

# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, January 2, 1964

Vol. 40

No. 2047

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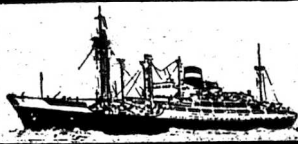
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## Principal Contents

Page	Page
Notes By The Way ..... 370	Harsh Facts ..... 378
New Excuse ..... 372	Uganda Party ..... 379
Responsibility Evaded ... 374	Emergency ..... 380
Personalia ..... 376	Copper Sales ..... 383
The Sell-Out ..... 377	News Briefs ..... 384

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, JANUARY 2, 1964

Vol. 40

No. 2047

52s. yearly, post free

## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**POLITICIANS AND PRESS** in the United Kingdom, having foolishly, callously, and jointly destroyed the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, have been smitten

### New Excuse for Destruction Of the Federation.

at the last moment, not with remorse for having wrecked a noble experiment in multi-racialism which would assuredly have triumphed if given a few more years, but with anxiety to escape indictment for as senseless, cynical and shabby a policy as any in British Imperial history. Just before the Christmas recess Conservative spokesmen in both Chambers paraded the new excuse that dissolution of the Federation had not been a policy decision of H.M. Government but merely a recognition that the Federation was breaking up because a majority of the people so wished. Had either House been alert, Mr. Sandys and the Duke of Devonshire would have been reminded that the destruction of the Federation was the inevitable consequence of Macmillanism, which was accepted by the Cabinet and a large majority in the House of Commons despite its rude reversal of Tory policy until the autumn of 1959.

That reversal was signalled by the then Prime Minister's wind-of-change speech, which contained the false promise that individual merit would be the criterion for

### Official Lie Ends Years of Duplicity.

political change in British Africa. That pledge was promptly discarded. The four subsequent years of deceit and duplicity in Africa now end with the official lie that the Government has no responsibility for the dissolution of the Federation. In fact, it is primarily responsible for that tragedy because it showed neither faith nor resolution when both were essential; because it was prepared to appease any non-white agitator

who cared to raise a clamour and support it with violence; because it broke pledge after pledge to Europeans when African nationalist propagandists ranted and raged; and because by these and other means it encouraged every fissiparous tendency and so weakened a structure still in the building.

The enormity of the tragedy and the extent of British responsibility are still not understood by the general public in the United Kingdom for four main reasons:

(1) that the Labour Party, which had intended to create the Federation, then lost an election and decided to oppose the plan as a means of attacking the Government, and could therefore not condemn the Macmillan abandonment of Central Africa (in which many Socialists had never had more than an emotional and ill-informed interest); (2) that the Conservative Parliamentary Party, with staggeringly few honourable exceptions, put obedience to the hierarchy (and the prospect of patronage) before the duty to stand by the party's principles and pledges; (3) that no daily newspaper in the United Kingdom consistently recorded the facts, emphasized the unreliability of Ministers, and kept the grave issues involved in the forefront of discussion; and (4) that television and wireless programmes have for years been heavily slanted in favour of African nationalism, allowing the case for the gradual transfer of responsibility according to merit, as promised in the wind-of-change speech, to go by default. Had some influential organs of the daily Press and the broadcasting and tele-

**The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland expired officially at midnight on Tuesday.**

vision authorities kept the basic facts under public notice, Mr. Macmillan and his obedient associates, particularly Mr. Macleod and Mr. Butler (among the foremost apologists for the appeasement of Hitler), could not have had their feckless, reckless way. It was attainable only by something approximating to a conspiracy of silence.

\* \* \*

Mr. Macleod, now editor of the *Spectator*, writes in its current issue: "The right wing think of Sir Roy Welensky as a strong man who commands. He is not. He is a weak man who blusters.

### Mr. Macleod and Sir Roy Welensky.

And everyone who has dealt with him knows this and — when they judge it convenient — call his bluff. On the other hand, the left wing think of him as arrogant, dictatorial, rigid. He is not. He is friendly, paternalistic, even liberal. Welensky's tragedy is that he saw what must come in Central Africa, knew that he alone could make it bearable to the Europeans, and was not large enough to show the way". That comment from one of the chief conspirators in the destruction of the Federation is contemptible, the more so because as Secretary of State for the Colonies Mr. Macleod was himself a blusterer, arrogant and dictatorial in dealing with European delegates from Africa, but weak as water when confronted by African

nationalists engaged in their well-staged acts of intransigence. His own words, "a weak man who blusters", could in that context be very fairly applied to Mr. Macleod. His attempt to pin such a label on Sir Roy Welensky is ridiculous. As his critic has to concede, the Federal Prime Minister is friendly, paternalistic, and liberal. Because he is friendly, liberal, trustworthy, and trusting, he could not easily bring himself to believe that Ministers in the United Kingdom who professed warm friendliness to him and the Federation had committed themselves to wreck it by measures which Lord Salisbury, a former Secretary of State, publicly described as "unscrupulous". That adjective was specifically applied to Mr. Macleod's machinations in Northern Rhodesia—about which Sir Roy will assuredly make damaging disclosures in his forthcoming book. A few jibes and jabs now will not support Mr. Macleod's reputation when the facts are fully revealed by an incomparably greater man, who has striven gallantly for principles which meant little or nothing to Mr. Macleod. No responsible person would dream of proposing a "thank you" fund for his performance at the Colonial Office. By contrast, the public has subscribed more than £30,000 for the Sir Roy Welensky presentation fund (the organizers of which had intended a limit of £25,000). How does Mr. Macleod reconcile his mean-spirited words with that great spontaneous tribute?

## Notes By The Way

### Mr. Creech Jones

MR. ARTHUR CREECH JONES, Socialist M.P. for Wakefield, has been honoured at a luncheon arranged to mark his retirement from the chairmanship of the Fabian Commonwealth Bureau, which as the Fabian Colonial Bureau was for many years an irritant to Kenya settlers in particular. I have known him since soon after the establishment of this journal in 1924; we have frequently crossed swords, more often in public than in private; and my respect for this naturally kindly man has grown with the years, for I have never known him act other than honourably and generously. Indeed, while he was Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Attlee Government of 1946-50 he became increasingly unpopular with his own associates because his sense of honour prevented him from acting precipitately in accordance with various unwise policy declarations made by the party while in opposition. Having immersed himself more thoroughly in Colonial matters than any of his colleagues, the credit (or discredit) for some of the resolutions was largely his, but when high office brought not only responsibilities but much essential information which he had previously lacked, he was scrupulous in weighing the evidence for this or that action or for inaction.

### Socialist Shame

HIS PRECONCEPTIONS—which were sometimes misconceptions—were objectively measured against the facts and needs of the situation, and when he was driven to the conclusion that the policy of his party had been mistaken and would be detrimental to the Colonial Empire, he put first the interests of the territories. To the shame of the Socialist hierarchy, the recompense for his integrity was to be driven into the political wilderness and kept there for years while safe seats were found for others, some of them quite undistinguished persons, and including at least one who had made a public fool of himself but was an intimate friend of one or more Ministers. Indeed, it was against the wish of the party leaders that he re-entered the House at a by-election in Wakefield. At that time I happened to discover that he was invited to become a candidate by a few local admirers who came under strong pressure from high Socialist quarters but refused to give way. But for their steadfast resistance to London representations Mr. Creech Jones might have been banished for life from the Commons—simply because, instead of playing party politics while Secretary of State, he had insisted on obeying his oath of office to act with strict impartiality in the discharge of his duties.

### Macmillanism

THE SCANDALOUS ACTIONS of the past four years in East and Central Africa could not have been contemplated if the Macmillan Cabinet had had comparable standards. Political friends and foes alike had to recognize Mr. Creech Jones's consistently honourable attitude. How striking was the contrast with the opinion held in responsible quarters of such a successor as Mr. Iain Macleod, whom the outstanding Conservative in the Lords, the Marquess of Salisbury, publicly denounced as "unscrupulous"; and Mr. Macmillan himself as Prime Minister was then and afterwards repeatedly charged by Sir Roy Welensky with deceit, duplicity, and prevarication. Those charges, made in the Federal Parliament and in Federal White Papers, as well as in both Houses of Parliament in Britain, were never satisfactorily answered. Two other Ministers close to Mr. Macmillan who have openly broken their pledges in respect of East and Central Africa are Mr. Butler and Mr. Sandys, the latter as recently as the Kenya Independence Conference held in London a few weeks ago. This abominable record of Macmillanism is made all the blacker by Mr. Creech Jones's self-disregarding recitade.

### What Parliament Needs

THE PUBLICATIONS of his own party and the so-called independent newspapers have never done justice to his record. From elementary fairness, therefore, I have put the truth into print more than once. No journal had criticized him so often and so sharply as EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA before he became a Minister, but at the end of his term the facts made me write what was, I believe, the warmest appreciation which appeared anywhere. Its main point was that he had rejected all pleas of expediency and stuck to high principles. The public life of this country could be transformed if a similar sense of honour operated in, say, one M.P. in four. Even that proportion would quickly destroy the dictatorial power of the whips and the insidious impairment of honesty by patronage; and, with consequential restoration of a healthy degree of personal independence to M.P.s., men of much greater achievement and promise might once again become candidates for Parliament. They will not be attracted while complacency and subservience are the way to advancement.

### Costly Party

EXACTLY WHAT HAPPENED at the party in Kampala which has resulted in the expulsion of many Europeans is not known, but it can scarcely have been anything worse than a silly prank. Yet the Uganda Government reacted most harshly, and the United Kingdom Government immediately set in motion the heavy official machinery and proffered its apologies. A sense of humour, of proportion, and of tolerance was evidently lacking there and here. If the intention had been to belittle Uganda's African leaders in any way, would about 150 Europeans have attended, among them many officials of the Uganda Government, and some quite senior? That fact does not appear to have been adequately considered in the Commonwealth Relations Office before the High Commissioner was instructed to deliver his message. That rebuke from London, added to the sudden expulsion of numerous friends and acquaintances, is scarcely likely to encourage a decision to remain in the country by many of the civil servants who had not decided whether to stay or leave.

### Too High a Price

FROM THAT STANDPOINT alone, it would have been wise for Uganda to show leniency and for the United Kingdom Government to avoid embroilment. Interracial relations have always been exceptionally good in

Uganda, and that happy tradition might have disposed the authorities to clemency if there was some regrettable individual exuberance as the party progressed. Deportations which ruin careers, and in most cases deprive the country concerned of genuine service by persons anxious to help Africa, inevitably create in many quarters the impression that non-Africans can live and work in such countries once they have become independent only at the cost of surrendering all freedom of expression. For most Europeans that is too high a price to pay. It should be too high a price for an African country to exact unless it is resigned to be deemed a dictatorship.

### Slim Hope

DR. RITA HINDEN has been for many years one of the foremost advocates in this country of the idea (dangerously premature, in the view of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA) of granting Africans political control of their countries. Like some other Socialist zealots, she is now disturbed, perhaps even appalled, at the results already recognizable of thrusting the British system upon unready Africans. In a short letter to the *Guardian*, which had suggested editorially that it would be a good thing for Kenya to become a one-party State, Dr. Hinden has written: "Democracy is no democracy if there are no civil liberties, no independent judiciary, no rule of law. Such a system is a foul abuse of the very word 'democracy'. One had hoped — and still hopes — that the one-party system now adopted by most African States could somehow respect these essentials of democracy, but the hope is slim indeed. For human nature is frail, irrespective of colour, and leaders who are not controlled by the checks and balances which democracy everywhere has found essential will almost always slide down the slippery slope to tyranny. One day, no doubt, we will find ourselves supporting Africans in a new freedom crusade — not against imperial oppression this time, but against their own harsh rulers".

### New Life Peer

MR. CHARLES RIDER HOBSON, who has been made a life peer on the recommendation of the Leader of the Opposition, was for 14 years a Socialist M.P., first for Wembley North and then for Keighley. He was one of the substantial number of Labour representatives who strongly supported the proposals for the creation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and staunchly resisted heavy pressure by the party leaders to vote against the measure in the numerous debates in which the party, having meantime lost a general election, fiercely attacked a plan which it had itself introduced. In public and private Mr. Hobson has never wavered in his championship of the Federation and of a less precipitate policy of political change in Africa generally. From 1947 to 1951 he was Assistant Postmaster-General. Since he lost his seat in the 1959 election he has been labour relations officer to Associated Electrical Industries, Ltd. Mr. Hobson is 59 years of age.

### Parliamentary Courtesy

WHEN MR. P. K. V. V. VAN DER BYL, M.P. for Hartley, was interrupted during a speech in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament by an unnamed member who merely interjected "You are taking the wrong steps", his riposte, according to Hansard, was in these words: "Mr. Speaker, I feel that if the gentleman's brain were made of gun-powder and should suddenly explode, the resulting detonation would scarcely blow his hat off his head". A little later he charged the Opposition with having "perennial season tickets on the line of least resistance" and with having gone "wherever the train of events carried them".

# Epilogue to Most Melancholy Episode of Tory Colonial Policy

## New Government Excuse that Federation "Broke Up On Its Own"

### DISSOLUTION OF THE FEDERATION

was not a policy decision by H.M. Government, but merely a recognition that "the Federation was already breaking up on its own".

That new official excuse was emphasized by Government spokesmen in both Houses of Parliament when the Dissolution Order in Council was debated.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and for the Colonies, said: (in part):—

"The Federation could not survive unless genuine co-operation between Europeans and Africans could be established. Unhappily, that did not come about. We had to face the hard fact that two out of the three component territories were resolutely determined to withdraw. Since there could be no question of holding the Federation together permanently by force, steps had to be taken to bring it to an end in an orderly manner.

"I am especially grateful to the Federal Government for placing their information and experience unreservedly at the disposal of the committees. But for this generous co-operation orderly dissolution would have been infinitely more difficult.

### Redundant Officials

"The last reports from the committees in Salisbury were received only a fortnight ago. After that the legal drafting had to be completed and the Order in Council printed. It was presented to Parliament the day it was received from the printers. In view of the Christmas recess any postponement of this debate would have involved delaying the dissolution of the Federation by at least six weeks.

"Agreement was reached in September between the Federal Government, the Governments of the three territories, and H.M. Government on the arrangements for the future employment, retirement, and pensions of all past and present officers of the Federal Government. In the view of H.M. Government these arrangements constitute an equitable settlement of the complicated factors involved.

"Officials who become redundant will be compensated for the abolition of their office. Generally this will take the form of an addition of one-third of their pension. If an officer is offered continued pensionable employment in his home territory but does not wish to accept it, he will be entitled to full earned pension, but not to the addition of one-third. It has been suggested that it is unfair to differentiate between officials in this way; but it really does not seem right that an official who is offered continuing employment on comparable terms and declines it should be treated as favourably as the man for whom no job is available.

"The staff association representing the Federal public servants continue to claim that Federal officials should be compensated as though they were members of Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service. The British Government cannot accept this contention.

### Federal Debt

"Those who transferred from the Colonial Service were fully aware that they were leaving the British Government's service and entering the service of the Federal Government on local terms, based on the assumption that they were serving in their homeland and not serving overseas.

"There is no justification for reopening the inter-governmental agreement; the five Governments, including the Federal Government, all share this view.

"The Federal debt, apart from short-term borrowings, amounts in all to about £246m., including the loan for the Kariba hydro-electric project amounting to £26m. Federal loans for railway purposes, and certain territorial loans amounting to about £90m. Deducting these loans, we are left with about £118m. of general funded debt. The three successor Governments have accepted liability for this balance in the following approximate proportions: Southern Rhodesia, 52%; Northern Rhodesia, 37%; Nyasaland, close on 11%, representing the respective share of the Federal assets allocated.

"The Government of Northern Rhodesia contended that in calculating its liabilities account should be taken that the

large revenue derived from Northern Rhodesia in past years had made a net contribution to the other two territories and in part been used to help finance Federal Government projects included among the assets now being distributed. However, while maintaining the validity of their contention, they decided to accept the settlement agreed by the other Governments.

"In the case of internal debt each territory will issue its own stock up to the amount of its share of the liability, and each stockholder will receive certificates from the three Governments in these proportions. It has not yet been decided whether the same procedure will be applied to external debt.

"These arrangements have been strongly criticized. It has been contended that to apportion the Federal public debt in this way solely among the territories will necessarily involve injury to the interests of the investor, and that the British Government should therefore in some way underwrite these liabilities.

"Those who put forward these arguments start from the assumption that the dissolution of the Federation was an isolated decision of policy by the British Government. That, of course, is quite incorrect. This Order in Council represents no more than a recognition of the fact that the Federation was already breaking up on its own. For some time it had been clear that the overwhelming majority of the populations of Nyasaland and Rhodesia were firmly opposed to the continuance of the Federation. Thus the question was not whether the Federation should be maintained, but rather whether it should be dissolved in an orderly manner, or left to fall apart on its own.

### "Rubbish"

"Another wrong assumption is that, but for the dissolution of the Federation, the credit of the Federal Government would have remained strong, and that therefore the security offered by the Federation as a whole would have been better than the security which will be offered by the three territories separately. Stockholders should compare the security offered by the new proposals not with the credit of a federation which was a going concern with an assured future, but rather with the credit of a federation on the verge of disintegration."

MR. ROBERT JENKINS: "Rubbish."

MR. SANDYS: "It is perfectly true. If the Federation had been left to break up without any prior arrangements for the assumption by the three successor States of liability for the Federal debt, the stock could well have become totally unsaleable.

"We considered the possibility of joint and several guarantees from the three Governments, but, as the Minister for the Treasury in Southern Rhodesia has said, the whole concept of joint and several responsibility is incompatible with the principle of dissolution. He said that no territorial Government could be expected to pledge its own revenues and assets to meet liabilities assumed by other territories; to do so would weaken its credit-worthiness and reduce its ability to borrow in future. The Northern Rhodesian Government also would regard joint and several responsibility as a reflection on the credit and good faith of all three territories.

"It is suggested that, although the British Government have no legal obligation to guarantee this stock, they have a moral obligation. Much has been made of the fact that the Bank of England acted as the issuing house for some of these loans. It is argued that this implied official Government backing. But anyone familiar with City procedure knows that it is common form for either the Bank of England or the Crown Agents to act in this way for Commonwealth loans raised in London. This has never been held to involve any guarantee by the Government. In any case, less than one-seventh of the Federal public debt was issued in London. When these loans were raised, the prospectuses stated explicitly that they would carry no British Government guarantee.

### "No Obligation"

"It has also been argued that because certain loans obtained by the Federal Government from the World Bank were guaranteed by the British Government, similar treatment should be accorded to the rest of the Federal public debt. There is no validity in that argument. It is natural that loans which already carried a British Government guarantee should continue to do so. But there is no reason why loans which were raised without such guarantee should be underpinned by the British Government years later.

"The British Government do not recognize an obligation to guarantee the Federal debt, but I emphasize that we shall continue to attach great importance to the discharge of their liabilities by the three territorial Governments. The British

Government, when considering the question of financial aid for these territories, will be prepared to take into account, among other factors, the burden of debt which they have assumed. That is a very important assurance to which insufficient attention has been paid.

"It is with sadness that we put the official seal on the failure of a noble idea. I still firmly believe that the concept of the Federation was sound, and that, however great the difficulties, it was right to try to bring about a true multi-racial partnership in Central Africa. If it had succeeded it might well have provided an infectious example of interracial co-operation which could have had a far-reaching influence elsewhere in Africa and beyond.

"Let us as our final act express our thanks and sympathy to all who in public life or in their private vocations did their best to make a success of this great enterprise. Let us send warm good wishes to the Governments and Parliaments of the three territories. They are to be congratulated on the speed and harmonious manner in which they have agreed on the arrangements set out in this Order, and on their wise decision to maintain and operate together the common services which have been built up over the years."

MR. G. M. THOMSON (Socialist): "This is the epilogue to one of the most melancholy episodes in the history of Conservative colonial policy.

"This Federation, for all its noble ideals, began with a blunder by a Conservative Government and ends in a mess. The blunder is in believing that a form of federation designed to suit the wishes of the small European minority could be imposed against the wishes of the African majority.

### Conspiracy of Silence

"The Government did not reverse their policies frankly or openly enough, or decisively enough. Lack of frankness has characterized Conservative policies toward Central Africa over the last four years.

"The House has been presented a *fait accompli* and so are the bondholders of the Federal debt, Federal civil servants, and people whose future is bound up in the arrangements now before us. While these vital discussions have gone on in Africa there has been a conspiracy of silence. There ought to have been a White Paper setting out these agreements in detail. It is indefensible to lay an Order of this importance before the House in this way. This failure to be frank with the House — so much in keeping with the whole history of Conservative dealings with Central Africa — is our first complaint.

"In some ways the problems of the railway pensioners are stronger than those of the bondholders or civil servants. Though one sympathizes with their anxieties, they volunteered to become either creditors or public servants of the Federation. But the railwaymen were employed by Rhodesia Railways before there was a Federation. The World Bank has made substantial loans to Rhodesia Railways, and those loans are being guaranteed by the Treasury; but the pension fund money is not to be guaranteed by the Treasury.

"Did the Secretary of State consult the Commonwealth Governments of Tanganyika or Uganda, both of whom are vitally concerned in this disposition of defence forces in Central Africa?

"The situation would be transformed if the European community in Southern Rhodesia were to come to democratic terms with their own overwhelming African majority. They aspire to a form of independence for a racial minority that is utterly unacceptable to the modern world. This concept is now as abhorrent to the old Commonwealth countries, such as Canada, as it is to the new Afro-Asian Commonwealth.

"We should not use our resources to bolster up a minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. On the other hand, I think that Britain ought to be generous in her help to Southern Rhodesia if the Europeans in positions of responsibility there are prepared to see the way in which history is going and to be generous in their own concessions to democracy."

### Absolutely Absurd

SIR CHARLES MOTT-RADCLYFFE (Cons.) held that much of the blame rested with the Labour Party and its two Secretaries of State, Mr. Griffiths and Mr. Creech Jones.

"It would be wrong to deceive ourselves and the public into believing that in transferring power we are creating democracy. We are not. To expect tribal power groups in Africa, however well-meaning their leaders, to work on a Westminster system of democratic government, with all its checks and balances, against the background of Africa is absolutely absurd.

"The public were invited to invest in the Federation, not in one of three territories. Investments were thought good enough to become trustee stock. Now the Government have changed the rules in the middle of the game without con-

sulting the creditors. If the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the First Secretary to the Treasury were not members of the Cabinet but of City firms which had conducted this sort of operation in this sort of way they might have been enjoying what I am told are excellent facilities in some of our open prisons.

"Sir Roy Welensky has been not only a controversial figure but also a great character. He has dedicated his political life to the concept of federation, and he has loved Britain and his connexion with this country. Less honourable political epigrams have been written about many less honourable men than he."

MR. JAMES GRIFFITHS, a former Socialist Secretary of State, said that he had been attracted by the concept of a federation in the heart of Africa, one-fifth of the land mass of the world, with a population of only 200m. people, and poor in resources.

"What attracted me about Central Africa was that here, in this rich vein, was Nyasaland, one of the loveliest countries in Africa—the most thickly populated and the poorest. The income per head in Nyasaland is under £20 a year. From the economic standpoint there is everything to be said for these territories collaborating, and I hope that a new form of federation will develop. I was attracted by the idea—I am still —of these three territories being linked, being linked also with the three territories in East Africa.

"This experiment has failed because it was imposed by the Conservative Government against the known wishes of the majority of Africans in all three territories and because there has never been any real attempt to develop the reality of partnership."

MR. PATRICK WALL challenged Mr. Griffiths to name one State in Africa which has a democratic Government according to our standards.

"The difficulty is to stand an African form of democracy with quite different standards from our own in territories where there is a fairly sizeable European minority."

### Powerless Minority

"If the rt. hon. gentleman really believes in one man one vote, he must also believe that in the United Nations there should be one State one vote. Then the General Assembly would have power to compel its member States to accept majority decisions, which would mean that this and other European countries would be in the same position *vis-à-vis* the world as he proposes to put Europeans *vis-à-vis* African majorities in their own territories—namely, in a permanent and powerless minority.

"It is quite clear that H.M. Government wish to be free of any blame for the failure of the Federation and have arranged a rapid burial. That indicates a guilty conscience, and may mean unfair treatment of bondholders and civil servants.

"It is said that in Committee A representatives of the territorial Governments said that their Governments would not accept joint and several liability for the debt and repayment and that representatives of the British Government stated that their Government would not join in any action designed to preserve the value of the investment. That very damaging statement has been given much currency in the City. I hope that my rt. hon. friend will be able to deny it.

"Will he consider buying out the Nyasaland stock? This would be a good service to the bondholders and to Nyasaland. It would be much better to take that action now, removing a millstone from that country's neck, than to go on giving Nyasaland millions of pounds to service the stock.

"H.M. Government advised people to invest in the Federation as late as July last year.

### Absorbing Civil Servants

"It now seems likely that only 400 Federal civil servants will have no jobs to go to. At one time it was estimated that there would be as many as 3,000. However, 1,162 have refused to take jobs in the territories. Although the 400 will get their earned pension plus one-third, the 1,162 will get only their earned pension.

"An expatriate civil servant in Nyasaland, 38 years of age, with eight years' service, at a salary of £1,500 a year, will get a pension of £240 plus compensation which will vary between £5,000 and £6,000, plus repatriation expenses. His Federal opposite number will get a pension of £240 plus one-third, £67 a year, or, if commuted, a princely lump sum of £406—compared with £5,000 or £6,000 for the expatriate.

"In order to absorb Federal civil servants, Southern Rhodesia has overloaded herself with white civil servants, and it will be extremely difficult for the African civil servants to get a reasonable job in Southern Rhodesia."

(Continued on page 382)

# Parliament "Bullied and By-passed" over Federal Dissolution

## Peers Complain About Government's "Bland Disavowal" of Responsibility

IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS the DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE repeated the new formula—that "dissolution is not due in any way to any change of heart by H.M. Government over the desirability of federation. It has come about because the overwhelming majority of the people of two of the three constituent territories of the Federation had made it clear that they were irrevocably opposed to its continuation. Once that fact was recognised, then the sooner it came about the better".

In a long speech he said:—

"It is thought that to apportion the Federal public debt proportionately between the territories will be injurious to the interests of the stockholders, and that therefore it is the duty of the British Government to underpin these liabilities. Such a view is based on a dual misconception.

"The first is that H.M. Government are responsible for the dissolution of the Federation and are therefore under some obligation, moral or otherwise, to the holders of Federal stock. H.M. Government cannot accept responsibility for the dissolution. It came about because the majority of the people of the Federation wished it. The only proper course for the British Government was to use their good offices to bring about dissolution in an orderly and speedy fashion.

### Credit-Worthiness

"We have informed the territorial Governments of our readiness, once dissolution has taken place to review with them the financial situation in which they find themselves in the changed circumstances, including their debt burden, with a view to establishing their reasonable needs and the means whereby they might be met.

"The territories are anxious to show their credit-worthiness, and I can think of nothing more damaging to that credit-worthiness than for it to be considered necessary for their loans to have to be guaranteed by the British Government. Such a guarantee would be taken to mean that the undertakings of the Governments concerned were not to be relied upon.

"The second argument is that security enjoyed by the holders of Federal stock was greater than that which they will enjoy holding territorial stocks. I am unable to agree with this contention. Security enjoyed by the holders of Federal stock when the Federation is a stable, going concern is one thing. It is quite another matter to think of the security of a Federation torn by disunity.

"What would have been the situation had H.M. Government refused to face facts and resisted the wishes of the majority of the people of Central Africa? The Federation would have sunk into ever-increasing chaos and disorder. Any form of cohesion could have been maintained only by force, and in such circumstances the value of Federal bonds would surely have become virtually worthless".

### Astonishing

THE EARL OF LISTOWEL protested at the failure to publish a White Paper and said that he had never known an Order of such importance thrown at the House by any Government at the very last moment. Its function was to amend and revise legislation. The Government had denied it that opportunity.

"The statement of the noble Duke that the Government do not accept responsibility for the dissolution of the Federation is one of the most astonishing statements I have heard any Minister make.

"Since the beginning of decolonization this is the only case in which almost everyone has taken the view that the treatment by the British Government of the displaced officers in a public service has been mean and unfair".

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY also protested against the Order in Council "having been flung at the head of Parliament in the last days before the recess and in a form which means that we are given no chance to make amendments of any kind.

"The British Insurance Association, which represents the insurance companies of this country, has expressed pre-

occupations of the gravest kind. The Lord Chancellor last week told the House: 'I do not accept the contention that political responsibility for the dissolution of the Federation rests with H.M. Government. The fact of the matter is that two of the territories declined to remain within the Federation'. That, in his view, apparently entitled the Government to wash their hands of any obligations, actual or moral, to those who have bought Federal loans.

"The British Insurance Association say: 'The dissolution of the Federation will be effected by legislation enacted by the United Kingdom Parliament, just as its establishment resulted from the enactment of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Federation Act, 1953, which authorized Her Majesty to provide for the federation of the three territories. These facts, taken into account with the part played from time to time by various U.K. Governments in the establishment, in the development, and in the breakdown of the Federation, lead the association—and, I should have thought, any normal person—to feel that H.M. Government must assume a substantial degree of ultimate responsibility for events following on the dissolution'.

### Close Interest

"The loans, when issued in London, were described as authorized trustee investments; the Bank of England—itsself now a Government institution—was authorized to receive applications for the loans and appointed registrar of the stocks and paying agent for the interest; and arrangements for underwriting the loans were made through the Government broker. In such circumstances could any investor have had any doubt that H.M. Government was closely interested in the loans?

"Now—and, to the minds of many of us, as a result of direct action of H.M. Government—the Federation has ceased to exist, and the three territories into which the Federation has been split are not to have any responsibility for each other's shares. There is to be no joint and several guarantee. The U.K. Government have themselves largely destroyed the security on which the loans formerly rested. How can they now turn round and say blandly: 'These loans are nothing to do with us'?

"This question of the external loans seems to me a glaring example of how Governments should not treat Parliament. It is Parliament, under Her Majesty the Queen, that rules this country. Governments, both Ministers and Departments, are only the emanations of Parliament and responsible to Parliament.

"Ministers must not try to bully and browbeat Parliament, and, above all, must not try to by-pass Parliament. That is just what the Colonial Secretary is trying to do now, by bringing in this long and extremely complicated Order in Council just before Parliament rises for the Christmas recess".

LORD COLYTON: "We are being asked to consider what constitutes a shabby ending to a shabby episode. When history comes to be written, the betrayal and destruction of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland will be seen as unnecessary, ill-judged, and retrogressive — one of the sorriest stories in our history.

### Playing With Words

"Unless just and generous treatment is accorded to the Civil Service, further numbers of them, particularly in the technical and specialized fields, will resign and go elsewhere — very likely to the Republic of South Africa, where there are great opportunities — and thereby cause grievous harm to the three territorial Governments. I urge H.M. Government to secure for the Federal public servants the treatment which they have merited. It is only playing with words to try to draw distinctions between them and members of H.M.O.C.S.

"There are 64 officers in Salisbury who were former expatriate civil servants who were persuaded by the British Government to enter Federal service, and who are getting a minimum housing allowance of £20 a month. All these former Northern Rhodesian or Nyasaland officers will be hit if no special consideration is given to their case.

"In 1955 the present Chief Justice gave up a seat on the Supreme Court of South Africa, where he was assured of his full salary until the age of 70, followed by a pension, in order to serve the Federation. Sir Vincent Quenet in 1961 gave up a secure seat on the High Court of Southern Rhodesia, where he was assured of a full salary up to the age of 70, followed by a pension. Instead of being compensated on the basis of salary loss when their present posts are terminated, the proposal is to compensate these judges on the basis of past service. It is most unfortunate that these distinguished gentle-



men should be put in a position at their time of life, 59 and 57 respectively, of having to seek other employment. The worst feature of it is that the judges have been denied any opportunity to put their case either to Committee A or to Governments, other than the Federal Government, and the latter have been balked from taking any action in the matter by the laying of this Order.

"There is an inescapable moral responsibility upon H.M. Government in regard to the external loans, amounting to £55.4m. In the case of the loans issued in the United States there is a risk that the New York Stock Exchange may consider that the security now being exchanged for the previous Federal guarantee is not adequate. This could lead to the de-listing of the loans and a serious fall in market value of stock.

"The £31.8m. loan of the International Bank for Kariba does carry a guarantee by the British Government. I do not see why foreign holders of Federal stock should be better treated than British holders, as well as the inhabitants of the Federation itself."

**Failure of Experiment**

LORD ALPORT: "We have been associated with the territories in trying to carry through a great political experiment in Africa, and therefore we have some liability to meet the consequences of the failure of that experiment. What is important is that when the time comes for the Federation to end we in this country should be seen by people in Central Africa to have a continuing interest in their problems and a continuing capacity and wish to help them to make a success of their own future.

"We should start with a new attitude towards the people of that part of Africa. We should try to give to their problems the understanding which they require. I am sure that in return we shall receive from them not only understanding but the continuing support which has been part of their traditional attitude to Britain"

LORD COLERAINE considered the Government's conduct in regard to Federal loans as less high than was normal in the City of London.

"The noble Duke says: 'H.M. Government cannot accept responsibility for the dissolution of the Federation'. The Government sent out the Monckton Commission, having given the undertaking that the commission was not to consider even the possibility of the dissolution of the Federation. That undertaking was removed. Have the Government really no responsibility for that?"

"One cannot say the Government were simply at the mercy of events. That was what the noble Duke was telling us.

**General Horror**

"The reputation of Her Majesty's Government for good faith and honest dealing has been tarnished in Central Africa. It would be a great pity if the same impression got abroad in the financial centres of the world. The essence of business in the City, the real reason for the strength of the City of London as an institution and as an asset to the whole economy, is that one's word is good enough. You do not have to see what is written in small type on the back page.

"These loans were subscribed under the auspices of the Government and in the belief that the Government stood by them, at any rate in the sense that they stood by the future of the Federation. It is indefensible that the Government should now pretend they have no real liability."

LORD MILVERTON: "I share the general horror at the way in which Parliament has been treated in having to deal with a complex document of this type in totally inadequate time, and the horror at the Government's insistence that they have no responsibility for the dissolution of the Federation"

VISCOUNT BOYD OF MERTON: "If the Lord Chancellor does not give reassuring news about the treatment of the Federal service and the security of Federal loans, then with great reluctance I should feel obliged to follow Lord Salisbury into the Opposition Lobby"

LORD ALDINGTON: "Stock issued by the Government of Nyasaland would not be a trustee stock. How then can a transfer of stock as a result of legislative action taken by H.M. Government from trustee stock into non-trustee stock be justified without any arrangements being made to help the stockholders?"

LORD WALSTON: "The House has listened to a debate on a matter in which every speaker from the

Government side has spoken against the Government, and almost without exception they have been former Ministers.

"In all three territories their credit long-term is good. If I were younger and had more leisure I should have no hesitation today in buying a farm in Northern Rhodesia or in Nyasaland and in being pretty confident of making a reasonable living there.

"We cannot have one standard for private individuals and a second and lower standard for H.M. Government. H.M. Government, if only out of respect to Her Majesty, must have a higher standard than individuals; and to suggest that an action which would be spat upon by individuals is good enough for H.M. Government is not the way that this country should be run.

"It is incumbent upon H.M. Government immediately to call a constitutional conference and bring the leading statesmen from Southern Rhodesia to this country. Not only should the leading members of the Southern Rhodesian Government be invited—and, of course, the leading members of the African Opposition parties—but also prominent and able citizens who have already given service to Southern Rhodesia, who are now to some extent outside politics, yet have the confidence of many Europeans and many Africans, such people as Sir Robert Tredgold and Mr. Garfield Todd, men of the highest integrity and respected on all sides. That will be the time for H.M. Government to repair some of the damage caused by their hesitancy and fumbling.

"I pay tribute to the Acting Governor-General, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, who has worked so very hard and to some extent thanklessly, has kept tempers as even as they could be in such difficult circumstances, and has given all of his very great ability to try to rescue something out of this vain endeavour"

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said in a lengthy reply: "All of us who remember the situation when the Federation started, all of us who played any part—Lord Boyd of Merton and the rest of us—had great hopes that that grand design would grow to fruition. I do not think it was a case of the Monckton Commission pulling up the plant, as was suggested. The causes may be deeper than that. It was right for us to seek to bring about dissolution to meet the wishes of the majority of the population"

**Opposition Leader Killed**

NYASALAND POLICE are investigating the murder of Mr. G. N. Pondepono, a leading official of the Mbadwa Party, who was found hacked to death in a village near Blantyre on Christmas Day. Other leaders of the party were attacked earlier last month, when police banned a meeting "in the interests of public safety". An official of the Malawi Congress Party was beaten with sticks when he visited a rural area to explain the registration procedure for the elections to be held later this year.

**Election Unrest**

SEVEN AFRICANS have been killed in a series of clashes in the Chinsali area of Northern Rhodesia in an attempt by members of the Lumpa religious sect to prevent people from joining political parties. Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, the U.N.I.P. president, flew there to seek a truce after hearing that two of his supporters had been hacked to death. Police have made about 40 arrests and are searching for eight persons reported missing. The sect is led by a woman, Alice Lenshina, who claims to have risen from the dead to extirpate witchcraft. Armed policemen in mufti are stated to have provided a bodyguard for Mr. Kaunda after reports of a Katangan plot to murder him. He has rejected an offer from Mr. Harry Nkumbula, leader of the rival A.N.C., to hold joint celebrations at rallies throughout the Protectorate to mark the dissolution of the Federation. Mr. Nkumbula's request that the nomination lists for candidates for this month's general election should be re-opened—on the ground that U.N.I.P. followers had forcibly prevented his supporters from registering—has been granted.

# PERSONALIA

THE REV. ALLAN CHAPPELL, a U.M.C.A. missionary in Tanganyika for some years, has resigned.

MR. ELHANAN YITZHAKI has been assigned from the Israeli Agriculture Ministry to extend Uganda's poultry industry.

MR. R. W. LAST, insurance manager and broker to Cayzer Irvine & Co., Ltd., has been appointed a director of Turnbull, Martin & Co., Ltd.

MR. H. MUHAMED HILAL, a schoolmaster and former deputy mayor of Zanzibar, is his country's first permanent representative at the U.N.

MR. YOEL PALGI is now Israeli Ambassador in Tanganyika. MR. ZEEV ALLON and MR. BEN-ZION DEGAN are the First and Second Secretaries.

MAJOR-GENERAL AGUYU IRONSI (Nigeria) is to succeed MAJOR-GENERAL C. KALDAGER (Norway) as Commander of the U.N. force in the Congo.

MISS JOY THURSBY-PELHAM, information officer in the Kenya Office in London for the past 10 years, is on short leave before taking up a new appointment.

BRIGADIER and MRS. G. H. W. GOODE will leave London by air tomorrow to visit Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. They will return by sea in February.

SIR CUTHBERT CLEGG, who has been elected chairman of Martins Bank, was a former chairman of the Africa Committee of Manchester Chamber of Commerce.

MR. MARK NZIRAMESANGA, Salisbury regional president of the Zimbabwe African Congress, has been acquitted of charges relating to the stoning of Z.A.N.U. supporters at a rally.

When MWALIMU NYERERE, President of Tanganyika, passed through London just before Christmas, LORD DENHAM, a lord-in-waiting, called on him at his hotel on behalf of THE QUEEN.

SIR CHARLES GUTHRIE, who yesterday became chairman and managing director of British Overseas Airways Corporation, has resigned from the board of Prudential Assurance Co., Ltd.

MR. Y. K. LULE has been appointed the first African principal of Makerere College, Uganda, succeeding SIR BERNARD DE BUNSEN, who is now Vice-Chancellor of the University of East Africa.

CAPTAIN R. HART, who was recently appointed nautical adviser to the British and Commonwealth Shipping group, has been made a director of the Union-Castle and Clan Line companies.

MR. MOHAMMED GULAM HUSSEIN PARDHAN, an Asian lawyer in Tanganyika, has been banished by the Government to a distant settlement "for uttering words likely to cause a breach of the peace". He was arrested in the Songea district on Christmas Eve.

DR. ENRIQUE ROIG has been appointed W.H.O. representative in Tanganyika and Zanzibar, with headquarters in Dar es Salaam. He qualified in Cuba in 1938, and afterwards obtained the degree of Master of Public Health from Harvard University, U.S.A. He has held posts in Germany, Austria, Korea, and Lebanon.

MR. T. J. MBOYA told MR. ROBIN DAY in a B.B.C. television interview recently that it was nonsense to suggest that MR. F. M. BENNETT, M.P., had been declared a prohibited immigrant by the Kenya Government because he had acted as constitutional adviser to the Kenya African Democratic Union. As proof that the ban on his entry had nothing to do with his legal practice, MR. MBOYA mentioned that the senior constitutional adviser to K.A.D.U., a Swiss citizen, had been a guest of the Government, which had paid all his expenses.

THE REV. C. JOHN KLYBERG, for the past three years assistant priest in East Dulwich, London, has arrived in Northern Rhodesia as priest-in-charge of Fort Jameson.

DR. FRIEDRICH TROSS, a tropical medical specialist from Germany, has been appointed second regional adviser for communicable diseases at the W.H.O. Africa Office in Brazzaville.

MR. MOHAMED LOTFI, director-general of the foreign exchange department of the Egyptian Government has visited Kenya as head of a five-member trade and economic delegation from the United Arab Republic, which could, he said, supply textiles and agricultural machinery. He suggested that Africans from Kenya might be trained in Egypt.

DR. DONALD JOHNSON, Tory M.P. for Carlisle for the past nine years, who was a sharp critic of MR. MACMILLAN, not least in connexion with his African policy, has been rejected by the local party association as its candidate for this year's general election. After a long meeting on Monday it was decided by 138 to 31 votes to seek another candidate.

SIR IVOR JENNINGS, Master of Trinity, Cambridge, who has been concerned with constitutional matters in East and Central Africa, and LADY JENNINGS were passengers for Las Palmas in the Greek Line vessel LAKONIA, from which they were rescued when she caught fire at sea 180 miles north of Madeira. More than 90 passengers and crew are dead, and more than 30 are still posted as missing.

SIR HAROLD GILLET and MESSRS. R. W. HAMPTON, S. J. PEARS and ALASTAIR F. ROGER have joined the board of Cables Investment Trust, Ltd. MR. HAMPTON and MR. PEARS have become directors of Cable and Wireless (Holding), Ltd., and SIR HAROLD, MR. HAMPTON, MR. PEARS, MR. ROGER and LIEUT.-COLONEL A. D. BALDEN have been appointed directors of the Globe Telegraph and Trust Co., Ltd.

DR. KAMUZU BANDA, Prime Minister of Nyasaland, took part in a mock funeral for the Federation yesterday when a coffin was carried through Blantyre-Limbe to the African township of Soche and there set alight. The ashes were thrown into the Shire River. On Tuesday evening Radio Malawi tolled bells and arranged a fanfare of trumpets and the crowing of a cock to herald the death of the Federation.

## Obituary

### Lieut.-Colonel D. C. Venning

LIEUT.-COLONEL DOUGLAS CLAUDE ("GEORGE") VENNING, M.C., who has died in Kenya at the age of 66, was one of the 1919 vintage of ex-Service settlers in the Nakuru District.

He was born in England, educated at Tonbridge School, and served in France, and Flanders from 1915 to 1919, being commissioned in the Royal Field Artillery. On demobilization he went to Kenya, and farmed for 11 years, until in 1930 he became managing director of Mundell, Ltd., estate and general agents in Eldoret.

Soon after the outbreak of war in 1940 he rejoined the Royal Artillery and was on service in Somalia and Ethiopia, transferring to the Military Mission to Ethiopia in 1941 and remaining until 1947. Soon after his return to Eldoret the name of the business was changed to George Venning, Ltd.

He was for some years chairman of Eldoret Club, he had been one of the founder members of Nakuru Golf Club, and he had been prominent in most sports, and thrice won East Africa's "Blue Water Trophy", a cup awarded for the best cruise in East African waters.

## Federation Need Not Have Died

### Warm Tribute to Sir Roy Welensky

THE FEDERATION need not have died, said a *Daily Telegraph* leading article on Tuesday. It read:—

"At midnight a distinguished servant of the Crown ceases to hold office, and with Sir Roy Welensky several other Rhodesians of stature become private citizens again. The Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland ceases to be. Sir Roy has lately made some remarks in rancour, and no wonder; but the figure that goes into history is that of a generous and big man. He has no need to defend himself against some of the rather too clever criticisms recently levelled at him. Knowing better than most the extent to which from 1959 onwards the British Government was secretly committed to retreat from Africa, he has resisted manfully and with dignity, and finally carries his bat.

"Sir Roy ascribes his downfall largely to the Conservative Party, which was in power when the Federation was formed and when it was dissolved. But very few Conservatives, looking back, can approve the process of erosion of principle that followed Mr. Macmillan's wind-of-change speech. Had the will existed to found Constitutions suited to African conditions, the Federation might have lived on. Whatever confidence certain Ministers may have placed in the wind of change, it is true to say that its effect has dismayed very many in Britain who were hopeful of more moderate results.

"The problems of Central Africa remain after dissolution. They will be solved by the extent to which each of the three territories needs the other. British aid will continue to help all three. If a brake can be put on outside interferences, the territories may live in 1964 in much the same harmony as they did in the past year. The economic and geographical links may prove stronger than the disruptive influences. With Southern Rhodesia the British watchword must be patience.

"In too many African States a sham democracy has soon given way to dictatorship. There can be no coercion now".

## Central African Airways

SIR ROBERT TAYLOR has been re-appointed chairman of Central African Airways by agreement between the member countries. Southern Rhodesia is represented on the board by Mr. Robert Williamson, who sat in the Federal Parliament as an independent M.P., and Wing-Commander John Plagis; Northern Rhodesia by Mr. A. D. Maclean, a member of the old board, and Mr. T. M. D. Mtine, the first African to become a director of C.A.A.; and Nyasaland by Wing-Commander E. H. Coleman, who is aviation adviser to the Government of that country. Mr. D. F. Fairbairn, regional director of the Commonwealth Development Corporation in Central Africa, has also been re-appointed.

Postal headquarters and the Customs and Excise head offices in Northern Rhodesia will be sited in Ndola and Livingstone respectively.

NORTHERN

RHODESIA

For Information  
APPLY TO

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

Telegrams: "NORHODCOM LESQUARE LONDON"  
Telephone: WHT 1111 8888 Cables: "NORHODCOM LONDON"

## Knighthoods for Rhodesians

### Awards for Services to Federation

MR. J. M. CALDICOTT, Finance Minister in the Federal Government, and previously Minister for Agriculture; Mr. McL. McDowell, Secretary to the Federal Treasury; Mr. Raymond Stockil, for many years a member of the Southern Rhodesian Parliament; and Mr. T. I. F. Wilson, Speaker of the Federal Assembly, have all been made K.B.E. in the New Year Honours List.

Mr. Hugh Parry, Secretary to the Federal Ministry of External Affairs, was made a Knight Bachelor, as was Mr. Richard Catling, Inspector-General of Police in Kenya.

Among the new K.C.M.G.s is Mr. M. D. Tennant, Secretary to the Central African Office.

Viscount Monckton has become G.C.V.O.

Among recipients of the C.M.G. are Lord Aston, for his services to Rhodesian agriculture; Dr. Dyson Blair, Federal Secretary for Health; Mr. P. H. A. Brownrigg, a director of many companies; Mr. J. C. Graylin, former Federal Minister of Agriculture; and Mr. J. B. Ross, chairman of the Federal Public Service Commission.

Mr. I. H. Allen, lately general manager of Rhodesia Railways, and Messrs. W. G. Dunlop, Ralph Rushmere, and Max Stuart-Shaw are among the C.B.E.s. Mr. Colin Black is made M.B.E.

The Honours List was published yesterday. Awards to Rhodesians and East Africans will be more adequately recorded in next week's issue.

## THE SELL-OUT

When once they took their country's word  
The young men blazed the trail,  
Through drought and plague they learned their craft,  
Mastered the desert, drove the shaft—  
And now they are For Sale.

Gone is the goodly heritage  
While Moscow waits and gloats,  
Faith withers in the Affluent State  
And no new statesmen hesitate  
To sell their kin for votes.

In this bleak island of the shades  
No more do visions live,  
For dominating Britain's wits  
The "intellectual" pinko sits,  
Half masochist, half spiv.

And blind to all the facts of life  
Progressives ply their antics,  
Busy as bees they have their fling  
At constitution-mongering  
Bedazzled by semantics.

But when, to publicize the plot,  
Democracy! they cry  
While cunning witchcraft's fee-fo-fum,  
And bloody threat and warning drum  
Have humble millions cowed and dumb—  
THIS is the blackest lie!

L.M.H.

## New High Commissioner

MR. EVAN CAMPBELL arrived in London on Tuesday and assumed duty next day as High Commissioner for Southern Rhodesia. He said that the Colony would "ask for independence as soon as we can get it".

## How M.P.s Have Failed Africa

### Ruthless Ministers Not Restricted

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT are so largely responsible for happenings in Africa that the following letter addressed to *The Times* by the editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA is republished:—

"Sir Hugh Lucas-Tooth suggests that the scale of payment of M.P.s. will immensely affect the kind of person prepared to serve in the House of Commons. Substantially higher emoluments, however, would not necessarily improve their quality. It might merely mean more competition from candidates of the wrong type.

"What deters many potential candidates of the right type is an unwillingness to be treated as lobby fodder, a refusal to forgo reasonable independence of speech and action, and a disinclination to be considered disloyal to the party for resisting tendencies and policies which conflict with party principles but are nevertheless favoured by powerful, stubborn, and perhaps ruthless Ministers, whom careerist associates are ready to support for obvious but unworthy motives. There have been too many examples of this kind in connexion with East and Central Africa in the past four years.

"During the last 40 years I have known hundreds of M.P.s of all three parties, and scores of them have told me privately that they bitterly resent intimidation by the Whips, which is often reinforced by unmistakable hints from senior Ministers. Quite a number of members, including some of undeniable competence and wide business experience, have to my knowledge decided not to remain in the House simply because reasonable independence was resented by the party hierarchy. There can be no doubt in my mind that it is unreasonable pressure, much more than money, which keeps many good men out of Parliament.

"Two factors never mentioned in Press discussions about the pay of M.P.s are (1) that solely because they are M.P.s many of them have substantial incomes from company directorships which would otherwise certainly not come their way, and (2) that some Members on both sides of the House would be unlikely to earn in any other capacity as much as they now receive from their Parliamentary salary, to say nothing of directorships and other payments, some from trade unions'.

## Harsh Facts for Socialists

### Truths About New African States

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY which has campaigned for many years in favour of universal suffrage in African territories, the *New Statesman*, has published from Mr. Paul Johnson a surprisingly candid criticism of the results of that premature policy.

Saying that much of the positive achievement of colonialism has been wiped out, and that a new form of class hatred directed at the advanced nations has shown itself, the contributor writes (in part):—

"Democracy has foundered in all but a handful of the new States. With it has gone the rule of law, the independence of the judiciary, freedom of speech, the Press and assembly and in many cases all security of property.

"In some States the regimes have sought to divert attention from internal problems by acts of aggression as absurd as they are profligate; there are conspiracies by Ghana against Nigeria, a frontier war between Morocco and Algeria, Indonesian aggression in Borneo, Somalia's claims against Kenya, and, most tragic of all, disputes in Kashmir and Palestine.

"In many States the economic infrastructure inherited from colonialism has been senselessly plundered. This has often ruined individual Europeans, but it has rarely damaged the great international corporations, whose interests are widely and judiciously spread. The principal victims in almost every case have been the peoples of the new States themselves.

"Unfortunately, the breakdown of the Security Council system has taken the control of the U.N. away from the 'responsible' Powers—those with world-wide obligations and the physical means to discharge them—and transferred it to the 'irresponsible' States of the General Assembly. The U.N. thus no longer reflects the realities of world power.

"It is absurd that the largest single group of votes should consist of the 31 African States, most of which are pathetically weak and unstable.

"The U.N. has repeatedly and flagrantly broken its own charter. The wise (if occasionally unjust) provision forbidding interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States has been ignored. A fatal precedent was set last year when the U.N. not only condoned but actively furthered Indonesia's act of aggression in West New Guinea. The process was carried a stage further this year in Addis Ababa, when a large group of U.N. members adopted a resolution which, by ignoring their solemn obligation to settle disputes by negotiation, repudiated the fundamental principle on which the U.N. is based.

"A Labour Government will, I believe, take the view that this process must be arrested, and that the rule of law must be given absolute priority even over anti-colonialism. An aggressor must be curbed whatever the colour of his skin; an obligation is binding whatever sympathy we may feel with the man who seeks to elude it. Small Powers can be as predatory and reckless as great ones; and in neither case does appeasement pay."

## Africans "Humiliated" in India

HUMILIATING HISSES, cat-calls, jeering, and even stone-throwing are the lot of Africans in India inside and outside their colleges, the president of the African Students' Association has complained in a Bombay magazine.

"African students may be invited anywhere, but they are wanted nowhere," he has written. "Their opportunities of individual contacts with Indians are nil. Members of the so-called Indo-African associations never receive African students in their homes. Everywhere students, labourers, elderly people, and children call them humiliating names—Negro, black man, boot-polish, bomb-bomb—and they cannot walk about without being gazed at like a museum-piece.

"If the Indian cannot tolerate a microscopic number of black faces in India, how can Africans be expected to tolerate 750,000 Indian settlers and exploiters in Africa? Much as we value Indo-African relations, we are not going to stand any deliberate intention to belittle us. We are committing to memory whatever we are experiencing in India, and we are sure it will come in handy in the not far-off future."

The article was a reply to an earlier one in the same magazine in which Africans' grievances were dismissed as unreasonable, coupled with the accusation that some of them spent their money on guitars and shirts instead of paying hostel bills, and sought the company of girls in a manner unknown to India.

## Party Propaganda by Radio

EXTREMELY WIDE POWERS which could give the Government of Northern Rhodesia the means of turning the country's only broadcasting service into a propaganda machine have been attacked by Mr. H. J. Roberts, Leader of the Opposition. Threatening to force a division on every offensive clause of the Broadcasting Corporation Bill (primarily those not contained in the existing Federal ordinance), he accused the Government of a deliberate attempt to appoint M.P.s to the board in order to execute the will of the party in power after January's elections. Mr. Sikota Wina, Parliamentary Secretary for Finance, denied the charge, saying that the new service would concern itself more with educating than entertaining, a rôle entirely different from that fulfilled by broadcasting in the Western and developed world. A capital loan of £85,000 and an initial subsidy of £86,000 for the first six months are to be provided by the Government, which would have some control over policy because of the subsidy, the Chief Secretary announced.

East African Railways and Harbours now employ 924 Europeans, 3,384 Asians and 10,124 Africans, compared with 1,509, 4,230, and 8,632 respectively a year ago.

A Kamuzu Development Club, named after the Nyasaland Prime Minister, has been formed in Zomba to promote poultry as a source of inexpensive animal protein for the populace.

A television station for Uganda is to be provided by American interests, which suggests that advertising revenue should be equivalent to costs within two years and exceed £200,000 annually within a decade. The Uganda Government is contributing £250,000.

## Europeans Expelled from Uganda Flogging Demanded for "Treachery"

SIX EUROPEANS have been expelled from Uganda at 24 hours' notice for organizing a party in Kampala on the eve of Kenya's independence "to celebrate the end of the white man's burden". Invitations, which were accepted by about 150 Europeans, were sent in the name of "the league of ex-Empire loyalists"; they requested "R.S.V.P. by Native bearer in cleft stick or by tom-tom" and stipulated: "Dress: Sanders of the River".

About a week later police searched the homes of the persons now deported and seized tape recordings allegedly made at the party, a guest list, and other papers.

An angry debate in the National Assembly followed next day, with M.P.s calling for the public flogging of the organizers for their "subversion" and "high treason". The Prime Minister stated that African leaders had been parodied in "scurrilous songs mocking independence".

Journalists were also attacked in the debate.

### "Arrested" by Youth Wing

The week-end before last Mr. William Buse, manager of the *Uganda Argus*, was "arrested" by U.P.C. youth-wingers who forced him to parade up and down an African quarter of Kampala with a bunch of bananas on his head. They had ignored his protests that he had not been at the party, saying that their "special branch" had seen him there.

When they took him to a police station to be charged as an "imperialist", they were themselves arrested for abducting Mr. Buse, and were further charged with disorderly conduct in a police station.

That same week-end the house in which the party had been held was burned down while the owner, Mr. John Kelly, was away with his wife and child.

### Apology by High Commissioner

The six Europeans deported are Miss Christine Dove, organizer in Uganda for some years of the Save the Children Fund (who was said to have been dressed as an African woman and led round on a rope); and Messrs. Colin Sibley, an engineer with the Uganda Electricity Board; Tony Lawrence, town engineer at Mengo municipality; John Stead, an insurance company manager; Michael Rogers, a tea taster employed by the Uganda Company; and Simon Saben, employed by the Uganda Coffee Marketing Board, and son of Mr. and Mrs. Saben, the latter being a former mayor of Kampala.

They have denied that any insulting songs were sung at what was "an innocent gathering held in a private house"; nor was there any mimicry of African leaders. The British National Anthem had been sung while listening to a broadcast relaying the independence ceremony from Nairobi. The six apologized for any trouble caused.

Sir David Hunt, U.K. High Commissioner in Uganda, act-

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ing on instructions from London, expressed in a letter to the Prime Minister, Mr. Obote, the British Government's "deep regret" and "deplored the offence caused to the feelings of Ugandans". A Commonwealth Relations Office spokesman in London said that what had been intended as horse-play "appears to have been in poor taste".

Sir David issued a statement expressing the "earnest hope that friendly relations will be seen to remain when this unhappy episode is over and done with". He had been given assurances by Uganda that British lives and property would be protected and that due legal action would be taken over the suspected arson and the unlawful confinement and common assault of Mr. Buse.

### Lawless Acts

On Boxing Day eight European civil servants were also deported for attending the party. Their presence had reflected "very badly" on their loyalty to the Uganda Government, Mr. Felix Onama, Minister of Internal Affairs, told Parliament.

The deportees, numbering 23 with their families, were seen off from Entebbe Airport by about 100 colleagues and other British residents, who expressed their resentment at the expulsions.

Those deported included Miss Jill King, secretary to a junior Minister in the Education Ministry, and Miss Gladys Hemsley, a nursing sister; and Messrs. Tony Constable, Cluny Inglis, and D. Robertson, police superintendents; Dennis Wheelan, a stores accountant in the Works Ministry; Kenneth Gill, Assistant Prisons Commissioner; and Frank Warren, a prisons storekeeper.

Protests about the party were aired originally by the Uganda People's Congress. Its coalition partner in the Government, the Kabaka Yekka Party, has accused the U.P.C. youth wing of "taking the law into its own hands, harassing, assaulting, and intimidating law-abiding citizens", and has called on the Government to deal "most sternly" with those involved in "acts of lawlessness".

When it was announced that H.M. Government had apologized for the party, the League of Empire Loyalists telegraphed to the Prime Minister: "Why apologize to Uganda, you goose?"

### "Groveling Gesture"

The *Daily Telegraph* commented editorially:—

"In Whitehall it is being suggested that the action of the British High Commissioner in Uganda did not amount to an apology for the private cocktail-party that recently gave offence to the Uganda Government. But the wording of Sir David Hunt's letter can hardly be read as anything else. What a groveling gesture to make about a private affair in which there was no offence except in the eye of the unbalanced snooping beholder!

"Of course, certain features of the 'sundowner' at which British residents 'guyed' themselves were likely to cause offence to over-sensitive African politicians. There was some foolishness. But both offenders and innocent have since been victimized to an intolerable extent. The court proceedings against those party zealots who took the law into their own hands should be watched with attention.

"Since none of those Britons deported has been charged with an offence, it seems appropriate, too, that the High Commissioner should be actively concerned to secure compensation over and above that for damage to property.

"The British public will remember another party held in November, at which Dr. Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, celebrated his wedding with 20,000 guests. That party also gave offence, for £8,500 of public money was voted by the Legislative Assembly to meet the cost of champagne and other luxuries. This in a country where the average annual income is only £22 per head! The Lancashire charity group which subsequently asked Oxford Famine Relief not to forward its subscriptions to Uganda was merely expressing the genuine concern felt by many subscribers to charity.

"Britain is also committed to massive Government aid for the two-string economy of Uganda. If the returns are to be racial intolerance and high-handed action, British diplomacy may have something to learn from the canny organizers of the Southport Freedom from Hunger Campaign."

Governor's Lodge, Salisbury, the official residence of the Governor of Southern Rhodesia, is to become a training centre for the Southern Rhodesian public service, the Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, having moved to the Governor-General's official residence.

## N.F.D. Emergency : Ethiopian Concern

### Somali "Bandits" Terrorising Villagers

EMERGENCY REGULATIONS have been imposed in Kenya's North-Eastern Region. Trading centres and towns are under curfew in a five-mile deep, 400-mile long prohibited zone along the Somali border, where 33 hit-and-run raids have been made during the past two months by Somali "bandits".

The heaviest attack to date occurred on Christmas Day, when about 50 Somali fired on Mansabubu police post, killing two people and wounding four others. A number of camels were killed or injured next day when a band of 20, armed with two Sten guns and rifles, raided the isolated El Roba police post, where the Ethiopian, Kenya and Somali borders converge.

Major-General Iyassu Mengesha, Ethiopian Defence Minister, arrived in Nairobi at the week-end with three military advisers for discussions on the mutual defence pact with Kenya which was ratified last week and under which each country is pledged to assist the other if attacked by a third party. The visitor said that his Government was concerned about N.F.D. unrest; it had brought under control a similar situation in the Ogaden. Expansion of the Somali Republic's militia to some 20,000 men was "inevitably" linked with ambitions for a Greater Somalia, he added.

Five companies of the Kenya Rifles have been posted to the N.F.D. to reinforce military and police patrols, which are operating in heavy rains. Special powers allowing detention without trial for 28 days and the shooting of suspects who try to evade arrest apply in the prohibited strip. Anyone found there without authority is liable to arrest. Roads have been closed to civilian traffic. El Wak and Mandera are excluded. Political meetings have been banned. Tribesmen are being warned by air and foot patrols that if they are found within the forbidden area their stock will be confiscated.

Mr. T. P. Randle, the civil secretary for the Region, has

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reported that the *shifita* gangs in the Garissa district are concentrating increasingly on frequent thefts of cattle, milk, and personal property belonging to local Somalis. "They seem more interested in feeding themselves at the expense of the local people than in carrying out their expressed object of aiding the secessionist cause".

One gang which raided Dambass *manyatta* near Garissa clubbed and beat women with rifle butts and dragged away a boy of the Abdi Wak Reryahya tribe. About 100 yards from the *manyatta* they held him to the ground, tried to cut off his head, and then shot him through the chest. The boy did not die, and has been able to give information about his attackers.

### Campaign of Violence

This incident provoked "great indignation" among the Reryahya and RerKassim of the Abdi Wak, the former having sworn that there will be no peace in the district until Maalim Stambul, the *shifita* leader, dies. His gang is known to have threatened to kill a member of the Abdulla tribe because the Abdulla Somalis have agreed to co-operate with the Kenya Government, Mr. Randle said.

Leaders of political parties in Garissa, including Mr. Farah Abdi Alio, the chairman of the N.P.P.P., have announced the withdrawal of all support for the campaign of violence, stated a Government message last week, adding that the leaders wished to pursue their political objectives by peaceful means and wanted to arrange talks between Maalim Stambul and Government officials in the Region. Another message said gangs retreating to Somalia continued to terrorize the local Somali, stealing cattle, beating women and threatening to murder tribal elders, chiefs and others. Somali anger against the *shifita* was said to be growing.

The Kenya Government denied that European administrative officers in the area, said to be sympathizing with the secessionists, are not giving the Government a real picture of the situation.

### "Mobilize Mau Mau"

Some politicians in Nairobi have suggested that the Mau Mau terrorists who have left their forest hideouts should be mobilized against the Somali raiders.

One of the largest mass surrenders under the independence amnesty took place last Friday when some 700 "forest fighters" paraded before Ministers at Meru behind "Field Marshal" Baimungi and deposited their arms and ammunition at the Ministers' feet. Their leader announced: "I have come out as a Kenya citizen, not as a murderer. We must love each other".

Mr. P. M. Koinange, Minister for Pan-African Affairs, deputizing for the Prime Minister, had a week previously greeted 775 Mau Mau thugs near Nyeri and paid tribute to their "worthy efforts in the fight for independence". He said that the articles which they had surrendered would be mounted in a museum "for future generations to see".

District committees comprising members of K.A.N.U., the former Kikuyu Central Association, and Mau Mau "war councils" are being set up to compile registers of the "grey men" for welfare purposes.

More than £600 was collected at one stadium for a "forest fighters' fund".

Two Ministers, Dr. Kioko and Dr. Waiyaki, have offered to sponsor the education of two boys born and reared in the forest, the children respectively of "General Sukumambe" and "General Communist".

### Mr. Dunstan Omari

MR. DUNSTAN OMARI, head of the Civil Service in Tanganyika, for nearly two years Permanent Secretary in the office of the President of that country, and previously its High Commissioner in London, will today assume duty in Nairobi as Secretary-General of the East African Common Services Organization, that post having been resigned by Mr. A. L. Adu. Mr. Omari, who was born in 1922, obtained a diploma in education at Makerere College in 1945 and after teaching for some time went to the University of Wales in Aberystwyth, where he obtained a B.A. He was the first African in Tanganyika to become a district officer and later a district commissioner. Three years ago he was awarded the M.B.E.

Statistics issued by the Bank of Portugal show that if the index for ordinary shares in companies operating in Portuguese African territories was taken as 100 in mid-1950, it was 125 in 1959, 102 in 1960, 67 in the next year, 58 in 1962, and 51 in June 1963.

## Kenya Joins the United Nations

### Policy of Positive Neutrality

MR. A. OGINGA ODINGA, Minister for Home Affairs, led the Kenya delegation to the United Nations. He was accompanied by the Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office, Mr. J. Murumbi, the Minister for Health and Housing, Dr. Mungai-Njoroge, the Attorney-General, Mr. Charles Njonjo, and the Permanent Secretary for External Affairs, Mr. Robert J. Ouko.

Before the party left Nairobi, the Prime Minister had said that the delegation would present "a very strong case" on Kenya's internal difficulties, particularly her requirements in the task of national construction; "we hope to secure the friendship and co-operation of countries throughout the world".

Mr. Odinga told the General Assembly that Kenya was determined to pursue a policy of non-alignment and positive neutrality.

The many resolutions condemning the Governments of South Africa and Portugal for their "inhuman" policies against Africans have had little effect in preventing "persecution". Kenya was not oblivious of the "plight of her brothers" in Southern Rhodesia, where Britain seemed to be on the point of transferring power to an "unrepresentative, reactionary, racial minority".

### Stabilization of Produce Prices

The most urgent problem facing under-developed countries was not so much the provision of aid as the establishment of international machinery to ensure fair remuneration for primary products, stabilization of their prices, and readjustment of the terms of trade, which were detrimental to countries with a predominantly agricultural economy. Through U.N.O. and its specialized agencies such machinery should be evolved with the support of the highly industrialized, capital-exporting countries.

"We have not struggled for our independence merely to supplant our masters so that we can adopt the same system of exploitation against our peoples. Freedom is meaningless if it does not lessen the burden of the exploited peasant or worker. We appreciate the need for a period of transition so that people who hitherto enjoyed a privileged position have the opportunity to understand the new values which we wish to instil".

Kenya recognized the dangers to world peace arising from "border problems", but held firmly that resort to violence merely aggravated and enlarged them. "We are surprised that the U.N. has not yet devised more effective machinery to deal with disputes arising from claims and counter-claims from different countries".

## Danger in the Horn of Africa

MR. RICHARD LUCE has said in a letter to *The Times*:-

"Now that Kenya has achieved her independence and Britain has disposed of her responsibilities in East Africa, an essential opportunity has arisen for diplomatic initiative in the vital problems of the Horn of Africa.

"Since the end of the last century British Governments have established strong and friendly ties with the Somalis. Her influence has been exerted in the former Protectorate of British Somaliland, which became part of independent Somalia in 1960, and in the Northern Frontier of Kenya, where 250,000 Somalis now reluctantly live under an African Government based on Nairobi.

"Earlier this year H.M. Government refused to grant secession to the Kenya Somalis on the grounds that they considered it was of greater importance to preserve a good relationship with the African leaders in Nairobi. Diplomatic relations with Somalia were severed, and since then the Chinese and Russians have poured money into Somalia and undertaken to build up a Somali Army of 20,000.

"The Communists have an irresistible opportunity to exploit an explosive situation in the Horn. The danger of violence on the Kenya-Somali border and of possible conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia increases.

"Britain should urgently seek to restore relations with Somalia and, in concert with her Western allies, take steps to counter the real threat of trouble in the Horn of Africa, inflamed by Russian and Chinese subversion".

## Dr. Nyerere on Africanness Need for Cultural Emancipation

INDEPENDENCE was not merely a matter of getting rid of Colonial rule, President Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika said during his State visit to Guinea just before Christmas.

Speaking in the presence of President Sekou Touré, he said that the Colonial Powers could quit Africa and still leave it unfree. True independence was independence of mind. Colonial Powers imposed not merely their rule but their ideas and culture.

"Guinea is taking the lead in the cultural emancipation of the people of Africa, and there will not be true independence in Africa until our brothers and sisters are culturally free. We were not merely political colonies of Europe, but also philosophical and cultural colonies. It is not enough for Africa to be politically free. It must also be economically free, culturally free, and socially free.

### Guinea Ahead of Tanganyika

"That is why during my visit to Guinea I have felt more free than before. Here you have gone much further in this total liberation of Africa than we have done. I want your dancing ensemble to come to Tanganyika when we celebrate the tenth anniversary of the foundation of our party. Although Guinea and Tanganyika are on opposite sides of Africa they are very close in the spirit".

On another occasion Mwalimu Nyerere told a large crowd that there was a Swahili proverb "*Kanga hatagi utumwani*", meaning "A guinea-fowl does not lay eggs in captivity". It meant that people could never produce the best in themselves so long as they were in slavery. Even an African genius could not prove his genius while a slave. The guinea-fowl must go back to the bush to lay its eggs, and the African must return to the bush in order to be proud of his own Africanness.

"In Guinea I have witnessed this determination to be proud of being African. For showing us this way to be proud of our own culture and truly free culturally I say a deep 'thank you' to the people of Guinea. Long live African culture! Long live African unity!"

In another speech the President observed that in Tanganyika it had been the masses who had first responded to the appeal for freedom. The movement for independence had consequently become a movement of ordinary people. Educated people had been the last to be conquered by T.A.N.U.

## Defaulters

ASTONISHINGLY HIGH FIGURES for default in their obligations by Africans in Kenya have been publicly given by Mr. T. Okelo-Odongo, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Finance. At the end of June the proportion of borrowers in the Kajiado district in default to the Joint Loans Board was, he said, 86.11%, and in the Kwale district the figure was 79.12%. In 25 districts the average was 20%, in respect of loans totalling about £250,000. The Land Bank, moreover, had £157,771 outstanding in loans due to be repaid at the end of last year and more than £130,070 in overdue interest.

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## Idealism Blown Away

(Continued from page 373)

MR. J. J. MENDELSON (SOC.), who recently visited Central Africa, said:—

“Mr. Winston Field in a recent speech said: ‘African majority Government will have to come one day but I hope that it will not be in my lifetime’. In that outlook lies disaster. It is the essential task of H.M. Government to make clear to Mr. Field that it is essential to work for peaceful changes by peaceful means within the next few years”.

COLONEL SIR TUFTON BEAMISH (CONS.): “A letter from the Federal Treasurer dated November 19 asked holders of locally-registered Federal stock to reply within one week to a series of very important questions about the allocation of stock. The letter says that if no reply is received it is to be assumed that the stockholders are satisfied with the proposals. That emphasizes that very important events are taking place with undue haste.

“I must refer to what my rt. hon. friend said about the British Government’s lack of responsibility for the dissolution of the Federation. We in this House created the Federation. The idealism of the Government—that is what it was—was temporarily blown away by the wind of change.

“In Tanganyika, where I was a year ago, between 20,000 and 25,000 Europeans work happily under an African Government to which they have adapted themselves with very little difficulty. Many of my friends in Kenya, including farmers, feel that they can adapt themselves to an African majority.

“It was right to dissolve the Federation. The experiment has failed.

### Underwriting Nyasaland

“Nyasaland is getting a subvention from the British taxpayer of £6m. this year, and that subvention is likely to be carried forward into future years. Without that subvention Nyasaland could not conceivably service the loans which are to be transferred to it. In effect, we are underwriting that part of the debt which is being transferred to Nyasaland, and I do not see why we should not say so.

“It is very regrettable that stockholders now find their holdings compulsorily transferred into territorial stocks. This is reprehensible. Had those who subscribed to the loans known that in the future there would be an arbitrary transfer into the stocks of the three territories most would not have subscribed.

“To find some way in which holders of Federal stock can hold stock of the territory of their residence would go part way towards allaying some of their anxieties”.

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY: “The Government have a responsibility to investors in the Federal funds. They established the Federation. They encouraged those investments and it is their duty to see that they are underwritten.

“I hope that not merely justice, but even generosity, will be shown to the civil servants in these territories.

### No Market

“The Secretary of State and many hon. Members have just been in Kenya. We were almost stunned by what we saw. Five years ago there were the atrocities and obscenities of Mau Mau and an attitude of antagonism, often hatred, between European and African. Two years ago the present Prime Minister of independent Kenya was described by the British Governor as a leader to darkness and death. Yet in Kenya last week we found a new confidence, a new trust, and a new hope among the Europeans and Asians. I was at a meeting of 2,000 Asians the day following independence where they declared that their loyalty would not be to India but to Kenya as Kenyans. My plea to the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia is to note what has happened in Kenya”.

MR. WILLIAM CLARK (CONS.): “Since it became known that the bonds would be split into three there has been a fall of 10 points in practically every external loan of the Federation. There is virtually no market in them; the price is pseudo.”

### “Not Part of Policy”

SIR JOHN BARLOW (CONS.): “We have looked upon Sir Roy Welensky as a great, robust Commonwealth statesman. He has contributed much to Africa, and we all hope that he will have a great contribution to make in the future. Men with such a gift of leadership are only too rare nowadays. After a little change and a rest he may contribute a great deal to that part of the world to which he has already contributed so much”.

MR. RICHARD HORNBY, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, said that of 21,000 established officers in the Federal Civil Service only 257 had so far been told that the territorial

Governments could not offer them employment; the Federal Minister of the Public Services thought that those for whom the territories could not find employment would not exceed 400. Fewer than 900 civil servants had refused to consider offers of further employment. It seemed probable that all the 15,000 unestablished employees would be absorbed by the territorial Governments.

MR. BOYD-CARPENTER, who replied for the Government, said, *inter alia*:—“This dissolution was not the result of a policy decision by H.M. Government. It is, in truth and in fact, the result of a decision by two of the territories that they wished to leave the Federation.

“There are about 35,000 Federal public servants, predominantly Asian and African, and at least 34,000 are likely to enter the service of the territories. We think it would be appropriate to set up a commissioner to consider individual cases of hardship and advise on lump-sum payments which could be financed out of the dissolution costs. Whether this is attainable depends on the agreement of the other Governments.

### Financial Burdens

“What is proposed in regard to Federal stock is consistent with the highest financial integrity. I take great exception to any suggestion to the contrary. I fully share the view of the crucial importance of maintaining, sustaining, and improving confidence in the London market and in the financial dealings of H.M. Government.

“We have come to an understanding with Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia in identical terms, and, as this has not so far been published in this country, I take this opportunity of giving it to the House. We have stated:—

“H.M. Government will be ready to enter into discussions as soon as may be conveniently possible with the specific object of establishing, in the light of the nature and extent of the financial burdens assumed by—then either ‘Southern Rhodesia’ or ‘Northern Rhodesia’—and the resources available to meet them, the reasonable needs of the territory, and the means whereby the burdens might be lightened, including British aid where necessary in accordance with Mr. Butler’s undertaking in paragraph 27 of the Victoria Falls Report”.

### Alarm

“We had previously reached a similar understanding with Nyasaland. We have in mind the provision of a substantial amount of aid to Nyasaland for some years to come, both in balancing her budget as well as for capital development.

“On the question of the stock, a good deal of alarm was caused by a circular sent to individual stockholders by the Federal Ministry of Finance last month. It was not published, and certainly not conveyed to us. It says that the representatives of the British Government have stated that their Government will not join in any action designed to preserve the value of the investment. I disavow as firmly as I can the truth of that statement.

### Credit Standing

“I see no reason to doubt the determination of the territories to honour their obligations to stockholders. It will be of the utmost importance to each of them to build up its own credit standing.

“I would not feel justified in giving any sort of assurance which might appear to single out the Central African Governments and imply that there is any reason for supposing that they are lacking in the will or the capacity to meet the debt obligations which they have accepted, or that their credit needs some special measure of reinforcement by H.M. Government. The territorial Governments might understandably resent being singled out as the target for any such statement, and the stockholders might, on reflection, feel that a Government statement of this kind was not really in their own interests”.



## More Copper for the Market

### Mines Releasing Another 5%

THE RHODESIAN SELECTION TRUST group of companies has decided to increase its rate of copper sales from January 1 from 85% to 95% of capacity.

The voluntary reduction in sales was 10% from October, 1960 until July, 1962, when the R.S.T. and Anglo American groups agreed to withhold from the market 15% of the capacity of their mines. Whereas R.S.T. adopted a policy, mainly of reducing output, Anglo American preferred to maintain output but cut sales; the stocks thus accumulated were valued at more than £23m. In the report to June 30 last. As a result of the cutback policy the price of the metal has stood at about £234 for some two years.

It is assumed that other large producers in Africa and elsewhere will now release more copper. Most have joined in the cutback, but the rate has varied between 5% and 15%.

The initiative was taken by the two large Northern Rhodesian producing groups, which together account for about 16% of world output. In recent weeks demand has arisen somewhat and the improved industrial outlook is thought in many quarters to presage higher consumption. World stocks, however, are estimated to be not far short of 150,000 tons, and idle mine capacity as a result of the voluntary reduction in sales is put at about 300,000 tons a year.

Anglo American Corporation announced on Monday that sales of copper from its Northern Rhodesian mines would be raised from 85% to 95% of productive capacity.

On the London Stock Exchange there were sharp rises in copper shares, Rho-Anglo A rising 2s. 9d., Rhokana and Chartered 2s. 6d., R.S.T. 2s. 3d., and Bancroft 1s. 4d.

## Union Miniere

THE 1963 output of Union Minière du Haut-Katanga was approximately 270,000 tons of copper and 7,000 of cobalt. The 1962 figures were 295,000 and 9,700 tons. Military operations in Katanga interfered with production in the early weeks of the year.

## A. Baumann & Company's Report

### Group with Many Subsidiaries

A. BAUMANN & CO. LTD., incorporated in Kenya, reports consolidated profit after tax for the year to June 30, 1963, at £58,433 (£115,877). Ordinary shareholders receive 3d. per 5s. share (the same).

The issued capital is £423,078 in ordinary shares of 5s. and £423,078 in 6% redeemable cumulative preference shares of £1. In the consolidated accounts current assets less current liabilities total just over £11m., fixed assets are slightly under £1m., and trade investments at cost total £126,383, but the current realizable value is considered by the directors to be substantially in excess of that figure. Capital reserves total £208,882, revenue reserves £463,556, and unappropriated profits £190,858.

There are 14 subsidiary companies, one in London and the rest in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika.

The directors are Messrs. Eric Baumann (chairman and managing director), R. P. Archer (vice-chairman and managing director), C. E. Colinvaux (managing director), J. H. Gaunt and P. G. G. Salkeld. Mr. Gaunt was a managing director until early in 1963, when he left for London to re-join Steel Brothers & Co., Ltd., whose nominee he had been on the Baumann board for five years; he continues as a non-resident director. Mr. A. W. Henry retired after 18 years' service, latterly as a managing director of A. Baumann & Co. (East Africa), Ltd.

## Central Line Sisal Estates

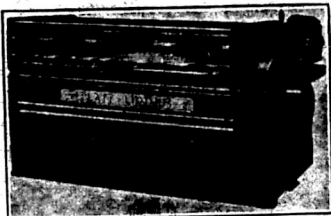
CENTRAL LINE SISAL ESTATES, LTD., report profit after tax for the year to June 30 last at £56,696, against £26,051 in the previous year. Income tax in the United Kingdom and East Africa totalled £88,133 and export tax in Tanganyika amounted to £19,757.

Sisal sales produced £455,556 (£320,561) but costs of production rose to £305,699 from £256,744. Dividends totalling 20% take £53,747, and the carry-forward is £9,386.

The issued capital is £438,750 in 10s. shares. The planta-

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tions stand in the books at £433,878, current assets less current liabilities at £106,858, and other interests at £42,400. Capital reserves amount to £110,000 and revenue reserves to £34,386 after deduction of £55,737 and £80,000 respectively, together with £10,513 from profit and loss account, applied to capitalize 292,500 shares of 10s. each for distribution on a one-for-two basis.

Production at the Pangawe and Kingolwira estates totalled 4,444 tons (4,297 tons), which sold at an average of £124 5s. per ton c.i.f. London for all grades.

The directors are Messrs. A. F. S. Sykes (chairman), R. W. Bryon (managing), and W. G. Bovill. Mr. R. H. Potts is the general manager in East Africa.

## Shell Southern Rhodesia

SHELL SOUTHERN RHODESIA, LTD., has been incorporated in that Colony to take over assets and liabilities in Southern Rhodesia and Bechuanaland of Shell Company of Rhodesia, Ltd., which had operated in both Rhodesias, Nyasaland and Bechuanaland since 1928. Separate Shell companies were registered in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland last September. The board of the new Southern Rhodesian company will consist of Messrs. P. M. Jamieson (chairman and managing director), D. H. Tudhope, C. Rees Jenkins, R. H. J. Dickinson, J. L. Morgan, and H. K. Tarrant.

## Third Bid for Kamna

THE DIRECTORS OF KAMNA, LTD., which has substantial holdings in Agricultural Development Co., Ltd. (formerly Amboni Estates Holding, Ltd.) and Kikwetu Estates Holding, Ltd., sisal growers in Tanganyika, have recently received three take-over bids; they rejected offers of 8s. 9d. and 9s. 6d. for each 2s. share, but have now received a more advantageous proposal, on which negotiations continue. A dividend of 37½% was paid for the year to October 31. Kamna had received dividends of 75% and 27½% respectively from Agricultural Development and Kikwetu.

## News Items in Brief

A Czechoslovak co-operative delegation has visited Dar es Salaam.

There are now 450 Peace Corps volunteers from the United States at work in Ethiopia.

Over half the African population of Northern Rhodesia is aged 21 years and under.

The third Commonwealth Education Conference will be held in Canada in August-September next year.

The Que Que committee of the Rhodesian National Party, led by Sir Edgar Whitehead, has resigned *en bloc*.

Falcon Mines, Ltd., Southern Rhodesia, produced 6,025oz. gold from the Dalny mine in November, milling 22,600 tons.

European resignations from Rhodesia Railways in November numbered 210. In the previous five months 585 of the staff had left.

Airstrips laid on the saddle of Kilimanjaro at some 14,000 feet, between Kibo and Mawenzi, by the Tanganyika Police, are the highest in Africa.

Southern Rhodesia hopes to export at least 40,000 tons of sugar during the ensuing season, in which a crop of about 135,000 tons is forecast.

A speed limit of 50 m.p.h. has been imposed in Nyasaland, where all vehicles 10 years old will now have to pass an annual road fitness test.

Between December 7 and 12 East African Airways operated 98 extra services in connexion with the independence celebrations in Zanzibar and Kenya.

A one cent a pound cess is to be levied on all produce in the Pare district of Kilimanjaro, Tanganyika, to raise funds for its development programme.

A border committee is being re-established along the Tanganyika-Kenya boundary to deal with cattle thefts in the North Mara and Nyanza districts.

The new People's Democratic Congress of Northern Rhodesia now uses Mr. Churchill's war-time V for Victory sign as a greeting between members.

Prizes totalling more than £2,000 were offered for photographs of wild life, scenery and tribal activity for an exhibition this month in Shell House, Nairobi.

The Board of Inland Revenue is to lend a senior official to Nyasaland to help establish a new income tax system which will provide incentives for new industries. Another expert from Britain is to advise on the encouragement of investment.

About 25,000 foreign students are now studying in Egyptian universities. Some 7,000 Egyptian teachers are at work in 28 other countries, according to President Nasser.

Thirteen local courts in Nyasaland have been given jurisdiction by the Minister of Justice to hear cases of all kinds, including those involving Europeans or Asians.

Headquarters of the Eastern Africa Desert Locust Control are to be opened in Ethiopia at Deridawa. An operational base is planned in Hargeisa, in the Somali Republic.

A gang fight in Dar es Salaam between rival supporters of Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U., the two nationalist parties in Southern Rhodesia, took the Tanganyika Police a quarter of an hour to quell.

Some 300 African families are growing maize and rearing dairy cattle on the 5,840-acre Ndalat settlement scheme near Eldoret, Kenya, on land formerly supporting 100 European families.

Administrative officers in Nyasaland — where district commissioners are now known as Government agents — have been deprived of judicial powers and will no longer sit as magistrates.

The International Development Association, a World Bank affiliate, has granted Tanganyika a 4.6m. dollar credit for secondary school expansions which will provide 6,900 additional places for students.

Thousands of Europeans are expected to leave Northern Rhodesia this year. In some responsible quarters the estimate is that about 10%, or some 7,000, will go to South Africa or overseas in the coming months.

The Federal Public Services Association states that nearly 2,000 Federal civil servants who have been discharged will not take posts with either of the territorial Governments. It is thought that the figure may rise to nearly 3,000.

When urging European and Asian businesses to make greater use of Africans in managerial positions, Dr. J. G. Kioko, Minister of Commerce and Industry in Kenya, said that efficiency must not be reduced for the sake of Africanization.

Ruo Estates Holdings, Ltd., reports profit after tax in June 30 at £5,145 (£25,222). The dividend is to be cut from 12% to 4%, taking £6,125 (£18,375). Trading profit was down from £50,043 to £11,641, largely due to unseasonable weather in Nyasaland, where the company has tea estates.

Federal broadcasting corporation functions were assumed by both Rhodesias on December 1. The Southern Rhodesian Government will take over radio and TV services. The northern territory will form a corporation to manage sound broadcasting, but will put TV out to private contract.

The dispute between the Governments about the boundary between Southern and Northern Rhodesia has been settled by the decision that it should be deemed to be the middle of the Zambezi. On Lake Kariba the boundary is to be the middle of the course of the river before the lake was formed by the Kariba Dam.

Holders of Federal stocks have been notified by the Bank of England that the Federal Government's liabilities have been transferred to the Governments of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland as to 52.120%, 37.127%, and 10.753% respectively, and that new stocks in those proportions will be issued in place of the Federal scrip.

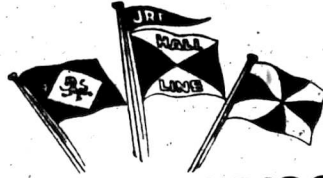
A water-colour painting depicting Lobengula at a feast which was discovered on a street vendor's barrow in Antwerp in 1946 has been acquired by the Rhodes Gallery in the Rhodesias, which has only one other authenticated original illustration of the Matabele king. It was painted in 1880 by a Fr. Croonenberghs.

Many letters and papers of General Gordon have been left to the British Museum by Lieut.-Colonel F. W. Moffit. There are 550 letters to his sister, some describing the final weeks in Khartoum. A letter from Mutesa, Kabaka of Buganda, says: "You sent me some time since the saddle and bridle for a horse. I have no horse, and would thank you if you would send me one."

Tanganyika's National Indoor Stadium, Dar es Salaam, was opened on Monday by Mwalimu Nyerere. When the late Sir Harry Oppenheimer gave £20,000 to the Tanganyika Amateur Sports Federation, it was decided to reconstruct a 6,000 sq. ft. hangar on the old aerodrome, provide a parquet floor, install a modern loud-speaker system, and erect accommodation for 2,450 persons. Tanganyika's first National Festival is to be held in the stadium from July 1 to 7.

British Overseas Stores, Ltd. — of which the Alan Wack and Shepherd companies in the Rhodesias and Mozambique, and Maxwell Brady & Co., Ltd., Kenya, are subsidiaries — report consolidated net profit after tax to March 31 at £33,389, compared with a loss in the previous year of £8,670. There will be no ordinary dividend. The issued capital is £770,375. Fixed assets stand in the books at £376,445; for the sale of Caribbean interests £371,250 is due; and current assets less current liabilities total £631,008. The South African interests were sold during the year, and in July the company became a subsidiary of Goode Durrant & Murray (Consolidated), Ltd.

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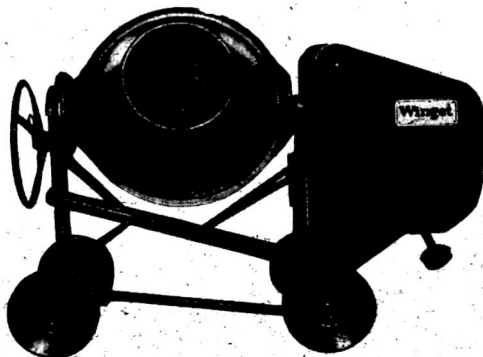
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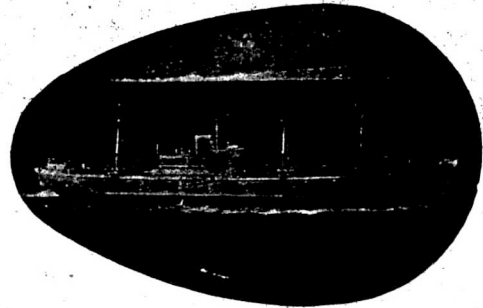
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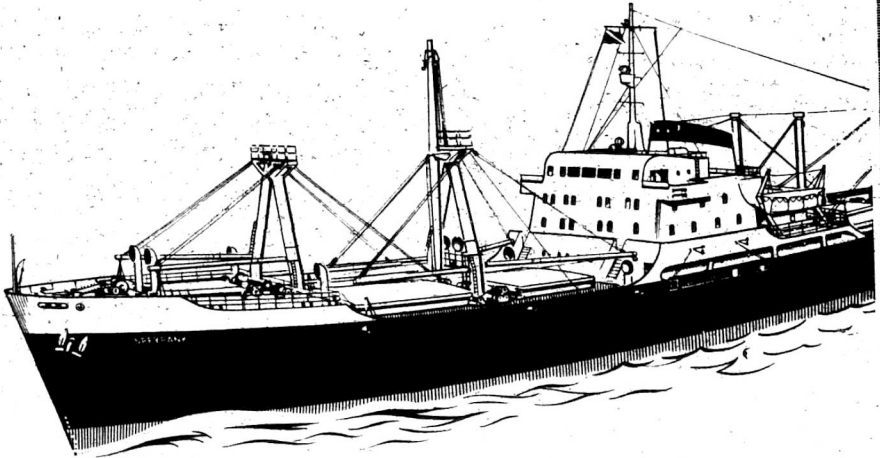
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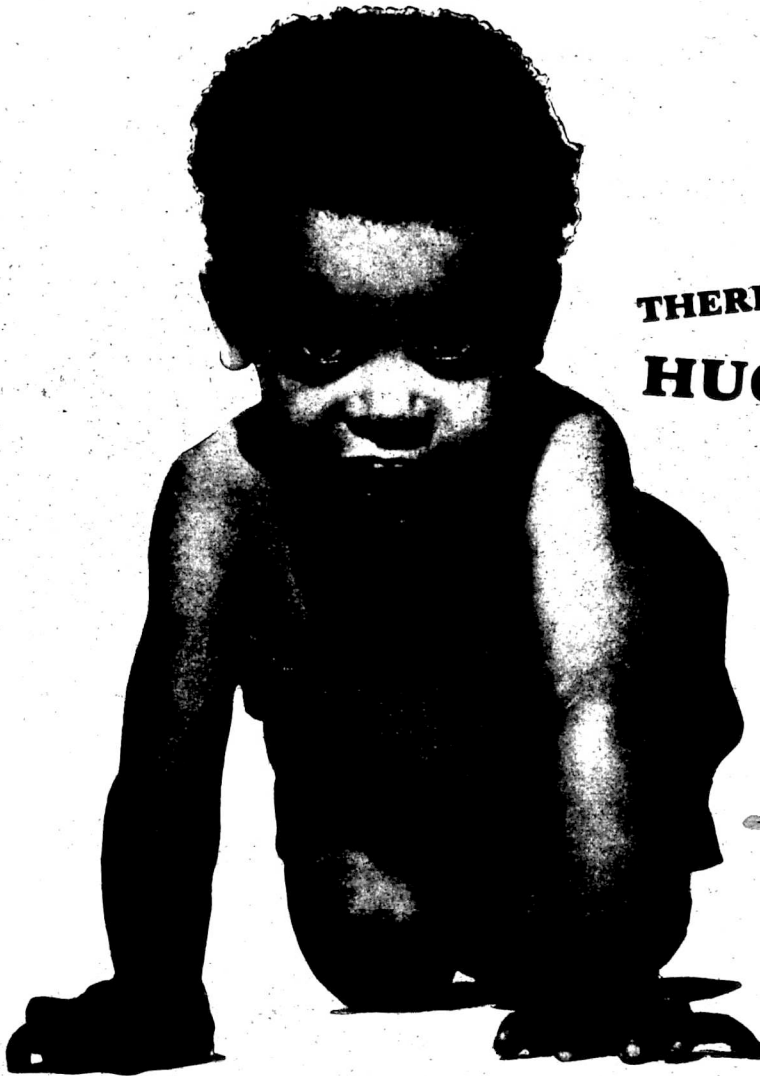
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## Principal Contents

	Page		Page
Sir Roy Sums Up .....	388	Bluff and Contempt .....	396
Honours List .....	390	Somali Raids .....	398
In Ten Years .....	392	Z.A.N.U. Policy .....	400
Personalia .....	394	One-Party States .....	401
Northern Rhodesian Elections .....	395	Commercial Reports .....	404

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, JANUARY 9, 1964

Vol. 40

No. 2048

52s. yearly post free

## MATTERS OF MOMENT

A WEEKLY JOURNAL which has often been unfair to Sir Roy Welensky now suggests that he is pre-eminently the man to lead Southern Rhodesia. Having persistently incited the work of destruction, it seizes the moment of the murder of the Federation to write a few paragraphs so unreasonable that they were surprising even from the *Economist*. The comment (which is quoted on another page) is vitiated, however, by two serious blemishes, the worst being an assumption that Sir Roy (or any other European leader in Southern Rhodesia with any public following) could contemplate, let alone discuss, "an African Government in five, three or two years' time". The other suggestion is that "careful horse-trading might win a deal from the least radical of the African nationalists, who are themselves divided". When Southern Rhodesia's new Constitution was negotiated between the Government of that Colony and Great Britain, and accepted by Mr. Nkomo, the African nationalist leader, who then had unquestioned majority support among the politically-minded, it was officially calculated to bring an African majority in Parliament within from twelve to fifteen years. That was two years ago, so the mutually accepted date would now be from ten to thirteen years ahead. What possible justification could any person concerned for the well-being of the country, and especially of its millions of Africans, advance for the reduction to between five and two years? Responsible men in Southern Rhodesia, black as well as white, are determined on one point — that the high standards established by white leadership, example and enterprise, must not be sacrificed merely to placate noisy nationalists eager for place, power, and the usual perquisites.

### Whom Do They Think He Is?

It is absolutely certain that Sir Roy Welensky would have nothing to do with "careful horse-trading" for that purpose — or for any other manifestly contrary to the interests of the country. The very word suggests the kind of duplicity with which he has so frequently and convincingly charged the Macmillan—Macleod—Butler régime, for which his contempt is unutterable. To imagine that he would engage in compromises which could possibly be regarded as comparable to horse-trading is to prove complete misunderstanding of his personal character, which, fortunately for Central Africa, dictates his political philosophy. He will not traffic in trickery or tortuosity, or unwisely attempt to appease careerists who are in the ultimate unappeasable. He will certainly not bargain on a basis which would jeopardize civilized standards and bring to the country in which he intends to live out the rest of his life the erosion of law, order, freedom and elementary decency which is being demonstrated just over the borders in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, especially in Kenya, and latterly unhappily in Uganda.

### Absurd Proposals to Sir Roy Welensky

At no very distant date there will inevitably be an irresistible demand for Sir Roy's active participation in the public life of Southern Rhodesia, but we do not share the opinion that that ought to occur now, and still less the staggering proposal that pressure should be brought to bear by the United Kingdom Government. After forty years of selecting their own Ministers Southern Rhodesians in and out politics would indignantly reject interference in such a manner by men in London who, in the conviction of Rhodesians (and of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA), have treated Central

### An Irresistible Demand Will Come

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Africa with increasingly shabby cynicism and callousness for over four years and brought Southern Rhodesia to its present tragic constitutional predicament. If Sir Roy were at this stage to appear on the centre of the Southern Rhodesian political scene it would be promptly suggested by his ill-wishers and those who seek to destroy all for which he stands that he had been unable to resist the temptation to wreck a Government which, though of a different party, is facing almost insoluble difficulties in Rhodesia (and not on a rigidly party basis), difficulties of British manufacture. To ask Sir Roy to manoeuvre to snatch the levers of power in such circumstances is evidently the *Economist* idea of how public men should behave. It also disregards his reiterated statement that in present circumstances he

believes Mr. Winston Field to be the right Prime Minister. Sir Roy Welensky will not oblige the theoreticians and pundits by acting as they would wish. He has, of course, incomparable experience of dealing with the United Kingdom Government, and later this year as the Colony's predicament becomes even more desperate there will arise an overwhelming demand for his return to office. Meantime, he needs rest and recuperation (for he has been far from well), time to complete a book which will disclose the ignominious behaviour of British Ministers, and a period of non-involvement. He has been under almost unendurable strain for too long, and some sabbatical months would serve the interests of Rhodesia, no less than his own.

## Hour of Disillusionment for Duped African Masses

### Independence for Southern Rhodesia: Serious Internal Strife in the North

**SIR ROY WELENSKY'S REFLECTIONS,** prophecies and warnings on a number of important issues have been given to the political correspondent of the Southern Rhodesian *Sunday Mail*, from which the following questions and answers are taken. Some have been abbreviated owing to pressure of space.

Sir Roy, who was then on the point of relinquishing the office of Federal Prime Minister, began with a renewed assertion that "unless exceptional circumstances arise there is no question of my entering Southern Rhodesian politics". He continued:—

"I was kicked out of politics by the actions of H.M. Government, who were primarily responsible for creating and subsequently destroying the Federation. I have known for some time the extent to which I am disliked by certain British Ministers. This gave rise to the off-the-record remark made by a former Secretary of State at one of his weekly Press meetings in London that there was no place in Central Africa for a Bismarck.

#### Completely Unacceptable

"I am 100% behind continuing to negotiate for Southern Rhodesia's independence. The only way of finding out whether it is possible to obtain Commonwealth support is to investigate the possibilities actively. Certain Commonwealth countries would seek to lay down terms which would be completely unacceptable to the electorate. Their opinions should not be given undue weight.

"I hope this country will not be forced to leave the Commonwealth. I see no reason why this should come about. Southern Rhodesia has enjoyed responsible government since 1923. Had she not voluntarily agreed to be associated in a federation with two British Protectorates she would have achieved her independence eight or nine years ago.

"The big advantage of belonging to the Commonwealth today, in theory at least, is membership of a powerful family, which should mean enjoyment of one of the greatest blessings of family life—faithful friends.

"Southern Rhodesia enjoys certain tariff preferences as a Commonwealth country and gives advantages to other Commonwealth members.

"If she left the Commonwealth the greatest danger would be isolation. She would have no one to stand up for her at the United Nations. The British Government may not on all

occasions have undertaken in the manner we would have liked, but at least their representative in New York has consistently upheld a fundamental principle of British Commonwealth relations—the question of independence is a matter between H.M. Government and the Government of Southern Rhodesia.

"If she were to leave the Commonwealth she would lose the U.K. preferences, a severe blow; but although it would be foolish to discount the consequences, the value of these preferences has to be weighed against the background of events in Africa and Europe.

"Once the Macmillan Government decided in 1959 to withdraw from Africa, no matter what the price, they were determined that Britain should enter Europe. The British negotiators have suffered a setback, but their efforts will be renewed. In that case Commonwealth preferences will again be the subject of horse-trading on an international scale. The old Commonwealth would be well advised not to place reliance on ties of blood, patriotism and sentiment.

"The future of the white man in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland is difficult to discern. I hoped that once the African nationalists had had their way there would be a settling down period, that their leaders would recognize the need to consolidate the economic as well as the political situation, and that without the white man's expertise, skill and capital the progress of the masses would be arrested or at least seriously hindered. It does not seem to be working out that way.

"Northern Rhodesia is heading for serious internal troubles. Nyasaland may appear on the surface not to suffer the same degree of strife and terrorism, but it is difficult to judge what pressures may be building up there.

#### Loss of Confidence

"The African masses have been the subject of one of the greatest confidence tricks perpetrated on this continent. They have been led to believe that the millennium was synonymous with independence. Their hour of disillusionment is not far distant. I would not care to predict their reactions.

"The white man has not lost confidence in his future in this part of the world. It is the economic instability and the lack of employment opportunities brought about by the political climate that are the cause of the vast majority of Europeans leaving Southern Rhodesia. Europeans in the two northern territories entertain some misgivings regarding the rate at which Africanization may be forced through and the effect of such a policy on the standards which they expect.

"I regret to say that the outflow will certainly be maintained, if not increased, in the first half of 1964, to a large extent owing to the fact that the consequences of the dissolution of the Federation will make their greatest impact during this period.

"The economic difficulties and the vulnerability of the three separate territories have been increased. The area as a whole is less likely to attract private capital investment, and this is bound to have an adverse effect on their economies.

"The greatest problem facing Northern Rhodesia is stability. One school will say that as soon as Dr. Kaunda's party has won an overwhelming majority in the Legislature there will be an end to instability. I wish I could believe it. Northern Rhodesia is in for a difficult time. There will continue to be clashes, not between white and black but between black and black. Every person of good will hopes that copper will continue to enjoy a stable price. It looks as though the barometer is set fair.

"I foresee no great difficulties in Nyasaland despite their lack of resources. This may seem paradoxical, but certain African nationalist leaders wish to see a sort of reformation in reverse. It would suit their book if that part of Africa could stand still for a while. Provided people can be persuaded to endorse this negative policy, it would relieve the politicians of some problems which are well-nigh insoluble. The British Government will not go on carrying Nyasaland on its back indefinitely.

### Tragi-Comedy

"I have seen little evidence of any significant progress towards economic viability. It is pure Lewis Carroll for Nyasaland to have ambassadors overseas, a representative at the United Nations, and a vote in the General Assembly equal in value to that cast by the United States or Britain while her economy is shored up by the British taxpayer. This is all part of the tragi-comedy being played out in New York.

"Southern Rhodesia has gained by the closer association of the three territories over the past ten years, but not at the expense of them. She has continued to diversify her economy. The agricultural industry is highly developed, and she has gained invaluable experience in satisfying the wants of her neighbours. Her burgeoning industry could be an extremely important factor in keeping ties with the two northern territories. Northern Rhodesia in particular is dependent on Southern Rhodesia's railway as well as her coalfields.

"Northern Rhodesia could in future bow to the illogical dictates of pan-Africanism and buy its explosives from places other than South Africa and import its coal from overseas. It could even build this new railway line to Tanganyika. One ought not to dismiss these possibilities, for rationalism and nationalism have little in common in an African context. The cumulative effect of policies such as these on the lot of the African people as a whole would be deplorable.

"If places like Zanzibar and Nyasaland can exist as independent States, the prospects for the Rhodesias must be considerably brighter. There was a time when independence meant that a nation or a people were economically as well as politically independent. That no longer applies, particularly on this continent. The majority of the so-called independent States are dependent on international charity. A number of them will continue to exist on handouts from the U.K. and other metropolitan countries for the foreseeable future.

### No Self-Respect

"The newly independent African States are lacking in self-respect. To talk of political independence when one has to rely on economic aid from any quarter willing to give it is to settle for the shadow rather than the substance.

"There is not likely to be any form of closer association between these three territories in my lifetime. It would be unwise to say it will never come, but it is a very long-term possibility.

"It is unrealistic to believe that there will be a closer political association between Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. Southern Rhodesia has gone too far along the path of non-racialism for its internal policies to be acceptable within the Republic. I accept without reservation the sincerity of the South African Prime Minister's intention to set up separate States within his borders. The admission of Southern Rhodesia as an additional province would cut right across this policy. It would be asking too much of the South African Government to discard this fundamental plank in its platform merely to accommodate Southern Rhodesia. But economic links will grow closer. South Africa will go out of her way to help.

"What is necessary for the survival of the white man in Southern Africa is confidence in his mission. He must not allow himself to be blurred by the rantings of the Afro-Asian bloc at Manhattan.

"At the same time he must recognize that circumstances have changed on this continent. He must be prepared to accept his fellow citizens of whatever colour on their merits. Outmoded practices and obsolete attitudes should be discarded, not as a result of pressure from the U.N., the British Government or the United States, but because they have no place in the latter half of the 20th century."

Asked if it were possible "for the white man to retain political control indefinitely south of the Zambezi", Sir Roy countered that he did not accept the implication of the question in relation to Southern Rhodesia. "The Constitution

accepted by the electorate here some two years ago clearly accepted that at some future date there would be a majority of Africans on the voters' roll. I see no reason why the white man should not survive as a separate racial group. Due to the destruction of the Federation, racial partnership is likely to suffer a setback. However, I see no reason why the races cannot work together in harmony and for the common good.

"The greatest danger facing the Government and all the people of Southern Rhodesia is the running down of the economy due to political uncertainty. The political situation is in a state of flux. If the question of the future could be left to the people of Southern Rhodesia free of interference and pressures from outside, a solution could be found. That is the basic reason why I have always supported independence for Southern Rhodesia. I made my views very clear to the present British Prime Minister as far back as 1957 when he was Commonwealth Secretary.

"I am one of the few men in this country who have negotiated with Labour Ministers. I found them more honest and less devious than a Tory Ministry. My blood does not run cold at the prospect of Mr. Wilson becoming Prime Minister of Britain. Like many people before him, he will learn the difference between fact and fiction after taking office. Things might well be more difficult with a Labour Government in power, but at least one might know exactly where one stood.

### Economic Sanctions

"There is no significant military threat either to Southern Rhodesia or South Africa, at least in the immediate future. The African States are rent with internal dissensions, jealousies and antipathies. They have too much on their plates to venture on a military exercise against a powerful adversary like South Africa.

"A more dangerous aspect is the possibility of applying economic sanctions to isolate South Africa or ourselves from our traditional sources of supplies. Sanctions can never work unless they are enforced by military action. But the U.N. might be forced to interest itself in the application of sanctions; such an involvement could in the long term lead to more dangerous action."

Asked what advice he would proffer to Europeans debating whether to remain in Rhodesia, Sir Roy replied: "Each case needs to be judged on its merits. One must weigh qualifications, skills and personal attributes to assess the sort of contribution each individual might make. I do not believe that there are many places where the grass is greener. I know of no country where I could earn a living which has a more settled future and which does not have its own crop of problems and imponderables."

To the question whether he would help to form and then head the Federation again if the opportunity recurred, Sir Roy replied: "Of course I would take it on again. It is better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all."

"The three territories are all better off as the result of the strong political and economic links of the last decade. No doubt both Lord Malvern's Government and my own made mistakes, but our errors or acts of omission or commission could not have tempered the wind of change. My Government introduced no legislation on racial lines, although we were expected by the British Government to operate within the confines of a Constitution that had built-in racial barriers.

### Deciding Factor

"My Government was responsible for European, Asian and Coloured education, while the territorial Governments remained responsible for African education. My Government was responsible in the two Rhodesias but not in Nyasaland for European agriculture, and had no responsibility in any of the territories for African agriculture. These constitutional inconsistencies all militated against the ultimate political success of Federation. They were difficult hurdles, but they did not bring us down."

"The deciding factor was that the British Government changed its mind. British Ministers today speak glibly of basing their assessment on what they are pleased to call the political realities of the situation, and aver that in dissolving the Federation they were merely recognizing the opposition to it among Africans in the two northern territories.

"That conveniently overlooks the fact that the British Government was fully alive during 1949-53 to the opposition of the African nationalists in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to any form of closer association with Southern Rhodesia. I am not concerned with the merits or demerits of that opposition. The important thing is that it existed; the British Government was well aware of it, and it is idle for them to pretend that circumstances within the Federal area changed in that respect.

"In 1952 I said that if the British Government was going to hold a further conference to try to persuade the Africans

attending it to agree to a federal system of government it was a waste of time. The African politicians have been consistent. The people who have changed their minds are the British Government. Even at this late stage there appears to be no one of sufficient courage or honesty in H.M. Government to stand up and admit the simple truth.

"Lots of heartaches and a great deal of unpleasantness could have been avoided had some member of H.M. Government had the intestinal fortitude in 1959, before Mr. Macmillan made his wind of change speech, to tell me that Britain could no longer go along with the Federation it had created.

"As late as July, 1962, Mr. R. A. Butler stated publicly in London that the Government of which he was a very senior member supported Federation and that if people invested in it the British Government would be behind them. How can this be reconciled with the treatment meted out to the Federal stockholders?

"The fact that the Federal Government was hamstrung in regard to the maintenance of law and order in the Federal area put us in an impossible position.

"At least two of the Governors who held office in the northern territories for an appreciable portion of the life of the Federation were never reconciled to it, although it was given birth by H.M. Government.

"One of these gentlemen told me that if I could persuade the British Government to show me his dispatches I would

see the extent to which he advised against Federation. That was Sir Geoffrey Colby, who was an honest man and never tried to disguise his antagonism.

"Sir Arthur Benson, on the other hand, professed to support Federation but did little to help it. In fact, one of his dispatches revealed that he was working against us.

"It was a cardinal error to leave the responsibility to the territorial Governments in the two northern territories to put over the case for Federation to the African people. It is difficult enough to reason convincingly with people whose minds have been poisoned even when you believe in your cause. To ask people who didn't believe in it to convert the doubters was asking the impossible.

"I made representations to the British Government on these lines and they accepted my views. Nevertheless, in spite of the impossible position that existed, particularly in Northern Rhodesia, they would not act, and Sir Arthur Benson was permitted to finish his tour as Governor.

"One other lesson has emerged: it was unworkable to charge my Government with responsibility for the economic development of the Federal area while leaving the control of political development in the two northern territories to the United Kingdom.

"These factors, plus the fundamental withdrawal of the British Government from Africa, decided the fate of the Federation. My complaint is not that the British Government changed their mind but that they might have had the decency to tell me."

## New Year Honours for Rhodesians and East Africans

**Knighthoods for Mr. Caldicott, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Stockil and Mr. Catling**

### BARON

THOMSON, ROY HERBERT, chairman of the Thomson Organization, which has large East and Central African newspaper and radio interests. In 1962 he gave £5m. to establish the Thomson Foundation, one of the aims of which is to train journalists from under-developed territories.

### BARONETS

MYNORS, HUMPHREY CHARLES BASKERVILLE, deputy governor, Bank of England.

### PRIVY COUNCILLOR

MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies.

### KNIGHTS BACHELOR

BENSON, HENRY ALEXANDER, partner in Cooper Bros. & Co., auditors. Visited Tanganyika in connexion with groundnut scheme accounting problems.

BONNETARD, NICHOLAS PATRICK FRANCE, Chief Justice, Seychelles.

CATLING, RICHARD CHARLES, Inspector-General of Kenya Police for the past nine years.

CRAWSHAW, EDWARD DANIEL WESTON, Q.C., judge of Appeal Court of Eastern Africa.

PARRY, FRANK HUGH NIGEL, Secretary to the Federal Ministry of External Affairs.

RUSSELL, RONALD STANLEY, Conservative M.P. for Wembley South and editor of the "Commonwealth Year Book". Has interested himself in East and Central African affairs.

### ORDER OF THE BATH (Military Division)

#### C.B.

FREELAND, MAJOR-GENERAL IAN HENRY, commander, Kenya Army, and G.O.C. British Land Forces, Kenya.

MACDONALD, AIR COMMODORE JOHN CHARLES, Commander, R.A.F., E. Africa.

### ORDER OF ST. MICHAEL AND ST. GEORGE G.C.M.G.

STEVENS, SIR ROGER BENTHAM, lately of the Foreign Office, who last year led a group of advisers to the Federation for Mr. Butler.

### K.C.M.G.

GREENE, HUGH CARLETON, director-general of the B.B.C. since 1960.

TENNANT, MARK DALCOUR, Secretary to the Central African Office.

### C.M.G.

LORD ACTON, for services to agriculture in the Federation. ADU, AMISHADAI LARSON, lately Secretary-General, E.A.C.S.O.

BLAIR, DYSON MILROY, Federal Secretary for Health. BROWNIGG, PHILIP HENRY AKERMAN, director of many Rhodesian companies.

EVANS, MICHAEL NORDON, Permanent Secretary, Kenya Ministry of Health and Housing.

FOSTER, JOHN FREDERICK, secretary of the Association of British Commonwealth Universities.

FREEMAN, IAN CHARLES HAROLD, a Permanent Secretary in Nyasaland.

GORDON, PETER MACIE, Permanent Secretary, Kenya Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry.

GRAYLIN, JOHN CRANMER, formerly Federal Minister of Agriculture.

JEVERS, FRANK GEORGE EYRE, Postmaster-General, East Africa.

LEACH, NORMAN, Under-Secretary, Department of Technical Co-operation.

MANBY, MERVYN COLET, director of intelligence and internal security and Deputy Inspector-General, Kenya Police.

MELVILLE, ARCHIBALD RALPH, Director of Agriculture, Kenya.

ROSS, JOHN BREBNER, chairman, Federal Public Service Commission.

### ROYAL VICTORIAN ORDER G.C.V.O.

LORD MONCKTON, chairman of the 1960 commission to the Federation.

### ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE K.B.E.

CALDICOTT, JOHN MOORE, Federal Minister of Finance.

FOSTER, JOHN GALWAY, Q.C., M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the C.R.O. 1951-54.

MCDOWELL, HENRY MCLORINAN, Secretary to the Federal Treasury.

STOCKIL, RAYMOND OSBORNE, M.P. in Southern Rhodesia for many years; for services to agricultural development.

WILSON, TOM IAN FINDLAY, Speaker of the Federal Assembly.

**C.B.E.**

ALLEN, JOHN HENRY, lately general manager, Rhodesia Railways.  
 ANDREWS, JAMES PETER, deputy principal, Makerere College, Uganda.  
 DUNLOP, WILLIAM GRAY, for political services in the Federation.  
 EDWARDS, MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN KEITH, for services to wheat farming and water resources in Kenya.  
 FERRER, DOUGLAS CECIL, Federal Secretary for Education.  
 IRVINE ALEXANDER GEORGE, deputy secretary, Federal Treasury.  
 JOHNSON, CHARLES EDWARD, Director of Agriculture, Nyasaland.  
 MARSH, EDWARD GEORGE GARDNER, deputy secretary, Federal Home Affairs Ministry.  
 RUSHMERE, RALPH, under-secretary, Federal Ministry of Commerce and Industry.  
 STUART-SHAW, MAX, general manager, Central African Airways.  
 TARGETT, CYRIL HALLIDAY, company director; for services to community in Southern Rhodesia.  
 YATES, RYK ALAN, Q.C., Federal Attorney-General.

**O.B.E.**

**(Military Division)**

COSTER, LIEUT.-COL. KEITH ROBERT, Rhodesia and Nyasaland Infantry.

**(Civil Division)**

BAXTER, the REV. RICHARD FRASER, for public services in Nyasaland.  
 BRATON, JAMES JOHN, formerly Federal Director of Public Works.  
 BILES, ROY HENRY VICTOR, Commissioner of Police, Zanzibar.  
 BRETT, MRS. MARGARET ETHEL, for public services in the Federation.  
 BRICE, SYDNEY FREDERICK, for public services in the Federation.  
 BROWN, LESLIE HILTON, chief agriculturist, Kenya.  
 BURDIN, MARCEL LEON, chief veterinary research officer, Kenya.  
 BURKINSHAW, PHILIP LEWYS, senior administrative officer, Nyasaland.  
 CAMERON, DAVID CHARLES, Federal Director of Prisons.  
 EYDES, THOMAS WILSON, assistant chief technical engineer, E.A.C.S.O.  
 FILMER, HARRY JOSEPH, for public and social services in Southern Rhodesia.  
 FITZWILLIAM, GEORGE LIONEL CANARD, senior assistant commissioner, B.S.A.P.  
 HABANYAMA, HEZEKIAH GWALE, for public services in Northern Rhodesia.  
 HARLAND, RICHARD BROOM, for services to Federal tobacco industry.  
 HONEY, ROBERT MACKENZIE, for work in the surgery of bilharziasis.  
 JACKSON, AUSTIN WILLIAM, deputy secretary to Treasury, E.A.C.S.O.  
 KONVISER, RABBI MAURICE, for public services in the Federation.  
 MAGOWAN, JOHN MCKEE, general manager, Southern Rhodesia Electricity Supply Commission.  
 MOULTRIE, GEORGE DENYS AUSTIN, for political services in the Federation.  
 OLLEY, CHARLES, alderman of Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.  
 OMINO, JOEL MESHAK, formerly chairman Central Nyanza A.D.C., Kenya.  
 O'SHEA, COLM PEARCE, deputy secretary, Kenya Ministry of Works, Communications and Power.  
 PETHERAM, RICHARD WALTER, under-secretary, Federal Works Ministry.  
 ROBERTSON, JAMES DICK, chairman Zanzibar Public Service and Police Service Commissions.  
 RUSHTON, MARK WILLIAM, general manager Nchanga copper mine, N. Rhodesia.  
 SHEFFIELD, WILLIAM, director of Federal medical services.  
 STEPHENS, PETER RAYMOND, Director of Medical Services, Nyasaland.  
 TOWSEY, KENNETH HOWARD, under-secretary, Federal External Affairs.  
 TRACEY, LEONARD TOLCHER, for services to Federal agriculture.  
 WHITE, HAROLD DUCKETT, vice-chairman, Kenya Co-operative Creameries.  
 WILKS, HUBERT CHARLES FRANCIS, regional government agent, Central Nyanza, Kenya.  
 WRIGHT, ROBERT TAYLOR, Clerk to Nairobi County Council.  
 WULFSOHN, HARRY, for public and political services in the Federation.

**M.B.E.**

**(Military)**

CUBITT, W.O. I CECIL JOHN, Royal Rhodesian Air Force.  
 CURNOW-BAKER, MAJOR BERNARD GORDON, Rhodesia and Nyasaland Infantry.  
 DAVIES, MAJOR OWEN REES, Royal Army Pay Corps, on loan to Uganda Government.  
 EDWARDS, W.O. I EDWARD KENNETH LESLIE, R.S.M. 3rd Bn., Kenya Rifles.  
 HOUSTON, MAJOR JAMES STEVEN, Queen's Own Highlanders (Seaforth and Camerons), on loan to Uganda Government.  
 PARRY, SQUADRON-LEADER RALPH MAYES, R.R.A.F.

**(Civil)**

BARNES, KENNETH JAMES, administrative officer, Nyasaland.  
 BLACK, COLIN LAMONT, Federal Home Affairs Ministry.  
 BLOOMFIELD, HOWARD EMBLER, president of Associated Mine Workers of Southern Rhodesia.  
 BRERETON, MRS. FANNY JEANNE, for public services in Nyasaland.  
 BROWN, DENYS EDMOND, director of film services, Federal Home Affairs Ministry.  
 BUTLER, HERBERT CLAUDE, in charge of audio-visual services, Federal Education Ministry.  
 CASSELL, MISS ETHELINDA MARGARET, secretary of Salisbury Council on Alcoholism.  
 CHIRWA, ALFRED KENNAN, officer in charge of Blantyre prison.  
 DICKSON, MRS. WINIFRED JOYCE, lately private secretary to British Resident, Zanzibar.  
 ENGLAND, JOHN OSWALD, senior local government financial officer, Kenya.  
 FREER, JAMES CAMERON, for services to swimming in the Federation.  
 GAULD, ALEXANDER CRAM, of the Federal Survey Department.  
 GRAY, MISS LAURINA, grade 1 phone supervisor, E.A.C.S.O.  
 GUMBER, SOFIAH ZION, Federal Ministry of External Affairs.  
 HALL, DAVID GUY FITZWILLIAM, chief of protocol, Federal Ministry of External Affairs.  
 HARLEY, MISS VERA, secretary, Y.W.C.A., Kenya.  
 HAYES, ERNEST GEORGE, for services to sport in Northern Rhodesia.  
 HOPE, FRANCIS JOSEPH, assistant secretary, Federal Health Ministry.  
 JACKSON, MISS MARY STEWART, vice-chairman, Edinburgh branch, Royal Commonwealth Society.  
 JONES, MISS DORIS DANCE, for public services in Zanzibar.  
 JUDGE, HUBERT NEVILLE ALFRED, district officer, Kenya.  
 KING, MRS. JESSIE ANN, president Nkana-Kitwe division, British Red Cross Society, Northern Rhodesia.  
 LAMBERT, MRS. GRACE, president League of Mercy, Kenya.  
 MCELNAY, ARTHUR BROOKS, building superintendent, E.A.R. and H.  
 MCCLEAN, COLIN, district officer, Kenya.  
 MOHAMED, ALI, senior assistant surgeon, Kenya Ministry of Health and Housing.  
 MORGAN, FRED HILTON, for services to cricket, football and shooting, Southern Rhodesia.  
 MUSEMBI, JOSEPH, regional Government agent, Central Nyanza, Kenya.  
 PENN, MISS JOAN EILEEN, executive officer, Northern Rhodesian Finance Ministry.  
 PETERS, MRS. SABINA ANN, of Bulawayo, for prison work.  
 PROKOPH, FR. MAXIMILIAN ANTHONY, S. J., education secretary, Central Province, Northern Rhodesia.  
 REDMAN, JAMES ALBERT, for services to sport in the Federation.  
 STACEY, MRS. NANCY BEATRICE CASTERTON, for public services in Northern Rhodesia.  
 STREETER, ERNEST STANLEY, chief superintendent, B.S.A.P. Reserve.  
 SAUNDER, DOUGLAS HAROLD, for agricultural research in the Federation.  
 SAUNDERS, MISS ELFRIDA MAGDALENE, matron-in-chief, Federal Health Service.  
 SPICER, GEOFFREY HARDY, for public services, especially for ex-Service-men in the Federation.  
 SPICER, NEWTON JOHN DAMPIER, for journalistic services in the Federation.  
 SWAN, MRS. HELEN ARMOUR, for public services in the Federation.  
 TAYLOR, MISS HELEN MILLIGAN, for public services in Nyasaland.  
 TODD, MISS EDITH ELIZABETH WRIGHT, Hansard supervisor, Federal Assembly.  
 TOOK, JOHN MICHAEL EXTON, Federal Ministry of External Affairs.  
 DE VILLIERS, JAMES ANDREW FRANCIS, for services to sport in the Federation.  
 WAKEFORD, MRS. DOREEN MARY, assistant publications officer, Kenya Information Services.

**QUEEN'S POLICE MEDAL  
for Distinguished Service**

ALLAN, J. A., assistant commissioner, Kenya; HENLEY, F. C., asst. cmr., Kenya; PRIDMORE, L. T., asst. cmr., Kenya; RIEFFER, J., senior asst. cmr., B.S.A.P.; WADLEY, B. E., asst. cmr., Kenya; and YATES, A. J., senior asst. cmr., Nyasaland.

**QUEEN'S FIRE SERVICE MEDAL  
for Distinguished Service**

LORD, N., deputy chief fire officer, Mombasa, Kenya.

**AIR FORCE CROSS**

PENTON, Sq.-Ldr. O. D., R.R.A.F.

**QUEEN'S COMMENDATION  
for Valuable Service in the Air**

EDWARDS, A. A., pilot with Kenya Police Air Wing.

# Achievements in the Federation in Its Ten Years of Life

## Federal Parliament Reminded of Worthy Work in 1953—63

**LEGACY OF PROGRESS** is the title chosen for Federal Command Paper 269, which was presented to the Assembly by the Prime Minister just before it was prorogued.

The White Paper opens with a statement signed in January, 1953 by Viscount Swinton, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton (now Lord Chandos), the Marquess of Salisbury, Sir Godfrey Huggins (now Lord Malvern), Sir Gilbert Rennie, and Sir G. F. T. Colby (now dead), saying:—

"We are convinced that a Federation on the lines proposed is the only practicable means by which the three Central African territories can achieve security for the future and ensure the well-being and contentment of all their peoples. We believe that this Federal scheme is sound and fair and will promote the essential interests of all inhabitants."

### No Recrimination

The survey has not been undertaken "in any spirit of recrimination but merely to put on record the more important achievements in the hope that the Governments and people of Central Africa will act wisely and constructively and use these achievements as a solid foundation from which to carry forward the great development and progress of the years of Federation."

Apart from an introduction, there are chapters on the background to and creation of the Federation, social and political advancement, health, education, economic development, agriculture, mining, commerce and industry, power, communications, posts and telecommunications, defence and external affairs, and other achievements.

The general character of the Command Paper is indicated by the following quotations:—

"In 1953 Southern Rhodesia, with a European population of approximately 158,000 compared with Northern Rhodesia's 50,000 and Nyasaland's 5,000, was by far the most advanced of the three territories and had a fairly well diversified economy based on agriculture, mining, and manufacturing industry. Northern Rhodesia was almost entirely dependent on one commodity—copper—while man-power was the main asset of Nyasaland (poorest and most densely populated of the three territories), whose economic base was subsistence agriculture."

### Main Arguments

"The Federation was established in 1953 in a rapidly changing Africa. At that time only five countries on the whole African continent were independent nations—Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, and South Africa. No single unit of the British or Belgian Colonial empires had attained self-government. The chain reaction of independence among the under-developed countries of Africa was started only in 1957 when the Gold Coast emerged from its Colonial status as the independent State of Ghana. With the independence of Kenya and Zanzibar in December, 1963, the 1953 total of five independent African nations will have increased to 35.

"The main arguments for Federation in Central Africa were economic; a common market of eight million people was potentially more valuable than three separate markets, each of less than three million; a large economic unit would be very much more creditworthy and likely to attract the massive development capital so urgently needed; many basic services, such as transport and power, could be more effectively planned and co-ordinated for a larger unit; and the economies of the three countries were complementary, making up a balanced whole far more economically viable than the sum of its parts.

"The arguments proved valid. In the first six years (1954-59) no less than £798m. was invested in the Federation—roughly 73% from domestic savings and 27% from overseas. With this investment came skilled labour, technical know-how, and rapid industrial expansion. The £78m. Kariba hydro-electric project was built, communications were greatly improved, and education and health services were expanded to a level previously unknown on the African continent north of the Limpopo.

"The gross national income at market prices rose from £320m. in 1954 to £485m. in 1959; total wages and salaries increased from £151m. to £247m. In 1955 expenditure on social and community services by the Federal and territorial Governments and local authorities had totalled £35.8m.; in 1959 the corresponding figure was £146.1m.

"If the main arguments for Federation were economic, no less important in the minds of its architects were the belief and hope that a political and economic association of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland would, as expressed in the Preamble to the Federal Constitution: 'conduce to the security, advancement and welfare of all their inhabitants, and in particular, would foster partnership and co-operation between their inhabitants'.

"Inherent in the concept of Federation was the creation of an area of stability and Western influence in a continent where the trend was towards balkanization and strife.

### Racial Partnership

"The reasons for the existence of a fairly wide measure of racial discrimination in Central Africa at the time of Federation were historical, economic, cultural and emotional, and had their origins in the greatly differing standards of living and hygiene, social customs and cultural traditions of the African, European, Asian and Coloured communities. Many discriminatory practices had been regarded as desirable to protect the interests of economically weaker communities or to preserve established habits and customs.

"But by 1953 it was clear that the legal and social barriers which tended to keep the races apart would have to be progressively removed, and it was the task of the Federal and territorial Governments to give the lead in implementing, within their respective fields of responsibility and influence, the policy of racial partnership enshrined in the Federal Constitution. In view of the direct relationship between earning power and social standards, particular emphasis was placed on the economic advancement of the African.

"Legislative steps were taken to promote the establishment of non-racial trades unions and to provide for workmen's compensation and apprenticeships on a non-racial basis; technical colleges, as well as the Oppenheimer College of Social Service, were opened to students of all races; the Associated Mineworkers of Rhodesia elected the first two Africans to its executive committee; Northern Rhodesian European mineworkers voted to increase African advancement in all sections of the copper mining industry; minimum wages in industry and commerce were substantially increased; all training schemes and job categories on the Rhodesia Railways were placed on an entirely non-racial basis.

### Discrimination Abolished

"The Federal Public Service Commission established a non-racial Federal Civil Service by devising training schemes, promoting Africans to the top grades as rapidly as possible, and finally abolishing all forms of discrimination. The Southern Rhodesian Civil Service was opened to all races for the first time. Africans were appointed to many Federal boards and commissions, including the Rhodes National Gallery board of trustees, the council of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Cold Storage Commission and the Grain Marketing Board. Several large companies appointed Africans to their boards of directors. Chamber of Commerce membership was opened to all races. Banks began employing suitably qualified Africans on the same salary scales as Europeans. Building societies and insurance companies appointed African agents.

"Many hotels, restaurants, cinemas and theatres opened their doors to all races. The Federal Supreme Court ruled against racial restrictions in public swimming baths. Certain discriminatory legislation affecting the sale and purchase of liquor was abolished, as were restrictions on betting. Non-racial sport was successfully established, especially football, athletics and boxing, and a multi-racial Federal team competed in the Olympic Games. Several social clubs opened their doors to all races.

"A completely non-racial University College was established, and African students were assisted by a generous system of scholarships and grants. Several private schools were opened to children of all races. Separate entrances and all racial barriers in post offices were removed. The Southern Rhodesian Government replaced the Native tax with a graduated personal tax applicable to all races. African pass laws were substantially relaxed.

"Central African Airways introduced African air hostesses for the first time on their services and instituted non-racial training schemes leading to senior commercial posts with the State airline. There was increasing co-operation between African and European farmers and farming organizations, and many Africans were invited to attend field days on European farms.

### Political Advances

"In the years of Federation swift and significant political advances were made.

"In 1953 the only Africans in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council were two nominated members, and only a handful of Africans in the territory had a vote owing to the fact that voting was restricted to British subjects. Since the vast majority of Africans were British protected persons, not British subjects, the restriction in practice left virtually all Africans without a vote, for very few of them were willing to exchange their status by seeking naturalization as a British subject.

"In Nyasaland there were three nominated African members in the Legislative Council in 1953, but there was no voters' roll: until 1956 all members of the Legislative Council were appointed, not elected.

"In Southern Rhodesia there were no Africans in the Legislative Assembly, but there was no restriction on their election if they were on the voters' roll which was open to people of all races who fulfilled certain qualifications.

"By contrast, the first Federal Parliament consisted of a Speaker and 35 members, including six elected Africans, and when membership of the Federal Assembly was increased to 59 in 1957, African representation was doubled. The six and subsequently 12 African members filled seats which were specifically reserved for members of their race: the remaining seats in the Federal Parliament were open to candidates of all races, including Africans. The non-racial Federal Citizenship and Franchise Acts extended the vote to all Federal citizens (including British protected persons) who met certain means and educational requirements.

"The first African to be appointed to Ministerial rank in the Federation was a Parliamentary Secretary in the Federal Government. (In 1963 there were two Africans in the Federal Cabinet).

### New Constitutions

"By 1963 new Constitutions had come into operation in all three territories of the Federation and there were African majorities in the Legislative Councils of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. In Nyasaland Africans also had a majority in the Executive Council. In Southern Rhodesia, under a new, liberalized Constitution overwhelmingly endorsed by the electorate at a referendum in 1961, there were 14 African and one Coloured Members of Parliament whereas previously there had been none.

"Far from being slowed down by Federation, political advancement in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland took place at a much faster rate after 1953 than before.

"The enormous expansion and improvement of health and medical services was one of the most important direct benefits of the Federal system. Greatly increased expenditure (particularly in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia) and the devoted work of Federal Government health and medical personnel, aided by the medical missions, achieved a level of services vastly superior to those available in most African countries.

"In the Federation there was a ratio of one hospital bed to approximately every 330 Africans, compared with one to every 1,550 inhabitants in Sierra Leone and one to every 3,500 in Ethiopia. There were more doctors per head of population in the Federation than in any of the newly independent African States. In the Federation the ratio was one doctor to every 11,700 inhabitants; in Southern Rhodesia, 1:7,300. By comparison Ghana had one doctor for every 18,172 people; Liberia one for every 29,700.

"In its first year of responsibility for health and medical services (1954-55), the Federal Government's current expenditure on those services was £4.2m. By 1962 the figure was £8.5m. Capital expenditure in 1955-62 totalled £7.6m.

"Grouping together all medical services provided for Africans by Government, missions, mining and industrial enterprises, local authorities and voluntary organizations, the total number of African outpatient attendances in 1962 was no less than 29,897,631, while admissions totalled 992,397 (estimated African population of the Federation in December

1962, 9.9m.). By comparison, in 1953 African outpatient attendances at hospitals, rural health centres and clinics in the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland were approximately 7m. and admissions 300,000.

"The number of doctors in Government service in the Federation increased from 193 in 1953 to 251 in 1962. The total number of doctors actually living and working in the Federation in 1962 was 889.

"Training facilities for nurses were extended with the opening of training schools at Harari and Mpilo Hospitals. The first African nurses ever to qualify in the Federation passed their examinations in 1962; at the end of that year 301 Africans (and 287 non-Africans) were training as nurses.

"One of the Federation's most outstanding achievements in education was the establishment of the completely multi-racial University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland at Salisbury as an autonomous institution, enjoying complete freedom from Government control (unlike many universities in other parts of Africa).

"It opened in 1957 with 70 full-time students. By 1963 it had 480 students (including 151 Africans and 20 Asians and Coloureds).

### No Accident

"Central Africa urgently needs expert personnel in almost every sphere, particularly in the public services, education, the other professions, and in industry and agriculture: it depends increasingly on providing this expertise and leadership not by importation but from its own resources. Under Federation the University College made an outstanding contribution to general development by producing highly qualified graduates to meet the growing needs of the community.

"There is a direct relationship between European enterprise and the level of social and economic progress in Africa, and it is no accident of history that the great thirst for education which is part of the revolution of rising African expectations has been satisfied to a greater extent in those areas where Europeans have made their homes in significant numbers.

"In Southern Rhodesia there is one child at school for approximately every five Africans of all ages; in Northern Rhodesia the proportion is approximately one in eight; in Nyasaland one in nine—a Federal average of one in seven. The proportions in Guinea, Mali and Ethiopia are approximately one in 55, one in 84, and one in 114 respectively.

"The advent of Federation saw the beginning of a new era in agriculture in Central Africa, which brought benefits to all sections of the community. Between 1954 and 1962 the gross value of agricultural production, including an estimate of subsistence production, rose from £91.1m. to £136.4m. This very considerable increase took place despite an overall fall of about 10% in agricultural prices, and showed that the Federation's farmers had met the decline in prices paid for certain of their products by increasing production through better yields and improved efficiency.

"Before Federation, agriculture in Southern Rhodesia was far more developed and had much more advanced conservation and extension, research, specialist and veterinary services than the two northern territories. Under Federation these research and advisory services were further developed—to a higher standard than any single territory could have provided on its own—and in addition a pool of expertise in these fields, based on the superior standards which had existed in Southern Rhodesia, became available to all. An encouraging feature throughout the period of Federation was the very high degree of co-operation at professional and technical level between the Federal and territorial Ministries responsible for agriculture, which materially assisted development.

### Deficiency Overcome

"At the time of Federation the situation tended to be one of deficiency or bare sufficiency in agricultural production, and the three territories were importers rather than exporters of most foodstuffs. But since 1954 the value of agricultural exports has almost doubled, and in 1962 accounted for 30% of total exports. The 1962 value of agricultural exports was £61.2m., compared with £33m. in 1954. Moreover, the value of food and agricultural imports has fallen by 16% since 1960.

"The Federation was the world's second largest exporter of Virginia tobacco, and production of flue-cured tobacco in the Federation increased from about 128m. lb. in 1954 to approximately 232m. lb. in 1962; 92% of this crop was grown in Southern Rhodesia. In the period average yields per acre increased from 710 to 1,055lb. in Southern Rhodesia and from 585 to 957lb. in Northern Rhodesia. Total tobacco production in the Federation in 1962 was valued at £37.5m., compared with £22.6m. in 1954. The tobacco auction floors in Salisbury provide the world's largest single tobacco selling centre.

(Continued on page 402)

# PERSONALIA

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE of Ethiopia has been invited to visit Russia.

MR. CYRILLE ADOULA, Congolese Prime Minister, has been visiting West Germany.

MR. PETER OKONDO has suggested Busia as the capital of an East African federation.

MR. F. M. THOMAS, Minister of Native Affairs, has been promoted Deputy Governor of Northern Rhodesia.

MR. PATRICK WALL, Tory M.P. for Haltemprice, left London Airport on Saturday for a short visit to Aden.

MR. MATYAS DOMOKOS and a colleague have been visiting Kenya as an "unofficial" Hungarian delegation.

MR. HUMPHRY BERKELEY, a Conservative M.P. who was constantly critical of the Federation, is visiting Southern Rhodesia.

LORD DELAMERE has become the third of the patrons of the K.N.F.U., the first being MR. WILL EVANS, the founder, and the second MR. F. H. SPROTT.

MR. J. B. POLLARD has succeeded LORD DELAMERE as president of the Kenya National Farmers' Union, which has now African membership of about 1,000.

AIR VICE MARSHAL CRACROFT, COLONEL F. E. C. LEWIS, and SIR HAROLD PELLY, Bt., are passengers in the Uganda for Mombasa and FIELD MARSHAL SIR CLAUDE AUCHINCLOSS for Beira.

MR. ORTON CHIRWA, Nyasaland Minister of Justice, has discussed legal aspects of the independence Constitution with U.K. officials in London, and has also made inquiries about recruitment for the judiciary.

MR. FRANCIS LOYD, who has served in Kenya since 1939 and was lately Permanent Secretary in the Prime Minister's office, has been appointed British High Commissioner for Swaziland, where he will arrive in May.

SIR GILES GUTHRIE, deputy chairman of North Central Finance, Ltd., and a director since 1947, has resigned from the board, having accepted the full-time offices of chairman and managing director of B.O.A.C.

"Nkrumahism" has sunk its roots so deeply in Africa that bullets will not be able to remove it, Mr. A. M. OBOTE, Uganda's Prime Minister, assured the Ghana President when he congratulated him on escaping unscathed from the latest assassination attempt on his life.

Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland may contribute towards capital and current expenditure of the new medical school and teaching hospital in Salisbury, according to PROFESSOR D. V. HUBBLE, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at Birmingham University, who is visiting the Southern Rhodesian capital.

MR. JULIAN CROSSLEY, chairman of Barclays Bank D.C.O., said at last week's annual general meeting that the Federation had functioned effectively for a decade and brought valuable economic benefits to the people of all three territories, which would probably soon feel an increasing need to work together.

## TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

MAJOR LEWIS HASTINGS, of Beckington Abbey, near Bath, would be glad to hear from the writer of a letter from the Royal Commonwealth Society who mentioned EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA and a lunch-time meeting of the Royal African Society addressed by Lord Walston. By an oversight, only the first page of the letter was enclosed in the envelope, the second sheet, and consequently the signature, having been omitted. Major Hastings would therefore be obliged if the writer would communicate with him again.

MR. MWALIMU NYERERE has invited MR. CHOU EN-LAI, the Communist Chinese premier, to visit Tanganyika at a date yet to be fixed.

MR. E. N. MWENDWA, Kenya Minister for Labour and Social Services, has been appealing to European farmers "to forgive and forget" during a tour of Central Region following complaints of non-co-operation from farmers and trade unionists.

Explaining that the Coast Region would celebrate the transfer from the Central Government of all exclusive regional powers, MR. RONALD NGALA, the regional president and leader of K.A.D.U., said that if a regional flag were approved, it would be flown with the new Kenya flag, for there was no question of regarding the Coast Region as separate from the rest of the country. MR. DANIEL ARAP MOI, K.A.D.U. chairman and president of the Rift Valley Region, also wants a regional flag. MR. T. J. MBOYA, Minister of Constitutional Affairs, has criticized these proposals as contrary to the "new spirit of unity".

## Obituary

### Lord Cranworth, K.G., M.C.

LORD CRANWORTH, K.G., M.C., "Bertie" to the pioneer Kenya settlers of the first Lord Delamere's day, has died at the age of 86. He had been a Vice-Lieutenant of Suffolk since 1947, a former chairman of the East Suffolk County Council, a former chairman of the East African Dinner Club, a former chairman of the East African Producers' Association, and for many years a member of the Executive Council of the Joint East and Central African Board.

Bertram Francis Gurdon, 2nd Baron Cranworth, was the second son of the first peer, whom he succeeded in 1902. Three years later he went to Kenya to farm and engage in various business ventures, trying at different times coffee, flax, rubber, sisal, cattle, pigs and hotel keeping. He was a most modest individual, who took a happy, charitable view of life and its vicissitudes, and he would help anyone in difficulties and never lost his keen interest in East Africa.

In 1911 he made what was then a difficult and somewhat dangerous journey from Kenya through Ethiopia and in 1912 his first book "A Colony in the Making" was published; his second edition in 1919 bore the title "Profit and Sport in British East Africa". In 1940 he wrote "Kenya Chronicles".

He was president of the Kenya Sisal Growers' Association for no less than 30 years from 1913 and for years president of the White Hunters' Association.

He had been educated at Eton, and Trinity College, Cambridge, and served in the South African war in 1901/2 as a Lieutenant. Early in the 1914 war he returned to assist Africa first as a Captain in the Royal Artillery and then on the staff. He had already served in France. He was twice mentioned in despatches and awarded the Military Cross and the Croix de Guerre with palm.

From 1937/47 he was honorary colonel of a Suffolk Brigade of the R.A. He was a member of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Closer Union in East Africa (1931/32). In 1948 he was made a Knight of the Garter.

He had been chairman of Coleman & Co. Ltd., vice-chairman of Felixstowe Dock and Railway Co., and a director of Cranbux, Ltd. and other companies.

He married in 1903, Vera Ridley, daughter of Arthur W. Ridley. Their one son was killed in action in 1942. He is succeeded by his grandson, Mr. Philip Bertram Gurdon.



## "Dismiss Governor" A.N.C. Calls Fears of Violence in Northern Rhodesia

POLICE PATROLS are out in force in Northern Rhodesia following the failure of Mr. Harry Nkumbula, leader of the A.N.C., to obtain the postponement of the elections due on January 20-21. He has cabled the Colonial Secretary asking for the dismissal of Sir Evelyn Hone, the Governor.

He told journalists in Lusaka last week after a meeting with the Governor that the party's "master plan of passive resistance" would have to be implemented. He had requested that the elections be put back or even cancelled because 12 party candidates had been prevented from registering by Government returning officers.

He accused the Government of joining with the rival U.N.I.P. in an election plot. "If violence breaks out it will be the entire responsibility of the Governor and his officers. They have identified themselves with one political party to the detriment of the other". Over 100 A.N.C. supporters had marched on Government House the previous day waving placards demanding "Hone Must Go".

The Governor stated that there was no prospect of the elections being postponed or cancelled. Grievances could be submitted to the High Court; the Government could not act on general allegations. It was directing every effort to induce restraint and responsibility in all parties at every level. Action would be taken against any party using unlawful methods.

U.N.I.P. has already won 25 of the 75 seats unopposed. Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, the party leader, told an Ndola rally that he would seek independence for "Zambia" between July and September. "Liberation armies" would not be allowed to train in the territory for attacks on Portuguese land.

There have been more clashes between U.N.I.P. and the A.N.C.; two U.N.I.P. members have been found dead, and Mr. Kaunda had to call on Sir Evelyn to discuss security when reports were received of an A.N.C. plan to murder his party's candidates.

The new Constitution for internal self-government has been published. The executive council and public service commission remain, but the former will be replaced after the elections by a 13-man Cabinet under a Prime Minister. The Governor (who will be assisted by a deputy) will retain control of defence, external affairs, public order and safety, and the police. A five-member constitutional council will consider issues considered inconsistent with the Bill of Rights. There will be a House of Chiefs.

Laws passed by the Legislative Assembly will have to be approved by the Litunga of Barotseland before they can be applied to his territory.

The Crown Agents have agreed in principle to become trustees for the Central African Pension Fund, from which the pensions of Federal public servants are to be drawn.

A domestic service wages council to be established in Tanganyika by the Minister for Labour will draft conditions for domestic employment which will become enforceable at law if accepted by the Minister.

## Protest at Election Date Favouritism for North-East

A STRONG PROTEST has been made to H.M. Government by the People's Democratic Congress of Northern Rhodesia against the decision to hold a general election this month and against Government policy which is alleged to favour North Eastern Rhodesia and prejudice the Southern, Central, North Western, and Western provinces.

Mr. J. M. Michello, president of the P.D.C., has written in the course of a long letter to Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and for the Colonies:—

"The British Government may have been given the wrong impression that January is a dry month in the whole of Northern Rhodesia; at that time North Eastern Rhodesia is dry, but most areas in Barotseland and North Western Rhodesia are flooded from the middle of December to the middle of April.

"Election day may turn out to be suitable for going to plough. In such an event it will be very difficult to persuade a villager to forgo the opportunity to plough. To the overwhelming majority of voters the election will appear a stupid distraction from serious and intensive seasonal work. The advice to hold the general election in January is malicious, ignorant, and disrespectful to African tradition.

### Discouraging Christianity

"The publicity secretary of the United National Independence Party once declared that when it becomes the Government it will abolish Christmas, New Year, and other Christian holidays, and that the Bible will be made a prohibited book. The decision to hold election campaigns over Christmas and the New Year will reflect in the minds of the people that the British Government and its principal advisers accept this point of view and are subtly discouraging the Christian faith in Northern Rhodesia.

"After the 1958 'water election' the British Government gave an undertaking that no future elections would be arranged for the rainy season. We see no need to go back on an assurance and foolishly force voters into rains, mud, and floods.

"We feel that the British Government and their advisers are hurrying this election to consummate their policy to placate and favour the people of North Eastern Rhodesia at the political expense of those of North Western Rhodesia and Barotseland.

"During the registration of voters there were 64 registering officers in Kasama District but only 14 in Mwinilunga. This unworthy favouritism is designed to enable North Eastern to have more representatives in the Legislature than North Western Rhodesia, where many people were denied the chance to register by this and other tricks.

### Ruthless Disunity

"We were assured that no one would have to walk more than five miles to a registration station. In North Western Rhodesia, except those in the towns, people had to walk distances of more than 30 miles to register. In North Eastern the longest distance was 15 miles, and every school, dispensary, and important centre was a registration station.


"U.N.I.P. cannot govern Northern Rhodesia as a united territory. It is unfair, ruthless, cruel to anything outside the interests of North Eastern Rhodesia. Mr. Kaunda and U.N.I.P. have sent some 600 students away for study; over 500 have been picked from North Eastern Rhodesia.

"On the Copperbelt and line of rail U.N.I.P. picked as candidates for the municipal election men from North Eastern Rhodesia with only a few exceptions, and practically all councillors lined up for mayorships of the towns are from North Eastern Rhodesia.

"Inside U.N.I.P. members from North Western Rhodesia carry a stigma. For instance, Mr. Malumina Munda, the so-called deputy treasurer, does not handle any party money. He is from Barotseland.

"In forcing Mr. Kaunda, a man from Nyasaland, on the people of Northern Rhodesia, the British Government has divided the people at great political peril. If H.M. Government do not accept the weighty reasons for postponement of the 'rains election' there should be two general elections, one for North Eastern Rhodesia in January and the other for Barotseland and North Western Rhodesia in July, when the area will be dry.

"If the British Government do not accept this plan it will be clear that it has decided to hand over Barotseland and North Western Rhodesia to the Bemba."

NORTHERN

RHODESIA

For Information  
APPLY TO

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

Telegram: "NORHODCOM LESQUARE LONDON"  
Telephone: WHITFALL 5858 Cables: "NORHODCOM LONDON"

## "Contempt" for Mr. Macleod Threat to Use Force Against Federation

AN ATTACK upon Sir Roy Welensky in the *Spectator*, of which he was recently appointed editor, by Mr. Iain Macleod, M.P., lately Secretary of State for the Colonies, has been answered with equal directness by the Central African statesman, who said in a Rhodesia Television interview that he felt contempt for Mr. Macleod and his treatment of the Federation. He had been primarily responsible for a threat to use force against the Federation, a piece of bluff which had failed.

Under the heading "Curtain", the *Spectator* had said:—

"Sadly, predictably, inevitably the last note is a grumble by Sir Roy Welensky against the Secretary of State. Mr. Sandys is in good company. Over the ten years of the existence of the Federation Prime Ministers, First Secretaries, and mere Secretaries of State have been welcomed, abused and discarded. It is possible that Sir Roy Welensky has been right in everything. It must at least be arguable that Churchill, Eden, Macmillan, Home, Swinton, Lyttelton, Boyd, Macleod, Maudling, Butler and Sandys were not all dishonest and wrong.

### "Pathetic"

"The dying Federation churns out statistics to show how much the lot of the African has improved in the ten years of Federation. Sir Roy even claims that 'political advancement in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland took place at a much faster rate after 1953 than before'. So might the British Government claim that more television sets were sold in 1953-63 than in the previous decade.

"Two thousand years ago one could have agreed that it would have been to the benefit of the rude inhabitants of these islands to have been governed by the Romans. And the Welenskys, Robertses and Blackwoods of those years would have scorned the idea. It is still pathetic—it's the only word—that they cannot see that exactly the same emotions beat in an African breast, and no provision of schools or roads or hospitals can be a substitute for the right to govern (even to misgovern) oneself.

"Sir Roy himself has become a legendary figure here. As usual the legend is wrong. The right wing think of him as a strong man who commands. He is not. He is a weak man who blusters. And everyone who has dealt with him knows this and—when they judge it convenient—call his bluff.

"On the other hand, the left wing think of him as arrogant, dictatorial, rigid. He is not. He is friendly, paternalistic, even liberal. Welensky's tragedy is that he saw what must come in Central Africa, knew that he alone could make it bearable to the Europeans, and was not large enough to show the way."

### Macleod Gaffe

Sir Roy said, *inter alia*, in his reply: "I understand Mr. Macleod's desire to get in a few blows before my book is published. But I am happy to let Rhodesians judge whether I am a blusterer and one whose bluff can easily be called.

"Of course I made no accusations against Churchill and Eden. I have the greatest admiration for them. My criticisms were against the Macmillan Government and those I dealt with in that Government.

"There was an occasion when it looked as though the British Government was going to use force against the Federation over the differences on the new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia. Mr. Macleod was the Minister primarily responsible for that gaffe. I just do not believe that the British Government would have used force against us in the ultimate, but Mr. Macleod tried to bluff his way through on that one, but it failed.

"As to the charge that I saw what must come in Central Africa but was not big enough to show the way. Mr. Macleod is implying that I failed to follow the Macleod line. How right he is! I have nothing but contempt for Macleod and the way he behaved towards us.

"Events in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia in recent months disturb those who have the best will towards Africa. These events indicate that there will be no easy assimilation of our ideas or ideals of government.

"I can see no future in Central Africa without the white men—unless one accepts that this part of the world is to go back to the twilight that existed 70 or 80 years ago. The

white man still has a leading part to play. We must recognize that we are living in the second half of the 20th century, but I am not prepared to surrender the standards of integrity and the ideals to which we owe allegiance as a white race."

It was Mr. Macleod, not Sir Roy, who retreated when the Federal Prime Minister was "in full bluster over the proposed 'too clever by half' Constitution for Northern Rhodesia". The *Economist* recalled in an article which suggested that H.M. Government should lose little time in cabling: "Please come back, Sir Roy", adding: "If Sir Roy desires a really large place in history he can earn it by entering Southern Rhodesian politics now.

"Mr. Winston Field's governing party is divided between those who would defy the British Government, the Commonwealth, and the world by declaring its white-ruled State independent now, and those who see the need for a negotiated independence. Sir Edgar Whitehead's opposition party is likewise divided: between liberals who would come to terms with African nationalists quite soon, and those who lean towards Mr. Field.

"There is thus scope for Sir Roy to enter the field, and, popular as he is with white Southern Rhodesians, lead a new party to victory. If he did this Sir Roy would be in a position to carry his white followers into the accommodation with African nationalism that he knows must come if widespread violence is to be avoided in Southern Rhodesia. He might even be able to win a deal—by careful horse-trading—from the least radical of the African nationalists, who are themselves divided. None of this requires a change of policy on Sir Roy's part—just a change of timetable. Instead of talking about an African Government in the far future, he could talk of one in five, or three, or two years' time. That would shake them."

[Comment appears under Matters of Moment.]

## Excuse for Federal Destruction Or Premature Abandonment by Trustees

LORD ALPORT, lately High Commissioner in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, wrote in the course of a long article in the *Daily Telegraph* excusing the destruction of the Federation by the United Kingdom Government:—

"The loyalty which the Federation was able to attract to itself among Europeans, and even more among Africans, was at best only superficial. It was nowhere deep-rooted enough to withstand the forces of disintegration.

"The Federation could not hope to remain immune from the surge of African nationalism, or from the impact of those powerful movements which aimed at ending colonial rule at any cost. Whatever view may be taken of the merits of these movements in African politics, they were neither the creation of British policy nor the consequences of a lack of it.

"Historians will conclude that the movements which have so dramatically changed Africa during the past 20 years were an amalgam of British ideas of constitutional democracy, American zeal against colonial rule, and Communist social doctrines. They will certainly not seek to find an explanation in the policies of a particular Government or the part played by a particular man.

### British Interference

"Despite much dedicated work during the years 1953-57 adjustments in race relations were more difficult than the Federation's supporters in Britain imagined, and required more radical action than Europeans in Rhodesia were prepared to undertake.

"Outside the Federation and not least in Britain there was an acute consciousness of the growing disparity between the need for speed in the adjustment of race relations and the pace at which this was taking place—or, in the view of many fair-minded white Rhodesians, could safely take place in the existing conditions of Central Africa. One consequence was a growing exasperation among white Rhodesians at what they considered to be British 'interference'.

"There has been more than one occasion during the past three years when it seemed possible that the Federation would disintegrate in political conflict and administrative chaos. Had it done so the material and psychological damage caused to Britain and Central Africa would have been extremely serious.

"Although the end of the Federation is a matter of deep disappointment to those who played a part in its creation, there is the consolation that by no means all the imagination and effort which it represented has been wasted. It is also encouraging that the process of transition has been effected by agreement and negotiation".

LORD COLYTON replied:—

"I cannot allow Lord Alport's article to go unanswered. When murder has been committed it is not enough to arrange an expensive funeral, with a nice address by the clergyman.

"The Federation died, not because it was unworkable, but because the British Government from the time of the resignation of Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd (as he then was) in 1959 simply decided that it could not survive and then took deliberate steps to ensure its destruction. Needless to say, in this task they had the whole-hearted collaboration of the Socialist Opposition.

**Violation, then Inaction**

"There was no need for a Monckton Commission in 1960 to dig up the Federation and examine its roots. There was no possible justification for violating the agreed terms of reference of the Monckton Commission so as to introduce the issue of secession. And even when the report was presented—and it was in other respects able and practical—no serious attempt was made by the British Government to carry it out. On the contrary, a series of actions were taken, first in Nyasaland and secondly in Northern Rhodesia, which made it quite certain that the Monckton Report never could be implemented.

"Of course the Federation has to be seen in the wider context of Africa as a whole. But the wind-of-change movement, nurtured indeed in American anti-colonialism and Communist imperialism, could never have progressed but for the weakness and timidity of the British, French and Belgian Governments, who took the easy course of a too-hasty withdrawal, irrespective of the effect on millions of innocent Africans who sought only to live in peace with ever-improving standards of living.

"As a result conditions of tyranny, violence and intimidation, together with agricultural, medical and hygienic decline, have returned to great areas of Africa. It was to combat such conditions that men like Livingstone, Lugard and Johnston devoted their careers and sacrificed their health or their lives.

"The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is but one of the victims of the abandonment by the leading European Powers of their duty of completing the political training and economic and social development of the African people. Certainly we must now look to the future of the three territories and salvage all we can".

**Supine Surrender**

The editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA (whose letter has not been published) wrote:—

"Lord Alport excuses the destruction of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland with the assertion that that State 'could not hope to remain immune from the surge of African nationalism, . . . which was not the creation of British policy or the consequence of a lack of it'. There is no warrant for his implication that the force of nationalism was not recognized. Indeed, its existence and inevitable development were among the considerations which led to the creation of the Federation.

"What its architects could not be expected to know was that the Macmillan Government would (1) prove faithless to what its leading spokesmen have continued to call a noble conception, and (2) supinely surrender to the small clique of African extremist politicians who could not hope for power unless they could destroy the Federation, and who used all kinds of intimidation and violence including murder to fortify the pretence that it was generally resented by their people. In fact, the masses had no understanding of the constitutional changes.

"But for a calamitous decision at a crucial moment by Mr. James Griffiths, the then Socialist Secretary of State, they could have been explained favourably by the British officials whom the people trusted. Though warned that his intention would make Africans suspicious, the Minister forbade civil servants to recommend support for the plan. That left the course clear for the little group of fanatical opponents, to whom a nucleus of unemployed and other malcontents and thugs gravitated. When they embarked on terrorism their poli-

tical leaders expected it to be quashed immediately, but when they discovered to their astonishment that the authorities no longer considered the maintenance of law and order to be their first duty, they became convinced that their purpose could be attained by a mixture of fair words and fierce threats, backed by spasmodic disorder and propaganda in Britain and the United States.

"African nationalism in its present form is essentially the product of British weakness under Mr. Macmillan. He promised in his wind-of-change speech early in 1960 that individual merit would be the criterion for political advancement in British Africa, but he promptly broke that pledge by embarking upon the policy of appeasing African nationalist extremists—with the eager aid of a new Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Iain Macleod, who, though likewise knowing nothing about Africa, refused to listen to the warnings of men who had spent much of their life with Africans. Constitutions but recently negotiated on the understanding that they should last about a decade were recklessly torn up within a couple of years, thus indicating to moderate Africans and Europeans that the policy of ordered progress had been abandoned; and to the extremists that more noise and violence would accelerate the pace of change in their favour.

**Much Too Soon**

"Just a year before the wind-of-change speech the same Conservative Government had decided on a time-table for political advancement in East and Central Africa over about 15 years which would have enabled many thousands of Africans to be trained for responsibilities of all kinds before their countries became autonomous. Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod quickly tore down that policy, with the consequence that many territories have been or are to be granted independence long before they are ready for it—and years before the best African leaders wanted such a burden. They can obviously not admit that fact in public, but some of them have done so in private, conceding that self-government came much too soon.

"Indeed, not one of the so-called 'independent' States in East and Central Africa is genuinely independent. All remain dependent upon the Western world for men and money. Not one can staff its civil service, railways, research institutions, universities, colleges, schools, agriculture, secondary industries, or commerce.

"The Federation was incomparably the strongest, most hopeful, and best governed of the territories, and, given a few more years, would have become Britain's finest monument in Africa. It has been wrecked by faithlessness, faint-heartedness, folly, and dangerously premature abandonment of Britain's duties of trusteeship".

**Federal "Funeral" Ceremonies**

WEeping with emotion, Dr. Hastings Banda, Prime Minister of Nyasaland, supervised the cremation of a coffin of "Welensky's dead body of the Federation" in Soche township by the Shire River last week. Cock crows were broadcast over Radio Malawi at midnight on December 31.

Recalling his return to Nyasaland after 40 years of "voluntary exile", Dr. Banda said that through unity and discipline secession from the "stupid" Federation and self-government had been obtained, but "it does not mean that we have got rid of our political enemies". Europeans were financing opposition to his Malawi Congress Party, he alleged.

"Let me make it quite clear here that I mean to rule. Let's not beat about the bush. I came here to fight colonialism, imperialism and Welensky's Federation, and I am ready to fight anyone else who comes here. Call it dictatorship if you like. We cannot afford the luxury of disagreements over little things. I am going to allow no stupid ambitious fool to destroy what I have built up".

A similar "funeral" attended by representatives of African political groups in Central and South Africa was held in Dar es Salaam, but in Northern Rhodesia, Mr. Kaunda, U.N.I.P. leader, gave orders: "No celebrations, no wakes—mark the end of Federation by working hard to rebuild what it has destroyed". He had rejected the rival A.N.C.'s offer to stage mock funerals all over the Protectorate.

Mr. Winston Field, Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, broadcast on New Year's day and called for a sense of responsibility. "We cannot isolate ourselves from world affairs, no matter how much we wish to do so. On no account must we put ourselves in the wrong—we know we have right on our side and we must do our best to keep this position. There must be a spirit of compromise in any talks between the Government and the Opposition; I hope there will be discussions with others as well".

Mr. Joshua Nkomo, president of the People's Caretaker Council, has once more called for a conference of all races in the Colony under U.K. supervision to grant self-government to an African Government this year.

## Crisis Over N.F.D. Emergency

### Kenya Somalis Calling for Elections

RATIFICATION of the emergency regulations introduced by the Kenya Government in the North-Eastern Region three weeks ago was jeopardized last week when the Senate failed to give the proposals the necessary two-thirds vote after K.A.D.U. Senators had complained that their party was not consulted in what was a national crisis.

Exercising his right to address the upper chamber, Mr. T. J. Mboya, Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, warned that the Government would have either to allow Somali violence in the north-east to continue or to act unconstitutionally if the emergency measures were not endorsed. With Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Minister of State, he consulted Mr. Ronald Ngala, Leader of the Opposition, and it was agreed to recall the Senate, which then approved the motion by a voice vote, the K.A.D.U. Senators remaining silent. A statement explained that this had been done to avoid a premature constitutional crisis so soon after independence.

Although the Government had a clear majority in the House of Representatives, Mr. Ngala had nonetheless attacked its policy towards Somali claims, blamed the Government for the present situation, and complained that he had not been consulted.

He was reprimanded by the Prime Minister for opposing the action taken, despite having himself called for something to be done. Mr. Kenyatta said that in 33 raids since November 13, three civilians had been killed and 18 wounded, while the security forces had lost two dead and 14 injured. These "mounting waves of terrorism" had "frustrated" a peaceful settlement.

The raiders were obviously well organized, and their use of automatic firearms was disquieting.

Mr. T. P. Randle, the civil secretary of the Region, had reported previously that the general populace was against *shifita* tactics, which involved intimidation, living off stocks of goats, sheep and camels owned by the inhabitants, and beating up women. Most of the chiefs and a number of representatives of political parties had requested him to arrange for elections.

A police spokesman said that local Somalis had restrained gangs from firing on an out-post and had also reported the existence of a gang in the Wajir area. About 90% of the population were opposed to violence, he estimated.

More tribesmen have declared their loyalty to the Kenya Government, and many who had visited Somalia in order to join *shifita* groups have returned "disillusioned".

Some *shifita* are returning to Somalia because of lack of food. Political leaders in the Region are to hold discussions with officials to discuss how to help the Government stamp out the movement and to implement its development projects there.

### Bandits "Deserting"

Pokomo tribesmen of the Coast Region wish to discuss protection from *shifita* attacks with Mr. Ngala at Garissa.

Widespread rain has made ground conditions "appalling" and has hampered operations. Swollen rivers are interfering with communications. At Habaswein, on the Isiolo-Wajir road, a major wash-away has cut the movement of Army convoys to the north, and supplies for Mandera and Wajir have had to be flown across.

A light aircraft of the Army Air Corps crashed south of Garissa. The four occupants were seriously injured.

In the Finno area of Mandera *shifita* attacked a *manyatta*, killing seven goats and driving away camels and cattle, the property of a Merille chief. The gang moved off into Somalia.

Later reports were that numbers of *shifita* bands were "deserting" and returning from Somalia into Kenya. Several Kenya national Somalis, who had gone to Somalia, had crossed the five-mile wide prohibited zone back to Kenya.

In Mandera district the Northern Frontier United Congress Party has condemned the activities of the "bandits" and has circulated leaflets accusing Somalia of aiding them.

On New Year's eve an unknown number of *shifita* attacked Wajir boma, the G.S.U. camp and the police post.

The President of the Northern Frontier Democratic Party, Mr. Yusuf Haji Abdi, said that his party dissociated itself from claims being made by "disgruntled young Somalis". The vice-president of the party, Mr. Mohamed Ali Haji, had been kidnapped by *shifita* and taken into Somalia.

### Disgruntled Youths

His party's 40,000 followers throughout the three districts of the Region were rallying behind the Kenya Government to stamp out lawlessness. The party was anxious to hold elections, and he urged all peace-loving Somalis to go to the polls as soon as the Government had made arrangements.

Mr. Ahmed Shuria, a Garissa county councillor, has also described the *shifita* as a small group of "disgruntled and unemployed youths who go about plundering and terrorizing the population". They now lacked the support of the population, he claimed. All Somalis were ready to assist the Kenya Government in combatting them, and were also ready for a general election, which would give them greater opportunities in their regional administration.

The leader of the Rer-Yahva section of the Abub-Wak Somali tribe in Garissa, Mr. Farah Gabar, has condemned *shifita* activity and appealed to Somalis to co-operate with the Kenya Government.

Condemnation of secessionist raids "continues to pour into" Garissa regional headquarters. The president of the Peoples' National League and a member of the Orma tribe, Mr. Buvo Dube, said that his party, with branches in Garissa, Wajir, Ijara, Garbatulla, Moddaasha, Manja, Galole and Garsen, had several thousand members who all stood behind him in condemning the bandits.

They urged the Government to arrange elections as soon as possible and to accelerate its development plans as the "only hopeful sign of progress for Somalis".

Reports that the Somalia Government was "worried over recent movements of Ethiopian troops that entered Kenya, taking position in the Mandera District, and of Kenya troops sent inside the Ogaden Region" were denied by Kenya last week. A Somali Government statement that "the Government of Kenya has given full powers to the administration of the Eastern Border Region, entirely inhabited by Somali population, to arrest citizens arbitrarily and hold them for periods of time as long as 28 days" was countered with a reminder that the only "citizens" liable to detention were those arrested for being inside the prohibited zone along the Kenya/Somalia border. "This zone has been cleared of all inhabitants, so no law-abiding citizen has anything to fear".

Three Somali raiders and three Somalis loyal to the Kenya Government were killed in a dawn attack at Ijara at the

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week-end by 15 Somalis, who stormed into the camp of Chief Omar Shuria, shot him dead and killed one of his tribal policemen. In fighting which followed three bandits and a woman living in the camp were killed.

Further plans for the development of the North-Eastern Region, following a programme of small scattered projects, emphasizes livestock improvement on which the economy of the Region depends. To improve marketing facilities, it has been decided to establish a regular stock-route, equipped with boreholes, holding grounds, and stock-dips, to provide outlets for cattle and small stock through Isiolo to up-country areas and the Coast. This will cost some £44,000 over two years.

**Development Plan**

Approval has been given for additional veterinary staff to supervise marketing arrangements, disease control and other methods of improving quality. Extensive water development to bring additional grazing areas into full use will require heavy initial investment in machinery and equipment and "scarce" specialist staff to operate it.

A secondary boarding school in Wajir, expected to take its first pupils in January 1965, will cost £35,000. As an interim measure all pupils from the Region who qualify for entry to secondary schools this year will be awarded bursaries to continue their schooling elsewhere.

"The number of Government officers in the Region of local origin is limited at present. Special training schemes are being devised to enable the inhabitants to participate more fully in administration at all levels".

Further health facilities are needed but can be provided only if the staff be found to man them.

The full development plan would extend over five years and cost about £300,000, more than one-third of this for water supplies alone.

Discussions have been held in Nairobi by Major-General Jyassu Mengesha, Ethiopian Defence Minister, and Mr. Murumbi, on defence matters.

**Defence Talks**

The Somali Republic has attacked the recently ratified Ethiopia-Kenya mutual defence pact as a breach of the charter drawn up in Addis Ababa last May by the new Organization of African Unity, and has declared that it cannot but regard it as endangering the peace of its own territory.

Mr. K. Yifru, Ethiopia's Foreign Minister, has warned that "the Somalis cannot step into Djibouti (the port in French Somaliland) because it is a gateway of the Ethiopian people".

The vice-president of the Northern Province People's National Union, Mr. Abadiba Guyo, and the secretary-general, Mr. Asman Bajila, appealed to the Government to reinforce its security forces. Mr. Guyo has asked the Prime Minister to visit Garissa as soon as possible to meet local leaders. Several delegates representing political parties in the Region have arrived at Garissa to hold discussions on security problems with Government officials.

Reports from the three districts as this issue went to press stated that in Garissa the Kenya Rifles have seized 250 head of cattle from the manyatta of a person known to have harboured a gang prior to the attack on tribal police at Masabubu; following the raid on December 31 on Wajir, a curfew was imposed on the township, and 68 curfew offenders have been arrested; and in Mandera district, a patrol has intercepted the stock of a known gang leader attempting to cross the prohibited zone at night into Somalia. A European policeman was wounded in an ambush at Butellu on Monday.

**Colonial Relics**

"COLONIAL RELICS" in Kenya should not be maliciously damaged or disfigured, but lodged in museums or places of safety, the Government announced last week. A K.A.N.U. Senator, Mr. Dixon Makasembo, had the previous night thrown a beer bottle at a portrait of Queen Victoria on the new lake steamer R.M.S. VICTORIA, docked at Kisumu, because he was angry that there was no picture of Mzee Kenyatta on view. A Railways and Harbours official has stated that pictures of all three East African premiers are to be hung in every ship of the Lake Victoria fleet. Sentence is due to be passed today on Mr. Leonard Busfield, a Kenya resident for 22 years, who has admitted smashing a portrait of Mr. Kenyatta in a Mombasa hotel, where he said he had come on New Year's day for a drink and began talking politics. He has been in custody for a week because K.A.N.U. youthworkers had threatened him. K.A.N.U. supporters in Nairobi, some carrying sticks, gatecrashed a New Year's eve party at the Muthaiga Club.

**Political Optimism v. Business Realism**

**U.K. Houses Withdraw from East Africa**

THE CONFIDENCE PROFESSED in the condition and prospects of the East and Central African territories by many politicians in the United Kingdom and Africa is in sharp contrast with the opinions held by many businessmen with long experience in those countries.

For obvious reasons, however, companies, firms and individuals with substantial investments in newly-independent States, or those approaching that status, seek to avoid public expression of their anxieties, for they recognize that they would thereby incur the disapproval, and quite possibly the active and continuing hostility, of the African Ministers and other propagandists who have set themselves to persuade the world that investments in their territories would constitute sound, commercial risks.

Those Africans know, however, that the lack of candid criticism is not tantamount to satisfaction with the present situation. Quite recently an accountant who had lived in Uganda for years, and previously in Kenya, suffered immediate expulsion merely because he had voiced in a chamber of commerce gathering some of the doubts which worry most Europeans and many Asians in East and Central Africa generally.

**Disenchantment**

Similar disenchantment is felt by the heads of many businesses in the United Kingdom which have been shippers to East and Central Africa for decades. In the last two or three years many have decided to withdraw entirely from what they believe to have become unduly risky and unattractive markets. Having learnt of two further cases EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA invited corroboration of the information which it had received, and is authorized to publish the basic facts.

Mr. N. F. Coles, one of the joint managing directors of F. J. Hawkes & Co., Ltd., London shippers to East Africa for more than 40 years, tells us that after a visit which he paid in 1962, and several months of very careful consideration by his board, it was decided to withdraw from the market.

**Deliberate Running Down**

From Mau Mau days onwards (to use the company's own expression) it deliberately let its business in East Africa run down and avoided any new or large commitments. Latterly no business has been accepted, even from friends of many years' standing.

Another well-known company, which has for many years acted as 'buying agents for businesses in East Africa and Nyasaland, has asked not to be quoted by name, but has authorized publication of the following statement:—

"Many houses have withdrawn from these markets, and we know that many more are alarmed at the present economic trends. We are not opening any new accounts, but confirm indents for old friends, though as far as possible we limit our trade to the cover provided by export insurance."

"If the economic situation in East Africa deteriorates still further, and the banks withdraw substantial credit facilities from traders as a whole, many British manufacturers, and also many British export merchants who now provide buyers in Africa with long-term credit, will suffer very considerably. Old-established confirming houses in the United Kingdom have recently lost considerable sums in the territories, and at present we know of several likely bankruptcies or voluntary liquidations in East Africa."

"There have recently been six bankruptcies in East Africa involving United Kingdom exporters. In one case in Mombasa the amount involved was approximately £25,000, and in cases in Mwanza and Kisumu the totals were about £20,000 and £15,000. A business now in difficulties in Tanganyika may end in bankruptcy and leave creditors facing a loss of something like £50,000."

"These are the results of weaknesses in the economy, which has been undermined in recent years, mainly owing to lack of confidence caused by political uncertainty."

## Liquidating "Settlerism" "Confrontation" in Southern Rhodesia

A Z.A.N.U. policy declaration has this preamble: — "Zimbabwe is an African country in the context of an African continent in various stages of the relentless process of overthrowing the yoke of colonialism, imperialism and settlerism. Therefore its institutions — political, social and economic — must reflect the will of the African people who form 96% of the population while at the same time recognizing and respecting the rights and aspirations of the various minorities within its borders.

"The Zimbabwe African National Union is a non-racial union of all the peoples of Zimbabwe who share a common destiny and a common fate, believing in the African character of Zimbabwe, and democratic rule by the majority regardless of race, colour, creed or tribe.

"Z.A.N.U. ushers in the 'new politics of confrontation' and seriously intends to confront the voting white minority, the minority-elected Government and the British Government with a positive programme that can only result in bringing about equal opportunity and full citizenship to every one regardless of the colour of one's skin, race, religion or sex.

### Non-Racialism

"Z.A.N.U. will establish a nationalist, democratic, Socialist and pan-Africanist republic within the fraternity of African States and the British Commonwealth of Nations. The only form of franchise that the Z.A.N.U. republic will recognize is one based on "one man, one vote". The principles of the rule of law and separation of powers will be strictly adhered to. The Z.A.N.U. republic will be based on the principle of non-racialism.

"All people born in Zimbabwe, or who have been citizens of Zimbabwe, will be citizens of the republic. Foreigners may qualify for citizenship.

"There shall be entrenched in the Constitution of the republic a Bill of Rights guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of every citizen. It will have retrospective effect from September 12, 1890.

"The Judiciary, apart from its normal functions of administering justice, will test the constitutionality of all legislation.

"All land will belong to the Zimbabwe nation, and the Government shall merely be the trustee on behalf of the people. The Land Apportionment Act and its corollary the Land Husbandry Act will be repealed and replaced by a new Land Redistribution Law. A National Land Board will be created to effect an equitable redistribution of land. Absentee ownership of land by foreigners will be forbidden. Owned but unused land will be declared communal.

### Incentives and High Wages

"A land bank for the purpose of financing agricultural projects will be established. For the purpose of improving livestock, and rendering available educational materials to all farmers, a veterinary research agency will be established. Destocking will be abolished.

"Incentive to farmers engaged in intensive agriculture will be offered. In order to increase production, co-operative societies will be established throughout the country. Serious effort will be made by the Z.A.N.U. Government to increase the volume of our exports of tobacco, maize, sugar, citrus fruit and other products.

"Z.A.N.U. believes in complete integration of all educational institutions and in free and compulsory education for all children up to form II. An adult and mass education programme will be launched to wipe out illiteracy. A programme of scholarships and loans will be instituted.

"A Zimbabwe Institute of Technology will be established, as will more teacher training institutes to provide the kindergarten, primary and secondary schools with better qualified teachers. The present unified African teaching service will be abolished and all teachers will be part of the civil service establishment.

"The Industrial Conciliation Act, the Masters and Servants Act and all such industrial and labour laws that discriminate on the basis of colour will be repealed and replaced by a new labour law treating all labour matters without racial discrimination."

Legal recognition will be accorded to all organized and registered labour unions, and the Government will uphold the right of trade unions to assemble and organize all workers. A high national minimum wage is promised.

A National Employment Bureau to register the unemployed and to implement a relief fund will seek to create economic

projects which may include: communal farms; opening of postal agencies in rural areas; establishments of communal and co-operative societies; housing schemes in rural and urban areas; irrigation projects; and a national army.

An immediate and unconditional amnesty for all political prisoners is offered. Every citizen would have the option to be tried with or without jury. African courts enforcing African customary law would be instituted throughout the country.

Judiciary would consist of lower courts, the High Court, and the Supreme Court.

The Zimbabwe Republic Police would replace the B.S.A.P. Z.A.N.U. would repeal the Unlawful Organizations Act, the Law and Order Maintenance Act, the Preservation of Constitutional Government Act, Preventive Detention Act, Curatorship Act, and all other repressive laws enacted by the "white minority settler-Governments".

### Major Goals

Pan-Africanism would be adopted as the foundation of foreign policy, as a member of the Organization of African States. The liquidation of colonialism, settlerism, neo-colonialism and imperialism in Africa will be the major goal of this policy.

Positive neutrality and non-alignment would be pursued with vigilance, and Z.A.N.U. would participate fully in mankind's search for lasting peace through disarmament and freedom from hunger, but "it will not seek co-existence between oppressor and oppressed in any country. Co-existence can only be between free people."

A strong national army is envisaged for the defence and liberation of Africa from colonialism, settlerism and imperialism. Special inducement will be introduced so as to encourage capable soldiers to pursue military service as a career.

Social schemes for juvenile delinquents and a training programme in the arts and skills for all prisoners in order to facilitate their social rehabilitation are proposed, together with training and re-training programmes for the unemployed.

There would be a freedom fighters' council to administer special education and life insurance funds for the dependants of those who died, or were partially or wholly incapacitated in the national struggle for liberation.

Z.A.N.U. would ensure that every person had a suitable house in urban or rural areas, and would open crèches and child welfare centres everywhere.

The repeal of the Native Status Determination Act and the disbandment of the present racial Social Welfare Department are planned.

"Immigration from overseas will in principle be prohibited except for technicians and investors. The Z.A.N.U. Government will pursue an open-door policy with regard to immigrants from other parts of Africa excepting South African and Portuguese whites who will be prohibited."

The municipal franchise would be based on one man, one vote, under a new Local Government Act.

Chieftainship as an institution would be protected by the Constitution, aided by a college for the training of chiefs and their heirs-apparent.

A Ministry of Economics would prepare long-range development schemes for every Government department, taking into account the economic implications of departmental policies and intended projects. It would propose ways and means of raising capital on home and foreign markets for national economic developments.

### Nationalize Major Industries

"Private enterprise will be encouraged as an economic mainstay in the private economic sector. Foreign investment will be vigorously encouraged. ALL major industries that form the basis of our main economy will be nationalized."

A Board of Trade and Commerce to increase trade with the outside world, and a favoured nation policy in respect of tariffs and customs in trade with the African sister-States are among other measures suggested.

Power and water development would include the use of all available electric power for industry, lighting and cooking in urban and rural areas, irrigation schemes along the major river valleys to improve farming, and the supply of water to all villages and communities.

All railways and passenger aircraft would be public property. Urban passenger-transport would fall under government management.

Radio Zimbabwe would be the national broadcasting system. Tourism will be encouraged.

A Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture is proposed to provide public youth centres and recreational facilities, and a national youth brigade would be formed to "spearhead" voluntary work.

"A Z.A.N.U. régime will ensure that all ruins, caves and other shrines and monuments are honoured and respected. All statues and other images that symbolize colonialism and settlerism will be demolished. It will abolish colonial and imperialist holidays. A National Day of Heroes will be

named and observed in honour of national martyrs such as Dr. Parienyatwa and others who died for national liberation". A medical school at the "University of Zimbabwe"; inducements consisting of scholarships and allowances as well as better conditions of service for all doctors; more training centres for State Registered Nurses; the opening of all clinics, dispensaries and places of confinement to people of all races; and a new system of mobile clinics to visit all villages and other remote places everyday, form the planks of a proposed national health service that will be free for people of all races.

**Z.A.N.U. Officers**

The party's interim executive comprises: the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, president; Mr. Leopold Takawira, deputy president; Mr. Robert Mugabe, secretary-general; Mr. Agrippa Mukahlera, deputy secretary-general; Mr. Herbert Chitepo, national chairman; Mr. Washington Malianga, secretary for publicity and information; Mr. Noel Mukono, deputy secretary for publicity and information, and London representative; Mr. Enos Nkala, national treasurer; Mr. Nathan Shamuyarira, deputy treasurer; Mr. Transo Makombe, secretary for foreign affairs; Mr. Enos Ndhlovu, deputy secretary for foreign affairs; Mr. Henry Hamadziripi, national organizing secretary; Mr. Maurice Nyagumbo, deputy organizing secretary; Mr. Enos Chikowore, secretary for youth and culture; and Mr. Edison Zvobgo, under-secretary to the executive.

African leaders who have expressed their support include Dr. Banda, U.N.I.P. of Northern Rhodesia (which is "committed to giving full backing to the rebel members now being led by the Rev. N. Sithole, having come to the conclusion that Mr. Nkomo has become a spent force and that whatever following he might have of the Southern Rhodesians is bound to be negligible"), and President Nyerere (who has allowed Mr. Herbert Chitepo, director of public prosecutions in the Tanganyika Government, to go back to Southern Rhodesia to work in the interim executive of the new party).

**Africa Bureau Condemns S. Rhodesia**

**Anxiety About One-Party States**

SOUTHERN RHODESIA presents the major problem in Central Africa, since "tension between the races grew steadily after the change of Government in December which brought the Rhodesian Front to power on a segregationist programme", states the Africa Bureau in its annual report.

Welcoming Mr. Butler's refusal to guarantee early independence for the Colony as demanded by Mr. Field, the Bureau argues that until the Southern Rhodesian Government is "truly representative of the people" there is little chance of peaceful progress or fruitful co-operation with its neighbours.

The executive committee of the Bureau has urged that Britain should use its influence to ensure "liberalizations" of the Southern Rhodesian Constitution. It deplores "repressive legislation" and "further restrictions on political freedom", and welcomes the end of the Federation and the restoration of "harmonious relations between the British Government and the people of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia".

In connexion with Northern Rhodesia's general election last October the Bureau raised some £7,000 for U.N.I.P.'s campaign expenses.

Nyasaland is said to have had "a period of steady political advance".

Overall in Central Africa, however, "divisions in some political movements are wasting energy needed to continue the struggle for independence and to meet the demands which freedom makes on countries emerging from long periods of Colonial rule".

Britain's record at the United Nations is criticized as showing little appreciation of the opportunity which membership affords of influencing policies in those countries of Southern Africa with which the U.K. has no direct link. Instead, "Britain has on many occasions found itself in a minority with South Africa and Portugal in opposing or abstaining from voting on U.N. resolutions on Africa. This has done Britain's reputation incalculable harm. A change of policy to take account of the realities of the Southern African situation is urgently required".

**Criticism Regarded as Treachery**

Turning to one-party States, the Bureau contends that the dominance of one political party which has led the vanguard in campaigning for independence over weak opposition groups based regionally or formed after independence was to be expected. "The question is whether the formal creation of a one-party State is in conflict with the establishment of a free society. One-party States exist in many of the countries forming the Organization of African and Malagasy States—Ghana, Tanganyika, and self-governing Nyasaland.

"Circumstances differ in each territory and no generalizations are possible. But the executive views with anxiety the tendency in certain countries to put leader and party above the law and to regard all criticism as treachery.

"The Government of a developing country must clearly give priority to economic development, and time cannot be spared for protracted debate about the merits of one scheme over another; but acceptance of any scheme or policy by the people affected is essential to its success. Concentration of energies through one single party may bring good results in certain circumstances, but the test of freedom will come when new parties begin to canvass alternative methods and achieve a reasonable measure of support from the people".

Mr. Peter Calvoressi is now chairman of the Bureau, Lord Hemmingford having resigned after a decade in that office.

**Tea Wages Council**

A TEA INDUSTRY WAGES COUNCIL has been established in Nyasaland under the chairmanship of Mr. T. D. Ruxton. There are two other independent members, Mr. A. W. Chipungu, M.P., and Mr. M. Chiumia. Representatives of tea growers are Messrs. R. Grant, E. W. Hill, P. Howard, E. A. Nelms, and A. Schwarz, with Dr. I. Conforzi and Mr. J. G. Sanderson as alternates. Employees are represented by Messrs. D. M. Chigamba, E. V. Laita, R. Malomboza, S. G. D. Mankhomwa and C. R. Nthida, with D. L. Chimwala and E. S. G. Mothisa as alternates.

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## Decade of Achievement

(Continued from page 393)

The need for training facilities within the Federation led to the establishment of a Faculty of Medicine at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and to the sponsoring of a £1m. Medical School by the University of Birmingham. The Federal Government's contribution to this ambitious project was planning and making provision for the building of a multi-racial 350-bed teaching hospital adjacent to the Medical School at an estimated cost of £1.4m.

"Federation boosted commercial and industrial development in Central Africa by its financial strength and policies and the basic services which these made possible, by the creation of a single internal market and establishment of a protective tariff, and by the development of external trade facilities. Further assistance was given to commerce and industry by the common system of rebates and allowances embodied in the Federal tax structure.

"These factors made investment in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland far more attractive than it would otherwise have been. They also had a profound effect on the distributive trade, and accelerated a move away from dependence on South African and other external distributive services.

"Local manufacturers increased their share of the domestic market, local representation of external suppliers multiplied rapidly, and branches and subsidiaries of external firms acquired a greater degree of independence in their operations in the Federation.

### Secondary Industries

"One of the most spectacular developments under Federation was the growth of secondary industry. In 1954 the net value added by secondary industrial processes in the Federation was estimated at £29.2m. By 1962 this figure had risen by 88.7% to £55.1m. These figures represented 8.5% and 10.3% respectively of the gross domestic product at factor cost, indicating an increase in the importance of manufacturing industry in relation to other sectors of the economy.

"Although the value of wages and salaries paid by manufacturing industry practically doubled from £19.6m. in 1954 to £38.1m. in 1962, the numbers employed rose less rapidly (from 111,460 to 127,020), which means there was a rapid increase in average earnings, particularly among African employees, whose average earnings in manufacturing industry increased by 113% between 1954 and 1962.

"The gross value of manufacturing output, as recorded in the industrial censuses, increased from £94m. in 1955 to £185m. in 1961.

"To a large extent the location of industry in Southern Rhodesia had been influenced by the bigger and more highly developed consumer market in that territory, the proximity of raw materials, more highly developed basic services, and the availability of managerial and other skills. Figures of the industrial origin of the gross domestic product show, however, that between 1954 and 1962 the rate of increase in the manufacturing contribution has been most rapid in Northern Rhodesia—100%, compared with 88% in both Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

### Great Industrial Expansion

"Industries established or expanded in Northern Rhodesia since Federation include vehicle assembly, welded steel pipes, engineering supplies, structural steel, furniture, chinaware, clothing, plastic injection mouldings, rubber mouldings, meat slaughtering, sugar refining, brewing, milling, edible oils, confectionery, and biscuit manufacture.

"Industries established or expanded in Nyasaland include clothing, blankets, furniture, soap-making, cement, biscuits, vegetable oil extraction, vehicle body building, confectionery, meat slaughtering and storage, and mineral waters.

"In large measure the success story of manufacturing industry in the Federation was due to the Federal Government's policy of encouraging industrial development by a system of selective tariff protection for local manufacturers.

"One of the most important effects of the creation of a Federal tariff was the introduction of effective protective tariffs in Northern Rhodesia, where local manufacturers had previously faced duty-free competition from South Africa. Northern Rhodesia thus became more attractive to prospective industrialists than before Federation, while Nyasaland gained protected duty-free access to the Rhodesian markets for industrial and agricultural products.

"The keynote of export development under Federation was diversification of commodities and markets. The value of the principal exports of secondary manufactures increased from £5.4m. in 1954 to £13.1m. in 1962, and whereas in 1954 two-thirds of total Federal exports went to Britain and South Africa, by 1962 the proportion had dropped to 50%. This was due to the deliberate development of new markets, particularly in the Far East, Europe, and other parts of Africa.

"While exports rose steadily under Federation, the volume

of imports declined after 1957, and in 1962 the Federation had a record favourable trade balance of more than £73m., compared with a favourable balance of only £28.1m. in 1954. In the first eight months of 1963 the favourable balance was £59.8m.

"The Kariba Dam and hydro-electric scheme—one of the most imaginative engineering projects in the world—was the Federation's most spectacular achievement. It had a major impact on economic development in the two Rhodesias.

"The Monckton Commission said in 1960 that 'without the advantages of central planning and execution, based upon a market capable of absorbing more and more power, it seems unlikely that such an ambitious project could have been financed and undertaken', and evidence of the confidence which Federation created in the minds of investors was the size of the World Bank loan for the Kariba scheme—£28.57m., which at that time was the largest loan the Bank had ever made for a single project and the largest in Africa as a whole.

"The total cost of the first stage of Kariba was approximately £78m., well within the original estimate of £79.4m. Over £74m. of the total was financed from loan funds obtained either through the Federal Government or under guarantee by the Federal Government, and of this sum £46.6m. came from outside the Federation.

"The full potential of Kariba has not yet been exploited. Yet to date its contribution to general development in the two Rhodesias has been remarkable.

"Completed on schedule—despite the fact that in two successive years of its construction, 1957 and 1958, work was hampered by the worst Zambezi floods in living memory—Kariba came into production in December, 1959, and not only created additional generating capacity but also introduced for the first time a national grid system supplying electricity in bulk to both the Rhodesias and interconnecting four important thermal power stations.

"The installed capacity of all Northern and Southern Rhodesian producers of electrical energy increased dramatically from 531 megawatts in 1954 to 1,085 megawatts in 1960 (Kariba's first year of operation) and to 1,413 megawatts in 1962.

### Railway Development

"The Federal Government gave priority to capital development of the Railways to ensure adequate rail capacity to meet all demands, and in the ten years of Federation the Rhodesia Railways doubled their carrying capacity for both freight and passengers.

"In 1955 a new railway line from Bulawayo to Lourenço Marques was opened, providing Rhodesia with a second high-capacity fast line to the Mozambique coast and access to a second Portuguese East African port. In addition to boosting exports, this important new link opened up for development vast areas of the Southern Rhodesian lowveld, notably the Hippo Valley and Triangle sugar estates. In 1963 approval was given for the construction of a 50-mile branch line to the estates, and preliminary work was started.

"Aggregate demands by Rhodesia Railways users were in 1957 met in full for the first time for many years, as capacity caught up with demand. Despite a reduction in the demand for coal when Kariba power became available, the amount of freight carried increased from 7.8m. tons in 1952-53 to a peak of over 12.2m. tons in 1960-61, falling slightly to 11.5m. tons in 1962-63. The number of passengers rose from 3,361,899 in 1952-53 to 4,364,166 in 1961-62, dropping to some 4m. in 1962-63.

"Increases in equipment, improved operating facilities, extensions of track, and other capital works projects were reflected in the rise of the Rhodesia Railways' total assets from £55.4m. in 1953 to £100.5m. in 1963.

"All this was made possible by the high level of investment in the Rhodesia Railways, which since Federation has averaged £6m. a year. Of the total of £60m. invested over the past ten years the Federal Government was responsible for £32.6m. and the Railways themselves, and their pension fund, for the remainder.

### Outlook for Civil Aviation

"Under Federation the Rhodesia Railways pursued a successful policy of eliminating all racial distinctions in their services and in the employment of staff. With the introduction of the 'rate for the job' promotion was based solely on merit, and jobs previously reserved for Europeans were thrown open to all races. Today there are many Africans both employed and training as shunters, firemen, guards and clerks, some earning more than £90 per month.

"When the Federal Government took over the responsibility for civil aviation there were 135 airports and aerodromes in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. In November, 1963, there were 210—122 private and 88 under the direct control of the Federal Government.

"In the year ended June 30, 1963, Central African Airways—after paying interest on capital and loans—achieved a record net operating profit of £275,955, compared with a deficit of



£131,560 in 1952-53. The fact that fares were maintained at the level established in 1957, despite considerable increases in overheads, made this achievement (C.A.A.'s fourth successive year of profitable operation) particularly noteworthy. The national airline also flew more passengers and more freight-ton-miles in 1962-63 than ever before: 213,641 passengers, compared with 109,000 in 1952-53, and 992,722 ton-miles of freight compared with 518,000 in 1952-53.

"C.A.A. also has an extremely high safety record, having had only two crashes involving loss of life, one of which proved to be due to a manufacturing fault. The other involved a light Beaver aircraft.

"At the time of Federation there was not a single major post office building in Northern Rhodesia adequately sized or equipped to deal with the volume of work on hand, and every major post office and telephone exchange building in the territory had to be replaced. New post offices and telephone exchanges of adequate capacity to meet future as well as present needs were constructed at Lusaka, Kitwe, Ndola, Broken Hill, Livingstone and several smaller centres, and the bulk of Northern Rhodesia's telecommunications equipment, which was obsolescent and unsuited to the territory's needs, was replaced.

"The position in Southern Rhodesia at the time of the Federation was very different: generally speaking, post office and telephone exchange buildings were well designed and adequate for the services provided and telecommunications equipment was of a modern type. The expansion of services under Federation therefore largely involved the extension of existing buildings and equipment in Southern Rhodesia as opposed to the wholesale replacement of buildings and equipment in Northern Rhodesia.

"The first television station was opened at Salisbury in November, 1960, making the Federation the first country in Africa south of the Equator to have television. Seven months later (six months ahead of schedule) a second station was opened at Bulawayo. In December, 1961, a third station was opened at Kitwe to serve the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt, having been brought into operation almost a year ahead of its scheduled opening date.

"The Rhodesia and Nyasaland Tourist Board (a Federal statutory body) played a very important part, together with Central African Airways and the Rhodesia Railways, in developing tourism in the Federation to the status of a major industry. The number of tourists and excursionists visiting the Federation during 1962 was a record 174,152—an increase of nearly 38% over the figure five years previously. The income from this source is thought to have been near £8m."

## Trade Between the Rhodesias

### Arrangements Between the Governments

THE FOLLOWING INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS relating to trade between Southern and Northern Rhodesia became effective on January 1, and will remain in force until further notice:—

(1) In general, products and manufactures of Northern Rhodesia will enter Southern Rhodesia free of customs duty.

(2) Many Southern Rhodesian products will similarly enter Northern Rhodesia free of duty, but where an industry is already established in Northern Rhodesia or is to be established in the future and requires protection against competition from Southern Rhodesia, provision has been made for duties no higher than the Column D rates in the customs tariff to be imposed. On this basis some Southern Rhodesian manufactures are now subject to duty.

(3) Both countries may change the revenue element of customs duties. All goods subject to an excise duty in either territory will, when imported from the other territory, be subject to customs duty at a rate equal to the excise duty.

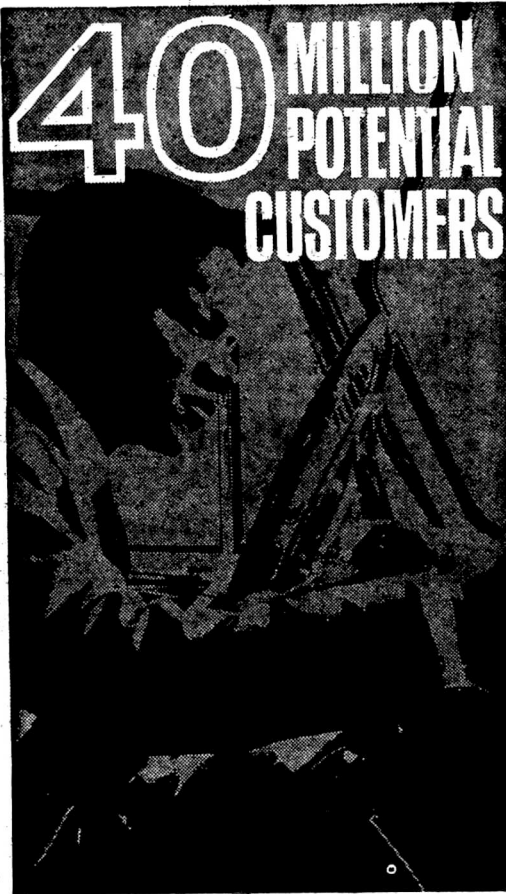
(4) Some agricultural commodities have become subject to import licensing in both directions, but trade in domestic products and manufactures between the two territories will otherwise generally be free of quantitative restrictions.

(5) Generally speaking, provision for trade between the territories and with other countries remain substantially undisturbed.

Previous arrangements for the supply to Northern Rhodesia of essential commodities, notably coal, sugar and some other basic foodstuffs, will continue.

Export marketing services in Southern Rhodesia for major agricultural products will continue available to Northern Rhodesia: for example, the tobacco auction floors in Salisbury will still handle the North West Rhodesian flue-cured crop.

If a firm decision is taken within an agreed time limit to instal a fertilizer plant at Livingstone based on Wankie coal and Victoria Falls hydro-electric power, in order to meet the requirements for nitrogenous fertilizers of both Rhodesias at an agreed price, it will guarantee such a factory the Southern Rhodesian market for its products.



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## Central African Airways Corporation

CENTRAL AFRICAN AIRWAYS CORPORATION has for the fourth successive year made a substantial net profit (£275,955) after paying interest on loans and fixed capital.

In the year to June 30 revenue rose to £2,890,202 from £2,770,613; both capacity ton miles and load ton miles rose by more than 1m., to almost 16m. in the first case and more than 94m. in the second, the load factor reaching 59.8%. Net profit per capacity ton mile was 4d.

More than 90m. passenger miles were flown. Passengers numbered 213,641, their average flight duration being 128 minutes and their average fare just over £9 10s. Nearly 1m tons of freight and 282,237 tons of mail were carried by the 18 aircraft in the fleet, which flew 22,077 hours.

Apart from minor adjustments, there have been no increases in fares or rates for six years; but there has been a reduction from 10% to 5% in the return fare rebate on services to South and East Africa, and C.A.A. played a considerable part in bringing about greatly reduced fares by the trunk jet services between Central Africa and Europe.

Sir Robert Taylor is the chairman, and at the date of the annual report his colleagues were Messrs. G. E. Thornton (deputy chairman), A. D. McLean, J. E. Everington, W. D. Lewis, and D. F. Fairbairn. In consequence of the dissolution of the Federation there is now a new board, consisting of Sir Robert Taylor (chairman), Mr. Robert Williamson, Wing-Commander John Plagis, Mr. McLean, Mr. T. M. D. Mtine, Wing-Commander E. H. Coleman, and Mr. Fairbairn. The chief executive officer and general manager is Mr. Max Stuart-Shaw.

The annual report, a 32-page booklet, gives a mass of statistical data, including comparative figures since 1958-59.

East German merchant ships are to call at Mombasa this year.

Industrial Holdings, Ltd., Salisbury, has been registered with a capital of £250,000.

Ndola Copper Refineries, Ltd., Northern Rhodesia, has raised its capital from £4.5m. to £5.5m.

Registered and transfer offices of the British Central Africa Co., Ltd., are now at 138 Cheapside, London, E.C.2.

Consolidated Goldfields, Ltd., is the new name of the old-established Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, Ltd., which has large Rhodesian interests.

One hospital insurance authority for those Kenyans receiving above a certain income is being introduced to replace the Asian and Arab and European funds.

Uganda's living standards will not rise through competitive enterprise, so economic development must be aided and directed by the Government, the U.P.C. has stated.

Ghanaian proposals for an all-African militia to replace U.N.O. forces in the Congo have been rejected as interference in its internal affairs by the Congo Government.

European Copperbelt miners have accepted the Northern Rhodesian companies' new employment conditions which will give them salaried staff status but will remove the right to strike.

African women in Mpopoma township, Bulawayo, are said to be refusing their husbands marital rights to force the cessation of the recent outbreak of bomb attempts in Southern Rhodesia.

Despite world-wide over-production of low carbon ferro-chrome, Rhodesian Alloys, Ltd., of Gwelo, Southern Rhodesia, have sold forward their 1964 output. Sheffield will be the largest buyer. Markets have also been found on the Continent of Europe and in Canada, Australia, and Japan.

## Central African Loan Differentials

THE LONDON STOCK EXCHANGE began dealings last Thursday in the new stocks issued by Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in replacement of those for which the Federal Government had previously been responsible. As generally expected in the City, initial business failed to justify Ministerial suggestions that the territorial scrip would be equally acceptable to investors.

Prices for the 5% 1975-80 loan, for example, showed the following variations: Northern Rhodesia, a maximum of £72 and a minimum of £69 on the day's markings; Nyasaland, £67 and £67½; Southern Rhodesia, a maximum of £70 and a closing price of £68½. For the 6% 1978-81 stock the price for Nyasaland was £75, for Northern Rhodesia, £80, and Southern Rhodesia £79.

A group of bondholders is seeking counsel's opinion as to whether the action taken in substituting territorial stock is in breach of their contention that the loans enjoyed a floating charge over all Federal assets, and that H.M. Government, having distributed those assets, has made itself legally responsible to holders of the loans.

Czechoslovakia is to train Tanganyikan news agency operators.

Seven Africans from Tanganyika have recently taken up scholarships in Polish universities.

East African Airways will next month add Usumbura, capital of Burundi, to its service by Friendship aircraft.

Rhodesia Broken Hill reports lead production for the year of 18,642 tons (15,404 last year) and of zinc at 48,665 tons (36,181).

Zanzibar has severed diplomatic relations with Portugal and will cease trade with South Africa in April, to show support for pan-Africanism.

Miniature reproductions of the flags of Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya, and Zanzibar are now emblazoned on all aircraft of East African Airways.

The International Union of Socialist Youth is to hold a seminar in Dar es Salaam later this year. The Socialist International has promised £300 towards the costs.

Coronation Syndicate, Ltd., has received acceptances for its offer to acquire the mining interests of Mazoe Consolidated Mines, Ltd., Mashaba Gold Mines (Pvt.), Ltd., Kanyebeba Gold Mines, Ltd., and for Lonrho's Southern Rhodesian mining properties and claims.

Mr. Krushchev said at a New Year reception in the Kremlin that any African student who was dissatisfied in Russia would be given an exit visa on application. He had, he said, given permission for the recent demonstration by African students in Red Square, but a repetition would not be allowed. They might stand on their heads and shake their legs at home, but not again in Russia.

Police cordoned off an Algerian ship in Dar es Salaam when arms, ammunition and ambulances were off-loaded this week and journalists were "invited" not to report their arrival, but the External Affairs Minister later allowed publication, saying the consignment was for the Tanganyika Rifles, not for the "liberation committee" set up in the capital by the Organization of African Unity.

The Asian advocate in Lindi, Mr. Mohamed Gulamhussein Pardhan, who was reported last week to have been rusticated for a public statement likely to cause a breach of the peace, has been deported to Sumbawanga. It has been officially announced that in Songea he abused the T.A.N.U. Government and its senior officers and asserted that action would not be taken against him because "the Asians have got Government in their pockets".

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# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, January 16, 1964

Vol. 40

No. 2049

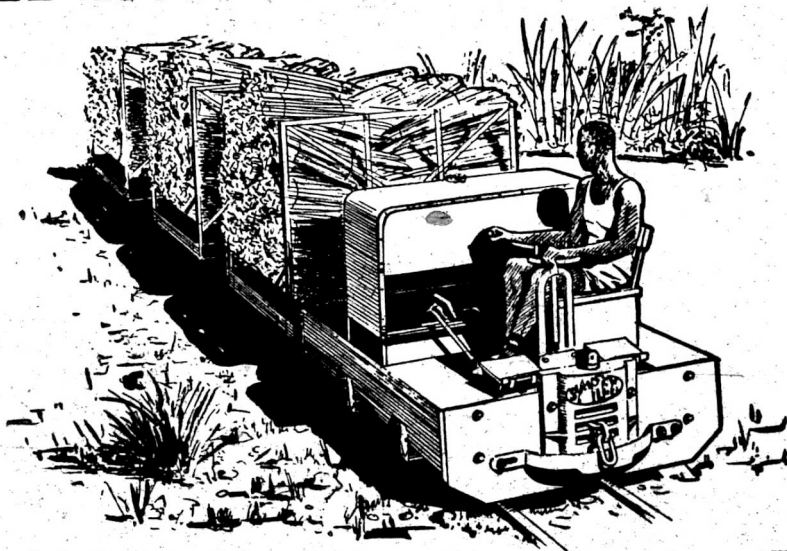
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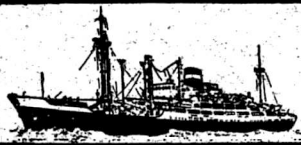
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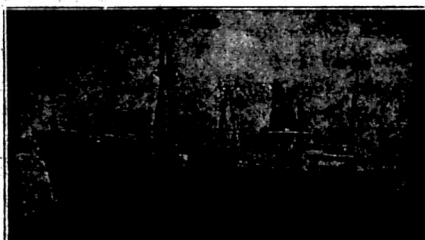
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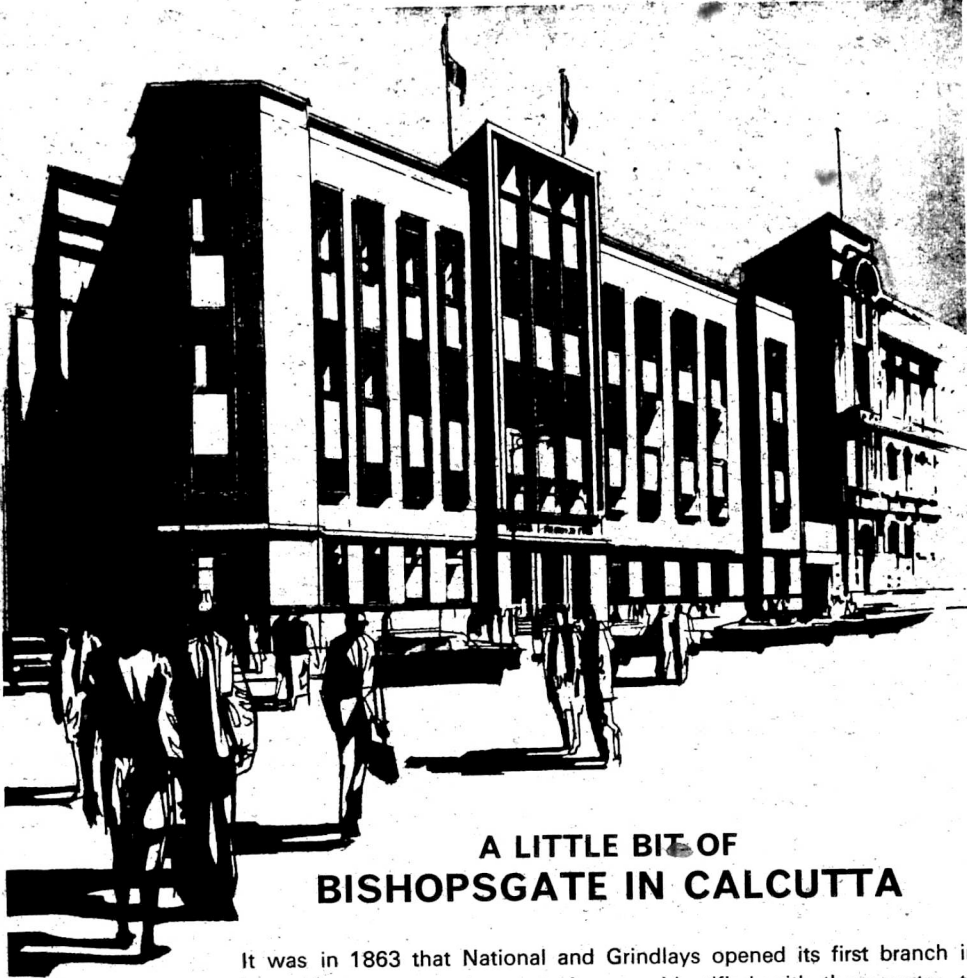
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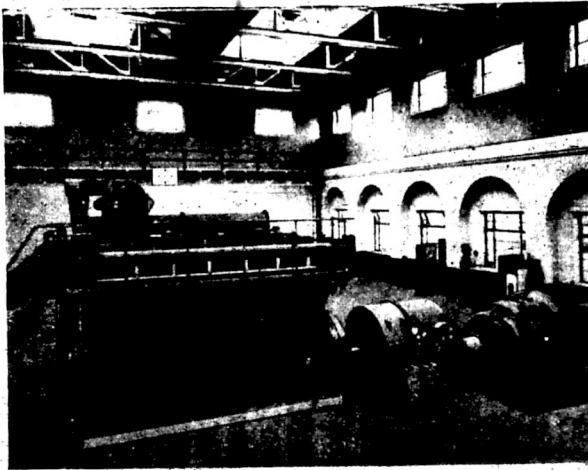
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## Principal Contents

	Page		Page
Notes By The Way	408	Southern Rhodesia Looks Ahead	414
Zanzibar Revolt	409	Three-Day Wonder	416
Dr. Banda Eulminates	410	Somali Problem	417
In Retrospect	411	Uganda Follows Ghana	418
Personalia	412	News Briefs	419

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, JANUARY 16, 1964

Vol. 40

No. 2049

52s. yearly post free

## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**ZANZIBAR'S REVOLUTION** last Sunday should surprise only the ninety-nine point nine nine per cent. of politicians, journalists, and members of the general public who have refused for years to face the facts of life in East, Central and West Africa. The naïve multitude has been misled by a few thousand ill-informed, emotional, indefatigable theoreticians, white and black, whose proselytizing fervour has been based on apostasy from the truths which had made Britain great and set vast areas of the world in the paths of a peace previously unknown and on the way to enlightenment, progress, and prosperity. Those solid gains, won from savagery by high-hearted endeavour and honourable discharge of a nobly-inspired trusteeship, have lately been made the counters in indescribably reckless political gambles, in which the losers were bound to be law, order, faith and hope, all of which have been weakened or destroyed by the African political careerists to whom the Macmillan-Macleod-Butler group supinely surrendered, thanks to their control of a staggeringly complacent party and tragic apathy in the Press and the nation. Bemused by their own self-esteem, invincible in their folly, and scornful of all advice, these men and their associates and dupes can now see in Zanzibar the apotheosis of their negligence.

### Rebels in Power In Zanzibar.

years to face the facts of life in East, Central and West Africa. The naïve multitude has been misled by a few thousand ill-informed, emotional, indefatigable theoreticians, white and black, whose proselytizing fervour has been based on apostasy from the truths which had made Britain great and set vast areas of the world in the paths of a peace previously unknown and on the way to enlightenment, progress, and prosperity. Those solid gains, won from savagery by high-hearted endeavour and honourable discharge of a nobly-inspired trusteeship, have lately been made the counters in indescribably reckless political gambles, in which the losers were bound to be law, order, faith and hope, all of which have been weakened or destroyed by the African political careerists to whom the Macmillan-Macleod-Butler group supinely surrendered, thanks to their control of a staggeringly complacent party and tragic apathy in the Press and the nation. Bemused by their own self-esteem, invincible in their folly, and scornful of all advice, these men and their associates and dupes can now see in Zanzibar the apotheosis of their negligence.

The two islands of Zanzibar and Pemba—with a joint population smaller than that of Nottingham, a budget in deficit, no industry except the precarious export of cloves, and no trained and experienced local cadre of administrators—must have seemed to the Communist and other schemers behind this revolution to offer the ideal locality for their exercise in violence. While other people in Zanzibar, and in Whitehall, slept,

they plotted and prepared, happy in the knowledge that those who should have kept guard could not be bothered to treat their activities seriously. For years EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has been the only publication in this country to call regular attention to the constant traffic of political subversionists from Zanzibar to Egypt, Russia and Communist China and back again, and to the persistent incitements by Radio Cairo and Egyptian university and other circles against Britain and what was termed in succession imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. President Nasser at first provided encouragement, hospitality and funds on his own account. Then his capital was made a collecting centre and staging post for Iron Curtain countries.

\* \* \*

The men who have seized power in Zanzibar have Communist connexions and sympathies. Some of them have openly boasted of their attachment to the Chinese and/or Russian Marxist leaders and talked equally freely of the gifts received from those sources. Since it has also been an open secret for well over a year that the left-wing agitators have received subsidies from the nationalist parties in Tanganyika and Kenya, it is not in the least surprising that those two States and Uganda should have hastened to give formal recognition to the revolutionary Government within a few hours of the *coup d'état*. But Kenya's refusal even to allow the Sultan's yacht to dock in Mombasa contrasts shabbily with his great generosity only last month in making Kenya a present of the extremely valuable Coastal Strip, including the port of Mombasa, which had been in the possession of his family for generations. It is significant that broadcasts from the wireless station in Zanzibar referred immediately after its seizure to "freedom fighters" under a so-called "field marshal".

### Communist Connexions.

The two islands of Zanzibar and Pemba—with a joint population smaller than that of Nottingham, a budget in deficit, no industry except the precarious export of cloves, and no trained and experienced local cadre of administrators—must have seemed to the Communist and other schemers behind this revolution to offer the ideal locality for their exercise in violence. While other people in Zanzibar, and in Whitehall, slept,

### Preparing While Our Politicians Slumbered.

the Communist and other schemers behind this revolution to offer the ideal locality for their exercise in violence. While other people in Zanzibar, and in Whitehall, slept,

these being terms now current among Mau Mau apologists in Kenya. Aid may also have been given by the Liberation Committee in Dar es Salaam of the Organization for African Unity.

The Arab-dominated Shamte Government and the monarchy (until last month the sultanate) have been overthrown with such precision that the advice, and quite possibly the active leadership on the spot, of experienced subversionists must be suspected. There may have been Chinese or Eastern European Communists among them; but specially selected Zanzibaris who had been trained in Communist States may have been considered adequate to overpower the small police force which represented the only means of defence. Communism has now a convenient jumping-off

point for subversion and sabotage over great areas of Africa. At trivial cost, a little Cuba has been gained in the Indian Ocean—within reasonable reach of Somalia, where both China and Russia have recently established firm footholds. Now they will find it easier to suborn African agents all over East and Central Africa. Those who are surprised at the suddenness of the revolt should consider the matter from the Communist standpoint. What had they to gain by delay? Their advice must have been to strike quickly and ruthlessly, banish the monarch, declare a republic, and arrange (no doubt in advance and with the greatest secrecy) for immediate recognition by the African nationalist leaders in Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. That set-piece conspiracy had succeeded within a few hours. Needless to say, not one daily newspaper in Britain has yet shocked its readers by candidly describing the portents of last Sunday's insurrection.

## Notes By The Way

### Mr. Gerald F. Sayers

MR. GERALD F. SAYERS, who has just left the Conservative Research Department, had been its adviser on Commonwealth affairs since 1944, having as his background 25 years in the Colonial Service. He went to Kenya as a cadet in 1915, was transferred to the Secretariat in Tanganyika in 1920, and seven years later became the first clerk to the Legislative Council. He also edited the first edition of the "Tanganyika Handbook". In 1934 he was promoted Assistant Chief Secretary in Nyasaland but returned to Tanganyika 18 months later as Deputy Chief Secretary and Secretary for Native Affairs. He was a member of the Executive and Legislative Councils and acted as Chief Secretary on several occasions. On retiring early in 1939 he acquired a farm of about 100 acres in Surrey, but for the next few years his time was claimed by the Ministry of War Transport.

### Advice Not Tolerated

HE THUS BROUGHT to the Conservative Central Office wide practical experience of African conditions — and an analytical mind, which must have prompted him to give the party's leaders many useful suggestions, and in recent years a succession of warnings. The tragedy is that the Macmillan—Macleod—Butler régime, though noscent about Africa, had no tolerance for advice, however sound or experienced, which would have checked their policy of scuttle. If Mr. Sayers could be persuaded to write a book telling even part of the inside story of the post-war period, especially the last four years, as he has seen it, he would make a useful and interesting contribution to history. Conservative M.P.s have frequently turned to him for guidance, and more than a few speeches were almost certainly inspired by him. He started the party's monthly *Survey of Commonwealth and Colonial Affairs*, which, though primarily a factual record, occasionally included opinions which some readers would not be likely to welcome. He seldom missed meetings in London on East and Central African topics, and has therefore a wide

circle of friends and acquaintances who will wish him well in his retirement.

### Reckless Nonsense

THE SILLIEST COMMENT about Southern Rhodesia by a Fleet Street paper in the past couple of weeks must have been the suggestion in the *Daily Mail* that the Colony is one of the world's trouble spots to which the United Kingdom might have to send "fire-brigade forces". In an assessment of the strain upon Britain's military reserves, which were described as dispersed in Kenya, Malaysia, British Guiana, Hong Kong, and Cyprus (which might need reinforcements), there appeared the words "Southern Rhodesia could become difficult". The obvious implication was that the British Government might seek to impose its will in Southern Rhodesia by the use of troops. That grotesque and reckless piece of nonsense has not, so far as I know, been denounced by anyone in public life or by any other newspaper. What a pother there would have been if someone had hinted that United Kingdom troops should be sent to Northern Rhodesia (which is in a state of considerable disorder)!

### Not Cricket

SIR JACK HOBBS, the great cricketer, had twice visited Southern Rhodesia to see a son who is resident in that Colony, and in his quiet, balanced way he had taken an interest in African developments for some years. Many columns have been written about his wizardry at the game which he so greatly adorned that there was universal acclaim when he became the first professional cricketer to be knighted. Seizing on the point that strangely little has been written about his deep religious faith, the *Church Times* has recalled that while on tour in India long ago Hobbs refused to play on a Sunday; it wrote appositely that "some obituary notices did not mention his religion, which was not cricket".

# Pro-Communist Revolt Ousts Zanzibar Arabs to Form Republic

## Revolutionary Government to Hang Ex-Ministers: Recognized by East African Governments

**R**EBELS APPARENTLY supported by Cuban and Chinese units have overthrown the Zanzibar monarchy. Threats to hang ex-Ministers have been made by the new régime, which has requested U.K. recognition. Tanganyika has offered the Sultan asylum.

Pronouncing the death sentences, and 15-year gaol terms for other "enemies of the people", an African "field marshal" said in a wild speech: "I will kill them all". To restore "stability", they were ordered to surrender immediately for hanging "without fuss".

### Street Fighting

Some hours before dawn on Sunday about 600 armed men swooped on the two main police armouries, and then encircled all the barracks, seized vehicles and ammunition, and took over the headquarters. They occupied the radio and cable offices and the airport.

A state of emergency was declared and a curfew imposed after street fighting had broken out, in which three people were reported killed and 26 injured. Malindi police post in the dock area held out against the rebels all day.

As the "Voice of the Revolutionary Government", Zanzibar Radio began broadcasting announcements by the "field marshal of the freedom fighters". A republic was proclaimed, and Britain, America, China and Uganda were warned not to interfere at the risk of being "met by force".

Sheikh Abeid Karume, leader of the Afro-Shirazi Party, which had formed the official Opposition, was named President. Another member of the party, Sheikh Abdulla Hanga, is the new Prime Minister. Sheikh Abdul Rahman "Babu", leader of the Umma Party, which earlier this month was banned by the Coalition Government, has been named as Minister for External Affairs.

Other appointments announced by the radio were of Sheikhs Othman Shariff Musa, Education; Saleh Sadala, Agriculture; Hasnu Makame, Finance; Abboud Jumbe, Home Affairs and Security; and Idrissi Wakil, Labour and Planning.

### Complaints of "Favouritism"

Ships were warned to stay out of territorial waters. However, an American destroyer arrived to take off the families of employees at the space satellite tracking station, and a Royal Navy survey ship stood by in case it became necessary to evacuate the Europeans, approximately 400 in number.

Sheikh Mohamed Shamte Hamadi, the deposed Prime Minister, was reported to have requested military aid from Britain and the East African Governments. A Kenya Government Cabinet meeting in Nairobi, which was attended by the Uganda Minister of State, Mr. George Magezi, and Tanganyika's External Affairs Minister, Mr. Oscar Kambona, reached no decision on this matter on Sunday, but on Monday decided to refuse sanctuary to the Sultan, who had taken refuge on his yacht and sailed for Mombasa. Sheikh Hamadi was said to be at the British High Commission in Zanzibar and to have asked for safe conduct for himself and his family, upon receipt of which he would formally resign.

Sheikh "Babu", who arrived back in Tanganyika last week, said that the prohibition of his party had been the final injustice which had sparked off the "spontaneous" insurrection. "Stupid" administration and favouritism to Arabs in the civil service, particularly recruits from Egypt, had contributed to the dissatisfaction. He was prepared to discuss a restoration of unity with Arab leaders.

The people, he continued, had become "fed up" with the Coalition Government because it had "humiliated" the A.S.P. by refusing to consider including its representatives in a National Government. When his party was banned, the Pemba Federation of Labour had described the move as oppressive and declared that the oppressed people of Zanzibar would triumph in the end.

By Monday the island was under martial law. Arab men and youths were being rounded up as their houses were searched for arms. The radio station broadcast appeals for opponents of the new régime to surrender, coupled with

a threat that any Arabs who held meetings or attempted to hide their weapons would be shot, on sight. The security forces were ordered not to loot, following reports of some pilfering on Sunday night.

The Sultan was declared banished for life because of "political crimes" (it has been commonly alleged that he was an active supporter of the Z.N.P.). Both the coalition parties have been proscribed and their property seized.

Sheikh Muhsin was said to have surrendered on Monday and to have appealed to the populace to accept the new situation calmly. A Zanzibari who molested him was summarily sentenced to eight years' imprisonment by the "field marshal", who is thought to be a former K.A.N.U. official in the Cairo office, Mr. John Okello. He is supposed to have joined the Zanzibar Police some time ago, after visiting Cuba.

Later casualty lists still gave three dead—including two policemen—and 117 injured, of whom 87 were taken to hospital, but one report gave "as a very conservative estimate" the figure of at least 80 Arabs killed and 400 wounded "after a day-long rampage by uncontrollable freedom fighters".

### No Intervention

After its decision to refuse permission for the Sultan to disembark at Mombasa, the Kenya Government announced its recognition of the rebels, adding that it was "totally against foreign interference in what is entirely an internal matter in a sovereign State". The Uganda Government has also recognized the new régime, and the Prime Minister, Dr. Obote, has arrived in Nairobi for talks at which President Nyerere of Tanganyika is expected.

Mr. J. M. Sullivan, the police commissioner (who has been replaced already by a Tanganyikan police officer) is reported to be aboard the Sultan's ship, which was said to have left Mombasa on Monday evening. That Sir Geoffrey de Freitas, U.K. High Commissioner in Kenya, was arranging for the transfer to a British warship of the Sultan, was denied by a Nairobi spokesman. Apart from a retinue of 29, there are said to be 39 refugees and 42 policemen, including three Europeans, on the Sultan's vessel.

Members of the island's special constabulary were said to have retreated to a Government ship anchored off-shore. Mr. Crosthwaite, U.K. High Commissioner, seeking their release, was taken under armed escort to the rebel headquarters to negotiate, stated reports received in Dar es Salaam.

The Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Duncan Sandys, stated that "the Prime Minister of Zanzibar informed me that in view of the possible danger to British lives British forces should be despatched to the island."

"H.M.S. OWEN, which was in the vicinity, was ordered to proceed to Zanzibar. She will evacuate U.K. citizens if necessary. The commanding officer has orders not to intervene for any other purpose than their protection."

"The British High Commissioner has expressed the opinion that there appeared to be no immediate danger to British residents, whom he advised to stay indoors. He does not consider there is as yet any need for evacuation."

A Defence Ministry official in London said that there was no intention of sending British troops to intervene.

At the London conference last September, Sheikh Karume had recorded the "gratification" of the United Front of Opposition Parties (formed by collaborating with the Umma Party, itself supported by the Federation of Progressive Trade Unions) at the "happy and successful conclusion of the peaceful evolution of Zanzibar towards independence". The conference results would show whether Britain had discharged its rôle "with honour or merely with haste".

### China and Russia

The formula agreed would have to meet the test of "independence under a system of government based upon the will and continuing consent of the governed".

Speaking to the Press at the same time, he had accused the then Government of illiberality, of rule by force, intimidation and repression, and of being unrepresentative of the population.

Zanzibar became independent on December 10 with a coalition Government comprising the Zanzibar National Party under Sheikh Ali Muhsin and Sheikh Hamadi's Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party, which had 12 and six seats respectively in the Legislature. The A.S.P. had the remaining 13, though it had polled 54% of the total vote from a population of some 228,000 Africans, 46,000 Arabs and 18,300 Asians.

Sheikh "Babu" was formerly secretary-general of the Z.N.P., but broke away last year to form his own group after disagreement with Sheikh Muhsin on the choice of candidates for the July election. He had previously been in prison for sedition. He only recently returned to Zanzibar after a visit to Communist China. Sheikh Hanga, who studied in Moscow, after three years in the U.K., has a Russian wife.

# Dr. Banda Threatens Judges and Magistrates

## Prime Minister Asserts that Press Omits What he Wishes

**T**HREATS TO JUDGES and magistrates, and to Europeans who may have been critical of African nationalism or its leaders, have been made in the Nyasaland Legislative Council by the Prime Minister, Dr. Banda, and obediently echoed by Mr. Orion Chirwa, Minister of Justice, Mr. Y. K. Chisiza, and Mr. J. Z. U. Tembo, Parliamentary Secretaries to the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Finance.

DR. BANDA—to whom Mr. Chirwa had referred as "Ngwazi Banda, our Lion"—said (in part), according to the *Hansard* report:—

"We are not going to interfere with the courts in their interpretation of the law, but the judiciary did not come to Britain or America from God. The court is not manned by angels from Heaven.

### Courts Belittled

"The court must know that the people of this country are watching them. Many, many cases have happened recently which make my people wonder. We must have lawyers and judges who understand our feelings, our desires, our aspirations. Justice must be seen to be done not only in the lower court but even at the very top.

"In sorrow and sadness, Mr. Speaker, I tell you and this House that the behaviour of some magistrates and even some judges over my local courts is not worthy of them. They are deliberately going out of their way to belittle these courts. I want everyone to know that I am watching these magistrates and these judges in the way they are treating my local courts.

"Even Crown counsel, which should use every means, every trick that they learn at Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, Middle Temple, and Inner Temple to defend my local courts. That is what they are supposed to do. They go there and side with our enemies. If that is what you call independence of the judiciary, well, it's not mine. They are deliberately going out of their way to make my courts look cheap. Mr. Speaker, they are not going to look cheap. I am not going to allow them to get away with it.

"So we will hurry up, train our own judges, our own lawyers, and when possible we will get them from outside. The court must reflect the social, political, economic and cultural life of the people who pay them to be judges in court."

### Selective Citizenship

The Prime Minister had said that Mr. Blackwood was showing himself "a very, very sensible and responsible Leader of the Opposition", but a little later, after Mr. Blackwood had made a few critical remarks, Dr. Banda adopted a different attitude, saying:—

"Members opposite should never forget that the people behind me have very, very sad and bitter memories of the past history of the vague Government in this country of which he and his victims were a member. They influenced policy. Therefore he must always be reasonable, generous in his interpretations of what my boys behind me say.

"I am restraining my people from doing worse things. If I did not—I want that clearly understood—I shudder to think what would happen to some people in this country. I came here to bridge the gaps between the races in addition to coming here to break the stupid Federation and getting self-government for my people.

"Now that I have broken the stupid Federation and got self-government I have no quarrel with any European who wants to live here; but he must understand that this is Nyasaland, very soon Malawi, and that we are in the majority and must rule. Any European who accepts that is welcome here. Any European who does not understand that, then I say: 'Pack up and leave this country, now now'.

"Black men belong here. All others, whether they live here for seven, 10, 20, 30, 100 years, are not going to be forced to give them citizenship. After July 6 a person must not think that just because he has lived here for seven years he is by right entitled to citizenship, no. We will be selective. Now this is where my boys come in: no one must think that just because he has been here seven or 10 years that he is entitled to be in this country for ever—even when he is engaging in subversive activities.

"Anyone who can remember shooting any of my men cannot be allowed to stay here after July 6. It is with difficulty that I will allow him to stay after January 25. Anyone who shot any of my people in cold blood in 1959 must expect their deportation papers. It is Malawi justice. Anyone who can remember shooting any of my women, any of my men, any of my boys and girls, must not expect any mercy from me after July 6. If that frightens people from investing their money here, then I do not want their money.

"There are many other people who will bring money who didn't shoot anyone here. Germans will come here and invest; British people will come here and invest; the American people will come here and invest. But anyone who shot a single one of my men, my women, must not think that because he has money to invest in this country he is going to be allowed—on, not.

"In Blantyre there is an area Zingwangwa, and another area Bangwe and the other area where Rubadiri used to live. There are those houses, Blackwood boxes. If anyone lives in that area he has to be careful because almost every night there is burglary. They have done awful things. They have violated girls.

### Dr. Banda's List

"If you do not read about these things in the papers it is just because I do not want them to be put in the papers. These people learn this sort of thing in Johannesburg. No one must expect me to allow criminals of that kind to come here and enjoy the freedom which we have fought for, violating our girls, robbing men and women, breaking into houses just because they pose as exiles from Verwoerd. True exiles from Verwoerd must behave like ladies and gentlemen. The minute they become criminals, violate my women, my girls, I deport them just like anybody else. No mercy for any criminal! I am glad these have gone in for five years; when they come out, deportation!

"If any businessman in this country, European or Asian, finances any political opponents, as Roopsingh is doing now—he thinks I don't know it—if any businessman, European or Asian, financing Leonard Y. Chirwa, Pemba Ndovi, Charles Matinga, Matthew Phiri, James Chinyama, then he must expect deportation. Roopsingh definitely will go. I want him to know that he is on my list."

MR. CHIRWA, Minister of Justice, had said:—

"Our judicial affairs should be settled here in the Malawi way. Justice is just the way people think things should be done, who ought to be punished, what is wrong, what is right, what is the best way to go about things. That, in my view, is justice.

"The local courts are the Malawi Congress Party—all of them instruments—and they have come to stay. If they make mistakes, well you learn to do things right by doing them; let them make mistakes we will correct them. But so far they are doing very well indeed. Blantyre Local Court is doing about 25 cases a day, 6,000 a year; that it is about the best court in the country. The local court president can sit on any Bench in the petty courts in Britain."

### "Chuck Them Out"

On the subject of immigration Mr. Chirwa said: "If the cap fits, the Leader of the Opposition can wear it. If a man knows that he is not prepared to work with us, knows that he is organized in antagonizing our Government, he does not believe in majority rule, that he intends to subvert our institutions, the local courts, and is going about swearing at our Prime Minister in Blantyre, calling him names, not respecting him, and overtaking him when he is driving, yes, then go (MR. LITTLE). He was answering a personal attack. It would be better if you left before the elections so much the better.

"The Prime Minister is the greatest friend of Europeans here. But for him they would be having—I am sorry, I can't mention it. He entertains them to dinner, looks after them, makes them work in quiet and peace, but those Europeans who are constantly against him, constantly engaging in activities which are not conducive to peace and calm in this country, of course he must have the legal right to chuck them out; and if they know, they ought to leave. If they can leave now, so much the better. Then we shall not have to make a deportation order against anybody.

"We must decide who is going to be staying. If a man has been here two days and the Ngwazi thinks that it is all right for him to be admitted, then that is all right. But if a man has been here for 60 years, grabbing land from our people in Cholo or Manje, and has been causing our Minister of Natural Resources all these troubles, how can such a person co-exist in Ngwazi's Government?"

MR. CHISIZA said: "Ngwazi will decide who belongs here. But should it be necessary to do this before the great day of July 6, would you, Ngwazi, our Prime Minister, consider this draft — to wit, one Welensky

It may be necessary to try this exercise on one of his followers; I won't mention his name, but I want you, Mr. Pettrkins, to make a note of it. Now, "In the exercise of powers conferred on the Malawi Congress Party under the provisions of the Immigration Ordinance moved by the Ngwazi, the Premier of this country in 1963, I do hereby order that the said Welensky or his representative be deported from Nyasaland, Malawi, and given seven minutes to park."

MR. TEMBO was confident that any person deported from Nyasaland would be kept out of Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, Ghana, Nigeria, and India.

"If somebody grows tea here and is deported I don't think India or Ceylon will take him! So they must behave, those who want to stay here; and it will be by the grace of the Prime Minister and his people. They must start behaving now. We will have no apologies to offer, no sympathies to move. We support the Ngwazi to deport anybody he considers undesirable and not fit to breathe the free air of Malawi."

MR. BLACKWOOD said: "There have been references in asides by some hon. Members opposite to certain people by name, and suggestions have been made very clearly that they are to be deported after July 6.

"The language used opposite has certainly given me the impression that I will not be required here after July 6, and Mr. Peterkins will not, and possibly other members on this side will not. There was a direct reference to Mr. Peterkins and an indirect reference to myself, and others have been named.

"If the Government has in mind the removal of myself and others, we should be told this as soon as possible. If the impression gets out that a substantial number of people are to be deported after July 6 it will have a very unsettling effect throughout this country and do a lot of harm. Let those people who are not going to be required here, or are I believe classed as totally unacceptable, or others whom the Government and Members opposite feel should definitely be removed, or the black list produced, let those people be told as soon as possible so that they can make their arrangements and go and uncertainty be removed. Otherwise very many people will wonder if they have a future here."

MR. J. D. MSONTHI, Minister of Trade and Industry, accused Mr. Blackwood of trying to spread despondency by suggesting that Nyasaland did not want Europeans who had been in the country for years or investors. That was not the case; but undesirable characters would not be tolerated.

"I know of people, Mr. Speaker, who were very bad characters before we were free. Now that we are free they pose as our friends. We know that in 1958 they were not our friends. When we had our election campaigns in 1961 a man who is in this building at this moment came out and tore up the posters, which said 'Vote for Ngwazi Kamuzu Banda' at Visanza. But he is in this very building and shouts 'Kwaca' with us."

MR. W. CHOKANI, Minister of Labour, appealed to the Prime Minister to have one clause so phrased that "idiot" might be defined to include "people who have in the past opposed Malawi nationalism." *Hansard* records that that suggestion brought "loud applause."

MR. M. MKANDAWIRE, Minister of State, referred to Dr. Banda as "a lion, our man, our God."

DR. BANDA told the House that he intended Malawi Airways to operate internationally "from Chileka to Ndola or Lusaka, Lusaka to Leopoldville, Leopoldville to the Cameroons, and from there Lagos, Accra, Monrovia, Amsterdam, Paris, then London; and another plane leaving here for Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, Addis Ababa, Cairo, Athens, Rome, London, London, always London, I like London best."

## Freedom Where There Was Slavery: Food in Place of Famine

### Lord Cranworth's Retrospect of Fifty Years in Kenya

FIFTY-ONE YEARS have passed since my wife and I first went to Kenya (or British East Africa as it was then called). We lived there for some years and for many more I have been associated with it. So its progress has been a matter of deep interest, and indeed concern, to me.

When we arrived at Mombasa, on the brawny shoulders of Swahili long-shoremen, the white population of the Protectorate was about seven hundred, the railway had but recently reached Kisumu on Lake Victoria, and what are now termed the White Highlands were practically uninhabited, save by teeming thousands of wild animals. It follows therefore that I have witnessed some amazing changes and a transformation at an ever-quicken pace, the outcome of which is still largely unpredictable.

Some of the changes might certainly have been expected, though seldom at the pace at which they occurred. Thus it seemed quite inevitable that the stupendous quantity of wild animals would, as elsewhere, have to give place to the advance of man, and that the best that a lover of Nature could hope was that sanctuaries would be formed in which to preserve a sufficiency of each species to delight future generations. Again, it was easy to foresee the improvement of transport. New dock and harbour facilities, new and extended railways, and new roads were obviously on the way. What could not be anticipated, without a very far-seeing eye, was the immense impact on the country which the conquest of the air would bring.

*Five years ago, Lord Cranworth, K.G., M.C., whose death at the age of 86 we regretfully announced last week, wrote for our volume "Rhodesia and East Africa" a retrospect of the half-century during which he had known Kenya. The above extracts are taken from that chapter.*

The area of the land available for settlement seemed immense as one walked over it on foot, immense on the map, immense as the train wound its way up and around it. The impression was of almost limitless space largely uninhabited. One did not realize what a large proportion of the map area consisted of deserts largely useless to man or beast. Take them away, and subtract all of the land, including most of the more fertile, in the occupation of or earmarked for the indigenous tribes, and the residue left was not more than the acreage of three or four English counties. It is a pity that it was not at least twice as large.

The most amazing change, however, has been in the view of colonization. In 1906 the British Empire was highly thought of, not only in the homeland, but in the Colonies themselves, while other great nations looked upon it with awe and envy. Any allusion to our Empire, "on which the sun never set," whether on the music hall stage or the political platform, was rapturously applauded. Perhaps the South African War first rubbed off a little of the tinsel; but plenty remained.

It seems to me odd nowadays to recall that when the President of the United States, "Uncle Teddy" Roosevelt, was out on his great *safari* and came to a big luncheon party at our house he should have said in an oration (which he subsequently repeated): "You young people are doing a great work of which you have every right to be proud. You have brought freedom where there was slavery. You are bringing health where there was disease. You are bringing food where there was famine. You are bringing peace where there was continual war. Be proud of yourselves, for the time is coming when the world will be proud of you."

Such words — and of course they are not given

(Concluded on page 415)

# PERSONALIA

PRESIDENT ABBOUD of the Sudan is to visit London in May.

MR. R. H. PRINGLE has returned to Ireland from his visit to Kenya.

MR. A. E. RICHARDS has joined the board of Johnson Matthey & Co., Ltd.

MR. G. J. E. REIDE, a judge in Tanganyika, is on local leave until April.

MR. A. C. STUART, judicial adviser in Uganda, is on local leave until next month.

MR. E. J. JEFFERYS has been re-elected president of the Rhodesia Tobacco Association.

DR. ALBERT SCHWEITZER, who was 89 on Tuesday, has completed 50 years at Lambarene.

MR. C. N. HILLIER has resigned from the board of the Forestal Land, Timber and Railways Co.

THE EARL and COUNTESS of AIRLIE are passengers for Durban in the British India liner UGANDA.

MR. W. S. G. SMELE has succeeded MR. HAROLD SMEDLEY as head of the C.R.O. news department.

MR. P. ROGERS, an under-secretary with the D.T.C., has been appointed Deputy Secretary of the Cabinet.

SIR JOHN HOGG has been appointed deputy chairman of Gallaher, Ltd., of which MR. R. S. CLIFTON is now a director.

At a memorial service for LORD CRANWORTH on Tuesday the QUEEN was represented by the EARL of SCARBROUGH.

MR. T. G. DAVIES, lately deputy head of the marketing division of Unilever, has joined the board of the United Africa Co., Ltd.

MR. A. A. G. JOHNSON has succeeded MR. R. W. DENNY as manager of the Bulawayo branch of Atlas Copco Rhodesia (Pvt.), Ltd.

MR. PHILIP BROWNRIFF, director in Rhodesia, has moved to the new Anglo American head offices in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia.

MR. J. J. KEIGWIN, Commissioner for Community Development in Northern Rhodesia, is on leave here pending retirement.

MR. T. B. ROUSE is chairman and MR. W. R. WHALEY vice-chairman of the Southern Rhodesia Broadcasting Board.

LORD and LADY FORESTER of Willey Park, Broseley, Salop, are about to revisit their farm in Southern Rhodesia for about three months.

DR. ROGER DENT, formerly of Birmingham University, is due next month at the University College in Salisbury as a medical lecturer.

PROFESSOR J. A. BLAKE, of Keele University, Staffordshire, is to be Chancellor of the University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

MR. J. A. D. HOBBS, who last June was appointed general manager of Allsop (East Africa), Ltd., has been appointed executive director of the company.

MR. N. G. ELLINGHAM, lately of the East African Posts and Telecommunications Administration, is now Director of Posts and Telegraphs in Swaziland.

LORD NORMANBROOK, former Secretary to the Cabinet and head of the Home Civil Service, has joined the board of British Overseas Airways Corporation.

MR. D. H. ODONGO has succeeded MR. N. B. SUTHERLAND as editor of the monthly magazine of the East African Posts and Telecommunications Administration.

MR. A. H. BEGG is now managing director of Thomson Television (International), Ltd. He has been in charge of the overseas operations of the Thomson Group.

MR. J. T. SIMPSON will retire later this year from the chairmanship of the Uganda Development Corporation. An African is meantime to be appointed joint chairman.

LORD TEYNHAM, a director of the Mitchell Cotts Group, Ltd., has been appointed chairman of Martin Cowley, Ltd., in succession to VISCOUNT LONG OF WRAXHALL.

SIR CHARLES and the HON. LADY PONSONBY leave today for South, Central and East Africa, whence they will return *via* Palestine. They expect to be back just before Easter.

CHIEF MAPANZA, who has been appointed chairman of the management committee which is planning the future of broadcasting in Northern Rhodesia, visited England in 1957.

MR. JOHN UDAL, of the staff of the Conservative Research Department, has succeeded MR. GERALD SAYERS as editor of the party's monthly *Commonwealth Survey*.

MR. R. H. V. BILES, retiring Commissioner of Police, Zanzibar, and MR. R. F. DAVIES, lately Secretary to the British Resident, are both on leave in the U.K. pending their retirement in June.

SIR HUMPHREY MYNORS, deputy governor of the Bank of England, who was knighted in the New Year Honours List, will retire in March. He has visited East and Central Africa.

On his retirement from the presidency of the Kenya Farmers' Association MR. JAMES MACKAY has been presented with a silver tray for his services over a continuous period of 34 years.

SIR NICHOLAS CAYZER, chairman of the British and Commonwealth Shipping group, has succeeded MR. A. T. PENMAN as chairman of the committee of the South Africa Club, which has made MR. PENMAN an honorary life member in recognition of his services.

## The King Size Cigarette of International Success



State Express Filter Kings are available in more than 800 leading cities and towns throughout the world.

STATE EXPRESS—THE BEST CIGARETTES IN THE WORLD.

MR. K. G. HOOPER, who has been manager and London secretary of Union Corporation, Ltd., has relinquished the latter appointment. The new London secretary is MR. F. B. TAYLOR.

SIR HAROLD EVANS, public relations adviser to MR. MACMILLAN when he was Prime Minister, next month takes over information and research services for the Independent Television Authority.

MR. R. J. BLOXAM, a director of the Union-Castle Mail Steamship Co., Ltd., and MR. S. A. MACKECHNIE, managing director of the Ellerman Line, have been appointed to the National Dock Labour Board.

MR. JOHN STONEHOUSE intends resigning as president of the London Co-operative Society in May—there has been much friction between him and the management committee—because of his political commitments.

MR. T. C. J. RAMTU having been appointed Permanent Secretary in the Kenya Ministry of Works and Communications, MR. J. D. M. MALINDA has been transferred from Central Region to the Coast as civil secretary.

SIR ROBERT STAPLEDON, Governor of the Bahamas, is retiring. He was in the Colonial Service in East Africa between 1948 and 1956, first as Economic Secretary to the East Africa High Commission and then as Chief Secretary in Tanganyika.

Agricultural marketing is to be reviewed annually in Southern Rhodesia by a council under the chairmanship of MR. R. WILLIAMSON. The first three members appointed are MESSRS. H. A. KRIKLER, H. L. EDWARDS and C. G. HOETS.

Four young members of a British firm's mountaineering club who have been given three months' leave by their employers to climb Kilimanjaro—four times by different routes—are MESSRS. MICHAEL BRADBURN, STEPHEN DEFRIES, GEOFFREY HALDEN and JOHN DARTNALL.

MR. WINSTON FIELD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, was accompanied by MR. D. H. CUMMINGS, Secretary for Trade and Industry, when he flew to Zomba last week to sign a trade agreement and have discussions with DR. HASTINGS BANDA, the Nyasaland Prime Minister.

The four Ministers comprising the Railways' Higher Authority for the Rhodesias, will be MR. T. GARDNER and MR. N. STUBBS for Northern Rhodesia and MR. W. HARPER and MR. G. RUTLAND for Southern Rhodesia. MR. A. KEMP will be chairman of the new board of management which will run the railways.

The chairmen of the agricultural statutory boards in Southern Rhodesia which have replaced the former Federal counterparts include MR. C. A. MURRAY, tobacco marketing; MR. T. C. PASCOE, dairy marketing; MR. W. MARGOLIS, grain marketing; MR. C. G. TRACEY, pig industry; and MR. R. B. HARLAND, tobacco research.

MR. & MRS. T. G. BARTLETT, MR. & MRS. W. BRADSHAW, MR. & MRS. F. W. GIBBS, MR. & MRS. W. W. KNIGHT, MR. P. R. F. LEGH, DR. & MRS. R. E. PURNELL, MR. P. G. SCOTT, and MR. & MRS. J. L. SOUTHERN are among passengers for Mombasa in the RHODESIA CASTLE. DR. & MRS. B. CRUICKSHANK and the REV. L. HUGHES are passengers for Beira.

MR. ROY THOMSON, chairman of the Thomson Organization, which has large East and Central African newspaper and television interests, who was made a baron in the New Year Honours List, is now known to have been registered as a United Kingdom citizen last June. He is a Canadian, and by the law of that country a citizen granted that status by any other country automatically forfeits his Canadian citizenship. MR. THOMSON has said, however, that he intends to retire to Canada, which he considers his permanent home.

## Obituaries

### Lord Cranworth

AN OLD FRIEND has written in *The Times*:—

"At the start of the Boer War Bertie Cranworth and I received commissions in the Prince of Wales Norfolk Artillery Militia and he proceeded to Africa. On the conclusion of peace a number of Norfolk young men began to drift out to Kenya for sport and to acquire farms; thus, having succeeded his father in 1902, Bertie Cranworth felt drawn to those pleasant lands in which he was to make his name as an agriculturist, ready to make experiments and to import the famous red-polls, a herd of which he had acquired after absorbing the teaching of the owner of the Marham (West Norfolk) herd.

"Having witnessed his popularity in the mess of the Norfolk Artillery, I also witnessed the first furrow his oxen drove through the grass open space round his Makuyu home, north of Nairobi, and experienced his hunter's lore in pursuit of the wily and treacherous buffalo on the forest slopes of Mount Kenya. This was in 1908.

"How wonderfully he was helped by the lady whose widowhood calls out the utmost sympathy from all who have been privileged to know him. Those early years in this Crown Colony were stiff pioneering: building a home, teaching a labour force, attending to their ills with medicine and care. In all this, and in the safari progresses, Lady Cranworth was a sharer.

"In time Bertie returned to his English estates for part of each year, taking up county council work, but above all using his experience and agricultural knowledge to bring forward measures of Government assistance, such as the wheat deficiency payment, which, with the late Lord Hudson's memorable tenure of the Ministry of Agriculture, formed the present system of support.

"Despite the distinction of his career, he remained a most approachable and modest man. His host of friends rejoiced when his public services were crowned by the highest Order of Knighthood".

### Mr. Hugh Coltart

MR. HUGH CAMERON COLTART, of Cantie Ha Farm, Njoro, who has died suddenly in Kenya, aged 71, had spent just half a century in the Colony, to which he went from Scotland to help a friend who had begun farming. In the East African campaign of the 1914-18 war he served in the East African Mounted Rifles and other units.

In addition to farming most capably and successfully on his own account, he managed for 33 years the 12,000 acre Ngata property of the late Lord Egerton, who left it to him on his death—with a heavy overdraft.

Coltart was widely known in settler circles for his character, friendliness, hospitality and straightforwardness. His wife and he had recently celebrated their silver wedding.

LADY HARRAGIN, who has died in Johannesburg, aged 71, was the wife of Sir Walter Harragin, whom she married in 1919. During the 1914-18 war she nursed in Middlesex Hospital and served at the Admiralty. In the last war she served the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital, London.

MRS. DOROTHY FURNISS OLLEY has died in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, aged 69. She was the wife of Alderman Charles Olley.

## A Model for Africa

### Tolerance in Tranquil Southern Rhodesia

SOUTHERN RHODESIA'S future can be a model to the whole of the troubled African continent, Mr. Winston Field, the Prime Minister, averred in a New Year broadcast.

The break-up of the Federation had inevitably produced its particular problems, far more than most people realized. It was a great tribute to those who worked so unstintingly on the various dissolution committees and sub-committees at all levels that the whole exercise had been completed on time. "There has been a spirit of compromise existing between the three territorial Governments concerned that augurs well for the future. The co-operation of the Federal Government in what must have been a most distasteful task must be appreciated by all concerned."

### No Help from Britain

"It is in no spirit of recrimination that I express great disappointment that, so far, the British Government has shown little inclination to assist practically in solving some of the problems which still remain to be solved. This very day some of the considerable dissolution costs fall due for settlement. This is an occasion when that Government could have shown its sense of responsibility for at least some of the break-up and also shown its interest in the future of all three territories by a generous offer to pay for those dissolution costs and terminal benefits for those unfortunate Federal civil servants for whom employment cannot be found and which can be such a heavy burden on all three territories, who need all the resources they can muster for their new start.

"The spirit of co-operation between the territories has been shown by the successful conclusion of agreements between Northern Rhodesia and ourselves to run the Railways as a joint concern, and also Kariba; and the two Rhodesias, together with Nyasaland, to continue to operate Central African Airways with national subsidiaries in all three countries, on joint account for mutual benefit.

"The Agricultural Research Council will also continue to work for all the territories, and tobacco research and sales administration, through the Rhodesia Tobacco Association, will still be operated by Northern and Southern Rhodesia together.

### Mutual Benefits

"Agreement for continued trade between Nyasaland and ourselves has been achieved, and the tariff structure between this country and Northern Rhodesia will be one that will make it possible for trade to flow easily and yet protect the emergent industries in Northern Rhodesia. There should be little disruption in trade between the two northern territories and ourselves, and we can look to a steady expansion of business between us as our individual economies expand and it is proved how mutually beneficial such arrangements can be.

"A year ago I warned of the necessity to face up to some belt-tightening. It seemed obvious that under existing conditions we could not go on indefinitely spending more than we earned, which is exactly what we were doing. It is only possible to bridge this gap in two ways — either by increased taxation, or by reducing expenditure where possible, or both; and this last is what we are doing.

"Increased taxation measures are burdensome and resented, but it should be a matter of pride to you all that Southern Rhodesia is facing up to its obligations and is determined to pay its just debts and to present the proper image of a country with a sound economy so that the world realizes that here is a country in which it can safely invest and get a sound return.

"We are channelling all the funds we can raise into productive enterprises. For this purpose there has been set up the Industrial Development Corporation and the Sabi Valley Authority. Government will spend on the essential services, and private enterprise will be involved in the actual business of production. The whole accent throughout the country must be on economic production. Only in this way will we cope with the ever-increasing demand for jobs, and also in-

crease the market for the output of our secondary industry, which will help provide those jobs. Unemployment is our greatest domestic problem.

"The Dorowa phosphate deposits are to be opened up, thereby saving foreign exchange, giving employment and securing our source of supply as well as lowering the price. Apart from the general agricultural production drive, great developments in the lowveld, involving millions, have been started, and the Chiredzi railway to serve them all is being built. With the Sabi Authority already working hard, development throughout this area should be continuous in all directions, and we can look forward to the day when the whole of the lowveld, right through to the foot of our eastern mountains, is being intensively used and making a tremendous contribution to our economy; opening up a vast scope for employment, not only in the productive field itself but in the essential services and processing plants which will be required, as well as ensuring an ever-increasing market for our secondary industries.

"But this cannot be done by Government alone. It requires the co-operation of all Southern Rhodesians to engage in long-term projects and have faith in the future rather than to live in a perpetual state of fearful present.

"For our political future, we must show our sense of responsibility and realize that we cannot isolate ourselves from world affairs, no matter how much we might wish to do so. We are seeing strange things happen in other parts of this continent, which must never happen here. Compared with most, this country is tranquil. Real justice prevails and will continue to do so.

### Spirit of Compromise

"I must make one thing quite clear. We shall do all that we have to, to bring to an end the activities of those who wish to impose their will on others of different thinking by unlawful means such as intimidation, both physical and mental. This shall remain a free country.

"On the question of our independence, I made approaches to the Opposition for discussions. I am glad to report that the Opposition has signified its willingness to have informal talks with us, and I hope there will be discussions with others too.

"For these informal talks to have any success at all, there must be a spirit of compromise present. Already it would appear that some of the various schools of thought have certain points in common, and there may be more.

"It is agreed that independence is a matter between ourselves and the British Government, and no one else. We must attempt to get a negotiated settlement. If we cannot, then we have to think again. On no account must we put ourselves in the wrong. We know we have right on our side, and we must do our best to keep this position.

"It must be becoming obvious to the rest of the world that Southern Rhodesia is a stable country—a country with a large European population on which the economy mainly depends, a country whose evolutionary processes are being allowed to develop and where it is still possible to prove that a multi-racial State can work on Western standards for the benefit of all. Work it must: a country where advancement is on merit alone.

### Merit the Criterion

"Do not let us indulge in wishful thinking and imagine that the rest of the world as yet will judge us and our doings on merit alone. We have to accept that at the moment other countries only look at our affairs as they affect them and their affairs.

"So many admit that in Southern Rhodesia all persons have the same right to vote, that the franchise is the same for all and that advancement here is on merit and that the country certainly is a long way off the one-man-one-vote stage; and that we have run our own affairs for 40 years and so have more than qualified for complete independence; and yet say, 'No, we cannot be granted it, because it may offend this and that country'—countries which, as often as not, have no democratic system such as we have.

"We are doing our best to change this attitude, but it is a slow process. We can help by showing that we are mature — tolerant, and not the rabid racialists we are often portrayed to be.

"I am sad that some people have left Southern Rhodesia, out of dire necessity — but some are coming back, and more will, firmly convinced that, despite our problems, Southern Rhodesia is the finest country in the world. We are going to succeed. I know we are; but we have only just started, and hard work and extra effort will be required from everyone."



## Lord Cranworth's Retrospect

(Concluded from page 411)

verbatim — were most flattering to our self-respect, coming from so great a man, we half believed in their truth. Yet not many years later we were told with ever-increasing virulence that we were merely "exploiting" the Natives, the real owners of the country. That is the most outstanding change that I have seen in the fifty years, and I find it as unpleasant as it was unexpected.

I am sometimes asked whether in the early days there was much talk among the Natives of the iniquities of white colonization. Up to the first war I would say very little. But it must be borne in mind that intercommunication between Africans and Europeans was not very widespread. Practically no African spoke English, and comparatively few Swahili, the sole Native language understood (in various degrees of incorrectness and lack of grammar) by Europeans. The only Africans whom I ever heard advocating "Africa for the Africans" were the Somalis; and I gathered that they meant "Africa for the Somalis". Certainly I never heard any such views from the Kikuyu, who were, I think, generally well disposed to the European, to whom indeed they owed more than any other tribe, even if they have long forgotten it.

### Upsurge of African Nationalism

The upsurge of African nationalism in Kenya started, I suggest, in the first world war, in which black troops contended with whites and by no means always got the worst of it. Though, of course, they owed their efficiency largely to white training and white leadership, that fact was easily forgotten. Moreover, in those years Africans learned many things that were previously a sealed book to them, and more especially the use of the internal combustion engine. New ideas and ambitions entered their heads, some legitimate, some not so good; and it was and is our duty to direct them in the right channels. However, during the years that I knew Kenya best such anticipation barely entered our heads.

Apart from the prime business of growing new crops and rearing better cattle and sheep, our first endeavour was to obtain a majority of white settlers on the Legislative Council, to be followed in due course by a democratically elected Parliament. We had the sense to see that that was a long-term project, but we had less sense in not visualizing the inevitability of Native participation.

In the political sparring before the 1914-18 war Lord Delamere, universally known as D, stood out head and shoulders above the rest. He was a truly remarkable man, who would have made his mark in any country. Yet he suffered under divers handicaps. His health was one, as the result of hunting falls and a mauling by his forty-ninth lion in Somaliland; another was that he never became a really fluent orator, though he was an admirable debater. But he knew what he wanted and was a born leader of men. Kenya was, and apparently still is, a land of political instability. Men would raise a political banner one day and attract a large and enthusiastic following, and in a few months would be discredited and return to the rack. But D. remained solid as an oak, with his leadership unquestioned.

### Lord D.

This prominence he owed, apart from a most attractive personality, to a realization of his whole-hearted allegiance to Kenya and its future. Personal ambition had he none, nor any desire to acquire large wealth. The future of Kenya was his sole and overpowering passion, and everyone knew it. To her advancement he was prepared to sacrifice his health and his fortune, and no one could help but realize it. He has never been replaced, and I doubt if he ever will be. He was to Kenya what Rhodes was to Rhodesia.

Another striking character was Ewart Grogan, who I am glad to say is still there. He had and has immense mental gifts, and had he so wished might even have been a rival of D's. But any idea of such rivalry never entered his head. He was one of the finest orators I have ever heard, and he used that gift for Kenya's benefit, not his own.

There was a great difference between the political outlook up to, say, 1920 and what it became later. In the early days the urge was gradually to throw off the shackles of the Colonial Offices. Native and still less Indian participation in Government was never seriously considered by the Europeans. "Exploiting the Native" was a new phrase, meaning nothing, least of all a crime, unless paying, feeding, housing, doctoring, and very often educating comes in that category. Accordingly politics to the white settler meant almost entirely endeavouring to be master in his own house, or the house that he had made his own. For most of us, however, politics was not the first thing. That was to get a living in a new country, obviously fertile, but full of unknown diseases and difficulties; and

fighting against these was, for years our premier objective. On the whole, success was won, though many fell by the way.

For that success the official element deserve their full meed of gratitude. They seemed to me at the time, and they seem to me still, to have been a strikingly efficient and hard-working body of men. There were certainly good brains at the top of most departments, and at least one outstanding Governor, Sir Percy Gifouard — whose contribution to Kenya's quick advancement before the first war was almost on a par with that of Lord Delamere, with whom he very frequently collaborated.

One quite outstanding man was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Frederick Jackson, who was Lieutenant-Governor when I arrived and later became Governor of Uganda. He had known East Africa since 1884, first as a big game hunter and naturalist, then as an employee of the Imperial British East Africa Company, and eventually in Government service, in which his progress was very rapid. It was said that during all that long period of adventurous life he never made an enemy, white or black, and his years as Governor were marked by an unexampled period of peace and rising prosperity.

### Progress Necessarily Slow

Although there were a few motor-cars in Kenya before the 1914 war the internal combustion engine had made little impact on the Colony, but by the conclusion of that war it began to be apparent that great changes were on the way. With the coming of cars, distances were annihilated. Thus when I first used to go out to our farm we walked with porters, which meant at least two days. That time was cut by half with the introduction of a bicycle — when the track was passable. Now it takes just over the hour on an all-weather road. Tractors revolutionized farming. Most of all, the aeroplane revolutionized travel, bringing the Colony to our doorstep in England.

If the memory of fifty years shows vast and striking changes, some good, some less good, what will the next half-century, or even the next decade, show? They will be tremendous, and may seem almost terrifying. We are coming to the cross-roads. To five million Africans has come education at an ever-increasing pace. Fifty years ago they neither knew what education meant nor had any desire to know. The first educators were the missionaries, whose work was and still is beyond praise. Their efforts were soon followed by incoming settlers, who early in the century ran schools on the larger plantations. Their efforts were soon paralleled by the Government, but even with these sporadic efforts progress was necessarily slow.

### Production of Political Agitators

It took the first war to start the desire for better things and made Africans realize that education was the only way to get them in full. With that realization came the urge to acquire it, an urge which has expanded with every year. The sad thing is the use to which they have, for the most part, put the knowledge acquired. Yet is that altogether their fault? Some years ago, congratulating a schoolmaster on his pupils in his small up-country school, I said: "You must be very proud of your boys and the work that you have accomplished". He replied: "No, I don't feel proud. I feel sad". I asked why, and he said: "Because so far as I can see there is no future for these fine lads, save that of black-coated clerks or political agitators". He spoke with a large measure of truth. Today we are trying to rectify that error and I trust and believe that it is not too late.

The Mau Mau insurrection and the bestialities which accompanied it burst as a bombshell on an incredulous Colony — perhaps more of a bombshell than it need have been, since very definite warnings had been given for more than a year by settlers, civil servants, and missionaries. I found it very difficult to understand, because in my experience the Kikuyu, though an unattractive tribe, riddled with superstition of the most primitive and repulsive kind, had appeared appreciative of the benefits that they had received from white civilization, as they well might be; since, with the possible exception of the Masai, they had had greater benefits than any other tribe. The insurrection is now over for the time being, but a hard core of malcontents remains, and much vigilance will be an unfortunate and expensive necessity for a long time yet. I doubt if there will be another outbreak of armed violence, but there are other weapons than that. The future prosperity of the Colony must lie in the co-operation of its inhabitants, both black and white, and as yet there appear few signs of its approach, though there are some indications of a better feeling.

When an old man looks back over fifty years at the trend of things in Kenya it is almost inevitable to feel disappointment. The economic development that one hoped for has indeed occurred in full measure, and the standard of living of all races has grown with it, but peace and contentment have not as yet made equal progress with material prosperity.

## African Majority in Five Years

### Lord Walston on Southern Rhodesia

SOUTHERN RHODESIA presents a sadly different picture from her two northern neighbours in the Federation, LORD WALSTON, a Socialist peer, told the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies in London recently when relating his impressions of a recent six-week visit to East, Central and South Africa.

In the two northern territories racial problems were nearly non-existent; there was a willingness among black and white to work together, and that would give them heart to deal with their enormous economic problems after independence.

Britain had made it quite clear that independence would not be given to Southern Rhodesia until there was majority rule. That was consistent with the British view of democracy. For justice to be done there must be ultimate benefit for all the inhabitants, giving them peace and economic progress. Each race must be assured of a future, with opportunities for its children.

Ideally, there should be a gradual integration of Africans into Government posts hitherto held wholly by Europeans. Had that offer been made a decade ago there would now be a very good chance of a successful outcome in the Colony, but current conditions were full of the rivalries and bitterness that had been engendered.

### Hot Pace

Now there were not even five years left to achieve the ideal. People had told him that they could manage if they were given time. "But Britain doesn't carry time around in a pocket to dole out like pound notes. The pace of the movement for majority rule is so hot that there will have to be a radical alteration to the present Constitution."

That was necessary far more rapidly than an objective economic expert would agree was right to promote steady and continuous growth. Otherwise there would be no economic expansion, but sabotage, followed by Government "suppression" to quell it. Entrenchment in inimical positions farther, and farther apart would ensue, and then there would be an explosion.

Lord Walston sympathized with the Europeans who had created Southern Rhodesia's wealth and improved the living standards of the Africans; he also sympathized with the African desire to "throw off the imperialist yoke" in their own land, in which they were living as inferior people. A solution had to be found, not in what might have been done, but in "today's realities".

After touching briefly on waning tribal authority, with particular reference to land allocation, and the casual change of outlook among younger, educated Africans, the speaker looked ahead to the problems in independent African States when the initial glamour had worn off in terms of the "haves" and "have-nots", that classification covering not only material riches but other inequalities and sufferings related to power and position.

### Prey to Agitators

Africans at subsistence level were supine and would not provide rebel material—but those who had learned to read the newspapers a little and were able to catch a bus to town to see a film would begin to ask why they too could not be like those portrayed. They would then be prey to irresponsible agitators.

The new heads of government, extremely responsible men, would then find themselves fighting not Europeans and other foreigners but extremists of their own race. That could not be wholly prevented, but Britain could minimise the likelihood by seeing to it that a country's economic development was not retarded but accelerated by independence, whereafter the responsibility upon H.M. Government for technical and financial aid would be just as great as during Colonial days, though in a different form.

Sir Charles Ponsoby asked if his lordship, a large-scale farmer, would turn his land over suddenly to people who, albeit intelligent, had no knowledge of agriculture or economics and would need at least five years to learn—for that was what he was advocating for Southern Rhodesia.

Lord Walston replied that he could pick out "quite a handful" of Africans in the Colony who by any test of ability could beat the present European incumbents of

civil service and even some ministerial posts. However, he did not want all the Europeans removed, but to see all races working together, as in Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and even Kenya. Southern Rhodesian Africans did not bear their grudges so deeply that they would not allow this; but the longer the delay the harder it would be for both sides to come together.

Mr. F. S. Joelson asked if it were not more likely that a great exodus of men and money, producing first stagnation and then economic collapse, would result in Southern Rhodesia if Africans were granted political power in less than five years, as Lord Walston had proposed.

The speaker agreed that some residents would leave, but felt that many bluffed before independence but would stay once they had seen what an African Government could do. Kenya was an example. There would naturally be an economic decline, but the economic curve would quickly rise quite sharply.

To Mr. Joelson's point that one-party States in which every effort was made to prevent freedom of expression were not very likely to see the influential political agitation which the speaker expected, Lord Walston replied: "Is one-party government all that bad?" Britain had had two-party rule only since the mid-18th century. It was foolish to condemn a country which did not slavishly follow the Westminster pattern.

## Independence for Southern Rhodesia

MR. IAN SMITH, Minister of the Treasury and Deputy Prime Minister, who recently visited London for discussions about independence for Southern Rhodesia, said last Friday:—

"Whatever the British Government say or do will not make the slightest difference to our intention to get independence. Our resolution cannot be harder than it was when we first demanded it".

So far as the City of London was concerned, independence might be a three-day wonder. "For that reason I think that a Friday afternoon would be a good time. By Monday morning all the excitement, if any, would be over".

Sir Edgar Whitehead, Leader of the Opposition, told a lunch-time gathering on the same day:—

"Wild talk of declaring Southern Rhodesia independent amounts to rebellion. Southern Rhodesia would lose every shadow of legal protection. It would be a foolhardy act, and would bring complete disaster on the country. No country would recognize us. I do not think the majority of Europeans would approve of rebellion to attain independence.

"The Europeans are afraid that if African nationalists took over the Government it would make life intolerable for them. They feel they would see everything they had built up destroyed, and that there would be no future for their children.

"The Africans feel that with a sudden grant of independence under the existing franchise and representation the Government would remain entrenched in European hands, and they would be denied a political voice for all time.

"The task is to find a middle way which would win the confidence of all in Southern Rhodesia. All the people must take part in every stage of development in this country. The concept of a completely multi-racial State has to be accepted".

**NORTHERN RHODESIA**



For Information  
APPLY TO

**The Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia**

ESTATE HOUSE, HAYMARKET,  
LONDON, S.W.1.

Telegrams: "NORHODCOM LESQUARE LONDON"  
Telephone: WH10hall 5555 Cables: "NORHODCOM LONDON"

## Mr. R. E. Luyt for British Guiana

MR. RICHARD EDMONDS LUYT, C.M.G., D.C.M., Chief Secretary in Northern Rhodesia, has been appointed Governor of British Guiana. Born in South Africa in 1915, he was educated at the Diocesan College, Rondebosch, the University of Cape Town, and Trinity College, Oxford, to which he went as a Rhodes scholar. He was a Rugby blue and captained the university cricket XI. Entering the Colonial Service in Northern Rhodesia in 1940, he almost immediately left for military service, and did not return to Northern Rhodesia until 1946. Eight years later he went to Kenya as Labour Commissioner, and from 1957 to 1961 was Permanent Secretary in various Ministries. Then he was appointed secretary to the Cabinet, continuing in that office until he went back to Northern Rhodesia in 1962.

## External Affairs Appointments

MR. M. B. BENOY, former Federal Secretary for Defence, has been appointed Southern Rhodesian Secretary for External Affairs and Defence. Other senior appointments include that of Mr. Ken Towsey, formerly an under-secretary in the Federal Ministry of External Affairs, as the Colony's Counsellor in Washington, succeeding Mr. J. F. Bowles, who returns as an under-secretary for External Affairs in Salisbury. Mr. O. B. Bennett will remain in the United States as Minister for Southern Rhodesian Affairs. Mr. N. R. Heathcote has been appointed Deputy High Commissioner at Rhodesia House, London. Mr. S. F. Brice is political counsellor here. Mr. J. W. M. Fitt, formerly the Federation's representative in South Africa, will remain there until the end of March on secondment to the Southern Rhodesia Government, and Mr. W. E. Hope-Sotherton will remain in Lourenco Marques as Consul-General for Southern Rhodesia.

### SITUATION VACANT

#### COMPANY SECRETARY/CHIEF ACCOUNTANT

A public company operating a group of sisal and tea estates in Tanganyika, with head office in Tanga, seeks applications from Chartered Accountants or Chartered Secretaries for the senior position of

#### COMPANY SECRETARY/CHIEF ACCOUNTANT

In addition to a substantial salary terms will include free housing, medical benefits, membership of pension and provident funds and other allowances. Overseas leave terms may apply where appropriate.

Applications, which should include details of qualifications and past experience and the names of two referees other than employers, should be addressed under confidential cover to:—

The Managing Director,  
Voucher No. 143,  
East Africa and Rhodesia,  
66, Great Russell Street,  
London, W.C.1.

## Last Federal Assembly Members

THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY having ceased to exist 59 Europeans and Africans from the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland are no longer Members of Parliament. Those thus deprived of representational duties are:—

Mr. A. W. Anderson (Kitwe); Sir Malcolm Barrow, Deputy Prime Minister, and Minister of Defence, Economic Affairs, and Power (Luchenza); Mr. J. R. Beaumont (Mrewa); Mr. A. C. Birch (Gwanda); Mr. C. H. Bryden (Zomba); Mr. R. C. Buquet (Shire); Mr. R. Burns (Lusaka West);

Mr. J. M. Caldicott, Minister of Finance (Darwin), who was made K.B.E. in the New Year Honours List; Mr. J. R. N. Chinyama (Nyasaland); Mr. C. M. Chipunza (Harari); Mr. J. A. Clark, Minister of Commerce and Industry and Minister of Agriculture (Belmont); Mr. F. G. Collins (Blantyre); Mr. J. P. G. Duncan, Minister of Education and Minister for the Public Service (Salisbury District); Mr. W. H. Eastwood (Bulawayo Suburbs); Colonel J. P. Feeny (Nyasaland); Mr. John Foot, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs (Lake Nyasa); Mr. C. H. Fox (Umniati);

Mr. B. D. Goldberg, Minister of Health (Umtali Town); Mr. J. C. Graylin (Livingstone); Mr. J. M. Greenfield, Minister of Home Affairs and Minister of Law (Umgusa); Mr. R. F. Halsted (Western); Mr. A. Jacha (Luudi); Mr. V. T. Joyce (Mufulira); Mr. D. Konkola (Northern Rhodesia); Mr. G. W. R. Lange, Minister of Works (Nkana); Mr. G. A. M. Lewanika, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of External Affairs (Luangwa); Mr. J. M. Macdonald (Athlone); Sir Donald Macintyre (Bulawayo); Mr. F. B. Macrae (Northern Rhodesia); Mr. M. Malunga (Nyasaland); Mr. C. J. Matinga (Nyasaland South); Mr. S. J. Moyo (Gwai); Mr. A. M. T. Mubanga (Northern Rhodesia);

Group Captain Hartley Nelson (Gatooma); Mr. F. S. Owen, Minister of Transport and Minister of Posts (Ndola Town); Mr. B. W. M. Phiri (Nyasaland North); Mr. A. J. Pillay (Salisbury); Mr. H. J. Posselt (Fort Victoria); Mr. R. M. Rich (Lusaka East); Captain E. B. Robertson (North Eastern); Mrs. M. E. Rosin (Salisbury West); Mr. J. Z. Savanhu (Angwa/Sabi); Mr. S. S. Sawyer, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Defence, Economic Affairs and Power (Salisbury Suburbs); Mr. J. J. Simukonda (KaFue); Mr. D. A. Sparrow (Luanshya District); Mr. P. Staub (Eastlea); Mr. J. W. Stratton (Limbe); Mr. J. W. Swan (Mount Pleasant); Mr. R. H. Thyne (Sebakwe); Mr. S. F. Turner (Mazabuka); Mr. S. Udwin (Salisbury East); Mr. G. F. M. van Eeden (Lusaka Rural); Mr. M. S. Visagie (North Western);

Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Broken Hill); Mr. K. Whitmarsh-Gray (Border); Mr. H. D. Wightwick (Salisbury South); Mr. R. Williamson (Midlands); and Mr. D. W. Winchester-Gould (Ndola Rural). The Speaker was Mr. T. I. F. Wilson, who has just been made K.B.E.

## Kenya Somali Leaders' Statement

REPRESENTATIVES of the main political parties in Kenya's North-Eastern Region have held discussions with Mr. T. P. Randle, the Regional Civil Secretary, in Garissa. They issued the following statement:—

"We agree that the only possible way to help the people of this Region is to co-operate fully with the Kenya Government and to accept the hand of friendship which the Government has extended to the people of this Region.

"We deplore the assassinations, abductions and the violence which has taken place during the past 12 months. We register strong disapproval of the tactics employed by the *shifita* and ask for permission to make a strong representation to the Somali Government to apprehend those responsible for these evils and to return all the people who have been abducted from Kenya."

Those attending included representatives of the United Congress Party—Messrs. Haji Ismail, Sheikh Ali, Mohamed Sheikh Ali, Mohamed Noor Hussein and Abdi Maalim; of the Northern Province Democratic Party—Messrs. Yusuf Haji Abdi, Mohamed Idful, Abdi Sheikh Aden, Ali Omar, Ibrahim Athman, Handi Abdelli and Khalif Abdi; and of the Northern Province Peoples' Progressive Party—Messrs. Farah Abdi Alio, Abdi Maalim, Yero Ademo and Sheikh Aden Mussa.

The Somali leaders decided that a further meeting of all political and religious leaders, as well as chiefs, should be held in the near future and that Mr. J. Murumbi, the Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office, be invited to attend.

Other points discussed included ways of eliminating the *shifita*, details of the Government's development plan, and arrangements for elections in the Region.

## One-Party System Favoured in Uganda

### Dr. Obote Castigates "Subversive" Opposition

FORMATION of political parties in Uganda must be subject to obligatory conditions because of the urgent need to cultivate national consciousness through the promotion of national parties, Dr. A. Milton Obote, the Prime Minister, declared in a statement issued last week in his capacity as president of the Uganda People's Congress during a visit to his home region of Lango.

The present situation allowed for factional and tribal groupings. Opposition leaders, who had still to win the respect of the public, had been "irresponsible, opportunist and subversive" in their conduct outside Parliament.

Government policies were criticized and rejected without ever being judged on how they were suited to solve the country's problems. "We are opposed simply because opposition groups have taken it upon themselves to oppose us. Political rights become a licence for evil-doing and a few ambitious politicians are obsessed to displace the U.P.C. Government.

"Mushroom political parties against our background of tribal and religious clefs inevitably divide our endeavours to build national consciousness and embark on the Socialist construction of our society.

"We are firmly convinced that a one-party State does not inevitably remove the opportunity of giving voice to the expression of individual opinion and of constructive criticism. A one-party State does provide for collective self-criticism and examination—as opposed to organized opposition outside the party itself.

### Following the Socialist Line

"We have decided to follow a Socialist line of development. Consequently, Socialist principles must guide, inform and govern the basis, form and content of all institutions of our society. Our lives, thoughts and actions must reflect the same trend. Organized opposition against the Government is a typical capitalist notion".

Mr. Grace Ibingira, Minister of Justice, who is also legal adviser to the U.P.C., stated afterwards that "we cannot establish a one-party State by legislation—which everyone knows never removed an opposition. Anyway, it would require over 10 amendments to the Constitution, besides being improper.

"With a coherent philosophy, disciplined organization, and a sense of direction, it (the one-party system) is more conducive to the acquisition of a democratic Socialist State".

Its benefits would be obtained "as we always promised and have already largely fulfilled by proving ourselves the best leaders and destroying rival parties at the ballot-box. We have no doubt that they are going to die a natural death".

Mr. W. Musani, administrative secretary of the party, said that the Prime Minister "did not make a categorical statement about a one-party State; he merely introduced food for thought".

Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka, leader of the Democratic Party, thought Dr. Obote's statement was "a simple joke". There was no constitutional provision for establishing one-party rule.

His party holds 21 Opposition seats in the National Assembly, against the Coalition's 45 U.P.C. and 24 Kabaka Yekka seats.

## Thugs Attack Kenya M.Ps.

MAU MAU "freedom fighters" are reported to have flogged two K.A.N.U. M.Ps., Senator Julius Muthamia and Mr. Joseph Kiboi, Nyeri member of the House of Representatives. The latter's "offence" was that he refused to give a lift to an ex-general. Both men were warned by their assailants not to speak to the Press about the incidents.

The thugs are said to have been helping themselves in Meru shops without paying. African girls who resisted them have had their heads shaved. The independence amnesty ended yesterday. Those possessing arms unlawfully will be prosecuted. A statement from the Prime Minister has ordered an immediate prohibition on wearing "quasi-military uniforms".

## Party Critics' Hysteria

### Uganda Deportees Seek Redress

AN INDEPENDENT inquiry into the "white man's burden" party attended by over 150 Europeans in Kampala is being sought by the five organizers, who were deported by the Uganda Government. They have petitioned for an interview with the British Prime Minister, which has been refused.

They are demanding an apology from Uganda for themselves and nine guests similarly expelled, revocation of the deportation orders and compensation for breach of contract. They are claiming damages for the loss involved in the enforced sale of their goods and payment of the shipping costs for transporting the remainder of their property. The U.K. Government should compensate them and provide work should the Uganda Government refuse to meet these wishes, they say.

### Gross Exaggerations

One of them Mr. Tony Lawrence, a civil engineer with Mengo municipality, described the allegations of "insulting behaviour" made in the Uganda National Assembly as "gross exaggerations of the facts and totally false. The British Government's official apology has prejudged the whole issue in the eyes of the Uganda Government and of the general public. This considerably prejudices our chances of getting fair play, future employment and a correct understanding of the truth. We have been publicly sacrificed in the general interests of British foreign policy.

"These parties were regular affairs for the past three or four years. At Christmas, 1962, the theme was the anniversary of Hannibal's crossing of the Alps. This year the only free day happened to be the eve of Kenya's independence, so we chose the theme of the ending of the white man's burden. We were giving the 19th century British colonialist and many guests turned up in full civil service uniforms with swords and solar topees or in safari kit with snake boots, spine pads and fever belts.

### No African Politician Imitated

"No one imitated any African politician—or indeed any African at all. I was there to the bitter end and the only song that was sung was 'God Save the Queen.'" Songs with such lines as "The sewage works will soon break down" (mentioned in Parliament by the Uganda Prime Minister) had not been sung at the party, though had been popular in Kenya night clubs some years ago. War speeches by Churchill had started the evening, followed by dancing.

"Demands for our expulsion came from extremists in the youth wing of the U.P.C. Since the British Government has given credence to their hysterical allegations by apologizing for our conduct, friends still in Uganda have reported getting threatening telephone calls. Two British clubs have been burned down and some people have had trees in their gardens uprooted and planted upside down—the African way of saying 'We will deal with you later'.

"By its weak attitude the British Government has helped to let loose a dangerous wave of anti-British feeling throughout East Africa".

Miss Christine Dove, one of the deported guests and Save the Children Fund organizer in Uganda for some years, said that there had been no anti-Uganda malice at the party. "I am grieved that I was given no opportunity to explain my position to the authorities". Wearing an African dress, she had been led round on a rope at the party—as a joke to show that she and her fiancé were now tied together.

## Kenya Deports European

MR. LEONARD ANDERSON BUSFIELD, a Mombasa resident for 22 years, who smashed a portrait of the Prime Minister in a hotel on New Year's day, has been deported. He was also fined £10 in a magistrate's court. He said that he had heard somebody insult the Queen, which angered him. He was remanded in custody for a week because K.A.N.U. youthwingers had threatened to attack him.

## Racial Discrimination to End

### Mwalimu Nyerere's Order to Departments

DISCRIMINATION in civil service employment—in recruitment, training and promotion—“must be brought to an end immediately” in Tanganyika, Mwalimu Nyerere, the President, ordered all Ministries and public bodies by letter last week.

“We cannot allow the growth of first and second class citizenship. Each Tanganyikan citizen must accept all his duties and receive all rights which our citizenship implies. The only distinction which can in future be accepted is that between citizens and non-citizens”.

The new nation needed to use its entire reservoir of skill and experience; “the skin in which this skill is encased is completely irrelevant”.

The order was not given for the sake “of people with white or brown skins but for Tanganyika, both as a matter of principle and common sense”. Priority had been given to African citizens in 1961 in order “to counteract the effect of past discrimination”, but the reasons then valid did not apply in 1964.

### “No Qualms”

NYASALAND, facing a deficit this year of £4,260,000, which will be met by the U.K., has reduced company tax to 7s. 6d. in the £ to “open our doors to private enterprise”, Mr. Henry Phillips, Finance Minister, told the Legislative Assembly when presenting an expenditure budget of £13,360,000. Southern Rhodesia had agreed to pay £400,000 in exchange for the suspension of duties on the Colony's domestic products; it was intended to make similar arrangements with Northern Rhodesia. Nyasaland's proportion of the Federal debt was £12,080,000; it had no qualms about assuming this additional burden and had every intention of honouring its obligations, the Minister stated. He criticized unnecessary administrative costs which wasted the money spent on overseas aid schemes, which were themselves sometimes alien to the recipient's own development plans.

## News Items in Brief

China has promised Somalia a loan of £7.2m. and technical aid and other aid.

A new tsetse research laboratory financed by the D.T.C. has been opened in Bristol.

Of the African firemen on Rhodesia Railways 116 are now earning nearly £100 a month.

French funds and technical aid are to be provided for the Sidamo stretch of the Addis Ababa—Jibouti railway.

Alex Lawrie & Co., Ltd., have declared a 5% interim dividend (the same) in respect of the year to June 30 next.

By spraying sand with mineral oil and latex British research workers have raised crops of grass, lettuce, pea and onion.

The Central Selling Organization sold in 1963 diamonds to a value of £115,978,441, substantially above the 1962 record of £96,271,340.

Six Canadian geologists posted to Uganda are to help in a ground survey of likely ore deposits noted by a recent U.N. aerial geophysical reconnaissance.

Elisabethville radio station is now being used by the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia for “Voice of Zambia” broadcasting.

A site for a new cathedral between Blantyre and Limbe has been granted by the Nyasaland Government to the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.

Central Line Sisal Estates had a profit for the year ended June, 1963, of £83,580 after taxation taking £56,696—the figures in our January 2 issue were incorrect.

During the recent strike rioting in Bulawayo an African storekeeper, Mr. E. Mhlanga, saved a European policeman from a mob by firing over their heads from a shotgun.

Salary advances of £3 a head (costing £14m.) are to be offered to all Kenya civil servants earning up to £200 a year instead of *uhuru* bonuses, but they must be refunded by next April.

Military intelligence and police special branch training was provided for K.A.N.U. party nominees in Israel months before the last elections in Kenya, the *Sunday Telegraph* has reported.

Rwanda, Madagascar and the Congo voted against the admission of Communist China to the U.N., a motion supported by Tanganyika, Uganda, Burundi, the Sudan, and the Somali Republic.

M. Edgar Van Der Straeten, chairman of Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, was told when he recently revisited the Congo that the Monetary Council could not grant foreign exchange for the payment of dividends.

Some of the present issue of Tanganyika 10s. postage stamps are valued in London at £40 because the pink colouration in a reproduction of the diamond presented to the Queen by the late Dr. Williamson has been omitted.

Tenders have been invited by the Government of Southern Rhodesia from safari organizers who would operate in the Wankie controlled hunting area safaris similar to those now conducted in the Luangwa Valley of Northern Rhodesia.

### Outflow

The Sudan's deficit budget this year is about £10m. to £12m., mainly because of more costly sugar imports; expenditure restrictions include a £34m. general cut and a strict limitation under the 10-year development plan to appropriations already approved.

Considerable “heart searching” and cost cutting are needed in sisal producing countries because it is currently too dear to compete with synthetic fibre, Wigglesworth & Co. states in a brief review of 1963, which saw a 6% output increase in East Africa.

In the first 11 months of last year the Federation had a net loss of 8,536 Europeans, Asians and Coloureds. The greatest net loss was by Northern Rhodesia (more than 4,000) followed by Southern Rhodesia with about 3,500, and Nyasaland with 760.

Among 375 applications for first degree courses and over 80 for post-graduate work at the Rhodesian University College were some from students in Holland, Nigeria, India, Australia and New Zealand. A record enrolment of 650 students (480 last year) is expected.

Chalimbana experimental farm near Lusaka has harvested a crop of 35 bags to the acre of a new Rhodesian wheat, called Marodzi. It yields by about 10 bags the previous record anywhere in Central Africa. The Australian and United States average is about five bags.

### Assets Auctioned

African town councillors in Kampala, who had asked for payment and municipal houses at nominal rents, have been told by Mr. Obwangor, the Minister responsible, that “private gain by councillors is wrong”, and that such fringe benefits as preferential allotment of houses at sub-economic rents would constitute “feathering your nest”.

Carnegie Corporation grants to Commonwealth countries from 1911 to 1961 totalled \$24,524,371, of which Africa received \$3,714,327 from 1925—Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1928-61), \$298,353; Uganda (1928-60), \$236,380; Kenya (1925-55), \$163,653; Tanganyika (1930-34), \$60,000; Zanzibar (1936), \$5,000; and the Sudan (1937), \$1,325.

Harlem Globetrotters basketball team played in Salisbury between December 25 and 28, in Dar es Salaam from December 30 to January 3, in Ndola on the next three days, and were scheduled to spend January 7 and 8 in Lusaka, and the two following days in Bulawayo. The tour was sponsored by a cigarette manufacturing company in the United States.

Shareholders of Barclays Bank D.C.O. agreed at the recent annual meeting to capitalize £2,125,000 from reserves, so that that number of fully-paid ordinary shares may be distributed among stockholders on a one-for-eight basis. Nearly three years ago four million £1 shares were offered at 30s. on a three-for-ten basis. They are now quoted on the Stock Exchange at about 40s. The bank's issued capital exceeds £19m.

The assets of two African nationalist parties proscribed in Southern Rhodesia, the National Democratic Party and the Zimbabwe African People's Union, have been sold by auction. Both were led by Mr. Joshua Nkomo. The High Court rejected claims of more than £12,000 against Z.A.P.U. for arson on the ground that any officials of the party engaged in such activities acted against its constitution and that claims should lie against them, not the party.

Company Report

# Mitchell Cotts Group Limited

## £1m. Profit Forecast Exceeded

### MR. H. C. DRAYTON'S STATEMENT

THE FORTY-FOURTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF MITCHELL COTTS GROUP LIMITED was held on January 10 in London.

Mr. H. C. DRAYTON, the chairman, presided, and, in the course of his speech, said:

When addressing you a year ago I expressed the cautious hope that we might do rather better this year and might indeed reach what I then called the "magical figure" of £1,000,000 profit. In the event we did a little better than this, and I trust you will be satisfied with the increase in our net profit before tax of some £245,000, namely, from £923,000 to £1,168,000, or about 26%.

Taxation takes roughly the same total percentage of these earnings as it did last year, and is a heavy charge at £647,000.

After the usual adjustments for miscellaneous items and minority interests, the final profit after tax is £516,000, compared with £422,000 a year ago.

We have felt justified this year in recommending to you that we increase last year's final ordinary dividend of 9% to 11½%, giving a total for the year of 17½%, compared with 15% in 1961/62.

**East Africa.**—In East Africa, Kenya joined its two neighbours — Tanganyika and Uganda — as an independent State after our trading year had closed, but of course political considerations continued to exert an influence on our companies established in that part of the world. On the whole, though not as good as 1961-62, the year came out much as we had expected.

#### New Kenya Subsidiary

We have recently acquired a new small subsidiary company in Kenya with a business of a similar character to our own, and handling a number of agency lines which will fit in extremely well with those we are at present carrying. We think that with the economies and improved service that should flow from integrating the affairs of this undertaking with those of our existing companies, we ought to show a reasonable increase in both our turnover and profits.

At Arusha, in Tanganyika, we built a new factory for the manufacture of pyrethrum extract. In this venture we are in association with one of the world's leading companies in the field and with the Commonwealth Development Corporation. I am pleased to say that this modest enterprise got away to a good start, and I think we can feel that this is a case where private enterprise is contributing significantly to the development of Africa.

**Middle East.**—In the Middle East generally, and in the Sudan in particular, we succeeded in doing better than we had first hoped. In Libya the reorganization of our business to take account of the Local Agencies Law, to which I have referred on other occasions, was brought closer to completion, and although the year's profits reflect this we are still not by any means satisfied that we have got the business there in as sound and healthy a state as we would wish. However, I consider the year ended June 1964, should see us nearer the finalization of this task, and should also see us

earning an improved profit both quantitatively and as a percentage on our investment.

**Ethiopia.**—In Ethiopia our traditional merchandising, engineering, shipping and distributive businesses had a reasonable year. The cotton scheme we are sponsoring in association with other British groups and with the Imperial Ethiopian Government, completed its second full year and is now embarking on a considerable expansion. The quantity and quality of the cotton obtained seemed alike to be encouraging, and that company's directors take the view that the basis of a profitable business undoubtedly exists and they are hopeful of getting to that stage within about a year or so.

The other big development scheme we promoted in Ethiopia, namely the slaughtering of cattle and exporting of the resultant meat and by-products, has been held up by delays in delivery of various items of plant, but is now just beginning trial slaughtering. The abattoir is impressive, and we have hopes that we shall build up a sizeable business here.

Our South African group of companies, which is autonomous and wholly self-contained, did well last year. Their profits were better as compared with the previous year and with our forecast. The level of business in the Republic of South Africa has continued to expand, and we have been able to participate in the growing economy. I think we can look forward to the future there with confidence.

#### Risk Capital A Shy Bird

Mr. Drayton then commented on the Group's operations in Canada and continued:

A point which I am glad to see is gaining increasing acceptance in the under-developed and developing areas of the world is that risk capital can be likened to a rather shy bird sitting on a branch of a tree. If anybody makes unfriendly noises or, worse still, threats, it flies away. It has to be enticed to stay, as there are plenty of other places to which it can go.

If a particular country is not prepared to create and to maintain the conditions in which we can feel reasonably assured of a fair deal for us and for our shareholders, then I can say with real certainty that there are very many other countries where there is a crying need for new capital investment, for management skills, and for the sort of integrity and continuity that we can bring; as far as I can see, we shall not lack for opportunities.

#### More Optimistic

Referring to the current year, Mr. Drayton said: I feel confident that we shall do at least as well this year as we did last year, and I consider furthermore that there are good grounds for saying that we ought to do quite a bit better. I think I can say that with a little luck we should earn £1,250,000, and perhaps a little more. If we have some unexpected setbacks, we might not attain this target, but speaking as things are today, I am inclined to be a little more optimistic than pessimistic.

The report and accounts were adopted.



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