

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, December 12, 1963

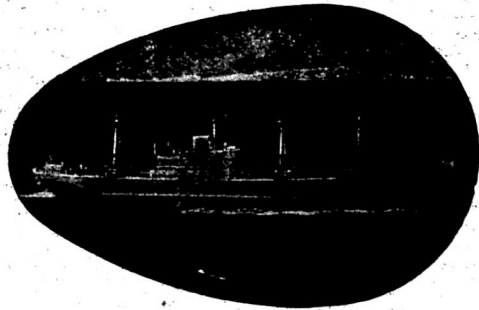
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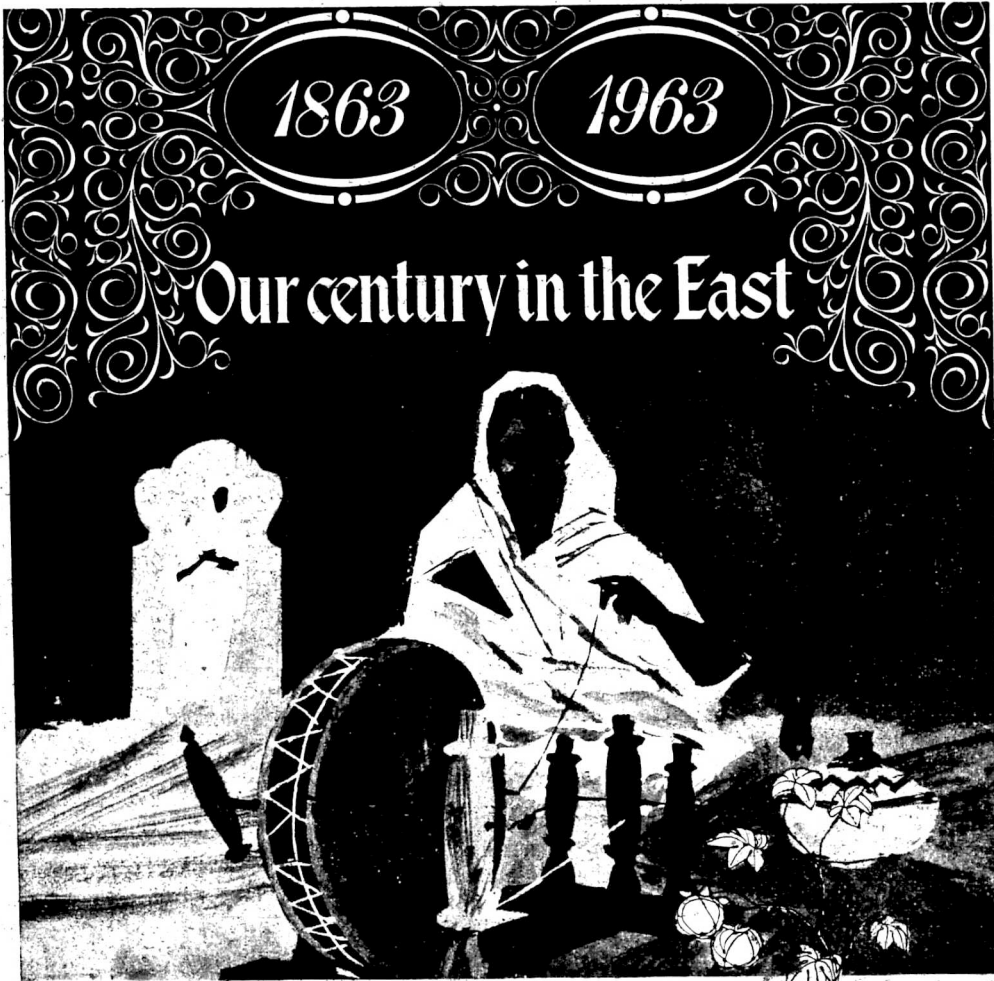
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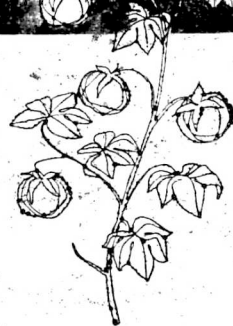
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EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1963

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE TRUTH ABOUT KENYA, which every politician and newspaper has preferred to evade; is that, as the apotheosis of the tragic folly of MacBlundellism, which reversed the declared policy of a multi-racial State, the United Kingdom Government today hazards every-

thing on a Kikuyu whom the courts convicted of managing Mau Mau and whom Sir Patrick Renison, the then Governor, twice publicly described only a couple of years ago as the African leader to darkness and death. Many Kenyans, black and white, have not changed their opinion of the man, whose deviousness as a politician is recorded in detail in the Corfield report on Mau Mau. Because Mzee Kenyatta has recently made conciliatory speeches to European farmers and has restrained his wilder associates, there has been a disposition in some quarters to regard him as a changed man—despite the fact that he has repeatedly declared that he is "still the same old Kenyatta". Only the future can reveal the truth. Never was a personal conundrum of greater importance to an East African territory. Never can sceptics who wish Kenya well—among them EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA — have hoped more fervently to be proved wrong by events. But how is such hope to be reconciled with Mzee Kenyatta's decision at the beginning of this independence week to give a special place in the celebrations to Mau Mau gangsters straight out of the forests? How can it escape damage when as recently as Monday the world saw a photograph taken only a few days ago of their leader, "Field Marshal" Mwariama, with his arm round the shoulder of Prime Minister Kenyatta, who was clasping his hand? Moreover, a play, glorifying Dedan Kimathi, worst of the Mau Mau gang-leaders, is, it seems, to be performed in Nairobi this week. Thus Mau Mau, the foulest movement in all

British African history, far from being discountenanced, is being deliberately "honoured" (thereby desecrating the word). This, at the best, is a most cynical and dangerous form of brinkmanship; at the worst, it is a notification to British Ministers that their reckless gamble has failed—though it will doubtless still appear otherwise during the honeymoon period which will last while the outside world continues to provide large sums for Kenya.

* * *

Kenya, already bankrupt, has no prospect of meeting her urgent needs in the foreseeable future, during which the social, administrative, economic, financial and strategic

Years of False Propaganda.

situations could all deteriorate seriously. Viability is no longer a test for so-called "independence"; indeed, not one of the British African territories upon whom that status has been thrust in recent years can stand on its own feet. All have to seek great sums of money from Britain and other countries, upon which they rely for administrative, professional, technical, industrial and other assistance. None is so dependent in these and other matters as the now ostensibly independent Kenya. Thanks entirely to a European population of some three score thousands, including some third-generation Kenyans, an exceptionally high standard of agriculture has been established in the Highlands and considerable secondary industry in and around Nairobi and elsewhere. As propaganda for their political aims the African extremists have declared day in and day out for many years that the white farmers stole the lands of Africans. That was false. Much of the land was empty save for great herds of wild game, when the white pioneers embarked upon the enterprises which ruined large numbers of them,

but in which, by faith and fortitude, trial and error, many succeeded, at last.

* * *

Now the homesteads they have created are to be destroyed by fragmentation among the thousands of Kikuyu and other tribesmen who expect fulfilment of the promises made to them by the Kenya African Union, the forerunner of Mau Mau, and then the Kenya African National Union, the present Kenyatta party. Because they feared that those promises of free grants of land would not otherwise be kept, many thousands of Africans have already encroached on European farms (and even on some land recently allocated to other Africans); and in the forests there are many hundreds of members, some people believe several thousands, of the violent Land Freedom Army, which has sworn to kill Kenyatta himself if all the White Highland farms are not divided among Africans. Within the past month a serious situation on the Kinangop has caused the Kenyatta Government to regard discretion as the better part of valour, and suddenly to accommodate some two thousand five hundred impatient Africans on land bought almost overnight from European owners. That submission to threats of widespread violence is not, however, likely to have settled anything, except to increase the likelihood that other tribesmen elsewhere will adopt similar tactics for the same purpose. Thugs who have been deliberately used by K.A.U. and K.A.N.U. do not now intend to be cheated of their rewards.

* * *

Internal hostility is by no means confined to claimants for land in fulfilment of promises made to them. It is largely based on inter-tribal suspicion and hostility; for it is, of course, nonsensical to think of Kenya as a nation. Indeed, the assumption widespread in the country that independence will be quickly followed by a one-party State is deeply resented by the smaller tribes, which, being among the most martial in the country, are indisposed to be bullied by politicians from larger tribes which they despise. Here are evident seeds for trouble, which could be brought to flash-point by accidents or other incidents. Not less serious is the external threat from the Somalis, for those areas of the recently created North-East Region of which the population is almost wholly Somali have no intention of remaining within a Kenya ruled by Africans for whom

they feel contempt, but a determination to be joined with the people of the Somali Republic with whom they are one in race, religion, mode of life, and aspiration.

* * *

An indication of the kind of incitement which has been broadcast from Radio Mogadishu is given on another page; it has ceased temporarily as a concession to the Kenya Government, but it would be naive not to expect this kind of propaganda to be resumed.

Risks in the Horn of Africa.

Meantime, just to emphasize that the Somalis are serious in demanding reunification, there are almost daily incidents of violence, including attacks on military and police posts and camps. Had K.A.N.U. not been stupidly stubborn, it would have reached agreement with the neighbouring republic for the cession of some desolate areas which are quite useless to Kenya, burden the country's finance, and impose a military commitment which will be most serious once British military protection is withdrawn. Faced with this threat, the Kenyatta Government has imprudently concluded a treaty for mutual military aid with Ethiopia—whose forces are believed in recent months to have killed many hundreds of Somali in the Ogaden and with whom the Somalis may demand a reckoning when they receive modern weapons in large quantities from Communist China. The Horn of Africa could be set alight; and it is not clever of K.A.N.U. to commit itself meantime to share in the conflagration if it should occur.

* * *

Hitherto the African political extremists in Kenya have won their points by loud talk, threats, and blackmail. These weapons of our "parliamentary democracy" will no longer help internally, where problems will have to be met if the whole assumption of home rule is not to collapse. There is a grave lack of qualified Africans for every activity at the very time that there is an irresistible clamour, organized by the politicians themselves, for Africanization of almost all appointments. There has even been talk of appointing an African general manager of the Railways and Harbours, the most intricate and vital service, which will in any event suffer from the rapid departure of European and Asian staff. How many professional and technical officials will remain to serve the Government will depend on what happens in the next few

months: if fears be sharply reduced, the numbers may prove adequate for a transitional period, but if bloodshed and terrorism should occur—and some leading Africans have openly prophesied this tragedy—there might be such an exodus of Europeans that all the speeches of Ministers in the last few months would be made to seem the dreams of somnambulists.

* * *

One threat which has been reiterated of late, not least by Mr. Mboya, is of interference with freedom of expression, especially of the Press. That would be the height of

Can Africans Pull Together? folly from Kenya's standpoint, for if the world came to believe that the truth could be spoken or written in Kenya only at peril, capable men would not wish to live and work in the country. The universal denunciation in this country of the

decision to prohibit the entry of an M.P. who gave legal advice to the Opposition party should serve as a warning to those who hanker for rigid dictatorship—which is, of course, the very reverse of the doctrine of *Harambee* (pull together), now the popular slogan. Pulling together demands tolerance, trust, and faith. If those qualities be shown and encouraged internally, they will be noted in the wider world, which will then be ready to provide assistance of all kinds to a country which until a few years ago attracted boundless interest, substantial investment, and long-range confidence. * This summary of the position is unlikely to be paralleled elsewhere, but we believe that an assessment of the realities can serve the cause of Kenya much more faithfully than the polite insincerities which are to be expected in many newspaper columns. No journal more fervently hopes well for Kenya than EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

Notes By The Way

Impressive African Artist

THE BEST EXHIBITION of African art which I can recall in London, one far more attractive than some which have been extravagantly praised in the Press, is to be seen in the hall of Rhodesia House in the Strand. Mr. Job Kekana, a gentle, modest, versatile, and most capable artist in wood, clay, or bronze or stone, brings to his work devotion in both senses of the word. While he was a young boy herding cattle in the Northern Transvaal his unusual natural gift for rough carving attracted the attention of an Anglican nun, who helped him to develop his talents, and after she had moved to St. Faith's Mission, near Rusape, Southern Rhodesia, he followed in 1944, and for the next 16 years taught wood-carving in the mission school and developed his own strong style. He became a Southern Rhodesian citizen and married a wife from Umtali. Three years ago he came to London, and while studying at the Sir John Cass College extended his scope to include stone. When he returns to Southern Rhodesia next month to work again at St. Faith's he will certainly not lack eager buyers in this and other countries for his productions.

Mr. Kekana's Characteristics

MR. KEKANA, who carved the mace for Southern Rhodesia's Legislative Assembly and the table which the chiefs of Southern Rhodesia presented to the Queen in 1960, has already supplied pieces to private collections, museums, and churches in many countries. The religious influence is strong in his work. In the Rhodesia House collection, part of his output during the last three years, there is, for instance, a wonderfully wrought head of Christ with the Crown of Thorns which reveals deep feeling; one of the smallest exhibits, it is unforgettable. A carving of praying hands is likewise striking in a different way, and other pieces depict the Holy Family, the Madonna and Child, and St. Francis. His modelling of heads and busts, whether African or European, has also a quality of personal

involvement, notably in the heads of Bernard Mizeki, catalogued as the "African Martyr", and Cedric Wildman, who worked at St. Faith's and was drowned in Nyasaland. From a sharply curved piece of olive wood he has carved a remarkable statue of an African woman carrying her baby.

No Distortion

IN THE WHOLE EXHIBITION there is not a harsh line; there is no distortion, no modernistic gimmickry, no sacrifice of truth to eccentricity for publicity or other reasons. Small though the exhibition be, it is beautiful, stimulating, and impressive evidence of a talent which might have been wasted but for the perspicacity and persuasions of Sister Pauline. It is staggering to learn — not from Mr. Kekana — that Southern Rhodesia's national art gallery contains no examples of his handiwork, and that it has been dismissed as "airport art" by at least one of the people concerned with selecting exhibits for the national gallery. If "airport art" be carving which has been hastily done to meet commercial demands, the contemptuous term is fantastically misapplied in this case. Mr. Kekana's productions are the fruit of patience, concentration, and, I repeat, devotion. So little does commercialism enter his calculations that many of his pieces would be likely to attract only churches, other organizations, and individuals engaged in Christian work.

Two Standards

WHEREAS KENYA is estimated to be spending about £500,000 on this week's independence celebrations, Zanzibar, a far less impecunious country, is, in the words of one of its officials a few days ago, "spending less on this business than the Prime Minister of Uganda spent on his wedding reception" (£25,000). This good husbandry did not, however, deprive the celebrants of glamour, for, apart from the attractiveness of Zanzibar itself, H.M.S. ARK ROYAL lay at anchor, and a party of Gordon Highlanders flown from Kenya provided the military ceremonial touch.

Mau Mau "Generals" Invited to Kenya Uhuru Festivities

Amnesty for Forest Gangsters and 1,500 Land Freedom Army Prisoners

CONSTITUTIONAL INSTRUMENTS declaring Kenya an independent nation will be handed over in Nairobi this morning to the Prime Minister by the Duke of Edinburgh on behalf of the Queen.

The ceremony, held in a specially prepared 195-acre independence arena four miles from the city centre on Langata Road, will be followed by the swearing-in by Sir John Ainley, the Chief Justice, of Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the Governor-General, who will in his turn receive the oaths of office of the Prime Minister and his Cabinet.

Aircraft of the Royal Air Force will fly past in salute, and will give an aerobatic display this afternoon during a youth rally to be marked by displays and musical items. Mr. Kiso Munyao, the Mkamba mountaineer who planted the new flag on Mount Kenya at midnight last night, is expected to arrive in the arena by helicopter.

About 1,500 guests have been invited to a State ball with cabaret at the City Hall tonight.

Celebrations

The three days of official events marking Kenya's independence celebrations began on Tuesday when the Duke of Edinburgh arrived at Nairobi Airport from Zanzibar, to be met by Mr. MacDonald and the Prime Minister. About 1,500 people were the guests that night of Alderman C. W. Rubia, the Mayor of Nairobi, at a ball in the City Hall.

Yesterday morning the Duke and Prime Minister received the freedom of the city of Nairobi at an open-air ceremony outside the City Hall, followed by a reception. About 4,000 people attended a garden party in the grounds of Government House that afternoon, after the Duke had met all the delegates officially representing other governments at the celebrations.

On Wednesday evening 250,000 people watched a colourful ceremony which culminated at midnight when the flag of the new Kenya nation was raised.

After months of preparation, 1,200 African dancers from every corner of Kenya stepped into the arena to raise the curtain on last night's entertainment.

About 150 representatives of Nairobi's Asian community entertained the crowds with a popular Indian folk dance. A Nairobi poet, Mr. K. Patel, had written special words for the accompanying song, set to a Gujarati folk-tune. Its title, freely translated, is "Uhuru".

After the dancing 300 musicians entered the arena for a display by the massed bands of the Kenya Band and Corps of Drums of The King's African Rifles, Army musicians from Tanganyika, Uganda and locally-based British regiments.

Three guards, totalling 150 men from the 3rd, 5th and 11th K.A.R., dressed in their present-day ceremonial uniforms, and a further three guards of 150 men representing the 3rd, 5th and 11th Battalions of The Kenya Rifles, dressed in their new ceremonial uniforms, took part in the flag raising ceremony at midnight. Events concluded with a fireworks display.

State Opening

Tomorrow morning Prince Philip will read the Speech from the Throne at the State opening of the Kenya Parliament. Weather permitting, he will lay the foundation-stone for extensions to Parliament Buildings, and will leave by air for Lake Rudolf in the afternoon.

The final independence event will take place in the evening, when the Prime Minister receives an honorary fellowship of the Royal College.

In London, High Mass was celebrated at Westminster Cathedral last evening. The Kenya Students' Association held a reception at which members performed their own flag-raising to co-incide with the official function in the independence arena in Nairobi.

Early this morning the flag of the new State was raised outside the Kenya Office off the Strand. A service of thanksgiving at Westminster Abbey is scheduled for midday, to be followed by a luncheon for diplomats at Marlborough House. This evening the Kenya Government is holding a reception at the Commonwealth Institute.

The British Government delegation to Kenya is being led by Mr. Duncan Sandys, Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, accompanied by Miss Sandys. The other members include the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire, Sir Geoffrey de Freitas, the High Commissioner-designate, and Lady de Freitas, Sir Arthur Snelling, Mr. W. B. L. Monson, Mr. F. D. Webber and Mr. N. B. J. Huijsman.

Invitations were accepted by 78 countries, the Holy See, and the United Nations. Portugal, South Africa and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland were not invited, but Nyasaland received a State invitation, and a number of African nationalists in both Rhodesias were invited as "honoured guests". A Government list of acceptances omits (without stating whether they were invited in the first place) the Congo (Brazzaville), Nationalist China (Formosa), East Germany, and Albania, all the South American republics except Brazil, and Jordan; all the other Middle East States, Red China, and the European Communist satellites are officially represented.

Among 200 overseas "honoured guests" are five Labour M.P.s, Mrs. Barbara Castle and Messrs. Fenner Brockway, Dingle Foot, Leslie Hale, and John Stonehouse. Other British guests are Miss Margery Perham and the Rev. Michael Scott, director of the Africa Bureau.

"Honoured" Guests

Mr. D. N. Pritt, Q.C., and Mr. Dudley Thompson of the West Indies, who both acted for the defence at the Kapenguria trial of the Prime Minister on charges of managing Mau Mau, and Mr. Peter Evans, another lawyer, who was deported during the Mau Mau rebellion, are attending the festivities.

In recognition of their assistance to Kenya in various fields, a number of Americans are "honoured guests" including the Negro judge, Mr. Thurgood Marshall, who was constitutional adviser to the African Elected Members' delegation at the 1960 Lancaster House Conference; Mr. Walter Reuther, vice-president of the A.F.L./C.I.O.; Mrs. Maida Springer; and the Canadian organiser, Mr. Jim Bury, representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions during the rebellion.

Others, connected with the students' airlift, are Mr. W. X. Scheinman, Mrs. Weiss, Mr. Houser, and the Rev. Dana Klotzle; and Dr. Gwendoline Carter, director-designate of the African Studies Programme at North-Western University, Illinois; Mr. Peter Weiss, representative of the American Committee on Africa, and the Negro writer, Mr. James Baldwin, and the Negro actor, Mr. Sidney Poitier.

For most of the "honoured guests" from Communist countries it will be their first glimpse of Kenya. They include Mr. Y. Arkadasky, of the Students' Council of the U.S.S.R.; Mr. Victor Kuzmin, of the Russian Committee of Youth Organizations; and the rector of the Friendship University in Moscow, Mr. Rumiantsov.

Representing the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity is Mr. Chu Nche-Chi.

Nationalist Leaders

Others invited are the general secretary of the I.C.F.T.U., Mr. O. Becu; the Pakistani investor, Mr. Amirali Fancy, Mr. Robert Gardner, of the Economic Commission for Africa; Dr. B. Malik, Indian constitutional adviser to K.A.N.U., and Mr. H. Warke, the W.F.T.U. leader from East Germany.

Among African leaders from countries outside East Africa are the Northern Rhodesian leader, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda; the Bechuanaland leader, Mr. Seretse Khama, and his wife; Mr. G. M. Kolisang, of the Basutoland Congress Party; Mr. J. Kozonguzi of the South-West African National Union; and Dr. Mondlane of Mozambique; Mr. Joshua Nkomo and the Rev. N. Sithole from Southern Rhodesia; Mr. J. J. Nquku, the Swaziland Progressive Party; the Nigerian lawyer, Chief H. O. Davis, Q.C.; the Chief Justice of Nigeria, Mr. Ademola; Mrs. Lumumba, widow of the Congo's first Premier; Mr. Oliver Tambo of the South African National Congress; and Mr. Peter Moloi, of the Pan-Africanist Congress.

In special categories are two other guests from Britain: Major-General W. A. Dimoline, now in retirement, who had a long association with The King's African Rifles, latterly as its Colonel Commandant, and is known to thousands of serving askaris and ex-soldiers of the war-time campaigns; and Mr. G. A. Grieve, a former headmaster of Alliance High School, at which many of the Cabinet Ministers were educated.

One special guest having a long and intimate connexion with Kenya and its peoples is the Aga Khan, leader of the Ismaili community.

Among the 100 East African "honoured guests" are the Presidents of all the Regional Assemblies in Kenya, together with leading figures in political, official, religious, university, legal, civic, military and trade union fields throughout East Africa.

Independence celebrations in up-country districts have generally been organized by local fund-raising committees subscribed to by factory and estate workers and commercial and industrial concerns.

Parades of police and youth groups are taking place today. The independence ceremony is being relayed from the Nairobi focus, supplemented by Native dancing, displays by schools and young people's organizations, singing by choirs, bicycle races, trick cycling, and the finals of *uhuru* cup football competitions. In many places oxen will be roasted at feasts tonight as a finale.

"War Council"

One oil company has presented all 28 county councils with gifts of either a clock, a chair, or a gavel. The same company has made gifts to the Government, a medical authority, and the national Parks.

Five thousand political and criminal prisoners were released on Monday. So were 24 rusticated Land Freedom Army leaders and a Mau Mau terrorist who has confessed to murdering 18 people but escaped the death penalty because of his youth.

Last Friday the Prime Minister met some of the "ex-generals" of Mau Mau, members of the "Mau Mau war council", leaders of the old Kikuyu Central Association, K.A.N.U. leaders in the old Central Province and the new Nyandarua (Thomson Falls) district, and a "general" from Narok. Others at the meeting included Regional Assembly members from the Eastern and Central Regions, the Minister for Pan-African Affairs, Mr. P. M. Koinange, and Dr. Munyua Waiyaki, who is acting as co-ordinator between the Mau Mau "leaders" and the Government.

"The purpose of the meeting," says an official release, "was to get an undertaking that the Mau Mau leaders and their 500 followers who are still in the forests will maintain peace and security throughout the Central Region and parts of the Eastern Region, where the Embu and Meru tribes live, because there had been rumours that there were still people in the area who have been threatening to kill others or destroy property during and after Kenya's independence celebrations. The leaders pledged solemnly to the Prime Minister that there will be peace throughout their respective areas; and they will seek out any trouble-plotters who may be roaming about the country organizing violence against loyal citizens or ex-Mau Mau fighters.

"By No Means Cordial"

"After a lengthy exchange of firm promises, Mr. Kenyatta announced that all those fighters in the forests would be expected to come out from hiding with all their arms and personal belongings on December 16. All Mau Mau leaders are expected to inform Dr. Waiyaki or Mr. Koinange or presidents of the two regions concerning the number of people still in the forests, the disabled who may need help amongst them, and whatever help in the way of clothing they will require.

"It is known that most of the people in the forests do not have clothing and some of them go about in skins. Such cases will require clothing and the Prime Minister has promised that they will be issued with clothing and other necessary help. The presidents of the two regions will organize fund collections from the public of the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru areas for the purpose of buying food for the fighters.

"The Prime Minister would also like it known that Mau Mau leaders and their followers who come out from the forests will receive a free pardon from him. He emphasized that the fighters should also know that no member of the administration or police will molest them. Equally, they will be received happily by the general public."

Later Dr. Waiyaki announced that the Government was issuing invitation cards to "high-ranking generals of Mau Mau" (men and women) to the *Uhuru* celebrations in Nairobi. The "generals" will appear in khaki or other suitable uniform allowed by the Prime Minister at the main functions. They will be able to return to the forests to prepare to come out on December 16 as free men and women.

The Nairobi correspondent of *The Times* cabled that the confrontation with the Mau Mau men "was by no means cordial. They are understood to have threatened violent action against the Prime Minister if they did not get their way".

He added that "General China", who was captured during the emergency and was released earlier this year, "has already given a warning that such men have become so used to their

lawless way of life that they will need rehabilitating before they can rejoin ordinary society".

The statue of Lord Delamere in Nairobi has been removed and replaced by an ornamental fountain. The street bearing his name has been renamed Kenyatta Avenue.

Mrs. Edna Kenyatta, the Prime Minister's English wife (he has two Kikuyu wives; a fourth died some years ago), has arrived in the capital with their 20-year-old son, Peter, a Cambridge undergraduate.

The Queen has made an independence gift, for the use of important Government guests, of the Royal Lodge at Sagana, which was presented to her by Kenya as a wedding gift in 1947.

Apart from independence celebrations, no public meetings are being allowed anywhere in the Western Region (Kitalo or Trans Nzoia district, "in the interests of law and order", and the proposed transfer of parts of Kitalo district to the Western Region and of two locations to the Rift Valley Region has been suspended for fuller consultations after independence because of the "breach of law and order likely to result" otherwise.

When Prince Philip arrived on Tuesday, the Prime Minister pinned the K.A.N.U. cockerel badge in his lapel.

Members of the Conservative backbench Commonwealth committee are boycotting the celebrations here because of the Kenya Government's ban on the entry into Kenya of Mr. F. M. Bennett, M.P., who was invited by the K.A.D.U. Opposition.

Economic Pillars of Africa

Dr. Kiano on Blood and Sweat

NOTHING could be further from the truth than the tendency to play down the rôle of Africans in building Kenya's economy, stated Dr. Julius Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry, when he opened an African shop in Thika.

"Colonial historians have concentrated on the rôle played by the white settlers, the Asian traders and artisans, and Government officers, as if we Africans remained passive in the process. In the development of Kenya we Africans have contributed both land and labour. We have helped extensively in the massing of profits which in turn became additional capital for further investment.

"We have toiled in coffee plantations and given the sweat of our brow in factories and businesses. We have laboured often for subsistence wages and under incredible conditions. As customers we have helped merchants to prosper and to bring in more investment. We Africans have been the main economic pillar in this continent.

"If we could bear the burdens and the sacrifices while under the yoke of colonial régimes, how much more can we labour and toil for our own free Africa?"

Guarantees had been given to foreign investors for the protection of assets and freedom to trade in Kenya. There were plans to encourage local savings and the expansion of business and industrial ventures by local citizens, particularly Africans, who had been kept "at the outskirts" of the national economy.

"Many of our brothers and sisters died for this *uhuru*. Thousands of others were jailed and sent to detention camps. Our leader has devoted his entire life for Kenya's liberation for more than 40 years. Kenya has really paid dearly for *uhuru*. Let us not start cheapening it by having people scrambling for political plums in cut-throat competition. Our Prime Minister has told us to pull together. Kenya shall not forget her *uhuru* heroes, with Jomo Kenyatta as our 'Hero number one'."

Kenya's High Commissioner

DR. J. NJUGUANA KARANJA, who arrived in London on Tuesday to become Kenya's first High Commissioner in the United Kingdom, has been lecturer in African and modern European history at the University of East Africa. He was born in 1931. Mr. Burudi Nabwera, organizing secretary of K.A.N.U., is to be Ambassador to the United Nations and the United States. Ambassadors will also be sent to Moscow, Peking, Cairo and Paris.

Anti-Kenya Broadcasts from Somalia are "Liberation Verses"

Cause of K.A.N.U. Government's Complaints: "It is now Only Bullets"

THE KENYA GOVERNMENT has repeatedly complained of broadcasts made from the radio station in Mogadishu, in the Somali Republic, and when Mr. Abdullahi Issa, the Somali Foreign Minister, was recently in Nairobi, he was asked by the Prime Minister to put an end to anti-Kenya wireless propaganda.

Much of the material to which the K.A.N.U. politicians object has been in verse, and some of it has coupled unfavourable references to Kenya's African political leaders with attacks on Britain as "colonialist" and "imperialist".

Recently, for instance, so-called "Somali liberation verses" were sung over the air from Mogadishu. One song contained words which have been thus translated into English:

Oh Somalis, our problems are unsolved:
We shall not regain without going to war,
And by just accepting unhappy conditions.
Let us move as a single body
And let no one remain behind.
You cannot see others thieving our rights,
Or have three-quarters of us suffer under others.

Chorus:
We shall not sit down without war,
So no one should remain behind.

Let us pull down the walls
Built round our missing brothers, and
Bring them to light and freedom.
Let us bring all parts together
Under the same Flag and Constitution
So that they enjoy equal rights.

Chorus:
We shall not sit down without war,
So no one should remain behind.

"Clear and Right"

On the same day a long poem by Ali Ilmi Afyareh was recited. It ended as follows:

To our neighbours and people of Kenya I say:
Do not be misled by the evil British
Into darkness and deadly storms,
But remember the skin we share
And the obligations of African brotherhood,
And let us live together peacefully.

The demand of the N.F.D. is clear and right,
And they seek to live with their brothers,
With whom they belong to the same father.
If you deny their rights and press them
To abandon their struggle for their rights,
You will be stirring up unnecessary trouble
And enmity between brotherly neighbours.

To the Somalis divided into five I say:
I have always warned and advised you
And I shall warn you again and again.
You have become weak and flesh without bones
And useless ashes, and you do not defend yourselves.

"The Men are Lulled"

It is only the women who struggle for the country,
Who believe in God and are ready to seek their rights;
They are responsible for attaining
The present flag and Government we enjoy.
They sacrificed themselves and died for it,
And they continued to struggle for the rest.

But the men are still lulled,
I don't know when they will wake up
And begin the struggle for their people,
The missing lands and Somali rights.

A Somali song on another day, might be rendered as:
The united two [ex-British and ex-Italian Somaliland] must make haste

To free parts still under alien rule
Whose people are being eaten by beasts.
Truly, this is something which we shall not tolerate.
My lands will not be enslaved and robbed
While my flag is flying over my head.

Another poem contained these words:

The bulk of the Somali people are still missing,
Only part of us have united . . .
Put the troops on the move now,
The bulk of the army, planes, and everything you possess,
Which the lice-ridden ones [Ethiopians] can now see . . .

I cannot sleep in pride
So long as those people are not free.
It is better to die.
The die has been cast,
It is now only bullets . . .
Place the issue before the U.N.
Since your rights have been buried.

"Day of Reckoning"

The chorus of a song transmitted from the Hargeisa station ran:

The nations of the world who have been created as humans
Know who owns the N.F.D.
God gave it to you. The N.F.D. is yours.
When a problem becomes serious,
And one does not pay attention to it,
Or does nothing about it,
That is but folly.

I shall take my revenge,
But if He gives it [the N.F.D.] to me
I shall be grateful.
This is my pledge.

On the same day another song declared:

Today is the day of reckoning.
We shall not wait any longer;
You cannot ignore the cries of my dismembered parts.

Come, let us be on the move,
So that the guns can be emptied.
Watch out for the British in the midst of the N.F.D.

Such is the propaganda from the Republic of Somalia.

"Deliberate Distortion"

The Kenya Government "finds it very difficult to believe the peaceful protestations of the Somalia Government", says an official *communiqué* issued in Nairobi last week. It contains a statement made by a Somali who recently returned to Kenya and told the police:—

"I have recently been in a *shifita* (brigand) camp in Somalia near the Kenya border, where I and other men of my tribe were given rifles. I learnt while I was there that 60 rifles, each with 250 rounds of ammunition, and some hand-grenades had been distributed to Somalis on behalf of General Daud, the Commander-in-Chief of the Somali Army. I was told that *shifita* leaders had returned to Mogadishu from this camp to get more arms and ammunition, and that *shifita* had been sent to attack bomas and police posts in the N.F.D. and ambush Government vehicles. We were told not to do anything which would suggest that these attacks were coming from the Somalia side of the frontier, but always to fire from the Kenya side of our targets."

Radio Mogadishu had "deliberately distorted" the Prime Minister's recent speech to the House of Representatives, the *communiqué* continued, "alleging that Mr. Kenyatta had said: 'I have given orders for the N.F.D. Somalis to be killed *en masse* or arrested', and 'the Kenya Government has enough force to enslave the N.F.D. forcibly'."

"What in fact the Prime Minister did say was that he had given orders that he must see one of the raiders alive or dead. He urged the need for diplomatic negotiations rather than a show of force, and said: 'What the Somali Government want is to provoke us so that if we shoot them they can raise a hue and cry in the United Nations. We have to be careful not to be the aggressors. I do not believe in destroying life unless it is very necessary'."

"The Government is satisfied that by misreporting what the Prime Minister said and by persistent inflammatory propaganda, including repeated calls to arms in the Somali secessionist cause, Radio Mogadishu is deliberately stirring up trouble in the former N.F.D. The Government has an increasing volume of information in confirmation of the fact that *shifita* attacks are being planned and mounted from the Somali

side of the border against targets in Kenya with the complicity and assistance of the Somalia authorities."

A statement by 30 elders of the Abdulla Somali tribe in Garissa district sent to Mr. R. Winsor, the Civil Secretary for the North-Eastern Region, offered to restore law and good order under the Kenya Government; to help in the control of *shifita*; to elect representatives in the Regional Assembly and the Upper and Lower Houses; to pay African district council rates "for the good of our country"; and "to co-operate with the Kenya Government in all aspects of life."

This declaration was dismissed as false by Mr. Kanyare, secretary of the Northern Province People's Progressive Party, who said that Somalis in the region would never accept an alternative to secession. His denunciation co-incided with news

of the 17th Somali raid in less than a month—against Gurar police post, where an African constable was seriously wounded.

All the property of a "disgruntled" Abdi Wak chief at Garissa has been seized and an arrest warrant issued following his identification as a *shifita* leader. He had been "allowed to resign when by rights he should have been dismissed", stated Mr. T. P. Randie, the local civil secretary. Similar steps are being taken against a Government chief at Mandera, who has "deserted".

A K.A.R. platoon which sprang an ambush near El Wak along the road which marks the cut-line of the Kenya-Somali boundary claims that it was fired on from the republic's terrain.

Letting Loose the Dogs of War Between Kenya and Somalia

Lord Lytton Argues for Transfer of N.F.D. to Somali Republic

THE EARL OF LYTTON moved in the committee stage of the Kenya Independence Bill that the area to be transferred to an independent Kenya should exclude the recently created North-East Region.

Arguing his case he said:

"My amendment seeks to exclude from the transfer the area wherein the inhabitants have shown that they are unanimously desirous of joining the Somali Republic. I feel we are doing something unjust, and something highly imprudent which is letting loose the dogs of war, starting with terrorism, going on to the unexpected war without the bomb, and at least extending the sphere of Soviet influence from Cairo to the Lorian Swamp.

"To persuade your lordships to have second-thoughts at the last minute I want to review in diary form the events that have driven the Somalia Government into the camp of the Soviet Union.

Ethiopian Claims and Protests

"In 1941 the Emperor of Ethiopia distributed his claim to the ownership of the whole of the former Italian Somaliland and Eritrea by pamphlet from the air—dropped by the R.A.F. On April 29, 1946, Mr. Bevin recommended the unification of all the Somalis—41 years after Sir Charles Eliot, one of our greatest administrators, had suggested precisely the same thing. On June 4, 1946, Mr. Bevin, our Foreign Secretary, repeated what he had recommended to the Powers.

"Two days afterwards the Emperor of Ethiopia gave an interview protesting on the grounds of Ethiopian strategical requirements. On October 20 the Emperor addressed a lengthy memorandum to the United Nations embodying his version of history and claimed the whole of the area mentioned. This claim was repeated in almost the same words in April of this year in a letter from the Ethiopian Embassy to the *Statesman*.

Like the Python

"In 1950 the United Nations decided to establish a trust territory out of one of the dismembered portions of the Somali nation, the former Italian territory, and to appoint Italy as the trustee. On September 20 of that year the Emperor of Ethiopia telegraphed to the U.N. protesting against the selection of Italy and claiming on the grounds of self-determination that he should be the trustee.

"On August 31, 1956, *The Times* published a speech by the Emperor in which he declared in the Ogaden territory that he was in favour of Greater Somalia, and added: 'Thereby our country will be stronger and larger'.

"He concluded: 'We do not claim what is not ours; but we will not give up what is our own'.

"What he meant, has been made clear by a Mrs. Saunders, who had the Emperor's ear and wrote a book: he intended to

assimilate the whole of the Greater Somalia on what he called the Eritrean solution. It is the same idea of assimilation as that of the python.

"In 1958 a friend of mine, eminent in the Colonial Service in British Somaliland, was greatly concerned at the way in which the British Government were dragging their feet and declining to say whether they would allow British Somaliland to join the former Italian Somaliland in a joint independent territory. In order to discover what the obstacles were, he made approaches to the Foreign Office and the American Embassy.

U.S.A. Disregards Moral Rights

"At the Foreign Office they said: 'The joining of British Somaliland to Italian Somaliland in one territory is regarded as a hostile act by the Emperor of Ethiopia. That is the obstacle.' When he consulted his opposite number, a man of substance in the American Embassy in London, the American replied: 'In the event of conflict between your Somalis, and their undoubted rights on moral grounds, and the claim of Ethiopia, my Government will on international grounds always support Ethiopia'.

"On April 11, 1960, Mr. Macmillan made a statement in another place which is generally regarded as a pledge to the Emperor. The general effect of that statement was to substitute for the modern accepted principle of self-determination territorial integrity in three areas ripe for self-determination, each of them concerned with the Somali nation. That was one aspect of what he said. The second effect was to renounce the British Government's undoubted right at that time to grant permission to the Somali section of Kenya to secede, if it so wished, to Somalia. I am led to believe by H.M. Ministers that that statement was in fact a pledge.

"On July 1, 1960, Somalia became independent, with two States—British Somaliland having joined in at the last minute. The Somalis, with their trusted British colonial servants—who, indeed, are the salt of the earth—had managed to overcome the numerous objections and the two parts came together.

Emperor's Deal with Kenyatta

"In November, 1961, Mr. Kenyatta, not yet having a Government and only recently out of detention, was the guest of the Emperor in Addis Ababa. There he fixed up with the Emperor another exchange of pledges to ratify the boundary and guarantee the integrity of the existing frontiers of Kenya. Although he had no status at that time with us, he came away with a publicly handed-over cheque for flood relief victims in Kenya. He was publicly treated by the Emperor as Her Majesty's representative; and this he was not.

"April 15, 1962, was the date of publication of the celebrated 'Kenya Constitutional Conference Report', with the phrase 'promised decision on the findings'.

"In July Mr. Kenyatta was entertained as a hero in Mogadishu by the Somali Government. From what I know of the Somali Government, Mr. Kenyatta's connexion with Mau Mau is no sort of obstacle to honour, respect, and popularity in the Republic of Somalia. But he arrived too late. He had already been pledged to the Emperor. Moreover, when the pledge was given to the Emperor, he had never been to the N.F.D., if I can rely on what the provincial commissioner at Isiolo said at the time. When I was in Isiolo Mr. Kenyatta was in Addis Ababa. Nor had any other ex-N.F.D. politician been there, with the exception of one, who flew there during the rains and was unable to see anybody or to be seen by anyone.

(Continued on page 322)

Peers Debate Kenya Bill

Threats After Independence

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE moved the second reading. In the course of a long speech the Minister of State said:—

"My grandfather when Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1923 made a famous pronouncement—now called the Devonshire Declaration—which I think to the great credit to this country has never been contradicted. I am immensely proud that that pronouncement should have come from my grandfather. I feel therefore that I have some historical connexion with this Bill.

"The Government of Kenya gave certain highly satisfactory assurances to the Government of Zanzibar concerning the continued protection of the special interests of the inhabitants of the Coastal Strip, especially in relation to freedom of worship, the position of the Chief Kadi and other kadis, the teaching of Arabic in schools, and similar matters of particular concern to the Muslim inhabitants of the area. A formal Agreement was concluded on October 8 providing that that part of His Highness's dominions which now form the Kenya Protectorate should be transferred to Kenya as an integral part of that country on December 12. This augurs well for future relations between Kenya and Zanzibar.

Vexed Question

"On the vexed question of the North Eastern Region of Kenya, H.M. Government took the view that it would be quite wrong for us to take a unilateral decision about the frontiers of Kenya and attempt to impose a decision against the wishes of the Government of Kenya, whose Ministers had already made it very clear that any such decision would be quite unacceptable to them.

"A United Kingdom citizen who was born in Kenya but both of whose parents were born in this country has two years in which to exercise his right to be registered as a Kenya citizen. If he exercises that right he will be required to renounce his citizenship of this country.

"A United Kingdom citizen born in Kenya and one of whose parents was born in Kenya automatically becomes a Kenya citizen on December 12, but, assuming that he has a substantial United Kingdom connexion because, for example, his grandfather was born here, he retains his citizenship of this country. If he does not renounce his citizenship of this country within two years he will lose his Kenya citizenship at the end of that period.

Painful Decision

"Many persons of British stock in Kenya will be faced with a very difficult and painful decision. Kenya is their home and for practical and sentimental reasons they wish to associate themselves fully with its life; but citizenship of this country means much to them and their families, and they do not wish to renounce it if they thereby cut themselves off from this country for ever. This problem worries very many of the Europeans in Kenya, and it has also given grave concern to the British Government. Against the background of this problem—although not with sole reference to Kenya—we think it right to make an important change in the nationality laws of this country.

"The Government propose to introduce as soon as possible legislation which will enable people with close connexions with this country who have had to renounce their citizenship as a condition of acquiring or retaining the citizenship of another Commonwealth country to regain it without being required to fulfil the normal conditions for registration.

"The intended legislation will include the Asian community who live in Africa. The Asians will be covered by the umbrella of this Bill.

"Kenya had a very special position in our Empire, and will have a special position in our Commonwealth. We wish Kenya great prosperity. Independence is not only an end; it is also a beginning; and to those who now have the good of Kenya in their hands we wish God's blessing and every success in their great undertaking."

EARL ST. ALDWYN: "My lords, I have it in command from the Queen to signify to the House that Her Majesty, having been informed of the purport of the Kenya Independence Bill, has consented to place Her Majesty's prerogative and interest so far as they are

affected by the Bill at the disposal of Parliament."

LORD WALSTON said that he recently spent a few days in Kenya and left there with a considerable degree of cheerfulness about its future. The attitude of Europeans and Africans, officials and ordinary people, was very different from what he had expected.

"There has been a complete change in a few months from an attitude of despair, fear and despondency to one of determination by Europeans and Africans alike.

"The Governor has done a very great deal to bring this about. Mr. Kenyatta, particularly by his speech to the farmers, played a great part also. Undoubtedly the leaders of the rank and file of the European settlers have also made possible this spirit of co-operation, which many of us feared a year ago would never come about.

Without Bloodshed?

"There are undoubtedly very serious difficulties ahead. We hope that they will be solved in a just and reasonable manner, and, above all, without bloodshed.

"A large body of people of all tribes, but mainly Kikuyu, have no opportunity for work and no land. They represent a very real threat to the future development of that country and its peaceful development. Good attempts are being made now by land settlement—the million-acre scheme—to cope with this problem.

"Any change of ownership of a farm, particularly from a large-scale mechanized farm to smaller peasant holdings, will have an unfortunate effect on agricultural production. The new settlers have been confronted with additional problems. There has been exceptional cold, exceptional drought, exceptional floods.

"These million acres are not going to provide enough employment for those who are already out of work, who are land hungry, work hungry, or job hungry. Drastic action must be taken if they are not to constitute a real threat to the new Government of Kenya. More land must be found—more than a million acres; possibly two million acres—so that those people can be found somewhere where they can live, work, grow food and earn money.

"In addition there must be industrial development, more finance for setting up factories, secondary industries, transport, and the rest. Some should be private finance, some from the World Bank, and some from the Commonwealth Development Corporation and other sources. Unless we can ensure these new countries a prosperous future, with work for all the hundreds of thousands of people who are living there at the moment without work, we can never expect stability and good government."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said in the course of a highly critical speech:—

"The die is cast; agreement has been reached between H.M. Government and the new Kenya Government; and there can be no going back on it. All we can do is to give Parliamentary sanction to it.

"We all agree as to the main aim and object of British Colonial policy. It is, in simple words, to transfer power to the peoples of the countries concerned, of whatever race, religion or colour they may be, so that they may become masters of their own destiny in both internal and external affairs. That has been the ultimate goal of our policy for many decades. That is the summit of the ladder which Colonial peoples have been encouraged to climb.

Pace Too Rapid

"Another great principle of equal importance which has governed British Colonial policy throughout the great days of the British Colonial Empire is that the pace at which Colonial peoples could climb must be conditioned by their capacity to conduct their own affairs after our departure on a basis of what may be comprehensively termed free institutions—with toleration towards minorities and with freedom for all to speak, write, and think whatever they wish within the limits of the essential security of the community as a whole.

"These, as I understood them when I used to be Secretary of State for the Colonies, were the two guiding principles of British Colonial policy. That is what we regarded as our mission to introduce into immature countries.

"These principles are relevant to recent events in Kenya and the situation with which both Kenya and this country may be confronted in the near future.

"With regard to the first principle, the training-up politically of immature peoples to govern themselves, there will be unanimity in all parts of the House. It is with regard to the second principle, the matter of pace, that difficulties have arisen. Some have thought that we have gone too fast, some that we have gone too slowly, and some that we have been just about right. I belong to the first school of thought.

"I believe, as I said yesterday in our debate on Central Africa, that the indigenous peoples are not yet sufficiently

advanced politically for the type of government which we are conferring on them.

"Problems will face a country like Kenya which has been given independence when it is not yet what would normally have been regarded as sufficiently advanced to walk alone without any leading strings. How that will affect all the various elements in the population is what we have now to consider. How will it affect the economic viability of the country? How will it affect the maintenance of law and order, on which all true civilization rests?"

"The economy depends mainly on farming, and up to now mainly on European farming. I do not stay that there are no good African farmers. There are numbers who are excellent. But the bulk of the export farming has been carried on by Europeans.

Rundown Snowball

"What are the prospects for them? My information is that they are not good and are not improving. I only hope that Lord Walston is right. But my information is very recent indeed, perhaps more recent than his. There is a steadily increasing demand by the African population that European farms should be transferred to African ownership. In that situation European farmers are ceasing to plough back any more capital into their farms, and that is likely to mean an increasing number of landless, unemployed and perhaps lawless Africans wandering about the countryside, with all the threats to law and order that must inevitably result from such a situation.

"That must inevitably react unfavourably on the morale of the remaining Europeans—a kind of snowball effect. I was lately told by a friend who is a shrewd observer of the Kenya scene that in his view five years would about see the end of the individual European mixed farmer in Kenya. That may seem unduly pessimistic, but I doubt very much whether the Government, on their own information, would greatly question it.

"If what I have suggested is in fact happening, the Government here may have some pretty serious decisions to make—and at very short notice. They may have to embark on a rescue operation much larger than anything they have hitherto contemplated. It may be that they are already facing this possibility and are already taking steps to anticipate it. More money is being made available to deal with compassionate cases.

"The situation in the Central Province—the Kikuyu province—is especially explosive in its possibilities. The Secretary of State is contemplating a further review of the land position with a view to possible extension of the million-acre scheme. Could that not be pressed forward, so that farms in especially dangerous areas could be taken over at an earlier date? That would be a help, if only in preventing tempers in those especially explosive areas from rising to boiling point.

"Special consideration should be given to farms in the dangerous areas owned by ex-Servicemen who came out under a Government settlement scheme after the last war and were required to dispose of all their assets outside Kenya.

Prevailing Gloom

"The Government might give further thought to the idea of great land corporations; they could be farmed on a basis which would give the maximum possible support to the Kenya export trade. Corporations of this kind might not be so antipathetic to the African mind as individual European landowners.

"Other factors complicating a sufficiently tangled situation are the tribal problem, the position of the Northern Province, the Somali province, and the loss of revenue to the Kenya Government likely to result from the departure of British troops.

"One of the brighter sides to the picture is the decision of the Kenya Government to appoint Mr. Malcolm MacDonald to be Governor-General after independence. That is wholly good.

"He will give wise and moderate advice to the leaders of the new country. Kenya's need for foreign capital may of itself incline the leaders of the Government to more moderate courses.

"These considerations, and no doubt there are many others, may go some way to lightening what I still believe to be the prevailing gloom. But I cannot pretend from my latest information that the outlook will be anything but anxious, for the immediate future at any rate. Of course, I and those with whom I have been in touch may be quite wrong. Things may turn out far better than is at present feared. Kenya may surmount, without the troubles, which some of these people anticipate, her present problems and anxieties. If that is so no one will be more glad than I. The Lord Chancellor may trounce me to his heart's content if that proves to be the case.

"If I have spoken as I have today and yesterday it is only from a sincere sense of duty. It would have been much

easier to make some anodyne remarks and then go home to tea, scrupulously avoiding awkward questions.

"There is an old Latin saying which seems to me particularly relevant to the present situation in Kenya. It is: 'Si vis pacem, para bellum' which I would translate in this particular context: 'If you want the best prepare for the worst'. That, things having reached the pass they have, is the best course for this country to follow.

"We all wish the new State well. But we must not forget those men and women, both of our own race and also those of African race, who have worked so untiringly together, in good times and bad, to create from virgin savannahs and forests a great and growing modern country. It is fitting that we should remember them today."

(To be concluded)

Uganda-Britain Society

LADY COHEN and Professor Kenneth Ingham held a reception in the Uganda High Commission hall in London last week to discover what interest there might be in the formation of an Uganda-Britain Society to foster friendship between the two countries by entertaining Ugandans visiting London and providing a meeting-place for former residents "to talk about old times, review the present, and discuss what the future will bring". Mr. Paulo Kavuma is president of a group already created in Uganda. The society would be essentially non-political. That should be made quite plain to Uganda students, emphasized Mr. Seruwana Kufubya, Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, who is in Britain on holiday; he added that Africans were still suspicious of Europeans. Among the guests were Mr. Duncan Sandys, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, and Sir Walter Courtts, lately Governor-General of Uganda.

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PERSONALIA.

SIR ERNEST and LADY VASEY are now in Pakistan.
SIR FRANCIS AND DAME ALIX MEYNELL are visiting Kenya.
MR. J. K. KEBASO is Deputy Speaker of the Kenya Senate.
MR. & MRS. H. D. G. COLLINGS are on their way to Dar es Salaam by sea.
MR. C. M. N. PEARCE has been appointed architect to Nairobi City Council.
Broken Hill, Northern Rhodesia, has now an African Mayor, Mr. I. MKONDE.
MR. DAVIDSON NGINI is now Kenya's assistant students' adviser in London.

PRESIDENT KASAVUBU of the Congo has visited Israel to sign a friendship treaty.
MR. C. G. CULLEN has been appointed deputy managing director of Timberit Rhodesia, Ltd.
SIR JOHN and LADY WARDLAW-MILNE are passengers for the Cape in the R.M.S. PENDENNIS CASTLE.
CANON G. T. WILKINSON, of the U.M.C.A. in the diocese of Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam, is now in this country.
MR. MENNEN WILLIAMS, United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, is revisiting East Africa.

MR. MICHAEL KAMALIZA, Minister for Labour, represents Tanganyika at this week's African Labour Ministers' Conference in Cairo.
MR. S. W. KULUBYA, Deputy Speaker of the Uganda Parliament, who has been on holiday in England, is about to return to Kampala.

MR. H. MANDER arrived in England by air from Dar es Salaam on Monday. He has resigned from the staff of the *Tanganyika Standard*.
MR. ROGER FALK, who has undertaken economic investigations in Uganda, has been appointed chairman of the Furniture Development Council.

THE EARL OF INCHCAPE is in Kenya to represent the Inchcape group of companies and the British India Line at the Independence celebrations.
At the annual dinner in London last week of the Shikar Club, colour films of East African wild life were shown by LIEUT.-COLONEL NIALL RANKIN.

PRESIDENT DIOSDADO MACAPAGAL of the Philippines and MADAME MACAPAGAL are paying a short visit to Tanganyika this week. They have been staying at State House.

MAJOR-GENERAL LORD THURLOW, G.O.C. in Malta and Libya, who commanded a brigade in Kenya during the Mau Mau Rebellion, is ill in Millbank Hospital, London.

MR. HENRY MULLI, Parliamentary Secretary for Defence in Kenya, is to go to Peking as Ambassador.
H.R.H. THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, accompanied by THE DUCHESS, will represent THE QUEEN at the Kenya Independence Day service in Westminster Abbey this morning.

MR. RASHIDI KAWAWA, Vice-President of Tanganyika, and MR. OSCAR KAMBONA, External Affairs and Defence Minister, are representing their country at Kenya's independence.

THE REV. N. SITHOLE, interim president of Z.A.N.U., has been sentenced in Southern Rhodesia to a year's imprisonment for distributing a subversive letter. He is on bail pending appeal.

When PRINCE PHILIP arrived at Dar es Salaam Airport on Monday in a B.O.A.C. Comet on his way to Zanzibar, he was greeted by MWALIMU NYERERE, President of Tanganyika.

Customary laws should be emphasized in Africa, MR. JUSTICE SAMUEL CRABBE, a Ghanaian, said when he arrived in Nairobi on appointment to the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa.

MR. SAIDI MASWANYA, Minister of Health, and MR. PETER WALWA, Parliamentary Secretary for External Affairs and Defence, represented Tanganyika at Zanzibar's independence festivities.

MR. AUGUSTE MABIKA-KALANDA, formerly Congo Foreign Minister, and his head of chancellery, MR. KALALA, have been released after their recent sudden arrest and dismissal from office.

On doctor's advice, MRS. SANDYS has not accompanied her husband, the Colonial Secretary, to the Zanzibar and Kenya independence celebrations. Miss CELIA SANDYS has taken her place.

DR. FIDEL CASTRO, Prime Minister of Cuba, may visit Tanganyika next year, according to MR. JUAN F. BENEMELIS, who arrived a few days ago to establish a Cuban Embassy in Dar es Salaam.

Legislation to establish Tanganyika as a one-party State will be introduced shortly, the National Assembly was told by MR. JOHN NZUNDA, Parliamentary Secretary in the Vice-President's Office.

MR. HUMPHRY J. BERKELEY, Conservative M.P. for Lancaster, who is a director of Fortress Trust, Ltd., has joined the board of Selayang Tin Dredging, Ltd., in which the trust has now a 36% holding.

LORD GRAHAM, Minister of Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia, told the Rhodesian Tobacco Association congress last week that when recently in London he had asked three large business houses for loans for the Land Bank.

Six Kenya African officers in the King's African Rifles promoted to the rank of Major are CAPTAINS JACKSON KIMEU MULINGE, JOSEPH KATHUKA NZIOKA, NDUBA NGULUKYO, JOEL NDOLO, ABDIRAHMAN, and PETER KAKENYI.

MR. CHOU EN-LAI, Prime Minister of Communist China, accompanied by MARSHAL CHEN YI, the Foreign Minister (who is attending today's independence celebrations in Nairobi), is expected to visit the Somali Republic shortly.

Visitors to London from the Rhodesias include MR. BRUCE AITKENHEAD, MR. J. W. ARMSTRONG, MR. J. K. ARTHUR, MR. B. J. AXFORD, MR. A. F. BARFOOT, MR. A. M. DICKY, MR. K. C. HARVEY, MR. C. R. LINDSAY, MR. KENNETH MUGGERIDGE, MR. A. M. PARKER, MR. and MRS. L. J. PENNISTON, and MR. and MRS. R. STERNBERG.

MR. A. J. HUGHES, for some years a journalist in East Africa, who recently became public relations officer of the Kenya African National Union and is working as executive officer in the directorate set up to handle the independence celebrations, is the author of "East Africa: The Search for Unity", a new book in the Penguin African Library.

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SIR LEONARD ROPNER and MR. PAUL WILLIAMS, both of whom have shown interest in East and Central African Affairs, have been elected chairman and vice-chairman respectively of the Shipping and Shipbuilding Committee of Conservative M.P.s.

MR. TREVOR WRIGHT has been appointed senior executive officer of Rhodesia Railways in consequence of the sudden resignation on grounds of ill-health of MR. J. H. ALLEN, who joined as a clerk in 1928 and became general manager in 1961.

Kenya needs £40m. in outside loans to finance a six-year development plan being introduced next July and will seize opportunities to negotiate them "from East, West, North and South", declared MR. MWAI KIBAKI, Parliamentary Secretary in the Treasury.

MR. P. C. GORDON WALKER, M.P., a former Socialist Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, has suggested that a new university, called Kennedy University, should be established in Britain as a memorial to the late President of the United States.

MR. A. M. A. TIMOSCHENKO, Soviet Ambassador in Tanganyika, last week presented his Government's instrument of ratification of the trade agreement between Tanganyika and the U.S.S.R. signed in Dar es Salaam in August. The treaty is thus in force.

Because they have four children, SIR GEOFFREY DE FREITAS, United Kingdom High Commissioner in Kenya, and his wife do not fly together. He left for Nairobi at the week-end to take up his appointment, and LADY DE FREITAS followed 24 hours later.

The engagement is announced between the HON. CRISPIN WILLIAM JOYNSON-HICKS, only son of VIS-COUNT and VIS-COUNTESS BRENTFORD, and MISS GILIAN EVELYN SCHLUTER, elder daughter of MR. and MRS. G. E. SCHLUTER, of Valehyrst, Sevenoaks, Kent.

LORD HOWICK OF GLENDALE was the guest of the Council of the Royal Society of Arts at dinner one evening last week. Among other guests with East and Central African interests were LORD ABERCONWAY, SIR HAROLD ROXBEE-COX, SIR GILBERT RENNIE, and SIR JAMES ROBERTSON.

MR. L. BEAN, Minister of Native Affairs, is temporarily acting as Minister of Lands and Natural Resources in Northern Rhodesia, following the enforced resignation of MR. C. R. COUSINS, who has been expelled from the A.N.C. because of reports that he had planned to join U.N.I.P.

MR. ANTHONY HARTLEY has resigned the post of deputy editor of the *Spectator* in protest against the appointment as editor of MR. IAIN MACLEOD, M.P., former Secretary of State for the Colonies. He considers that a prominent politician should not edit an independent publication. By MR. MACLEOD'S appointment the *Spectator* had lost its independence, and the deputy editor's reputation was bound to be damaged by the fact that the editor was playing a political game.

LORD HAMBLEDEN, who visited East and Central Africa while honorary treasurer of the Capricorn Society, announced in Paris a few days ago that he had separated from his wife, a daughter of the late COUNT ATTOLICO, Mussolini's Ambassador in Berlin until shortly before the outbreak of the last war.

After attending the independence celebrations in Nairobi the DUKE OF EDINBURGH will spend a few days in the Lake Rudolf district bird-watching and fishing, accompanied by MR. AUBREY BUXTON, the naturalist, who has been appointed an extra equerry. THE DUKE is due back in England on December 19.

MR. D. N. NDEGWA, a deputy Permanent Secretary in the Kenya Treasury, is now Secretary to the Cabinet, to which post he will add that of Permanent Secretary to the Prime Minister's Office on the retirement on the eve of independence of MR. G. J. ELLERTON, who had held both positions since June until last week.

Three former Federal portfolios assumed by Southern Rhodesian Ministers include Posts, Transport and Power and Health, allocated respectively to MR. IAN SMITH, Minister of the Treasury, MR. W. J. HARPER, Minister of Water Development, Roads and Road Traffic, and MR. J. J. WRATHALL, Minister of African Education.

MR. NIGEL FISHER, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, was host on behalf of the Government at a luncheon given in Lancaster House last week in honour of the Kenya financial delegation, consisting of MR. BRUCE MCKENZIE, MR. MWAI KIBAKI, MR. P. MARRIAN, MR. J. H. BUTTER, and MR. N. S. CAREY-JONES.

MR. MOISE TSHOMBE, ex-president of Katanga, is staying in Brussels as the guest of the Belgian Government and has had talks with M. HENRI SPAAK, the Foreign Minister. He is ostensibly in the city for the marriage of his daughter MARY to a Katangan officer. MR. KAHAMBA, Congolese *Chargé d'Affaires*, has been recalled to Leopoldville as a consequence.

After addressing a forbidden meeting of Baganda farmers who were protesting at the Central Government's announced price of 45 cents a pound for coffee (the Lukiko had recommended 60 cents), MR. BENEDICTO KIWANUKA, president of the D.P. and a former Prime Minister, was arrested last week when Uganda Police had to quell a riot in Katwe township, Kampala.


Obituary

Mr. John S. Rathbone

MR. JOHN S. RATHBONE, who has died in Kenya at the age of 85, was a Yorkshireman who served in the Royal Army Service Corps through much of the 1914-18 campaign in German East Africa. Towards the end of 1917 he edited a magazine for the troops.

After demobilization in England he returned to East Africa to begin farming in the Meru district of Kenya, which was then far removed from railway transport. The venture failed, and, though knowing nothing about building, he and a friend undertook to erect a number of buildings in Nanyuki for the Government. He was proud that they were still in use nearly 40 years later.

In 1935 he established the *Nairobi Sunday Post*, which he edited for the next 22 years; during the first 16 years he did not once miss writing the leading article. After retiring from the editorial chair he continued as managing director of the paper and of English Press, Ltd., Nairobi.

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Mr. Winston Field's Bluntest Speech Justice Not to be Expected from U.K. Government

BRITAIN IS committed to preserving the Commonwealth at any cost, "even if Southern Rhodesia is the price she has to pay", Mr. Winston Field, Prime Minister of the Colony, told Parliament in Salisbury last week during a debate on independence.

No British Minister was ready to accept censure for the Commonwealth's foundering on the "pebble" of Southern Rhodesia. The Commonwealth was being maintained as a shop window—"and that is about all it is at the moment"—in order to show how the various nations got on together. "We know that they do not get on well together, but they are determined to make this work, or appear to work, so long as they can.

"The Conservatives want to keep their party together. A general election is coming, and this is now of paramount importance. They also wish to preserve the Commonwealth at any cost and their particular liberal image at the United Nations.

"I do not believe that the British Government is at this time concerned with the justice of our cause".

A negotiated settlement before the next U.K. general election would amount to nothing other than "a hand-over to African nationalism at our next election".

Sir Roy's Valedictory Speech as P.M. Macmillan Government's Shameful Betrayal

STULTIFIED by the Macmillan Government's "shameful betrayal", the Federation founded by the Churchill Government had nonetheless been a "bold and imaginative advance towards racial co-operation in Africa". Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, declared in the Federal Assembly in Salisbury on Monday when introducing a composite motion affirming loyalty to the Queen, thanking Federal officials for their services, and wishing the three component territories well in the future.

People of all races whose homes were in Central Africa were, he said, facing the most critical period of their lives. The basic challenge was to bring Africa into the 20th century in order to put it on something like equal terms with the rest of the world. Freedom to starve was not one of the great democratic virtues.

The greatest onus of responsibility for reconciling whatever political tensions existed rested fairly and squarely on the Africans. The Europeans had given ample evidence of their willingness to share political power with Africans and eventually to leave the major weight of power in their hands.

Race the Explosive Factor

The legitimate interests of the most economically productive element, composed of a minority, had to be reconciled with the reasonable aspirations of the majority. Race would become the most explosive single factor in international relations in the next decade, and a solution to the problem of peaceful co-existence was absolutely imperative for all the races.

Trained observers reporting on conditions in African countries referred to the stagnation of the economy, the absence of advancement, and a heavy reliance on foreign skills and subsidies. That was no answer to the revolution of rising expectations. The peoples of such countries deluded themselves if they expected that foreign aid could do substantially more for them than it was already attempting. Underdeveloped nations would find themselves very dependent on their own capacity for self-help.

The Communists were making deliberate play with race issues in order to turn the dark-skinned nations against the West. But "in this part of the world there is a tremendous fund of good will between people of different races". If the Africans of Southern Rhodesia maintained faith in the good intentions of their European neighbours they would be amply repaid.

Sir Roy accused the U.K. Government of having "cynically disregarded" appeals from all sides of the House of Commons for generous treatment of Federal civil servants. It had chosen to evade its responsibility.

The Prime Minister and many M.P.s. left the chamber when Mr. Jasper Savanhu, a former junior Minister, attacked the Federal Government for its alleged "shameful betrayal of African rights". The House was prorogued on Tuesday. [An ampler report of Sir Roy Welensky's valedictory speech as Prime Minister will appear next week.—Ed.]

Commonwealth and Southern Rhodesia Prime Minister Will Not Propose Conference

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME told the House of Commons a few days ago that he would not seek to convene a meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers for the purpose of discussing Southern Rhodesia.

MR. JOHN HYND: "Has the Prime Minister noted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is consulting the Commonwealth on economic matters? Why should not the Commonwealth be consulted on political matters, particularly on one of such major importance as this, one which is becoming highly dangerous in view of the threats which have been made of precipitate action for independence before the Constitution is settled?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The question dealt with consultation but with calling a conference of Prime Ministers for a particular purpose."

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "Is the Prime Minister aware that when I suggested a meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers to discuss this matter the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations said that that was worth considering, and suggested that he might put the proposition to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers? Has nothing been done about that?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The rt. hon. gentleman knows that my rt. hon. friend is in touch with the Commonwealth Prime Ministers and others on this; but the question referred to a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference called for this purpose."

Not Their Business

MR. WALL: "Will my rt. hon. friend agree that, while members of the Commonwealth have every right to be consulted about membership, the matter of independence is wholly one between H.M. Government and the Commonwealth country concerned?"

MR. H. WILSON: "While it is probably wrong to call a special meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers for one subject, will not the Prime Minister agree that the time is well overdue for a conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers to discuss Commonwealth trade and economic development, in view of the shock to the Commonwealth of this Government's Common Market policy and the very serious conference held in September, 1962? Would it not be possible at such a conference to consider this among a number of other issues?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "It might be so. I do not know what the timing of a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference might be. It is for all the Prime Ministers to decide whether or when they hold a conference. This might be or might not be on such an agenda. I cannot tell."

MR. H. WILSON: "Will the rt. hon. gentleman tell us clearly whether he has taken the initiative since he became Prime Minister in discussions with the Commonwealth with a view to holding an early meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "When I think that the time is right to take an initiative, I shall take it."

MR. ABSE (who recently paid a brief visit to Seychelles) asked the Colonial Secretary if he was aware of the widespread failure of employers in that Colony to observe minimum wage regulations and inquired how many prosecutions had been made in consequence.

MR. SANDYS: "None of the cases of alleged failure to observe the regulations which have come to our notice since 1961 has been substantiated and no prosecutions have been undertaken."

Interview with Mr. Harry Nkumbula Relations Between A.N.C. and U.N.I.P.

NOMINATIONS will be made tomorrow week for the Northern Rhodesian general election scheduled for January 20 and 21.

Mr. Harry Nkumbula, a Minister in the present Government, and leader of the African National Congress, told a representative of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA in London at the week-end that the date had been arranged to suit Mr. Kaunda, who was already being treated by the Governor as if he were the Prime Minister. Most A.N.C. supporters were to be found in the rural areas, where it might become impossible to travel to the polls because of heavy rains, whereas U.N.I.P. drew its main following from the line-of-rail towns and the Copperbelt.

A more cogent reason for the choice of date was that a deep split existed in U.N.I.P.—as yet well concealed from outside observers—which would burst into the open if elections were delayed until about May, as Mr. Nkumbula had urged upon Mr. Sandys, the Colonial Secretary.

Daily Clashes Should Cease

Nonetheless, Mr. Nkumbula continued, he was in favour of a merger with U.N.I.P. as a last resort to put an end to the daily clashes between followers of the two parties. Such a move would require the consent of his general council, with which he would confer shortly. (He left London yesterday for Lusaka.)

Otherwise the A.N.C. would prepare to fight the elections with both African and European candidates; he would expect to gain between 30 and 35 common roll and six of the 10 special (European) roll seats. These would include some on the Copperbelt, in Lusaka, and Barotseland.

Mr. Nkumbula agreed that his following, as representative of minority tribes, was analogous with that of K.A.D.U. in Kenya, but he emphasized that he had a large section of the Bemba people with him.

He wondered if it was sufficiently realised abroad that Mr. Kaunda was not himself a Northern Rhodesian.

Mr. Nkumbula declared that he was not considering the possibility of defeat. Conjectures about his accepting some diplomatic post if the A.N.C. were defeated and then merged with U.N.I.P. were therefore sheer hypothesis. He re-iterated that a merger would be considered solely for the purpose of quelling inter-party strife, not for any political motive.

If A.N.C. Formed the Government

A Government under his leadership would seek to persuade the country's businesses to re-invest much more of their earnings locally in order to promote light industries based on agricultural, forest and mineral produce, in preference to awaiting an outside injection of fresh capital. Such schemes would provide a solution to unemployment. Co-operatives would be encouraged.

While in London he had, as Minister for African Education, met British Government education officials and had asked for 140 graduate teachers, 60 of them for primary schools, by the end of next month. He hoped to obtain similar aid from the United States. Plans were in hand for building more secondary schools.

By 1970 Northern Rhodesia expected to have its own university. Until then its students would continue to attend the University College in Salisbury. The number of local candidates for teacher training was satisfactory.

Selection Trust, Ltd., proposes to convert the 10s. stock units into ordinary shares of 5s., to increase the authorized capital to £5m., and to issue three fully-paid 5s. ordinary shares for every five ordinary shares held on December 12 by capitalizing just over £1½m. of reserves. Thus every five existing 10s. stock units will be replaced by 16 ordinary shares. An interim dividend of 1s. less tax, is to be paid on the increased capital, and the directors expect to recommend a final 1s. 6d. in May, making 2s. 6d. for the year, equivalent to the 8s. paid in the year ended March 31 last.

U.N.I.P.'s Election Manifesto No Jobs for the Boys

NO "JOBS FOR THE BOYS", non-alignment in international affairs, special outlets for the country's unemployed youth, and an export promotion board—these are among the promises made in U.N.I.P.'s manifesto for the elections next month prior to Northern Rhodesia's move to internal self-government.

Other measures proposed are a larger army and a modern air force, within the Commonwealth defence system; lower fees at formerly all-white schools; accelerated home building programmes; and the replacement of district commissioners by secretaries under the aegis of a Ministry for urban and rural administrations. Safeguards in the Constitution for individual freedom, the rights of assembly and worship, personal privacy, and the right to form trade unions are all to be observed in "Zambia", the party's new name for the Protectorate.

Mr. Kaunda told a U.N.I.P. rally on Monday: "We shall not make you a district commissioner just because you are a good party man. Top jobs will go to those with the necessary qualifications and training". He said that the position of the tribal chiefs was "firmly entrenched".

Airways Not Being Split

CENTRAL AFRICAN AIRWAYS will continue as a new corporation under the same name and under the joint control and ownership of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland after dissolution of the Federation.

Policy and finance will be supervised by a higher authority comprising one Minister from each territory, and the Rhodesias will have two members each and Nyasaland one on the board of the corporation. They will appoint an additional representative for the C.D.C., in view of its monetary aid to C.A.A. in the past. The three Governments will jointly appoint a chairman.

Private limited subsidiary companies in each country will have their own chairman and board and a substantial degree of autonomy. Traffic rights and service permits will be dealt with by the higher authority, which will regard the three territories as one area for commercial air transport.

Dakota aircraft leased to the subsidiaries will be operated by the parent company, which will also own and operate its existing fleet of five Viscounts and any other larger planes it may acquire. Beavers will be used in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The central corporation will provide technical assistance, staff on secondment, and engineering and specialist services.

It was also announced last week that Rhodesia Railways will continue as a single undertaking under the joint ownership and control of the two Governments, who will appoint three representatives each and a chairman, under a higher authority for policy and finance consisting of two Government nominees each. Responsibility for finance will be shared equally.

Parallel legislation for settling labour problems is being retained. Guarantees will be given for the loans from a railway pension fund made to the railways.

Blatant Lie

UNITS REPRESENTING every section of the Federal Army marched past at the Glamis Stadium in a farewell parade on Sunday in Salisbury staged for Sir Roy Welensky, the Prime Minister, who was presented with a plough on their behalf for use on the farm to which he will retire. Sir Roy denounced the "blatant lie that our forces constitute a threat to peace in Africa", saying: "It was no part of my Government's thinking that its armed forces should be used as an instrument of aggression. As a member of the Commonwealth we considered that we had a part to play in that Commonwealth's defence. Our army represents a threat only to the ambitions of those who aspire to overthrow the established Government by unconstitutional means and to undermine respect for the rule of law and order".

Zanzibar Independence

Wide Variations in Clove Crops

ZANZIBAR became independent at nine minutes past midnight on Tuesday morning to a 41-gun salute as the scarlet flag bearing two golden cloves was unfurled before a floodlit dais where the Sultan and the Duke of Edinburgh stood to attention.

Prince Philip wished the islands a "happy, peaceful, and prosperous future as an independent State within the Commonwealth", and gave a message of good wishes, from the Queen. Mr. Duncan Sandys, Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, presented a message from the British Prime Minister, who looked forward to continued friendship and the development of a new relationship between the two nations.

Platoons of the Gordon Highlanders, sailors from H.M.S. ARK ROYAL, and a Zanzibar Police contingent marched past. After the Sultan had made a speech, an imam intoned a Muslim prayer. The Union Jack and the Zanzibar flag flew side by side as rockets were shot above a crowd of some 80,000 islanders and visitors from many countries. A firework display was given outside the Sultan's palace.

It is not widely known that the island of Pemba produces nearly six times the quantity of cloves harvested annually in the larger island of Zanzibar, their respective areas being 380 and 640 square miles.

In recent years the respective outputs of cloves have been:—

Seasonal year	Zanzibar Tons	Pemba Tons	Total Tons
July 1-June 30.			
1958-59	1,176	5,870	7,046
1959-60	2,319	15,778	18,097
1960-61	850	5,543	6,393
1961-62	2,610	12,319	14,929
1962-63	906	4,861	5,767
Average	1,572	8,874	10,446

The immense fluctuation in annual yields will be noted.

Many Markets

One of the main functions of the Zanzibar Clove Growers Association is to guarantee buying prices, so that when the crops are large the growers may sell their entire output at a fair figure, what is not required by world markets being carried in stock by the C.G.A., which in seasons of small crops releases such quantities for world consumption as may be necessary. Both producers and consumers benefit from the consequential stabilization of prices. But for this system prices would fluctuate wildly.

Zanzibar cloves are sold to more than 70 countries, and in the past five years have accounted on average for 71.74% of the total domestic export. For the years 1958-62 inclusive domestic exports had an aggregate value of £19.3m. and clove oil shipment a value of nearly £13.9m., with an average value of £2,772,173.

Indonesians, who have been large buyers, blend cloves with their tobacco in the belief that cigarette smoking is thereby rendered less harmful. In India the clove both flavours the popular betel nut chew and holds the leaf in place. In France the bud is much used in soups; in the United States for stuffing baked ham; and in England traditionally for apple tart.

A couple of years ago the C.G.A. started an industrial research campaign, and since then cloves have been introduced into about 30 new products. One can now buy clove-scented tea, chocolate, fruit juices, after-shave lotion, breath-purifying tablets, deodorants, detergents, facial tissues, insecticides, waxes, and candles.

Post Office Savings Certificates issued by the Federal Post Office will continue to be cashable at any post office in either of the Rhodesias or Nyasaland.

Printing offices in Uganda and Northern Rhodesia are planned jointly by the *Weltweite Partnerschaft* of West Germany and the "Peace with Freedom" Movement of the United States. The main purpose is to provide printing facilities for labour and similar movements.

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Two de Courcy Charges Dropped

The first two charges against Mr. Kenneth de Courcy were dropped in the seventh week of the trial on 14 charges in connexion with Southern Rhodesian property development schemes.

After he had said in his closing speech to the jury that he believed Mr. Boggis Rolfe had made about £250,000 out of the property, and commented that "he now comes as the Crown witness to say that he was misled into losing £3,000 in New Cerney", Mr. J. Buzzard, prosecuting counsel, announced that he would ask the jury not to convict on the first count, which alleged that the accused, by the dishonest concealment of the existence of an underwriting contract between Overseas Land Purchasing Trust and Ridgway Courcy & Co., Ltd., induced Mr. Boggis Rolfe to acquire certain rights or interests; by the contract Ridgway Courcy underwrote subscriptions to New Cerney to the extent of £500,000 or any short-fall of that total, and O.L.P.T. undertook to pay £150,000 for that consideration.

Disagreed With Counsel

Next day Judge Arvold said that he would tell the jury to acquit the accused on a count alleging publication of minutes of meetings of Ridgway Courcy directors with intent to mislead a judicial tribunal.

Mr. de Courcy told the jury that, whatever their verdict, the accusations against him had done irreparable damage to himself, his wife, and four children. The gravity of the case could scarcely be exaggerated, and if there was any shadow of doubt at the end of the trial he hoped to be given the benefit of it.

Referring to the dismissal of his counsel, he said that he would not have wished to criticise so distinguished a lawyer, but he could not agree with his advice. Before the trial Mr. Griffiths-Jones had not been in favour of placing all the defence before the director of Public Prosecutions. Mr. De Courcy felt that if that had been done three-quarters of the charges could never have been made.

Projects Sound

No Crown witness had criticized the soundness of the projects, which had been based on the best professional advice. Only one investor in New Cerney had given evidence against him, and he was the agent who had sold the property.

He had never understood Lord Mansfield's failure to sign the New Cerney deed as a trustee, and he did not understand why Lord Mansfield had not put the facts frankly to the court. He did not suggest that he, an old friend of 30 years' standing, had intended to mislead, but that he suffered from a lapse of memory which involved Mr. de Courcy's own freedom and honour. The failure of Sir Victor Raikes to sign the New Cerney deed as a trustee had not been deliberate but merely a technical fault.

Mentioning that various transactions had been intended to minimize duty liabilities in a perfectly legal way, he said that he would never again try to avoid death duty: "My children can look after themselves".

On Monday Mr. de Courcy said that he had been the first guarantor of the minimum subscription for the township scheme, and that for family reasons Ridgway Courcy and then Mr. Peter von Dumreicher came into the picture. In January 1958 Knox Development Co., Ltd., which changed its name to Verneuil Trust, stepped into the shoes of all the other parties. Finally Grantmesnil Trust came on the scene. Thus five separate parties were at different times involved.

Referring to allegations of perjury, he submitted that in English law there could be no conviction for perjury arising from an interpretation of a deed. In any event, the statements he made in affidavits in High Court proceedings were, he believed, true. At the relevant time he had not considered himself in control of O.L.P.T.

Agricultural scholarships in New Zealand, self-help schemes, and a children's centre, are among the projects to be financed by £10,000 contributed to the Kenya national fund by Dalgety and New Zealand Loan, Ltd.

Southern Rhodesia took over from the Federal Government on December 1 five more departments and functions—the Ministries of Health and Posts, the Departments of Civil Aviation and Prisons, and the Land Bank.

A West German labour organization called *Weltweite Partnerschaft* has made a series of transparencies illustrating the situation in different parts of Africa from the standpoint of development aid. They are available to labour organizations.

Industrial Development Corporation

THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION formed in Southern Rhodesia under the chairmanship of Mr. Nicholas Cambitzis has a nominal capital of £5m. and initial paid-up capital of £1.5m., the Government having provided £900,000 and private enterprise the balance. Many of the projects in which it will interest itself will be concerned with processing raw materials, e.g., vegetables and fruit, wood pulp and paper, a tannery, confectionery, rubber and engineering.

The other members are Messrs. A. Carneque, managing director of the local Bata Shoe Co.; G. Euyen, local chairman of the Netherlands Bank of South Africa; R. F. Halsted, a company director and former Minister; H. W. Jeffreys, a member of the Rhodesian board of the Standard Bank and previously Federal Minister in Washington; G. Kileff, a well-known business man and tobacco farmer; E. S. Newson, general manager of the Chartered Company; S. M. Pechey, chairman of the Rhodesian board of Barclays Bank D.C.O.; and L. Treger, an industrialist and company director.

Malawi Youth Pioneers Dissolved

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Nyasaland, announced in a broadcast talk last Thursday that on returning from abroad he had been shocked to learn that the Malawi Youth Pioneers regarded themselves as independent of the Malawi Congress Party, with which they were declining to work. He had therefore that day dissolved its council, and appointed Mr. Aleke Banda, secretary general of the party and editor of *Malawi News*, to take charge of policy and administration of the pioneers under himself as their "supreme head". Mr. Chiume, Minister of Information, and one of Dr. Banda's closest ministerial associates, had been chairman of the Malawi Youth Pioneers.

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Clash between Somalia and Kenya

(Continued from page 313)

"It seems from remarks which Mr. Kenyatta made immediately afterwards that he quite misconceived the nature of the N.F.D. at the time when he exchanged what to him was the most advantageous and beneficial pledge for Kenya to ratify the boundary. I tried to get a photostatic copy of this agreement, but was unsuccessful. Fortunately, Mr. Kenyatta has blurted it out himself.

"The Emperor, worried about the reactions to this N.F.D. Commission, reminded Mr. Macmillan on October 10, 1962, of his pledge. A private memorandum was sent by the Colonial Office to the members of the commission, which first came to my notice when the commission's report was published, when it referred to it rather obscurely. It was later again brought to my notice by one of Her Majesty's Ministers. The effect of that memorandum was to approve talks on the problems of secession, but to make it clear that H.M. Government were debarred from making a decision in favour of secession before independence — which means, of course, not at all. On August 18, 1963, H.M. Government confirmed, in the conversations in Rome, that there would not be permission to secede before independence.

"The Americans have a base in Eritrea or in Eastern Abyssinia. I do not know whether it is an ear, a voice, or a trigger.

"Dirty Work", Says Lord Lytton

"What answers have the Somalis received? From noble lords on the Government side, 'too difficult'. From the Opposition side 'too dangerous'. From the Liberal benches, 'too late', a statement now echoed by almost everybody. From Mr. Macmillan, 'I cannot; I am pledged'. From the Emperor, 'sentimental rubbish'. — I presume that the official *Ethiopian Herald* is the expression of the Emperor's views — that is what they said about my remarks when I first addressed your Lordships' House in 1962.

"Mr. Kenyatta, 'I cannot; I am pledged. Not an inch'. From the United States they got, 'The Emperor is always right'. From Mr. Khrushchev, 'I will help'. From Mr. Mao, 'I will help'. From British justice, 'I am deaf'. From the United Nations, 'we approve the swallowing of Eritrea'.

"This unfortunate little country, so full of determination to be free once more, could do nothing else but appeal to the tiger, as it has done. By saying, 'Content' to my amendment, your lordships could check the dirty work that has been going on.

"We are quite likely at any moment to have a situation where the N.F.D. is conceded to the Somalis in return for something, either the Eritrea solution which I have explained, or a territorial guarantee of Ogaden, by far the most important part of what remains outside the control of the Somali nation.

"When Britain relieved Abyssinia of the fear of her two northern neighbours, Egypt and the Sudan, at the end of the 19th century, and with all Europe seeking the favours of an Emperor by providing him with arms, he collected for himself an empire, having seen how his European contemporaries were doing precisely the same thing.

Ethiopian Imperialism

"In the 16th century invasion of Abyssinia by Muslim forces the leader, Ahamed Gran, is alleged to have been a Somali; you can read in the correspondence of the emperors that every emperor grinds his teeth at the memory of Ahamed Gran. It gives a false picture, because the Somalis have no natural desire for any portions of Ethiopia; nor have the Ethiopians any desire for Somalia. It is a case of desert dwellers with camels — nomads on the low level, Somalis, and at the top Abyssinian agriculturists. There is no natural hostility; and there has been relative stability between these two for several centuries since the Portuguese shot Ahamed Gran.

"The disturbances in that area were due to the European rivalries as much as anything else, and they were settled by a treaty between Britain, Italy and France in 1906. They agreed to sustain the integrity of Ethiopia. Ethiopia was then four times the size it had been ten years before; and that is its present position. There is nothing to indicate that Ethiopia's interests are of the smallest interest to the three contracting parties; it was their own interests.

"One of the unfortunate things was that the acquired Empire of Ethiopia produced an immensely long and wide boundary of territory, several times the size of England, incompetently managed, with either no administration or a very indifferent or intermittent administration. But it was our policy to maintain it.

"In 1934 in the incident over the Ogaden, Mussolini invoked that treaty to bring to our notice that he was contemplating the occupation of a part or of the whole of Ethiopia. He

inquired whether, under clause 4, the interests which had to be considered would in any way be impaired if he did occupy Ethiopia. In our characteristic way we pretended that we did not know, and set up a commission under Sir John Maffey, which duly reported.

"Mussolini, of course, knew all about it, and he obtained a copy by photographing it in the Rome Embassy, a fact recorded in Lord Templewood's memoirs. This is the copy I am using, because, although I was offered a copy by the Colonial Office to read, they said: 'We cannot let you quote from it'. It has the great drawback of being in Italian, and I am not a speaker of Italian, although I can browse through the newspapers".

Quotations in Italian

When Lord Lytton began to quote in Italian several peers asked him to translate into English.

The translation said, in part: 'There do not exist any vital British interests in Ethiopia and her neighbouring territories of a kind to make it necessary for H.M. Government to resist an Italian conquest of Ethiopia. From every point of view the Italian control of Ethiopia would be for us advantageous. There are tribes in the Ogaden over which the Ethiopian control is only intermittent and uncertain. These regions are a sort of Alsace and the source of continual embarrassment for neighbouring countries. Raids of stock do not begin to diminish, and it is always difficult to obtain the punishment of the guilty, who are often guilty also of killing people.

'Every incident gives rise to long procedures reaching Addis Ababa, and it is not uncommon for governors to disobey the orders from higher up. Criminals continue to find a refuge in Ethiopian territory, and there is the constant risk that conditions of disorganization on the frontier may fall back again into that state of complete confusion which succeeded that period after the war'.

Lord Lytton resumed: 'It was then that preserving the integrity of Ethiopia ceased to be a vital British interest. Self-determination has now become a vital interest for everybody, at least in portions of Ethiopia, the Ogaden in particular, and that is the reason for the Emperor's intervention — to keep the Ogaden out of Somali hands.

'It is wholly Somali. It has become desirable to apply forthwith the principles of self-determination because the Somalis are going to be united; nothing will stop them, even if it takes another 40 years. I foresee that terrorism will spread.

'The most authentic book on the Somali character, by Jardine, says: 'Bloodthirsty tyrants and cut-throats; slayer of innocent women and children, cattle thief, profligate and libertine'.

Terrorism Will Develop

"On the same page and the following page: 'Great achievements. Fought the British Empire for 21 years. Five campaigns with massive orders of battle, field hospitals and heaven knows what. Venerated by his followers even when his fortunes were at their lowest. His name invoked in the heat of battle and at the cold hour of execution. Scooped at terms offered, no matter how favourable. Extraordinary tenacity. Did not know when he was beaten. The cost in premature deaths to his unfortunate people, probably 200,000. When old, he sought no comfort or repose, but tried once more to recover all that he had lost. Why did he lose? What had he lost? Only his liberty, the liberty of his people. This is Mohamed Abdille Hasan, the Mad Mullah'.

"When I met his son the other day at a cocktail party given in my honour I hoped that I might be able to invite him and introduce him to Her Majesty so that we could laugh about this period. Alas! We are to go over it all again.

"This is the way I foresee the terrorism developing. First, it must be remembered that the part which is being grievously injured is not the Somali Republic; it is Her Majesty's subjects, formerly loyal in the N.F.D. Whether or not the Somali Republic agrees to anything, it is they who have been deprived of their *uhuru* and it is there that the resistance will start.

"They have the following characteristics. First, the nomads require very little to eat; can even live entirely on milk. Secondly, the young men are capable of doing two nights in succession, 60 miles each night by night, with a light load. Thirdly, they are capable of learning to use a precision weapon. Officers of the Rifle Brigade have taught them. The Kikuyu would blame his rifle if he did not shoot well, but a Somali will learn to use precision weapons. Lastly, he will be assigned with others to a particular target: 'Get so and so'. This is likely to spread, and every incident will be attributed to the Somali Republic.

"They will be asked to catch the offenders, when they can lodge anywhere in Southern Abyssinia, anywhere across the Abyssinian boundary with Somali, which is 1,000 miles — 400 miles of Abyssinian frontier with Kenya; 350 miles between Kenya and Somalia a depopulated desert. If they are unhappy there they can go to the Sudan or elsewhere in Kenya, and this will spread to three-quarters of Ethiopia — the colonial

part — and to four-fifths of Kenya which is the non-Negro part. That is where I think it is likely to spread.

"There will be dreadful reprisals. I am an honorary citizen of the village of Kalávruta in Greece. I was elected by the population consisting of some 700 widows. All their men folk had been killed by machine-guns in cold blood one morning because of a reprisal. This sort of thing is going to happen.

"These Somalis are going to have their freedom — and if it requires the help of the Soviet Union they will perforce go to it. That is my reason for asking your lordships to pass this amendment to exclude from self-governing Kenya the part which is entitled to a separate self-government".

Very Explosive Situation

LORD HAWKE viewed the position anxiously.

"We have withdrawn, and the Muslim faces the Christian, the Muslim Somali tribesman the Ethiopian border guard — the Muslim defending his immemorial grazing rights in what is acknowledged to be a foreign territory, yet a territory a long way from Addis Ababa. And who knows to what degree the writ of the Emperor runs over his own border guards?"

"It is a very explosive situation indeed, with Egypt fishing in troubled waters, and the Russians and Chinese seeking to take sides.

"The United Nations was created to try to stop wars before they started. This unquestionably is a case for the United Nations to arbitrate and produce a solution for this border situation between the new Somali Republic and Ethiopia. They could also consider the question of this province of Kenya.

"I do not believe it right to exclude it from independent Kenya. That would be politically quite impossible. But if the United Nations were to produce a pan-Somali solution in which some sacrifice was demanded of Kenya, presumably it would be possible for independent Kenya to implement such a suggestion".

LORD FARRINGTON strongly supported Lord Lytton, adding that H.M. Government were doing a very considerable disservice to the new State of Kenya by throwing this problem of the Somalis into their laps when stability was of the essence of Kenya's future prosperity.

LORD OGMORE considered it impossible to deprive Kenya of a huge area on the eve of independence.

"It has been administered as an integral part of the country. How can we, when granting independence, suddenly snatch it away and give it some undisclosed or disclosed authority? It may be that in the future the Kenya Government would be prepared to get the United Nations involved in it. I feel that this is highly unlikely".

THE EARL OF LISTOWEL held that the Kenya-Somali problem was no longer a British affair: it was a problem for all the African Governments with Somali minorities, and of course Somalia.

Violence would be disastrous; it might easily bring the cold war into Africa. Somalia had already been armed very heavily by the Soviet Union, and it was necessary to avoid other Great Powers doing the same thing in order to assist Somalia's neighbours.

Reply for the Government

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE said that H.M. Government could not accept the amendment.

"The effect of accepting it would be that the North-East Region of Kenya would remain a British Colony. Special constitutional arrangements would have to be devised for it. Not only would the Colony be completely landlocked, but also economically totally unviable. Clearly it would be a hopeless task for the British Government to have to rule such an area without the active co-operation of the neighbouring Powers.

"The British Government have tried hard to find an honourable solution to the problem of the Somalis in Kenya. They initiated the talks in Rome early this year with the Somali Government at which the Kenya Government was represented. Our hopes of securing an agreed settlement were not realized, and we came to the conclusion that it would be wrong for the British Government to take a unilateral decision about the frontiers of Kenya without reference to the wishes of the Government of Kenya, whose Ministers had made it clear that any such decisions would be quite unacceptable to them.

"Lord Farrington said that we are doing a disservice to the Kenya Government by putting this problem in their lap. That is not the view taken by Kenya Ministers — in fact, very strongly the reverse.

"We sought to promote agreement through negotiation between the African Governments concerned. The Kenya

Government were prepared to engage in such negotiations, and recognized the interest of the Somali Government in the future of the Somali people residing in Kenya. It was the Somali Government's insistence that their own proposals must be accepted as a precondition of their acceptance of the offer of Kenya Ministers to resume talks between the Kenya and Somali Governments that led to the Rome talks being concluded without agreement. The British and Kenya Governments naturally felt that such a precondition could not be accepted.

"Some recent developments, such as the personal discussions between the Somali Foreign Minister and Kenya Ministers, have given grounds for hoping that a peaceful solution may be found. On the other hand, recent outbreaks of violence illustrate the potential dangers. A peaceful solution of this problem is essential to the peace and stability of his part of Africa, and H.M. Government believe that such a solution must be achieved by direct negotiations between the Governments immediately concerned."

Ethiopian Intervention At Every Stage

THE EARL OF LYTTON said in a brief reply:

"It has been said that this, N.F.D. is non-viable; of course it is. Nobody would want it, except the mother of children.

"The Somali Government, out of £30m. foreign aid — long before the China arrangement — have allocated £300,000 a year for it. According to figures I obtained from the provincial commissioner, that should be more than enough to cover it in the stagnant, unprogressive, non-welfare state in which we have preserved it all the time we have had it.

"Lord Listowel mentioned the question of Somali arms from the Soviet Union. I have no information about what they are; but Ethiopia keeps five divisions in or near the Ogaden for the suppression of self-determination by Somalis — and a great many more elsewhere. The new factor was the intervention of the Emperor of Ethiopia at every stage to stop every contribution to the reunification of the Somali people, together with Mr. Macmillan underwriting a principle quite contrary to that of self-determination.

"Pan-Africans have adopted the 'sanctity of Colonial boundaries' — which they have always denounced, as a means of getting us out — a most ungenerous thing in view of the fact that Somali independence set the pace from which they have benefited. It was most unfair.

"But I am not hopeful of the United Nations. The Somalis have gone to London, Washington, Bonn, and Rome. They made Mr. Kenyatta a freeman of their city. They have been to Addis Ababa. They have been everywhere ever since their State was born in 1960, trying to get further unification. There is 'No' in every direction. What more can they do?"

"I must deny the suggestion that I am here to air my views. It had been a real inconvenience to me to come here all this year. I am not a political peer. I do not come often enough to cover my expenses by putting in a claim. It is a great inconvenience. I am here to get freedom for all the people I like in Kenya; that is the only reason.

"There was this question of the precondition. H.M. Government had a precondition which the Somali Prime Minister brought to my attention more than a year ago. This is the renunciation by Mr. Macmillan of the British Government's right to give freedom. He knew about that precondition.

"I do not wish to withdraw my amendment. In these cases I believe it is customary for one when asked to say 'Content' — which is a disposition of mind I do not enjoy at this moment — and then on the second occasion to remain silent and to have the amendment negatived. Unless anybody else insists on any other formula, that is what I am assured is the best thing to do. But I could not withdraw the amendment".

The amendment was negatived.



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New Uganda Embassies Strain on "Meagre Pocket"

CONDEMNING the simultaneous establishment of new missions in Bonn, Moscow, Washington, Accra, Delhi and Geneva, Mr. B. K. Bataringaya, Leader of the Uganda Opposition, said in the National Assembly that that would "stretch our meagre pocket too far". Their establishment should be phased.

To boots from the Government benches, he suggested that friendly Commonwealth countries should be asked to represent Uganda's interests in certain countries.

Mr. S. K. E. Okurut (D.P., South Teso) thought that it would have been better if Uganda could co-operate with the other East African countries, so that all could be represented by a joint diplomatic team.

Mr. Shaffiq Arain (U.P.C.) was in general agreement that the opening up of new missions was a drain on the country's scanty resources, but called for two more, in China, where Uganda had recently made trade connexions, and in Cairo.

The Government member for Lango Central, Mr. J. M. Okae, complained that while in London he had noticed that little information material was available at Uganda's High Commission. "As a result many people know little about the country".

Mr. A. A. Latim (D.P., Acholi North-West) expressed misgivings at the rate at which the Government established the new missions, considering it a clear indication that Uganda was determined to oppose an East African Federation.

Mr. George Magezi, Minister of State, said that Uganda would have a number of new officers in the External Affairs Department when the six missions were fully established. Nine would be at home, seven in London, nine in New York, three in Moscow, three in Bonn, two in Accra, two in Delhi, two in Geneva, and three in Washington.

Sufficiently qualified men and women were already available; 21 would attend short courses at Makerere College in foreign affairs. The question of lack of man-power did not arise. "We are running these things with great sense and sanity".

The new missions were not too much if Uganda's non-alignment policy was to be adhered to. The country could not expect the Commonwealth countries to carry Uganda's foreign affairs. It was very difficult to determine one's friends in external relations.

Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., is to pay no interim dividend for the current year.

Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., will pay an interim 2s. 6d. per £1 stock unit for the year to March 31.

Sheffield is to import 15,000 tons of steel, worth about £400,000, from the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Corporation.

A chemical industry is to be started in Mozambique by Portuguese interests. The proposed capital is about £64m.

Coronation Syndicate, Ltd., reports mine profit at the Arcturus property of £3,393 in November and of £5,705 at the Muriel Mine.

Globe & Phoenix Gold Mining Co., Ltd., recovered 2,836 oz. gold in November from treating 5,080 tons, the working profit being £22,525.

Kanyemba Gold Mining Co., Ltd., had a profit of £2,488 in November from milling 3,450 short tons of ore, and **Mazoe Consolidated** a mine profit of £5,473, capital expenditure being £4,096.

Dalny Mines, Southern Rhodesia, had a working profit for November of £28,639. The production was 6,025 oz. gold from 22,600 tons milled.

United Dominions Trust, Ltd., which has Rhodesian subsidiaries, has declared an interim 4% dividend, less tax, on the £6m. of ordinary stock.

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., sold 217,215 tons of coal and 10,642 of coke in November. The October figures were 234,322 and 9,128 tons respectively.

Companhia de Cimentos de Mozambique has brought into production in Portuguese East Africa a cement plant with a capacity of about 100,000 tons a year.

British Overseas Stores, Ltd., which has Rhodesian and Mozambique interests, reports profit after tax to March 31 at £33,389, against a loss in the previous year of £8,670. No dividend is to be paid.

Tanganyika Diamond and Gold Development Co., Ltd., had a loss to June 30 of £207,805, against £11,259 in the previous year, bringing the accumulated loss to £233,356. Proposals for reconstruction are to be made shortly.

At the latest cotton sales in Dar es Salaam 10,000 bales of Mwanza staple were bid up to 209.75 East African cents, the highest price for three years. This season the Lint Marketing Board has so far sold 205,251 bales at an average of 194 cents.

Loans of £125,000 each from the C.D.C. and the Kenya Government will enable Nairobi City Council to redevelop the Kariokor housing estate, demolishing the present bad structures and building 240 three-bedroomed flats for Africans in the middle-income groups.


Barclays Overseas Development Corporation, Ltd., reports net profit after tax to September 30 at £205,170 (£193,929). The 4% dividend is repeated. Investments stand in the books at £2,115,843 (£2,036,321), mainly in unquoted stock, which the directors value at just over £2m. (£1.9m.). Loans stand at £7.4m. (£8.1m.).

Mitchell Cotts Group, Ltd., reports profit to June 30 at £1,168,501 (£923,436) subject to tax of £646,867 (£503,812). After deduction of minority interests, the net profit is £516,436 (£421,876). The dividend is raised by 2½% to 17½%. For some years the distribution had been 25% until it was cut to 12½% for 1960-61.

Lorrho, Ltd., paid 15s. per share for 200,000 shares in Henderson's Transvaal Estates, Ltd., some months ago, according to the annual report of that company. The highest middle market price of the shares on the London Stock Exchange since the option was granted on March 1 has been 14s. 3d., and since then the quotation has dropped to 12s. 3d.

That copper producers outside the U.S.A. have accumulated between 130,000 and 150,000 tons of the metal in supporting the price at £234 per ton was suggested last week by Dr. Joseph Zimmerman, vice-president of the Miles Metal Corporation, Inc. That large investment was, he agreed, a very good reason to discount the idea of any fall in the price level; and the 300,000 tons per annum of idle mine capacity because of the voluntary cut-back scheme argued against a price rise. Market stability was therefore to be expected.

C. T. Bowring & Co., Ltd., the largest firm of Lloyd's brokers, who have also many other interests, including an East African subsidiary, will shortly market some of the A ordinary shares, but family control will be retained. The re-organization capital will be just over £3.4m., £200,000 in 7% cumulative preference shares, and 7,124,900 ordinary and 5,699,920 A ordinary, each of 5s. Shareholders are being asked to contribute sufficient A ordinary at a minimum price of 16s. 6d. to enable 1,425,000 to be put on the market. Group profits before tax for the year are estimated at about £1.4m. Shareholders will receive 9.9% dividend. The ordinary capital is just under £1.8m.



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Company Report**Barclays Bank D.C.O.****A Year of Expansion****Progress in New African Countries****Importance of the Commonwealth****British Economy Reaching Firmer Ground****MR. J. S. CROSSLEY'S STATEMENT**

THE THIRTY-EIGHTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF THE STOCKHOLDERS OF BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O. will be held on January 1, 1964, at 54 Lombard Street, London, E.C.3.

The following is the statement by the Chairman, Mr. JULIAN STANLEY CROSSLEY, circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended September 30, 1963:—

1963 has been a year of expansion in the business of our Bank. In the balance-sheet the figure for current, deposit and other accounts at £825 million shows an increase on the year of £97 million. Taken together with an increase of over £90 million in the previous year, this means that, within the space of two years, balances with the Bank have increased by some 30%. As against this our loans and advances have increased during the year at a slightly higher rate and now amount to about 48% of total deposits, as against 45% a year ago. The current year's earnings have shown a rather better increase than in the previous year. In 1962, however, the figures were adversely affected by the high rates paid on deposits originating during the period when the Bank Rate here stood at a high figure and by the lower ratio of funds lent. The process of running off these costly deposits and the increase in lendings has given some relief to the current year's figures, so that in spite of higher staff and maintenance costs the overall earnings show some further improvement.

The expansion in the figures has not been due to any important increase in the number of branches in operation or to the tapping of new areas. We have in fact opened only 40 new offices during the year. There are now 12 more full branches in operation than at this date last year, eight more sub-branches, and 20 more agencies. This growth has been due to increased figures at existing branches and is spread widely over the different territories.

Africa—Business Expansion Unchecked

In New York we have now taken advantage of the relaxation in the regulations governing foreign banks to convert our agency at 120 Broadway into a full branch of the Bank. In addition to this we shall be opening next year another branch in New York at 300 Park Avenue, which we hope will prove to be conveniently situated for the many customers of the Bank who visit the U.S.A. and who come nowadays from all our territories, either on business or in a private capacity. With a branch in the midtown area as well as downtown in the Wall Street district, both of them equipped to offer a complete banking service, we hope to be able to satisfy all requirements.

Although the area of the Bank's operations is by no means confined to the continent of Africa, it remains true that our African business still amounts to slightly over 60% of the total. At a time when so much nervousness is being publicly expressed about the future of Africa, both politically and economically, it may be thought a little surprising that our branches there should have continued to show a marked expansion in business. This trend appears so far to have been quite unchecked by the many political changes which have taken place during the past few years. Although the rate of growth naturally varies greatly—and for all kinds of reasons—between one territory and another, it has nevertheless been general and widespread.

Measured in terms of the total of customers' balances at the Bank's branches the following figures give the growth in some of the areas in Africa as shown in our books at September 30, 1963, as compared with the figures seven years earlier; this was the last year before independence was first granted to a British Colonial territory in Africa—Ghana:—

Ghana	133%
Libya	190%
Nigeria	173%
Sudan	58%

All African territories ... 45%

It is possible, I am told, to juggle with figures in such a way as to support almost any argument, provided of course that one is clever enough. There has not been any attempt to juggle with these figures, and I do not suggest that they prove anything at all. Nevertheless they do seem to indicate that most of these countries are making fair progress and that the ones which have recently received independence do not suffer by comparison. The startling figure for Libya is due almost entirely to the discovery of oil on a very large scale.

No Loss of Confidence

In spite of the problems with which business in Africa—as in many other parts of the world—is confronted, it is quite misleading to suggest that there has been any general loss of confidence, or running down of the economy due to political unrest. Many of the new countries have, in fact, made surprisingly good progress in circumstances which have been far from easy. In my view it has been a major misfortune for Africa that so much attention should have focused on the troubles in the Congo. That unfortunate country was left to carry on as best it might with scarcely any

preparation for self-government and with an almost total absence of trained personnel. In these circumstances it is perhaps rather a matter for surprise that complete chaos should so far have been averted. The most strenuous efforts will be needed, together with firm discipline, if the country is to be put on a stable basis.

Latent Energy Released

On the whole, while it is true, I think, that what the ordinary folk want most of all in Africa, as elsewhere, is to be left alone to get on with what they are doing with as little interference as possible, the attainment of political independence has undoubtedly released a latent energy. At times this energy may be misdirected. Mistakes are made—but what country can plead “not guilty” to that? Nevertheless, undeniable progress is there for all to see.

In the Bank we have direct evidence of this in our own figures, and I hope and believe that we contribute in some measure to this progress, not only through the services we provide to our customers but in the training of our staff to which so much care is given. In this work we, ourselves have our failures as well as our successes to report, but I believe that this, in the long run, the most important as well as perhaps the most rewarding task of all. Many of our staff in these new countries overseas are becoming proud of their status and position in the Bank and have, no doubt, begun to realize that in serving the Bank well and with increasing efficiency they are doing a worthwhile job not only for themselves and for the Bank but also for their country. We are grateful to them for the excellent work which they do and for the high standards which so many of them are setting. I should like to take this occasion on your behalf to thank this great body of men and women both at home and overseas for the results which have been achieved in the current year. It can fairly be said that conditions of service throughout the Bank are steadily improving and, if this results, as it should, in increasing efficiency, our staff can confidently look forward to further improvements which should give encouragement for the future.

Primary Products—Need for International Agreements

I referred last year to the effect on the economy of many of our territories of the fall in the price of raw products which form the mainstay of their earnings. The firmer trend in commodity prices that set in towards the end of last year has continued unchecked during 1963. This, we can hope, may do something to offset any reduction in U.S. economic aid that must now presumably be expected. We have to bear in mind, however, that the recent rise in the overall index figure for commodities owes much to special circumstances such as the disastrous effect on the sugar crop of hurricane and flood damage in Cuba and other parts of the Caribbean and the crop failures apparently affecting the grain harvest in Russia and Eastern Europe. Although many other products have risen in sympathy, this may not be much consolation for those who are still finding the price of their products unremunerative. It will be hard to feel great confidence in the future of many primary products as long as the industrial countries continue to devote their energies to the production of synthetic substitutes.

Little progress has been made with world commodity agreements which formed the subject of much high level discussion last year. The International Monetary Fund, however, in its report to the United Nations, stressed very strongly the urgent need for some long-term action. Export prices for the “commodity” countries this year, though likely to be considerably better than last, are

still expected to be a long way below the level of a decade earlier. The failure of the cocoa producers and consumers to reach agreement in Geneva, moreover, was not an encouraging omen, but should not deter those who believe that in agreements of this nature must lie the future of the primary producer. It is in this somewhat inauspicious environment that many of the new countries have had to begin their independent existence.

In these conditions it is hardly surprising that they should make efforts to diversify their economies and to establish local industry wherever possible, but it is essential that this should never be at the expense of the efficiency of the agricultural industry which in many of these countries is, and must remain, the most important element in the economy, giving employment, for example, to upwards of 80% of the man-power of Africa. The shining new industrial plants exercise a powerful attraction for many of us, but the shine will not last long unless the industry has a realistic basis, holding prospects of a profitable future. My own belief is that, although it may pose many delicate questions for them, the wisest course for the highly industrialized nations to adopt is not to oppose this trend towards the establishment of industry in the newer countries but, on the contrary, to give every assistance to it and, in so doing, help to guide it into sound channels. In many cases technical help is required, and not infrequently opportunities arise for enterprises to start up in partnership between local and overseas interests.

Capital Needs of the New Countries

In 1958 our Bank set up a registrar's department in Nigeria which now handles share transactions for ten Nigerian companies with a combined issued capital of nearly £20 million. In that year, too, we handled the first public issue of a company in Nigeria. It was over-subscribed; and over 80% of the applications came from small investors. The success of this first issue acted as a guiding light for others, and in June 1961 the Lagos stock exchange was set up.

We are hoping to set up a registrar's department in Ghana next year, and we have reason to believe that public issues of shares of companies in Ghana would be welcome.

In spite of the fact that some of the new countries are beginning to generate their own savings on a moderate scale, they must presumably rely on capital from overseas in some form or other for a long time to come. While aid has been provided through Government agencies on a large scale and under many different headings, it does not conform to any co-ordinated plan. Some of it in fact can hardly be called aid in the proper sense but is more in the nature of a political stunt; some of it is so hedged about with conditions as to nullify its value. In any case, aid of this sort can hardly be expected to cover the whole field. Unless the underdeveloped countries are to fall even further behind, and so widen the already dangerously wide gap in living standards, a freer flow of private capital from the industrial countries seems essential.

British Investment

It would be a mistake, I believe, to look at this matter merely as an exercise in altruism. In the long run it should be good business, for surely it is only by broadening the basis of their economy that the lesser developed countries can ever hope to earn enough to become a worthwhile market. In the past the overseas markets of the world were developed largely by British enterprise with the free use of London's capital market. In that process the British

investor accepted considerable risks. Risks, I believe, must be accepted today, but circumstances have changed and London today obviously could not supply all the developing world's needs. Nevertheless, British capital is even now finding its way into these new areas on a considerable scale.

Quite an impressive list could be compiled of large firms, many, though not all of them, British, which have started up new enterprises overseas in recent years either on their own or in conjunction with local interests. This kind of investment can be exceedingly valuable, for it brings technical knowledge with it which often means that much can be learnt of advantage to both parties. Our Bank has been able to play its part in financing some of these operations, a process which its international character particularly suits it to serve. Our Development Corporation also, whose activities are almost exclusively confined to the new countries, has, since it was formed, put out £28 million in the form of medium-term finance. While this is not a large sum in relation to total requirements it has nevertheless been a factor in helping to get started numerous developments of relatively small size. The Commonwealth Development Corporation and Commonwealth Development Finance Company, of course, have been engaged upon similar work, generally in the field of larger enterprises. All these agencies have made and are making a substantial contribution to this important work. Nevertheless, it can hardly be claimed that the present means are anything like adequate for the immense task of raising the standards of the poorer countries.

Facilities for the Private Investor

For some considerable time past people have been giving more attention to the subject of protecting the private investment of foreign capital in the developing countries. The World Bank, for example, has for some years had under study plans for dealing with this problem. Whether these would meet the legitimate requirements of private capital it is hardly possible to say without more information. The potential investor who may wish to take advantage of an opportunity to participate in the development of these new countries is mainly in need of two things; firstly, some general information of how to set about it with reliable local knowledge in each particular case and, secondly, some insurance against political risks. With the great potentialities for growth which should be apparent in many cases the investor should be prepared to pay a premium to cover these risks.

There are those who think that some form of international organization is needed which would provide a regular and widely recognized channel through which these facilities could be obtained and which would be able to perform in the field of investment somewhat similar functions to those of the Export Credits Guarantee Department in the field of exports. If it is desired to encourage the maximum flow of investment, the organization must be fully international in character. A consortium of British and European banks, for example, with their combined knowledge of investment and of the credit risks involved and with the knowledge peculiar to London of the principal areas in the under-developed world, might be a helpful step in this direction.

E.E.C. or Commonwealth—The Essential Considerations

At this time last year there was widespread belief that Britain was on the point of becoming a member of the European Economic Community. For those of us who are concerned with Commonwealth affairs it

was an anxious time, for no amount of sophistry could disguise the fact that the terms were likely to be seriously prejudicial to the interests of the Commonwealth and, in particular, of Commonwealth trade. Whether or not it was a good idea for Britain to join the Common Market, it was certainly not a good idea to ignore other relevant considerations or to suggest that there was virtually no alternative except stagnation and decay. Now that we have the opportunity to do so it seems that we should try to get the essentials of the problem into perspective.

Contrary to British Interests

We have to consider first of all whether it could be right in any circumstances that Britain, whose great position in the world—and let it not be forgotten that she has a great position—has been built up on world trade, should merge herself in a closely-knit and largely self-sufficient community such as the E.E.C. While we respect its recent remarkable achievements, the tradition and experience, as well as the political heritage, of its members is completely different from our own. The E.E.C., moreover, is only a small fraction of the world. It does not represent by any means the whole of Europe nor even of Western Europe. For Britain to link her fortunes indissolubly with the E.E.C., in which she would have, one might say, a 20 per cent. participation, would therefore be to turn her back on her past and, in my belief, on her future also.

In agreeing to the terms laid down, Britain would have bound herself to an arrangement under which by 1970 she would have been obliged to discriminate against Commonwealth goods, whose privileged position in the British market would by then have finally disappeared. Quite apart from the fact that such terms would run contrary to the general interest of expanding the trade of the less developed countries, they could hardly fail to do great damage to Britain's trading arrangements with the whole Commonwealth. Here, at least, there exists a genuine "special relationship".

Commonwealth Needs Leadership

For very many years membership of the Commonwealth has brought undoubted benefit to all concerned. It does not depend on a rigid constitution nor on a set of fixed rules; it does not set out to be an integrated political unit nor an economic power bloc; it neither seeks to dominate others nor to be an exclusive club. Yet both in potential resources and in population it bulks large in the world, for exceeding in size the whole of Europe or the United States.

The unique feature of the Commonwealth, however, lies in its character and composition. The fact that it includes peoples of almost every race and creed, spread across the face of the world, enables it to act as a safety valve. Its members range from some of the most advanced to some of the most backward peoples, yet they have practical experience of consulting and co-operating together. By providing the forum in which these diverse elements are brought together the Commonwealth can greatly help to reduce tensions and break down barriers. To strengthen this cross-section of the world, which is the Commonwealth, is, therefore, to strengthen the forces making for peace.

The Commonwealth has been passing through difficult times in recent years, due largely to the fact that the attainment of independence by its younger members came at a time when Britain herself, impoverished by the war, was engrossed in her own domestic problems and unable to provide as much of her resources as might have been wished for the

development of her overseas territories. There are signs that Britain's economy may at last be reaching firmer ground, which we must hope will be the signal for a new firmness of purpose, for the Commonwealth needs leadership now as perhaps never before. In its present stage of development it is probable that the leadership can come only from Britain — although that may not always be the case.

Closing Gulf between Rich and Poor

It is a matter for regret that in the United States there should apparently be such strong antipathy towards Commonwealth Preference, because it may be found that some strengthening of these economic ties will be necessary. But, even if this is not so, a deliberate weakening of them, such as that envisaged in the terms of Britain's proposed entry to the Common Market would be deplorable. If it should really be an aim of U.S. policy to weaken the Commonwealth, this can hardly be based on reason, for the Commonwealth contains no sort of threat, economic or otherwise, to the position of the United States. In actual fact the very reverse is the case, for a strong and prosperous Commonwealth can bring only benefit to the United States, both economically and politically, by serving as a barrier against the extension of Communism in many parts of the world. On the other hand, it is the declared aim of the United States to give aid to the lesser developed nations and to encourage other highly industrialized countries to do the same.

The "family of man" cannot long endure the "growing gulf between rich and poor". The Commonwealth, which contains a large element of "the poor", is a working example of the way in which, through the free access of their products to the British market, many of them derive substantial benefit. The G.A.T.T., which has done much valuable work, was unfortunately not designed to suit the particular needs of the more backward countries. It has even been said of it that, in practice, it operates to the advantage of the rich at the expense of the poor. This view is, perhaps, hardly fair and certainly a gross oversimplification. The rules of the G.A.T.T., however, are not inflexible, as has been shown in its acceptance of the Common Market.

The progress of the E.E.C., which has done much to transform the face of Western Europe, has been one of the most remarkable features of recent years, but this fact cannot hide the magnitude of the problems that will face it in the future nor conceal the difficulty of reconciling its present policies with the interest of a wider world. Those for whom "Brussels" still seems to exercise a fatal fascination should see that it is quite unrealistic to consider any resumption of negotiations now. If this issue were to come up again at some future date it would have to be considered on a different basis, with greater regard for the interests of the Commonwealth and of the world as a whole.

Changes in Management

There has not been any change in the composition of our board during the past financial year, but I have to report that since the date of the balance-sheet Mr. W. G. Bryan, a director of Barclays Bank Limited, has been elected a director. His name will come up for re-election in the ordinary way at the annual general meeting. In the meantime I should like to say that I have doubt whatever that his knowledge and experience will be of great value to the Bank.

Mr. A. E. Ambrose, who is at present general manager in Nigeria, has been appointed a general manager of the Bank and will take up his duties at head office early in the New Year.

Mr. W. Sparrowe, an assistant general manager,

retired earlier in the year, and Mr. E. W. Leach has been appointed assistant-general manager (staff).

Mr. E. C. Ruggles-Brise has retired from membership of the London Committee after having served on it for 22 years. Mr. T. H. Bevan has been appointed in his place.

I am very sorry to have to record the death of Sir George Albu on February 18 at the early age of 57. He had been a member of the South African Board for 28 years, and although he was seriously ill for the last two and a half years of his life he had always remained astonishingly cheerful. He will be sadly missed.

Mr. H. P. Stevens, who was manager of our main branch at Johannesburg, has been appointed a member of the South African Board. Mr. J. P. de Wet, an assistant general manager in South Africa, retired in June, and Mr. D. J. Band has been appointed an assistant general manager in Johannesburg.

Mr. B. I. Coney, who has served the Bank for more than 50 years, retired from the chairmanship of the Natal Board on October 1, but I am pleased to say that he remains a member of that board and has been appointed vice-chairman. Mr. G. E. Noyce, who has been a member of the Natal Board since its inception, has been appointed chairman, and Mr. R. S. Armstrong and Mr. G. V. Crookes have been appointed members.

Separate Local Control Offices

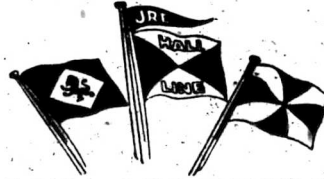
In Central Africa, the fact that the three territories will in future be separately administered makes it necessary, in our view, that we should set up separate local control offices for our business in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, at Lusaka and Blantyre respectively. The chairmen of the boards will be Mr. S. M. Pechey, C.B.E., in Southern Rhodesia, Mr. W. D. Lewis, O.B.E., in Nyasaland, and Mr. G. R. Burden, M.B.E., in Northern Rhodesia. We are very glad that Mr. Burden has been able to accept this appointment, more particularly as he was at one time the manager of our Lusaka branch. The appointment of general manager in Rhodesia will lapse, and the chief executive officers in the three territories will be Mr. C. S. Skipper and Mr. F. Pilling, local directors, in Salisbury, Mr. J. R. Shaul, Northern Rhodesia manager, in Lusaka, and Mr. C. Bate, Nyasaland manager, in Blantyre. The separate controls will start to function as from the end of this year, and I am sure that stockholders would wish me to thank the members of the Federal Board and the general manager, Mr. Skipper, for the fine work they have done for the Bank.

Stockholders may remember that in 1960 I was able to report that Mr. L. C. Daldry had been awarded the C.B.E. and that he had the unique distinction of being elected a member of the Nigerian Senate. It gives me great pleasure now to report that in the Honours List published just before Nigeria became a Republic on October 1 Mr. Daldry was awarded a K.B.E.; and by a happy coincidence this honour came a few days prior to his retirement from the chairmanship of the Nigeria Board, making a fitting climax to his service in Nigeria. Mr. W. Duncan has been appointed general manager in Nigeria and will take up his duties next January, as will Mr. G. A. O. Thomson who has been appointed assistant general manager in Nigeria and a member of the Nigeria Board.

In Ghana, Mr. J. A. Scott retired in April, and Mr. J. P. G. Wathen has been appointed chairman of the board in his place.

In East Africa, Mr. G. E. A. Elliott has been appointed Tanganyika manager in the place of Mr. H. Eagle, who retired in April, and in the West Indies Mr. K. J. Ball has been appointed Trinidad manager in place of Mr. N. J. Rowlatt, who retired in May.

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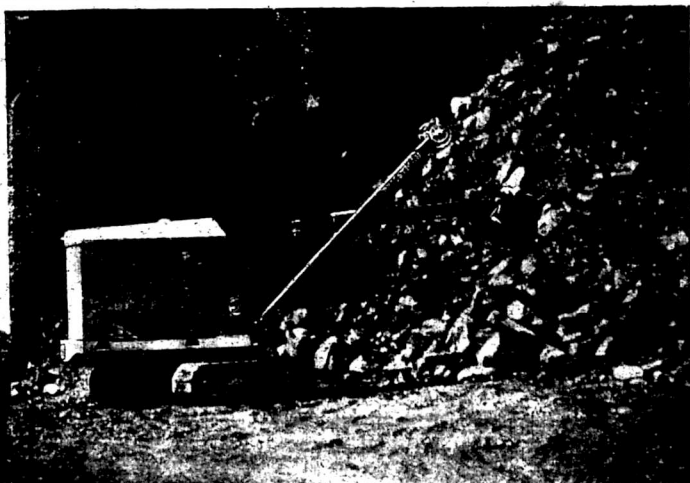
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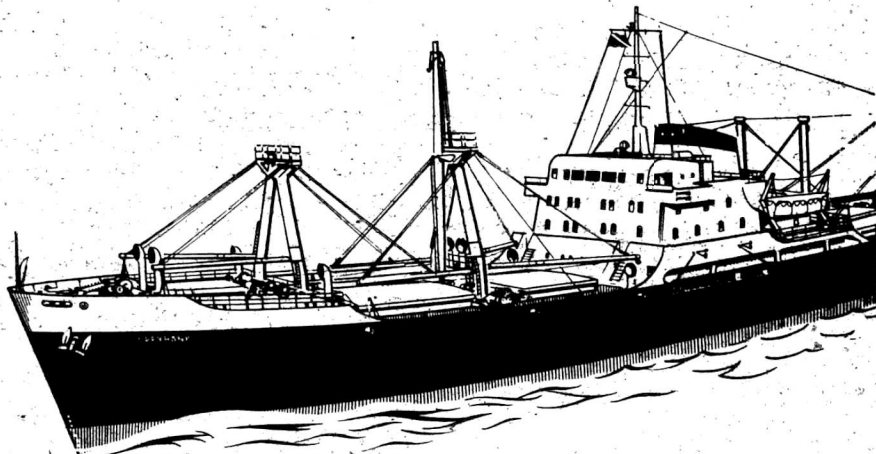
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

BECAUSE DR. NYERERE stands out among African political leaders for his personal qualities, there is a widespread assumption that Tanganyika, of which he is

Tanganyika Confiscates Dar es Salaam Club.

President, can be relied upon to act fairly and tolerantly in all things; and that surprisingly general confidence has not been shaken by a sequence of events which would have caused considerable adverse comment if they had occurred in one of the neighbouring territories. Tanganyika, which quickly acquired a favourable "image", now appears prepared to run serious risks of damaging its good standing in the world. Recently, for instance, it has established training camps for African "freedom fighters" who are to be employed in open hostilities against a fellow member of the Commonwealth, Southern Rhodesia; it has provided accommodation and subsidies for African politicians from other countries who are overtly engaged in subversive activities against their own Governments; it has suddenly threatened State control of the marketing of sisal, the country's chief producer of export earnings and taxation; and now one of the most valuable private properties in Dar es Salaam, in one of the best positions in the city, or for that matter in the whole country, has been confiscated without warning and without compensation.

It fell to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Lusinde, to tell the National Assembly about the seizure of the Dar es Salaam Club, an act of piracy for which he entirely failed to account in a speech which

Minister's Speech A Caricature.

resembled a caricature of an explanation rather than the explanation itself. Because the club had been started in German days and was then, he alleged, the property of the Government of German East Africa, the present Government held that it

should not have passed into private hands under British rule. The implication of that novel idea is that any act of the British Administration since the 1914-18 war may be reversed for the convenience of the present Government, without regard to the rights of anyone else; and that, of course, is the negation of justice, common sense, and international practice. The club was described by the Minister as "an ex-enemy property", the ownership being dismissed as "very fictitious" because the expatriates who constituted the membership left the country when they retired. "Considering these two facts and the history of the club, let alone security reasons, the Government has decided to take back this club and make use of it for the benefit of Tanganyika and in the Tanganyika way".

No definition of the "security reasons" was proffered, and the purpose to which the premises will be put for "the benefit of Tanganyika" was not indicated. Seemingly unaware of the irony of his words, Mr. Lusinde credited the Government with having

Is £100,000 Too High A Valuation?

generously decided to compensate the living individuals who are members by paying back to them whatever amount of money they paid by way of entrance fees". Then, as if to suggest that the liabilities of the club far exceeded its assets — a reprehensible misrepresentation—he declared unctuously that "even if the liabilities far exceed the assets, it is fair that the Government should take back the people's property and put it to better use". That was the smoke-screen behind which the daylight robbery was undertaken. Anger at the suggestion in a local newspaper on the previous day that the club was worth something like £100,000 was perhaps simulated, for the Government spokesman admitted that the last balance-sheet valued "everything, including the pictures and what-

not" at £41,000. The Minister must know that present values have little relation to the historic cost of acquiring and equipping the club, that the depreciation charged year by year as a matter of prudence has substantially reduced the book valuations, and that the current worth of many assets would therefore show a handsome balance on the right side. Moreover, he entirely ignored the highly important fact that the splendid site on the harbour front would attract high bids from those wanting a prestige position for a hotel or outstandingly good office or residential building. Indeed, it would not be surprising if the site alone were worth £100,000.

* * *

The Minister's statement was so unsatisfactory that there will be a suspicion that the authorities covet the ground on which the club stands, and that that may be the real

Members Entitled to Division of Assets.

reason for an act of expropriation which will be resented by fair-minded persons and must therefore impede the growth of that confidence for which Tanganyika's spokesmen ceaselessly plead. During the debate in the National Assembly the point was emphasized that many Europeans have not belonged to the club (which has had African and Asian members) and that those who were

now to be deprived of an amenity were an unrepresentative society of senior officials and leading businessmen. Did it not occur to the Government that such men are precisely the persons in Dar es Salaam whose advice would be most likely to be sought by intending investors, and that its present act of confiscation must adversely affect the judgments they will be called upon to give from time to time? They will still resent this spiteful expropriation when other discriminatory and unfair acts will have become blurred memories. Members of the club are merely to be repaid their joining fees and the unexpired proportion of the current annual subscription. When a club in the Western world ceases to exist—and there have been a number of such cases in London in recent years—any surplus of assets over liabilities is as a matter of right divided among the surviving members. Since joining fees have naturally had relation to the club's assets, members of the Dar es Salaam Club may with good reason complain of the seizure of their property without compensation. Unless the Tanganyika Government wishes to remain under the charge of enjoying the illegal possession of private property—for a club is the private property of its members—it should cause an impartial valuation to be made and ensure that the surplus is distributed among those who have a clear title to it.

Notes By The Way

Mr. Stewart Parker

HIS TWELVE YEARS as private secretary to Sir Roy Welensky must have given Mr. W. Stewart Parker as fascinating, strenuous, unforgettable and unexpected a career as any civil servant anywhere in Africa can have had in that period of fantastic change. Never again will he or anyone else live through comparable experiences; and as the years pass his own surprise at some of the happenings in which he participated may increase rather than decrease. He accompanied Sir Roy on all his important journeys overseas, and that he held the complete trust of one of the ablest, most consistent, most forthright, and most cruelly treated of all political figures in the whole Commonwealth was evident to all who had close personal contacts with the Prime Minister. It required the destruction of the Federation by the Macmillan Government to dissolve their association.

Career in Brief

MR. PARKER was born in the Cape Province on Christmas Day 1920, and educated at the Diocesan College in Rondebosch, the University of Cape Town, and St. John's College, Cambridge (of which he is an M.A.). On leaving Cape Town University he joined the South African Forces and served in the campaign in Ethiopia and the Western Desert as an anti-aircraft

gunner, and afterwards in Italy in the South African Intelligence Corps. On demobilization he went to Cambridge, where he took an honours degree in economics. Then, in 1948, he joined the commercial service department of the Standard Bank, which he left two years later to enter the Colonial Administrative Service in Northern Rhodesia.

Pro Tem.—for Twelve Years

IN THE NEXT YEAR the sudden death of an official who had been acting as private secretary to Sir Roy Welensky in his capacity as chairman of the non-official members of the Legislature caused Mr. Parker to be appointed to the vacancy on a provisional basis. What was to have been a temporary attachment lasted a dozen years, made him privy to much "top secret" information, and brought him into touch with many of the public leaders of Central, South and East Africa and with Ministers and other prominent people in Britain and the U.S.A. No man still in his early forties can have had more varied, instructive, and enlightening secretarial experiences. The Schlesinger Organization, which he has just joined in Johannesburg, has a very exceptional recruit, one whose ability and devotion to Sir Roy Welensky have gained him well-wishers in many countries.

In Praise of Malawi

MALAWI—Nyasaland's new name after independence. —wants a national anthem, and wants it very much on the cheap: for £100 the winner must provide acceptable music and up to four verses of up to ten lines. If an entry of anything like 40 lines be adopted, the occasions on which it is played right through will scarcely be popular. The first rule for every competitor should be to keep constantly in mind the vanity of Dr. Banda, for verse which fails to exalt the Ngwazi must be expected to disqualify itself automatically. Submissions which refer repeatedly to the Prime Minister, a man with an inordinate appetite for abject adulation, should stand quite a chance of reaching the short list. Guidance is provided by the more nonsensical pages of Nyasaland's *Hansard* during the past year; there will be found columns of obsequious flattery and flummery by Ministers and other Members of the Legislature (from among whom the selection committee will presumably be composed, at least in part).

"I Am the Boss"

A DELIGHTFUL COUNTRY, populated by generally delightful people, deserves to be spared sycophancy and hypocrisy in its anthem, and it is to be hoped that a really outstanding hymn of a permanent character will be offered, brought to Dr. Kamuzu Banda's notice during one of his good-humoured moods, and accepted. That would serve his interest as well as Nyasaland's, for he would in time regret, and perhaps even despise, a composition which was not truly national but essentially a panegyric about the person of a leader who may soon pass into the shades. Indeed, frequent declarations that "I am the boss" suggest that this medical practitioner of considerable experience already finds it necessary to reassure himself and others. If that is the case before any real difficulties confront him — for self-government and independence were handed to him by the defeatist Macmillan Government easily and prematurely — what is likely to happen when the people discover that there will be no fulfilment of the extravagant hopes they have been encouraged to nurse? An anthem glorifying their misleader will not then make much appeal.

Freedom and Mau Mau

CONSIDERING the extraordinary reception arranged for the Mau Mau gangsters who have been induced to leave the forests and re-enter Kikuyu society—for nearly all of them are Kikuyu—it is not surprising that Mrs. Kimathi, widow of Dedan Kimathi, one of the worst of the murdering thugs, who was hanged seven years ago for his crimes, should have told a great crowd near Nyeri on Monday that the Mau Mau remnant "should all be given the rights enjoyed by high-ranking people in this country", or that she should have shouted the new slogan "*Uhuru na Mau Mau*" (Freedom and Mau Mau). A heroes' welcome having been deliberately arranged by the Kenyatta Government, they should be the last to complain if the Mau Mau whom they are turning loose in a country already riven by hates, fears, and suspicions demand to be treated as heroes. This glorification of the foulest rebellion in British African history will certainly not encourage confidence in the outside world, except that it will please the Russian and Chinese Communists and their friends. Parliamentarians and Press in the United Kingdom will, however, be little disturbed, shrugging off this new danger signal as they have shrugged off the destruction of the Federation. Britons in general will be more fastidious.

Bribery

BRIBERY is known to have increased greatly in African territories which have been granted internal self-government and then independence, and in most such countries, if not all, the leader of the party in power has found it necessary to speak publicly and severely about corruption. Nobody in East Africa has been more outspoken on the subject than Dr. Nyerere, President of Tanganyika, and in that Republic any person convicted of bribery has now to be sentenced to a minimum of 24 lashes and not less than two years' imprisonment. Nowhere between the Nile and the Limpopo is comparable punishment mandatory. Evidently, however, there is still need for the gravity of the offence to be kept under public notice, for several regional and area commissioners have since denounced it, and Mr. J. B. M. Mwakangale, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Local Government, has recently told the people of Tanga that "bribery of any kind, whether practised by ordinary members of the public or by people with responsibility in the public service, is a great danger to the principles of good and democratic government". Who, I wonder, is the more to blame—those who endeavour to buy the favour of an African functionary, or the functionary who makes it known that he expects a *douceur* before he will interest himself in a problem.

Sheikh Ali Muhsin

NO POLITICIAN in Zanzibar has worked so consistently for independence as Sheikh Ali Muhsin, the Foreign Minister. His Zanzibar Nationalist Party has, however, never been able to gain a majority, and it is therefore associated with the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party in a Coalition Government which, has the support of 31 members of the National Assembly, against 13 held by the Afro-Shirazi Party led by Sheikh Abeid Karume. Sheikh Ali Muhsin, who at one period edited a local newspaper, has been outspoken, but has always been courteous and practical, and his personal relations with Europeans have always been good. No one has been keener than he that Zanzibar and Pemba should remain within the Commonwealth, and he hopes that the islands will join an East African Federation, but not precipitately, for he feels that their membership would be more valuable when some serious local problems have either been settled or are in process of solution. He is a convinced multi-racialist, as any practical public man must be in Zanzibar, where 13 of every 17 people are Africans, three Arabs, and one an Asian.

Self Before Service

A PROUD TRADITION throughout British Africa has been that of unpaid public service by persons elected or appointed to local government bodies. Those elected were, of course, themselves rate-payers, and consequently likely to show at least a reasonable sense of economy in the administration of the city, town, or township. Nairobi City Council in its old form has been swept away by the gale of change, and scarcely any of the new African members are, it is believed, rate-payers. Yet they have been given control of services costing millions of pounds a year. Significantly, but not surprisingly, one of their first decisions has been to recommend abandonment of the principle of non-payment of councillors and to suggest that they should divide among themselves about £20,000 a year. Self before service, in fact. There has hitherto been a mayoral car. For Mr. Rubia, the present African mayor, (who did well in his first year in the office) there is now to be a second—of course, a Rolls Royce.

East African Federation Kenya Government's Immediate Aim

Fresh N.F.D. Raids: Rift Valley Police Patrols: Mau Mau Amnesty

INDEPENDENCE was heralded in Kenya at midnight on Wednesday last week with a cascade of rockets and a roar of "Uhuru!" from 250,000 spectators in the arena just outside Nairobi where they watched the Union Jack struck after 68 years of British rule and saw the new black, red and green flag with its emblem of a shield crossed by two spears hoisted two minutes later.

The glare of floodlights illumined the Prime Minister and the Governor-General standing to attention before the flagpole; on a dais were the Duke of Edinburgh, Mr. Duncan Sandys, Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, and official delegates from 78 nations. Cheering drowned the strains of Kenya's new national anthem.

A radio message received shortly afterwards reported that the new flag had been planted on Nelion peak, 36 feet below the summit of Mount Kenya, by an African mountaineer and three companions, part of a 16-member expedition which had contended with heavy sleet, rain and snow during the preceding 10 days.

"Tragedies Behind Us"

The swearing-in of Mr. Malcolm MacDonalld as Governor-General and of the Prime Minister and his Cabinet took place in the same arena on Thursday morning. Christian and Muslim prayers having been recited, three witch-doctors from the Kamba, Baluhya and Nandi tribes poured libations of honey and oil on the ground.

Prince Philip handed over the constitutional instruments of independence to the Prime Minister, saying that Kenya, as one nation, could prove it possible for people of different races and creeds to live together in one country in peace and harmony. "Today the eyes of the world are looking on Kenya with sympathy and understanding. I hope that will soon change to a look of admiration and gratitude".

Mzee Kenyatta, discarding a prepared English text, spoke in Swahili of a new relationship of friendship with Britain coming from the heart, "deeper than the ties 'imposed' in the past.

Cabinet "Welcomes" Gangsters

"There have been times of despair in our long march to freedom when only the burning conviction of the rightness of our cause has sustained us. Today the tragedies and misunderstandings of the past are behind us. With Britain we enter a new relationship. The close ties which have bound our two countries are not severed today; rather they will grow in strength as we work together as two sovereign nations within the Commonwealth".

Though the "imperialist" Government was dead, the people could not do as they pleased; there were still laws, police, and prisons.

Kenya could not be really free until all Africa had been "liberated", and the new State would do everything possible to free South Africa and the Portuguese territories.

At a youth rally that afternoon a group of armed Mau Mau gangsters appeared suddenly before the royal box. The Prime Minister scrambled down to talk to them; some reports have it that he asked Prince Philip if he wished to meet them, an offer which was declined. The men were allegedly fresh from the forests, though a group of them had been given their own enclosure near the main dais a day before.

On Monday thousands of Kikuyu gathered in Nyeri to the beat of drums to "welcome" an estimated few thousand Mau Mau thugs under an independence amnesty, but only about 60 appeared, and most of those had given themselves up months ago to the police.

The Prime Minister, flanked by Ministers and M.Ps., received a few knives, short swords, and home-made guns from half a dozen "freedom fighters" dressed in animal skins and with their matted hair hanging limply to their shoulders. He

presented them to the cheering crowd with the remark: "If these men had appeared when the imperialists ruled us they would have been hanged, but now they are free men".

The widow of Dedan Kimathi, a notorious gang leader who was executed, harangued the waiting people with "Uhuru na Mau Mau" as an independence slogan (it means "freedom and Mau Mau"). She said she would ask the Prime Minister to give land to all Kikuyu landless, food to the widows, and schools to the orphans of "freedom fighters". The "grey men" from the forests should be given vehicles and "all the rights which can be enjoyed by high-ranking people in the country". The red strip in the new nation's flag represented the blood that had been shed, she added.

In the Rift Valley, at Nakuru, Elburgon and Londiani 120 terrorists, mainly Land Freedom Army men, surrendered with their arms and ammunition and gun-making tools. In one place a band played welcoming music.

No More B.B.C. News

B.B.C. news bulletins will no longer be relayed by the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation. A B.B.C. spokesman said that the reason given was that the B.B.C. had referred to Mau Mau terrorists instead of adopting the Kenya Government's euphemism of "freedom fighters".

The Government has become the sole agent for the Reuter news service, which it will distribute both to the radio network and to local newspapers, which have heretofore received their service direct.

THE SPEECH from the Throne read by the Duke of Edinburgh as representative of the Queen at the opening of the Kenya Parliament last Friday—but written by the Kenya Government—said:—

"My Government of Kenya, which is now the Government of an independent sovereign State, has been popularly elected by the will of the majority of the people of Kenya. It will carry out its responsibilities according to the Constitution and in the spirit of democracy which the Constitution embodies.

"It will seek to establish friendly relations with all countries of the world which are willing to return this friendship. The Government has already made application to join the United Nations and will act at all times in accordance with the principles on which this great organization is founded. In particular will the Government work to promote and uphold the cause of human rights.

"On the African continent the Government will strive to achieve the unity of all African States, believing that African unity will contribute not only to world peace but also to the social advancement of the people of this great continent. The immediate aim of the Government is a political union with the neighbouring countries of Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar. This represents a major step towards the goal of pan-African unity as well as leading to closer relations with neighbouring countries.

"Regardless of Race"

"The Government has already indicated its intention to join the Commonwealth. It wishes to develop strong ties of friendship with all the members of this great family of nations.

"At home the Government will continue with its plans to increase the economic wealth of the country and improve the welfare of the people. While its resources will be used in particular to develop agriculture and to create more opportunities for settlement on the land for those who are at present landless, it is the Government's intention to accelerate industrial expansion by every means at its disposal.

"The Government acknowledges with grateful thanks the generous financial and other assistance received from many overseas countries towards its development programme. The Government also wishes to pay tribute to all those who have contributed to the economy of Kenya in the past; those who contribute to the economy in future will be welcomed and encouraged to stay in Kenya regardless of race.

"Under the Constitution the whole of Kenya now has its own local representative bodies, and the Government will continue to encourage the growth of local authorities.

"The Government also recognizes the great desire for education among the people of Kenya and will work unstintingly to improve educational facilities from the primary to university levels. The main emphasis of the Government's plans will be on the expansion of education at secondary school level, where there is an urgent need for more schools and, in particular, for more teachers.

"The Government attaches great importance to the provision of adequate health services throughout the land and is determined to promote and improve these services in accordance with its declared aim of eradicating disease.

"The Government is confident that the civil service will continue to maintain the very high standards for which it has been renowned in the past. Considerable progress has already been made in the Africanization of the civil service and, while this policy will continue in the future, the term 'African' will include all Kenya citizens. The Government readily acknowledges the invaluable contribution made by expatriate officers in the civil service. It is sincerely hoped that expatriate officers will continue to help the Government in its great task of advancing the social well-being of the people of Kenya.

"The Government aims to establish a strong and just administration which will work for all the people of Kenya. It means to stand forth to the rest of the world as a shining example of a nation where people of diverse colours and creeds can live and work together in peace and happiness."

"Pull Together"

THE PRIME MINISTER'S address of thanks declared the aims outlined in the gracious speech to be "noble objectives; for their achievement the Government will look to Parliament and the people of Kenya for guidance and inspiration.

"Our Government represents the simple but deep feelings and desires of all our peoples for a better and higher standard of living. We are aware of their great expectations and hopes, and we are resolved not to disappoint them.

"Our motto of *harambee* was conceived in the realization of the challenge of nation-building that now lies ahead of us. It was conceived in the knowledge that to meet this challenge the Government and people of Kenya must pull together. We know that only out of our own efforts and toil can we build a new and better Kenya.

"We may be a very young nation, but we derive great strength from our unity, from our sense of national purpose, and from the determination of our people. As an independent nation let us face the future with confidence in our ability to build a new Kenya and to contribute towards the preservation of world peace."

Prince Philip then laid the foundation-stone for extensions to Parliament Buildings, concluding a light-hearted speech thus:—

"Parliamentary government may have many practical disadvantages; it may not be very slick and efficient, but if the importance of the individual is paramount, it is the best system yet devised to protect his

interests and to give him a say in the conduct of his affairs.

"This ceremony, perhaps even more than the celebrations of independence, is the foundation of Kenya's future, because it is Parliamentary government which is going to make independence work, and it is Parliamentary government which is going to guard and protect the freedom so recently achieved."

The final independence event was the conferment on Mzee Kenyatta of an honorary fellowship by the Royal College, Nairobi.

Cause for Grief

Alderman Charles Rubia, Mayor of Nairobi, declared when Prince Philip and Mzee Kenyatta received the freedom of the city on independence eve that "nothing will be lost by admitting that the best emerged from our association with the British. It would be idle to pretend that we have gained nothing from this relationship."

Dr. Shermarke, Prime Minister of the Somali Republic, did not after all attend the celebrations. Mr. Abdullahi Issa, his Foreign Minister, who deputized, mentioned that some Somali M.P.s. had wanted a boycott of the festivities because they felt that Kenya's independence was worthy of mourning. The new flag has not yet been broken in the N.F.D., the Union Jack being replaced instead by the police flag. Five attacks by secessionists were reported at the week-end. Wajir is under curfew.

Bow and arrow attacks have been made on police parties investigating the theft of over 600 cattle around Machakos, only 40 miles from the capital. Two Kamba rustlers were killed in the clashes.

Police patrols in the Nakuru area have been intensified. Checks were made on European farmsteads two or three times a night. A farmer's car was stoned in one place; on another farm two African workers clubbed their employer, Mr. J. B. Pollard.

The Prime Minister stalked out of a "Miss Uhuru" beauty contest in Nairobi because the national anthem was not played when he arrived. He complained afterwards of the disrespect shown to his position, and warned non-Africans that they must respect the dignity of the African personality or else suffer the consequences. He would, he said, have deported the bandmen had they not been Africans.

Members of the League of Empire Loyalists scattered leaflets giving details of Mau Mau oaths from the upper tiers of the Commonwealth Institute in London last week at a Kenya Government independence reception just before the new High Commissioner spoke. They shouted: "Kenya has been betrayed to Mau Mau!"

Westminster Abbey Service of Dedication

The Queen Represented by Duchess of Gloucester

WESTMINSTER ABBEY was crowded last Thursday morning for what was called a "service of thanksgiving and dedication on the occasion of the attainment of independence by Kenya". The Duchess of Gloucester represented the Queen. All Christian bodies at work in Kenya had nominated delegates.

Kenya's new national flag was received by the Dean, laid upon the altar, and at the end of the service returned to the standard-bearer and borne in procession through the cathedral.

The bidding, by the Dean, was in the following words:—

"We are met together to join with our brethren in Kenya in the thanksgiving which they offer to Almighty God for the dawning of their day of independence, in the prayers which they are making for the true welfare and prosperity of their country's life, in their resolve to make their land a home of justice, brotherhood and peace, in their preparations to take their full part in the fellowship of nations.

"Bound together as we have been in the years that are past, we pray that new freedom may make friendship stronger, and in the understanding which can grow out of conflict and mutual forgiveness let us with our brethren in Kenya seek from Almighty God His grace and help in fulfilling the true purpose of the freedom which He has given us, and let us offer this our service in prayer and penitence, in faith and hope and resolution, to His greater glory and for the sake of

Kenya and the Commonwealth and the whole world of men and nations."

After Psalm 15 had been sung by the choir, Dr. J. Njuguana Karanja, Kenya's first High Commissioner in the United Kingdom, read the lesson, taken from Romans 12. In the New English Bible rendering it included the words:—

"The gifts we possess differ as they are allotted to us by God's grace, and must be exercised accordingly: the gift of inspired utterance, for example, in proportion to a man's faith; or the gift of administration, in administration. A teacher should employ his gift in teaching, and one who has the gift of stirring speech should use it to stir his hearers: If you give to charity, give with all your heart; if you are a leader, exert yourself to lead; if you are helping others in distress, do it cheerfully.

"Love in all sincerity, loathing evil and clinging to the good. Let love for our brotherhood breed warmth of mutual affection. Give pride of place to one another in esteem.

"With unflagging energy, in ardour of spirit, serve the Lord.

"Let hope keep you joyful; in trouble stand firm; persist in prayer.

"Contribute to the needs of God's people, and practise hospitality.

"Call down blessings on your persecutors—blessings, not curses.

"With the joyful be joyful, and mourn with the mourners.

"Have equal regard for one another. Do not be haughty.

but go about with humble folk. Do not keep thinking how wise you are.

"Never pay back evil for evil. Let your aims be such as all men count honourable. If possible, so far as it lies with you, live at peace with all men. My dear friends, do not seek revenge, but leave a place for divine retribution; for there is a text which reads, 'Justice is mine, says the Lord, I will repay.' But there is another text: 'If your enemy is hungry, feed him; if he is thirsty, give him a drink; by doing this you will heap live coals on his head.' Do not let evil conquer you, but use good to defeat evil."

The Rev. Dr. Max Warren, Sub-Dean and Canon of Westminster, who was for many years general secretary of the Church Missionary Society, preached the sermon. He recalled memories of Kenya, and emphasized the importance of the Apostle Paul's exhortation to hate evil and cling to the good, saying (in part):—

"We need not pretend that the past in Kenya does not need redemption. We are all undeserving, whether of God's love or of each other's.

"There is a very beautiful church in Kenya dedicated to the memory of men and women whose love, in the Christian sense, proved only a few years ago that it was stronger than death. Those Kikuyu Christians loved their land and wanted its political independence. They died because they refused to accept one method of achieving independence, though in their simplicity few of them would have expressed it just like that. For them the love of God had been seen in the face of Christ; and that was what determined the stand they took.

"The world may say that you cannot run politics like that. Perhaps not—but God help a nation that has no men and women who are prepared to try. There is an inescapable ambiguity about all politics. The choice is rarely between the good and the evil; but the choice of the lesser evil is always an approximation to the good. Let us pray for all the peoples of Kenya, and for ourselves, just such a clinging to the good.

"Can love for the brotherhood of this new nation breed warmth or mutual affection, not only within the tribes, but

between the tribes, not only within races, but between races—Africans, Asians and Europeans?"

"My reading of the riddle of modern African is based on the conviction that all men have an elemental need to be able to look other men in the eye, and to be free to do so in the dignity of their own manhood.

"Whatever the testing in the days ahead, whatever the perils of freedom, whatever the harsh realities of economics, the new Kenya is tasting that vital ingredient of *uhuru* which is self-respect.

"To rulers and ruled in Kenya we commend the words of the apostle which we likewise accept for ourselves: 'Love in all sincerity, loathing evil and clinging to the good. Let love for our brotherhood breed warmth and mutual affection. Give pride of place to one another in esteem.'"

After prayers and a hymn, the Rev. Dishon Mwangula led the congregation in an act of dedication. Further prayers and hymns were followed by Kenya's new National Anthem, the official English translation of which runs:—

"O God of all creation,
Bless this our land and nation.
Justice be our shield and defender;
May we dwell in unity,
Peace and liberty;
Plenty be found within our borders.

Let one and all arise
With hearts both strong and true,
Service be our earnest endeavour,
And our Homeland of Kenya,
Heritage of splendour,
Firm may we stand to defend.

Let all with one accord
In common bond united,
Build this our nation together
And the glory of Kenya
The fruit of our labour
Fill every heart with thanksgiving."

Sir Roy Welensky's Valedictory Speech in Federal Parliament

Tragedy of Broken Pledges, Unfulfilled Promises, Moral Backsliding, and Political Apostasy

SIR ROY WELENSKY'S final speech in the Federal Parliament as Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland emphasized that its dissolution had been neither necessary nor desirable, and that the United Kingdom Government had behaved cynically and dishonourably in destroying a noble concept.

The address was not, however, mainly concerned with recriminations. It surveyed Central Africa's present and future problems objectively and with conditional optimism.

Loyalty Put First

The Prime Minister moved:—

"That the House

"Affirms its loyalty to the person of Her Majesty the Queen;

"Thanks the Acting-Governor-General, the Chief Justice of the Federation and the Federal Justices, the Speaker, clerks and officers of the Federal Assembly, the members of the Federal public service, prison service and armed forces and the members and officers of Federal statutory boards, commissions and courts for their loyal and devoted service to the people of the Federation;

"Thanks the Commissioner, officers and members of the British South Africa Police for their services to the Federal Assembly;

"While recording its belief that the founding of the Federation by the Churchill Government was a bold and imaginative advance towards racial co-operation in Africa which has been stultified by the shameful

betrayal of the Federation and its people by the Macmillan Government, prefers to turn from the past, and, looking to the future, offers its good wishes to the people of the three territories in their progress towards independent nationhood."

Sir Roy Welensky said:—"The motion which I have the honour to propose is in many ways the most difficult of my political career. I take no pleasure in it. I could, of course, make it an occasion for condemnation of the persons and agencies which have conspired together to obliterate what a royal speech described as the inspiring vision of Federation in Central Africa.

"Although I find it quite impossible to reconcile myself to the conclusion that the break-up was either necessary or desirable, I shall endeavour in this my last major speech in this Assembly to avoid recrimination about what is past. I would prefer to express a few thoughts from a position of virtual detachment about the future of the people who inhabit the territories of our shortly expiring Federation.

"In many ways we—and I mean all of us of all races who have made our homes in Central Africa—are facing the most critical period of our lives. Our future and our children's future are going to be decisively shaped by decisions that are taken and policies that are evolved over the next year or so. The burden of responsibility for these decisions will not be evitable.

"The motion before us invites us to affirm our loyalty to the person of Her Majesty the Queen. I believe I can speak with absolute confidence when I say that that part of our motion will be wholeheartedly supported by all Members. Her Majesty the Queen stands above political controversy as a focus for our loyalties, which it has been our constant purpose to

preserve and to hand over to posterity. I know that I voice the sentiments of all hon. members of this House when I say that no actions of the British Government can ever destroy or diminish the great loyalty and respect which we all feel for the Crown and the gracious person who adorns it.

Commonwealth Paradox

"We have a strangely paradoxical situation in our Commonwealth family. As the boundaries of the Commonwealth have expanded in recent years there has been a progressive diminution in the number of persons owing direct allegiance to the Crown. I am sufficiently old-fashioned to regret this development. I fear it is likely to go further yet, but I pray that I may not be disappointed in the hope that at least one small area—this area—of the African continent will be given the opportunity and the encouragement to remain steadfast in the allegiance that its peoples so earnestly desire.

"My Government is justifiably proud of the achievements of ten years of continuous administration, and I take this opportunity of acknowledging the tremendous debt that it owes to the persons referred to in the second part of the motion for the part that they have played in making these accomplishments possible.

"No Government can ever succeed in its objectives, no matter how well conceived they may be, without the backing of highly-trained, loyal, efficient, and incorruptible public servants. We have been singularly fortunate in the Federation in the calibre of those who have so served us.

"It is deeply regrettable that such a fine corps of men and women is to be disbanded. It is utterly deplorable that the talents of a large number of them will be permanently lost to Government service in consequence of the break-up and the inability of territorial Governments, with the best of intentions, to offer employment to them all.

"The human problems involved in disbanding the Federation have greatly troubled my Ministers and myself, and I hope it will be accepted that we have done as much to alleviate these problems as lay in the power of a Government which has no continuing existence. We were one of five Governments involved in discharging a thoroughly painful and disagreeable task. In our approach to it we had to reconcile our obligations to the persons concerned with a responsible awareness of the tremendous burdens that would have to be carried by the Government inheriting the Federal State—burdens which we know are not going to lie easily upon them as a result of the break-up.

"A clear responsibility rested upon the British Government, as the Government whose political decisions had created this situation, to carry the financial load of generosity called for in the circumstances towards redundant public servants.

British Government's Cynicism

"If hon. members read the report of the debate on the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Bill in the House of Commons on July 11 this year they will find that H.M. Government was urged by all quarters of the House to deal generously in this matter. In my opinion the British Government has cynically disregarded these urgings. I cannot in all fairness censure any of the territorial Governments for the attitudes that they have taken up. They are faced with a future of difficult house-keeping. The onus of generosity rested squarely upon the British Government and that responsibility has, in my view, been evaded.

"I would like to express our appreciation to the territorial Governments for their most willing co-operation in finding employment wherever possible for displaced Federal personnel. It is my sincere hope that the majority of these Federal public servants who do not find alternative Government employment will find other outlets for their talents and energies in the territories now comprising the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. We can ill afford to lose their skills and the sense of public service that is part of their professional creed.

"To those who are forced to emigrate through circumstances beyond their control I extend my deepest gratitude for past services and my best wishes for their future well-being. I hope that, wherever they may go, they will continue to cherish some affection for this part of the world, and will take wherever they go first-hand information about the task we set ourselves here, the achievements we have made, and our expectations for the future.

"We have been more than fortunate in the calibre of the armed forces of the Federation. On the ground and in the air they have won the highest praise in all the rôles in which they have been called upon to serve, whether in service to

Britain and the Commonwealth or to the territorial Governments. During the course of the past ten years they have had some disagreeable tasks to perform, but they have always responded splendidly to the demands that have been made of them.

"To you, Mr. Speaker, and to your staff I wish, as a Parliamentarian of some years' standing, to express not only my personal appreciation for the very happy relationship that has existed between us, but also my admiration—and I know that I speak here for all quarters of the House—for the way in which you and your staff here upheld the fine traditions of Parliament.

"Those of us who have been brought up in the British Parliamentary tradition are inclined sometimes to take it for granted. I think it is useful to remind ourselves occasionally that its preservation is a matter for constant vigilance, and I compliment you and all present and former members of the Assembly staff on the great sense of responsibility which you brought to your honourable task.

Precious Element

"I also express our gratitude to the Chief Justice of the Federation; to his colleagues on the Bench of the Federal Justices, and to all other judicial authorities in the Federation, both Federal and territorial, for the way in which they have discharged the responsibilities laid upon them. One of the most precious elements in our democratic way of life is the rule of law and the impartial administration of justice. There can be no disputing the very high standards set by the Federal Supreme Court.

"Members of statutory boards and commissions give much of their time and energy to the public welfare. One of our greatest traditions is that of voluntary public service. We have been singularly fortunate in the Federation in the calibre of men and women who have been willing to render such service in so many spheres of our national life. I express the thanks of Government to them all, and to the staffs of the statutory authorities whose energy and enthusiasm has achieved so much.

"I invite the House to express its thanks to His Excellency the Acting Governor-General for discharging so willingly and graciously the unenviable task, in addition to the burdens of his other office, of representing Her Majesty the Queen in the Federation during recent months. In doing so I should like to recall the services rendered to the Federation by his two predecessors in office, the late Lord Llewellyn and the Earl of Dalhousie, who, although appointed from outside the country, identified themselves completely with the concept of Federation and our common ideals.

Deep Sorrow

"I have received from the Earl of Dalhousie a personal message which he has asked me to deliver to you. It reads: 'Now that your Assembly is facing its final dissolution, I found it impossible to sit here at Brechin without sending a short and final message of appreciation and thanks to be read out in your House. This message I now send to you, Prime Minister, to Mr. Speaker, to all Ministers and other members of the Federal Assembly, both past and present, and to all those who have served the Assembly and the various Ministries in a non-political capacity over the last ten years.'

"We can all remember the time when our hopes ran high for the Federation's future. During the happy years I spent with you there were many achievements and great advances made in every aspect of the field of Federal responsibility. Up until only recently it was plainly evident how the impetus of the Federation's development was increasing. Not only did we have good grounds for our hopes, but we could see sure promise as well. The pattern of what we were trying to create was beginning to take shape.

"Then finally the blow fell, and you were faced with the odious and tragic task of taking apart that which you had put together with so much care. I fully understand your feeling, and am therefore all the more impressed by your restraint and devotion to duty, however great the trials that have beset you over recent months. It would be inhuman not to feel deep sorrow over the ending of the Federal concept in Central Africa, but I believe that your work and the fine spirit which you have shown both in the dawn of success and in the eve of this dissolution will live on to the advantage of Central Africa and for the benefit of mankind.

"The third part of our motion expresses our thanks to the Commissioner, officers and members of the British South Africa Police for their services to the Federal Assembly. The circumstances which led to our conducting our Parliamentary business in Salisbury have afforded us the privilege, thanks to the generosity of the Southern Rhodesian Government, of availing ourselves of the services of the British South Africa

(Continued on page 341)

PERSONALIA

THE AGA KHAN was 27 last week. SIR EVELYN HONE, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, was 52 last Friday.

LORD COLERAINE has been elected chairman of Treaty Reinsurances, Ltd.

SIR MILES THOMAS is now chairman of Carbon Electric Holdings, Ltd.

MR. A. MUNRO, chief engineer, has retired from the Federal Ministry of Posts.

MR. JUSTICE L. WESTON, Q.C., is a passenger for Dar es Salaam in the British India liner KENYA.

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY, M.P., is the author of "African Socialism", just published in London.

MR. J. W. JEFFREY, Administrative Secretary in Seychelles, has returned from leave in Britain.

MR. J. K. DICK, managing director of Mitchell Cotts Group, Ltd., has been appointed deputy chairman.

MR. H. D. ROBERTS will on January 1 become deputy general manager in London of the Standard Bank.

MR. KENNETH POTTER has been appointed special legal and constitutional counsel to the Kenya Government.

DR. GEORGE EXNER, a Harley Street specialist who is a keen big game photographer, will shortly revisit Kenya.

MR. G. W. Y. HUCKS, lately electoral commissioner in Tanganyika, is to go to British Guiana in the same capacity.

Three M.Ps., SIR DOUGLAS GLOVER, MR. ERNEST PARTRIDGE, and MR. LEO ABSE, recently spent a month in Seychelles.

MR. J. S. BENNETT, aged 52, is to be United Kingdom Ambassador to the Republic of Rwanda and the Kingdom of Burundi.

PROFESSOR L. C. BEADLE, of Makerere College, is chairman of a re-constituted East African Specialist Committee on Bilharzia.

SIR CHARLES HAMBRO, the merchant banker, who had large Rhodesian interests, left £114,923, on which duty of £72,328 has been paid.

MR. M. E. S. HIGGIN, a director of Ralli Brothers & Coney, Ltd., has been elected president of the Liverpool Cotton Association.

MR. FENG CHIEN-WEI and MR. LIU CHIH-KUANG have been accredited in Kenya as correspondents of the Peking news agency Hsinhua.

SIR MATTHEW SLATTERY, who recently resigned the chairmanship of B.O.A.C., will on January 1 rejoin the board of the National Bank.

Kenya needs more than 8,000 additional doctors — she has 750 now — DR. NJOROGE MUNGAI, Minister for Health and Housing, has stated.

VISCOUNT SCARSDALE, who has done much big game hunting in Kenya in the past, is to visit Uganda early next year to photograph game.

MR. S. BRYCE, now private secretary to the Federal Prime Minister, is to join the staff of Rhodesia House in London early in the New Year.

MR. JOHN N. ANSTICE, a B.Sc. of London University, has arrived in the diocese of Masasi, Tanganyika, to teach at the U.M.C.A. school at Chidya.

MR. W. H. HAMMOND, Director of the Southern Rhodesian Information Service, will shortly retire on pension. His successor is to be MR. A. C. IZOD.

CHIEF HAROUN MSABILA LUGUSHA has been appointed a director of J. W. Kearsley (East Africa), Ltd., a travel agency subsidiary of Cory Brothers, Ltd.

MR. H. F. OPPENHEIMER, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation group, has been elected to the board of Consolidated Mines Selection Co., Ltd.

VISCOUNT BOYD OF MERTON, president of the Overseas Employers' Federation, received the guests at a reception in London last week after the annual general meeting.

SIR JAMES BIRCH BROWN and LADY BROWN are passengers for Durban in the s.s. KENYA, which sailed from London last Thursday, travelling *via* the Mediterranean.

MR. JAMES MANCHAM, Member of the Seychelles Legislature, is the proprietor of *Seychelles Weekly*, a new publication. It is edited by MR. H. R. H. MURRAY.

SIR MORTIMER WHEELER, the archaeologist, who has paid several visits to East Africa, has been elected an honorary life member of the New York Academy of Sciences.

DR. E. G. COX, secretary of the British Agricultural Research Council, has opened a soil productivity research laboratory in Southern Rhodesia at Grasslands, Marandellas.

DR. M. H. STEVENSON-DELHOMME and MESSRS. H. G. GONTIER, R. FRICHOT, J. R. M. MANCHAM, and P. MOULINIE have been appointed members of the Executive Council of Seychelles.

THE RT. REV. PENEY JAMES BRAZIER, Bishop of Rwanda and Burundi for the past three years, will resign next May after 33 years in the Ruanda Mission of the Church Missionary Society.

MR. JOSEPH MUSEMBI, an Mkamba who spent a year in Mauritius as military education officer, has been appointed regional government agent for Central Nyanza, replacing MR. S. O. JOSIAH.

When MZEE KENYATTA laid the foundation-stone for the first embassy to be built in Kenya, MRS. GOLDA MEIR, Israeli Foreign Minister, presented him with a Hebrew translation of his book "Facing Mount Kenya".


SENIOR ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER G. L. FITZ-WILLIAM has retired from the B.S.A.P. after 34 years. He is succeeded as officer commanding Mashonaland Province by ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER J. R. PESTELL.

MR. R. C. BUCQUET, who has lived for many years in Limbe, Nyasaland, has left for Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. He was for years a Member first of the Legislative Council of Nyasaland and then of the Federal Parliament.

CAPTAIN P. CUNNINGHAM, chief pilot of the Friendship and D.C.3 fleet of East African Airways, with CAPTAIN STARLING as first officer, flew H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh from Dar es Salaam to Zanzibar, from Zanzibar to Nairobi, and yesterday from Kenya to Khartoum.

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, Leader of the Opposition in Southern Rhodesia, told Parliament a few days ago that three-quarters of the effectiveness of intimidation in the African townships was due to the Land Apportionment Act, which he considered "a gift to the African nationalists".

NORTHERN RHODESIA



For information
APPLY TO

The Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia
ESTATE HOUSE, HAYMARKET,
LONDON, S.W.1.

Telegrams: "NORHODCOM LESQUARE LONDON"
Telephone: WH17rehall 5858 Cables: "NORHODCOM LONDON"

MR. J. W. PITHEY, Secretary for Justice in Southern Rhodesia, who is to retire on December 30, his 60th birthday, has served in the Colony for more than 40 years. He intends to remain in the country. Two of his sons have played cricket for South Africa.

MWALIMU NYERERE, President of Tanganyika, is visiting the Republic of Guinea, whose president, MR. SEKOU TOURE, paid a State visit to Tanganyika at the end of May. DR. NYERERE is accompanied by MR. OSCAR KAMBONA, Minister for External Affairs, and five other persons.

LORD DEVLIN, a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary since 1961, who was chairman of the Nyasaland Commission of Inquiry, is to retire from the Judiciary on January 10. Though only 58, he will then qualify for full pension, for he was appointed a High Court judge at the unusually early age of 42. He has accepted the chairmanship of the re-constituted Press Council.

MRS. B. BELLEGE, a teacher of blind children in Dar es Salaam, MRS. S. NEMBO, a youth leader and member of the Girl Guides' Association, and Messrs. P. A. JOHN and R. PAUL, teachers and Scoutmasters in Tanganyika, are spending a month in the United Kingdom as the guests of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

MR. W. K. PURDY, of Skyline Advertising, Ltd., Nairobi, has offered an office rent-free to a business advisory service created to help Africans in business matters. MR. HABIB KESAVJEE has volunteered full-time services in an executive capacity, and help is to be given by Messrs. LAEEQ AHMAD, E. P. CHANDARIA, and M. P. OMWONY.

MESSRS. A. G. BELESON, N. G. A. BOREHAM, G. E. DANBY, H. D. HAGGIE, JOHN HEFFER, S. W. MACLEREN, D. W. STACK WATSON, P. G. WARNER, and E. WOLFE-ENDALE have volunteered to form a panel of local technical experts in Kenya for the promotion of small industries. They are to act as advisers to the Industrial Development Corporation.

SIR CHARLES WESTLAKE, chairman of the Metal Industries group of companies, has joined the board and accepted the deputy chairmanship of Williams and Williams (Reliance Holdings), Ltd., Chester, whose chairman, MR. R. S. HOGG, has also East African interests. The appointment does not imply any financial association between the two groups.

When MR. JOHN LYLE, vice-chairman of the Tate and Lyle group, and chairman of Rhodesia Sugar Refineries, Ltd., and MR. J. P. WILLISHER, managing director of the Refineries company, visited Lusaka last week, they told DR. KAUNDA of the group's interest in the development of a primary sugar industry in Northern Rhodesia. If large-scale cane growing were undertaken an investment of about £2½m. would be involved.

MR. S. W. KULUBYA, Deputy Speaker in Uganda, flew back at the week-end from a five weeks' visit to London. On the evening before his departure his son-in-law, MR. T. B. BAZARRABUSA, the High Commissioner in London, gave a farewell party.

MR. KENNETH COUSINS is on his way back to Southern Rhodesia by sea—on the principle that, if many people are leaving the Colony for political reasons, he might be able to do something to help in a time of crisis. He has lived and worked in Rhodesia, Tanganyika, West Africa, and, many years ago, in Australia and the Far East, as well as in the United Kingdom.

Obituaries

The Rt. Rev. G. A. Chambers

THE RT. REV. GEORGE ALEXANDER CHAMBERS, O.B.E., D.D., first Bishop of Central Tanganyika (1927-47), who has died in Sydney, Australia, aged 85, was the first Australian to be given charge of a see in East Africa, where his great humour, vigour, and practical attitude to life quickly made an impression.

He had served the Diocese of Sydney for 26 years and knew nothing of Africa when he was asked to become Bishop of the new Diocese of Central Tanganyika, until then part of the Diocese of Mombasa. The Church Missionary Society of Australia undertook responsibility for the supply of missionary staff, and Chambers was splendidly supported, not only by a constant flow of clerical, medical and educational recruits, but with money. He was thus able to extend Anglican work over the great new areas of Tanganyika. He raised the funds for the building of Dodoma Cathedral. After 20 years of exceptional activity he resigned, and became chaplain to the Embassy Church in Paris. In 1959 he went back to Tanganyika as chaplain in Iringa, and last year he returned to Australia on retirement.

In Tanganyika his friendliness was all-embracing, including men of all races and all religions and none, and wherever he travelled he was a popular guest of Europeans, Africans and Asians. He was a Freemason of many years' standing, and was District Grand Chaplain in East Africa from 1938 to 1945.

Chambers was born in Sydney, graduated at the university in that city, had his first curacy there, was from 1904 to 1911 vice-principal of Moore Theological College, Sydney, and was then for 16 years rector of Holy Trinity in that city.

Mr. E. R. Langley

MR. EDWARD RALPH LANGLEY, B.A., who has died in South Africa at the age of 74, had farmed and acted as a magistrate in Kenya.

Born in Olveston, Gloucester, the son of the Rev. Edward Langley, he was educated at Cheltenham College and Caius College, Cambridge. In 1911 he went to Calcutta to join a business, but three years later entered the Colonial Service in Sierra Leone, where he served until 1933, apart from a year spent in the East African campaign of 1917-18 with the West African Frontier Force. During the last war he served as a sergeant in the Special Constabulary in England and with a firm of Bristol assessors of war damage.

He went to Kenya in 1947 to farm in the Cherangani district, which he left only recently. He had been prominent in Masonic circles.

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U.K. Press Luke-Warm About Kenya

Dailies Avoid Editorial Comment

UNITED KINGDOM NEWSPAPERS gave Kenya's independence a cool welcome. Much less space was devoted to the occasion in editorial and news columns than had been the case, for instance with Tanganyika, and such leading articles as were published on Independence Day were generally restrained and cautionary rather than congratulatory.

Though it ran an eight-page supplement containing substantial advertising, *The Times* avoided comment on its leader page and had no reference to the occasion on its main news page. Elsewhere there was merely a half-column telegram from Nairobi, one paragraph of which recorded that 25 former Mau Mau "generals" wearing British-style officer's uniforms were seated 30 yards from the Royal box at the main ceremony.

"Generals" at Party

The *Daily Telegraph* likewise had no leading article. On its front page there was merely an inch of news from Nairobi headed "Kenya Crowds Delay Prince Philip", who, because the road was blocked by people, arrived at the stadium half an hour late. On a subsidiary news page there was a message from Nairobi of about two-thirds of a column. It reported that former Mau Mau "generals" had been the guests of Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the Governor-General, at a pre-independence garden party.

In a feature article on the centre page Mr. Richard Beeston emphasized that Kenya's stability would be indicated by the state of safety and welfare of the 3,000 British farmers and their families remaining in the country. The greatest political threats were described as the danger of splits within the K.A.N.U. party and the trouble-makers in its Youth Wing.

"Peter Simple" had in his diary a paragraph reading:—

"Now that the independent State of Kenya, under its African Government, is in existence, it would be churlish not to wish it peace, prosperity and happiness. It would also be rash to expect it to enjoy any great measure of these things. And why should we, as Europeans, join in the rejoicing at the dispossession of the Europeans in Kenya, at the triumph of the abstract principle of one-man-one-vote over all other considerations, including those of common sense?"

"Did the Romans rejoice when their legions withdrew from Britain and barbarism rolled over what had been a civilized province? Did they celebrate the occasion with ceremonies from which only a few obstinate senators abstained?"

"Formidable" Task

A leader in the *Guardian* suggested that Kenya's best course would be to become a one-party State. The front page had no news from Kenya. Elsewhere there was merely a short agency message headed "Mau Mau Men with Duke at Party".

The *Scotsman* considered that Mzee Kenyatta "personifies nationhood". The concluding sentence of an editorial read: "There is a cloud in the North-East Region, where the Somalis want secession, but on the whole Kenya seems in good shape for beginning the hard journey to prosperity". A two-page supplement carried the caption "Kenyatta Régime Faces Formidable Task".

"Kenya Independence Without Tears" was the title of a *Financial Times* leader, which described Kenya's severest test as the way in which she will deal with Somalia.

The *Daily Mail* gave three inches on the front page to a telegram from Nairobi which was continued overleaf. It made no editorial comment.

That President Nkrumah of Ghana is the worst pos-

sible example to African nationalism was suggested by the *Daily Express*, whose short news message from Nairobi on the front page was headed "Kenya Roars Into Uhuru". Elsewhere half a page was filled with a photograph showing four ex-Mau Mau "generals" at the Government House garden party with their hands in their pockets while everyone around stood to attention as the National Anthem was played.

The *Evening Standard* featured a contribution from Lord Lambton, M.P., who wrote that on his recent visit to Kenya he could find no warrant for the air of hopeful optimism. Indeed, he felt exactly as he had done in the Congo when it became independent in 1960, and thought it prudent to assume that Africans in Kenya who were peaceful today would, he believed, be warlike tomorrow.

Mr. Odinga had persuaded the Kenya Cabinet to insist on the release of the hardcore Mau Mau leaders against the judgment of the Prime Minister, thereby providing Kenya with a most serious problem.

The Socialist *Daily Herald* had its geography badly awry in a paragraph saying:—

"The man whom a British Governor called 'the leader to darkness and death' is now a portly and convivial old gentleman in a beaded party hat, with one or two wives, a Rolls-Royce and a Lincoln convertible, and possibly one of the sharpest political intelligences of the Sahara".

Explosive Elements

On Friday the *Spectator*—now edited by Mr. Iain Macleod, the Secretary of State selected by Mr. Macmillan to organize Britain's flight from Africa—admitted in a leading article that "the elements of an explosion are certainly there in Kenya", that "the chances of an East African Federation seem uncertain", and that dramatic repercussions are now to be expected.

"If the inevitable difficulties turn into serious disorders, those who oppose African rule in other countries will be encouraged to stand firm a little longer, a little more aggressively. But if Kenya succeeds, then fears will be shown to be liars. The key to Southern Africa, perhaps even to South Africa, lies in Kenya".

A long period of political instability and revolution in Africa was predicted by the *New Statesman*, which wrote:—

"Africa's doors are now open to the highest bidders. China as well as Russia is on the threshold. Few of the 30-odd independent States are economically viable, and their difficulties have been increased by the withdrawal of trained European personnel and the creation of unwieldy local élites—who have inherited the living standards of their Colonial predecessors but not their experience.

"Our investment and technical assistance should be provided on a regional basis, for only through the creation of regional groups or federations can Africa achieve self-sustaining economic growth. There are many practical objections to channelling aid through the United Nations. Its quota system for personnel is a liability. Its administrative costs are high. Political obstruction in the U.N. agencies is frequent".

Oppression and Violence

The balance of tolerance between the races in Kenya is delicate and insensitivity could upset it, said the *Economist*. Regret was expressed that Sir Philip Mitchell should have said just before leaving Kenya that "the politicians are making life impossible" for European farmers. The survey ended on the note that "anyone who four years ago surveyed the economic and political prospects for Kenya after independence could not now fail to be heartened beyond measure".

That opinion was not shared by the *States*, which described Kenya as "still a weakly infant, liable to contract half a dozen serious ailments within a short period of its birth, the first being oligarchic rule". The dangers of oppression and violence were regarded as particularly great. There was mention of the prospect of a protracted war either with the North-East Region or with Somalia or with both.

In the *Observer* even Mr. Legum had to admit that "there are few countries in Africa where the task of nation-building is likely to go harder than in Kenya".

Sir Roy Welensky's Speech

(Continued from page 337)

Police to assist us and to add an appropriate touch of colour and ceremony.

"Not only are the British South Africa Police a force with some of the proudest traditions in the Commonwealth; they are as highly efficient and well-disciplined a body of men as any Government could wish to have in its service. They have done great credit to this Assembly, and it gives me pleasure, despite the wretchedness of the occasion, to congratulate and thank them on all our behalfs.

"The motion does not mention—though perhaps it should—the tremendous support which has been given to the Federation by the many persons and institutions who have lent money to the Governments within the Federal area. Without this help the great development of the past ten years could not have been financed.

Finance for Central Africa

"The Federal Government has been very conscious of its responsibilities to the lenders, and has done—and, indeed, is still doing—its utmost to ensure that the interests of lenders are not prejudiced by the dissolution of the Federation. The part which they have played in accelerating progress in Central Africa should call for, from us all, not only expressions of gratitude but a firm determination to see that their confidence was not misplaced, and that Central Africa continues to be a field where investment will be for the mutual advantage of the lender and the country.

"I cannot let this occasion pass without mentioning my own constituency of Broken Hill. I have represented this constituency for over a quarter of century—15 years as a member of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council and ten years as a member of this Assembly.

"One of the proudest memories that I shall take with me into retirement is the unbroken faith that has been shown in me by the people of what I regard as my adopted home town. Never once have they let me down, and I have always drawn confidence in what I have tried to do from the knowledge of their firm support. I shall always remember my old constituency with great affection and gratitude.

"I turn now to the final part of the motion before the House, and I wish to make it clear at the outset that I do not intend to go over ground that has been covered on previous occasions, raking up the dead leaves of broken pledges, unfulfilled promises and moral backsliding. I do not retract one iota from what I have said before on these matters, but I do not intend to repeat myself.

"Despite the fate that has overtaken it, I still believe that the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was a noble concept which could have succeeded, and which, if it had been permitted to continue, could have provided a truly significant example to the world of how peoples of different race and different territorial origins could live and work together for their mutual advantage and betterment.

Plural Societies

"Given a proper sense of historical perspective, and a firmness of resolution undeterred by considerations of short-term political advantage, I believe that we could have accomplished the purposes for which we set out ten years ago.

"What, basically, was the challenge that we were facing at that time? Fundamentally, I see it as the challenge of bringing this part of Africa into the 20th century, of putting it on something like equal terms with the prosperous countries of the world. For centuries Africa stagnated in a quiet backwater while other parts of the world, notably in the northern hemisphere were busy consolidating man's ascendancy over nature.

"While the peoples of Africa were largely content to adapt themselves to their natural environment, peoples in other parts of the world were setting out to analyse and control the forces of their environment, until at the end of a long-time process there was an enormous development gap between these two regions. Scientific and technological progress in the northern hemisphere was already probing the mysteries of nuclear physics before some parts of Africa had been traversed by the plough and the wheel.

"For a long time these two different worlds co-existed in virtual isolation. Towards the end of the last century, however, they came into contact, as a result of which those in the underdeveloped countries have become conscious of what they have lacked in the way of living standards. It is perfectly natural, of course, that they should wish to redress the balance. What is of concern to us in this part of Africa is how this problem of redressing the balance should be tackled.

"There are, broadly speaking, two types of community left

in Africa today with, of course, a number of internal variations. There are the predominantly African communities, most of which have recently developed from Colonial Dependencies into independent States. Then there are the countries of Southern Africa, with large and permanently settled white populations which are sometimes described as the plural societies.

"In the case of the first and larger group of countries, there can be no doubt whatever that their prospects of economic growth are heavily reliant upon the injection of capital and skills from the developed world, which represents a very precarious and inadequate basis for genuine economic progress.

"Foreign grants and loans tend to be unco-ordinated in the purposes to which they are applied and are all too frequently frittered away on prestige projects of little economic value. Private investment tends to fight shy of markets which do not provide the security which the business world requires.

"Africa as a whole, with the single exception of the Republic of South Africa, is proving to be a singularly unattractive investment proposition. Imported skills tend to be thin on the ground, unfamiliar with the environment, in which they are working, and very much here today and gone tomorrow.

"I seriously question, Mr. Speaker, whether any of these countries are likely to get very far very fast on this basis, particularly those which are not very well endowed with natural resources. And yet a tremendous lot hinges on whether the Governments of those countries are going to be able to deliver the goods that their peoples expect of them.

Freedom to Starve

"The urge on the part of the common man to live better tomorrow than he did yesterday is a powerful and compulsive one, and he will rightly demand of his Government something more than the constantly propagated assertion that he is free. I have never regarded freedom to starve as one of the great democratic virtues.

"Some people may think that I exaggerate the problems that are facing so many of the independent countries of Africa today. I do not think that is so. I read a great many reports from trained observers about conditions in African countries, and I am constantly struck by their references to stagnation in the economy, the absence of any noticeable forward movement, and the heavy reliance on foreign subsidies and skills. This is not answering the revolution of rising expectations, and the peoples of the countries concerned are deluding themselves if they think that foreign assistance can do substantially more for them than it is doing today.

"All the indications available to me suggest that the major countries of the West regard their foreign aid commitments as seriously over-stretched. In the ultimate, underdeveloped countries are going to be thrown very much on their own capacity for self-help, and without economic palliatives it will be a laborious and painful business for them to climb rung by rung the ladder of prosperity.

"This brings me to the position of the plural societies in Southern Africa, which differ basically from countries to the north of us in having large and permanently settled white populations providing, whether anybody likes it or not, the mainspring of economic growth and development. It may be an unpalatable truth to many people, but the fact remains that one throbbing, thriving economy in the continent of Africa is the Republic of South Africa; and this is reflected in the living standards of all its peoples.

"Next, and admittedly some way behind, comes the economy of the two Rhodesias, greatly expanded by ten years of Federation. This, of course, is no fortuitous circumstance. It is the product of the direct application, by persons with their roots dug deep into our country, of Western capital, skills, and initiative. These themselves are the products of all those things which have enabled the Western world to outstrip the rest of mankind in economic advancement—capital accumulation, technological know-how, and the exploitation of difficult natural resources.

Most Explosive International Factor

"I have no hesitation in claiming that we have in our plural societies much more propitious conditions for sustained economic growth which will enable us ultimately to close the gap between the haves and have-nots. I have little doubt that that will generally be regarded as a worthwhile objective.

"It has to be recognized, of course, that the economic sun will not shine if the political climate is heavily overcast, and here is where our greatest difficulty lies.

"Our problem here is not difficult to define, but it is not easy to solve. It is a question of reconciling the legitimate interests and apprehensions of the most economically productive element in our society, who happen to be in a minority, with the reasonable aspirations of the majority. We do not have to look very far back in English history to find political power concentrated in the hands of the few and popular

pressure brought to bear to transfer it to the hands of the many. It took nearly 100 years from the first Reform Bill of 1832 for the franchise to be opened up to all adult citizens in Great Britain.

"In our situation the problem is enormously complicated by the factor of race, which promises to be the most explosive single factor in international relations in the next decade. The race problem is capable of arousing passions as great as any of the great controversies of history, and this is happening at a time when the arsenals of the world are crammed with the potential to destroy utterly life as we know it on this planet. If human life is to continue it is absolutely imperative that the various races should solve the problem of peaceful co-existence.

"It is a great tragedy that the problem is aggravated by extraneous factors. The point has been well made that the Communists, having found the Marxist-Leninist criticisms of the capitalist system to be invalid, are making deliberate play of the race issue in order to turn the dark-skinned nations against the West.

Devil of Racial Mistrust

"The Communists have had an easy ride. They have been able to represent to the former Colonial peoples in Asia and Africa that their economic backwardness and other disabilities are attributable to the evil designs of their Colonial masters. The propagation of this extraordinary myth has done much to engender feelings of hostility against the white man. These have tended to outlive the passage of colonialism and to poison the atmosphere in a situation such as exists in Southern Rhodesia, for example, which is not a Colonial situation at all.

"These are the broad shadows of the problem which lie over us in Central Africa. It must be our task somehow or other to find political solutions that will exorcise this devil of racial mistrust and at the same time preserve the political and economic sub-structure on which the whole of our future well-being and prosperity depends.

"The Africans who were demanding immediate majority government in the two northern territories have secured their ambitions, and this has provided encouragement for their like-minded colleagues in the south. The pressures that they are bringing to bear to achieve the same solution in Southern Rhodesia are tending to produce what I believe the physicists call an equal and opposite reaction from the people whose instinct is to cry 'Not so fast', with the result that the problem of reconciliation in Southern Rhodesia has become that much greater.

Political Apostasy

"Somehow or other the danger of a head-on conflict must be averted. The economy must continue to prosper—and no economy can prosper if the human tensions in society are stretched too far.

"In deciding what kind of a society we ought to be trying to build in the Rhodesias I think it is important to bear in mind the considerations that I have just been outlining. To summarize them again briefly, they are, firstly, the need in the special circumstances of a plural society to create the conditions in which an economically productive white minority will be encouraged to identify itself permanently with the future of the country, and so enabled to make its full and necessary contribution towards an economic break-through to broader and higher levels of prosperity; secondly, there is the need to shape our political economic and social institutions in such a way as to cultivate the best possible relations between the major racial groups.

"I am quite confident that the first requirement will be met only if our political structure continues to be based on the Western traditions of democracy that we have inherited. These traditions have adapted themselves extremely well to the requirements of a modern technological civilization, and I believe there are powerful arguments for maintaining that they are a necessary condition of a vigorous growth in that kind of civilization.

"What I am suggesting is that any radical disturbance of the political institutions we have planted here would stultify the progress that this part of the world can otherwise expect to make. Quite apart from anything else, the people of European descent, whose economic productiveness is vital to this part of the world, will not be prepared to play their full part unless society is regulated by the traditions which they have inherited and which they value so highly.

"Whilst one can readily accept that there will be peoples in the world who have never learned to know and appreciate these traditions, I think it is wholly lamentable that a large group of nations nurtured in the same traditions as ourselves should be so seized with the importance of short-term political advantages that they are prepared to see these traditions submerged in Africa.

"I regard this as political apostasy of the worst kind, and I am more than a little disgusted by the attempts in some

philosophical quarters to represent the totalitarian regimes that have established themselves in power in many parts of Africa as possessing the basic attributes of democracy. This is contemptible sophistry.

"What is perhaps more remarkable is that pressure for the creation of these regimes comes most forcibly from political factions which have in the past striven so mightily to establish respect for human freedoms.

"It would be vastly helpful in working out the problems of Central Africa if some of our overseas critics were to recognize that there are two sides to the coin of democratic freedom, and, if I may mix the metaphor a little, that the longest way round is often the quickest way home.

"It would be helpful if they were to recognize that persons of European descent in Africa remain, more often than not, wedded to the democratic ideals with which they were brought up and fully prepared to share those ideals with the African people amongst whom they live, provided—and this is an important qualification—provided there is a reasonable certainty that those ideals and standards will be preserved in a recognizable form.

"The problem of political readjustments in Africa is all too frequently represented as the problem of overcoming European intransigence, of prising the European away from a rigid determination to preserve political control in his own hands for all time. So far as this part of Africa is concerned, that is not the problem today, if indeed it ever was. The European in this part of Africa has given ample evidence of his willingness to share political power with the African, and ultimately, to leave the major weight of power in his hands.

Onus Upon Africans

"I suggest to you, Mr. Speaker, and to the wider audience beyond these walls that may be interested in what I have to say today, that the biggest onus of responsibility for reconciling whatever political tensions may exist rests fairly and squarely upon the African people themselves. It is for them, by their behaviour and actions, to restore the European's faith in democratic ideals—a faith that political developments in so many parts of this continent have undermined.

"At the same time, it will of course be important for the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia to continue to demonstrate by their attitudes in all walks of life that they are determined to preserve standards and not privilege. I believe that if European behaviour in Southern Rhodesia continues to be based on that principle, it is founded on wisdom and justice. I hope it will be regarded by the majority of the African people in that light.

"It has been said before, and it is worthwhile repeating, that there is a tremendous fund of good will existing between people of different races in this part of the world. Indeed, the more I observe race conflict in other parts of the world the more convinced I am that our own situation is a happy one by comparison. One must hope that that good will is not going to be drained away by the striking of arrogant and pretentious attitudes on either side.

"I have often been accused during my political career of damaging race relations at the political level by attacking African nationalist leaders. My motives in doing so have never been in any way related to a desire to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of the African people. They have been rather to protect the African people as well as Europeans from the consequences of capitulating to claims which I consider to be untimely and unrealistic.

Unrealistic Intransigence

"If I might offer one more word of advice to the African people of Southern Rhodesia before I step down from the political scene, I would ask them to have faith in the good intentions of their European neighbours in Southern Rhodesia, because if they do I am confident that they will be amply repaid. Two years ago the Europeans of Southern Rhodesia demonstrated their own good faith by approving the terms of a new Constitution under which Africans will eventually be in a majority on the voters' rolls.

"If things go wrong politically with Southern Rhodesia—and I pray that they do not—I think the fault will be found to have been in the failure of the African people to grasp the opportunities for political self-expression that were opened up to them. The position into which they have allowed themselves to be led by some of their leaders is more serious than one of simply declining the opportunity of exercising political rights; it is a position of appearing to refuse any sort of compromise with political problems and realism, which is a dangerous position from the point of view of achieving the reconciliations I have been talking about.

"I do not believe that stubborn intransigence is characteristic of the African people as a whole. I sincerely hope that large numbers of them will have the good sense to see where their real advantage as a people lies and to realize that there is most to be gained by steady progress.

"So much for the domestic attitudes towards our problems in this part of the world. Unfortunately—as we all know only too well—that is not the whole picture. International attitudes play upon it, too, and I think it may not be inappropriate for me to say a few words about international responsibility in this matter.

"On the question of direct international intervention in our domestic affairs there can be no two points of view. Such intervention is expressly discountenanced by the terms of the United Nations Charter.

"There are, however, a number of ways short of direct intervention in which other countries can interfere in our affairs. In so far as the affairs of Southern Rhodesia are concerned, opportunities to do so have been taken up with monotonous regularity in the various committees of the United Nations Organization.

"The attacks that have been mounted have usually been inspired by countries with atrocious domestic records, and have been characterized by such malicious venom and disregard for the truth that they do no credit to the Organization in the eyes of people that they ought to be trying to impress.

"If the United Nations Organization is to accomplish the high purposes for which it was set up, it is important that it should command respect. Unless it can put the world's problems in a better perspective and compel more objectivity in its members' approach to these problems, I fear that its reputation will not be enhanced.

Marketing Emotional Votes

"One of the tragedies is that the Organization is not so much a solemn international council chamber as an international market-place for the trading of votes against national self-interest. It is not an edifying spectacle to see the Great Powers of the world indulging in this shabby bargaining.

"I do not know how we are to get away from it, particularly in view of the ideological confrontation between East and West, but it might not be a bad thing if secret balloting—something that we hear so much about all over the world—was introduced into the Organization's proceedings. There might then be some hope of votes being cast on the merits of a resolution rather than on the prospect of a return of favours from the right quarter.

"I throw out this suggestion not in any serious expectation that anybody will be moved to do anything about it, but rather to indicate why the United Nations Organization exercises so little moral authority in this part of the world. People are likely to respect admonitions and advice only when this is well-informed, honest, and impartial.

"A United Nations resolution which condemns a regime in Southern Africa for some real or imagined malpractice which is perpetrated with impunity in a dozen or so other countries can have no moral standing so far as those regimes are concerned and merely brings the sponsors of the resolution into contempt.

"If the United Nations Organization is to exercise any real influence as a conciliator of world problems, if it is to exert any real authority towards the wider acceptance of standards of national and international morality, it must be seen to be impartial and objective in its judgments and not to be swayed by emotionalism.

"I believe that the problems of Central Africa will ultimately be settled by the people of Central Africa; that a tremendous responsibility rests upon us all to approach these problems in a spirit of charity, tolerance and understanding; that the onus of responsibility for finding harmonious reconciliations rests equally upon Governments and the governed; that the solutions that seem sensible today may not necessarily answer the needs of tomorrow; and that we owe it to posterity to build for the kind of future that posterity will honour us for inheriting.

Benefits of Federation

"It is my hope that the present and future Governments of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, and the people who are called upon to elect them, will approach their tasks in that kind of spirit, and in the realization that what they accomplish or fail to accomplish may well be of profound significance in the history of the evolution of mankind.

"As I said in a broadcast to the nation on Federation Day this year, the three territories would undoubtedly have made material advances even without Federation; but I do not believe that the pace and scope of their progress would have matched the strides they made whilst they were linked in a strong political and economic association.

"Tomorrow this House will sit for the last time before the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland passes into history. But those whose genuine concern is the welfare of all the inhabitants of the three territories—as opposed to personal gain and the satisfaction of mere political ambitions—can take comfort from the fact that many of the benefits of Federation will long outlive its constitutional demise.

"The achievements of the years of Federation are legion. The most significant are recorded in a White Paper which I am tabling in the House today. This White Paper has been prepared not in any spirit of recrimination but merely to place on record the more important achievements. I hope the Governments and people of Central Africa will use them as a solid base from which to push ahead the great development and progress of the past decade.

Significant Advances in Human Relationships

"So much has been crowded into the short life of the Federation that it is sometimes difficult to remember conditions as they were in 1953. If we cast our minds back and recall the serious shortages of power, transport, and buildings which in the early 1950s hampered economic development in the three territories, and contrast these shortages with the position today, we are reminded of the very real progress that has been made.

"Federation also brought about significant advances in human relationships in Central Africa and helped to break down the legal and social barriers which tend to keep the races apart. The task of the Federal and territorial Governments was to give the lead in implementing within their respective fields of responsibility and influence, the policy of racial partnership enshrined in the Federal Constitution. Much progress was made in abolishing racial discrimination over a wide field of activity.

"These advances are set out in greater detail in the White Paper entitled 'Legacy of Progress: Achievements of the Years of Federation 1953-63', which I am making available to hon. members today. I leave it to those who read this White Paper to judge for themselves whether the Government which I have the honour to lead has fully, faithfully and honourably carried out the responsibilities conferred on it in 1953 and upheld the ideals set out in the Preamble to the Constitution."

SIR HUMPHREY GIBBS, the Acting Governor-General said that he performed the duty of proroguing the Federal Assembly with sadness and sorrow.

His Ministers had at all times done their utmost to fulfil the great ideal of fostering partnership and co-operation between the peoples of the territories.

He prayed that those who governed the territories in future would strengthen the common links for the material advantage of all the inhabitants.

De Courcy Jailed for Seven Years

KENNETH HUGH DE COURCY, aged 54, the wealthy founder and editor of *Intelligence Digest*, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment at the Old Bailey on Friday after a trial lasting eight weeks, during which he dismissed his counsel. His address to the jury took five days.

He had pleaded not guilty to 14 charges of fraud, forgery, and perjury. After a retirement of nine hours the jury found him guilty on 11 of the charges, two others having been withdrawn by the Crown. The accused gave notice of appeal, saying: "I strongly protest my innocence. I never intended to do anything dishonest."

Judge Aarvold said when passing sentence: "You stand convicted because of the fraudulent methods you adopted. To achieve your purposes no deception, no untruth, no trick was too low for you to stoop to."

De Courcy, of Cerney House, North Cerney, Gloucestershire, charged with offences arising out of a land development scheme at New Cerney, near Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, was found guilty of inducing the purchase of shares by dishonest concealment of material facts, of uttering a whole series of documents to defraud or deceive, and of committing perjury in High Court proceedings.

Police investigations had taken more than a year when he was arrested in January. He was on bail of £27,500 until it was withdrawn by the judge during his long review of the evidence. De Courcy consequently spent the last night of the trial in custody though not then convicted.

Just over £1m. was subscribed for the New Cerney township scheme in Southern Rhodesia, mostly by subscribers to his publications. A company called Overseas Land Purchasing Trust bought 2,550 acres and contracted to build 8,000 houses and 10 blocks of flats. Only 16 houses and two blocks of flats have been completed; and they are empty. A receiver was appointed in 1961.

Naivety About Kenya Peers Debate Independence

LORD COLYTON said that Kenya would be "the first British country in Africa to attain independence in which there is a large proportion of European settlers, who, together with the British civil servants and businessmen, of course with the help of Asians and Africans, had built up the economy to the high level which it occupied a few years ago.

"I should have preferred the European element to continue to play an important rôle in political life for a number of years, a genuine multi-racial system in which a man's part would be governed by his ability and capacity, not the colour of his skin.

"I welcomed the Constitution which emerged from the Lancaster House Conference of 1962. I had hoped that the longest possible time would be given to enable the embryonic regional institutions to develop under a régime of self-government before full independence was achieved. They will have been operating for a period of only a few months. In some services the powers and finance have not yet been transferred to the regions.

"We were naive to think that federation could possibly be achieved this year. Dr. Nkrumah has condemned East African Federation as being neo-colonialism, which it obviously is not. An East African Federation would bring many benefits to all concerned, and incidentally create the third largest State in Africa.

Impossible to Survive

"At the recent Kenya Conference in London changes were made in the 1962 Constitution which we had been categorically assured by H.M. Government would be the Constitution with which Kenya would enter independence. Some of these changes cause considerable concern to the K.A.D.U. opposition, representing mainly the minority tribes, though the position has now been accepted by Mr. Ngala, the Leader of the Opposition.

"Looking back over the history of Kenya over the past ten years, starting with the Lyttelton Conference of 1954, it is no wonder that the European community should feel that they have been badly let down by H.M. Government many times. Something is now being done to help the European farming community and to build up the system of African farming whether in larger farms or peasant holdings.

"Despite the million-acre scheme of purchases of European land, the remaining European mixed farmers, as opposed to the ranchers and plantation owners, are bound to go through an extremely difficult time, and may in the end find it impossible to carry on. I hope that H.M. Government will show the greatest generosity in providing finance to buy out further numbers of European mixed farmers as and when this proves necessary.

Illegal Squatting

"They should reconsider their attitude towards the claims for special treatment for the Settlement Board farmers who were encouraged to go out after the war. They were given security of tenure for 48 years, and promised such amenities as European schools, hospitals and so forth. Now they find themselves obliged to stay in Kenya, because they cannot sell their farms at anything like their proper value. There were only 300 of them to begin with, and 100 have already been bought out under the million-acres scheme. I beg H.M. Government to deal with the remaining 200 as a special case and to provide the necessary finance to purchase their farms at proper prices. We have a debt of honour to these ex-Service men.

"I doubt whether in the long run the European mixed farmers will survive. But if Kenya is to continue highly productive farming enterprises over the next critical years, the Kenya Government must strain every nerve to make it possible for these farmers to survive and to remain efficient. Cattle thefts and illegal squatting must be put down. Animal health regulations must be enforced.

"Now that the days of British colonialism are numbered, there is an inevitable tendency to turn to other nationalities in industrial and commercial matters. There has been a new scramble for Africa. French, West German, Italian, Israeli, Japanese and other businessmen are increasingly entering the Kenya market. British businessmen should take active steps to secure that we are not driven out still further.

"The City of London is not prepared to provide capital for industry or commercial projects in Kenya on the scale required. Other nations are taking a longer view. No doubt after independence there will be influx of East German, Czech or Polish men engaged on industrial or commercial projects."

THE EARL OF LYTTON described the 'back-to-the-land' movement of Mr. Kenyatta as something of a Frankenstein.

"It is not a solution, merely a passionate urge which has been fostered, and it has immense dangers, because the need of Kenya is a complete economy. The population is increasing five times as fast as the most optimistic land settlement can possibly settle people viably on the land; and to a considerable extent the present settlements are not viable.

"Do we still subscribe to the Atlantic Charter? Have we abandoned justice because it is too difficult or for some other reason? Almost incredible steps have been taken to find out the wishes of the people of the North-East Region, to proclaim them to the world, to lead them to believe that their wishes were going to be granted, and then to refuse those wishes. It is not too late to go back on this violation of human rights as proclaimed by us in the Atlantic Charter and in many other documents.

N.F.D. Injustice

"Advertisements are appearing in the Press to get white men to serve in this area where the upcountry Negroes do not care to be involved.

"The area is clearly definable. The population are virtually unanimous. They have a common frontier with their mother country of 350 miles. Their purpose is not fission, but fusion with the mother country they love. It is also not a question of Balkanization; if you lop off a piece from one and add it to another it does not alter the number of States concerned.

"According to the Regional Boundaries Commission, to make the transfer to the Somali Republic would not diminish the viability of Kenya in any way whatsoever. It is, in fact, a liability of £300,000 a year—one of the poorest countries in the world. It would cause no administrative confusion; so say the Regional Boundaries Commission. There is a willing receiver. That was not so with the Masai, whose case I tried to take up; there was no one willing to receive in their case. There are eight reasons which totally distinguish this particular secession from others.

"Lord Dundee assures me the Government believe this matter can be properly settled only in an African setting. The reason we have done this thing is the objection of Ethiopia, supported by the United States, and wrongly supported by a tradition of the Foreign Office; we therefore have against these little Somalis the Ethiopian Empire, the British Empire, and the American Empire. Only one of those is African. The result of our last debate was to add two more empires—the Russian and Chinese. That is our act. Now there will be trouble.

No Land Market

"All these countries in East, Central, and West Africa are getting their freedom so quickly because at the end of the last war the United Nations decided to set up after a period of trust an independent State of one of the tiniest and poorest of the lot, the Somali Republic. Every other African State has been able to quote that precedent in demanding its own rapid freedom.

"The only principle of unity at Addis Ababa is hunting the ghost of George III. There is no territory that is not going to be theirs in time if they wish it. Yet there is no support for the Somalis. I cannot see that Somalia could do other than she did, and in my opinion the action of Mr. Khrushchev is a contribution to peace; it has balanced the scales so that there is a chance of justice.

"When the time comes I shall point out who are the principal obstructors of justice, and in so doing I shall be obliged to use a secret report: it is secret in the Foreign Office but was published in 1936 in the *Giornale d'Italia*. I presume I shall be infringing the Official Secrets Act by quoting from it here in English, but that I may do so in Italian. So I trust that noble lords will brush up their Italian, because it is a key report on what the Ethiopian Colonial Empire really is."

THE EARL OF ENNISKILLEN, who has farmed in Kenya for many years as Mr. David Cole, said (in part):—

"Those living outside the million-acre settlement area are the very people whom this country has asked to maintain their farming activities to support the economy of Kenya. Any question of their being treated less magnanimously, less justly, than the people who have been treated in the million-acre scheme would be quite unacceptable.

"There is no question in the mind of anybody who knows Kenya, whether African or European, that longing eyes will be cast upon people who own land of a type that could be well utilized by the indigenous peoples. The pressures which the Kenya Government will have to face will be almost irresistible unless there is in the future a great deal of assistance, understanding, and co-operation from H.M. Government, whose prime responsibility must still remain. There

is practically no market in land outside the million-acre scheme.

"Kenya cannot have real confidence in her future until this land issue has been resolved. It is still the root cause of distress and disturbance. But the political and economic advantages of the million-acre scheme, to which H.M. Government have so generously contributed, have led to a better understanding for the utilization of land in the new Kenya and have done a great deal of good.

"The £700,000 paid towards the farm compassionate cases has gone a long way to meet the problem, but there are still cases which have not been assisted and which are terrible and glaring examples of what can happen to people in times such as these.

"I am not one of those who think the worst, but I am certain that the future of the Europeans in Kenya depends on our attitude in this country and how we are able to help the new Government of Kenya—not by handing out sweets all the time—I do not really think that this is the way they want to be helped—but by walking alongside her and showing that we are partners within the Commonwealth and are there to help in every way we can. If we do not do that we shall no doubt have the Germans, Czechs, the Japanese, Chinese and probably the Russians coming in; and they perhaps will do it better."

Tribal Antagonism

THE EARL OF LISTOWEL described British rule as the cement which had united the tribes in Kenya in common opposition to it. When British rule ended the cement of that common antagonism will go. The strains and stresses of tribal rivalry would then become a real threat to the unity of the nation.

"It is a good omen that there has been no considerable exodus of any of the minorities, Arab, Indian or European. The British farmers on whom the economy depends, deserve great credit for their courageous decision to stay on and face a necessarily uncertain future.

"The greatest and most immediate danger is in the explosive situation in the North-East Region, which used to be called the N.F.D. We all agree that it would be the worst possible tragedy if fighting between Kenya and Somalia were to mar the first year of Kenyan independence.

"The explosive situation will become worse if the Great Powers pour arms into Africa. Somalia has recently received several million pounds' worth of arms and equipment from the Soviet Union. This is bound to increase tension between Somalia and her neighbours, and threatens to bring the cold war into Africa.

"There is one small cloud on the horizon of independence—the ban on Mr. Bennett, M.P., from the Independence celebrations. He has been the adviser to the Opposition party. This ban would be of less importance if it were only against one individual; but it is particularly important because it affects the relations between the Kenya Government and the Opposition in Kenya and between Britain and Kenya. Africans are outstanding for their generosity and lack of resentment. It would be a splendid gesture of forgiveness and reconciliation from the Kenya Government if this ban were to be lifted."

Government Pledge

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE spoke similarly about the banning of Mr. Bennett, and said that the Secretary of State did not feel that specially favourable treatment could be given to the ex-Service Settlement Board farmers.

"Lord Salisbury referred to the problems in the Central Region. There is increasing pressure from the Kikuyu. Recently the Kenya Government have come forward with proposals to meet this problem which has arisen in recent months, and H.M. Government have undertaken to provide additional funds to meet this very special need.

"When the million-acre scheme was introduced it was agreed that in its last year of operation, 1966, the Government would review the scheme and agree to participate in an extension should the need be pressing. We now feel that this review should be undertaken within a few months.

"The Earl of Lytton said that countless pledges had been made over the last 60 years. One goes as follows: 'Primarily Kenya is an African territory and H.M. Government think it necessary to definitely record their considered opinion that the interests of the African must be paramount and that, if and when those interests and the interest of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail'."

THE EARL OF LYTTON: "That was said in 1923 and in an Indian context. It was never dreamed by anybody that the departure of white settlers or the diminution of their privileges were in question at all. An Indian employer, if he is a Patel, employs 40 other Patels, not Africans."

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE: "My grandfather has been dead 25 years and it is not possible to know what he had in mind when he made that pledge; but it has not been contradicted.

"The problems posed by the North-Eastern region must cause grave concern to all of us who wish Kenya well. In spite of the fact that the Somalis broke off relations with this country, we called talks between ourselves and the Somali Government, with the Kenya Government represented, in Rome in August. Our delegation was led by Mr. Peter Thomas a Minister of State in the Foreign Office. But we failed to find a settlement fair to all parties.

"At the recent Independence Conference, it was agreed that the people of the region should be given a fresh opportunity to elect a regional assembly and representatives to the National Assembly. These arrangements would give adequate opportunity to the inhabitants of the North-Eastern region to enjoy in full measure those benefits of the new Constitution which are expressly designed to give all the peoples of Kenya a large measure of self-government in local affairs.

"With independence for Kenya less than a month away, it just is not practical that we should act unilaterally and give away a piece of Kenya over the heads of the Kenya Government. What was good enough for British Kenya must surely be good enough for Kenya's Kenya. No Government could be expected to carve off a portion of a country's territory within a few weeks of its becoming its own master. Our trusteeship is coming to an end. At this stage it would be a grave breach of that trusteeship to hand over that territory from the control of the Kenya Government."

Kenya's First Ambassadors

FIVE AMBASSADORS have been appointed by Kenya: Mr. Burudi Nabwera, to the United Nations and the United States; Mr. Adala Otuko, to Moscow; Mr. Henry Mulli, to Peking; Mr. Theophilus arap Koskei, to Cairo; and Mr. J. Shako, to Paris. As reported last week, Dr. J. N. Karanja is the first High Commissioner in London.

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towns throughout the world.

Liquidating Agency Set Up

Federal Public Debt Apportioned

THE ORDER IN COUNCIL providing for the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland "immediately before January 1, 1964", has now been laid before Parliament.

It constitutes a Liquidating Agency consisting of the Secretary to the Treasury of Southern Rhodesia, the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Finance of Northern Rhodesia, and the Secretary to the Treasury of Nyasaland, with the task of winding up the affairs of the Federation and apportioning and distributing the assets and liabilities on the basis agreed between the three Governments. The agency will also perform the functions of the Commissioner of Taxes.

The Federation's public debt is divided into two parts. Loans listed in the first part are apportioned as to 52.120% to Southern Rhodesia, 37.127% to Northern Rhodesia, and 10.753% to Nyasaland. Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia each accepts liability for 50% of the loans in the second list. The three Governments are to substitute in the above proportions their own issues of bonds or stock in substitution for existing Federal scrip.

The Agricultural Marketing Council, the Cold Storage Commission, the Dairy Marketing Board, the Federal Broadcasting Corporation, the Grain Marketing Board, the Pig Industry Board, the North-Eastern Tobacco Marketing Board, the South-Western Tobacco Marketing Board, and the Tobacco Export Promotion Council are to be dissolved, and any property will be vested in the Liquidating Agency.

A Staff Authority and a Staff Commission of not more than three persons will deal with public service matters.

Pension Fund

A Central African Pension Fund will take over all the assets of the Federal Pension Fund, and vest them in trustees domiciled in the United Kingdom who are to be appointed jointly by the Governments of the United Kingdom, the Federation, the two Rhodesias, and Nyasaland.

A Higher Authority for Power will consist of two Ministers each from Southern and Northern Rhodesia. All its decisions must be unanimous to have effect.

A Central African Power Corporation is to have a chairman jointly nominated by the Governments of the two Rhodesias, together with three members each nominated by those Governments and one by the Higher Authority in agreement with the Commonwealth Development Corporation. No member may be a member of a legislature.

A Higher Authority for Civil Air Transport will consist of three members, each being a Minister in the Government of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, or Nyasaland.

A new Central African Airways Corporation is to have a chairman, jointly appointed by the three territorial Governments (his successors being nominated by the Higher Authority) and five other members, two appointed by each of the Rhodesian Governments and one by that of Nyasaland. In this case also no member of a legislature may serve.

Research Council

An Agricultural Research Council for Central Africa is to promote, direct, control and conduct agricultural research, including veterinary and insect research, particularly in regard to soils, vegetation, crops, livestock, forestry, hydrology, wild life, and fisheries. The chairman will be appointed jointly by the Governments; there will be three other members, one representing each of the territorial Governments, with provision for those Governments to add other members by agreement.

The Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is to be dissolved not later than December 31, 1965, and the Federal currency is to remain legal tender to a date still to be decided between January 1 and June 1 of that year. The Finance Ministers of the three territories are to constitute a Committee of Ministers to exercise the functions conferred by the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland Act of 1956, the Banking Act of 1959, the Exchange Control Act of 1954, and the Currency and Exchange Control (Temporary) Act of 1961.

Rhodesia Railways will have a board of management consisting of a chairman appointed by a Higher Authority for Railways, and six other members, three being appointed by each of the Rhodesian Governments. The Higher Authority will consist of two Southern Rhodesian and two Northern Rhodesian Ministers. A Railways Court will be established to hear appeals and settle industrial disputes connected with the railways.

Federal Government Protesting

Indefensible Imposition, Says Mr. Caldicott

MR. J. M. CALDICOTT, Federal Minister of Finance, sharply criticized H.M. Government in Salisbury on Friday, saying:—

"It was reported in the Press and on the radio on December 11 that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Dilhorne, in answer to a question in the House of Lords by Lord Colyton, had rejected any suggestion that the British Government should guarantee after the dissolution of the Federation all Federal Government stock.

"The Federal Government has not asked that the British Government should give such a guarantee. What is has said is that the new security offered should be comparable to the security the stockholders now enjoy. Since the loans are secured against the assets of the whole Federal area, it would be equitable if the territorial Governments were to guarantee the loans jointly and severally. If this is not acceptable to the territorial Governments, it is for them to negotiate with the British Government and the stockholders an alternative which is satisfactory.

"What is indefensible is that the British Government should impose by Order in Council proposals which have been almost unanimously opposed by the local stockholders, and which seriously reduce the security that the stockholders previously enjoyed. It is against this action that the Federal Government is so vehemently protesting."

Britain's Integrity Not Safeguarded

Failure of the House of Commons

MR. H. D. WIGHTWICK, M.P. for Salisbury South, said recently in the Federal Assembly that the House of Commons had not had the right to pass this year's Rhodesia and Nyasaland Act for the dissolution of the Federation and that H.M. Government was therefore not legally entitled to apply the statutory instrument issued under the Act. He continued:—

"It is frequently reiterated that the Commons can pass any Acts they like regarding the Federation. I have never accepted this, for the very good reason that I do not believe that the powers of the House of Commons lie in strictly legal interpretation—or in precedent. They lie in the tradition of the House, and above all in the honourable record which that House has of keeping pledges entered into by the British Government.

Deserves Contempt

"In the final event the House is, in my opinion, guardian of the British nation's integrity in its Government's dealings with the Commonwealth and foreign countries. In this particular instance I do not believe that they have guarded the integrity of the British nation, and they have passed an Act which certainly in terms of their traditions, their precedents, and the standing and integrity of the British people should never have been passed and which we should never have acknowledged.

"One has noticed with a certain cynicism that changes are taking place in the attitude of members of the House of Commons. One noticed, for instance, the tremendous excitement in the House when one Minister, having become involved with a little bit of fluff, resorted to lying—though I see nothing unusual in a Minister lying to Parliament. But when it comes to legislation in direct opposition to the solemn pledges given by the British Government to this Federation, then only the feeblest interest seems to have been taken in the matter by only a very few members of that distinguished House.

"Times, morals and values are changing, and the members of the House of Commons and the British Government are doing their best not to lag behind either in their private, or their public lives. The Mother of Parliaments is only too prepared to shorten her skirts and paint her face in order to compete with some of the more exotic examples to be found among her descendants.

"It is quite futile to kick against the pricks. We have to accept what has happened; but do not let us accept it with anything but the contempt which it deserves."

An okapi has been born in Bristol Zoo—the first such birth in Britain.

"Tanks" Affected by the Congo

No Dividend from Large Union Miniere Holdings

TANGANYIKA CONCESSIONS, LTD., received no revenue in the year to July 31 from Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, because conditions in the Congo did not justify a distribution and because the dividend declared in May, 1962, in respect of the previous year remained unpaid owing to failure of the Congolese Government to make foreign exchange available for payment to the shareholders. The principal source of revenue of "Tanks" was therefore its dividend from the Benguela Railway Company.

Consolidated profit after tax amounted to £778,139 (£874,842), and a dividend of 8% on the preference shares and of 9d. per 10s. stock unit will together require £722,282. From 1962 there was brought forward £1,210,230 in the accounts of Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., and of £140,907 in the books of Tanganyika Properties (Rhodesia), Ltd. After allowing for a loss of £370,097 on the disposal of shares by a subsidiary (of which loss £214,027 was provided from capital reserve), "Tanks" has a carry-forward of just over £4m. The issued capital is £7,662,824 in 10s. stock units and £1.8m. in 8% cumulative redeemable preference shares of 16s.

Operating Receipts Down

The holding of 179,760 shares in Union Minière stands in the books at £4.3m., but the market value exceeded £15m. There has since been a persistent fall, and at the end of the company's year current quotation, the figure would be about £11.4m. The interest in Tanganyika Holdings, Ltd., appears at £455,500. Shares in other companies other than subsidiaries appear at rather more than £1.5m.

Of the subsidiaries, the interest in Benguela Railway stands at £5.4m. and in Commonwealth Timber Industries, Ltd., and its subsidiary at £2.1m., bringing total fixed assets to nearly £14.2m. Investments of the wholly-owned subsidiary total £585,772, and current assets less current liabilities are just over £1m.

Owing to the fighting in Katanga no copper was carried on the Benguela Railway from Christmas 1962 to the following February, and that necessarily affected the earnings, net operating revenue falling from 220m. escudos to 207.6m. During the first nine months of this year the net operating receipts showed further reductions, from 193.8m. to 153.4m. escudos, or £1.9m. (£2.4m.).

Tanganyika Properties (Rhodesia), a wholly-owned subsidiary, made a loss of £354,934. "Tanks" has a 60% interest in Commonwealth Timber Industries, Ltd., which made a substantially improved profit and recently sold a new plant and sawmill in Norfolk for £2m., of which £1.6m. is payable in cash and the balance in shares of a subsidiary of British Match Corporation, Ltd. "Tanks" also holds 680,000 6½d. debentures and 270,000 ordinary shares, 7.2% of the equity, in Rhodesian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd. Captain the Rt. Hon. Charles Waterhouse is the chairman and Mr. T. P. M. Cochran the deputy chairman. The other members of the board are Lord Clitheroe, the Earl of Selborne (who has been a director since 1947 and does not seek re-election), Sir Andrew Strachan, Sir Mark Turner, Dr. Alexandre Pinto Basto, and Messrs. F. Oppenheimer, A. de Spirlet, and E. P. Van Der Straeten. Mr. P. H. A. Brownrigg is an alternative director.

The annual meeting is to be held in Salisbury on January 23.

Mitchell Cotts Group Report

MITCHELL COTTS GROUP, LTD., reports consolidated profits after tax to June 30 at £547,061 (£434,140). Ordinary shareholders receive 17½% (15%), and the carry-forward is just under £3.2m. (£3m.). The issued capital is £2.8m. in 5s. ordinary and £1,150,000 in preference shares.

Fixed assets total £5.6m., investments £1.3m., and current assets less current liabilities almost £7m. Loan capital amounts to £1.3m.

Despite political happenings in East Africa the group maintained its position. There was an improvement in the Sudan, "but the important amount of capital at risk is not as remunerative as it should be." Progress on the cotton pilot scheme continued in Ethiopia, from which meat export will shortly start.

The directors are Mr. H. C. Drayton (chairman), Mr. J. K. Dick (deputy chairman and managing director), Lord Teynham, and Messrs. P. P. Dunkley, J. H. Edge, A. E. Helman, D. C. Holmes, F. Knight, A. F. Procter, M. E. Rich, and A. S. Roger. On reaching the age of 70 Mr. H. L. Burnie, a director for 23 years, resigned.

Large Investment in S. Rhodesia

Big Expansion of Sugar Industry

INVESTMENT OF £16m. has just been announced by Mr. G. W. Rudland, Minister of Trade, Industry and Development in Southern Rhodesia, who said in a statement to the Legislative Assembly:—

"Some £6m. have been invested in the Triangle sugar estate in recent years and further development is under way at a cost of some £2m. Triangle Ltd., and their neighbours, the Cold Storage Company, have now agreed on a further programme of capital development at a cost of £12m. This development will include further planting of sugar but will also involve a major step forward in diversifying the economy of the area. Approximately 2,500 acres are to be irrigated for the production of lucerne and burley tobacco. A factory is to be established at Triangle to manufacture cattle feed.

"Expansion and diversification is also intended for another major estate in the lowveld. £24m. have already been invested at Hippo Valley in citrus and sugar, and a distillery is in operation. The company has now decided upon further capital expenditure of £5m. for a second sugar mill, and there is to be a substantial increase in the acreage under sugar cane. A portion of this new acreage will be allocated to independent planters. The expansion of citrus production is to continue, and by 1965 over 85,000 citrus trees will be bearing fruit. A cannery factory has been established to process the fruit.

"Negotiations are taking place for the formation of a new company with a capital of £34m. to develop the area to be served by the waters of the Chiredzi Dam.

"£11½m. are involved in the decisions I have announced, including development at Dorowa. These prospects therefore represent an investment of nearly £16m. which is to be made in the economy over the next three years. Over £13m. of this capital is being invested by private enterprise, and about £11m. will be raised by investors outside Southern Rhodesia.

New Jobs

"Together these developments will move our economy forward with something like four-wheel drive. Construction work involved will bring business to our contractors and the manufacturers of construction materials. Goods produced will either earn or save very large sums of foreign exchange. Most important, a large number of new jobs will be created for the people of our country. After the construction work has been completed the lowveld projects I have mentioned will still offer the people of this country about 26,000 jobs which do not exist today. When these are added to jobs which already exist in sugar and other lowveld enterprises, the total number of people employed in lowveld irrigation schemes will be over 40,000.

"Wages and salaries paid to these employees will be between £24m. and £28m. annually. A large part of this will be spent on food, clothing, and other goods produced locally. The companies will be purchasing stores and equipment from local suppliers. All this new expenditure will create work for several thousands more of our people on farms and in factories. Great benefits will flow through our whole economy"

Riddoch Motors, Tanganyika

Government's Actions Discourage Staff

RIDDODCH MOTORS, LTD., Tanganyika, report higher net profit after tax to May 31 at £50,929 (£34,712). A dividend of 12½% less tax takes £25,000, the dividend equalization reserve receives £10,000, and the carry-forward is £58,085 (£39,092). Issued capital is £250,000 in 10s. stock units. Fixed assets stand in the books at £257,205 and current assets less current liabilities at £172,880. Vehicle sales increased substantially.

The directors' report states:—
"The curtailment of secondary education facilities and uncertainties aroused by recent immigration legislation have lost the company some of its experienced staff, and it is hoped that revisions will be made and the Act applied in such a way as to encourage experienced personnel to remain in Tanganyika and potential investors to assist in its development.

"Your company is anxious to pursue its policy of training Africans to accept greater responsibility, but this is possible only if experienced staff can be retained and provided African personnel show willingness to remain long enough to assimilate the necessary knowledge. Subject to these comments your directors are confident that the company will continue to prosper and that the atmosphere is generally conducive to profitable operation."

The directors are Messrs. J. L. Riddoch (chairman), A. T. Bewes (managing), D. R. McDonald, E. McDonald, and H. E. Sarwatt, M.P.

Company Report

East African Sisal Plantations

THE THIRTY-FIFTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF EAST AFRICAN SISAL PLANTATIONS, LIMITED, was held on December 12 in London.

MR. G. R. S. DOYLE, the chairman of the company, presided.

The following is an extract from his circulated statement:

In the year to June 30, 1963, there was a profit before taxation of £82,106, compared with a loss of £12,728 last year. More normal weather conditions resulted in much higher production. This coincided with a 50% rise in the price of sisal, which factors are responsible for the greatly improved results. Production was 2,480 tons, compared with 1,700 tons in the previous year.

Following the rapid rise in the price of sisal, an export tax of 5% was imposed in December, 1962, and this was replaced by a graduated tax in June, 1963, which averages about £14 a ton on the present price.

Production in the current year is well up to expectations. Up to the end of October 970 tons of sisal and tow had been produced, compared with 836 tons in the previous year. Given good weather and a continuation of a favourable price level, this year's results should compare favourably with those to June 30, 1963.

The report and accounts were adopted.

Development of Phosphate Deposit

THE SOUTHERN RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT and African Explosive and Chemical Industries, Ltd., have reached agreement for development of the Dorowa phosphate deposits.

In return for tariff protection, an African Explosives subsidiary will reduce the wholesale price of single phosphates by £1 per ton and of triple superphosphate proportionately to the phosphoric oxide content. A reduction of 7s per ton will be made in January, and the balance as soon as Dorowa can supply the phosphatic rock requirements of Rodia Fertilizers, Ltd., a Rhodesian subsidiary of A.E. & C.I., probably early in 1965. The full price reduction is to be passed on to farmers.

The capital investment at Dorowa will be about £1m., and about the same sum in foreign currency will be saved annually. In the first instance the tariff protection will be for seven years.

Unga Pays Dividend of 8½%

UNGA, LTD., reports profit after tax to July 31 of £144,178 for the parent company and £187,151 for the group compared with totals of £109,859 and £165,334 in the previous year. An 8½% dividend on the ordinary shares requires £105,400. The issued capital is £950,000 in ordinary shares of £1, £350,000 in non-voting ordinary shares of 5s., and £250,000 in A ordinary shares of £1.

Fixed assets stand in the books at nearly £2.7m. and current assets less current liabilities at just over £1m. £548,564 is owed by way of loans.

The majority shareholding, formerly held by the K.F.A., was sold to Holdings, Ltd., thus severing a financial connexion between Unga and the K.F.A. which had existed since 1928.

Mr. James Mackay was both president and vice-chairman until his recent departure from Kenya. Captain D. A. Vaughan-Philpott is the chairman. The other members of the board are Messrs. C. D. Hill, C. A. Male, J. Odero-Iowi, C. W. Rubia, P. M. Wise, P. C. A. Smalley, and F. T. Holjen (managing director). Mr. J. A. Z. Murumbi, who joined the board last year, resigned in consequence of the demands made upon his time by his Ministerial responsibilities.

During the debate on amendments to the Foreign Migratory Labour Act, the Minister of Labour in Southern Rhodesia said that Africans from other territories who had been in the Colony for a long time would receive special consideration. The new legislation would, he believed, eliminate migratory labour from the country.

Kenya Farmers' Association

THE KENYA FARMERS' ASSOCIATION (CO-OPERATIVE), LTD., reports profits of £70,031 for the year to August 3. Suppliers of produce are to receive a 2½% bonus on their sales to the K.F.A., requiring just over £48,000, and the contingency reserve is to be strengthened by £20,000.

Tribute is paid to Mr. James Mackay, the president, who has served continuously as a director, vice-chairman, chairman and president for 44 years since the formation of the K.F.A.'s forerunner, the British East Africa Farmers' Association. Whereas that body started with a membership of 100 Europeans, today there are 3,671 individual farmer members of all races and 12 co-operative societies and unions.

Captain D. A. Vaughan-Philpott is the chairman, and the other members of the board are Messrs. L. A. J. Roffey, J. C. Eksteen, A. Kuenzler, J. J. Musundi, H. S. Smith, K. McD. Robertson, C. D. Hill, G. Manuel, and J. J. M. Nyagah. The managing director is Mr. C. A. Male, and the finance director Mr. H. A. McCubbin.

Income tax will be introduced in the Sudan next July.

Ethiopia's second five-year plan envisages expenditure of some £380m.

After the end of this month Radio Tanganyika will not relay B.B.C. news bulletins.

John K. Gilliat & Co., Ltd., have moved to 37, Queen Street, London, E.C.4 (Tel.: C1ty 6321).

National and Grindlays Bank are to open a branch in Kingsway, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

The level of the Zambezi River above the Victoria Falls is higher than it has been in mid-December for 10 years.

The Government of Southern Rhodesia has decided to introduce legislation to prohibit trading stamp operations.

Two further deep-water berths are to be built at the Port of Mombasa at a cost of about £1m., bringing the total to 14.

The British Institute of Management will henceforth share responsibility with Overseas Service for its introductory courses.

An alluvial diamond find about 20 miles from Gwelo gives indications of an underground deposit, which is to be investigated.

Eighteen residents in the U.K. have been recruited as education officers for service in Uganda, two for Tanganyika, and two for Kenya.

A mobile canteen and cinema have been given to the African Police Reserve by the B.S.A. Commissioner, Mr. Barfoot, in memory of the African reservist who died last year after a gang had set him alight.

The Parliament of Southern Rhodesia has now agreed that people now resident in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland may apply for Southern Rhodesian citizenship within two years of the dissolution of the Federation.

Tanganyika has plans for an air force, the Minister for Defence told the National Assembly a few days ago. Two new companies of the Tanganyika Rifles are to be raised. Later it is hoped to have a naval force.

The Minister for Water Development told the Southern Rhodesian Parliament last week that work on the second stage of the Kariba hydro-electric scheme might begin 10 years hence. The estimated cost was £50m.

Southern Rhodesia's share of the Federal debt will be about £128m., including £67m. incurred before Federation. Southern Rhodesia will also be responsible for £23m. as her share of direct loans for Kariba, Rhodesia Railways, and Central African Airways.

Leverhulme research awards of £750 for the first year renewable for a second year at £650, are offered to four British-born graduates of U.K. universities who want a further period of advanced study or research in a Commonwealth university in Africa or the West Indies.

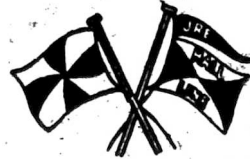
Sisal outputs for November: Bird & Co.(Africa), 1,377 tons, making 9,009 for July-November; Central Line Sisal, 374, making 2,123 for five months (1,842); East African Sisal Plantations, 225 tons, making 1,195 for five months (1,066 tons); Dwa Plantations, 151, making 1,492 for 11 months (1,597).

A quiz team from the B.B.C. is to visit Nairobi in February to record a programme which will be broadcast between April and June in various transmissions from London. Men drawn from Army and R.A.F. personnel and their families in Kenya will challenge the visitors in a general knowledge contest.

Mufulira Copper Mines, Ltd., is to increase the tankhouse capacity at its electrolytic refinery by 50% at an estimated cost of £1½m. The extension will raise the capacity from 108,000 to 162,000 long tons of electrolytic copper annually from the latter part of 1965, after which costs will be materially reduced.

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EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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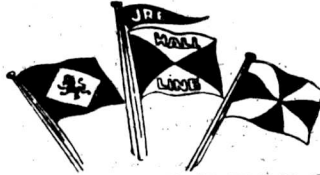
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Federation Destroyed by U.K. Political Parties

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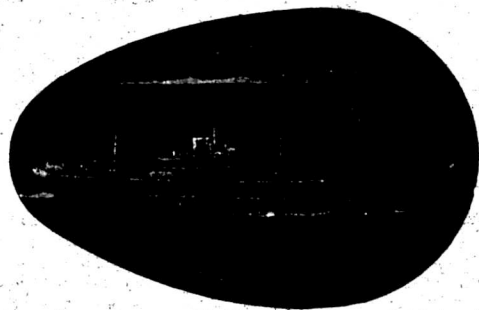
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

MACMILLANISM'S WORST CRIME in Africa will be consummated next Tuesday with the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The most hopeful experiment in inter-territorial

Murder and multi-racial government **Most Foul.** in all British Africa is thus to be destroyed. The Federation has not failed, as is frequently alleged. It has been deliberately wrecked by a series of political manoeuvres which were calculated to wrench authority from experienced men who have discharged their duties successfully, devotedly, and conscientiously, and transfer it to African politicians few of whom have any experience except that acquired in a few years of tub-thumping agitation. These men and their inspirers and collaborators in the Western world worked upon politicians, journalists, and broadcasters in the United Kingdom as a fifth column. Never has subversion had greater success in time of peace. Never has a British State been so cold-bloodedly murdered.

The Federation was handicapped from the time of its creation by the follies of politicians in the United Kingdom. Denied the right kind of Constitution despite his warnings of the dangers inherent in the Westminster assumptions, Lord Malvern, the first Prime Minister, accepted under protest arrangements which he and his colleagues knew to be unsatisfactory. Their judgment was soon to be vindicated, but the bunglers in London would not be persuaded to rectify their errors. Lord Malvern made a good start with an inherently difficult task, and when he handed on the Prime Ministership there was warranted confidence that Sir Roy Welensky would build well on the foundations laid by his tolerant, wise, and experienced predecessor. That he certainly did. Nobody could have fought more gallantly than he for the preservation of a conception in which he

Premature Ending Of Trusteeship.

continued to believe absolutely long after faithless Parliamentarians in Britain had decided to abandon it. This journal had for years pleaded for a bipartisanship in Colonial affairs similar to that which has been traditional in foreign affairs. The parties would not listen. It is ironical and tragic that the only major Colonial issue in which the three parties in the United Kingdom have agreed has been that of the unwisely premature surrender of British trusteeship in Africa.

From its inception the Federation was denied a fair chance by the Labour Party in Britain, which, to its lasting discredit, insisted on exploiting the matter for party political purposes. While **Irresponsibility of The Socialists.** in office the Socialists seriously considered closer union of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, and a committee of senior officials of the Colonial Office, the Commonwealth Relations Office, and the three Central African Governments examined and advocated the case for federation, plans for which were accordingly laid. Before they could be put into operation, however, there was a general election in which the Labour Government was defeated. Sensing an opportunity of rallying its shaken ranks by high-sounding calls to rescue allegedly threatened Africans (who would have been the chief beneficiaries of a successful Federation), the Socialists immediately reversed their attitude, and in numerous debates in the House of Commons the party spokesmen roundly cursed what they had previously blessed; but, withstanding the strongest pressure from the whips, a strong minority of Labour Members, including several senior ex-Ministers, refused to obey the new orders, and after the last of a series of acrimonious debates almost exactly one hundred of them declined to follow their leaders into the Opposition lobby. Mr. Attlee, who had visited Central Africa, and was obviously unhappy that the territories should

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be involved in inter-party warfare, then promised that, the decision in favour of Federation having been taken, Labour would patriotically support the new State. His pledge, certainly made in good faith, has been persistently dishonoured by those in whose name it was given, with the consequence that agitators against the Federation, white and black, have known that they could always turn for help to the Parliamentary Labour Party. Its irresponsibility in this and other African matters has been a major factor in the incredible idiocies of the past decade.

When the idea of a federation was put before Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (very, very few of whom had any conception of its meaning), Mr. James Griffiths, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and in that capacity answerable to Parliament for the administration of the two Protectorates, gave strict injunctions that any civil servant whose guidance was invited by Africans was to do no more than explain what was intended; in particular, he was to refrain from any statement in favour of the change. Before those instructions were issued Mr. Griffiths confided his intention to a few people in London, including the editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, who immediately pleaded for reconsideration, arguing that an idea which the Minister expected to produce an impartial judgment from Africans was bound to have precisely the contrary effect, since men who had always sought guidance from the provincial and district commissioners were certain to deem federation dangerous if those trusted advisers refused to express confidence in it. The Secretary of State was told that Africans were bound to construe the silence of officials as implying dissatisfaction, especially as Africans have a strongly conservative attitude to any kind of change and have consequently always needed to be told that any innovation was for their good. Mr. Griffiths, whose knowledge of Africa was negligible, had among his Cabinet colleagues, and also among his senior official advisers, men as stubbornly determined as he was himself to act on a theory which had no relation whatsoever to the facts of African life. This most serious initial blunder created general suspicion and fear, which were, of course, welcomed and turned to account by Dr. Banda and Mr. Chipembere, the first organizers of opposition to a plan which promised Africans significant political, economic, administrative and social benefits.

Foolish Instructions To Colonial Officials.

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Fair play was thus denied at the outset. Foul play has characterized the last four years. In the opening weeks of 1960 Mr. Macmillan, then Prime Minister, visited West Africa, made a very short stay in Southern Rhodesia, professed faith in the country, and flew on to South Africa, whose Parliament he affronted by his now notorious wind-of-change speech. That unwelcome monologue did at least contain the specific pledge that individual merit would be the criterion for political and other advancement in British Africa. The tragedies of the last four years could not have occurred if that promise had been kept. It was, of course, never intended to do more than mislead a public which had still not recognized the faithlessness of the man. That the proviso was a sham was clearly understood by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Iain Macleod, whom Mr. Macmillan had selected to destroy the work of Mr. Oliver Lyttelton and Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, worthy predecessors who had set a sharp but not unpractical pace of political progress in Africa. Even before the Prime Minister had delivered in Cape Town a policy statement which is known to have been prepared weeks earlier, Mr. Macleod had taken at the Kenya Constitutional Conference in London the first cynical step towards the rehabilitation of Mau Mau; and that was unquestionably a flagrant breach of the policy of advancement by merit. If Mr. Macmillan had been sincere he would have dismissed a Minister whose acts made nonsense of his own pronouncement. Indeed, that was immediately suggested in these columns. But the Prime Minister and Secretary of State were, of course, acting in collusion. That was the beginning of a series of transactions in East and Central Africa which make as disreputable a story as any in British Imperial history. Having promptly wrecked Kenya as a multi-racial State, Mr. Macleod tore up a Constitution in Northern Rhodesia which was only two years old and had been intended to last a decade. His machinations were such that Lord Salisbury, than whom the party had no more honoured senior statesman, denounced them as "unscrupulous"; and on returning from one of his visits to Central Africa the then Archbishop of Canterbury told the House of Lords that he had never known British Ministers so generally distrusted.

Mr. Macmillan's Faithlessness.

When a commission under the chairmanship of Lord Monckton was appointed to examine what had been achieved in the Fed-

When a commission under the chairmanship of Lord Monckton was appointed to examine what had been achieved in the Fed-

eration and to report on any amendments in its Constitution which experience had shown to be desirable, an unequivocal assurance was given by the Prime Minister to the Federal Government that the commissioners would be debarred by their terms of reference from considering any question of the dissolution of the Federation. Relying on that undertaking, Sir Roy Welensky nominated members to the commission. He was to find himself betrayed, for not only did Lord Monckton and his colleagues disregard the prohibition, but the Prime Minister, instead of taking the honourable course of deleting from the published report those passages which transgressed his own vital assurance, published the document in full. Thereafter deceit, duplicity, and betrayal followed in quick succession. The record, as revealed by Sir Roy Welensky in his speeches and in documents published by his Government, is so repulsive as to be scarcely credible. Yet of its authenticity there is no room for doubt. The whole Cabinet was, of course, involved, but Mr. Macmillan himself, Mr. Macleod, and Mr. Butler were the chief culprits in a course of political crime which has culminated in the murder of the Federation.

Not one Minister, not even one Member of Parliament, resigned in protest; and not one daily newspaper in the United Kingdom has consistently exposed and criticized what

Loyalty to the Crown: Britain's name.
Contempt for Ministers. The inevitable

consequence is that British politics are held in contempt by responsible Rhodesians, black as well as white, and that they draw the sharpest distinction between Crown and Ministers, still holding and declaring their deep loyalty to Her Majesty and her House, but feeling and equally emphatically pronouncing scorn for the Macmillan Government, which had also gone so far to bedevil a solution of Southern Rhodesia's problem of independence that it was impossible for the new Prime Minister, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, to act reasonably and fairly in the matter when he recently succeeded to the leadership. Had he replaced the deplorable Mr. Macmillan a few months earlier there would still have been time to do justice to a Colony as loyal and deserving as the Commonwealth has ever known. Now the onus of British political weakness, recklessness, and fatuity is most unfairly thrust upon Mr. Winston Field and his Government, who must share Sir Roy Welensky's condemnation of the men at Westminster.

One great deprivation is the disappearance from public life, at least temporarily, of Federal Ministers who have striven selflessly and successfully for a cause which would have justified their

Sir Roy Welensky's confidence and
High-Hearted Courage. work if it had not been persistently sabotaged and eventually brought to collapse by the machinations of faithless, foolish, but influential men, most of whom practised their destructive techniques in the United Kingdom, the United States, and at the United Nations. If the United Kingdom Government had given staunch support for a few more years the Federation could have withstood the onslaughts of enmity and envy. Even his harshest critics admit that Sir Roy Welensky has laboured indefatigably and with high-hearted courage for the Federation, and that nobody could have put its case more persuasively, persistently and pungently in his negotiations with Ministers in Britain, in his addresses in and out of Parliament, and in newspaper, radio and television interviews. So strong was his impact upon public opinion in England that when a mass-circulation journal asked its readers whom they would most wish to see as Prime Minister in Britain, Sir Roy was the second choice (closely behind Mr. Menzies of Australia: such was Mr. Macmillan's reputation at the time that he emerged a poor third in the poll).

Dissolution having been decreed, Sir Roy Welensky has done everything possible to facilitate the redistribution of Federal functions to the territorial Governments, showing the magnanimity and practicality which are two of his notable personal qualities. Despite much pressure to transfer his energies to the Southern Rhodesian public scene, he has wisely insisted on retiring to the farm which has just been presented to him by admirers. There he is writing a book about the Federation which is guaranteed to cause a stir when it appears in a few months. It will assuredly become a best-seller — and that should encourage him to write his autobiography, which would have an even wider appeal. Both stories need to be told, and his directness in narrative and criticism, his gift of graphic phraseology, and his sense of history can be counted upon to enliven what promise to be two of the best books out of Africa in this era. Since they will assuredly be serialized in one of the Sunday newspapers, they will make millions of people in this country aware for the first time of the disgraceful nature of transactions per-

petrated in their name by appeasers and poltroons in high political office.

In the arguments over the years with British Ministers, Sir Roy's chief lieutenant has been Mr. Julian Greenfield, his Minister of Law, whose sharply analytical and legally-trained mind, strict adherence to principle, and loyalty to the Federal ideal and his Prime Minister never faltered. He made himself greatly respected in the inner circles in London, as did his senior official colleague Sir Atholl Evans, who could match any of Whitehall's top men. (Incidentally, how absurd it is that so talented and vigorous a civil servant should be driven into retirement by the destruction of the Federation while others with nothing like his ability, experience, and drive remain at the head of territorial Departments simply because most of the best officials were creamed off to Federal duties; it would be far better for Southern Rhodesia, for instance, to give some of its civil servants the "golden handshake" in order to be able to instal in their place men of the "Taffy" Evans stamp. Many Federal officials of more ordinary competence have also been

shabbily treated because the United Kingdom Government has shown nothing like the concern for them it has shown for Colonial Service personnel in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland). Mr. J. M. Caldicott, latterly Federal Minister of Finance, and previously Minister of Agriculture, has been a tower of strength in and out of Cabinet. Of the newer Ministers probably none has shown so much promise as Mr. J. A. Clark, in charge of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture; some insiders believe that he might in time have become Prime Minister. To write individually about the other members of the Ministry would be invidious, but in this valedictory note their names ought to be mentioned: Sir Malcolm Barrow, Mr. F. S. Owen, Mr. B. D. Goldberg, Mr. G. W. R. L'Ange, Mr. J. P. G. Duncan, Mr. John Foot, Mr. C. M. Chipunza, Mr. G. A. M. Lewanika, and Mr. S. S. Sawyer. All of them remained with the ship of State until she foundered—torpedoed by an ostensibly Conservative Government in Britain which, having laid her on the stocks and launched her with traditional good wishes, declined to insure her and refused to keep her seaworthy against the hurricanes of hate which were artificially whipped up from light winds of change.

Notes By The Way

Volte Face

THE KENYATTA PARTY has long demanded the withdrawal of British naval, military, and air forces from Kenya, and H.M. Government recently agreed to close all the bases before the end of next year. It is now reported that the K.A.N.U. Government would be glad of a postponement in the departure of the troops, who number about 5,500 and have contributed £10m. a year to the local economy. If there has been a sudden change of mind, it probably stems from the fear of attack upon the North-East Region when the Somali Republic receives the lavish supplies of modern arms promised by China. Large numbers of machine-guns and ample ammunition might be flown to Mogadishu quite soon, and as a general election is due in Somalia within three months support for the Somali population of north-eastern Kenya would be popular with the people, who feel contempt for the Kenya African politicians. Without its British officers and non-commissioned officers the Kenya Army (The King's African Rifles until the other day) would be immensely weakened, and it ought to be made quite clear now that they would not be allowed to take part in hostilities with the Somalis, or, indeed, in inter-tribal war in Kenya (and that is still not to be dismissed as out of the question). Britons should not be involved in any quarrels of the Kenyatta Government, whether from citizens of Kenya or from a neighbouring African State.

Africans Demonstrate in Moscow

THE RUSSIAN LEADERS must be very angry about the demonstration in Red Square, Moscow, last week by

some 700 African students. There had, it is said, been nothing comparable since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. A student from Ghana who was to have married a Russian girl was found dead a few hours before the time set for the wedding. Whereas the student body declared that he had been murdered (as the culmination of many assaults upon Africans by Russians), the authorities said that he had got drunk, fallen in the snow, and frozen to death. Whichever version be true, the mass protest outside the Kremlin clearly shows that many Africans suffer discrimination because of their colour under a régime which insists that it takes no account of race. This embarrassment occurs just when Mr. Chou En-Lai is visiting Africa to persuade nationalist leaders that the Chinese Communists would make much better friends than Mr. Khrushchev and his associates. Aiming to split the world along the colour line, the Chinese suggest that Russians are just another kind of European, and imperialists rather than good Marxists. Competition from Peking will certainly be stimulated by this significant evidence that many of the students attracted to Russia are very far from happy there.

No Statue of Mwalimu

MWALIMU NYERERE, President of Tanganyika, has rejected a proposal by Dar es Salaam City Council that its war memorial should be removed and replaced by a statue of himself.

Commonwealth Intervention in S. Rhodesia Rejected

U.K. "Unconcerned" with Justice: Hopes for Handover to African Nationalism in Five Years

MR. WINSTON FIELD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, made a blunt speech in a debate on independence in the Colony's Parliament, saying *inter alia*—

"This is no question for the Commonwealth; our independence is a matter between the British Government and ourselves and nobody else. We do not negotiate or discuss on the basis of 'one man, one vote'."

"The Leader of the Opposition set a reasonable example of a non-party approach. He suggested a conference of parties and bodies outside this Parliament. I have held meetings and intend to hold more with such bodies. I have at no time refused such a conference, but I do want to know the type of general proposals that are going to be made."

"It is for this Government to decide whether we hold a conference or not—not the United Kingdom or any other Government. We must be satisfied that some useful purpose will be served; we shall not call a conference just for the sake of calling a conference."

Economy Not Grinding to Halt

"Much has been said about our economy grinding to a halt. When and how is it going to grind to a halt? We are suffering from over-spending on non-productive projects, mainly because of the advent of Federation, the post-war boom, and, of course, Salisbury and other parts of Southern Rhodesia housing the headquarters for projects both Government and in the private sector which extended into the other territories."

"There is a temporary recession in chrome mining, but Russian dumping will not go on, and before too long this country will become probably the biggest chrome producer in the world."

"All aspects of farming are on the increase. Fertilizer sales are up more than 10% to the highest figure ever. Many tobacco barns have been built this year, and low-veld development is taking place. Trade during the last three or four months has shown a persistent increase over similar figures for last year."

"The Leader of the Opposition said that we on this side of the House were under the impression that the Government of this country must be either white or black. That certainly is not our policy: it is the best people for the job."

"This Government takes every opportunity of consulting the chiefs in regard to the country in general. We do it collectively, separately, and by regions, and it is working very well. Their contributions are of great use."

"We do not govern one section of the people."

"A Member of Parliament does not represent any particular section of the people—but those who voted for him and those who did not, those who are white or black or of any other colour. He should represent them all. That applies to Government as well."

Internal Solution to Political Tension

"Dr. Palley said that it was internal factors and not external that count in the United Kingdom considering granting us independence."

"Great Britain is tremendously influenced by affairs outside this country. If they were influenced only by affairs in this country they would have no hesitation whatsoever about granting us our independence. The U.K. Government regards only what is important to win the general election and please new members of the Commonwealth."

"Dr. Palley asked: 'Can our economy stand political tension?' That depends upon the behaviour of people here and abroad. I say: 'Of course it can'. Our object is to lower political tension and we are steadily doing so. I do admit we cannot do it alone."

"The hon. member asked: 'Is the Government prepared to negotiate?' Of course we are—to discuss and go on discussing, because as long as you are talking about a thing there is always a hope of a solution, though recent comments of the British Government do not make it any easier for us."

"The British Prime Minister's statement that the majority must rule needs clarification. We have not had that clarification yet. We are trying to get it."

"The idea that it is here in this country that we can solve our problems is accepted, I hope, by everybody in this House."

"What can the British Government do to us under our present Constitution? Technically there are certain ways in which the British Government could interfere, but it is highly unlikely that they would do so, as no Government would be so foolish to pass legislation or regulations they cannot enforce, apart from the convention."

"Mr. Stumbles made a sincere contribution on non-party lines. He advanced the idea that there should be reasonable discussions with our neighbours and that this could do nothing but good. I agree, and from my own knowledge of our neighbours—and it is quite considerable—I think that when things calm down a bit they would welcome this too."

"The British Government are committed in the first place to maintaining the Commonwealth as it is at all costs, even if we are the price that they have to pay. They are committed to that because the Commonwealth is a shop window—that is about all it is at the moment—of how various nations of different race, colour, creed and so on can get on together. We know that they do not get on that well together, but they are quite determined to make this work or appear to work so long as they can. They are not prepared to have—nor is any Minister of the Crown in Great Britain prepared to be the Minister that can ever be accused of being the Minister that allowed the Commonwealth to flounder on the pebble of Southern Rhodesia."

Lower Standards Unacceptable

"A negotiated settlement before the British general election would not be anything else but a handover to African nationalism at our next election. I was told by one British Minister some years ago when we were discussing emerging States of Africa, in the early days of the Congo: 'Surely as and when African majorities take over in Africa you must expect standards to go down, for them to be lower, and accept it in the African continent'."

"I pointed out that that was where we differed. We believed that it was possible over the years that we in Southern Rhodesia would be able to continue with our standards of impartiality and justice, and in every other way, without lowering the standards."

"I do not believe the British Government is concerned with the justice of our case. They want to keep their party together. Their general election is coming off, and that is of paramount importance at this moment, and nothing else. They wish to keep the Commonwealth together at any cost, and, of course, they want to preserve their particular liberal image at the United Nations."

"Certain countries of the U.N. who have the temerity to sit in judgment on us have just had two general elections; one in Africa and one in South America. In the one over a dozen people were killed. In the other the army was out and foreigners were kidnapped. In another South American country the debates obviously are rather more bitter than ours because they are shooting each other. These are the countries that sit in judgement upon us. It is wrong for Great Britain or any other country to allow themselves to side with these territories in judging us."

Threats

"They have made certain threats that if a certain line is taken in this country—as far as I know it has not been declared at any time that such a line will be taken—that under certain conditions our preference on tobacco, etc., would be withdrawn straight away and there may be trade difficulties and things of that sort. This has been stated by Mr. Sandys. I do not accept that—not right away like that."

"I am slightly heartened by the British Prime Minister's latest pronouncement, having been very discouraged by his

(Continued on page 359)

Commons Debate on Communist Subversion in Africa

Indoctrination of Thousands of Students in Russia and China

COMMUNISM IN AFRICA has been briefly debated in the House of Commons on a motion by MR. VICTOR GOODHEW "that this House notes with grave concern the continuing use of subversion by Communist countries to destroy the influence of the West in Africa, and, being aware of the likely effects of this campaign upon the lives of the Africans themselves and the free world, calls upon H.M. Government to take all possible steps both in the United Nations and elsewhere to counteract this threat".

MR. GOODHEW said (in part):

"In the days of Marx and Engels there was no mention of any efforts to liberate Colonial territories in the writings of either, simply because they considered that, there being no industrial countries in Asia or Africa, there was no bourgeoisie with whom to battle.

"After the first world war Lenin began to go further afield. He argued that Colonies were essential to the European economy, with European industries dependent upon the sale of their surplus products to the Colonies, and that therefore to deal the European economy a mortal blow one must first liberate the Colonies. It was accepted that it would be difficult to create Communist parties of any strength in these territories, but that the obvious answer for one who wanted finally to bring about Communism was to support the nationalist parties in those territories. Lenin accepted that there would be a long transitional period of nationalism and democratic action in favour of liberalization before Communism could finally take over.

Revolutionary Experience

"The Comintern resolved in 1920 that 'the revolutionary movement in the Colonies is not going to be a Communist revolution in the first stages, but if from the outset the leadership is in the hands of a Communist vanguard the revolutionary masses will not be led astray, but may go ahead through the successive periods of revolutionary experience'.

"This attempt to infiltrate the leadership of the nationalist parties has been the principal aim of the Communists in Colonial territories. Lenin said 'one should be prepared for all and every sacrifice'—presumably sacrifice by the people in those territories—and even, if necessary, for all plans, stratagems, illegal methods, concealment and suppression of truth'. The Communists have not been lax in acquiring these very standards in recent years.

"After 1920 a Communist paper was published in Hamburg, called *The Negro Worker*, to appeal to Negroes throughout the world. In issues in the 1920s and 1930s one can find all the present-day slogans of African nationalist parties set out. In 1933 Mr. Kenyatta was a contributor, and in an article in the paper one can find all the slogans which were ultimately used in the Mau Mau operations, formulated as far back as 1933.

"It was not until the late 1950s, after Mr. Khrushchev arrived on the scene, that Moscow really began to get to work in our Colonial territories. It was in 1957 that the first large number of Soviet political workers, disguised as scholars, arrived in Africa to give lectures and broadcasts.

Infiltrating Leadership of Nationalist Parties

"This interchange has been carried on continually at an ever-increasing rate of students and scholars since that time, both with Russia and China, and even with the European satellites. Where students go to the Communist countries the principal object, of course, is indoctrination with Communist belief.

"The degree of indoctrination to which they are exposed depends on the way they have arrived in the Soviet bloc countries. Those who had arrived without the sanction of their Governments, perhaps through the pipelines of various embassies throughout the world, would find themselves almost definitely exposed to greater indoctrination and more intense pressure than those who had arrived legally as Government-sponsored students.

"Three out of every four African students who go to Communist countries have got there illegally without the support of their own Governments. So one realizes what a great threat this is to Colonial territories when these students are exposed to indoctrination in this way. Though hundreds of

students have come back to these territories, there are still thousands behind the Iron Curtain and in China. Some people estimate the number at 5,000.

"They are trained in the machinery of indoctrination, agitation, infiltration of political organizations, underground activities, military tactics, and violence. They are being kept there in training ready to return to their own countries when it is felt that the time has come to strike.

"These methods have been used also to produce leaders to take positions in political and non-political organizations throughout these territories. Over recent years students from Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, the Rhodesias, Angola and Mozambique have gone to Soviet bloc countries or to China. They have come back to infiltrate the various front organizations which are so popular with the Communists. These are often international organizations looking to all the world in outward appearance as being non-political, non-partisan, and non-official, but in them full control is vested in a small group of Communists whose election is not subject to popular vote.

Communist Front Organizations

"These front organizations have been very active in recent years in trying to infiltrate pan-African organizations which started off purely as nationalist organizations. This is the case with youth organizations.

"It was the non-Communist World Assembly of Youth which first promoted the idea of a pan-African youth organization, but it was the Communist World Federation of Democratic Youth that moved in quickly to form a small committee to promote a conference in 1962, which passed resolutions condemning neo-colonialism and supporting an armed struggle for liberation.

"The same applies to women's organizations and to the pan-African Journalists' Union, which has had strong Communist representation from the outset.

"The Chinese likewise have been trying to affiliate these organizations to their own Afro-Asian movement. At the moment the appeal is not to Communism, but to pan-African nationalism, and this, of course, appeals to the African who wants to see his country independent.

"The Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization is another front organization, based in Cairo, following exactly the same lines. This is backed up by increasing pressure on the radio in both the Soviet bloc and in China.

"In 1958 there were about three and a half hours' broadcasting a week from the Soviet bloc and China to Africa in English and French. Today it has increased to 320 hours a week in 10 languages—one hundred-fold increase in the number of hours of propaganda broadcasting.

"If we add to this the cash which finds its way down these pipelines to the nationalist parties in the Colonial territories we realize that this is a very fearsome threat.

Slogan of "One Man One Vote"

"All this is aimed at depriving Europeans of political power in readiness to following this up by denying them economic power. The cry of 'one man, one vote' is echoed round the world, no doubt having originated in a Communist cell somewhere. So effectively has this propaganda been spread about the world that it does not matter whether one goes to the United Nations, the United States of America, the councils of the Commonwealth, or even in this very Chamber, that cry ricochets around.

"This has been so well done that if in this House one attempts to suggest that there might be good reason to delay the granting of independence to any dependent territory, one is stamped at once as being pro-white and, therefore, anti-black, and it is thought that one has no interest in the position of the Africans themselves. Of course, the position is the reverse.

"It is the people who are shouting 'one man, one vote' the loudest who are ignoring the conditions and interests of these Africans, because if one looks around to see what the effect has been in places where 'one man, one vote' has been granted, in most cases it has ended up in one election and in one-party government. This is followed by the destruction of the democratic institutions and the loss of personal freedom.

"One has only to look at recent events in Ghana, where a Chief Justice has been dismissed because the Government did not approve of his action in acquitting two persons of treason. Those persons can still be kept in detention for five years, and at the end of that time without a further trial they can be kept in detention for another five years. This is the sort of thing to which Communist subversion leads in Africa.

"This type of one-party government and the loss of personal

freedom and of democratic rights is followed invariably by poverty because once confidence has gone the Europeans leave, European capital is withdrawn, and this is followed by chaos.

"Anybody who is not convinced of this should read a book by Richard Lawson entitled *'Strange Soldiering'*. Mr. Lawson is a young man who was decorated for his bravery whilst fighting with United Nations forces trying to prevent a civil war. He says: 'Many United Nations teams visiting bush villages have been asked the pathetic question, "When will this independence end? When will we see the good life again?" He goes on to say "If world opinion insists that politicians of underdeveloped countries must be given the right to be wrong, then the world should know what happens to the rest of the 'free' populations'.

"The world does know, but either it cares not or it is too timid to protest. This is why I am so anxious to draw attention to the sort of chaos that follows this undermining of law and order in Africa as a result of Communist subversion.

Communist Elation

"How the Communist world must have crowed when the influence of President Tshombe of Katanga was eliminated! Here was an African who believed that the best way to work in his country was to co-operate with Europeans, much against the Communist doctrine of encouraging nationalists to get rid of the West. How they must crow, too, at the fact that the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyassaland is being dissolved.

"Here are Europeans in Africa who believe that the best way of building a fine country is by co-operating with the Africans. But how sick the Communist world must have been when it found that, having got intruders from the Congo into Angola, the Africans there rallied to the defence of the country with the Portuguese.

"These are not the only examples of Communist infiltration and subversion. It is not only in the Colonial territories that this battle is being fought. It is also being fought just as viciously in the newly-independent ex-Colonial territories. The aim there is, having robbed the West of political power, now to rob the West of its economic power, and to stand aside as the Communist world is doing, ready to step in when the appropriate moment comes.

"Ghana in 1958, the first newly-independent State in Africa, arranged diplomatic ties with the U.S.S.R. and this was followed by a flood of diplomats, technicians, advisers, and waves of officials from Eastern European countries, until the country was flooded with an unreasonable number of Communist sympathizers busy to get on with the job of removing the economic power of the West once political power had gone.

"This pattern has been followed in the newly-independent States as each one has become independent, and the concentration is now on separating these African territories from the West entirely. They preach the doctrine of neutralism. They are told to attack neo-colonialism, which is to suggest that economic ties with the ex-Colonial Powers or other capitalist Powers are wrong, but that economic ties with the Communist countries are all right.

"In the Congo recently Soviet Embassy personnel, for the second time since 1960, were expelled for their flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the country.

Stab in the Back

"In the Soviet Union and other Soviet bloc countries training is being given today to African 'freedom fighters' in techniques of violent revolution. There is no argument as to what this is for. We all know, even if we pretend not to know. Nobody does anything about it. They are being trained for activity in territories in which the European still has some influence. They are being trained, no doubt, for activities in Southern Rhodesia. They are being trained to fight, no doubt, in South Africa, and they are being trained as well, as they have been for a long time in the Congo, for activities in Angola. In other words, wherever the propaganda has failed new preparations are being made to turn on the violence to make quite certain that the influence of the West is finally driven out of these African territories.

"There have been military and economic agreements giving increased opportunities for infiltration in recent weeks. In Somalia Russia has reached an £11m. military aid agreement, which includes the training of pilots and army officers in the Soviet Union, whilst the Chinese, in the same country, have agreed to a £7m. long-term credit and a £1m. budget subsidy for this year. In Algeria we find a similar pattern—a Soviet credit of £36m., a Chinese credit of £18m., and a military mission negotiating supplies of Soviet and Czech arms.

"This aid has only one aim—to separate the African States from their traditional trading partners. Mr. Krushchev has said quite clearly that Africa is no exception to the inevitable spread of Communism throughout the world. He has warned the African leaders that they must realize that, unless they choose the path of non-capitalist development 'after them will come other people with a better understanding of the time'.

"In other words, he was warning the African leaders to look over their shoulders all the time and realize that, unless they go the way the Communists want them to go, someone else, who has been trained in a Communist country, will stab them in the back and take over.

"It will not be long before the whole of Africa is under the influence of the Communists or their 'stooges', the people who have put themselves into a position where their Communist educators can step right in and take over. But there is still time for the West to wake up to the realities of the situation and prevent the completion of the Communist aim. The heat is being turned on constantly against the remaining territories, like Rhodesia, South Africa and the Portuguese territories.

"Believing that a Communist success in Africa would be a tragedy for all the Africans and for the free world, I ask for an undertaking that H.M. Government will draw attention to this vile campaign not only in the councils of the United Nations, where there seems to be so much ignorance about it, but in the councils of the Commonwealth where it is being ignored."

MR. HARRY HYND: "Any measures designed to counter Communist propaganda in Africa will have my warmest support but the hon. Member suggests that all recent troubles in Africa have been due to Communist intrigue and that the Communists have out-smarted everyone else in the way they have been able to penetrate into the countries of Africa and influence the Africans. This is not the whole picture by any means.

"The hon. gentleman said, for instance, that the principle of 'one man, one vote' must have originated in a Communist cell. I always thought that it originated in this country and that we have been trying to preach it to other peoples as something to aim at."

MR. GOODHEW: "The principle of 'one man, one vote' is wrong if applied in a way which is detrimental to the interests of the people."

MR. HYND: "The hon. gentleman said that wherever this principle is applied in Africa it has been followed by chaos. Some African territories have made quite a success of democracy."

"Quite a Success"

MR. GOODHEW: "I said that application of that principle had in most cases been followed by one election and one-party government, and this in turn had led to the complete destruction of democratic institutions and the loss of personal freedom. When this happened and the confidence of Europeans was lost, I said Africans suffered poverty and very often there was chaos. I did not say that it always occurred"

MR. HYND: "The hon. gentleman said that the Communists quickly moved in. Of course, the Communists or anyone else are just as entitled as we are to try to influence others. We have been doing our best to influence some of these peoples ourselves. He complained that some of the persons introduced into Africa by the Communists were supposed to be non-political, non-partisan, and non-official. This is a perfect description of the British Council.

"If I am not careful someone will say that I must be a Communist. What I am saying is that it is quite wrong to imagine that Communism is the whole cause of the trouble. The Communists have not been all that successful in Africa. In many African States they have been most unsuccessful. I cannot think of any successful Communist party in Africa. The Africans have been too sensible.

Caricature

"They may have accepted help from the Communists. They are very clever at that; they have accepted help from whatever quarter it came, but this does not mean that they will fall for the propaganda.

"The hon. gentleman seemed to suggest that the Mau Mau trouble was really a Communist plot. This is a caricature of what happened in East Africa."

MR. GOODHEW: "The hon. gentleman is making a caricature of my speech. I said that the Communist paper for Africans, the *Negro Worker*, published the slogans of the African nationalist movement in the 1920s and 1930s and that Kenyatta had been a contributor in 1933, and that in those early issues one can find the very slogans which were used during the Mau Mau operation. I did not say that it was a Communist operation as such."

MR. HYND: "We are trying to increase our trade with the Soviet Union, but that does not mean that this country is going Communist. If we concentrate on the idea that Communism is at the bottom of all the trouble in Africa we shall go down the wrong road. The Africans have been influenced by many other things besides Communism. There is *apartheid*. Can the hon. Member imagine the effect in Africa of what happened at Suez, of what is going on in Angola and Mozam-

(Continued on page 361)

PERSONALIA

MR. SYDNEY WYNNE is about to re-visit Southern Rhodesia.

LORD COBHAM has been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Worcestershire.

THE VENERABLE D. F. STOWELL has gone to Seychelles as Anglican archdeacon.

SIR KEITH ACUTT has been appointed a director of Consolidated African Selection Trust, Ltd.

MR. JUSTICE T. H. MAYERS and MRS. MAYERS are back in the United Kingdom from Kenya.

THE CROWN PRINCE and CROWN PRINCESS of ETHIOPIA visited the QUEEN one afternoon last week.

MR. HAROLD INGRAMS has written a new book, entitled "The Yemen: Imams, Rulers and Revolutions".

MR. K. R. T. GOODALE, Second Secretary in the United Kingdom High Commission in Salisbury, has arrived in England.

MR. and MRS. R. J. W. WALLACE of Lilongwe, Nyasaland, are outward-bound for the Cape in the EDINBURGH CASTLE.

MR. GEORGE IVAN SMITH, personal representative of the U.N. Secretary-General in Dar es Salaam, will move next month to Lusaka.

DR. J. N. KARANJA was received in audience by THE QUEEN last week upon his appointment as High Commissioner for Kenya in London.

MR. THOMAS KANZA, Congolese *Chargé d'Affaires* in London, has resigned because of "lack of confidence" in him by his Government.

MR. HAROLD WATKINSON, group managing director of Schwebbes, Ltd., has joined the boards of its East and Central African companies.

MR. A. M. MATHU, previously Africanization officer with E.A.C.S.O., has been appointed to the new post of director of recruitment and training.

Well-wishers of SIR ROY WELENSKY have fully subscribed the £25,000 presentation fund, with which the Federal Prime Minister has bought a farm not far from Salisbury.

MR. SAM NTIRO, Tanganyika's High Commissioner in London, has received a cheque for £7,000 from the organizers in Weston-super-Mare of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign.

MR. TSHOMBE, the former President of Katanga, cannot come to Britain to address Chatham House, as he had hoped to do. His diplomatic passport was declared invalid some weeks ago by the Congolese Government, which informed H.M. Government of its decision, thus making it impossible for Britain to grant a visa. Since he left Katanga earlier in the year Mr. Tshombe has lived in Spain.

Kenya's first delegation to the U.N. was led by MR. OGINGA ODINGA, Minister for Home Affairs. He was accompanied by DR. NJOROGE MUNGAI, Minister for Health and Housing.

MWALIMU NYERERE, President of the Republic of Tanganyika, is to visit the Peoples' Republic of China in February as the guest of MR. LIU SHAO-CHI, Chairman of that Republic.

While the REV. N. SITHOLE and MR. JOSHUA NKOMO, rival nationalist leaders in Southern Rhodesia, were in Nairobi for the independence celebrations, efforts were made to reconcile them.

MRS. INDIRA GANDHI, daughter of MR. NEHRU, represented India at the Kenya independence celebrations. She is to visit Ethiopia, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia and is expected to invite African leaders to Delhi.

When the DUKE of EDINBURGH returned to London last Thursday, the welcoming party at the airport included SAYED AMIN AHMED HUSSEIN, the Sudanese Ambassador, and DR. KARANJA, High Commissioner for Kenya.

MR. COLIN CAMERON, the only white Minister in the Nyasaland Cabinet, has protested that he will not register to vote or stand in the forthcoming elections because of the ruling that Europeans must be on a special electoral roll.

MR. DENNIS VOSPER, Conservative M.P. for Runcorn, who was Secretary for Technical Co-operation until he had to resign through ill-health, has been appointed to the £5,000-a-year-post of chairman of the National Assistance Board.

DR. DIEKMANN, of the Sisal Research Station in the Tanga region of Tanganyika, MR. D. R. N. BROWN, retiring chairman of the Lint Marketing Board of Uganda, and MR. H. H. DUNT, lately shipping manager of the Magadi Soda Co., Ltd., of Kenya, were homeward passengers in the S.S. UGANDA.

MR. ROBERT MUGABE, former publicity secretary of the now proscribed Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, was arrested at Salisbury Airport last week on his arrival from Dar es Salaam and remanded in custody until December 30 on charges under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act.

MR. PERCY ARNOLD flew to Ethiopia last week, preliminary to undertaking editorial work for publications in English for the Ethiopian Government. He has resigned the appointment of associate editor of *Commonwealth Development*, but will continue his connexion with that periodical and with Commonwealth affairs in general.

MR. OSCAR KAMBONA, Minister for External Affairs in Tanganyika, and chairman of the African Liberation Committee of Nine, said a few days ago that Tanganyika, Uganda and Nigeria have been asked to act as conciliators between MR. JOSHUA NKOMO, leader of the Z.A.P.U., and the REV. N. SITHOLE, leader of the rival nationalist parties in Southern Rhodesia.

MR. EUGENIUS SZYR, Deputy Prime Minister of Poland, and MR. KAZIMIERZ KOROLCZYK, head of the Africa Department in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who represented their Government at the Kenya independence celebrations, are visiting Dar es Salaam this week to meet the VICE-PRESIDENT and various Ministers. MR. SZYR is chairman of the Polish African Friendship Society.

MR. A. C. IZOD, who is to become Director of the Southern Rhodesian Government Information Service on January 1, is a Londoner, who was educated at Godalming Grammar School, and went to Rhodesia in 1948 to establish a Central African film unit under the auspices of the Central African Council. Twelve years later he was appointed director of planning and technical services in the re-organized Federal Information Department, and since last year has been controller of its public relations division.

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Rhodesia Debates Independence

(Continued from page 355)

first one, which hinted that the only term on which we could expect to put our independence up to the Commonwealth and through their own Parliament would be one that would be a handover to African nationalism at the next election. This is quite out of the question.

"I have been touring the tribal trust areas. At one large gathering of 200 or 300 people, of whom only three were white, I was told that they were not going to destock; they do not bother about land conservation any more, because they had been told by African nationalists a short time before that all land was going to be free for them to move on after the African nationalists took over; and they believed this. We said this is out of the question; you have been made these sort of promises for three years now.

"We asked what about the land privately owned by Africans, of whom there are about 8,000 by now in the purchase areas and in the unreserved land category. The reply came straight back: 'It applies to that too. There will be no privately-owned land'.

"That is straight Communism. This is just one reason why we cannot contemplate what the British Government would have us do for independence.

"A settlement will come. It may take longer than we would like. Whatever it is, it will not please all. We will not bargain away all that we have achieved in Southern Rhodesia. Opposition in this country should always have the right to operate and express their thoughts.

"A reported comment by the member for Mpopoma, Mr. Hlabangana, showed courage of a very high degree; is sound commonsense and an appreciation of things as they are.

"Give Us Time"

"He explained: 'You must understand that in African society there is no room for opposition; we club it into submission. We are not sufficiently developed to tolerate opposition. It is a sad state of affairs really'. It then goes on in the article, referring to the hon. member: 'Yet he believes that with evolution Africans will agree to differ', and I quote again: 'Give us time; you must have been through the same process long ago'. That expresses my beliefs; no member of this House should disagree with what he had to say.

"While we must take heed of what the world says, we must not let the thoughtless and ignorant comments and desires of some countries frighten us into committing economic and social suicide. We are not despairing; and I hope the Opposition will have talks with us, as I know others will. It has been made obvious today that they are prepared to do so, and we shall take steps to see that this happens as soon as possible.

"We shall continue discussions with the British Government. Things are very difficult just now, with the very arduous dissolution exercise, but we are working on the task of trying to persuade the British Government that they are wrong, not us; and by 'us' I do not mean just the Government, I mean the whole country.

"We must try to prove to H.M. Government that the 'blocking third' about which so much has been rumoured is not the right answer because this means communal representation. The evolution mentioned by Mr. Hlabangana is right. In this way we can all work together for our independence with our present Constitution as the basis."

Fantastic Demand

MR. IAN SMITH, Minister of the Treasury, and Deputy Prime Minister, had told the Assembly a few days earlier that during his recent visit to London he was left in no doubt that H.M. Government expected a black majority in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament in above five years.

In the course of a very frank speech he said:—

"I remember a tea-time conversation about our independence, I think about 1949, when the then Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins, told us that on more than one occasion during the war he had been informed by Britain that if Southern Rhodesia wanted their independence they could have it then and there. His reply was that if we lost the war then there was not going to be independence for anyone, so he answered: 'Let's get the war over first'. That was typical of the man."

"The Rhodesia Herald of June 14, 1961, says: 'Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Prime Minister, told a Press conference last night that the White Paper on the Constitution meant independence for the Colony'.

"On June 20, 1961, he said in the House: 'The House of Commons can debate a subject for which a Minister is res-

ponsible, and when the Minister ceases to be responsible it is no longer in order to debate it. We shall undoubtedly have progressed to the stage which the great Dominions were in before the Statute of Westminster. . . . Over the past 18 months I have devoted a very substantial part of my time trying to win independence for Southern Rhodesia before it is too late. I believe that we have achieved precisely what we set out to do'. That was the Leader of the Opposition in June, 1961, referring to the present Constitution.

"On November 15 last the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations said: 'We look for a widening of the franchise so as to give greater representation to the African'. Evidently that is the crux of the matter as far as the British Government are concerned.

"It seems to me fantastic that when we have a new Constitution which the British Government were party to — this Parliament was the first elected under the new Constitution and it has not yet been in office for one year — and when, in spite of very generous offers made to the Africans in this Constitution this offer was virtually thrown back in our faces, in spite of that we are asked to give this additional representation.

"The Secretary of State went on to say: 'It has been estimated that without any change this process' — and he is referring to the present Constitution — 'will produce a majority of Africans on the electoral roll in 10 to 12 years'. Evidently this is not quick enough; and we on this side of the House, and the country, would be interested to hear the views on it of hon. members opposite. Do they think we should aim at five years? During my discussions in London no specific time was actually given to me — it was very difficult to get definite proposals put forward — but I did come to the conclusion that five years was the sort of time that the British Government had in mind. In fact, I would go so far as to say that they would like to see this happen at the time of the next election.

"If the British Government goes back on the pledges made to us in the past over our independence, and if, in spite of all these promises, pledges and undertakings, they indicate that they are prepared to ride roughshod over us as far as these matters are concerned, are we going to acquiesce, and lie down and accept this, or are we going to stand up for our rights and stand firm on our beliefs? Morals and principles, still form part of our standards, no matter what has happened in any other part of the world.

Capitulation to Tragedy

"Another thing made very clear to me in London was that there was a very strong feeling there that the people in this country would never make a stand. People in Britain, particularly the politicians, sincerely believed that if they put forward a proposition and stood on that proposition long enough, eventually the people in Southern Rhodesia would capitulate and accept it. They openly told me that; and that was one of the disadvantages that we had to fight against.

"Are we prepared to accept the suggestion that other members of the Commonwealth should be brought into this and sit in judgment on us as far as this question of our independence is concerned? The Government have made it quite clear that they will not be party to this suggestion.

"Are we prepared to lower our standards? To talk about widening the roll is a polite way of saying exactly that. Are we prepared to lower our standards to provide for an earlier handover to nationalists? The country is entitled to know. The Government will not be a party to such a suggestion.

"Are we going to stand by our oft-proclaimed words — and also the words of hon. members opposite, as I have quoted this afternoon — that as far as our internal affairs are concerned we, and only we Southern Rhodesians, will determine that matter? We are prepared, of course, to negotiate with Britain — but we make it clear that our dealings are with Britain, and not with anybody else — on the transfer of those additional powers which are necessary to give us our sovereign independence, which we have been told so many times are nominal and few, because we have virtually had independence for 40 years.

Partnership on the Block

"If we fail to make a stand now, there will be tragic repercussions; far in excess of those which we visualize to-day. There is a possibility in the next few years of a dramatic change in world opinion on this question of a quick handover to nationalists. Surely there is all the more need for us to exercise caution in giving way now, when world opinion might change in a few years. I put it very bluntly to leaders of the British Government that they were asking us to lay our head on the block, but in the next breath were telling us that in 10 years they might conceivably have changed their mind on this question. What we have to do is to try to keep our heads on.

"All those British men and women who came to settle in

Southern Rhodesia put down their roots because the British Government had made it clear that this was our country, for us to fashion in our own way, and that responsible Government meant that we, the people of Southern Rhodesia, would make the decisions. We have done the job well.

"We accepted partnership willingly. All the world hoped that this would provide a solution to the multi-racial communities in Africa, but unfortunately the Federal experiment was stopped before it had had an opportunity of proving itself. Southern Rhodesia is now the last place on this continent where there is any hope of continuing this experiment, which is, of course, part and parcel of our Constitution.

"This Government reaffirm that Southern Rhodesians must make the decisions about Southern Rhodesia's future. To deviate from this would be a betrayal of the vote which the electorate gave to us at the election."

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD said in reply: "The long-term solution of our problems must rest here in Southern Rhodesia, but I am not prepared to admit that it will rest with one section of our community.

"I was twitted when I said that there would be an African majority in about 15 years as a result of the Constitution. That was about the time I gave for a majority of the African people to be on the voters' roll. I never at any time contemplated a racial Government; I do not believe it to-day. I believe that the Government at that time would very much reflect what hon. members opposite look at now — a genuine non-racial body who have learnt to work together politically over the last 12 months until they are a very close-knit body. It has been a most valuable experience, because it has given me immense confidence in the future.

"What I detected all through the Minister's speech, which I think disastrous in our circumstances, was the fallacy that the interests of the European section and the African section of the community politically must always be different: either you have a white Government or an African nationalist Government. I absolutely reject that conception.

Moderates Can Dispel Fears

"There are three ways in which independence can be obtained. One is by negotiation with the United Kingdom Government, I am not in favour of embroiling the Commonwealth in negotiations for independence. The Commonwealth comes in at a later stage when we have managed to reach agreement with the U.K. Government and want to be assured that we will be full members of the Commonwealth afterwards. At this stage the Commonwealth has no standing in the matter.

"The European is afraid that the work of 70 years is to be cast away by sudden surrender to African nationalism. The African nationalist fears that after the grant of total independence not necessarily the first Government, but a subsequent Government, will scrap the whole Constitution and set up a form of government like that in force in the Republic of South Africa.

"Moderate men of all races, particularly with a strengthening of those who have never taken an active part in politics, may be able to get such a measure of agreement on this matter — without the presence of anybody from overseas — that we shall be able to produce a scheme which will win the support, far beyond the confines of this House, of a very large measure of opinion of all the four races that make up this country. I throw that out as an urgent suggestion of how one may proceed by negotiation.

Foolish Act

"If we were to be so foolish as to take an illegal act at the present stage it would be bound to breach our relations with our neighbours to the north. I doubt whether we would get any advantage out of it at all.

"A large part of our population set considerable store by their British nationality and citizenship. No legislature can legally take away the citizenship of 4,000,000 people illegally and unconstitutionally. If an attempt of that kind were to be made by any ill-advised persons, a very large number of all races would apply to retain British nationality.

"If the Government were so ill-advised as to take illegal and unconstitutional action in the sense I have been describing, this country would crash within six months.

"It has been a great mistake to approach the British Government in the way that has been done. What is needed is a meeting in Southern Rhodesia, not necessarily a formal conference, of this wide range of people to work out together something which will not patch up the situation for about five or 10 years, but something which is a genuine agreement for our long-term future. I believe this is achievable. I met with the same absolute disbelief when we embarked on our own Constitutional Conference, and it was regarded as something of a miracle that we did achieve agreement; it was really only on franchise and representation that one delegation finally could not agree, but practically the whole of the rest of the Constitution was an agreed measure."

Mr. Lewanika's Courageous Speech

Europeans Who Truckle to Nationalists

MR. GODWIN LEWANIKA, M.P. for Luangwa, and one of two Parliamentary Secretaries to the Federal Minister of External Affairs, said just before the Federal Assembly was prorogued that his influence would always be on the side of responsible democratic government for his own people in Northern Rhodesia.

Far from suffering in any way from Federation, the African people of all three territories had gained socially and economically, and had outgrown virtually all the disabilities under which they suffered in pre-Federation days. The apprehensions which Africans had genuinely entertained about federation, and which were encouraged by ill-disposed persons, had all proved to be groundless.

For fear of becoming unpopular with some of the new African leaders, and to spare their businesses from boycotts, some European employers were now afraid to employ Africans who had been closely associated with the Federation. Such uncourageous employers should feel ashamed at abandoning Africans who had shown their belief in racial co-operation. Character and courage were being tested, and it remained to be seen whether co-operation would be shown to have paid.

Some opportunists and cowards who had supported the idea of federation had left the United Federal Party immediately it became clear that the days of the Federation were numbered. It was those who had remained to the end who were likely to be trusted by Central Africa's future leaders, who would know that those who had continued faithful to the Federal Prime Minister would behave similarly in future. Political chameleons were not to be trusted.

Mr. Kaunda was to be congratulated on telling his followers that they were not to seek revenge, and for saying that if his party formed the next Government in Northern Rhodesia it would work for the welfare of all the people in the country. That needed to be emphasized for there were people foolish enough to think that those who might oppose a political party would be automatically disloyal to a Government formed by that party, and that anyone who did not sympathize with a particular party was an enemy to be dealt with when it attained power.

Deportation Threats in Nyasaland

RESIDENTIAL QUALIFICATIONS when Nyasaland becomes independent next July will include an individual's acceptability to the Government, Dr. Banda, the Prime Minister, told the Legislative Assembly last week. Deportation could be expected by "anyone who shot my people in cold blood" in 1959, when rioting mobs were fired on by the police. A "Malawi Supreme Court" was needed; he was already "watching" certain judges and magistrates who were making his local courts "look cheap." A few days before he had warned European and Asian estate owners that just the suspicion that they were paying Africans unfair prices for tobacco and groundnuts would mean expulsion from the territory.

Bomb Attempts

TWO BOMB ATTACKS greeted Mr. Joshua Nkomo's return to Bulawayo last week from the Kenya Independence celebrations, one at the airport and the other at his home, where police had to use tear-gas to disperse waiting crowds. Two policemen and two African spectators were injured by the explosion near the airport entrance. About 200 people were searched — as was Mr. Nkomo, who was found to be carrying a substantial sum of American dollars and English "fivers". Speaking later as leader of the People's Caretaker Council, he said that talks with the rival Z.A.N.U. were out of the question.

He was sentenced last week to nine months' imprisonment for publishing a subversive letter, but has appealed. Six months of the term have been suspended for three years.

Communism in Africa

(Continued from page 357)

bique? This sort of thing is causing far more trouble in Africa than Communism.

"We should strengthen our propaganda. If the Communists are getting in first and out-witting us with their propaganda, that is a reflection on us. A great deal of effort is being made by the British Council and by the international trade union movement, which is spending much money and effort to keep these countries out of Communist hands. We must see whether we are doing all we can to stem any progress which the Communists are making in Africa.

"The best way to overcome Communist propaganda is to show that there is something better than Communism. That should be the whole purpose of our efforts. Our political example and the way we vote in the United Nations, and so on—and I will not say very much about our votes recently in the United Nations on African affairs—have a terrific impact on the Africans, and the Communists ensure that the maximum use is made of these things in putting over their propaganda to the Africans."

MR. STRATTON MILLS considered that Mr. Goodhew had fairly set out the extent of Communist infiltration in Africa.

"In 1950 there were very few Communist agencies in Africa. In 1961 the number had grown to 75 Communist missions. At the end of 1962 there were 94 Communist missions, with 20 in the pipeline. It would be a great mistake to overstress the success which the Communist Party has had in Africa. Equally it would be a mistake to under-stress the potential damage which it could do to the new and developing countries of Africa.

The African Personality

"Is the African attitude to Communism necessarily the same as ours in the West? If not, is this necessarily harmful? In considering this matter the fantastic speed of change in Africa should be in our minds. We in Western Europe have never had any period in our long history in which change has been as quick as it has been in the new countries of Africa.

"The African countries are attempting to develop a new African personality. They do not necessarily feel involved in the conflicts between East and West which seem so important to us. The problem of international Communism is probably much more of an immediate danger to a capitalist country like ours or the United States than to an independent country in Africa which has only a small proportion of private enterprise, which is generally foreign owned, and where State enterprise and activity form a large part of the economy. Inside this one sees the strong form of central government which is developing and tending to concentrate on economic problems. In this setting—wrongly, in my view, but one must accept the fact—a certain intolerance of opposition has developed.

"Probably in the African countries one will not see a form of economic development which bears any possible resemblance to the kind of development which we have in this country or which is to be found in Western Europe. Probably it is much closer to the type of development taking place in Israel, where the State plays a large rôle in economic activity.

"There is nothing that we particularly want from Africa. The British people have no vested interest. Our greatest interest is to see the countries develop independently and strong. We want the countries of Africa themselves to see the dangers of Communism for what they are. That should be the central point of our policy.

"There have been substantial signs that this is happening. For example, Julius Nyerere said recently that he did not want to see a second 'scramble' for Africa developing. He was obviously pointing at the Communist bloc. The politicians and countries which have striven for many years to gain their independence must be their own best security against losing that independence to an imperialist Communist Power.

Pressure on Trade Unions

"Again, the experience of many African countries at the United Nations has been useful in letting them recognize the real dangers and threats of Russian Communism. Their support of U Thant in the Congo operation against the Communist Powers was a useful experience.

"The main Communist pressure has been on the trade union movement. It is gratifying to see the formation of an African Trades Union Centre by the African trade unionists because of their experience of the Communist front organizations' activity in this field. Again, the failure of the Communist activity in Guinea and in Mali has also been useful; the Communists very much overdid their political activity and it was recognized for what it was. The experience there gained has been useful to all Africa.

"We may endeavour to expose the activities of the Communist Party in Africa, but it is essentially the countries of Africa who will answer best this challenge. Africa must be its own policeman!"

MR. JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON: "There is a sinister symmetry in Communist strategy against the West. Latin-America is to be the means of enveloping North America, and Europe is to be rolled up from Africa. Lenin in 1931 said that once Europe was severed from Africa she would drop into the Communist lap like ripe fruit. Mr. Mikoyan said that Europe without Africa was like a plucked chicken.

"The leading Africanist in the Soviet Union, Professor Ivan Potchkin, drew up a blueprint in which great stress was laid on securing control and influence in the economic planning of the new States. That is why I cannot take quite such a happy attitude to Soviet and Chinese economic penetration of the emerging African countries as Mr. Hynd.

Control of Economic Planning

"This aim of securing Communist control of the economic planning of African States has been relentlessly pursued in Ghana, Guinea, Mali, and Somalia. Professor Potchkin is less enthusiastic than President Nkrumah about the practicability of a United States of Africa. Soviet thinking lies in the direction of zonal federation, for example. After the liberation struggle, in the Marxist thinking, comes the further struggle against neo-colonialism, by which is meant the continuation of the economic and other links with capitalist countries and the acceptance of their aid.

"It is true that Communism has made little impact on the African masses. The Communists have no plans for mass indoctrination. That would be a very tall order.

"It is a bad thing to generalize about Africans, but Africans in general are very religious, and they tend to be individualistic. On the other hand, Africa has been, and looks like continuing to be, authoritarian. There is something rather like the Communist principle of democratic centralism in the way Africans like to take decisions. There is free and full and almost endless discussion, but when a decision is reached it is then treason to oppose it.

"Even if there is no indoctrination of the African masses this does not mean there is no great danger of Communist subversion. Only, I suppose, in Yugoslavia and Cuba—if Cuba is a Communist State—has Communism triumphed anywhere except as the result of the seizure of power by brilliant, dedicated, and ruthless minorities. Communism has been carried to power by chaos or Red armed force. There are only 50,000 active Communists in the Continent of Africa; that is the Soviet estimate. But they concentrate on the élite, the trade unions, the intellectuals, and students who in increasing numbers are going to the Soviet bloc and China.

Communist Propaganda

"Communists have made many mistakes in Africa. They make mistakes in propaganda. One such mistake was to suppose that Dr. Banda might be a good leader for the Rhodesias as well as Nyasaland. That was quite a blunder. We know how Ambassador Soled in Conakry was run out of the country after the detection of a Communist conspiracy, how Colonel Mobutu removed the Soviet Embassy in Leopoldville, and what has happened to the latest Communist conspiracy in the ex-Belgian Congo. But this does not mean that a very formidable Soviet bloc and Chinese offensive has not been launched against the West in Africa. Even if the Russians and Chinese are not marching in step, they are marching against the West.

"The Communists have had great propaganda successes at the United Nations which have been helpful for their purposes in Africa. It is extraordinary how intelligent and fair-minded people have accepted the Communist propaganda that there is virtually nothing to choose between the South African policy of *apartheid*, the opposite Portuguese policy of total racial integration, and the compromise policy that we have tried to pursue in the now dying Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

"It is quite a triumph for Communist propaganda at the United Nations that Mr. Khrushchev's concept of wars of liberation should be almost respectable and that his equation of European colonialism with aggression should also apparently be widely accepted among non-Communist delegations at the United Nations. Here the Communists have had a tremendous propaganda success—primarily directed at Southern Africa. The reason why we hear so much about *apartheid* and so little about Communist Chinese genocide in Tibet and very little about Russian white settlers in Soviet Central Asia is that there is a concentrated offensive on Southern Africa because of its minerals, coastlines, and ports.

"The hon. Member for Belfast North quoted from the

fine speech by that remarkable African statesman, President Nyerere, at the Moshi conference. President Nyerere then spoke of the second scramble for Africa, of the new colonialism that threatens Africa. It is a colonialism from the East, not the West. He also gave a warning to his fellow Africans not to be obsessed with what he called 'the fixation of imperialism', that 'imperialism' being the imperialism of Western countries which is now passing from Africa.

"The Chinese are concentrating their effort on Guinea, Morocco, Cameroon, and Somalia. I was one of the few hon. Members of this House who publicly expressed misgivings at the ending of Her Majesty's Protectorate in Somaliland ahead of much more advanced territories in East Africa. Independence in the former British Somaliland and the formation of the independent State of Somalia was quickly followed by the visit of the Somali Prime Minister to Moscow. As a result of that first meeting the Russians agreed to equip Somali agriculture and construct the Port of Berbera.

"As a result of the changes in the Horn of Africa and events in the Yemen a new line of Communist penetration from the Caucasus through the Yemen into Somalia has been established. The British Government are often criticized for being a minority at the United Nations and elsewhere. H.M. Government have perhaps been in a minority over their attitude to the Yemen, but they have been proved right. The new dangers which threaten that part of Africa, which could endanger the newly established independence of Kenya and lead to widespread Communist subversion—these facts rein the rightness of H.M. Government's policy towards the Yemen.

Somalia and the Communists

"The Minister of Defence of Somalia, General Daoud Abdullah, was recently in Moscow with a considerable mission, numbering 15. I understand that he agreed with Marshal Malinovsky, the Soviet Defence Minister, that the Russians would enable the Somali Army to be brought up, in terms of effective strength, from 4,500 men to 20,000, that Soviet arms and equipment would be provided, together with a new credit of £15m., and that the Somali forces would be equipped with Soviet artillery, Mig.19s, and Mig.21s. Air bases are to be established by the Russians at Berbera, Obbio, and Mogadishu. However these agreements are implemented, the Soviet Union will be able to pour technicians into this vital strategic area. The Greater Somali League, which began by being pro-Egyptian, has become increasingly pro-Soviet, while China is also playing its part.

"Dr. Siermarke also went to China last August. Although I believe, there are only 30 Chinese nationals in Somalia, the Chinese maintain a large embassy. The rental paid is four times that paid by the British Embassy. Not all of the Chinese aid offers have been accepted. The Africans are not without good sense, and the West has a great reservoir of good will in Africa.

"How can we build on that foundation of good will? One thing we could do is to be faithful to our friends. One does not win new friends by getting rid of old ones. One merely proves oneself to be an unreliable partner. We have tended to accept the argument that once the Communists brand an African as a traitor or as a 'stooge' of the West he becomes less acceptable to us.

"President Ahdjio is certainly no 'stooge'. At a Press conference in Belgrade in 1961 he said: 'Anti-colonialism is out-dated'. I wish we in this country could learn that lesson; that it could be learnt also in the United Nations.

Carry War into the Enemy Camp

"I wish we would carry more of the war into the enemy's camp at the United Nations. A lead has been given by President Senghor, who said: 'The colonies of the Tsar which now form part of the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet countries of Asia have been granted autonomy and have benefited from remarkable development, but have not yet been granted independence'. Even under the smiling régime of Mr. Khrushchev the Soviet empire has had its Kenyatts, Lumumbas, Kaundas. We do not hear anything about them, for they have all disappeared.

"Has there been any improvement in co-ordination between the B.B.C. and the Voice of America broadcasts to Africa? Sometimes they contradict each other and confuse African listeners. We are up against Peking Radio, which at the time of one conference devoted five times as much time to it as did Radio Moscow. The New China News Agency put out 58,000 words about the conference, as against the 3,500 put out by the Russians.

"There is also a war over books and periodicals. The Russians as part of their aid to Somalia are putting up a newsprint factory at Mogadishu. On February 15 the following announcement was broadcast over Radio Hargeisa: 'Do not forget to subscribe to Russian newspapers. Every regular

buyer of Soviet books and newspapers will go on a free trip to the U.S.S.R.'

"We might expect under the new leadership in Washington and in London a more robust attitude than has been shown sometimes hitherto to Communist subversion in Africa. I hope that there may be in Washington a better understanding of Europe's problems in Africa—and perhaps a better understanding of Nasserism. President Nasser locks up Communists. At the same time Red banners have been able to advance quite a long way behind the green flag of pan-Arabism, particularly in Zanzibar and Somalia.

"One obstacle to the realization of President Nasser's plans for Africa in his book, 'The Philosophy of the Revolution', is African memories of the slave trade and of the penetration of Egyptian imperialism as far south as Uganda in an earlier period. Chief Awolowo, of Western Nigeria, said in September, 1959: 'Because of its totalitarianism and its territorial ambitions, an effective collaboration with the United Arab Republic would only be possible if the Negro peoples of Africa were disposed to become satellites'. Much wisdom comes out of Nigeria. I regret that this particular prophet is a little without honour in his own country.

Dislike of Benefactors

"Not that Islam should be considered as a negative or hostile force. It is a faith which has great appeal in Africa. Both Moslem and Christian are in the forefront of resistance to Marxist Communism. They share the leadership of great ruling political parties, such as the Tanganyika African National Union and the Sierra Leone People's Party. Christians and Moslems in Africa possess many of the secret spiritual weapons needed to defeat the Communist offensive. It was President Sékou Touré, of all people, who pointed out that there was not a man or woman in Africa, least of all in Guinea, who did not believe in God.

"African States, like others, resent undue dependence on foreign loans and subsidies. Very often in this world we find dislike of benefactors. Resentment against debtor dependence turns men's minds to Communism. Technical assistance to make an economic reality of independence, trade rather than aid, is what these new African Governments want. We can do a great deal to win the economic battle against Communism if we can get more stability into the main products of the African territories.

"One reason why so many Africans have recently suffered so many things is that the European Powers have been disunited in their decolonialization. In some cases it has been premature, in some disorderly. Many Africans have suffered in consequence. Perhaps now, in forging new reciprocal bonds of equal partnership with the African States, the Europeans might find unity, and in so doing will do much to banish the nightmare of Communism.

MR. G. M. THOMSON (Dundee, East): "The hon. Member for St. Albans (Mr. Goodhew) over-simplified the situation in Africa. It is much more complicated than he made out.

Africans at United Nations

"Mr. Biggs-Davison mentioned events in the southern tip of Arabia, which so much affect the African Continent. Here we play into the hands of the Communists by backing feudal leaders and suspending elections. That is exactly the way to make Communist propaganda and recruit Communists. We are doing in Aden what we object to Dr. Nkrumah doing in Ghana.

"The new African nations do not fit into any preconceived mould, capitalist or Communist, or Democratic Socialist in the sense that we on this side of the House understand it. They are Africans first, and it is difficult to foresee what the general shape of African statesmanship is to be in the years immediately ahead. The new African nations are just as likely to break Mr. Khrushchev's heart as Sir Roy Welensky's, and I do not think the Westminster model much more applicable to African political development than the Moscow model. Africa will go its own way.

"It is an exaggeration to say that the new nations at the United Nations, under Communist pressure, have turned largely into instruments of Communist diplomacy. It is remarkable how often they have supported the West. They have often been more pro-United Nations than the West.

"Of course, the Communist world will do all it can to win friends and power among the new nations of Africa. I have just returned from a visit to Moscow to take part in a disarmament conference with hon. Members from both sides of this House. I was very interested in the Patrice Lumumba University and wanted to see it, but, despite persistent efforts, I was unable to do so. I suspect that they were not too keen on someone from the West inspecting it because there is a great deal of information that all does not go smoothly with their efforts to provide scholarships for people from Africa.

"I pressed Mr. Mikoyan to join in a Great Power agreement to keep the cold war out of Africa, an agreement that would halt the arms traffic to Africa. I got a very dusty answer indeed. The Soviet Union reserves the right to engage in the arming of chosen African countries and chosen nationalist movements.

"As to Communist mistakes in Africa, there was a notorious example of snow-ploughs going to Guinea. The late John Strachey told me that he had seen these himself. They were sent in response to a request for tractors for agricultural purposes.

Considerable Conflict

"I remember swimming on the beach at Accra in a very gay and varied throng and seeing two gentlemen dressed in unmistakable lounge suits of Eastern Europe and with soft hats, striding determinedly along the beach looking neither to right nor left and bathing in splendid isolation. The impression was that the Soviet technicians and other experts were maintaining a position of detachment from the local population rather greater than any British imperialist had done in the past.

"The Soviet Union and China are in very considerable conflict with each other in terms of their approach to Africa. China is now making very much of a racialist approach to Africa and tending to emphasize that in African eyes the Soviet Union is just another white developed country. The remarkable thing about all the new nations of the Commonwealth is that there has not been so far one example of a Commonwealth country either going Communist or even being in much danger of doing so. Although the Westminster model will suffer big changes in the new countries, basically most of the Commonwealth countries remain in the main democratic.

"The doctrine of white supremacy in Africa, the doctrine that the European minority in an African country should have a privileged position, is the best recruiting ground for Communism in Africa. Our best course is to give help to the new countries of Africa, because this is the right thing to do, and not simply from the negative viewpoint of anti-Communism."

Reply for the Government

MR. PETER SMITHERS, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said in the course of his reply: "We are not faced with anything like a Communist take-over in Africa. Nor is time against us. I agree with the warnings of potential dangers, but I see many answers which we are able to give.

"Mr. Biggs-Davison asked about the B.B.C. and the Voice of America. This is a complex matter. The B.B.C. is not controlled by H.M. Government, although we take every opportunity to see that it is informed of our policy. The Voice of America, on the other hand, is an organ of the United States Government.

"Complete uniformity of speeches in the West is not necessarily a good way of advancing our case. There is something appallingly monotonous in the eternally repeated Communist arguments which are always the same from whichever source they come. They are very unconvincing.

"The British Council is in no sense a political organization; it is not in any way to be thought of in connexion with the waging of political warfare. It is precisely because people who go to the British Council to study or for information are dealing with an institution which is directed to the academic and practical study of particular problems that it is of such great service in Africa, where there are about 80 British Council officials.

"Mr. Stratton Mills, in a most balanced speech, spoke of the position of the Africans at the United Nations. I agree with his remarks. I was at the United Nations when the new African States began arriving in force. I watched them in operation for three years. It was for most of them their first experience in international affairs. While, inevitably, a good many mistakes were made by some of them at the outset—and a good many misapprehensions collected by some of them, and doubtless retained until now—it was remarkable how quickly and with what avidity they learned the lessons of politics.

To Communist Disadvantage

"Their arrival at the United Nations and their participation in international affairs through the medium of that body has been of great benefit to the free world. On balance, this has been a considerable disadvantage to the Communist States. We ought to try and cast our minds back to the end of the second world war and wonder how the prospect in Africa looked to Stalin. Undoubtedly he judged it in terms of Marxist-

Leninist theory, of which he was an extremely careful student and great exponent. This, of course, predicated the decline and collapse of the Western Powers, a great out-pouring of plenty in the Marxist-Leninist State, that there would be one continuing authentic source and citadel of the doctrine of Marxist-Leninism. It certainly looked to a state of affairs where the former Colonies would become ready recruits to the Communist bloc.

"All these have proved to be erroneous predictions, and it seems to have become apparent to the Russians since the war that they knew extremely little about Africa and its problems, as indeed might be seen by studying their actions in practice. Therefore, they went to great trouble to embark upon a systematic series of Africa studies in the Soviet Union. Seminars set to work and an immense amount of information was collected, and instead of expecting an immediate and rapid development they clearly began to make basic preparation for the long-term development of Communism in Africa by equipping themselves with information and preparing themselves to take advantage of such opportunities as might occur.

Anxious About Somalia

"One serious miscalculation of the Russians is about the impact on the situation in Africa of British policy. No doubt they expected that the liberation of the Colonial peoples would take place in an atmosphere of violent conflict between the Colonial Powers and their former Colonies. It must have been extremely disconcerting for their political planning to find India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, and then all the nations of Africa achieve their independence with generous aid from this country and in close collaboration with the Colonial Office or the other Departments in London. After the liberation, relations with us remained on the whole extremely close and friendly.

"The Communists in their planning in Africa were misled by the theories of Marxist-Leninism, which has caused them to undertake their extensive operation in Africa. Their activities fell roughly into military and economic agreements, which involve the importation of technicians who very often are not technicians and the training of personnel in the Soviet Union. We look with very great misgivings on some of these agreements, such as the one recently concluded by Somalia.

Massive Strength

"The attempt to make use of the pan-African organizations is standard Marxist-Leninist technique. One penetrates the bourgeois institutions and then turns them to one's own purposes. Africans are already beginning to see that as these organizations become penetrated they begin to serve Communist purposes. Africans are quite intelligent and observant enough to see this process as it goes on.

"One also has to bear in mind the appearance of the Chinese upon the scene in massive strength. Although obviously the dangers of a massive Chinese assault on Africa are apparent, nevertheless the fact that the Chinese and the Russians are operating there in intense rivalry lends an element of flexibility to the political situation which has a certain merit. The more we can get away from the monolithic confrontation of East and West the more likely it is that a healthy political life will grow up in Africa, as elsewhere.

Students Behind Iron Curtain

"Many students who go to Communist countries are not at all impressed by what they see. I have met a number in Russia and outside it who can testify to this fact.

"For every one student from Africa in the Communist countries, there are more than ten in the West; and in the West I think they are by and large very satisfied with their treatment. They get the education that they came for, not a lot of indoctrination in subversive practices. I think they go back feeling that their objective has been achieved.

"There is a good deal of opportunism in the Russian attitude. The very large Russian staffs in countries where there are no resident Russian colonies and negligible amounts of Russian trade speak for themselves. They are ready for use if the situation should permit, as it has done in the Congo in recent years.

"We can influence the situation by trade, aid, and political actions. Our trade is massive. Our aid is far in excess of anything that the Communist Powers can show, and we are taking steps throughout all the international organizations and in other ways to reduce the barriers to it. Politically, I do not doubt that the Africans are well able to detect the essential differences between the politics of the free world and the Communist bloc and to make their own choice.

S. Rhodesian Independence Move

Points from House of Lords Debate

THE EARL OF LISTOWEL considered that civil war would result from the policy of leaving the pace of constitutional advance in Southern Rhodesia to the Southern Rhodesian Government without any persuasion or influence from outside. It would be very difficult to localize such a race war because help would come to both sides from outside. A war of that kind would be the end of the Commonwealth.

"One of Lord Salisbury's remarks was an incitement to Southern Rhodesia to go it alone. Sir Edgar Whitehead is reported as having made a speech yesterday in the Assembly in Southern Rhodesia urging the Government not to take the irresponsible course of taking independence into its own hands and without the ordinary legal sanctions.

"We shall be giving Southern Rhodesia the most powerful air force in Africa after South Africa. The Canberra squadrons carry a more powerful armament than any South African Air Force squadrons. By doing this we are bound to increase tension between the independent African countries and the area of Africa still under European control and stimulate an arms race between the two areas. I greatly hope this matter will be reconsidered before it is brought before Parliament. Why should not some of these squadrons be put into our own strategic reserve? That would be far better for the economy of Southern Rhodesia and would take a much longer view of the prospect of stability in Africa and the avoidance of armed conflict between white and black.

"Mr. Butler said in another place: 'The Federal public service is the main human problem posed by the dissolution of the Federation. We shall be judged by how we solve it. There are 35,000 Federal public servants—African, Asian and European, and their future lies in our hands.' That suggests that the Government accept moral responsibility for the future of these men.

Doctors and Engineers Leaving

"The Government want these Federal officers to go into the territorial services as a comparable alternative form of employment. So do the people in the Federation. I do not think anyone can maintain that a European officer will not be worse off in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and an African officer in Rhodesia than in their present employment. After all, it is the Africanization policy in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland that has led to compensation schemes for expatriate officers in those territories.

"The fact that there is no compensation scheme—I am not asking for it—is leading to many young doctors and engineers leaving the Federal public service and not going into the territorial services because there is no compensation, and they have to get jobs elsewhere while young enough to take them. That is not only lamentable but an answer to the argument that if a compensation scheme were provided the officers would retire and not go into the territorial services.

"The Federal public service dates from only 1953, so the retirement pension even of senior officers is extremely small. An officer with eight years' service earning £1,500 will receive an annual pension of £200 a year, and if he is turned down by the territorial Government he will get a bonus of £66 a year, a third of his basic pension. He could commute that for about £400. An expatriate officer in the Colonial Service in that position would get a lump sum of £5,000 or £6,000. The average pension is about £120, so the sum the average man would get is derisory. The honour of the British Government and Parliament is at stake in giving these public servants a fair deal.

"The Government of Southern Rhodesia finds it very difficult to make its own supporters realize how far they are out of step with the rest of the Commonwealth. What has puzzled Southern Rhodesia is the statement of the Secretary of State that he would like something more than consultation. This, obviously, is not the 'jury system' point made by Lord Salisbury but it might be something else.

"What does 'something more than consultation' mean? If it means that other Commonwealth countries could be asked to mediate or take part in negotiations for independence, that would be quite improper without the consent of the Southern Rhodesian Government. We are entitled to be told either that Mr. Sandys meant nothing when he said that the Commonwealth would be expected to give 'something more than consultation', or, if he meant something, what that something really is, because it has already given rise to enormous misunderstanding."

LORD FRASER OF LONSDALE: "The Prime Minister was quoted as saying that racialism was the besetting sin in the world and might cause great trouble for all

mankind. I subscribe to that. But I wonder whether it tends to diminish racial feeling to have those persons who are gradually, and sometimes too quickly, being brought forward to self-government and various forms of government constantly reminded how slowly we are going when in fact we are really going extremely fast. Does that not contribute to the very racialism which many of us deplore?"

"Must Go With African Nationalism"

LORD NOEL BUXTON suggested that African nationalism was so powerful that "one must go with it for the sake of the peace of the world if for nothing else". Southern Rhodesia was out of tune with the main movement of the African continent.

LORD FARINGTON: "The economic picture of Southern Rhodesia is of a privileged white class—many of whom have gone to Southern Rhodesia in order to avoid taxation—and an impoverished African and farming class.

"Mr. Sandys expressed sympathy with the Europeans, who, he said, might feel a justifiable pride in the agricultural achievements and rising standards of education and social services provided for all races; and expressed sympathy with them in their fear that these advantages and this progress might be endangered if they fell into irresponsible hands. Not all Europeans share this view.

"In 1961 the Roman Catholic hierarchy, all of them Europeans, said of the conditions of Southern Rhodesia: 'Wages are inadequate, housing conditions in many instances are unworthy of human beings, and terms of employment are such that husbands are separated for long periods from their wives. Such a state of affairs cries to heaven for vengeance, and even in the natural order can only breed crime and chaos. Need we wonder if men are incited to subversive activity when there is such obvious disparity in the quality of land occupied by the two major racial groups in the country?'

"The *Monthly Digest of Statistics* for July, 1963, published by the Central Statistical Office, shows that the total area under crops in the European farms amounted only to just over one million acres. Yet 37m. acres are reserved for European occupation. In Southern Rhodesia, while the European tobacco output has increased from 150m. lb. to around 216m. lb., African production has increased only from 48,000 lb. in 1958 to 54,000 lb. in 1962. There has been hardly any increase of cattle, sheep, goats or pigs by either Europeans or African farms. In 1958 the European production of maize amounted to 34m. bags. By 1962 it had increased to 54m. bags. In 1958 the African output was 536,000 bags and in 1962 it was 539,000 bags. African agriculture has stagnated.

No Right

"The Secretary of State spoke of the Europeans' justifiable pride at the 'rising standards of education which they provide for all races'. The British Government provided much of the finance to set up the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to provide university training for the Federation as a whole. The population of the Federation is 94m., of whom only 310,000 are Europeans. Yet at the University College in 1962 there were 241 European graduates and only 74 African students from the whole of the 9,150,000 African population of the Federation. Southern Rhodesia has an African population of around 3,700,000; yet the 1963 enrolment in secondary schools was only 7,045. Are these figures consistent with rising agricultural achievements for the African population or with rising standards of education?"

"The Secretary of State said that as more and more Africans came out of the schools and the general level of earnings rose the proportion of Africans on the electoral roll would increase and he estimated that this process would produce a majority on the electoral roll in 10 to 12 years. The trend of franchise policy in Southern Rhodesia has been to reduce the proportion of Africans entitled to vote. In 1961 the electorate for the 30 seats of the Legislature consisted of 77,500 Europeans and 4,500 Africans. In July 1962 the European electorate had increased to 86,816 and the African electorate had declined to 2,562 owing to the higher qualifications required for the new A Roll."

LORD MOLTSON said (in part):—

"Ever since 1923 we have been debarred from interfering in Southern Rhodesia's domestic affairs. Apart from the constitutional position, we lack the power to do it. Therefore Lord Walston, when he says we should insist on certain reform is asking of H.M. Government something which they have no right to do and indeed lack the power to do.

"I cannot support my noble friends who ask that independence should be given to Southern Rhodesia under the present

Constitution. The position of H.M. Government was made absolutely plain by the Prime Minister when he said: "We accept the principle that majorities should rule."

"I was a little shocked at what Lord Salisbury said this afternoon. I thought that his sentence could only be taken to mean that he was encouraging Southern Rhodesia to indulge in another Boston Tea Party.

"I hope that the Government of Southern Rhodesia will rather pay heed to the wiser words of Sir Edgar Whitehead in the Southern Rhodesian Legislature yesterday. He indicated quite plainly that such an act would be not only wrong but unwise, and would not even command the support of a large number of the people of Southern Rhodesia. He suggested calling a conference in Southern Rhodesia to find a way out of the deadlock.

Mr. Sandys's suggestion of bringing in the Commonwealth cannot be helpful to any of the parties. It would be deeply embarrassing to the Commonwealth, and it has been made perfectly plain by Southern Rhodesia that the proposal is unacceptable to her. I hope that we shall hear no more about a suggestion which is constitutionally wrong, politically unwise, and generally unacceptable.

"I have consistently supported H.M. Government in their handling of this difficult affair in Southern Rhodesia, I am therefore going to make an appeal to them tonight on something on which I feel they are wrong. I feel strongly that the settlement which is being imposed on the civil servants is not fair."

LORD DILHORNE, the Lord Chancellor, said in reply for the Government:—

"All the Governments concerned have been intent on reaching a settlement which gave fair and equitable treatment to the individual officers affected by the disappearance of the Federation, while at the same time providing that as many Federal civil servants as possible should be able to continue their careers in one or other of the territories, helping to secure the orderly transfer of functions to the territorial Governments and avoid any serious disruption of services to the public. In addition to the arrangements which have been made all the Governments have agreed to consider sympathetically cases of hardship which might arise among officers to whom no further offer of employment is made.

"No Obligations"

"To secure the terminal benefits and pensions of these officers for the future it has been agreed that a new fund to be vested in independent trustees shall be established to continue the present Federal pension fund, and that a pensions authority should be set up to administer the pensions and terminal benefits in accordance with the agreed arrangements. The British Government and the three territorial Governments have agreed to share fairly in making good any deficit in the fund to the extent necessary for honouring the terminal benefits, and the territorial Governments will also enter into a public officers' agreement, with which the British Government will be associated, whereby they will provide mutual assurances to each other to carry out the obligations which they have accepted towards the former Federal public servants.

"The first criticism is that the former Federal public servants should be afforded lump-sum compensation for loss of career comparable to that available to members of Her Majesty's Overseas Service; and it has been suggested that a responsibility rests on the British Government to afford such compensation. The British Government are, of course, under no commitment to pay such compensation for loss of career except to members of Her Majesty's Overseas Service, for whom they accept responsibility.

"Federal civil servants were not appointed by the British Government and were not employed by them, and I doubt whether many would accede to the view that in those circumstances there is if not a legal obligation, at least a moral one. The Federal public service has from the first been recruited on local terms as a locally based service, and it contains no officers with overseas status. This is the basis of the agreed settlement, and it would not have been right in the circumstances to introduce any distinction between individual officers so far as their terminal benefits were concerned on grounds of race, origin, or country of recruitment.

"The second question is whether it is right to differentiate for compensation purposes between officers to whom no employment can be offered and those who do not wish to continue service with any territorial Government. It has been suggested that this involves some coercion of an officer into territorial service. It has been clearly accepted that no officer should be compelled into territorial service. It is, however, a different question whether any claims to recompense should arise if an officer can in fact be offered continued employment by a territory (it may be in his existing post) in conditions comparable to those he enjoyed under the Federal service.

"It was for each territorial Government to settle its terms of employment; and the Government agreed that these terms

should provide a considerable area in which comparable conditions of employment should be available. In the circumstances it has been thought right to distinguish between an officer who declines such an appointment and an officer who becomes generally redundant because of dissolution.

"Any request from Southern Rhodesia for financial assistance towards the cost of maintaining her defence forces will fall to be considered by H.M. Government in the general context of Southern Rhodesia's possible need for assistance having regard to her economic position as a whole in the light, among other factors, of the apportionment of assets and liabilities of the Federation.

"I do not think anyone could describe the speech made by Lord Salisbury as moderate or kindly. He thought it right to use very strong language indeed, which was not warranted.

Expendency, Not Principles

"I gathered that it was his view that we should give independence to Southern Rhodesia with the present constitutional arrangements unchanged, and should then sit back and watch the Southern Rhodesian Government make such advances that, in the opinion of that Government, would safely be made. Many are with equal sincerity opposed to that view; and opposed to it not on account of any self-interest, not on account of disregard of obligations owed to people from this country who have made their homes and their lives in Southern Rhodesia, but because to take that course would be doing a very great disservice to all the peoples of that territory.

"Does the noble marquess think that it would be acceptable to the world at large if Southern Rhodesia were given independence under the present constitutional arrangements? How many friends would Southern Rhodesia have in Africa?"

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "My lords, in all our history our Colonies have been our affair, and ours alone. This is the first occasion where a change has been made—in my opinion not on principle but on expediency."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: "That opinion is as hard to justify as some of his other observations. He talked of betrayal of the settlers—using that as a loaded word—and of their being dragged into submission. There is no ground for statements like that.

"The noble marquess has, I fear, failed to appreciate what the Secretary of State and his colleagues are trying to achieve—not by imposing anything, not by dragging people into submission—but by securing agreement that Southern Rhodesia should become independent in circumstances which would allow her to take her place as a member of the Commonwealth and enjoy close and friendly relations with other newly independent African territories. That is the way to secure political stability and the prospect of economic growth.

"It will indeed be difficult to achieve agreement. This debate has indicated that. The speech the noble marquess has made today has, I fear, made the achievement of that task more difficult. He spoke of my rt. hon. friend's remarks about the Commonwealth as an 'ingenious dodge', and he said it was proposed to hand over Southern Rhodesia to a jury already packed against them. In Salisbury yesterday it was said that other Commonwealth Governments were to be asked to sit in judgment in Southern Rhodesia. There is no truth in any of these allegations.

Wrong and Dangerous

"All the Secretary of State did was to put forward the idea that other members of the Commonwealth might be able to play a part to help in the task of finding a generally acceptable solution."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "I do not believe there is any likelihood of the 'generally acceptable solution' being achieved at the present stage. The other members of the Commonwealth being almost all in favour of a course which is totally unacceptable to Southern Rhodesia, the fact that they have been called into consultation will mean that increased pressure is made on that Government to agree to a solution which they believe to be wrong and dangerous."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: "The noble marquess may be right. I do not know; only the future can show. I think that a generally accepted solution will be very difficult indeed to achieve, but that my rt. hon. friend's suggestion was at least a useful one for consideration."

"I know that the idea of bringing Southern Rhodesia for trial at the bar before the whole of the Commonwealth countries never entered the mind of the Secretary of State.

"I do not remember hearing an attack of this kind made in the short time I have been in this House or, indeed, in another place, and I thought it particularly unfortunate when Lord Colyton and Lord Salisbury both used language which, to my mind, could only be taken as an invitation to the people of Southern Rhodesia to take the law into their own hands. I cannot think of anything which is likely to be more disastrous to the interests of all the people who live in that territory."

Kenya Ejects Portuguese Consul

MZEE KENYATA, Prime Minister of Kenya, summoned to his office last week Dr. Luiz José de Oliveira Nunes, Consul-General for Portugal, and handed him a note ordering him to close the consulate and leave Kenya within seven days. The consulate had remained open since Kenya became independent six days earlier and had continued to fly the Portuguese flag.

The Government note stated that, in the spirit of the Addis Ababa Conference, Kenya could no longer tolerate the presence of a consular mission from a State which had "flagrantly violated human rights in the territories under its Colonial regime". It accused Portugal of "stifling with violence and brutality" the aspirations of the peoples of Mozambique and Angola.

When Mr. Mboya, Minister of Justice, was told three days after independence that the Portuguese consulate was still open, he said that it had no legal right to function.

Mr. Arthur Ochwada, assistant secretary-general of K.A.N.U., said that Portugal should have shown the same tact as the South Africans, who discreetly closed their office and left the country before independence.

Major Cory Refuses £7,500

MAJOR PETER RALPH CORY has refused an *ex gratia* payment of £7,500 offered by the War Office as compensation for having been wrongly cashiered and imprisoned.

While commanding a Royal Army Service Corps company in Kenya he was court-martialled two years ago, convicted on five counts of fraudulent misapplication of regimental funds, and sentenced to be cashiered and to two years' imprisonment. Hearing his appeal much later, Mr. Justice Sachs said that the trial, which had lasted 43 days, was astonishing, and that the charges were so muddled that there had been

a miscarriage of justice. He severely criticised the conduct of the military authorities before, during, and after the trial and the inordinate delay in allowing the appeal, and quashed the conviction. By that time Major Cory had been under close arrest in Kenya for two months and in jail in Britain for six months. As a result of the appeal verdict he was reinstated in his rank and seniority.

Mr. Ramsden, Secretary of State for War, told the Commons last week that the judge advocate who had sat on the case in Kenya had since been seriously ill and had informed the Lord Chancellor that he would not again act in that capacity but hoped for a transfer to other duties.

Major Cory's solicitors, who had received no communication from the War Office before the public announcement of the £7,500 offer, have described it as quite inadequate for a broken career and nearly nine months in prison. They are pressing for a higher sum.

Permanent Secretaries

FIFTEEN AFRICANS in Kenya now hold the rank of Permanent Secretaries, nine further promotions having just been announced. The first six were Dr. D. N. Ndegwa, Secretary to the Cabinet and Permanent Secretary in the Prime Minister's Office; Mr. J. arap Koitie, Defence; Mr. K. Matiba, Education; Mr. M. K. Mwendwa, Home Affairs; Mr. J. Oluoch, Information, Broadcasting and Tourism; and Mr. M. Ndisi, Labour. The new appointments are of Mr. M. Ojal, Local Government; Mr. A. Achieng, Natural Resources; Mr. T. C. J. Ramtu, Works, Communications and Power; Mr. J. A. Omanga, Health and Housing; Mr. J. K. Njoroge, Commerce and Industry; Mr. P. Gachathi, Lands and Settlement; Mr. M. L. Mlamba, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry; Mr. R. Ouko, External Affairs; and Mr. A. W. Abutti, Deputy Permanent Secretary to the Treasury.

Dar es Salaam Club

IN A LEADING ARTICLE in this journal criticising the Government of Tanganyika for seizing the Dar es Salaam Club without compensation it was stated that Mr. Lusinde, Minister of Home Affairs, has told the National Assembly that the club had been the property of the Government of German East Africa and should not have been allowed to pass into private hands under British rule. In that statement the Minister misled the House, for the land had been the property of the club since 1903, when it was bought from one of the founder-members, Herr F. C. L. Gurlitt.

Chief Fundikira Leaves T.A.N.U.

ALHAJ ABDULLA FUNDIKIRA, lately Minister of Justice in Tanganyika, chief of the Nyamwezi tribe, the second largest in the country, and president of the East African Moslem Welfare Society, has resigned from the Tanganyika African National Union because he disagrees fundamentally with some of its basic policies. He wrote to President Nyerere: "In particular I am no supporter of your proposed one-party system". He was a leading figure in Mr. Nyerere's party for years before he entered the Cabinet in 1960. Some months ago he left the Ministry and was appointed chairman of the Tanganyika Agricultural Development Corporation.

Amnesty "Perks"

AMONG SOME 2,000 MAU MAU and Land Freedom Army "forest fighters" who have been surrendering with their arms during the past week in response to the independence amnesty are hundreds of African youths who entered the forests only a week before the expiry of the amnesty date, so that they could try to qualify for the benefits of a public subscription scheme to feed and clothe the gangsters. One short Kenya Government statement referred to six Mau Mau "field marshals".

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U.K. Government's "Dishonest Denial"

Sir Roy Arraigns "Perfidious Albion"

SIR ROY WELNSKY, the Federal Prime Minister, said in Salisbury last week:—

"The Dissolution Order in Council has now been approved by the British Parliament. Mr. Sandys is reported to have scorned any suggestion of a British Government guarantee of the Federal public debt on the grounds that the dissolution was not a decision of policy by the British Government and that the Order in Council represented no more than a recognition of the facts that the Federation was already breaking up on its own.

"He said that if stockholders wished to make a fair comparison they should compare the security offered by the new proposals, not with the security of a Federation which was a going concern, but rather with the security of a Federation on the verge of disintegration. The Federal Government has never asked or suggested that the British Government should formally guarantee Federal stock. What we have pressed for is that stockholders should enjoy a security in respect of their Federal investments which was as nearly as possible equal to that which they have hitherto enjoyed.

"Nobody in their senses can pretend to believe that the security of stock backed by the assets of the Federation as a whole was not far better than the security provided by the separate assets of the individual territories, one of which is having to be heavily subsidized

Mr. Butler's Empty Assurance

"Mr. Butler, then in charge of the Central African Office, said on July 10, 1962, that he and the British Government had faith in the Federation; and he went on to say, to a meeting of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club in London: 'We want you to understand that if you put your money into the Federation we shall be behind you'. What an empty assurance—in common with so many others—this is now seen to be!

"As to the responsibility of the British Government for the break-up of the Federation, this has been reasonably summed up by the London Times of December 17 in the following words:—

"The Federal Government, whose debt responsibilities now have to be assumed by other authorities, not merely was established by Britain but has seen its abolition at least actively assisted by Britain. The truth of the matter is that the end of the Federation is the direct result of a change of policy on the part of the British Government which they have never yet had the honesty or the courage to admit.

"Passing the Buck"

"The creation of the Federation in 1953 was a deliberate act of British policy. It was well known then that nationalists, African opinion in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland was opposed to this course. Nevertheless, first the Labour Government and then the Conservative Government of the day decided that, with the provision of certain safeguards, Federation was in the best interests of all the people of Central Africa. They continued to think this as late as April, 1957, when a joint *communiqué*, issued in London and Salisbury, declared that both the British and Federal Governments had already made it clear and took the opportunity of reaffirming that they were opposed to any proposal, either for the amalgamation of the territories of the Federation or for the secession of any of them from the Federation.

"I do not propose to go into the reasons that brought about the change in British policy towards this part of the world. I doubt if I could do so in language sufficiently restrained for publication. Nor do I deny that Government's right to change its mind; every Government has the right to reassess its policies in relation to events. What I deeply resent is the dishonest denial that there was a change of policy and the unprincipled attempts to 'pass the buck' to others.

"Britain founded the Federation, Britain supported the Federation up to a late stage. Britain played the major rôle in breaking the Federation. Investors, public servants, and others who relied on this support to commit themselves and their money to the area will know what little respect to give to this latest example of perfidious Albion."

Mid-day meals for students in primary schools in Bukedi, primary and junior secondaries in Karamoja, and all teacher-training and demonstration colleges, are to be provided by the Uganda Government as a cost of £40,000, with up to a further £750,000 from U.N.I.C.E.F.



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

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Standard Bank's New Venture

Association with Midland and Other Banks

THE STANDARD BANK, the Midland Bank, the Commercial Bank of Australia, and the Toronto-Dominion Bank, which have combined issued capital and reserves of £149m., total assets of £3,411m., and some 5,000 branches in many parts of the world, have joined to form Midland and International Banks, Ltd., with an authorized capital of £20m., of which half will be issued to the four partners.

Sir Cyril Hawker, chairman of the Standard Bank has told the shareholders that "participation in this new project will provide greater opportunities for your bank to play an increasingly important part in international finance, and, more especially, in the financial and economic development of those areas in which its interests principally lie".

Standard will hold about 20% of the issued share capital of the new bank, which will acquire 650,000 Standard Bank shares of £1 each at 46s. 3d., the average middle market quotation during the four weeks before December 5.

The purpose of the new organization is to enable the member banks to carry out financial business jointly throughout the world.

Diamond and Gold Development

Loss of More than £200,000 on Alamas

TANGANYIKA DIAMOND AND GOLD DEVELOPMENT CO., LTD., lost £203,954 on its diamond mining subsidiary in Tanganyika, Alamas, Ltd., says the annual report to June 30 last. The adverse balance is now £233,356.

The issued capital is £199,800. Current liabilities exceed current assets by £33,506. The directors are Mr. E. J. Donaldson (chairman), Dr. H. J. Hugo, General S. A. Melville, and Messrs. R. W. H. Ferguson, and H. R. V. Hoar. Mr. H. O. Oates resigned during the year.

Mr. E. J. Donaldson, the chairman, is disposing of his interests, and shareholders are shortly to be told of proposals for the acquisition of new assets.

New Capital for Hippo Valley

TATE AND LYLE, LTD., are to subscribe for 1.1m. shares in Hippo Valley Estates, Ltd., Southern Rhodesia, at 8s. per share. Rhodesian Anglo American, Ltd., and Rhodesian Breweries, Ltd., have exercised option rights over just over 1m. shares; and existing shareholders are to be invited to subscribe on a two-for-five basis at 8s. per share, involving nearly 2½m. shares. A loan of £2.6m. is being raised overseas to meet the balance of a £5m. expansion programme which will raise the output of sugar to 150,000 tons a year.

Ruo Estates Holdings

RUO ESTATES HOLDINGS, LTD., report that in the year to June 30 the tea output in Nyasaland was reduced by 11% by inclement weather, with the consequence that net profit before tax was down from £50,043 to £11,641. A 4% dividend (against 8% last year) takes £6,125. The issued capital is £250,000. Fixed assets total £246,240 and current assets less current liabilities £88,436. Sir Dingwall Bateson is the chairman, and the other members of the board are Miss G. M. S. Simey, Colonel D. G. Dickson, and Messrs. H. R. Lupton, J. A. Loram, and F. G. H. Lupton.

Turner & Newall's £6½m. Profit

TURNER & NEWALL, LTD., report consolidated profit after tax to June 30 at £6,531,098 (£6,667,652). Ordinary stockholders again receive 12%. The directors state that the business is still under the influence of the strongly competitive market in chrysotile asbestos fibre, but that the manufacturing side at home and abroad is increasingly active, with rising turnovers. Prospects for the current financial year are encouraging.

International Computers & Tabulators, Ltd., a company with a Rhodesian subsidiary, reports consolidated profit after tax for the year to September 25 at £1.2m. (£1.3m.). Shareholders receive 2s. 3d. per £1 (the same).

Companies in the U.K., U.S.A., France, Italy and Germany specializing in the construction of oil refineries have been invited to submit tenders for the refinery to be built in Dar es Salaam by Tiper, Ltd.

An F.A.O. budget of £13,870,000 has been approved for 1964-65.

A non-racial social services school will open in Salisbury in February.

By April next all Northern Rhodesian towns are expected to have African Mayors.

Cases for the Federal Supreme Court may be listed for hearing up to December 31.

Eight doctors in Northern Rhodesia are leaving to join the Government health service in Southern Rhodesia.

Tanganyika has plans for an air force, the Minister for Defence told the National Assembly a few days ago.

Of 241 African railwaymen earning over £50 a month with Rhodesia Railways, nearly half earn more than £100.

About 5,000 Federal civil servants have now accepted permanent transfer to the civil service of Southern Rhodesia.

While giving his first demonstration of snake charming an African in Northern Rhodesia was bitten on the tongue and died.

Seventeen African assistant police inspectors have passed out after an eight-months' training course in Northern Rhodesia.

The Rhodesian Tobacco Association has offered the Land Bank £40,000 on fixed deposit to help meet medium and long-term loans.

Ten agricultural officers in Kenya, all Africans, are to spend six months at the Weissman Institute at Rehovoth, near Tel Aviv, Israel.

Special gratuities if they resign have been offered to 250 European police officers (one quarter of the strength) in Northern Rhodesia.

First census figures from Northern Rhodesia show an African population of just under 3½m.—about 40% more than ever previously estimated.

U.N.I.P. now controls five of the eight main urban town councils in Northern Rhodesia, and in the remaining three they have about half the membership.

Southern Rhodesia has asked the United Nations to lend an expert to advise the Government on a draft Bill in connexion with an unemployment scheme.

Lake Victoria's 2,000-mile shoreline is to be photographed from the air to assess the flooding caused during the past two years, which saw a record rise in level of up to 5ft.

Local European recruits to the Northern Rhodesian civil service have discussed strike action to protest against the special inducement allowances paid to expatriates.

Despite strong opposition, the Girl Guides in Nyasaland have been suspended, ostensibly until December. The Government plans a Young Pioneer Movement on the Ghana model.

A £12,000 house on a two-acre plot at Marimba Park near Salisbury, is being built for Mr. J. K. Ruredzo, a former taxi driver, who now operates 16 buses in the Rhodesian capital.

Netherlands Bank of South Africa, which also operates in the Rhodesias, reports group net profit to September 30 at £502,794 (£419,249). A 10% dividend is being maintained on the £6m. capital.

The Rhodesian subsidiary of Richard Costain, Ltd., has secured a £500,000 building contract for the first stage of the development programme for Gaborones, where Bechuanaland's new capital is to be established.

On Israeli Government scholarships, two Uganda Africans are to take a six years' medical course at the Hadasa Medical School of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. One Uganda student has already been there for a year.

The Elias Salzman Rhodesia Tobacco Institute, which was to have engaged in research complementary to that undertaken by the Tobacco Research Board of Southern Rhodesia, seems unlikely to continue in operation, for the Government has stated that it cannot accept a commitment of up to £45,000 a year.

Income of over £9½m. annually (currently £5m.) is forecast for the Morogoro Region of Tanganyika, where a five-year development plan requires expenditure of £925,700 on river control, irrigation and water supplies to achieve an 85% cash rise in sisal and sugar and one of 69% for other crops. Fish production should rise to 40%.

Dar es Salaam Club has been taken over by the Tanganyika Government after legislation was passed last week "like a bolt from the blue". Because it criticized the seizure—apparently connected with a refusal to grant block membership to 65 T.A.N.U. members recently—the Mineworkers' Union has urged that the Tanganyika Standard be similarly expropriated.

Owing to Christmas printing this issue went to press at the week-end.

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