both Tanga and Mombasa, the sea ports in Tanganyika and Kenya respectively. A proposed railway link, from Nairobi to Moshi, will then link it with both Nairobi and Kampala directly. There is a small airstrip in Moshi which could be expanded.

**Administration**

The office facilities are not adequate; there is enough land for expansion; existing buildings are old and out of date; the town is relatively under-developed and could accommodate new Federal Buildings.

**Conclusion**

Moshi's situation at a lower altitude gives it a warmer climate than Arusha. The altitude, and the mean temperature is above the requirements of the established criteria. A relatively low humidity of 63 per cent, makes the climate hot and dry. On the whole the climate is rather fair.

The countryside is attractive, and there are very few spots with grades over 15 per cent. There is ample water and power supply. The city itself lacks potential recreational sites. The social facilities are also inadequate.

Moshi has an advantageous location, because it
is centrally located on the railway and road network, directly connected by road and rail to two of the main sea ports on the Indian Ocean. It is lacking in good airport facilities. Industrially, Moshi is not well developed, but there are good industrial sites for potential industrial expansion. Good office space is lacking, but there is enough room to construct new Federal buildings.
CHAPTER VI

SELECTION OF A LOCATION FOR THE NEW
FEDERAL CAPITAL OF EAST AFRICA

Having applied the criteria on the potential locations in Chapter V, the next step is to examine the results of Chapter V, and select a location that provides the best combination of different requirements.

For the purpose of this study, their locations will be selected, and arranged in order of preference, according to their suitability to have the seat of Federal Government. There is no one objective method of judging and combining the results of Chapter V, and thus indicating their final order.

The results of the preceding chapter are analysed on pages 177 and 178, Tables 3A and 3B. The facilities and amenities of various potential locations, that meet the requirements of the established criteria are rated as Good (G), those on the border line as Fair (F), and those that do not meet the requirements are rated as Poor (P).

The potential locations will first be selected in the order of preference, separately, based on physical, social, economic and administrative criteria. The combination of these results will then give the
RATING OF POTENTIAL LOCATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Kampala</th>
<th>Eldoret</th>
<th>Arusha</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>Dar es Salaam</td>
<td>Entebbe</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Physical Criteria</td>
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<tr>
<td>(a) Altitude</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>P</td>
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<tr>
<td>(b) Mean Temp.</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>P</td>
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<td>(c) Humidity</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
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<tr>
<td>(d) Average Rainfall</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>G</td>
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<tr>
<td>(e) Climate - Malarial</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) Slopes 15% and over</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) Water Supply</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h) Power Supply</td>
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<td>G</td>
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<tr>
<td>(i) Recreation</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(j) Game Parks</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>P</td>
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Sub Total G: 10 4 5 8 4 10 6
F: 0 2 0 0 3 0 1
P: 0 4 5 2 3 0 3

Position: 1 6 4 2 5 1 3

2. Social Criteria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Kampala</th>
<th>Eldoret</th>
<th>Arusha</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Schools</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Colleges</td>
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<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
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<tr>
<td>(c) Hotels etc.</td>
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<td>(d) Press</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Radio/TV</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) Theatres</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) Clubs</td>
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<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
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<tr>
<td>(h) Atmosphere</td>
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Sub Total G: 8 6 6 0 0 0 0
F: 0 2 1 1 1 0 1
P: 0 0 1 7 7 8 7

Position: 1 2 3 4 4 5
### RATING OF POTENTIAL LOCATIONS

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Kampala</th>
<th>Eldoret</th>
<th>Arusha</th>
<th>Nairobi</th>
<th>Dar es Salaam</th>
<th>Entebbe</th>
<th>Moshi</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economic Criteria</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(a) Central location</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>(b) Railway</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>G</td>
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<tr>
<td>(c) Roads</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>G</td>
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<tr>
<td>(d) Airport</td>
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<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
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<tr>
<td>(f) Industrial</td>
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<td>G</td>
<td>F</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<tr>
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</table>

### Administrative Criteria

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Kampala</th>
<th>Eldoret</th>
<th>Arusha</th>
<th>Nairobi</th>
<th>Dar es Salaam</th>
<th>Entebbe</th>
<th>Moshi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Existing accomm.</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Existing offices</td>
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<td>G</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Room for new buildings</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub Total</strong></td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P</td>
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<td><strong>Position</strong></td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 3B**
locations for the new Federal Capital of East Africa in the final order of preference.

Physical Criteria

The addition of total rating for the different features gives the relative suitability of locations in the following order of preference:

1. Nairobi and Arusha
2. Eldoret
3. Moshi

Social Criteria

The order of preference according to the rating of different features changes here. Nairobi is still the first choice, followed by other large cities, Kampala and Dar es Salaam. It is quite obvious, that the more developed the city the better the social facilities.

Economic Criteria

Here the picture changes quite a bit. Nairobi still remains first in the order of preference, and Kampala is again in second position, but Arusha and Moshi, because of their relatively central location and good road and railway access, are joint second with Kampala; Dar es Salaam and Eldoret are joint third.
Administrative Criteria

Nairobi, it seems, is the obvious choice for the new Federal Capital. It is joint first in the order of preference with Entebbe. Kampala, the Capital of Uganda is second, and the rest of the potential locations are all third.

Final Order of Preference

It is evident from Table 4 on page 181 that Nairobi is the obvious choice for the seat of the Federal Government. It is the first choice considering the requirements under the separate sets of criteria.

To find the locations that are second and third in the order of preference, a decision should be made regarding the order of preference of the established criteria. What is more important for the Federal Capital? Good physical facilities, or good social facilities? The choice is rather difficult to make; for the second and third order of preference, it seems, that physical facilities carry more weight than social. In that case, Arusha would be the second, and Eldoret third, in the order of preference. Although Eldoret has an edge over Arusha, as far as the social facilities are concerned, actually there is not a marked difference between the facilities of the two towns.
LOCATIONS IN ORDER OF PREFERENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Final Order</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Nairobi</td>
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<td>Kampala</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dar es Salaam</td>
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<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eldoret</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entebbe</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moshi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4
Arusha has a more central location, geographically as well as economically. Moshi comes quite close to Eldoret, but it has relatively a very poor climate compared with that of Eldoret; so Moshi takes the fourth place. Kampala would be fifth followed by Dar es Salaam and Entebbe, in the sixth and seventh places respectively. Entebbe has one big advantage of having available existing administrative buildings lying ready for use. The author is of the opinion, that there must have been a very good reason for the Government of Uganda to move its administrative Capital to Kampala, a more developed social and economic centre. This gives Entebbe slim chances of having the seat of Federation.

Considering all the existing facilities and amenities, the potential locations would be placed in the following order of preference:

1. Nairobi
2. Arusha
3. Eldoret

Conclusion

The political criteria could play a very important part in deciding the location, and the future of the new Federal Capital. The choice of the final
location should be made by evaluating the physical, social, economic and administrative criteria. None of these should be considered in isolation. All the three proposed potential locations should be visited before making the final choice. There is no doubt that the choice of the actual location will be influenced by the political policies and decisions, but this should not be the deciding factor in the location of the Federal Capital of East Africa.

If Nairobi was selected as the location for the new Federal Capital, it could take one of the two forms of capitals, as described in Chapter II. It could either be a metropolitan centre in which the governmental activities are a minor aspect of the complex of a great city, or it could be a twin city.

If the Federal governmental structure is such that it could be accommodated in existing administrative buildings, then it would be a capital where the governmental activities would be a minor aspect of the life of Nairobi.

If on the other hand, Kenya became a province of East African Federation, Kenya might want to use the existing parliament buildings and other administrative buildings now being used by the present government, to accommodate the provincial headquarters. If this is
the case, the Federal Government will have to find a new site adjacent to Nairobi, to accommodate the seat of the Federal Government and its administrative headquarters, as there is no room available in the city centre of Nairobi to plan a new complex of buildings for this purpose. This would mean a twin city solution for the new Federal Capital.

Another point supporting this argument would be that for the Federal Capital to satisfy the established set of objectives, the Capital, apart from being the seat of Legislature and administrative centre, and a social, educational and economic centre, should be a national monument to freedom, and the unity of the nation, and also a model of new town building, and an example for the future towns to be built in the country. To fulfil all these objectives, the new Federal Capital should then be designed as a monumental twin city.

If due to political reasons, it was decided to make either Arusha or Eldoret as Federal Capital, the lack of existing social facilities and amenities would create same problems as are now being faced by Brasilia. The politicians and other citizens would find these cities socially very dull and uninteresting places to live in. To fulfill their social desires and needs they
will be making frequent visits to Nairobi. Other problems would be that the society would consist of judges, ministers and white collar workers. This is the kind of social system which is undesirable as described earlier in this context.

The new Federal Capital of East Africa should, therefore, be a twin city. This is the only way to satisfy the objectives that would give the Federation the national Capital which will not be a political and administrative island, but an essay in civilization. An opportunity has been provided to create a capital that avoids the mistakes made by other countries and their governmental policies. The Federal Government should provide its citizens with the finest possible environment in which to live, work and play. The national capital should be the envy of other nations, it should inspire the citizens of East Africa to look towards the future and a better way of life.

In the view of the above factors, it is concluded: that the Capital for the Proposed Federation of East Africa should be located adjacent to Nairobi; and should share available social, economic and physical facilities and amenities with this cosmopolitan centre, and that in addition the new Capital should be a national monument.
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