

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, June 25, 1964

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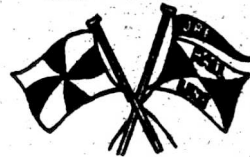
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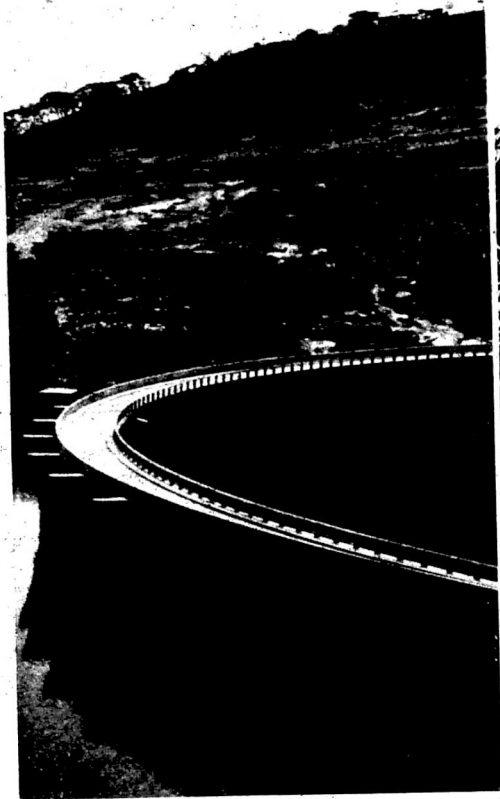
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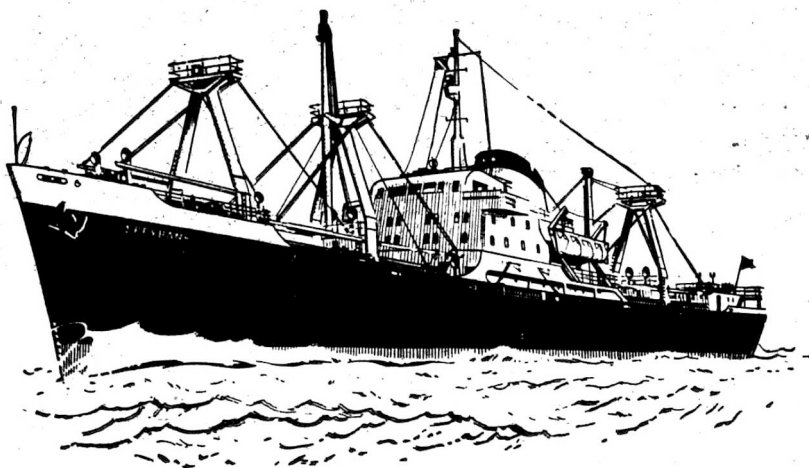
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

UGANDA, having hinted not long ago through her Prime Minister that political federation in East Africa was not a practical proposition in present circumstances, has now declared unequivocally through the Minister of Planning and Community Development that the Government does not consider the proposals feasible, but hopes for some strengthening of the East African Common Services Organization. Despite the sustained flow of misleading propaganda in and from East Africa during the past year about the alleged imminence of federation, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA — which was for many years almost alone in its advocacy of closer union of the three territories — has held that that development, highly desirable in principle, would not come quickly between three newly independent States. We have never doubted the sincerity in this matter of President Nyerere, whose activities in the cause of federation have been unselfish, persistent, and courageous; but, in our view, he has been mistakenly optimistic in expecting early acceptance of his plan by Uganda, which has such manifest and serious difficulties to overcome that the first step may have to be taken only by Tanganyika and Kenya.

There has, however, been a widespread tendency to be starry-eyed about Kenya, in which the irreconcilable clashes of temperament and ambition between powerful Ministers were bound to impede decision on so fundamental an issue.

Pelf and Prestige. Moreover, Kenya's threatening financial situation was not calculated to dispose the Government to easy surrender of some of the important economic advantages which that country had already gained, and of which Tanganyika has at long last managed to exact a fairer share — ironically by announcing in very firm terms that

she would otherwise have no part in a federation of which she has been the most ardent advocate. The implied prospect of the destruction of the East African Common Market so alarmed the obstructionists in Kenya that almost at once they made concessions which had previously been resolutely refused. Apart from Uganda's internal political obstacles, neither that country nor Kenya (nor, for that matter, many people in Tanganyika) are reconciled to the idea of relinquishing the territorial seats at the United Nations or the right to appoint High Commissioners and Ambassadors in a number of countries and receive diplomatic missions in return. The Corps Diplomatique gives added prestige to the capital of an independent State, which is eager in turn to fly its own flag abroad (sometimes in strange places).

Since these and other factors were last examined in our columns the Communist menace to East Africa has so forced itself upon public attention as to become in many

Watch the Communists.

People in Uganda who had insisted that that country had nothing to fear from the Marxist zealots in local politics were shocked when at the recent annual conference of the People's Congress Party, led by Dr. Obote, the Prime Minister, another member of the Cabinet, Mr. Nekyon, referred to "those among us who appear to be trying to introduce Communism disguised as Socialism", and added to that damaging admission the assurance that the party would have nothing to do with Communism "because of the great importance we attach to security, happiness, and freedom of the individual". Soon after those words were spoken, Zanzibar, in which the Communists had already established a foothold, was suddenly merged, at least theoretically, with

Tanganyika, which had to pay the high price of admitting to the Cabinet of the United Republic men who had ostentatiously paraded their sympathy with Communism. That inevitably made Tanganyika a much less attractive ally to Uganda, and also to Kenya, which has in high places some pro-Communists whom their opponents want to see isolated, not reinforced. The Chinese, Russians and East Germans, having now made themselves the real masters of Zanzibar — an ideal base from which to spread subversion and sabotage in East and Central Africa — may, of course, follow their frequent practice of suddenly reversing their policy for one which appears to promise prompt profits. In that event they would instruct their agents among African politicians to discontinue obstruction and work for union, in the conviction that larger areas of Africa could thus be more quickly undermined. Any early change in the situation would for this reason require to be regarded with deep suspicion.

A few hours after the above comments were sent to the printers the Prime Minister of Kenya told the National Assembly that there could not be both regionalism and federation and that *majimbo* would be scrapped for "a proper federation",

Kenya Breaks Another Pledge. and Chou En-Lai informed Mr. Kawawa in Peking that China would grant an interest-free loan of fifteen million pounds to the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. When Mr. Odinga recently led a similar mission to China Kenya was promised more than six million pounds, and soon afterwards the (constitutionally non-existent) Zanzibar Government was offered five millions free of interest. Whether largesse on this scale from a Communist State facing massive economic difficulties is altruistic can be left to the judgment of readers. Few of them will accept Mzee Kenyatta's casual view of the constitutional obligations of his Government. Kenya was granted independence a few months ago on solemn pledges from the Kenyatta party that it would operate a policy of genuine regionalism, which was defined in great detail in the Constitution. That basic condition of autonomy is now to be broken. So yet another warning of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA which United Kingdom politicians refused to heed has proved justified, for we repeatedly dismissed the undertakings of K.A.N.U. as worthless, as did K.A.D.U., the Opposition party, which Kenya's Prime Minister now describes as "a nuisance".

His assertion that regionalism and federation are incompatible, and that Kenya must choose the latter, is a pretence which should deceive nobody, for he accepted the principle of regionalism after months of wrangling **Money First and Action Afterwards.** during which the question of federation was likewise under discussion. Indeed, K.A.D.U. spokesmen then argued, as did some political leaders in Uganda, that federation would be much more acceptable if based on a number of regions within Kenya and kingdoms in Uganda. Probably the fiercest opponent of that view was Mr. Mboya, who resented and resisted regionalism and has continued to criticize a principle to which he and his Cabinet colleagues set their signatures. The gross breach of faith now announced by the Kenyatta Government is not merely political. A few days previously it had extracted from the United Kingdom Government promises of another fifty-three million pounds in grants and loans without giving the slightest hint that the Constitution so recently signed in London was about to be scrapped. It is therefore fair to describe this further drain on British resources as having been obtained by false pretences. The man primarily responsible, Mzee Kenyatta, will nevertheless not be exposed when he comes to London in a few days for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. Indeed, the immediate comment of the *Daily Telegraph* was that "Mr. Kenyatta is carrying through a policy which will receive a very warm welcome in London"! The *Daily Worker*, *Tribune*, *New Statesman*, and *Observer* could scarcely do worse in one short sentence. The man in question has just made the outrageous remark that Britain's further generous instalment of financial aid to Kenya was a recompense for having "sucked our blood" in the past. The real Kenyatta reveals himself from time to time.

"There are more Tonga in the Northern Rhodesian police than men from any other tribe".—Dr. Kaunda, Prime Minister.

"Who would have thought only ten years ago that the only Colonial Powers left in the world would be the Soviet Union and the United States?"—General de Gaulle.

"As an independent nation Kenya can no longer depend on large sums of money given free by other countries".—Mr. J. H. Angaine, Minister for Lands and Settlement.

"The job of the Government is to bring in capital. This is where you come in, John, Minister of Trade and Industry".—Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of Nvasaland, speaking in the Legislative Assembly.

"Tribalism is becoming a dreadful scourge to Kenya's unity, peace and stability. It must be stamped out forthwith".—Mr. T. J. Mboya, addressing a K.A.N.U. reorganization conference in Kakamega.

Will The One-Party System Give Way to African Democracy?

Sir Walter Coult discusses the possibilities in the African States*

WE HAVE REJECTED COMMUNISM as an ideology and totalitarianism as a method of government because the integral pattern of democracy is freedom — of speech, of thought, of life. Freedom and justice are the foundations of our lives. For these things we have fought and died.

We consider that the ideology born in Russia and now grasped eagerly by China and the concept of Socialism through totalitarianism which we hastened to destroy in the last war are both bad.

What does democracy mean to the African nationalist politician? Is he prepared to make a real democracy work?

The Pan African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa (PAFMECA), at its birth in Mwanza in 1958, stated in its charter: "Democracy must prevail from Senegal to Zanzibar and from the Cape to Cairo. We are dedicated to the precepts and practice of democracy". But is the form to be the same?

When dealing with Africans one has to think European and think African. The two processes are quite different, more often than not because the premises are quite different, since they stem from an entirely different social structure.

Different Conclusions

If, when applying one's thoughts to a particular problem, one began from the natural European premises, the conclusion would be quite different from the African's. His premises, born from his distinct background, would be new to us, and his conclusion would be new and often surprising. When considering the problem of democracy in Africa one can therefore assume that the African interpretation will be different.

We think the Westminster pattern of democracy a priceless commodity, fit for export for the benefit of other persons. Mr. Vítachi, in his amusing book "Brown Sahib", combines excellent leg-pulling of the British with a very deep analysis of the fate of Westminster democracy in South-East Asia. His conclusion was that it did not suit the people; but, being anxious about the spread of Communism and fearing totalitarianism, he suggested adaptations.

Why should it suit the people? It is an exotic plant, nurtured in unfamiliar soil; there is no reason why it should not have grafted on to it buds of a different but no less valuable strain.

If democracy means rule by the *demoi*, the vocal influence of the masses in the Government, this is what the African nationalist politician seeks. The fear of the Western world is that the emotions of the masses will be ruled by the most popular politician, particularly one with a flair for skilful and compulsive oratory, and this will lead inevitably to dictatorship and the death of democracy.

Stony Soil

The apparently all-powerful position of Dr. Nkrumah in Ghana or Mr. Sékou Touré in Guinea, the existence of a one-party state in Tanganyika and the desire for a one-party system in other emergent African States, are quoted as examples of the break-up of democracy. Certainly, Dr. Nkrumah's moves towards a totalitarian régime make one wonder what the final outcome will be. Nevertheless, preventive detention and interference with the judiciary are as repugnant to many Africans who support the modern trends as to us. Africa — as did Europe — will require time for evolution. The Westminster pattern will not survive in its present form; but this does not necessarily mean that the roots will be eradicated.

The African social structure, particularly the wide inter-

dependence of kith and kin, and the fact that in himself the African is a god-fearing man (not necessarily going in fear of God), produces no fertile soil for Communism. Many have tried to sow the seed, but so far it has been on stony ground. The only way in which Africans could become active Communists is to be dominated for so long by a Communist group that the youth would come to know no other way of life. I think this fear is groundless unless it become a reality through aggression, war and conquest. I hope that this would be impossible.

The new African leaders state repeatedly that they must eradicate "ignorance, poverty and disease". Although books now present everything that the Colonial Powers did as bad and everything now being done by the independent States as good, the British record of fighting ignorance, poverty and disease will stand the test of time. Great strides in combating these evils were made. I have seen a tremendous expansion in the education programmes, the menace of famine and locusts virtually wiped out, and the scourge of plague, malaria, typhoid, beri-beri and sleeping sickness reduced to a proportion where people tend to forget that as late as the middle 30's these diseases were killers on a large scale.

My first job in Africa was to stamp out plague in a Kikuyu district in Kenya, where more than 200 people were dying a month. After a campaign lasting seven months this figure was reduced to one death. Now mass inoculations have made the fear of death from plague negligible. Our methods were largely an attempt by patient propaganda to get the people to see that it was in their own best interests to take certain action.

The new African leaders cannot wait until their people are all well-educated or until patient propaganda has an effect. Each has to show the world, as I expect they will, that they can get their people to follow them wholeheartedly in carrying out new schemes for health, welfare, education, agriculture and economic improvements. The African leader has to go down to the grass roots and get the people by co-operation, mingled with political coercion, to raise themselves by their own boot-straps.

Seize Power

To an African opposition means not constructive criticism which assists the national effort but frustrating delay which divides the *demoi* and dissipates its effort. During the Colonial régime African oppositions spent most of their efforts trying to destroy the Power which ruled them. In the African mind the main object of an African political party is to destroy the Government and seize power for themselves.

This does not mean that the idea of a stable Opposition fostered by the Westminster pattern has not made a considerable impact on the people. It has; but the overruling objective has been to get rid of the Power which stood in their way. It is only natural therefore that at this stage in their very new development the leaders of the new independent States fear that if a strong Opposition is formed they will be destroyed, in the same way as the Colonial Government before them, and the result will be anarchy and chaos. They have a very good example before their eyes in the Congo, where the architect of independence, Lumumba, was destroyed and the Congo dissolved into civil war and anarchy.

In Africa fear and violence are only just below the surface, and new leaders know only too well that uncontrollable forces may be unleashed at any moment. Although one could argue that they are really only protecting their own political position and power, they also know that the toppling of a Government by an Opposition may result in chaos. Such thinking probably lies behind much of Dr. Nkrumah's actions. Built-in checks in the African social scene will curb the Hitler type of totalitarian rule without necessarily having the formal Opposition in Parliament which Westminster demands. I believe that the National Assembly will remain, with all its opportunities for debate, and that the maintenance of justice — the other necessary ingredient in our exported pattern — although having at times a rough passage, will prevail.

Communal feeling manifests itself in clan and tribal loyalties which may conflict with those of the State. In the interests of any new independent country tribalism must disappear quickly, in order that a nation can be created; but the strength which these communal ties foster is a national asset likely to militate against outright dictatorship.

There is a very wide belief in the principles of Christianity. Where this does not exist there is a very healthy respect for forces outside the African daily life and world, which one can loosely describe as animism, which has bred in Africans a very strong sense of good and evil. I think the average

* The above extracts are quoted with permission from an article in *Optima*, the quarterly review of the Anglo American Corporation.

African would consider the imposition of the supreme authority of one individual evil.

A core of well-educated persons are basically opposed to complete domination by one man. This does not mean that such people will not give whole-hearted and undivided support to one leader; but that person must not be allowed to act without constant consultations, usually with the party. The party therefore acts as a council within the age-old African concept of democratic justice and law-giving. This is the reason for the desire for the one-party system.

The African political leader has an immense task to inspire his people with the energy to create the progress they all desire. The more persons, therefore, in the party, the easier will it be for the Government, which springs from the party, to carry out its policies. This process is materially assisted by the fact that the average African considers that the party in power will do more for him than one out of power, and he therefore joins it.

In my experience the party machinery is entirely democratic. All the officials are elected by a system of voting in the districts right up to the party headquarters at the top. So really the party rules—not necessarily the leader whom they have chosen; and if the party consists very largely of *demos*, is this not democracy—but in an African sense? The local government system, firmly established in the ex-British territories, gives Africans at the district level a chance not only to evaluate their own policies but to argue with the centre; and the local council may do a great deal to influence the Government. The whole system could be swept away, but there is no sign of this at the moment; and in areas as vast as most African territories some decentralization is necessary.

Some of the portents are more than disturbing; but it is no use trying to assess this from a European standpoint. What we think bad may turn out to be good when we dig below the surface and time has had a hand.

Government will have to be authoritarian. Have we recently examined how far the Governments of the Western democracies act in an authoritarian manner? As the pressure of public business has increased, not all Ministers are members of the Cabinet, and not all members of the

Cabinet may be close to the leader. It is possible therefore for a strong leader to implement his own personal policies.

There are two strong checks on such a situation becoming dangerous. The first is the right of Parliament to bring into the open any question it wishes to discuss. Secondly, although the people are probably mainly interested in sport, pools, and drinking, the *demos* is very highly developed in its political thinking and is quick to seize on policies with which it disagrees.

Lamentably, in lovely Zanzibar, we have seen parties gaining power at gun-point. If this trend infects the whole of Africa south of the Sahara the person who controls the army and police will become the dominant person in the country and a military dictatorship will ensue. Anarchy in the Congo and a military Mobutu in this way. One must therefore not discount the possibility of the rash spreading and of all the African emergent countries being ruled by the army.

The pot will bubble for a long time before the porridge comes to rest in an even texture; and although I have learned never to prophesy about this vast continent, which is throwing up new problems every day and which is becoming such a power-house of energy that it will surprise the Western world even more than it has done so far, I believe that the move will be in time to a new but very African democracy rather than to a new totalitarianism.

We have seen mutiny in Tanganyika and trouble in Uganda and Kenya. Without knowing the whole story, I would expect to find it was a general attempt on the part of left-wing sympathizers to get nearer the centre of power. This was suggested in some reports from East Africa and denied in others.

This appears to underline three points above: (1) the rash looked like spreading, and control by the army seemed to come nearer, but (2) the present political leaders, even at the expense of loss of both local and international prestige by calling in British troops, have taken very strong action to restore the situation, to bolster their own position, and therefore to avoid general chaos. The lessons of the Congo in the interest of the masses have been well learned. (3) In this boiling pot of point and counterpoint who can prophesy? Only time will tell.

Limit to Time Southern Rhodesia Can Just Drift

Opposition Leader in London to Assess U.K. Terms: Disaster of Unilateral Declaration

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, told a packed meeting in Gwelo last week that he was making a last effort to negotiate with the British Government on the independence issue. He was not very hopeful about the outcome.

There was a limit to the period during which the country could go on negotiating and drifting, and he did not think that that limit was very far off. The time was not far distant when the Government would be able to give the people of Southern Rhodesia what they had been promised for years and what was their right.

Rumours that H.M. Government had already told Southern Rhodesia the terms for independence were untrue. "We have asked Britain to give us their terms, but they have refused; and we have asked for independence under the present Constitution."

Asked to define what he meant by a limit to the time the country could go on negotiating for independence, Mr. Smith replied that he could not commit himself; the game of strategy and tactics had to be played as one went along.

Stressing the need for a united approach on independence, he said that the Government was waiting for the Opposition to share in an approach to the British Government on the basis of the present Constitution.

If the country had any better friends than the people living south of the Limpopo, he did not know who they were. Without doubt they would like to see Southern Rhodesia obtaining independence. The survival of Southern Rhodesia was vital to the Republic of South Africa. "Once it is proved that there is going to be no hand-over here, we shall get so much help from them that even Southern Rhodesians will be surprised."

On the same day Mr. O. B. Bennett, the Minister for Southern Rhodesian Affairs in Washington, told journalists in Salisbury that he doubted whether the United States Government would recognize a Southern Rhodesian Government which had declared independence unilaterally. He believed that such action would be deplored by the U.S. Government, but that there was no question of the United States taking positive action against a unilateral declaration.

Lusaka Radio has reported that Mr. Chikerema, acting-president of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, revealed during a three-day visit to Northern Rhodesia that the proclamation of a Southern Rhodesian government-in-exile had already been written and would take effect the moment Prime Minister Smith declared independence unilaterally. Mr. Chikerema thought the most likely date was September 12, Pioneer Day.

He claimed that all Africa and Asia and 75% of Europe had pledged financial and material support, including arms, to Z.A.P.U. if the Prime Minister took that action. He also stated that Z.A.P.U. planned to have a national executive office in Northern Rhodesia, but would not say whether it would represent the headquarters of the government-in-exile.

Mr. McLean, Southern Rhodesia's Labour Minister, stated in Bulawayo that in view of her economic position Northern Rhodesia could hardly be expected to lead a pan-African crusade against Southern Rhodesia; one-third of her imports worth £9m. in the first two months of this year had come from Southern Rhodesia, and her imports from African countries other than Southern Rhodesia and South Africa amounted to only £100,000.

A unilateral declaration of independence by the present Southern Rhodesian Government is unlikely in the immediate future, Sir Edgar Whitehead said when he arrived in London on Monday "to bring myself up to date at this end".

He did not think that the Prime Minister, Mr. Smith, was committed to such a step, but there was a danger of it. It would be disastrous, particularly economically. The Government should put all the facts before the electorate in a referendum, which would come to a sensible decision.

Equally disastrous would be a transfer of power to an African majority in less than 12 years. The 1961 Constitution should be given a fair trial.

That Rhodesia had not been invited to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference was absolutely wrong. Mr. Smith's exclusion was purely political. Yet the British Prime Minister had said that the conference would concern itself with economic matters; and Southern Rhodesia, a founder member of G.A.T.T., had participated in every conference during the difficult times when sterling was under pressure.

Revolution

At the Rhodesia National Party congress last week—when Sir Edgar was re-elected president—he warned the 250 delegates of all races that a unilateral declaration of independence would hurl the country into a revolution, with incalculable consequences. Our isolation would be appalling. Thousands would almost certainly lose their jobs as export markets in the north and elsewhere were closed to us.

There was imminent danger of a head-on clash between white and black extremists. The security situation in the African townships had never been worse.

The Government was manoeuvring itself to a point at which it would have no alternative to declaring independence. It had virtually abandoned all hope of a negotiated settlement. There was no justification for such moves.

"It would be entirely different if Britain were to break the conventions that guard our internal independence or were to suspend our Constitution. I have no reason to think that there is the least likelihood of their doing anything of the kind".

The Governor, the Constitutional Council, and the judiciary could not possibly connive at the overthrow of any of the provisions of the Constitution, in which case they would presumably have to be placed in restraint if the Government turned to unconstitutional action. Personnel of the uniformed or civil services would have to judge where their loyalties and duties lay. "As in the case of all revolutions, every citizen would have to make his choice whether to accept the illegally-constituted Government or not".

The congress resolved that the party and its followers would cease to recognize the Government as lawful if it declared independence unilaterally without prior interference by Britain in Rhodesia's internal affairs.

A second resolution assured the Governor of loyalty to the 1961 Constitution and pledged full support to him in any step he might have to take to prevent unconstitutional action by the Government in power.

Defer Independence

A national campaign against a unilateral independence declaration is being prepared.

Sir Edgar, who told the congress that the party would welcome a new movement with a non-racial approach within the broad principles of the R.N.P., and that he would step down if a more acceptable leader were found, repeated his offer after the congress, when he said: "My view is that the offer after the congress, when the present Government in courses now being followed by the present Government in talking in an airy way about the real possibility of a unilateral declaration are so dangerous to this country that I will be perfectly happy to work with anyone who can avert that danger".

He added that if it proved impossible to negotiate acceptable terms, independence might have to be deferred for a time. He would not accept African rule within five years.

He strongly suspected that the British Government's conditions had hardened so much that his party could not accept them; but the stiffening of the British terms lay in a distrust of what the present régime would do after independence. The terms could be relaxed if the country had a Government which sincerely meant to uphold the spirit and letter of the Constitution.

Mr. Smith, the Prime Minister, told a Rušape meeting last week that the Government would not make a move towards independence unilaterally until it was sure the people supported it. The country could make a success of independence,

which would produce an inflow of capital and immigrants and an end to current uncertainties.

He denied having been informed officially by the British Government of the consequences of a unilateral declaration. He had been told informally that Rhodesia might lose Commonwealth trade preferences. "I do not think Rhodesia particularly wants to remain in a Commonwealth that consists mainly of the Afro-Asian bloc instead of the old members", he told a questioner.

Mr. Sandys, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, had on the previous evening stated in a London television interview that if Rhodesia declared independence unilaterally the British Government would not recognize it and that the declaration would have no legal validity. The Minister said that that had been made clear to Mr. Smith's Government.

It had also been made clear that "we are prepared to give independence to Southern Rhodesia on the same terms as we have given it to other territories... with the existence of representative Government institutions based on a reasonably wide franchise".

Rhodesian Initiative

Rhodesia, being self-governing, had to take the initiative. "It is for them to decide the question of their franchise. It is for us to decide whether we give them independence", Mr. Sandys said.

Sir Roy Welensky has written in the Rhodesian *Sunday Mail* that he does not "recoil in horror" from the possibility of a unilateral declaration. As an individual he would want to know what chances the Government had of making it a success. A referendum would be necessary for the Government to see whether it had majority support.

"To attempt a move of this nature without that support would be a risk that borders on the foolhardy. I do not believe that any Government has the right to take it". He assumed that the Governor would have to be detained and replaced by a republican President.

The Rev. N. Sithole, president of Z.A.N.U., has been arrested at Fort Victoria for distributing subversive literature.

Dr. Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, and the Emperor of Ethiopia both declared on Monday that their countries would hold H.M. Government responsible for the consequences of any unilateral declaration of independence by the present régime in Southern Rhodesia.

Rhodesians Treated As Moral Lepers

Mr. Colin Kirkpatrick's Strong Protest

MR. COLIN KIRKPATRICK has written from Salisbury to the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"The decision of the British Government not to invite the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia to the Commonwealth Conference is likely to do considerable harm to race relations in Southern Rhodesia. It makes the task of those Rhodesians (both black and white) who believe as I do almost impossible.

"Times change and policies change, but Southern Rhodesia's loyalty to Britain has never been questioned. I disagree with many of the present Southern Rhodesian Government policies, as do many other loyal British subjects, to whom this decision has brought a feeling of sadness. My feelings (and there are many like me) are against racial discrimination, and I fight actively against it.

"The African Loan and Development Company Ltd., of which I have the honour to be chairman, is, I believe, the only concern of its kind in Africa. Its board of directors includes four well-known white Rhodesians and three leading black Rhodesians, one of whom is the president of the African Farmers' Union. The company is non-governmental and non-political.

Fostering Co-operation

"It is wholly private enterprise, and its capital was subscribed, on a *pro bono publico* basis, by a number of leading banking, industrial, commercial and mining concerns—the mostly British. Our sole aim and object is to provide the emergent African businessman and farmer with an access, hitherto non-existent, to loan and credit facilities. It is an

(Continued on page 820)

PERSONALIA

EARL DE LA WARR was 64 on Saturday. MR. IAN COLVIN is revisiting Africa for the *Daily Telegraph*.

SIR ROY WELENSKY'S "4000 Days" is already in its third edition.

MR. W. F. FAULDS has been elected president of Lusaka Rotary Club.

MR. R. G. HAMPSON has become Director of Agriculture in Bechuanaland.

MR. P. H. COUNSELL has been promoted Solicitor-General in Northern Rhodesia.

SIR ALBERT ROBINSON has joined the board of Illovo Sugar Estates, Ltd., South Africa.

A son has been born to MAMA NGINA KENYATTA, wife of the Prime Minister of Kenya.

LIEUT.-COLONEL A. LESLIE is secretary of the new Rhodesian Ministry of Transport and Power.

MR. PHILIP WANGALWA has been appointed acting senior Press officer in the Kenya Ministry of Information.

MR. JOSEPH MUSEMBE has been appointed District Commissioner of Nairobi. He succeeds Mr. G. N. HAMPSON.

MR. H. A. MWAKANGALE, recently Area Commissioner for Tukuuyu, has been transferred to Kilimanjaro, Tanganyika.

SIR ERIC GRIFFITH-JONES has been elected chairman of Linggi Plantations, Ltd., and Malacca Rubber Plantations, Ltd.

MR. J. B. JOHNSTON, British High Commissioner in Southern Rhodesia, arrived in London last week for consultations.

MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P., who has recently re-visited Southern Rhodesia, will address the Monday Club on that subject on July 2.

MR. R. I. C. RAWSTORNE has been re-elected president of the Northern Rhodesia Mine Officials and Salaried Staff Association.

MR. W. E. KERR, president of the former Federal Public Service Association, is to take up a business appointment in Cape Town.

LIEUT.-COLONEL E. L. BUCK, general secretary of the Salvation Army in Rhodesia, and MRS. BUCK arrived in the TRANSVAAL CASTLE last Friday.

MR. HARLEY DRAYTON has resigned the chairmanship of Ideal Building and Land Co., Ltd. He remains chairman of more than 20 other companies.

SIR JOHN HATHORN HALL, sometime Governor of Uganda, and previously High Commissioner in Zanzibar, has just reached his 70th birthday.

ATO GETACHEW MEKASHA, the first Ethiopian Ambassador to Kenya, is also Ambassador to the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

COLONEL T. H. HENFREY has been re-elected chairman and MR. P. E. L. HOWARD vice-chairman of the board of Nakuru War Memorial Hospital, Kenya.

MR. A. T. DE JEAN, manager in Mombasa of the Union-Castle Line, and MRS. DE JEAN left Southampton last Thursday in the WINDSOR CASTLE for Durban.

In a recent car accident the BISHOP of MATABELAND sustained bruises and cuts, and his passenger, CANON RICHARD YOUNG, a visiting American, had a leg broken.

THE REV. E. E. LURY, previously Archdeacon and Rector of Dar es Salaam, is to be Rector of Christ Church, St. Leonard-on-Sea, in the diocese of Chichester.

MR. DESMOND LARDNER-BURKE was on Monday sworn in as Minister of Law and Order in Southern Rhodesia on the resignation of that portfolio by Mr. CLIFFORD DUPONT, who remains in the Cabinet as Information Minister.

MR. L. F. G. ANTHONY has been appointed production officer in the Northern Rhodesia Tourist Bureau. MRS. ANTHONY and he will leave for Lusaka by sea in about a month.

THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH, who is to represent the QUEEN at the Malawi independence celebrations, will open the new Parliament on July 7 and read the speech from the Throne.

MR. WILLIAM C. RUGOVI, from the Makoholi Experimental-Farm near Fort Victoria, Southern Rhodesia, is undergoing further training at the Surrey Farm Institute, near Guildford.

MR. J. S. MAYANJA-NKANGI, Minister of Commerce and Industry in Uganda, is in London for a visit of about a week. His purpose is to interest British industrialists in investment in Uganda.

MR. M. MUNDIA, Minister of Local Government in Northern Rhodesia, and MISS CECILIA SITHOLE, of Livingstone, have announced their engagement. The wedding is to take place in Mongu on July 5.

MR. BYRON KAWADWA of Radio Uganda, MR. SALIM ABEID and MR. MDUNGI UST from Zanzibar, and MR. SALIM JUMA of the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, are undergoing intensive training at the B.B.C.

MR. W. R. H. AUSTIN, managing director of the South African subsidiaries of the Union-Castle and Cayzer Irvine companies, who previously served in East Africa, has arrived in England with MRS. AUSTIN.

MWAMI MWAMBUTSA IV of Burundi, who was in Britain from Thursday to Sunday on a private visit while on his way back to Usumbura from the United States, was received by the QUEEN on Monday.

MR. TIMOTHY FIELD, 35-year-old son of the former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, was last week allocated land for sugar and cotton growing in the lowveld, in which area many applications are outstanding.

MR. R. C. BRIGGS, director of African administration for the City of Salisbury, says in his annual report that despite political differences there is a fund of good will between Europeans and Africans in Southern Rhodesia.

THE REV. REES W. H. PHILLIPS, lately warden of St. John's Seminary, Lusaka, is now living in Banbury, Oxfordshire. The new warden is the REV. J. WELLER, who served in the Royal Corps of Signals during the last war.

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said when opening the annual congress of the Rhodesia National Farmers' Union that the country had to get away from a system which allowed large tracts of land to lie idle.

SIR EVELYN HONE, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, has been awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws of Rhodes University, Grahamstown, at which he was a student from 1930 to 1932, when he went to Oxford as a Rhodes scholar.

SIR ISAAC WOLFSON arrived in Uganda last week on an eight-day visit in order to study investment possibilities. On the day of arrival he saw the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister, and the Minister of Agriculture and Co-operatives, MR. MATHIAS NGOBI, who met him at the airport.

A more attractive name than "lowveld" should be coined for the "lovely" Southern Rhodesian development area, suggested MR. GORDON DASHWOOD, assistant managing director of London County Freehold and Leasehold Properties, Ltd., after a visit to the Sabi-Limpopo irrigation scheme.

MR. RICHARD HORNBY, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies, left London yesterday to attend the Malawi independence celebrations. He is visiting Kampala, and Dar es Salaam on his way to Blantyre. MR. HORNBY is due back in London on July 10.

MR. R. W. KETTLEWELL, lately Minister for Lands and Surveys in Nyasaland, is to address a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies in London on July 2 on "Nyasaland: Whence and Whither?" MR. FRANK BROWN, who was Chief Secretary in Nyasaland from 1945 to 1951, will preside.

MR. B. T. PARKAR, an Asian member of Mombasa Municipal Council, has declared that he will not resign under unprovoked and unwarranted threats. MR. T. M. C. CHOKWE, executive officer of the Mombasa branch of the Kenya African National Union, had called for the resignation of several Asian councillors.

MR. N. B. LONGWE, this year's mayor of Chingola, is president of the Copperbelt African Football Association and of the local branches of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Northern Rhodesia Youth Council. When first elected last November he was the first African to become a mayor in Northern Rhodesia.

DR. J. N. KARANJA, High Commissioner in London for Kenya, gave a luncheon last week for MR. SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. The other guests were SIR SAVILLE GARNER, and Messrs. H. BERKELEY, M.P., D. P. GATANG'I, W. KIMEMIA, K. MEADOWS, J. W. NDISI, J. THORPE, M.P., and L. B. WALSH ATKINS.

MR. WINSTON FIELD, lately Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, and MRS. FIELD have accepted invitations from DR. BANDA to the Malawi independence celebrations. MR. IAN SMITH, the present Prime Minister, and MRS. SMITH had already promised to attend. SIR ROY WELENSKY and SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD have not been invited.

When the VERY REV. DUNSTAN NSUBUGA, Dean of Namirembe Cathedral since 1961, was consecrated Assistant Bishop of Namirembe, and the REV. SALIVANZ WANI, a diocesan secretary, was also made an Assistant Bishop, the ceremony of consecration in Kampala was attended by the PRESIDENT and PRIME MINISTER OF UGANDA.

A post-by-post examination of the public service is to be conducted by the Kenya Government in order to increase Africanization and correct the existing racial imbalance. MR. PETER KOINANGE, Minister of State, has told the Kenya Civil Servants' Union, which had called on the Government to give preference to Africans in appointments and promotions.

The engagement is announced of MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, grandson of SIR WINSTON, and son of MR. RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, to MISS MINNIE d'ERLANGER, daughter of the late SIR GERARD d'ERLANGER, who was at one time chairman of B.O.A.C. and had other East and Central African interests. Some months ago MR. CHURCHILL visited Africa for the first time.

DR. W. K. CHAGULA, who took his medical degree at King's College, Cambridge, did post-graduate work in the West Indies and at Yale University, and was then for eight years on the academic staff of the medical faculty of Makerere College, Uganda, has been appointed principal of University College, Dar es Salaam, which he joined a year ago as registrar and vice-principal. He will succeed MR. R. C. PRATT, who is to return to the University of Toronto next March.

LIEUT. LAMECK MBEWE, the first African to be commissioned in the Northern Rhodesia Defence Force, had been Regimental Sergeant Major in the 1st Bn. The Northern Rhodesia Regiment, which he joined in 1943. He served in Kenya and Madagascar with the 4th Battalion, and since the war has served in Somaliland, Tanganyika and Malaya. He was one of those selected to attend the funeral of King George V in London, and he has been awarded the Coronation Medal, the British Empire Medal, and the Long Service and Good Conduct Medal.

MR. C. C. KICKETS, lately Director of Personnel in the Government of Kenya, is to become Counsellor in the office of the British High Commissioner in Nairobi. He was headmaster of the Arab Secondary School, Mombasa, from 1946 to 1955. In the last war he served in the Royal Artillery and R.A.F.

MR. CECIL A. KALLAGHE, lately Commissioner for Local Government, has been appointed Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Local Government and Housing of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. In 1959-60 he took a diploma course in social and public administration at South Devon Technical College, Torquay. He is a son of the REV. PETRO KALLAGHE, of the U.M.C.A.

MR. M. NALLIUNGWE, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour and Mines, leads the Northern Rhodesian delegation to the current International Labour Conference in Geneva. MR. F. B. CANNING-COOKE, manager of the Chamber of Mines, represents employers. MR. A. B. LESLIE, general secretary of the Northern Rhodesia Mine Workers' Society, is advising the workers' delegate, MR. A. MUGALA.

Arrivals in London from Southern Rhodesia include MR. G. H. BRADBURY, MR. & MRS. A. C. BURTON, MR. D. COLEMAN, MR. D. T. T. FROST, MR. G. E. M. GILLHAM, MR. A. M. HAWKINS, MR. C. HILL, MR. G. M. B. HUDSON, MR. & MRS. H. W. HUMPHRYES, MR. & MRS. H. L. ROSETTENSTEIN, MR. & MRS. W. G. SCOTT RODGER, MR. R. F. C. SHARMAN, MR. G. V. STAUNTON, MR. A. D. F. STEWART, MR. & MRS. D. M. WIGGINS, MR. & MRS. R. A. YATES, and LIEUT.-COLONEL J. T. YOUNG.

MR. PAUL BITATURE, a 37-year-old Uganda African, has been appointed Permanent Secretary in the office of the Secretary-General of the East African Common Services Organization in succession to MR. H. L. ADAMS, who is about to retire, and executive officer to the Communications Ministerial Committee which deals with East African Airways, the Directorate of Civil Aviation, and the East African Meteorological Department. MR. BITATURE joined the medical department of Uganda in 1948 as an orderly, and by 1961 had become a senior information officer in the Department of Information and Broadcasting. He was joint secretary to the Uganda Africanization Commission of 1962, and transferred to E.A.C.S.O. nearly a year ago. Recently he went to the U.S.A. for a four months' course in public administration.

Obituaries

MR. THOMAS MURRAY MCDUGALL, the pioneer of sugar growing in Southern Rhodesia, has died of a stroke at the age of 84. A Scot, he went to South Africa in 1900, and moved to Southern Rhodesia six years later. In 1912 he bought 300,000 acres on the lowveld between the Lundi and Mtiikwe Rivers and planted sugar.

ADONIA LADY MCINDOE, who has died at the age of 65, was the former wife of the late SIR ARCHIBALD MCINDOE, the plastic surgeon, with whom she had visited East Africa when they had a farm in Tanganyika. The marriage was dissolved in 1953.

SIR HENRY SPURRIER, president of the Leyland Motor Corporation, Ltd., and its chairman until ill-health recently forced his retirement from the more active office, has died at the age of 66. He had visited Rhodesia.

MR. IAN MEREDITH BRUCE-GARDYNE, M.C., who has died, aged 68, after a long illness, was for many years in the Sudan Civil Service.

East African Dinner in London

Confidence the Key to Investment

CAPITAL is the "guts" of East Africa's problems. Earl de la Warr, the president, told the East African Dinner Club in London last week.

"What is encouraging is the extent to which the East African Governments are in fact giving their minds to the problems that really matter, the problems of their own development. Equally encouraging and equally important is the increasing realization of the nature and habits of capital.

"The division of the world between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' is an evil and a danger that we must fight with every form of technical and financial assistance. But the word 'independent' means 'not dependent' and what we must all look forward to is seeing capital flowing freely into Africa just as it flows into the United Kingdom, the continent of Europe, Canada and Australia, for the sole reason that they are countries that give the investor a feeling of confidence.

"What we all have to bear in mind is that the bulk of investors are free to choose where they lend their savings. They naturally tend to make the obvious choice to invest in countries that welcome them as aid to development, rather than in those that may at any time turn round and tell them that they are just capitalist exploiters. So every time that an Egypt, a Ceylon or a Zanzibar confiscates their property, and every time that some politician makes an irresponsible speech, down goes the amount of money flowing into all the developing countries and up goes its price.

"All this is increasingly realized in East Africa. The more its statesmen make this clear publicly the easier will it be for us, who, I hope, the peoples and governments of East Africa regard as their proven friends, to persuade investors to lend their money for the development of an area of Africa to which we in this room are deeply committed by interest, goodwill and affection.

"We in Great Britain have taken centuries to get where we are and few of us would care to claim that we are, even now, quite perfect. What matters is that the leaders of East Africa are making a most gallant effort to face and solve their real problems, and that we want them to feel in the East African Dinner Club they have a large body of genuine friends and goodwishes".

In Favour of Federation

Sir Cyril Hawker, chairman of the Standard Bank, was the principal guest. He said that very much to the fore was the question of federation, which included the common market, the common services and currency, at present shared by the East African States.

"We in this country are inclined to worry and think that progress to closer union is too slow, without perhaps making enough allowance for the difficulty of the undertaking. We see so clearly the economic advantages of keeping the common services together and going forward to federation. A unified administration of transport, posts and customs so obviously is saving of scarce resources and technical skills. A market of 25m. — how much more attractive to new industries than one of 7m. or 8m. The common sense and advantage of presenting a unified front to foreign investors and of making a single appeal for international loans and assistance.

"I cannot stress too strongly the importance I, as a banker, attach to the single currency, freedom of movement for funds and central authority for monetary control. We see in such a federation a growing political and economic unit, a force for good sense and moderation in African affairs.

"And yet we can't deny that the common market, held together for 40 years under British authority, has produced grievances and tensions that recently seemed to threaten its existence. Uganda, and particularly Tanganyika, felt sometimes that industry and development were passing them by. Why should a business man start up in Dar es Salaam when he could have free access to the Tanganyika market while enjoying the climate, amenities and commercial services of Nairobi? It is true everywhere that success and development tend to snowball. Make no mistake, it will need courage and hard thinking to reverse the trend in East Africa, to foster regional developments without sacrificing efficiency.

"There are other difficulties to be faced, among them sacrifices of prestige and special interests. But the leaders are

pushing on and trying to solve the problem, and the agreement to keep in being the common market is perhaps an indication that they are making some progress. We are convinced that in the longer term federation is the answer which will bring the greatest prosperity to these countries.

"The three territories each have their own special problems, and these too are being tackled. In Tanganyika, Government is making a tremendous effort to get things moving, to build road and rail links, to get industries going, to push up production of crops and persuade farmers to use better methods. They have set their sights high in the new development plan, and it will be no mean effort if they hit the target.

Skilful Handling of Uganda's Problems

"Then we have Uganda, with political problems all her own — problems that she is handling skilfully. And this country, with an annual average income of about £23 a head, has in the last few months had to deal with an influx of over 30,000 refugees across her borders. Until recently there was little help from outside and Uganda spent £400,000 of her own resources on relief and re-settlement. I think that the way she accepted and coped with this crisis is quite remarkable and far too little publicized.

"In Kenya, drastic cuts have had to be made in expenditure and she is facing the future with realism. Her ministers are tireless in the search for funds for the new development plan—a plan which proclaims the need for partnership between Government and private enterprise.

"All over East Africa Governments are trying tremendously hard to run their countries well and to achieve an economic break-through to a higher standard of living. They are having to tackle problems that would seem formidable to Governments with far greater experience and resources. It takes some courage, too, to tell peoples who have believed that independence would instantly bring better things that they must work harder and go without, in order to build a nation.

"Those in authority realize that much of what is necessary for development is at present lacking. They are desperately short of trained manpower and in all three countries very substantial resources have been earmarked for secondary and higher education. There is now a growing band of serious-minded, intelligent, young men who are taking over at short notice hard and important jobs at the higher levels of administration. These new men in government are truly anxious to do a good job. They are at present too few in number, but they are a promise of what can come over a period of years.

"There is the shortage of capital and managerial skills. Present leaders in East Africa are fully aware of their need for foreign investment. They know and we know that there must be a place for it, but very often it will be a different sort of place from the past. It would be a mistake to expect from new African States the same sort of attachment to private capitalism that we know in Western industrialized countries.

"In the present stage of development in East Africa, private enterprise more often than not must mean foreign enterprise. There is not unnatural aversion to seeing too large a proportion of industry and commerce in foreign hands, but at the moment the only substantial source of capital and management will almost certainly be the State. So we must expect that Governments will want to take some part in development and industry, even perhaps in commerce and finance. In their own interests, Government enterprise and foreign enterprise must learn to live together.

"Lord de la Warr has stressed the need for developing countries to make foreign investors welcome. I agree with him, for unless they do, development must be retarded. I want to add a plea for understanding and patience on both sides".

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Reply to Committee on Colonialism Government Rejects "Perversion of the Truth"

THE BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES at the United Nations circulated on June 18 on behalf of the Southern Rhodesian Government a statement compiled in order to provide the Special Committee on Colonialism with authoritative information on the situation in Southern Rhodesia. It was made without derogation from the view that the United Nations Organization has no competence to intervene in the internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia.

Referring to the expression of concern by the committee about "the serious deterioration of the situation in Southern Rhodesia", the document points out that no such deterioration has occurred, and that the number of politically-inspired incidents declined immediately after the restriction of Mr. Nkomo and some of his colleagues. That that happened despite plans by Mr. Nkomo's following for countrywide demonstrations in the event of Mr. Nkomo's activities being curtailed, demonstrated the lack of support for these plans by the bulk of the people.

Reality Ignored

"To suggest that an explosive situation exists in Southern Rhodesia is to reject reality and pervert the truth. The overall situation is quiet and peaceful".

The violence that led to Mr. Nkomo's restriction — not imprisonment — stemmed almost entirely from bitter rivalry between his People's Caretaker Council and the Rev. N. Sithole's Zimbabwe African National Union. The P.C.C., primarily responsible for the violence, did not confine their physical attacks to their political opponents. They used intimidation (including petrol bomb attacks) to force their will upon uncommitted members of the African populace.

"It is submitted that the extreme methods employed in an effort to enthrall the populace invalidate the claim of either of the African political groups to command widespread support among the people of Southern Rhodesia".

The report says that Southern Rhodesia's security legislation tends to attract attention because the measures are freely debated in Parliament and are subject to the application of the rule of law. However, distasteful or repugnant the measures may be, they are necessary to meet the avowed determination of revolutionary elements within the community to pursue their objectives outside the Constitution and to have recourse to intimidation, assault, and wilful damage to property.

Adjustments Needed

Many Governments in Africa and elsewhere have not hesitated to resort to more arbitrary measures than those which have attracted criticism in Southern Rhodesia.

The country's problems arise from the need for adjustment between peoples of varying origins and cultural backgrounds, all of whom have made their permanent homes in the country.

The Southern Rhodesian Government, says the statement, is in complete agreement with the Special Committee that there is an urgent need to take energetic steps to safeguard the rights and legitimate aspirations of the people of Southern Rhodesia. It is determined to defend the rights and legitimate aspirations of all the people of Southern Rhodesia. These are enshrined in the Declaration of Rights in the Constitution. It was because the rights and freedoms enshrined in the declaration were being infringed that the Government was forced to take action against certain individuals. No responsible Government could permit such activities to continue unchecked.

The Southern Rhodesian Government experiences great difficulty in appreciating why, in spite of the repeated statements to the contrary by H.M. Government, the Special Committee adhere to the view that the British Government has the constitutional power to intervene in Southern Rhodesia's internal affairs. This is not the case; nor has it been so since 1923. Outside the British Diplomatic Mission in Salisbury, there is not one civil servant, one policeman, or one member of the armed forces in Southern Rhodesia employed by or responsible to the British Government.

The statement makes the point that the Southern Rhodesian Government has not taken action to restrict the freedom of movement of any person on account of the political views he holds, but only because of illegal activities.

The statement rejects as a "travesty of the truth" the representation that the Southern Rhodesian Constitution is designed to keep the majority of the people in Southern Rhodesia in a position of permanent subjection.

"Southern Rhodesia is committed by its Constitution to work towards a fully democratic system of Government in which the will of the majority will prevail. However, the process of fitting the less sophisticated members of society in an underdeveloped country such as Southern Rhodesia to play their part in a democratic system must be relatively slow if it is to be relatively sure. This process would not be helped by the immediate introduction of universal adult suffrage. The alternatives in Southern Rhodesia are, on the one hand, orderly evolution towards a liberal democracy, and, on the other, the premature introduction of universal suffrage and the rapid collapse of the democratic structure of the country and its economy".

"Won a Victory"

The statement recalls that, far from rejecting the proposals that led to Southern Rhodesia's present Constitution, Mr. Nkomo and his colleagues claimed the credit for getting them accepted and considered that they had won a victory in so doing. It is a matter of history that subsequently Mr. Nkomo chose to change his mind, and today it is frequently accepted, quite untruthfully, that in fact he never did accept the Constitutional Report.

The statement adds: "Examination of the Constitution will furthermore reveal that it is not a 'once and for all' measure of political advancement for the African. As the British Deputy Permanent Representative told the Committee of Seventeen on March 26, 1962: 'Far from entrenching Europeans in a position of unassailable political power, it creates the certainty that under its operation power will be transferred steadily to African hands — not because these hands will be African, but because the qualifications for the vote will bring a majority of Africans to the voters roll as they acquire more education and economic status'".

The sub-committee which had talks in London with British Ministers earlier this month has recommended that the Southern Rhodesian situation should be referred to the Security Council of the U.N. because further discussions with Britain "are unlikely to yield fruitful results". The sub-committee "deeply regretted that its suggestions to Britain, aimed at removing the underlying causes of the present explosive situation", had not received a favourable response.

Britain had reiterated that it had no power to intervene in Rhodesia's internal affairs. That was a "flagrant denial" of British responsibility to protect the interests of the majority of the territory's inhabitants.

Franchise Extension

It suggested that Britain was preoccupied with the interests of the minority European element and with its own economic relations with Rhodesia, to the exclusion of the African population's interests. British Ministers had made it very clear that they would oppose totally a unilateral declaration of independence, but had given no indication of what measures they would take to prevent such an act. They had also expressed the view that the present "tense" situation caused them concern.

While admitting that a compromise solution to prevent further deterioration was not impossible, they had not elaborated on what steps they had in mind. The sub-committee had gathered that an enlargement of the franchise was being considered, "but to an extent which would fall significantly short of universal adult suffrage".

Recent developments had seriously aggravated the position, setting a mood of desperation which would lead to serious violence and conflict unless present trends were arrested. The repercussions would not be limited to Rhodesia.

Because of the increasing gravity, the Security Council should consider measures to ensure the release of Mr. Nkomo and all other political prisoners, the repeal of repressive and discriminatory legislation, the removal of all restrictions on African political activity, and the convening of a constitutional conference to be attended by all political parties.

An international course on seed improvement is being held in Nairobi.

Nairobi City Council spent about £3,000 on decorations for the visit of the Emperor of Ethiopia and £400 on a civic luncheon.

Rhodesians Should Make Proposals

(Continued from page 815)

example of the sort of co-operation and collaboration which can be established between black and white Rhodesians. And there are many other spheres in which co-operation and collaboration are going on.

"For those of us (black and white) who are trying to foster co-operation and willing co-existence between the races the decision is a tragedy. At this point of time the exclusion of Southern Rhodesia from the Commonwealth Conference, particularly for some of the reasons given by the so-called democratic (and apparently ill-informed) nations that make up the Commonwealth to-day, could not have been more calculated to drive many white Rhodesians into the arms of right-wing extremists, thereby making a peaceful solution to our problems all the more difficult, if not impossible.

"Many of us feel that the inclusion of Southern Rhodesia at the conference might have influenced our Prime Minister for the better. It would at least have given him an opportunity of explaining in person our problems, and of hearing at first hand what other Commonwealth countries are thinking about us and about the policies being adopted by our present Government.

"There are many like me who cannot understand why, because we stand by the Constitution and disagree with majority rule now, now, now, we should be treated as moral lepers and refused the courtesy of an invitation to attend the conference—an invitation which has always been extended in the past."

On the same day the *Daily Mail* published a leading article which said, *inter alia*—

"Mr. Ian Smith has roused the right wing of European opinion to such a pitch that he may not be able to control it. He has drawn a picture that has no more resemblance to reality than a matchstick man on a blackboard entitled 'teacher'.

"Southern Rhodesia is swimming against a world tide and world opinion. Sir Alec Douglas Home's Government has only the interests of our flesh and blood in Southern Rhodesia in mind.

"We have not forgotten what help they gave us in two world wars, or the support they have given sterling in times of trouble. It is just that we do not believe the way ahead marked out for the territory by Mr. Smith's flags ultimately leads anywhere, except to the precipice edge.

Diplomatic Isolation

"It is almost certain that Mr. Smith will heed Sir Roy Welensky's warning and hold a referendum before taking any drastic action. We hope that common sense will then reassert itself. If not, the future is dark and frightening.

"Diplomatically the new country would be all but isolated. Even South Africa is said to be doubtful about recognizing an illegal Government. Britain most certainly would not. Nor would the United States. Nor the United Nations. Two of her frontiers would be with hostile countries. Virtually the whole of Africa would be her enemy.

"There could be no question of Britain putting down the unconstitutional Government by force or of imposing a full economic boycott. But it could scarcely be 'business as usual'. And, worse, the investment which is the lifeblood of developing countries would be disastrously deterred.

"The white population would be split by the illegal act. And the 34m. Africans, their leaders in prison, their political hopes crushed, would be a dangerous ticking time-bomb.

"There is still time to take another road—but not much."

A leading article in the *Scotsman* said:—

"If Britain made specific conditions for independence she could be accused of interfering in Southern Rhodesia's domestic affairs, and would have to bear the odium for a Constitution that might be unsatisfactory to both sides.

"It would be better for the Rhodesians to make their own proposals, and then Britain could decide whether they would justify her in abdicating responsibility. There is little chance of Mr. Smith making concessions to Africans. Sir Edgar Whitehead is a shade more liberal, but even if he were to regain office he would not, and perhaps could not, speed political reform. He speaks of an African majority in 12 years, which is an unrealistic attitude, in view of events elsewhere in the continent. Sir Roy Welensky, whom Sir Edgar would apparently welcome back to active politics, would be preferable to Mr. Smith, but neither he nor any other Southern Rhodesian leader will recognize that the days of minority white government are numbered."

R.N.P. Delegation

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, M.P., Leader of the Opposition and of the Rhodesian National Party in Southern Rhodesia, arrived in London on Monday, accompanied by Mr. A. D. Butler, chairman of the party, and four other members.

Sir Edgar was Prime Minister until the election in December, 1962, which was won by the Rhodesian Front under Mr. Winston Field, who thereupon became Prime Minister.

Mr. A. D. BUTLER, M.P., was born in London in 1927 and was educated in Canada and at Eton. He then became a student apprentice with De Havilland Aircraft Company. Having qualified as a pilot, he went to Rhodesia for a holiday, and decided to remain and farm. He grew tobacco in the Umvukwe district from 1950 to 1956 and then moved to Salisbury, where he started an air charter company and became a director of various other enterprises.

In 1962 he led a private delegation to the Fourth Committee of the United Nations and won the Highlands South seat in the general election soon afterwards, being subsequently elected chairman of the R.N.P.

MR. JOHN HENRY ALLEN, chairman of the party's Matabele Regional Council, was born in Cape Town and joined Rhodesia Railways in Bulawayo in 1928, became chief commercial manager in 1955 and general manager six years later. Soon after retiring recently on medical advice he was made chairman of the Matabele division of the R.N.P. He had held similar offices in the old United Party and the United Federal Party.

MR. JOSIAH MOSES GONDO, M.P., is a qualified teacher from Waddiwo Training Institute, who, after teaching for some time at Nyadire Mission, began business as a building contractor in Fort Victoria. He has been twice chairman of Muccheke Advisory Board in that locality, and has served on the school advisory council, the regional information advisory council, the local chamber of commerce, and the standing committee of the Methodist Synod. He is the first African chairman of the Fort Victoria branch of the R.N.P., and was elected to Parliament in 1962. Last September he was made vice-president of the party.

MR. PERCY HUDSON M'KUDU, M.P., was educated at St. Augustine's Mission, Penhalonga, and in South Africa, where he obtained a diploma in social welfare and then worked for the City of Cape Town as a clerk. Returning to Rhodesia, he was an interpreter to the B.S.A.P. and then to the Native Department, which he left in order to join the Umtali branch of the Welfare Society under the late Rev. Percy Ibbotson. Later he was for four years a senior welfare officer to Umtali municipality. Elected M.P. in 1962, he became vice-chairman of the party in the following year. He is a churchwarden and a member of the standing committee of the diocesan synod. Mrs. M'Kudu is a State registered nurse.

MR. GORDON FOSTER THOMAS, M.P., aged 44, was born in Mill Hill, London, and educated at Charterhouse and Natal University, of which he is a B.Comm. He went to Rhodesia in 1949 and has a merchandising and property business in Salisbury. He became chairman of the Avondale branch of the R.N.P. in 1955, and later of the Mount Pleasant constituency branch. He was elected to Parliament in 1962 and has been a member of the party's standing committee and policy drafting sub-committee.

Treated as Alien

The members of the delegation were entertained to luncheon at the House of Commons on Monday by the U.K. branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

Sir Edgar Whitehead told the Press that day that on the flight to London he had been treated as an alien, a B.O.A.C. stewardess having asked him to fill up an alien's registration card when he produced his Southern Rhodesian passport.

Uganda Taxes Tea

SAVING, INVESTING and buying locally were urged by Mr. Amos Sempa, Minister of Finance, when he presented the Uganda budget. It should raise an additional £905,000, thanks to currently high cotton and coffee prices, and the imposition of a 25 cents a lb. export tax on tea, higher taxes on imported "luxuries" and foods, dearer car licence and driving fees, and higher stamp duty.

Ethiopia and Kenya to Co-operate

Governments Agree to Co-ordinate Policies

THE FOLLOWING JOINT STATEMENT was issued in Nairobi at the conclusion of the visit of the Emperor of Ethiopia:—

"His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, visited Kenya at the invitation of the Prime Minister from June 5 to 12, accompanied by H.I.H. Princess Tenenge Worq Haile Selassie, H.H. Ras Imru, Ras Andargachew Messai, Governor-General of Sidamo, Embet Sophia Desta, Tshafi-Tizaz Tefera Worq, Minister of the Imperial Palace, Ato Ketema Yifru, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Brigadier-General Asefa Demissie, A.D.C. to His Imperial Majesty, Dr. Minasse Haile, Chief of Political Affairs in His Imperial Majesty's Private Cabinet, Ato Yohannes Kidammariam, Chief of His Imperial Majesty's Private Secretariat, Ato Getchew Mekasha, His Imperial Majesty's Ambassador to Kenya, and Ato Admasu Retta, Privy Purse to His Imperial Majesty.

"The two leaders had a series of exchanges of views in an atmosphere of cordial friendship and mutual understanding. Full agreement was manifested on all questions.

Co-ordinating Body

"During the talks His Imperial Majesty was accompanied by Ras Imru, Ras Andargachew Messai, Tshafi-Tizaz Tefera Worq, Ato Ketema Yifru, Dr. Minasse Haile, and Ato Getchew Mekasha.

"The Prime Minister was accompanied by Ajuma Oginga Odinga, Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. J. Murumbi, Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office, Mr. M. Koinange, Minister of State for Pan-African Affairs, Dr. Njoroge Mungai, Minister for Health, and Mr. C. Njonjo, Attorney-General.

"His Imperial Majesty and Prime Minister Kenyatta agreed to establish a consultative body with a view to co-ordinating the policies of their two Governments in international, pan-African, and Eastern African matters.

"The two leaders further agreed to meet as frequently as possible for consultations on matters of common interest.

"His Imperial Majesty and the Prime Minister have reaffirmed the policies of their respective Governments to continue supporting faithfully the principles enunciated in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and the Charter of the United Nations.

"They also agreed to take joint measures in accordance with the mutual defence treaty to defend the territorial integrity of Kenya and Ethiopia.

Southern Rhodesia

"The two leaders consider it necessary that appropriate measures should be undertaken immediately, in conformity with the declaration of the Conference of the Heads of African States in Addis Ababa, to grant independence to all African peoples under Colonial domination.

"In this connexion they earnestly appeal to all independent African States and to other freedom-loving nations to assist in all possible ways the peoples of Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, the so-called Portuguese Guinea, and all other dependent peoples in their struggle to liberate themselves from the yoke of colonialism.

"The two leaders re-stated their strong opposition to a unilateral declaration of independence by the present minority settler Government in Southern Rhodesia, and appeal to the British Government to implement promptly the resolutions adopted by the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations on the question.

"The two leaders view with satisfaction the present trend of unity and closer collaboration among African States since the birth of the Organization of African Unity.

"This happy trend has been greatly accelerated, as evidenced by the unity of action the African States have shown in various international conferences.

"His Imperial Majesty expressed his sincere appreciation to Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta for the brotherly and warm welcome accorded to him and his party by the Government and people during their short sojourn in Kenya.

"His Imperial Majesty extended an invitation to the Prime Minister to visit Ethiopia at his earliest convenience. The Prime Minister has accepted the invitation with pleasure."

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Kenya To Scrap Constitution Federation Put Before Regionalism

KENYA'S REGIONAL-BASED CONSTITUTION is to be "scrapped", Mzee Kenyatta, the Prime Minister, told the House of Representatives last week.

"We are going to change that and be a republic, and, whether anyone likes it or not, we shall join a federation. We can't have two things, *majimbo* (regionalism) and federation. We are going to scrap *majimbo* and have a proper federation."

He was replying to Mr. Shikuku, of the K.A.D.U. Opposition, who had asked the Government to accelerate its machinery for negotiating federation in East Africa.

The Prime Minister welcomed the motion "with delight", but added that if it had not been for the insistence of K.A.D.U. on the "nuisance and obstruction of regionalism", it would have been easier to achieve federation some time ago.

In some of Kenya's regions the presidents thought of themselves as kings. Those who wanted regionalism could not also have federation. The Government would sweep away regionalism, as it was essential that Kenya should be one nation before moving on to the creation of one Africa.

There was no magic formula for federation; it could come only by hard work on the economic and political factors involved. The three Heads of State would meet again in Nairobi in a few days to examine the working party's report. It was impossible as yet to set a date for federation.

K.A.N.U. back-benchers disputed that contention, and forced an amendment, which was supported by K.A.D.U., that federation should be set up on August 15.

Mr. Ronald Ngala, Leader of the Opposition, said that his party would agree to negotiate a new Constitution, but would not accept one imposed by the Government. He rejected Mzee Kenyatta's charge that the present regional Constitution could be blamed for the impasse, and criticized the Prime Minister for a statement which was "likely to cause political chaos". Mr. Kenyatta's argument was a "lame excuse".

[Comment is made in Matters of Moment.]

Kenya Talks of War Threats to Kenya Europeans

FOUR KENYA MINISTERS carried a mock coffin before some 20,000 Africans in Nairobi on Sunday to a grave dug by K.A.N.U. youth wingers in which to "bury" the South African Government.

Mzee Kenyatta, the Prime Minister, was answered with a roar of approval when he demanded: "Do you agree that, even if it means that we should shed our blood, we should get rid of the South African Government?" On his rostrum, among the other slogans displayed, was one reading "We will invade South Africa".

Stating that the "Boers" in Kenya would not sleep well that night, the Prime Minister spent 80 minutes denouncing the South African Republic's policies. Africans should also be prepared to fight for their brothers in Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories, he added.

He complained that South Africans living in Kenya had never been heard to denounce the Republic's racial practices. All who called themselves Kenya citizens should pack up and go if they did not so denounce South Africa. He hoped that Dr. Verwoerd's Government would not goad Africans to hate the white man as such.

There were also Asians and Europeans in Kenya who did nothing but get drunk and abuse Africans. They would have

to leave. Africans should not be called "boys; every man here is a *bwana* and every woman a *memsahib*".

The recently announced British loans and grants of £60m. had been made because he had told the British that they had sucked Kenya's blood too long and should now make a little recompense.

The Government had already taken over the R.A.F. station at Eastleigh, and "our own pilots are flying aircraft out of Eastleigh nowadays".

Three skirmishes with former Mau Mau gangs had been reported by the police a few days earlier. Two terrorists were killed, two injured and 38 captured, together with homemade arms.

Mr. Bildad Kaggia, one of the Mau Mau "old guard", has been dismissed from his post as Parliamentary Secretary in the Education Ministry.

U.K. Aid for Kenya Private Investment Guarantees

KENYA'S LARGEST annual development budget — £15.7m. — was presented in Nairobi last week by Mr. J. S. Gichuru, Minister of Finance.

Kenya was, he said, "sincerely grateful" for Britain's £10m. towards that sum, and likewise welcomed aid from the United States, West Germany, Russia, and Communist China. But for the large quantity of stores and equipment, military assets and assistance with training provided by Britain, the bill for the armed forces — about £2.9m. — would have been much greater.

Estimates for 1964-65 of £39,259,900 include £5m. for payments to the regions for the first half of the financial year, to be covered by corresponding revenue. Compensation and commuted pension payments to designated officers at £2,761,100 will be met with British help.

A £7m. expenditure increase comprises, in addition to the military vote, the public debt and pensions commitments at £1,078,000; transfer of expenditure on localization and training, agricultural services and water development £920,000;

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external affairs, £530,000; pay rises for police and prisons, £800,000; education, £425,000; national youth service, £250,000; and unemployment relief projects, £200,000.

A deficit of £1.1m. should be met by increased taxation on such imports as tinned meat and fruit, sauces, pickles, breakfast foods, preserves, condensed milk, fish, soap, razor blades, wine and clothing. Petrol tax has been raised 10 cents of a shilling per gallon. Export duties on coffee and sisal should provide the balance.

The Minister said that the country's agricultural prospects were good and should record a 6% income increase. A similar rise was expected for tourism and manufactures. A climb of at least 4% in the gross domestic product was envisaged.

To create a climate for investment the Government was willing to treat investors fairly and avoid excessive taxation. Mr. Gichuru said. An investment guarantee agreement designed to attract more private capital had been concluded with the United States. Legislation had been prepared to provide specific guarantees to overseas investors who put their money into projects approved by the Government as being of economic value to the country.

Military Aid

Kenya is to receive from Britain aid worth more than £60m. in money, materials and services as an independent settlement. More than half the aid will be in the form of gifts. The aid comprises military and technical assistance, money for development and settlement, assistance to the Kenya civil service, and the cancellation of some outstanding loans. Some of it is available immediately, and the remainder will be spread over four or five years.

Military assistance includes a gift of £3.5m. worth of arms, equipment, vehicles, aircraft (including six Chipmunks, 11 Beavers, and four Caribous), armoured cars and the latest infantry weapons. There will also be a gift of about £1m. over the next three years towards the cost of British Army and R.A.F. training for the Kenya armed forces. More than £6m. worth of military property and fixed assets, including Kahawa British barracks, is to be presented to Kenya. Britain will provide, free of charge, experts to advise on the formation of a Kenya Navy. Military assistance is already being provided free for the air lift to supply the Kenya Army in the North-Eastern Region, at present costing more than £1,000 a day.

During the next four years, at least £12m.—of which £4.6m. is a gift—will be provided for land settlement. Later this year there will be another gift and loan for a special scheme at Ol Kaiou for which details are being discussed. Outstanding interest-free loans totalling about £6m. have been cancelled. A loan of £13m.—£10m. of it interest-free—has been provided for compensation and commuted pensions of designated officers.

Recruiting Experts

In the next four years, Britain will provide about £10m. as a gift under the Overseas Aid Scheme to help Kenya retain and recruit the British technical and professional staff and teachers whom Kenya decides are needed to help the Kenya civil service in the economic and social development of the country. The British Government will also continue to pay the salaries and passage costs of experts in various fields and provide free training courses in Britain as Kenya requests. In the past six months 125 trainees have gone to Britain with all expenses paid. Other projects financed from the Overseas Aid Scheme include topographical surveys costing £100,000 a year, and agricultural and scientific research costing £60,000 a year. Another £8.5m. is being provided as development aid this year, £5m. as a gift.

Mr. Gichuru said: "This is a real gesture of friendship and goes to demonstrate our good relationship with Britain. We feel it is only Britain which could be so generous because of the contact we have had all these last 70 years." It was the biggest single amount Kenya had received and it was something tangible and real, not just promises.

The aid included a free grant of £1.3m. towards recurrent expenditure which had already been taken into account in this year's budget. Also out of this year's £15m. development estimates, the British aid would cover about £10m.—£6m. on settlement, £3m. for the basic development programme, and £1m. for the Land Bank and the Agricultural Finance Corporation.

The loans which had been cancelled related to military operations during the emergency, but the Government had still had an obligation to repay them. The Kenya Government had a completely free hand in spending the money under the various heads for which it had been given. Asked if Kenya was committed to taking British military equipment, Mr. Gichuru replied: "We prefer the British equipment in this particular case. It is quite good enough".

Sir Geoffrey de Freitas, U.K. High Commissioner, said that Kenya had received more in aid from Britain than had any other country if aid was calculated per head of population. Only India had actually received a larger amount. Kenya had received about £100m. in aid since the last war. In addition, Britain was Kenya's best customer in trade.

African Condemns "Black Fascists" "Blind Lust for Power" Criticized

MR. DAVID LEMOMO, national organizing secretary of the Kenya African Democratic Union, which provides the official Opposition in the National Assembly, issued a statement on Monday which said (in part):—

"All over the continent African people of the so-called newly-independent States are under the grip of Fascist dictatorships of varying degrees. But for *apartheid* they are very similar to the South African dictatorship, they being run more inefficiently by black men than white men".

African Governments must first learn to respect the integrity of the Constitutions of their own countries. They should enable their people to enjoy the fruits of true freedom; instead of wasting time "shouting about the desirability of the very thing that they themselves had betrayed in their blind lust for power".

There was hardly an African country in which the people enjoyed the same meagre measure of freedom which the people of England had earned by Magna Carta in 1215.

The statement had reference to the threat of Mzee Kenyatta, the Prime Minister, to scrap Kenya's Constitution and end the regionalism on which it is based.

Rebels Take Albertville

REBEL SOLDIERS of the Congolese National Army and Baluba tribesmen have overrun Albertville, North Katanga, from which most of the garrison has fled. About 150 Europeans had escaped beforehand, but it is reported that those remaining await permission from the rebels to leave by Tanganyika lake steamer. Aircraft are not allowed to land or leave. All communications have been cut except for one radio link. Houses have been looted and four Belgian women are known to have been raped. Some 70 European men are being held hostage to maintain essential services. Communist Chinese "advisers" are reported to be directing the rebels from Bujumbura, capital of Burundi.

Dr. Banda's Pledge

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Nyasaland, said in a broadcast on Monday that forgiveness must be the guiding principle in dealings with former political enemies. Europeans and Asians must be reassured that "so long as they accept the present political changes in the country and are honest and fair with us, they are welcome here. Whether they be businessmen, citizens, or traders, there is a future for them here".

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British and Commonwealth Shipping

THE BRITISH & COMMONWEALTH SHIPPING CO., LTD., reports group profits after tax for 1963 at £1,367,313 (£991,147). An interim dividend of 7% on just over £7m. of ordinary stock was paid, and a final of 7% on capital increased by a bonus issue to £15.6m. is proposed; for 1962 the distribution was 20% on £7m. Issued capital of five classes exceeds £21.2m. Holdings in subsidiaries are well above £30m. and current assets less current liabilities exceed £4.5m. In the consolidated balance sheet the fleet stands at £70.4m. and other fixed assets at just over £12m. Current assets less current liabilities total nearly £2.9m.

More ships have been ordered, and commitments for capital expenditure are estimated at £15m., whereas in 1962 the comparable figure was only £1.1m. At the end of last year contracts had been placed for another two mail vessels and six refrigerated cargo ships. The fleet then consisted of eight mail ships, three intermediate passenger ships, and 64 other vessels.

Sir Nicholas Cayzer is the chairman, with three deputy chairmen, Lord Rotherwick, Mr. B. G. S. Cayzer and the Hon. Anthony Cayzer. The other directors are Sir George Erskine and Messrs. John S. Bevan, Rupert Munton, J. A. Thomson and W. L. Woolf.

Chartered Company's Tax Case

LORD DENNING, Master of the Rolls, and LORD JUSTICE DIPLOCK have agreed in the Court of Appeal that they had been wrong seven weeks earlier to decide a tax case in favour of the British South Africa Company. Lord Justice Danckwerts disagreed with his colleagues. The company was granted leave to appeal to the House of Lords. The issue is whether it is liable for tax on £117,500, the difference between the par and market value of shares bought under an option contained in a loan and option agreement. When shares of the President Steyn Co., Ltd., stood at 43s. 6d., Chartered exercised an option to subscribe for 100,000 at £1. The question is whether that profit is taxable.

Tanganyika's Budget Deficit

TANGANYIKA'S RECORD 1964-65 budget of £34.5m. shows a deficit of £3.5m., which will be met by increased import duties on foodstuffs, drinks, oil products and textiles, and a new registration tax on cars. The sisal export tax is raised, and one of £22 a ton is introduced on coffee not included in consignments to International Coffee Agreement "free" markets. Canada and West Germany (£8m., three-quarters a grant) would aid the five-year development plan, stated Mr. P. Bomani, Finance Minister. Communist China offered an interest-free loan of £10m. when Mr. R. Kawawa, second vice-president, visited Peking with other Ministers. A free grant of £1m. was made to the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

The first secondary school for the Masai has been opened in Narok. The U.S.A. contributed substantially to the building costs and has supplied most of the teachers.

The Reserve Bank of Malawi will have a capital of £500,000. A 150-bedroom hotel is to be built in Nairobi by Israeli interests.

Tanganyika Breweries, Ltd., are to extend their Dar es Salaam plant at a cost of about £650,000.

An illustrated report on coffee is available on application to Barclays Bank, 54 Lombard Street, London, E.C.3.

John Dickinson & Co., Ltd., are extending their paper-making factory in Southern Rhodesia at a cost of about £100,000.

The largest copper producer in Southern Rhodesia, M.T.D. (Mangula), Ltd., has an expansion programme which will cost about £500,000.

Uganda's current robusta coffee crop is estimated at 176,500 tons. The last arabica crop from Bugisu was a record at just over 10,000 tons.

Northern Rhodesia's cotton crop this year is estimated at 3m. lb. The Ministry of Agriculture hopes that it will be doubled next year.

The Madhvani group in Uganda plans local manufacture of enough corrugated iron sheeting to meet the country's demand of from 6,000 to 8,000 tons annually.

Soda ash from Magadi is now being exported to Japan. Much of the market was in South Africa until the Kenya Government forbade shipments to that country.

Development Finance Company of Uganda has been registered. The joint sponsors, C.D.C. and U.D.C., hope to have as a third partner the Deutsche Entwicklungsgesellschaft (D.E.G.).

East African Wild Life Lodges, Ltd., formed by Block Hotels, Ltd., Nairobi, and United Touring Company of Africa, Ltd., has been registered for the purpose of increasing Kenya's tourist industry.

Three R.A.F. Bomber Command Valiants of 543 Squadron, R.A.F., based on Wyton, Hampshire, will between this week and the beginning of September make aerial photographic surveys in Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Bechuanaland.

Vono (East Africa), Ltd., is building an assembly plant in Kampala. A factory was opened in Nairobi seven years ago and assembly lines in Dar es Salaam in 1961. Some months ago the company bought Moorwood Engineering Co., Ltd., manufacturers of office equipment.

Part of the instrument panel of an R.A.F. Victor bomber flying to Nairobi from Gan Island, in the Indian Ocean, froze during flight during last week. The aircraft, which had a crew of six, was therefore escorted on the latter part of the journey by an R.A.F. Argosy. The Victor made a safe landing.

Benguela Railway Company's net revenue for 1963 was £2,132,179 (£2,578,804). The Portuguese Government receives 10% staff participation in profits amounted to £166,408, the debenture service totalled £380,520, there was a transfer to general reserve of £385,971, and the 10% dividend was repaid at a cost of £819,879.

A West German-Ethiopian agreement embraces provisions for trade, civil air traffic, financial and technical aid, and compensation for German property confiscated in Ethiopia during the last war. Ethiopia is to receive a loan of 28m. marks for the purchase of road-making plant and the improvement of Addis Ababa's water supply.

A spokesman in Nairobi for the Mild Coffee Association of Eastern Africa has said that over the past two years efficiency in the port of Mombasa has deteriorated alarmingly. According to a Mombasa correspondent, the tonnage handled per ship per day has never been so low. Yet minimum wages for port labour have risen to 295s. per month, compared with 152s. in 1959, 1963, and 254s. last year.



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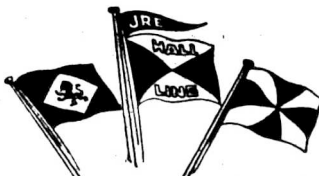
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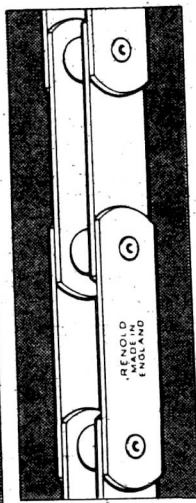
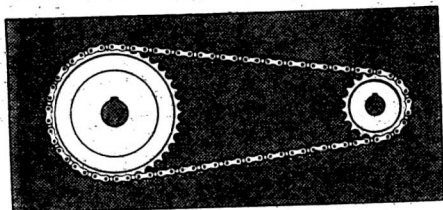
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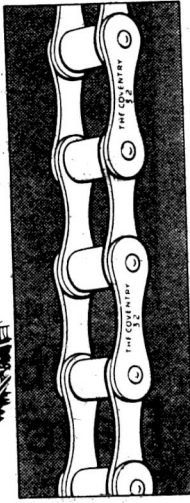
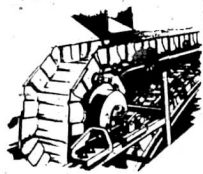
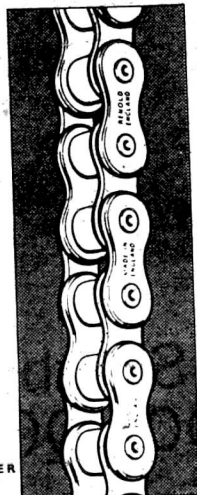
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

MR. IAN SMITH, the Prime Minister, has told the people of Southern Rhodesia that if the negotiations with the United Kingdom about independence fail in the present final phase his Government will place before the electorate "all the pros and cons of a unilateral declaration of independence"; and he has pledged himself not to make such a declaration unless the proposal receives the "substantial support" of the electorate. Since that could obviously not be judged by enthusiasm or coolness at public meetings, either a referendum or a general election will need to be held, and as neither could be rushed, there can be no change in the position for some weeks at least. It is not unlikely, however, that a decision will be taken by October, for the United Kingdom will then have a general election which might transfer power to the Socialists, some of whose senior spokesmen have talked of suspending the Southern Rhodesian Constitution, and on October 24 Northern Rhodesia will become the independent Republic of Zambia. There is also a widespread sentiment in Southern Rhodesia that the country cannot expect fair treatment from a Government of either party in the United Kingdom and that its future ought therefore not to be left indefinitely at such a hazard, which must weaken confidence, reduce investment, increase emigration, and so weaken the economy and jeopardize the existence of the white community which has made the country what it is. Extremist African nationalists everywhere who agitate ceaselessly against Southern Rhodesia would consequently be encouraged to add to their pressures.

These factors have been known for many months to the Ministers in the United Kingdom who have produced this predicament

for Southern Rhodesia by their calculated betrayal of the Federation, but they have evaded the honourable course of providing maximum help for the victims of their faithlessness, folly, and weakness, and instead adopt the cynical attitude that the Federal fiasco is at an end, that it cannot influence them in the present problem, that they have no proposals to make, and that when Southern Rhodesia submits a plan for independence it will be judged on the "principles" which have applied to other African territories. To make matters worse, some Ministers, including the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, have said repeatedly in private that London will accept no scheme which does not point to an African majority in Parliament within five years. There being not the slightest chance that Southern Rhodesian Africans can within that period become capable of managing efficiently the affairs of the most sophisticated economy north of South Africa and south of the Sahara, the Rhodesian National Party, the official Opposition, is at one with the Rhodesian Front Government in spurning a time plan so absurdly unrealistic that its adoption could wreck the country — as would the adoption of the one-man-one-vote principle, on which the Afro-Asians insist. The R.N.P. has recently stated that in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence it would no longer recognize the Government, and when Sir Edgar Whitehead, the party leader, and his colleagues return in a few days from their visit to London the campaign on this issue will certainly be intensified. Having now committed itself to a referendum or a general election, the Rhodesian Front cannot afford to be less active in propaganda. Considering the gravity of the subject, wide discussion is to be welcomed. In fulfilling

U.K. Ministers' Unrealistic Plan.

its promise to put both sides of the case before the electorate, the Government must take special care to be scrupulously fair, so that no one may vote without having had the opportunity of considering all the disadvantages which might follow from a breach with Britain.

Ever since the present Government was elected nineteen months ago EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has argued the case for a Government of National Unity on the

Case for Government Of National Unity.

ground that an issue so grave ought to be seen to be entrusted for solution, not to the representatives of one party, but to the best men available irrespective of party attachments. Mr. Smith's latest announcement indicates his anxiety for support from all quarters. He might, therefore, sponsor, or at least approve, a convention similar to the national *indaba* held a few years ago, when the most responsible men of all parties, of both races, and from every walk of life debated in private and with healthy candour the best means of achieving harmonious progress in the country. There is time for another such conclave before the opinions of the electorate are taken. If held soon after the return of the R.N.P. delegation from London, the deliberations would be based on absolutely up-to-date information of the United Kingdom stand. There is no sound argument against such an attempt to thrash out a really representative Rhodesian view. One of the many in its favour is that there could and should be brought into this entirely non-official council some of the best Africans in the country, men who have joined neither of the nationalist groups and abhor their use of terrorism as a political weapon. The Prime Minister referred recently to the desirability of a round-table examination after the independence issue had been decided. It would be immensely more valuable if undertaken before either the Cabinet or the electorate has to make its decision.

Sir Edgar Whitehead has declared his readiness to retire from the leadership of the R.N.P., and since the party has not been united or very effective for months, many of its present or former adherents

The Basic Problem.

would assuredly welcome its reinvigoration and reconstruction under Sir Roy Welensky, whom many Rhodesians consider to be the one experienced public man who could grapple with the situation. Incidentally, he

strongly favours a referendum. Unhappily, so much of the ground has been eroded that neither he nor anyone else could now build ideally. Yet no one else can be expected to do as well as he might. Not surprisingly in the tragic circumstances, he has no wish to return to political life, but he is too good a patriot to resist the strong call which will, we believe, inevitably come. It is indisputable that, as Mr. Smith has repeatedly said, Rhodesia must have independence in order to survive, for otherwise she will be at the mercy of United Kingdom politicians, who in the past four years have done irreparable damage to so much of British Africa, and of black African politicians, who are united in little but their enmity to Southern Africa. Recognizing these harsh facts, Rhodesians are bitterly critical of the British Government — but still deeply devoted to the Crown. Their basic problem is to reconcile those two strong sentiments. In the dilemma which has been thrust upon them they should have the sympathetic understanding of all loyalists in the Commonwealth.

Statements Worth Noting

"Africa is strewn with a wreck of multi-racial dreams".—Lord Milverton.

"The Organization of African Unity is still a club for African Heads of State".—*The Times*.

"The Commonwealth seems to be slowly expiring, congratulating itself meanwhile on the dignity of its dying".—Mr. Arthur Bottomley, M.P.

"Tribalism and clanism are the two greatest enemies of good and orderly operations of our councils".—Mr. S. O. Ayodo, Kenya Minister of Local Government.

"I am exploring ways by which the celebration of Commonwealth Day might be given greater significance".—Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

"The Bank of Malawi is going to tell the commercial banks in this country to lend money at so much interest every month, every year".—Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of Nyasaland, addressing the National Assembly.

"My father was a chief with 22 wives but only 26 children alive. Although there has since been improvement in the care and feeding of children, 40 of every 100 children born in Tanganyika will die before they reach the age of 15".—President Nyerere.

"There are no public pleas for the thousands of victims of tribal violence in Central Africa, and it is now respectable to trade with the blood-stained rulers on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Where is reason?" — Mr. W. S. Parker, M.O.H., Brighton.

"Rhodesia is no more than a pawn in the world-wide game of power politics. The inhabitants, as individual human beings, count for nothing. The white minority is expendable. To appease the Afro-Asian nations all that our kinsmen have achieved in the African wilderness during the past 70 years is to be sacrificed". — Mr. R. Byrne.

Notes By The Way

Brilliance a la Malawi

WHAT PASSES FOR BRILLIANCE in the National Assembly of Nyasaland has been exemplified by the paeans of praise for the very ordinary maiden speech of Mr. Maloya, Malawi Congress Party member for Kasupe East, whose short statement was distinguished only by the sycophantic adulation of the Prime Minister which almost every speaker considers it prudent to include in almost every speech. One Minister who eagerly seizes opportunities for fulsome flattery of Dr. Banda is Mr. Orton Chirwa, holder of the portfolio of Justice. He immediately congratulated Mr. Maloya on "a very, very brilliant speech, very able, and delivered with precision, with efficiency and with diction". About the delivery I cannot judge. The assertion that the matter was "very brilliant" is absurd.

Daily Doses of Nonsense

MR. CHIUME, Minister of Information and Independence Celebrations, an assiduous praiser of the Malawi dictator, said characteristically: "In selecting his team Ngwazi Kamuzu Banda has produced the best that this country can give, and certainly the hon. Member for Kasupe East has certainly shown that he is among the best of the crop that the Prime Minister could have cropped out of the material in this country". Then the Ngwazi himself congratulated "that boy over there [Mr. Maloya] on his brilliant speech". Mr. Chiume's fawning was not at an end for the day: during discussion of a Public Seal Bill he inserted a tribute to "Ngwazi, the Lion of Malawi, Catonda, Ngwenyama, Nkanga, Moto, for clearing out this process of the colonization of our country at a speed of 22 feet per second per second", and later he expressed doubt whether a subsequent "wonderful" speech by the Prime Minister "had been beaten by anybody living in this solar system". Not for the first time, I express astonishment that Dr. Banda can tolerate this type of obsequious nonsense at every sitting of the Assembly. It has made the official reports of proceedings in the Legislature of Nyasaland the most ridiculous in Africa.

B.B.C. Misinformation

MR. SANDYS naturally dislikes Sir Roy Welensky's candid comments about him and his Ministerial colleagues for their treatment of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland; but that should not have led him to make the reckless statement in a recent television interview: "I don't think anybody who looks objectively at the story will really feel that we have in any way been untrue to our promises or have misled them in any way". How badly the B.B.C. pick their questioners is shown once more by the fact that not one of the three members of the panel pressed the Secretary of State on that absurd disclaimer. Had none of them read Sir Roy's book or the White Paper published by the Federal Government? Those documents give details of the Macmillan Government's long and deliberate process of betrayal, a betrayal for which there has been no parallel in British African history, or, it is to be hoped, in British dealings with any other part of the world. Acceptance of the bland denial without sharp cross-examination of one of the offenders further misled the millions of listeners for whom the B.B.C. has provided so much misinformation about African affairs in the past four and a half years.

Mr. Clifford Dupont

PRESS REFERENCES to the "replacement" and even the "eclipse" of Mr. Clifford Dupont could scarcely be more misleading. His resignation of the portfolio of Law and Order in Southern Rhodesia owing to ill-health will not, I believe, weaken his position in the Cabinet. Indeed, it may well be strengthened, for the Prime Minister will now be able to entrust him with new tasks in addition to responsibility for Information (which he retains). For more than 18 months he has borne the heavy burden of countering the terrorism organized by the African nationalist parties, which have waged ceaseless war against each other, especially at week-ends, Sunday being the favourite day for murder. Such crimes by adherents of the P.C.C. and Z.A.N.U. would certainly have been far more numerous had Mr. Dupont not acted so firmly against the dangerous African misleaders of their own people. Both Mr. Winston Field and Mr. Ian Smith have evidently considered him one of their ablest lieutenants, and his firmness has done much to make nonsense of the Afro-Asian slogan that the situation in Southern Rhodesia was "explosive".

Did the Emperor Say So?

THE OFFICIAL RECORD of the Emperor of Ethiopia's address to the National Assembly of Tanganyika records His Imperial Majesty as stating: "Last year there assembled in Addis Ababa the most expensive, the most dedicated, and certainly the most important and powerful group of African leaders in world history". I do not question the power or the dedication (though I should prefer the word fanaticism or obsession) of the African politicians who assembled in the Ethiopian capital, and I would certainly not doubt that they constituted a most expensive group of Africans—judged by the extravagant salaries and other emoluments which so many of them draw from the deficit budgets of their independent countries, to which many of them are also extremely expensive in other ways. But did the Emperor in fact describe the group as "expensive"? That seems unlikely. It would be interesting to know what term he did use.

The Long and the Short

KENYA'S NORTHERN FRONTIER DISTRICT was very isolated and inaccessible 50 years ago; and it is one year over the half-century since Geoffrey Archer was given administrative charge of a vast and inhospitable area which very few people in Kenya had then ever visited. For some time he made his camp at what became known as Archer's Post. Being six foot six inches tall, cool, courageous, and adventurous, his personality inevitably impressed itself upon the locals and upon the Ethiopians whose sport was to raid the country for camels, cattle, donkeys, women, and other trophies. When Archer left for Somaliland his successor was Harold Kittermaster, who stood six foot seven in his socks. Small wonder that tribesmen who had seen no other white men formed the opinion that the English were a race of giants—or that they were later astonished at the stature of Major "Tich" Miles, who, though about two-thirds of the height of his towering predecessors, equalled them in grit, determination, and love for the arid, harsh land in which tough nomads eked out a precarious existence.

Mr. Ian Smith's Broadcast on Independence

Rhodesians Owe Loyalty to the Queen and to Southern Rhodesia

SOUTHERN RHODESIA is at the receiving end of a cold war in which all the most ingenious devices of propaganda and psychological warfare are being brought into use.

It is no easy task to defend ourselves against this kind of warfare because there are never any clear frontiers with the enemy on one side and us on the other. It is often difficult to distinguish between the enemy of the State and the Government's legitimate political opponents. The real enemy will always do his best to infiltrate and to use as a screen all the lawful, well-meaning loyal opposition groups. On the other hand, in their own eagerness to get into power, these are not always very particular about their friends and allies.

The established order in this country is easy to understand. It is a democracy based on the Westminster pattern — one of the last on the African continent. We have a Constitution framed on this basis, a democratic Constitution which provides for a loyal Opposition which binds itself to pursue its purposes by legitimate means.

Potent Weapon

It is only when unconstitutional methods are adopted or when it is clearly apparent that the influence of our external enemies is being brought to bear that such political opponents become enemies of the State. It is most necessary that we draw a clear distinction between a legitimate, loyal Opposition and an opposition which is merely the external enemy in disguise. The disguise is sometimes so thin as to be almost invisible.

The most potent weapon in such a struggle is propaganda, words that work like a narcotic, creating confusion and uncertainty and undermining confidence and courage. Isn't that what we have experienced lately? And how much more difficult it is to deal with this kind of propaganda when, as often happens, it is all mixed up with an incessant out-pouring of arguments and challenges, words and more words from the legitimate Opposition.

Our first task is to recognize the real enemy. First of all there are the Communists — and Communists are not just Russians. We find Communists right in our midst, not to mention many others who, wittingly or unwittingly, allow themselves to be used by the Communists. Then there is the Afro-Asian group of nations, all pursuing ends of their own, sometimes singly and sometimes in unison. And, of course, there is the Pan-Africanist movement which is sometimes quite indistinguishable from the other two.

Ludicrous Proposition

The immediate purpose of these internal and external enemies is to create the impression that there exists in Southern Rhodesia an explosive situation which is a threat to world peace. We in Rhodesia are liable to dismiss this as a ludicrous proposition. We can see for ourselves that there is no explosive situation but that our enemies are trying to create one. Allegations of this kind, absurd as they may seem to us, are often accepted in good faith by people in other countries who have no means of getting at the true facts. Moreover, there are powerfully-placed people abroad who have a positive interest in suppressing the truth by presenting an altogether false picture.

Radio and television newsmen seek interviews with prominent people in this country which, before they reach the transmitter or television screen, are so mutilated and distorted as to bear little or no resemblance to the original material. What we have to contend with here is not only the ordinary human proneness to error and misunderstanding but an active enemy. The injustice of all this is clear enough to us, but

how is the ordinary man to know that he is being misled by a report from "a special correspondent in Salisbury" or by a cleverly presented television film? How can he doubt what is so vividly but misleadingly presented to his eyes?

All this unflagging, hostile propaganda has its effect on opinion abroad, discouraging investment and immigration. In due course it is reflected back here, where it causes just the kind of uncertainty and anxiety that our enemies must have if they are to advance their cause.

The question of independence is uppermost in the minds of our people, and rightly so, because our future is bound up with it. The attainment of sovereign independence means the end of political uncertainty, the end of a bewildering argument that goes on incessantly in the Press and on the public platform, an argument which our enemies are always ready to exploit.

I am frequently asked why it is so important that we should obtain independence when we already have internal self-government with a convention that guarantees us against any interference in our internal affairs.

One of the main reasons is, that although we respect that convention, and the present British Government has reaffirmed its intention to observe it, our two countries appear to be the only ones in the whole world which regard it as binding. The resulting uncertainty has not been lessened by past statements by prominent British politicians.

Here is the main source of all the political uncertainty — and it is political uncertainty which frightens away or discourages investment activity of all kinds. Worse still, it encourages various nationalist leaders to agitate continuously for British intervention and for more constitutional conferences, with only one aim in view — an African nationalist government tomorrow.

Interference

It also helps to set in motion all sorts of interfering activities by United Nations agencies, not to mention the procession of individuals and groups from our own country, all desperately eager to have a hand in the game.

As for the latter, it is a wonder to me that these people who in many cases represent no-one but themselves gain the ear of the British Government with views always of one kind; how they are feted and given the platform in the form of meetings, radio, television, and mass circulation Press.

As for the need for independence, therefore, there is no room for doubt. We must have it if we are to survive. We need it, and it is my firm faith that we shall get it.

When it comes to the question of how we shall get it, there is a tremendous outcry from our opponents, all of it calculated to create the maximum of confusion and uncertainty. A thousand hypothetical objections are raised and the Government is called upon to answer every one of them. And if we answered them all we should be confronted at once with another thousand.

The Government is going into this question most thoroughly and you will be kept fully informed, that is both its duty and its responsibility.

In what is probably the most intensive campaign of public speaking ever conducted by any Prime Minister in this country, I have placed before you all the facts of the case as I know them. It may well be that the British Government has been more forthcoming to some of my political opponents than to your own Government. If so, then as good, loyal Rhodesians they should make this information available to their fellow countrymen. Or they could at least impart it in confidence to me.

Negotiations First

I stated on assuming office that we would try to negotiate independence. We are now in the midst of these negotiations. Two letters have passed. A third has been despatched today. If these negotiations fail then I will inform the people of Southern Rhodesia and we will consider and place before you all the pros and cons of a unilateral declaration.

The Opposition have recently informed you of the disastrous consequences of such a declaration. I think it appropriate to mention here that these were the same people who at the referendum in 1961 told you that to vote "Yes" would ensure a continuation of Federation. Thereafter at the 1962 general election these same people informed you that if the Rhodesian Front was returned to power the consequences would be disastrous for Southern Rhodesia.

Exactly the opposite has occurred, and statistics show that our economy and development are forging ahead and expansion is occurring in most sectors. Moreover, political crime.

which they predicted would increase, has been reduced. So much for their so-called "disastrous consequences".

I do believe that this issue of independence should be decided soon, and I have said so time and time again; but I also believe that we must first negotiate with the British Government. This we are in the process of doing.

One thing I can tell you with certainty: the Government will not resort to unilateral declaration of independence unless it has the substantial support of the electorate. That will be the time when, as never before in our history, we must stand together and when our loyalty must be to Southern Rhodesia only.

There has been some talk recently about the implications of our oath of allegiance to the Crown. In all matters of this sort there are bound to be differences of opinion in legal circles, but the Government has obtained the best advice that is available.

Out of Harmony

I believe that it is my duty to point out to you that it is your Government's contention that all Southern Rhodesians, whether they have taken an oath of allegiance or not, should owe absolute loyalty to Southern Rhodesia. When we talk of the Crown today we all know that this is merely a symbol of the Government in power. In Britain today it is the Conservative Government. In Southern Rhodesia it is the Rhodesian Front Government. I cannot believe that there are still people in this day and era who think that the monarch still actively governs and leads the troops into battle.

So the issue is a clear one of loyalty either to the British Government, which may be completely out of harmony with the Southern Rhodesia electorate, or our own Government duly elected by and representing the Southern Rhodesian electorate.

Whilst maintaining, as we always have, our loyalty to the person of the Queen, I think it appropriate to ask Southern Rhodesians to consider whether they should be prepared to accept services and remuneration from the State which have been provided by the Rhodesian taxpayer and yet profess loyalty to another Government.

I would leave you with a simple message of confidence. In doing so I am sharing with you the confidence your Government feels as it surveys the difficulties that face this country today and the rich and exciting opportunities that tempt our courage, our energies and our intelligence.

We are living in stirring times. We are living in the midst of history. Indeed, we are making it. These circumstances present the most exciting challenge to each one of us. I welcome it in the firm conviction that after we have successfully surmounted these difficulties together we shall emerge a strengthened and unified nation.

Brink of Unilateral Declaration

R.N.P. Opposes Illegal Action

SPEAKING LAST WEEK at the opening of a new sugar mill at Triangle Estates, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia said that his Government was determined to introduce economic and political stability, so that external and internal investors would be willing to provide the vast sums needed for development. Overall development in the lowveld could exceed £200m. in the next 25 years.

Welcoming South African guests, Mr. Smith said that the two countries would be drawn closer together in a joint fight for "our inherent right in a world which seems to be obsessed in interfering in other people's affairs while they conduct their own affairs in a manner which leaves much to be desired".

Mr. Smith is due to call on Dr. Verwoerd this week. Pressure of work will prevent his attending Nyasaland's independence celebrations next week, so Lord Graham, Minister of Agriculture, will replace him.

The Rhodesia National Party (Opposition) stated after the Prime Minister's broadcast that three vital questions remained to be answered: "How, why and when?" The speech had made it absolutely clear that Rhodesia was on the brink of a unilateral declaration. Rhodesians should be told the Government's exact intentions without further equivocation.

"The public is entitled to know what time-table the Government has in mind, so that there is time enough for all sections of opinion to be aired on the most crucial issue

Rhodesians have ever had to face. Are they going to hold a general election or are they to gauge public opinion on the amount of applause Mr. Smith gets at public meetings?"

Sir Edgar Whitehead, R.N.P. leader, who has had talks in London with Mr. Duncan Sandys, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, commented that Rhodesians' allegiance was due to the Constitution and that it was their duty "to uphold its provisions against illegal action from any quarter, including the political party that happens to be in power at the moment". He hoped that Mr. Smith would obtain independent experts to weigh the pros and cons.

Sir Roy Welensky welcomed the Prime Minister's statement as a clarification of the situation, but added his concern at Mr. Smith's "sweeping condemnation of his political opponents. Are those of us who do not share the views of the R.F. Government of necessity lesser Rhodesians than the Prime Minister's supporters? If so, this is an intolerant; new, and most dangerous development for all of us. Should the need arise it will now be up to the opponents of unconstitutional action to organize and prepare their case for submission to the public".

Dr. M. I. Hirsch, a former Southern Rhodesian M.P., has announced the formation of a new multi-racial party that considers independence essential.

Restrictees' Appeal

The U.N. Anti-Colonial Committee has proposed, in a resolution presented by Tanganyika/Zanzibar, that the Security Council should endorse the conclusions of the sub-committee which visited London recently, deploring Britain's refusal to co-operate in implementing U.N. resolutions on Rhodesia. The U.K. delegation boycotted the vote, while the United States, Italy and Australia abstained.

Restriction orders served on some 100 African nationalists in Southern Rhodesia are invalid because the Gonakudzungwa and Wha Wha areas in which they are detained do not fall within the territory's security laws, Mr. Justice Dendy Young has ruled in Bulawayo High Court.

His judgment was made on an appeal by Mr. Nkomo, leader of the People's Caretaker Council, and 25 other members for the restriction orders to be set aside. The Minister of Justice has said that the men will remain detained until a Government appeal against the judgment is heard. This decision has been challenged by Mr. Leo Baron, Mr. Nkomo's solicitor.

The judge ruled that in restriction areas under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act a person was entitled to all such freedom as was available to any ordinary resident in the area and should be able to live a normal life. "The fact that the Government found it necessary to provide the restrictees with the necessities of life suggests that the areas are not such as to fall within the appropriate section of the Act. In effect, the liberty of the individual has been reduced almost to vanishing point". The two restriction areas were not such as to permit the reasonable exercise of the restrictees' personal liberty. The Act obliged them solely to notify the police of their movements.

An African was shot dead when demonstrators gathered in Highfield (Salisbury) African township to celebrate the ruling and began stoning a policeman. Other stoning incidents were reported as the crowds sang and danced in the streets.

A Z.A.N.U. supporter, Lloyd Gundu, had been sentenced to death for being party to an arson attempt on a European home and to two dynamite explosions on the premises of the Salisbury African newspaper *Daily News*.

Africans Killed

Police are offering a reward for information concerning an attack by about 15 Africans in Highfield on Mr. B. Manda, who has died from burns. The gang raided his house and poured petrol over him.

A circular signed by the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, the Z.A.N.U. leader arrested last week, advised people to arm themselves with bows and arrows to "physically oppose unilateral independence". Other instructions included: withdraw money from banks; lay in stocks of food for an emergency; refuse to sell cattle and other meat; refuse to pay rents and taxes; and withdraw children from schools. Mr. Sithole has been acquitted on two charges of making subversive statements, but is being detained pending hearings on two more such charges.

Mr. A. Kondodziya, Z.A.N.U. official recently released from Wha Wha, was found battered to death outside his Highfield home. A P.C.C. official, Mr. S. Kuwurey, was killed in a clash between rival P.C.C. gangs in Harare township.

(Continued on page 839)

Beware of Communist Diplomats in Malawi

Dr. Kamuzu Banda Warns His Fellow-Countrymen

NYASALAND AFRICANS have been emphatically warned by Dr. Banda, the Prime Minister, to be on their guard against the Communist diplomats who will be accredited to the country when it becomes independent.

In the course of a long lecture to Zomba Debating Society he said:—

"Stalin and other Communists said that they were out to liberate the people who were oppressed; but when they got power they established Communism in Russia. If they were out to liberate others, why is it that they never left Rumania, Hungary, Poland, and Eastern Germany after Hitler's armies had been smashed?

"The only difference between Stalin and Peter the Great and other Russian emperors is that the old emperors did not beat about the bush. They said and did exactly what they said, extending their empire; but Stalin and other Communist leaders pretended to be spreading a form of social justice.

Expect Fairy Stories

"There will be Communist countries coming here very soon. There are Communist embassies in Dar es Salaam now. They will tell you all kinds of stories — how wonderful Russia is, Czechoslovakia is, Poland is, Yugoslavia is, because there they have established social justice, they will tell you.

"Russia's development since 1917 has been phenomenal. It was a backward country with very few industries and no men of science to speak of. Today she runs with America. But she has done that at the expense of human suffering, misery, and death. Stalin had no scruples. If he gave a person a job to do and he failed it meant death or imprisonment. Between 1935 and 1939 he killed the majority of the top army officers.

"Communism allows no free choice. The Government owns the land, decides how many men shall be on a farm, what they grow, and how much shall be taken by the Government and how much left to the farmers. If the farmers do not satisfy the Government quota the man in charge and the farmers can be moved. Communism succeeds only where the State has full power to conscript capital, material, and labour. To Communists the State has the absolute right to do anything with your goods and even your breath. But that is not the way in which Communism is going to be put to you when these fellows come.

"They'll put it in such a nice way. Oh, you can have a scholarship; we can put you in the university to study anything you like. We give you books and money — everything. It sounds so beautiful to our poor students. They are not even particular whether you are really prepared to pursue a course at all — because it is done for propaganda. When you get there they fill you, not with studies about biology or chemistry or economics, but with their own theory. You have to attend so many lectures on the principles of Communism — though they call it Socialism.

Preference for British System

"If in America some people are very rich and others very poor, it is just that the former have initiative and work hard. Others through no fault of their own are poor, but there is always a chance of the poor boy becoming a millionaire.

"For those of you who may not like real capitalism, as known in America, there is an alternative found in Britain and Scandinavia. Britain has a mixed economy. The Conservative Party believes in individual ownership of everything, but the Socialist party believes in State ownership of the means of production and distribution and State control of economic life. This system also operates in Sweden, Norway and Denmark. I prefer the British and Scandinavian system because under it the individual still has a great deal of freedom, while the State exercises a measure of control in the interests of the whole community.

"I am no fool. I do not idealize this world at all. I realize

it. That is why so many people blame me for so many things. They think I should do this and that, and see me doing the opposite. I have to do what I think is in the best interests of my people, not what some theoretical, white-headed professor says.

"I must not go by what other people say in America, Britain, Russia, or anywhere. To look after four million people I must not be swayed by theories, which, while they might work in Europe, Asia and even other countries on our own continent, may not work in Malawi."

Kamuzu's Mbumba's Protection Bill

New Inheritance Law Introduced

WHEN DR. KAMUZU BANDA, Prime Minister of Nyasaland, introduced into the National Assembly a Wills and Inheritance Bill, he said that a better title would be Kamuzu's Mbumba's Protection Bill.

In the course of a long speech he said:—

"For me the main purpose of this Bill is to protect the married women of this country from their avaricious brothers-in-law, avaricious sisters-in-law, avaricious nephews-in-law, and avaricious nieces-in-law.

"Among the patriarchal people of Malawi laws of inheritance and succession favour the male. When a man dies it is his children, sons and daughters, particularly sons, and to a certain extent brothers too, who inherit everything. His son, or where there are no sons his brother, inherits or succeeds to the social or political status or station that he might have occupied in life.

"Among the matrilineal people the laws of inheritance favour the woman; succession goes to the female line — not in the European sense of the word, but in the African sense.

Anthropologist Nonsense

"The popular notion amongst Europeans in this country and outside it is that matrilineal custom is at the bottom of most of our troubles, because they say matrilinealism invests land in the woman, not in the man, and that all we have to do in this country is to change the system from the matrilineal to the patrilineal and the greater part of our troubles will be over. Those Europeans, those anthropologists, are talking nonsense, although they pose as specialists. I know about these anthropologists, because I was in the university.

"I come from a matrilineal community. There a man belongs to two clans — his father's clan and his mother's. Kamuzu, what was I known as before the European came to our country? To clans on my father's side I am a Banda; on my mother's side I am Phiri — a son of the Bandas nursed on the breasts of the Phiri woman.

"As opposed to the patrilineal system, where a son inherits his father's property, among the matrilineal it was the nephew. To the matrilineal people, the mother, brother's mother, mother's brother, mother's sister, the children of the sisters of one's mother are more important.

"When something happens to a man at Kasungu, not his son inherits, not his daughter or daughters, but his nephew. By nephew I do not mean his brother's son or sons, but his sister's son.

"When my father died I was not in line of succession; although I was the eldest and only surviving son, according to our customs I could not succeed. My cousin, my father's sister's son, inherited. But when my uncle died, if I had been at home, I would have taken his place as chief. I was at the University of Chicago then. So a cousin, my mother's grand-mother's son, became Chiwengwa.

"What happens when the man dies under the patrilineal or the matrilineal custom? Despite the fact that the woman has been looking after him from the time she was married, helping to hoe his garden, producing maize and other food-stuffs, going to the forest, bringing firewood, bringing water, cooking his food, and looking after him when he was ill, when a man dies she inherits not a penny. Under the patrilineal system the sons or brothers of the husband come and take everything. Under the matrilineal system the sisters of the husband, the brothers of the husband, the nephews or nieces, come and take everything. Yet these brothers, sisters,

nephews, might not have even visited the man when he was alive. The minute it is reported that he is dead quite often the whole bunch comes out of the blue like vultures from the sky. They take away everything from the woman and leave her in the cold.

Four-Fifths for Wife or Wives

"A prominent member of the Malawi Congress Party died. He had a number of business establishments, including maize mills. When this man was building his business his brothers, sisters, nephews never helped at all. It was his wife who helped. Even before the man's body was cold in the grave his brothers came and demanded everything. Without telling the woman a brother went about all the maize mills collecting money from the employees of the dead husband. Because he had children still in school, I allowed the widow so much a month for herself and her children. That brother tormented this bereaved widow even for that money which I had allowed her every month. Every month he came. He didn't even stop there. He demanded that the woman vacate the house which her husband left her and the children. At this stage the woman could stand it no longer. In tears and trembling she came to tell me the whole story, and begged me to protect her from eviction, extortion and exaction from her brother-in-law.

"Under this Bill if a man has only one wife and she has no surviving children, when her husband dies four-fifths of whatever he has goes to that wife, and the other fifth to the other relatives of that husband, brothers, sisters, nephews and nieces. But if a man had more than one wife, say four wives, still four-fifths goes to these wives. Two-thirds of that four-fifths goes to the senior wife or the wife longest married to the husband. Two-fifths of what is left over goes to the wife next senior. Always the more senior to the others gets two-thirds until there is nothing left.

"If a man dies and there are children surviving, half of what their mother inherits is to be divided among the surviving children. If a child is a minor and inherits, his share must be kept in trust until he becomes of age to enjoy it. If the child entitled to property dies, and yet when he died was old enough to have children of his own, those children will inherit what would have been the share of their father.

"If a woman inherits something from her dead husband and she decides to marry someone else, well there and then she must cease to enjoy the property of the dead man."

More Flattery of Prime Minister

Subsequent speakers indulged in the customary flattery of the Prime Minister.

Mr. Chimphanje paid his respects to "Ngwazi Dr. Kamuzu Banda, first Prime Minister of Malawi, great father and founder of the Malawi nation".

Mr. Chibambo hailed him, saying: "Jesus Christ didn't think for himself, but thought for other people. Here we have our Ngwazi Banda".

Mr. Muwalo, administrative secretary of the party, referred to "Ngwazi, Lion of Malawi, life president of the Malawi Congress Party, founder of the Malawi nation".

Mr. Kanyanya praised "Ngwazi Kamuzu Banda, Lion of Malawi, and defender of Malawi women".

Mr. Chieme, Minister of Information, suggested that the expulsion of Lucifer from heaven and the appearance of Christ on earth indicated that there is "absolutely nothing wrong in dictatorship; if we established a dictatorship here we can only be described as the loyal servants of God and fulfilling the purpose for which he created us".

So This is Malawi's "Brilliance"

Mr. Maloya's Maiden Speech

THE MAIDEN SPEECH in the National Assembly of Nyasaland of Mr. Maloya, representing Kasupe East, is the subject of comment in Notes By The Way. He said:—

"With the presence and in the presence of the Lion of Malawi, Ngwazi Kamuzu Banda, father and founder of this nation, nothing is impossible. Mr. Speaker, sir, I wish to associate myself with the motion — I am sorry, with the Bill — presented by the Minister concerned on the Road Traffic Amendment.

"Needless for us to say what has happened in this country. Probably I will draw the attention of the honourable House to what happened a few days ago

when lorries carrying enthusiastic people, sons and daughters of Malawi, were coming, who were on their way to see their beloved son, Son of Malawi, father and founder of their nation, Ngwazi Banda, overturned at Kasupe; and, of course, you will still remember of an incident on the very same day some time in February when a lorry carrying men and women on the Naisi road, on the road from the Minister of Education's house, overturned.

"Mr. Speaker, sir, these instances cannot pass unchallenged. It is from these instances, Mr. Speaker, that I have been moved to support this motion because in these amendments stress has been made, provisions have been allowed, that motor vehicles be examined and the defects be noted down in the defects list, and thereafter the owner, the possessor of the motor vehicle, should be in a position to get the vehicle re-examined for fitness and for use on the road. If all the vehicles were examined, I feel, Mr. Speaker, that more horrible accidents that are known, witnessed outside this House, could be reduced.

Fruits of Freedom

"Mr. Speaker, at this juncture I would like to thank the honourable Prime Minister, Ngwazi Banda, the father and founder of this nation, for having allowed me, not only me but, of course, my colleagues, honourable Members who are here called freedom or from the tree of freedom. It is through his sacrifices, it is through his dedication to a certain cause, it is through his untiring services he rendered. He came home knowing what would befall him, knowing what was ahead of him.

"Mr. Speaker, if I may be allowed with your permission to bring back this House to the early days when Ngwazi Banda, Son of Africa, Son of Malawi, came back home, humiliated, shamefully imprisoned, came out a successful warrior, conqueror, vanquishing the chains of Welensky, demolishing that formidable house of the so-called Central African Federation, we will see that the sacrifices rendered by this Son of Malawi are too high to be reached and far too deep to be measured.

"Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I only wish to thank the honourable Prime Minister, for I realize that it is with his consent that this amendment can be effected and that this House can see to it that those in authority will also carry with their duties, their past experiences to see to it that all the vehicles that are free to move on the roads are free from defects and that the safety of road users can be increased".

In the opinion of Dr. Banda and two other Ministers that constituted a "brilliant" speech.

Lord Chancellor's Visit to Malawi

Criticisms of Socialist Members

MR. SANDYS, when asked in the House of Commons what criteria had been used in selecting the United Kingdom Government Delegation to the Malawi independence celebrations, replied:—

"The Government are represented at such celebrations by a member of the Cabinet. The British delegation will be led by the Lord Chancellor.

MR. FOOT: "Is this the Government's idea of a square peg in a square hole? Is it intended that the Lord Chancellor will take with him a copy of the Devlin Report bound in vellum? Or would it not be more gracious if the Government decided to send Lord Devlin himself, instead of one who has been so bitterly opposed to the Nyasaland freedom movement?"

MR. SANDYS: "Dr. Banda sent me a message to say that the Lord Chancellor would be very welcome".

MR. W. HAMILTON: "Can the rt. hon. gentleman say whether there will be a tropical kit of a white sheet issued to the Lord Chancellor? Does he not think that this is a calculated insult to Nyasaland in view of the really shocking speeches which the noble lord made when he was discussing the Devlin Committee's report in this House in 1959?"

MR. SANDYS: "If Commonwealth leaders who have said rough things about one another were not able to meet, we should have a very deflated table at Marlborough House next month".

PERSONALIA

MR. L. K. WAIYAKI is now town clerk of Nairobi.
DR. W. OUKO has been elected president of the Luo Union, Kenya.

SIR MICHAEL BLUNDELL is now chairman of East African Breweries, Ltd.

MR. MILAN STOJAKOVIC has arrived in Kenya as first Yugoslavian Ambassador.

SIR ERIC GRIFFITH-JONES has been elected chairman of Labu Cheviot Rubber, Ltd.

MR. M. G. COOKE has been appointed Director of the National Archives of Tanganyika.

PROFESSOR LEONARD SCHAPIRO was the guest of the Monday Club at dinner last Monday.

MR. C. P. NGAIZA has been appointed High Commissioner in London for Tanganyika/Zanzibar.

SIR EDGAR UNSWORTH, Chief Justice in Nyasaland, arrived on Friday in the CAPETOWN CASTLE.

MR. DREW PEARSON, the well-known American journalist, recently paid a short visit to Ethiopia.

MISS IRIS GUTTERIDGE, for the past six years matron of Nakuru War Memorial Hospital, has resigned.

CAPTAIN RIVALTA PEREZ is first Cuban Ambassador to the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

DR. UJHAZY, Hungarian Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade, is leading a nine-member delegation to Kenya.

U THANT, U.N.O. Secretary-General, is to attend the Organization of African Unity conference in Cairo on July 16.

THE QUEEN received 29 Southern Rhodesian chiefs at Holyrood Palace when they visited Edinburgh on Monday.

SIR GEOFFREY DE FREITAS, British High Commissioner in Kenya, is paying a private visit to the Rhodesias.

THE REV. RONALD ORCHARD has been appointed general secretary of the Conference of British Missionary Societies.

MR. JO GRIMOND, Leader of the Liberal Party, will leave London tomorrow to attend the Malawi independence celebrations.

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, will visit South Africa this week for talks with DR. VERWOERD.

MR. J. D. MABITA has been appointed Consul-General in Northern Rhodesia for the Central Congolese Government.

MR. BERT OLDFIELD, the Australian Test cricketer, has been invited to Ethiopia for the purpose of introducing cricket in schools.

SIR ARCHIBALD FORBES has been elected chairman of the recently formed Midland and International Bank, in place of LORD MONCKTON.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE and LORD LANSDOWNE have been elected respectively fifth and sixth wardens of the Fishmongers' Company.

PRINCESS ALEXANDRA has accepted the presidency of the Star and Garter Home for Disabled Sailors, Soldiers and Airmen, Richmond, Surrey.

MR. ALI MOGNE HALOUA-TAMBWE has been appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Tanganyika/Zanzibar External Affairs Ministry.

MR. ROBERT RIDLEY, for the past two years chairman of the board of the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, is in England on holiday.

MR. J. B. JOHNSTON, British High Commissioner in Southern Rhodesia, left London Airport on Monday to return to Salisbury after consultations.

MR. KENNETH DE COURCY, sentenced to gaol for fraud, forgery and perjury in connexion with a housing scheme in Southern Rhodesia, has been arrested after disappearing while visiting his solicitor during his appeal.

MISS PAMELA HOLT, of the University of Keele, is to undertake research work in chemistry at Makerere College, Uganda, on a Leverhulme grant.

MR. J. S. MAYANJA-NKANGI, Minister of Commerce and Industry in Uganda, was last week the guest at luncheon of the Federation of British Industries.

ALDERMAN P. KAVUMA, Mayor of Kampala, arrived in London by air last week for a 10-day visit as a guest of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

DR. MOHAMED HYDER, a lecturer in zoology at University College, Nairobi, has been elected chairman of the board of trustees of the National Parks of Kenya.

MR. and MRS. ALAN BUTLER gave a reception in London last week for SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, M.P., and the members of his delegation from Southern Rhodesia.

DR. D. A. BANNERMAN, the ornithologist and writer of outstanding books on African birds, has received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Glasgow University.

AIR COMMODORE J. W. BAYLEY, who is to become Director of Technical Policy (R.A.F.) at the Ministry of Defence, has served at different periods in the Sudan and Kenya.

MAJOR J. M. E. WAINWRIGHT, for some years a farmer in Kenya, is outward-bound for Ascension in the PRETORIA CASTLE to take up the post of Administrator.

THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA gave £2,000 to the National Relief Fund, during his visit to Tanganyika. He had made generous donations to various causes while in Kenya.

MR. WALTER YARTY WILKIN, formerly a police and prisons officer, has been found guilty in Kenya of the manslaughter of an African housebreaker whom he shut in a box.

MR. JAMES NYAMWEYA, lately Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs in Kenya, is now Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister's Office.

DR. B. W. ANDRZEJEWSKI, who is a member of the council of management of the Africa Centre in London, is joint author with MR. I. M. LEWIS of a new book entitled "Somali Poetry".

MR. DAVID ATTENBOROUGH and two cameramen will be in Northern Rhodesia until about September to make films for television. They will deal with the Zambesi and bird and animal life.

"COMRADE" RAJAB SALEH is now Secretary of the Zanzibar Council of Ministers and of the Revolutionary Council, MR. SALIM RASHID having been appointed Parliamentary Secretary for Finance.

MR. C. HARVEY RICHARDS, who was for years engaged in mining in East Africa, has returned to England from Burma, where he has been engaged on a lead-zinc survey for the United Nations.

NORTHERN RHODESIA



For Information
APPLY TO

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Telephone: WHItchall 5858 · Cables: "NORHODCOM LONDON"

THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH, who is to represent the QUEEN at the Nyasaland independence celebrations at the week-end, will leave London on Saturday in a B.O.A.C. air liner for Blantyre. That night will be spent in Khartoum.

Announcing that a secondary school and a hospital would be built in Kajjado, MZEE KENYATTA commented: "The imperialists did not do much to help the Masai. They just left them like game for people to come and take their pictures".

MR. JOHN KENNETH WILLIAMS, who has been appointed a puisne judge in the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, served in R.A.F. Fighter Command in the last war. He went to Tanganyika as a resident magistrate 11 years ago.

Three new appointments as Parliamentary Secretaries have been made in Kenya—MR. SIMON KAMUNDE (Justice and Constitutional Affairs), MR. JESSE MWANGI GACHAGO (Education), and MR. ERIC K. K. ARAP BOMETT (Works, Communications and Power).

MR. K. G. S. BALDWIN, who recently arrived in Nyasaland under United Nations sponsorship as economic adviser to DR. BANDA, has expressed the view that the country's development plan, when improved, will attract world-wide attention and investment.

Passengers for Mombasa in the UGANDA, which sailed from London on Friday, include MR. G. P. G. MACKAY, general manager of E.A.R. & H., and MRS. MACKAY, MR. JUSTICE NEWBOLD, of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa, and MRS. NEWBOLD, MR. & MRS. D. E. HURLES, and MR. W. NEEDHAM-CLARK.

MR. A. ROYDEN HARRISON, a director of Rhodesian Anglo American Corporation, has recently revisited Northern Rhodesia. He became general manager of Rhokana Corporation when only 36 years of age, and held that office from 1939 to 1947. He was for some years a non-official member of the Legislature.

THE REV. YOHANA MADINDA, who is to become Assistant Bishop of Central Tanganyika, will live in Morogoro and be responsible for Uluguru, Ukaguru and Ungu, which may later form a separate diocese. After serving as a primary school teacher for some years, he was ordained in 1957, and five years later came to England and spent some months as an assistant curate in Stoke-on-Trent.

MISS P. M. WALKDEN, of Rhodesia, and MR. T. J. RYAN, of South Africa, who were to have played in the mixed doubles championship at Wimbledon on Monday were victims of a political demonstration by two Russian players, who declined to play against a South African. Last week a Russian, a Hungarian, and two Czechoslovakians refused for similar reasons to take part in the matches for which they had been drawn.

Three junior Ministers from Northern Rhodesia have arrived in Britain for a month's visit as guests of the Commonwealth Relations Office. They are Messrs. S. C. MBILISHI, W. NKANZA, and A. J. SOKO, Parliamentary Secretaries respectively to the Ministry of Lands and Works, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. They will be joined this week by MR. N. NALILUNGWE, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour and Mines, who has been in Geneva for the International Labour Conference.

In announcing that MR. GREENWELL MPONELA, a Nyasaland African, had been declared "an undesirable inhabitant" and was to be deported from Northern Rhodesia, the Minister of Home Affairs, MR. S. KAPWEPWE, accused him of having disrupted harmonious industrial relations at the lead and zinc mining centre of Broken Hill.

MR. N. KHAZAM is now chairman of E. W. Tarry & Co., Ltd., succeeding MR. L. T. S. HAWKINS, who remains on the board. DR. H. KHAZAM has been elected a director. MR. P. J. D. MACFARLANE has resigned.

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, M.P., was the guest at dinner last Thursday of the Royal Commonwealth Society. Those present were MR. A. D. BUTLER, M.P., SIR JOHN & LADY FLETCHER-COOKE, MR. VICTOR GOODHEW, M.P., MR. & MRS. J. P. McDONAGH, MISS E. OWEN, SIR CHARLES & the HON. LADY PONSONBY, MR. G. F. THOMAS, M.P., and MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P. On Monday Sir Edgar addressed the Labour Party Commonwealth group.

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD has been unanimously re-elected president of the Rhodesia National Party. Other officers elected were: Messrs. G. ELLMAN-BROWN, J. M. GONDO, S. SAWYER and J. H. ALLEN, vice-presidents; MR. D. BUTLER, chairman; MRS. M. ROSIN and Messrs. R. HACKWILL, P. H. MKUDU and B. ST. J. DOUGLAS-DOWNES, vice-chairmen; SIR CYRIL HATTY, treasurer; and MR. P. J. POWER, secretary.

SIR JAMES ROBERTSON, president of the Overseas Service Pensioners Association, said at the annual meeting that H.M. Government should accept responsibility for pensions for service in former British territories which have become independent. That was done when Somaliland and Zanzibar repudiated liability, but in general H.M. Government maintains that its duty is limited to persuading successor Governments to play fair.

MR. J. J. ALLAN, who left Scotland in 1952 to become township officer in Mwanza, Tanganyika, and afterwards served in Tabora, Jinja and Eldoret, has taken up the appointment of town clerk of Blantyre-Limbe. On their first night in the business capital of Nyasaland two of their suitcases were stolen, one containing a brooch presented to MRS. ALLAN by Eldoret Town Council and a clock given to him on the same occasion.

Obituaries

SIR FREDERICK REBECK, K.C.E., who has died in Belfast, aged 86, was for many years managing director and chairman of Harland and Wolff, Ltd. When German air raids destroyed more than half of the company's great shipyards in 1941, his drive resulted in repair of the damage far more quickly than anyone had believed possible. His contribution to the war effort brought a knighthood. He retired from the chairmanship two years ago owing to ill-health, being succeeded by his son, Dr. Denis Rebeck.

MR. LEONARD PYNE, M.B.E., who has died in Southampton, aged 74, had served the Union-Castle Line for 50 years, and was aboard the LLANGIBBY CASTLE and WARWICK CASTLE when they were torpedoed in the last war. He was chief steward of the WINCHESTER CASTLE at the time of his retirement.

We learn belatedly of the death on Beira golf course of MR. PAUL SHANNON WESTGATE, assistant manager of the Beira Boating Co., Ltd., and its associated companies, and formerly of the staff of the Manica Trading Co., Ltd. He served in the East African campaign of the last war.

MRS. EMILY AILEEN WEATHERHEAD, widow of the REV. H. W. WEATHERHEAD, founder of King's College, Budo, Uganda, has died in Worthing at the age of 87.

MR. GEORGE CALLOW, who has died in Mombasa, had lived in that port for some 30 years. He was a recognized authority on East African coffees.

CAPTAIN ALBERT HARRY BLACKMAN, who has died in South Africa at the age of 87, was commodore of the Union-Castle fleet when he retired in 1940.

Katanga Leader Returns to Congo Recalled for National Reconciliation

MR. MOISE TSHOMBE, ex-president of Katanga, returned to the Congo last Friday "in response to the voice of the population and the political leaders, as well as the invitations of the Central Government".

En route from Madrid, where he has been living for the past year, he met Mr. Spaak, Belgium's Foreign Minister, in Brussels, and was also believed to have talked with Mr. Justin Bomboko, the Congo Foreign Minister who has just visited the United States. Mr. Tshombe said: "Peace cannot be obtained except through a general reconciliation and this is the principal aim of my return to the Congo".

Mr. Cyrille Adoula resigned as Prime Minister on Tuesday but has been asked to continue as caretaker until a transitional government is formed to prepare for national elections. The President has assumed supreme command of the Army "to shelter it from political solicitations". No Government officials were present when the U.N. force commander and the last 100 foreign troops left Congolese soil after the four years "peace-keeping" operation.

Mr. Tshombe has been engaged since in Leopoldville in discussions — on forming what is expected to be a national government — with President Kasavubu, Mr. Adoula, other Central Government Ministers, political party leaders, and ex-Ministerial colleagues from Katanga. On a drive through the city the evening he arrived he was mobbed by hundreds of cheering Africans and Europeans.

Countering Instability

Mr. Tshombe told journalists later that "total, sincere reconciliation between all Congolese is the only absolute condition for saving the country from misery and anarchy. I want to reconcile everybody". All leaders detained for political reasons should be freed.

One such leader, Mr. Albert Kalonji, once self-proclaimed "emperor" of South Kasai, who asserted that he had returned to the Congo Prime Minister's written invitation after an absence of two years, said that a transitional government would have to be formed soon but would be valueless if its members did not include himself, Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Antoine Gizenga, the pro-Communist ex-Deputy Prime Minister who was jailed two years ago. Mr. Kalonji announced that he had joined the new Rassemblement des Démocrates Congolais under Mr. Adoula's presidency.

Mr. Jacques Massa, a former Minister, and secretary-general of RADECO, had met Mr. Adoula to discuss the release of Mr. Gizenga and the security of Messrs. Tshombe and Kalonji. He had argued that their return would be a factor of reconciliation between the different sections of the population.

Before the recent congress which established RADECO, he had explained that it was being set up because the proliferation of political parties in the Congo was a threat to stability.

"We are opposed to the one-party system which invites uncontrolled or even uncontrollable dictatorship, but we hope that the RADECO programme will generate a spontaneous movement towards the affiliation of political groups whose outlook corresponds with the ideas outlined by RADECO. Even a temporary and uncertain coalition would be important. RADECO is able to offer the country a cure for our chronic parliamentary ailments.

Foreign Subversion

"Our Bantu philosophy and national spirit revolt against selfishness, corruption and indifference to the needs and joys of others—the very qualities which are responsible for certain alarming features in our political life. The whole nation is ill-served by the class struggle. RADECO is inspired by the philosophy of our ancestors, who, long before Marx and his apostles of scientific Socialism ever saw the light of day, impregnated their Bantu societies with a deep sense of communal responsibility through the spirit of social humanitarian action. Are these ancient African ideals outdated in this nuclear age? We don't think so. On the contrary, we undertake to restore them to a place of honour in the modern Congolese society".

Mr. Victor Nendaka, chief administrator of the *Sûreté*

Nationale, and a founder member of the RADECO national executive, had told the congress that the Congo was in a state of complete economic decomposition. "This is a national and international scandal which we cannot accept for much longer".

Mr. Justin Bomboko, Minister of Justice, and political director of the party, said that diplomatic relations with foreign countries giving support to subversionists would have to be broken off.

Mr. Gizenga is reported to have refused to attend the reconciliation talks in Leopoldville and has insisted that he be released without any such conditions attached.

Mr. Adoula stated in a radio interview that he was a "finished man, a lonely man. It has been alleged that I am a man of the Americans, but I am nobody's man. I am a man of the Congo, and I think I have served the country loyally. I may not have succeeded as I should have".

The new draft Constitution—approval for which is to be expressed in a two-week national referendum now in progress—could serve as a basis for reconciliation between all Congolese political leaders, he said. All leaders abroad or in exile had the right to return to their motherland to contribute to the building of a new Congo. He had earlier been reported as saying that he would serve in a new Government under Mr. Tshombe, though the latter has said that Mr. Adoula had objected till the last minute to his return.

The Comité Démocratique Africain, a new grouping of existing parties under the patronage of President Kasavubu, is said to want Mr. Tshombe as its leader and his appointment as Prime Minister.

Bomb Attacks

Mr. Jason Sendwe, the head of the North Katanga Government, who was forced to quit Albertville when the town was overrun by rebels, has been killed with three aides. He had been opposed to Mr. Tshombe, but later called for the reunification of the Katanga.

Guests at a wedding reception in Leopoldville were injured by grenade blasts at the week-end, and bombs were thrown at some polling booths in the capital. About a dozen such incidents have been reported since May, in connexion with which 51 members of the Committee of National Liberation have been arrested.

The C.N.L. leader of a self-styled government-in-exile, Mr. C. Gherwe, has set up headquarters across the river in Brazzaville, and is alleged to be concerned with the uprisings in North Katanga, Kivu and the Stanleyville area, aided by Communist Chinese based in Burundi. Mr. Tshombe was reported to have called on him before reaching Leopoldville, and a C.N.L. emissary later met him in Leopoldville.

The provincial premier, Mr. Pierre Malago, had held a meeting of all the leaders of political parties in Central Kivu—the Congolese Democratic Party (P.D.C.), the Congolese Socialist Party (P.S.C.), the Congolese Party of National Conscience (P.C.C.N.), C.E.R.E.A. (Centre de Regroupement Africain), and M.N.C.-Lumumba—who promised their help in the "struggle against the enemies of peace and public tranquillity". It was the first occasion since independence on which all the leaders of political parties had met. They were together for four hours "in an atmosphere of perfect understanding".

Tribal Rivalries

Next day they met in Bukavu under the chairmanship of Mr. Marcel Bisukiro, national president of C.E.R.E.A., "to consider the situation created by the bloody events taking place in Uvira and in danger of spreading throughout Central Kivu". They resolved:—

"Taking into consideration the seriousness of the intimidation of the population by the sinister Soumialot and the threat which the Mulelist rebellion led by Chinese Communists constitutes to the Congolese nation, and conscious of their responsibilities as political parties, and the fact that the process of seeking power must be conducted not by murder and intimidation but through democratic means, the signatories of this joint declaration publicly condemn the Mulelist criminal activities launched in Central Kivu and make an urgent appeal to all their members and supporters to be ready to combat with all possible means any subversion from any quarter. They disavow some of their members who have deviated from the line of action laid down by their parties: call on the population of Kivu to forget their ideological differences, put aside their tribal rivalries, and unite in the struggle against the invaders; and they ask the people to denounce all trouble-makers to the authorities. They solemnly declare their support for the actions of the Government, or the Congolese National Army, and of the police, and they resolve to create

a common front for the defence of the Congo in general and of Central Kivu in particular".

Mr. Victor Koumoriko, commissioner-general extraordinary for Central Kivu, appeared in the name of President Kasavubu on the same day for the loyal collaboration of all in the province in his task of pacification, and announced that he would invite representatives of all sections of the community to a conference. He congratulated the Army and certain persons of good will on their efforts against rebellion.

Brigadier Aßaba Tafari, who was C.-in-C. of the U.N. Forces in the Congo, told journalists in Abbis Ababa that the Ethiopian Command had distinguished itself in the Congo, where the U.N. operation had been very successful.

Asked if the U.N. was not leaving the Congo in unstable conditions, he said they were leaving it in capable hands. The Congolese National Army, now receiving equipment from Belgium and the U.S.A., had experienced an uplift of morale and shown a sense of responsibility in quelling the recent uprisings in Kivu, Albertville, and other parts of the Congo. The Congo had got on its own two feet in the economic sphere by curbing inflation. But for that confidence the U.N. would have hesitated to withdraw.

However, he was far from thinking that there was complete calm in the country. Recent uprisings were part of political youth movements directed at bringing Gizenga back to the political scene. Although Gizenga was still in jail, support for him and for former President Tshombe was evidently increasing. However, General Ababa was not convinced that either would be installed in power in the foreseeable future. Premier Adoula's position had been strengthened by divisions in the Opposition camp. Tshombe might, of course, return. Support for him was growing even outside Katanga.

"Britain Caused Army Mutiny" Tanganyika/Zanzibar "Subverted"

NEWSPAPERS WILL BE banned and journalists deported if they spread "fashoods" and "distort" news about Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Mr. I. Wakil, Minister for Information and Tourism, stated in a National Assembly debate on a private member's motion that Parliament should deprecate "untrue" reports in British and American papers on the United Republic's affairs.

The Minister alleged that "imperialists" engaged in such practices to create discord. Press attaches would be provided with material to refute the falsehood, and a close watch would be kept on publications and correspondents.

The matter was raised by Mr. A. Faraji (Dar es Salaam) who complained about "false" reports that the merger existed only on paper and that Zanzibar did not recognize the authority of the United Republic. One British journal had described the island as a beast that President Nyerere had swallowed and found indigestible. This was a personal affront, utterly irresponsible, and unthinkable.

"Our Friends"

The reception of aid from Communist China and West Germany did not make the United Republic either pro-Communist or pro-West, "because we have to decide on our own friends".

Mr. A. Rahman "Babu", the Zanzibar Minister of State in the President's Office, recalling that he was the "target of prey" of the overseas Press for his Communist affiliations, dismissed such attacks as "typical of the imperialists. These people do not take us as their equals but as inferiors". Foreign Powers, even with their bombs, could not destroy the United Republic, which was founded on the will of the people.

Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, second Vice-President, questioned how genuine Western leaders were in their appeals to the Press to treat developing countries sympathetically, for papers were still "misrepresenting" facts about the country.

The Government was concerned because reports indicated that there was no "friendship" between the peoples of the United Republic and certain other States. "We are free to choose our own friends. Americans and the British are wel-

come here on the understanding that they will help to build this nation".

M.P.s and the new Government party newspaper *Nationalist* have recently accused Britain and America of inspiring the Western Press to "subvert" the union and to "allege falsely" that Zanzibar is Communist-dominated. Both Powers are also charged with "conspiracy" to undermine the proposed East African Federation. Britain, moreover, is said to have provoked the January army mutiny to establish a military presence in Tanganyika.

Sheikh Abeid Karume, first Vice-President, has said that "all racialists, counter-revolutionaries and imperialist agents are to be rounded up before the end of July if they go about confusing Zanzibaris". He had earlier threatened to evict non-Africans if they did not help to build new houses for old people. "It appears they still look down on us".

He would form a committee to establish what property had been handed over to "colonial agents and sympathisers" so that it could be returned to the rightful indigenous owners. President Nyerere has ordered all foreign missions to reduce their representation in Zanzibar to consular status.

The *Nationalist* was proscribed by the Zanzibar authorities last week for publishing "malicious and unfounded accusations" against East Germany, allegedly on Mr. Karume's instructions, but next day he said there had been a "misunderstanding" — he added that he had been "horrified" to learn of the ban — and that the prohibition had been lifted.

Company leaders in the Tanganyika Rifles are to become T.A.N.U. chairmen, and the Army will be represented on the party national executive. Mr. Kawawa told new recruits in Dar es Salaam that they could now belong to either T.A.N.U. or, for Zanzibaris, the Afro-Shirazi Party.

British and U.S.A. arms have been supplied to Tanganyika. They have been distributed to the police contingent in Zanzibar.

Misrepresentations

Mr. Richard Hornby, U.K. Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, who is visiting East Africa, described as "totally unfounded" allegations in the *Nationalist* that Britain wanted to reassert its influence in Tanganyika "to manipulate President Nyerere as if he were a marionette". Such "sad misunderstandings" did not foster good relations, Mr. Hornby commented.

When he arrived in Dar es Salaam he said how unfortunate it was that misrepresentations should be made by one Commonwealth country against another when one had given so much help to the other. The Government newspaper retorted: "People will know the truth of the terms of whatever aid is given to us, what we have actually received and how we have found ourselves used to grease the wheels of this massive propaganda machine Mr. Hornby is driving".

It also alleged that British warships were in the Indian Ocean in the hope that the Tanganyika and Zanzibar leaders "would commit hara-kiri by expecting them to call upon British frigates to invade the island".

Mr. Hornby stated on arrival in Nairobi that it would be "entirely improper" for him to say what impression he had gained regarding the stability of the Tanganyika/Zanzibar union.

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Kenya Government "No Nonsense"

"Must Help Africans in Southern Rhodesia"

OFFICIAL REPORTS have now reached London of the rally in Nairobi, said to have been attended by some 20,000 Africans, at which Mzee Kenyatta, the Prime Minister, supervised the burning and burial of a coffin bearing the words "South African racial apartheid".

He said (in part):—

"Our own independence will be worthless until South Africa is also free. We condemn all imperialism in Africa. We had to fight for our own independence with our blood. I want you to help our brothers to get theirs. We must help those in Southern Rhodesia to be rid of their chains.

"In our country there are still some imperialists. We condemn them also. We have never heard of those Boers who are here condemning the South African Government. There are others who do not want to work with us. If there are any Asians unwilling to work with us they can pack their bags and go.

"If anyone makes trouble, be he European, Asian or African, he will have it. Our African Government will not stand any nonsense.

"We are willing to shed our blood if we have to in order to liberate South Africa.

"The countries of the West, and Britain and the United States in particular, pay lip-service to our cause while they go on underpinning the South African economy by their investments, their buying, and their sales. And critics from these countries are stupid enough to accuse us of bringing the cold war to Africa when we declare our readiness to accept aid in our struggle from other sources.

"By refusing to participate in workable sanctions against South Africa the countries of the West are creating a situation in which violence becomes the only answer. If by their neglect to take non-violent measures there is fighting and bloodshed, will the countries of the West be with us or against us?"

Away With Imperialists

"In our own Government departments we have done away with imperialists. All the main responsible jobs are now held by Africans. In the army we used only to have effendis, who were not much more than watchmen. Today we have nearly 100 African officers in our army. An African officer is in charge of the troops fighting the *shifita*.

"We are sweeping through the police also. The police do not push the people around any more. They are working for our African Government, not for the imperialists. The Government has placed nearly 2,000 of our youth in the police. We have already enlisted 1,000 youth in the police.

"Britain has given us many millions of pounds. I sent Mr. Murumbi and Mr. Odinga to Russia and China. One of the things we shall receive because of their visit is hospitals and doctors.

"By the end of this year the British base in Kenya will be closed down. One part of it will become a school for 1,000 students. Another part will be occupied by the Kenya

Army. Another section will be used for a trade training school.

"We have already taken over Eastleigh airport. Our own pilots are flying aircraft out of Eastleigh nowadays. We shall soon have 15 of our own aircraft—large planes which can be used against the *shifita*.

"We have nationalized the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, which was formerly controlled by imperialists.

"If we were not united we could not achieve all this. If there is tribalism and racialism it will impede our progress.

"The country is now stable, and because of that money is pouring in from many countries to help us build prosperity."

The meeting was attended by M.P.s, members of the Diplomatic Corps, senior civil servants, trade union leaders, and representatives of many other groups.

Before the Prime Minister arrived a party of Asian businessmen, political leaders, and trade unionists mounted the platform and pledged their support for the struggle against South Africa.

Mr. Mboya had said in Nakuru on the previous day:—

"There have been ugly rumours about tribalism in job opportunity and tribal cliques in the country. These rumours are harmful to the party and the country. We in the party are the most effective weapon against tribalists and tribalism.

"Tribalism is the creed of a bankrupt mind which has nothing constructive to offer. Tribalism should be dreaded as we dread plague or leprosy. Rumour-mongers who ply this evil disease should be treated with the contempt they deserve. Let our party go all out to eradicate this evil."

Government Control of Radio

Instability Caused K.B.C. Deficits

LOSSES INCURRED by the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation in 13 months had to be covered by £385,000 in loans from the Government, Mr. Achieng' Oneko, Minister for Information and Broadcasting, told the House of Representatives when a Bill for the organization to be taken over by the Government as the "Voice of Kenya" this month was approved.

Difficulties had arisen a few months after television was inaugurated in October, 1962. Political instability and a shortfall of 74% in estimated advertising revenue were responsible. By July last year operating deficits for TV and radio were £71,000 and £21,000 respectively. A Government loan of £200,000 was provided.

By September the position was again "very serious" and a further £60,000 was issued so that broadcasting coverage could be maintained, while £50,000 was received from the contractors. Soon after the commission of inquiry had submitted its report in December, a further £40,000 had to be advanced by Government, and in January this year it was necessary to approve another £200,000 loan to enable the K.B.C. to continue until the end of June.

The agreement with the consortium of contractors from East Africa, Britain and Canada had proved unsatisfactory and obligations had remained unfulfilled. It had been a mistake, the Minister alleged, to associate the K.B.C. with overseas commercial interests, because a policy out of step with non-alignment resulted and did not reflect the mood of the people. In future broadcasting would be operated as a Government department under a new advisory committee.

Compensation, assessed by arbitration or negotiation, would be paid to the consortium. The primary object of taking over the corporation was not profit but the provision of a constructive implement for developing Kenya.

Mr. Masinde Muliro, deputy Opposition leader, said that the importance of the medium would require journalists of high standards because of its power to destroy or build the nation. Echoing other speakers' suggestions, he said that English and Swahili would be the most effective languages to use; Hindustani and the vernaculars should be "brushed aside" in the interests of integrating the nation. Mr. Oneko replied that Hindustani had always been included because of the large Asian population.

Mr. T. J. Mboya, Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, decried fears that the new department would become a propaganda machine. Its services would be open to the Opposition. It would propagate Government policy to consolidate independence.

Northern Rhodesia's Minister of Labour has told the African Mineworkers' Union that Government recognition will be withdrawn unless it finds new leaders. It is the largest union in the country, with about 26,000 paid-up members.

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Reply to "Blood-Sucking" Accusation

ATTACKS BY COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES on Britain for her past should stop, Lord John Hope, chairman of the council of the Royal Commonwealth Society, told a lunch-time meeting in London.

An example was the recent charge that Britain had "sucked the blood" of a certain African State [a reference to Mzee Kenyatta's outburst in Kenya—Ed.]. Such accusations did nothing but harm, though they were untrue. Despite mistakes, Britain's record was "noble".

It was the responsibility of the new leaders to ensure that their younger generations knew the true story. Criticism of Britain's present policies was a different matter. But "very potent hostages to fortune" would appear if the young people were constantly told that Britain was a blood-sucker. What belief could they retain in the Commonwealth's mutual integrity?

"Ridiculous" Neo-Colonialist Complex

Whether the Commonwealth was to be thrown back into its old shape — and that would be a disastrous tragedy — would depend very much upon Africa. Opportunities for enrichment were boundless, if all went well. Africans of all races and colours should exercise great patience and understanding; the "poison" of attacks on sister nations in the Commonwealth would not help and must cease. Otherwise it was doubtful if the Commonwealth could hold together. One risk was that of Chinese Communist encroachment. It should be publicized and accepted once and for all that the Chinese were not spreading across Africa just for their health.

The wind of change had begun to blow a long time ago, when Britain weaved a pattern of real co-operation and growing mutual knowledge, so that country by country she had yielded dominion to a friend. Multi-racialism had been accepted in the Commonwealth evolution. Neo-colonialism was a ridiculous concept. Now the Commonwealth's "healing touch" was needed for people who were getting angry, frustrated or despondent in areas of anguish that gave rise to serious forebodings.

Time is Short

Time was short. The overseas Commonwealth had focused its attention on Britain. Enough was not known about the other members. On many fronts there was already closer co-operation than people realized. The union had to become yet closer. That would dispel for ever the "storm clouds of racial hatred" which are gathering dangerously in so many quarters. The Commonwealth is uniquely poised to show the way.

Answering questions about the Kenyatta statement, Lord Hope said that it was no use propitiating extremists by pretending to agree with their views. Moreover, the younger citizens of a country would not realise that such reasons lay behind a "wild" allegation.

It was probably more effective to find out privately from the person concerned why such remarks were made and to ask that there should be no repetition. But if they continued an open counter-attack would be needed; and it should have the support of all parties in Britain.

Asked if the general tenor of his speech could be taken to refer to Rhodesia and to South Africa's expulsion from the Commonwealth, Lord John Hope agreed that he had "made up the cap but without setting it on any particular head".

Earl De La Warr, who presided, asked what chance there was for the Commonwealth — and for the United Nations — if members assumed a right to interfere in each other's affairs. It was time to take a good look at our own glass-houses before throwing any more bricks. If common sentiments about the right things were lacking, no amount of machinery could solve the difficulties.

Royal Roads Renamed

KING STREET, Tanga, has had its name changed to Independence Avenue. Queen Street is now Boma Road, and Princess Road has been re-labelled Jamhuri Road.

"Blood-Suckers" Report Denied

MZEE KENYATTA has denied referring to the British as "blood-suckers" at a political rally in Nairobi held to "bury" the South African Government.

A statement from the Prime Minister's Office declared that the phrase was a "distorted translation of a remark he made in Swahili which, taken out of context, is a gross misrepresentation.

"Speaking in Swahili, the Prime Minister referred to the massive financial aid which Britain is giving to Kenya. He went on to say that Britain as a Colonial Power had for 70 years ruled Kenya, at times inspired by enlightened self-interests. Nevertheless, Britain had now adopted a policy of give-and-take which is the right relationship between two sovereign nations. There was no question of the Prime Minister calling the British nation 'blood-suckers'. Newspaper reporters are warned that on future occasions they should verify their facts".

[Mzee Kenyatta has often denied Press reports of his public statements. On this occasion the reference to "blood-suckers" appeared in competing Nairobi newspapers, and it was telegraphed to London newspapers and news agencies. It is strange that the denial should have avoided giving the term which was translated as "blood-suckers" (perhaps by African reporters).

A few days earlier the Prime Minister of Kenya had said that British pilots would "urinate" on the people if they flew the aircraft of Kenya's embryonic air force, and that that was why Kenya pilots had been surreptitiously trained in Israel without the knowledge of Britain while she was responsible for governing Kenya. —Ed.]

Uganda Caution Over Federation

"Strengthen Common Services First"

UGANDA IS NOT prepared to join an East African federation and then settle outstanding problems later. Dr. A. M. Obote, the Prime Minister, told correspondents before leaving Entebbe to attend an E.A.C.S.O. meeting in Nairobi.

The three Governments must first examine their own internal structures and problems before agreeing to federate. Uganda did not want to be left behind in forming a federation and firmly supported unity, but the first step was to obtain unity in Uganda.

His country's decision would be made only by the National Assembly in Kampala and by the Government at Entebbe. "Resolutions in other Parliaments do not affect us in any way whatsoever. They can talk for months, but our decision will be made here. We are as sovereign as anybody. I do not know why resolutions are still being passed in the Kenya and Tanganyika Parliaments. If they are ready, why don't they federate?"

Uganda's political structure was completely different. It was not possible to discern to what extent safeguards in the Uganda Constitution would be retained in a federal constitution. There should be a unified report from the federal working party, rather than individual reports from delegates to their Heads of Government.

Mr. A. Nekyon, the Minister for Planning and Community Development, said that the working party had been unable to reach agreement on the definition of a federation. There was not any set form.

Uganda had insisted that the federal capital must be in Uganda. Uganda was determined to retain its seat in the U.N. and retain its sovereignty. This was in conformity with the African Unity Charter. While Uganda agreed that there should be federal citizenship, it insisted that inter-territorial movement should be controlled to protect local people.

Uganda also wanted member States to retain their independent powers to raise money abroad. Agriculture must also remain exclusively a State matter, and this must include marketing boards. Higher education was another service which should not be put under federal control. A State should be free to build or expand its own university. On trade unions,

land and mineral resources, the Uganda delegation was adamant that there should be local control.

Finally, they still had to reach agreement on representation in the federal legislature. In the House of Representatives, membership would be on a population basis, but for the Senate Uganda was demanding equal representation by the member States.

Mr. Felix Onama, Minister of Internal Affairs, stated that a federation hurriedly formed would be equally hurriedly broken. Experience had shown that the formation of an artificial federation for political prestige had never won.

"We will have to carry out stage by stage the formation of the federation". Nobody could deny that in the three East African States there were problems which could block the formation of federation even if the politicians agreed to its immediate implementation.

Uganda felt it must have the power to raise capital outside the federation, though Kenya and Tanganyika did not agree. But even within the union of Zanzibar and Tanganyika both were borrowing independently from external sources.

Will Not Be Pushed

"I hope that federation will eventually come, but this will not be pushed hurriedly. Neither promises of free gifts or long-term loans will push us into federation. To show our desire for a closer union with other East African countries, I suggested in the working party that as a first step we should explore the possibility of strengthening the East African Common Services which had been tested and found to be working extremely well. Both Kenya and Tanganyika said, rightly too, that they had no mandate to discuss that possibility. I hope one day that mandate may be given".

The Tanganyika/Zanzibar Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Oscar Kambona, told the National Assembly that the United Republic was ready to federate with Kenya and Uganda or with either, depending on which one was ready. He was speaking in a debate on a private member's motion by the member for Ulanga, Mr. Kapilima, calling on the Government to take immediate action in concert with either or both of the other East African Governments so that instruments of federation were brought to the House for ratification without further delay. Mr. Kapilima said that it was time the African leaders stopped paying lip service to African unity.

When the working party met again in August last year, consultations by the delegations with their Governments had

not produced any substantial change in the positions established at Kampala and Nairobi in previous meetings. The main points of disagreement were once again the disposition of power between the Senate and the House of Representatives, external affairs, citizenship and external borrowing.

Kenya and Tanganyika argued that unless the federal government was given exclusive control over foreign affairs, it could not be said to have established a federation at all. In opposing this view Uganda's delegation had developed two points which they were to repeat in one form or another in subsequent discussions: they referred to the Charter of the Organization of African Unity; and they argued that there was an advantage to Africa as a whole in retaining a large number of separate voices in the U.N. and other international organizations.

At a recent meeting of the Heads of Government, President Nyerere explained fully Tanganyika's dissatisfaction with the existing arrangements for the common market, and the urgent need to modify them in the light of the failure to implement the Nairobi declaration on the federation. Kenya and Uganda reiterated that federation was their objective. It was agreed that the working party should make a final attempt to resolve the differences which were left outstanding.

No Cause for Delay

The people of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar were ready for an immediate federation. "We are not interested in a federation which is not a genuine political federation, one in which the constituent States merge their sovereignty in the larger federal unit. We are heart and soul for African unity, and we believe that the time has come for talks about unity to be accompanied by action, by practical steps to remove the artificial divisions imposed on us by the colonial Powers. That is the meaning of our union with Zanzibar, and our brothers in Zanzibar understood our purpose and we have forged with them a link no one can break. It is in the same spirit that we faced the issue of federation. We are now ready. We see no cause for delay or hesitation."

"We believe that the East African federation is the only safeguard for the future of East Africa. We also believe it would work out to be a catalyst in relation to an African continent government."

A strike by African workers in the E.A. Posts and Telecommunications Administration, postponed last month for further talks with management on pay rises, was due to begin yesterday.



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Rhodesian Government by Merit

(Continued from page 829)

According to leaflets distributed in Highfield, a splinter group of the P.C.C. has been formed as the Reformed People's Caretaker Council, at Wha Wha.

Dr. Banda Threatens "War" and "Stones"

Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of Nyasaland, said on Monday: "I will interfere in the affairs of Southern Rhodesia the minute Welensky is a politician there. Welensky is my enemy no matter where he is — even in hell."

He was speaking at the opening of an £85,000 Malawi Congress Party headquarters between Blantyre and Limbe.

"Just now I'm keeping my mouth shut. I'll help my brothers in Southern Rhodesia in a sensible way, by negotiation with the British Government and others. But the moment Welensky is in power, no negotiations — war, stones, and anything. The British Government will be making a serious blunder if they bring him up again. I'll throw to the wind the policy of non-interference in the policies of another country."

Sir Roy replied in Salisbury: "The question whether I return to politics or not is no business of Dr. Banda's, and I don't care if he hangs from the chandeliers at Lancaster House or dances on the hills of Malawi. Any decision that I shall take will be on the basis of what I believe is in the best interests of Southern Rhodesia."

Dr. Banda also referred to "someone called Smith telling the world there will not be an African Government in Southern Rhodesia in five, 10 or 20 years. Anyone who thinks the Zambezi is a large enough demarcation between democracy and restriction is living in a fool's paradise."

Mr. Smith's "Not in My Lifetime"

Explanation of Prime Minister's Remark

THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF Southern Rhodesia has issued the following statement:—

"The report of the sub-committee of the United Nations Special Committee on Colonialism has repeated the misrepresentation of the remarks made by the Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs on the subject of African participation in Government in Southern Rhodesia. It records (as did several newspapers at the time) that the Prime Minister stated to a Press conference on April 17 that he did not believe there would be an African Government in Southern Rhodesia during his lifetime. He added that his life expectancy was about 30 more years.

"To remove misunderstanding, for the benefit of those who have little knowledge of Southern Rhodesia and no understanding of the non-racial nature of its constitutional arrangements, the Government desires once and for all to put the matter in its true context.

"The Prime Minister was in fact asked whether he subscribed to a statement attributed to his predecessor that there would be an African Government in Southern Rhodesia during his lifetime. He did say that he did not believe this would be the case, but went on to say that it was generally accepted that by an African Government one meant an African nationalist Government, and if this came about his Government would have failed in its policy of advancement on merit—irrespective of race or colour.

"The Prime Minister expanded on this in a broadcast on the African Service of the S.R.B.C. on May 10, when he made clear his meaning that by an 'African nationalist Government' he meant a Government by Africans in the interests of Africans alone; and on June 4 in a speech in Bulawayo he put his meaning beyond all doubt when he said: 'Our mission is to create civilized conditions here on a non-racial basis, so that the time may come when we will not have to think of our Government as a European or African one but as a Rhodesian one — provided it is based on merit'."

A new multi-racial teacher training college is to be built at a cost of £400,000 in Bulawayo on 80 acres of land given by the city council.

Proscription of the import into Tanganyika of three newspapers published in Kenya by the *Nation* group has been withdrawn.

African Parties at War

THE BANNING of the Zimbabwe African People's Union in September 1962 and the restriction orders served on some of its leaders had a marked effect upon the violence and intimidation promoted by the organization and its leaders in order to gain political ends, states Mr. A. M. Bruce-Brand, Southern Rhodesia's Secretary for Law and Order, in his report for 1963.

"There was peace and calm immediately throughout the whole country, including all the African townships. The ban on meetings on Sundays and public holidays contributed to a large extent, as this enabled the law-abiding to pursue their social, sporting, and religious activities without fear of being forced to attend political meetings. Organized violence, which usually followed such meetings, practically disappeared.

"The outcome of the general election in December 1962 and the coming into force of the new Constitution apparently gave rise to a wait-and-see policy on the part of the African nationalist leaders.

"One of the first actions of the new Government was to liberate those African nationalist leaders still in restriction and detention. At the same time it announced that its policy was to maintain order by rule of law through the courts, wherever and whenever possible, and that administrative action by the executive would not be taken against those intent upon overthrowing the Government and the Constitution by unconstitutional and illegal means, unless absolutely necessary. Measures aimed at tightening the laws dealing with security were introduced.

Split in Ranks

"The second half of the year brought a great increase in political activity on the part of African nationalist leaders. In July dissatisfaction with the leadership of Joshua Nkomo resulted in a split in African nationalist ranks. On August 8 the formation of a new political party, the Zimbabwe African National Union, was announced by the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, who had gathered around him most of the expatriate African leaders in Tanganyika and a group of local 'intellectuals'. Shortly afterwards Mr. Nkomo announced the formation of a People's Caretaker Council.

"From this point on violence and intimidation reappeared throughout the country on an increasing scale, particularly in the African townships. It was marked by many stoning incidents, damage to property, and assaults against persons. Sabotage by the destructive use of explosives began. It soon became clear that these two rival organizations were at war with each other.

"The Minister of Law and Order announced that letters had been sent to Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole warning them that the Government would not tolerate the intimidation, violence and disorder which were taking place as a result of their activities. As intimidation and violence continued at and after meetings of the P.C.C. he had to impose a three-month ban on its meetings and on its life-president, Mr. Nkomo.

"The last Government and the present Government made it abundantly clear that no restrictions will be placed on political parties provided they act constitutionally. The African leaders missed a golden opportunity of obtaining representation in Parliament by boycotting the last general election. They apparently do not intend to pursue their objects by constitutional processes; their attitudes and methods pose a definite threat to the maintenance of law and order throughout the country.

"Since the inception of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, 1960, up to December 31, 1963, 2,099 charges were prosecuted in the courts, resulting in convictions on 1,332 charges (63.46 %)."

Violence Extenuated

THE LUSAKA OFFICE of the People's Caretaker Council of Southern Rhodesia, an African nationalist movement with a history of violence, has issued a statement which says (in part): "It is an insult to the African people to demand that African nationalists in Southern Rhodesia should act constitutionally. Violence as an instrument of resistance to a violent Government is an inescapable natural obligation."

Company Report

The Forestal Land, Timber & Railways Co., Ltd.

Substantially Improved Group Results

MR. G. F. TAYLOR'S STATEMENT

THE FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE FORESTAL LAND, TIMBER & RAILWAYS COMPANY, LIMITED, was held on June 24 in London.

MR. G. F. TAYLOR, C.B.E., chairman and managing director, presided.

In his review circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended December 31, 1963, MR. TAYLOR said:

The consolidated profit and loss account shows that the group profit for the year before tax amounted to £793,123, an increase of £233,597 or 41.7 per cent. over the results shown for 1962. The consolidated net profit for the year attributable to the parent company is £422,250, representing an increase of £108,417 over last year.

The substantial increase in the profits of the group reflects, broadly, an improvement in the tanning extract market, both as regards price and stability, and also an appreciable expansion overseas, and particularly in Africa, of the Group's income from its other activities and diversification projects.

The African Companies: The results achieved by the African companies as a whole from the manufacture and sale of mimosa extract showed a slight decline in profit from the level of 1962.

The increase in profits in South Africa and Kenya from sources independent of the tanning extract industry is encouraging as reflecting in the former case the increasing contribution made by a number of projects undertaken during the last few years, and in the latter the progress of the programme for deployment of resources into agriculture and livestock.

In 1963 activities independent of the tanning extract industry contributed in the case of South Africa 41 per cent., and in the case of Kenya 63 per cent. of the profits earned.

The Argentine Companies: These companies have had another good year. Generally speaking, your board feels that the Argentine companies, as they are now organized and managed, and benefiting from the greatly strengthened situation of the quebracho industry as a result of the rationalization and stabilization programme carried out over the last two and a half years, can be looked to with some confidence to continue, particularly as the Argentine economy recovers its vitality, to produce satisfactory results in the foreseeable future.

Forestal Industries (U.K.), Limited: Last year I reviewed in some detail our plan for the organisation and development of Forestal Industries (U.K.), Limited, the United Kingdom company in which we have concentrated all the diversification activities of the group in this country.

Unfortunately, and in spite of tremendous efforts by all concerned, Forestal Industries (U.K.), Limited, did not break even in 1963, and for that year incurred a loss of £70,000.

If our trading experience for the first four months of this year is maintained for the remainder of 1964, I am confident that Forestal Industries (U.K.), Limited,

will be showing a small but welcome net profit by the end of the year.

Prospects: After outlining the short and long-term prospects of the group, the chairman concluded:—

Taking everything into account, your directors believe that the outlook for your company has changed materially for the better, and they feel justified in recommending the declaration of a final dividend of 5½ per cent., making a total of 8 per cent. for the year, thus approaching more closely to the level of payment to which shareholders were previously accustomed.

E.A. Sisal Plantations

THE OFFER of Central Line Sisal Estates, Ltd., to purchase the issued ordinary share capital of East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd., having been accepted by the holders of 57% of the shares, has been declared unconditional. The final date for acceptance has been extended to July 6.

Lewis & Peat, Ltd., report post-tax profits to March 31 at £462,064 (£259,610). The dividend is being raised to 22½% from 15%.

Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., will on July 31 pay the dividend on the 8% cumulative redeemable preference shares for the six months to that date.

Balfour Beatty & Co., Ltd., a civil engineering group with large East African interests, has received a £1.45m. contract to rebuild the Underground Station at King's Cross, London.

Mitchell Cotts Group, Ltd., is to raise £1.4m. by a rights issue. In declaring an interim dividend of 7½% (against 6%) the directors express the hope that a final of 12½% will be justified.

Duties on Southern Rhodesian goods are among budgetary measures introduced in Northern Rhodesia, where increased prices for beer, liquor and cigarettes should realize £1.25m. extra revenue this year.

A favourable trade balance of more than £35m. for the first four months of this year is reported from Northern Rhodesia, whose exports exceeded £56.8m. while imports totalled only £21.5m.

The Uganda Coffee Marketing Board has announced minimum selling prices for robusta coffee exports for the next six months. The basis is to be 280s. per cwt. for July-September and then 290s.

Extensions to the Dar es Salaam plant of Tanganyika Breweries, Ltd., will cost about £500,000. The purpose is to double the monthly production, bringing it to about 100,000 cases by the beginning of 1966.

The example of Uganda in imposing minimum selling prices for its robusta coffee during the next six months has been followed by the Ivory Coast and Angola. The three territories together supply some 70% of the total African output.

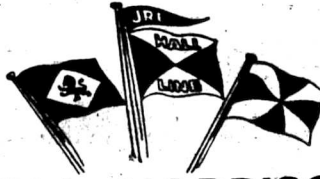
British Electrical Traction, Ltd., which has large interests in motor transport enterprises in East and Central Africa, reports profits after tax to March 30 at £4,951,000 (£4m.), an increase of 23%. A final dividend of 37½% raises the total from 55% to 62½%.

Sena Sugar Estates, Ltd., report group profit after tax for 1963 at £276,658 (£348,401). The 6% tax-free dividend is repeated. Issued capital is just over £3.5m., fixed assets stand at £3.1m., and net current assets at £2.8m. The sugar crop totalled 119,482 tons (126,466).

United Transport Co., Ltd., which has large East, Central, and South African interests, reports that pre-tax profits are up 14% from £2.18m. to £2.49m., but as the tax charge is up from £952,615 to £1,140,893, the rise in net profits at £1,352,149 from £1.2m. is 9.9%. The dividend is being raised from 12½% to 15%, and shareholders again receive a 2½% tax-free capital distribution as well as a one-for-four scrip issue. About three-fifths of the profits were earned in Africa.

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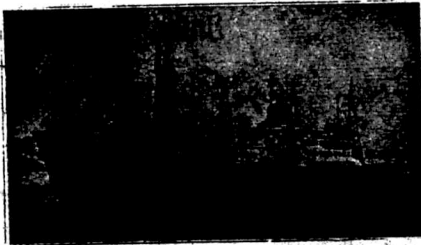
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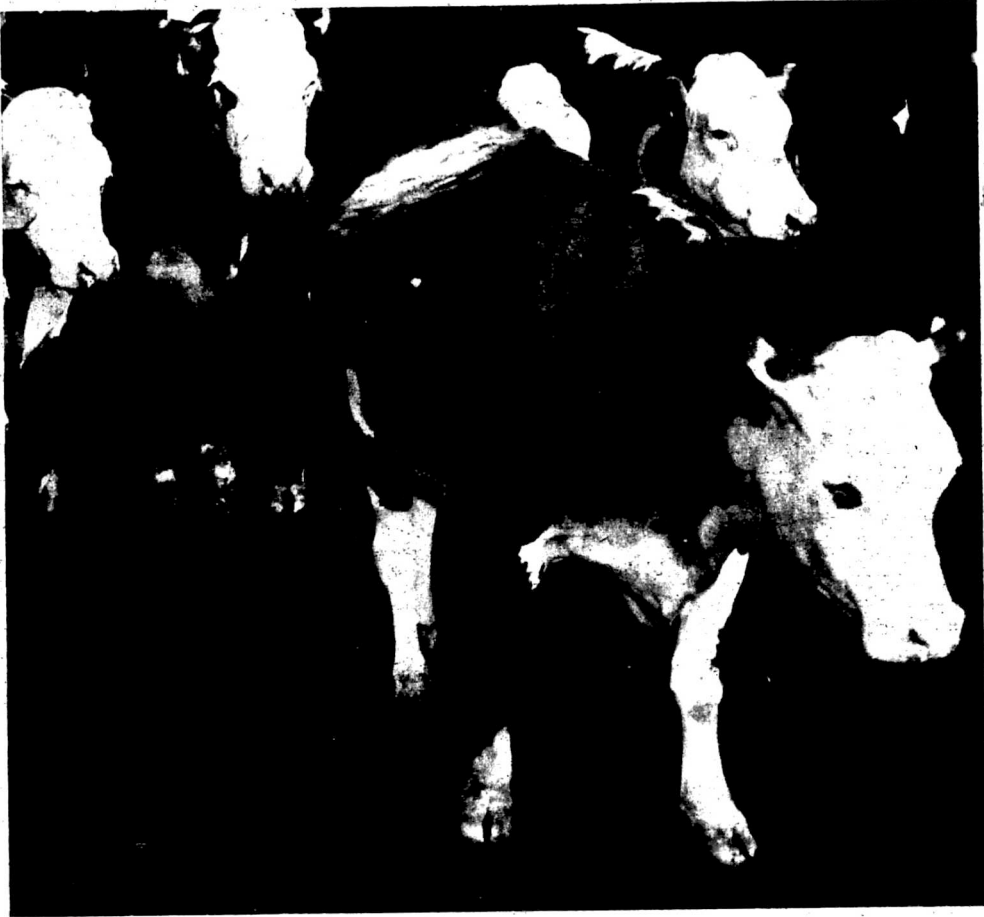
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

MATTERS OF MOMENT

LAST Monday, July 6, saw the end of the Protectorate of Nyasaland and the emergence of the independent State of Malawi. A territory which has exceptional scenic attractions, a generally cheerful, hard-working, capable, and adventurous African population, and a climate especially favourable to the growth of tea, tobacco and tung thus follows the fashion of a premature plunge into alleged autonomy, artificial because it depends entirely upon external help in every activity. Knowing nothing of high finance, the mass of the people are unaware that there will be large budget deficits for an unpredictable period of years, and that the country's future must therefore be precarious. Moreover, that future has to be faced without the advice and guidance of many of the Europeans who have served the country faithfully for decades, and have great affection for it, but were unwilling to remain in what has become not merely a one-party State, but a one-man State. In no other part of Africa has Britain transferred her administrative and other responsibilities to an African politician whose personal nominees were returned unopposed at a general election to occupy every seat in the National Assembly, over which he consequently exercises complete dictatorship in the sure knowledge that no voice will be heard in even mild criticism of anything said, done, or left undone by himself or his Cabinet.

Ngwazi Dr. Kamuzu Banda (to use the title which the Prime Minister has lately adopted) has not been content to appoint his ministerial colleagues and challenge them to justify the choice by their achievements. He has made it transparently clear to the Legislature that no holder of a portfolio is free to exercise his judgment to act or refrain from

action; on numerous occasions he has said emphatically that Bills presented to the House for ratification (after debates which are always farcical) were drafted on his personal orders and were to be amended (if at all) on his instructions. Presumably for the purpose of stressing his determination to keep all authority in his own hands, he refers to Ministers even on the most formal occasions as "my boys", by their Christian names, or in such terms as "that boy over there". In no other Hansard that we have ever seen have there been similarly deprecatory references to party colleagues who bear ostensible responsibility. It would be strange if they did not resent the disparagement of which they are the victims, but not one of them has given the slightest indication of vexation on any public occasion.

On the contrary, ever since Dr. Banda became Prime Minister their speeches have been exercises in obsequiousness so repetitive and tedious that the official reports are no longer likely to be regularly read by anyone (except the M.Ps. themselves) who has not a direct duty to keep himself informed of the proceedings. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, which has that duty, has on several occasions published extracts indicating the nature of the panegyrics, which are Nyasaland's substitutes for the comment which any other Assembly would expect on measures tabled for discussion. Many of the Members, including Ministers, deliver speech after speech without contributing anything at all to the stock of ideas. They often restrict themselves to a chanted thesaurus of praises for the dictator, who is hailed as "Saviour of the Nation", "Lion of Malawi", "Great Kamuzu", and so on. Are the celebrants of what has become a monotonous ritual unable to understand that they thereby recall the pre-European era in Africa, when great chiefs had their official praisers and any

Disparagement Of Ministers.

man's failure to flatter the wielder of power might prompt a sentence of instant execution? The life president of the Malawi Congress Party appears as avid of adulation as were the old tribal tyrants. If that were not so, he would find it intolerable to hear day after day from the front and back benches of the Assembly recitations which contain nothing except sycophantic laudation of himself. Almost any issue of Nyasaland's Hansard during the past year or more testifies to the accuracy of these statements.

As recently as the end of May the Speaker had to open one day's proceedings with the explanation that after working throughout the night the shorthand writers had failed to

Incomprehensible produce a report "because Members' speeches were incomprehensible"; that the reporters

were not at fault was shown by the subsequent remark that "even Members couldn't even know what they themselves had said". Such is the legislative body to which the United Kingdom Government has committed Nyasaland — a country in which many thousands of Britons, and especially Scots, have for more than three-quarters of a century laboured as missionaries, merchants,

administrators, agriculturists, and in other ways. Most of their work has been sincere and selfless. Much of it has been successful. That the standards thus brought to Africa will be maintained is not to be expected. There will be lip-service to quality, of course, but it will be sacrificed to over-paid Africanization. The place of the Crown has now been taken by Dr. Banda, whose effigy appears on the new coins and banknotes. So absolute is his authority that some Africans already speak of "Bandaland". If that testifies to the Malawi leader's triumphant success in imposing his will upon events and persons, it also marks the extent of his personal responsibility for the future. Unless the theatricalities, emotionalism, intimidation and violence of recent years now give place to harmony, co-operation, and hard work, there can be no expectation of the fulfilment of even a modicum of the high hopes encouraged among the people. Failure to recognize these uncomfortable facts does no service to a State which, in facing great difficulties, requires sympathy based on knowledge, not on ignorant optimism. This journal, which has sought for nearly forty years to serve Nyasaland's best interests, wishes it well as the independent State of Malawi.

Notes, By The Way

Rhodesian Independence

DR. MILTON OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, has again expressed public disagreement on a major matter with other African leaders. On arriving in London for the Commonwealth Conference he declared that the question of Southern Rhodesian independence should not be made an explosive issue at the gathering, since it was a matter to be faced by the United Kingdom Government, not other Commonwealth States; he hoped, however, that Britain would affirm that Southern Rhodesia would be led to independence step by step. That was a statesmanlike attitude. Mzee Kenyatta, of course, disagreed, holding that the issue could not be side-stepped by the conference. The Ghana Government went further with the release of a 16-page pamphlet entitled "Britain's Responsibility in Southern Rhodesia", which concluded with the words: "Britain can act. She must act. She has the right and therefore the duty".

False Propaganda

THE BROCHURE'S first paragraph contains the falsehood that the African majority "must either accept a future of unremitting poverty or set itself upon the path of revolution". The truth is that a great deal has been done to raise African living standards, and that there could be no surer road to poverty than that of revolution—which the Ghana Government recklessly incites. Later appears the fraudulent charge that "virtually all political activity by Africans has been declared illegal; almost anything the African says or does in his own defence makes him liable to imprison-

ment for sedition; the political process therefore excludes and victimizes the African". That is nonsense. Only political terrorism is illegal. Words or actions which are not subversive of law and order or seditious will not bring a politician of any colour into conflict with authority. The answer to the accusation that Africans are excluded from the political process is that 14 Africans sit in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament. Sir Alec Douglas-Home is misquoted as having described the issue in Southern Rhodesia as "really a question of peace", whereas the Prime Minister said that it was a question of "pace". That Ghana, certainly the worst dictatorship in English-speaking Africa, should seek to present herself as the champion of liberty would be fantastic even if her allegations were accurate; and these few lines prove that they are not.

Another Promise Broken

BRITISH MINISTERS have ceased to pretend that Southern Rhodesia will escape discussion at the conference. Embarrassed by the Prime Minister's assurance in the House of Commons that the subject would not be considered and the discovery (which should have been obvious) that this is the main topic from the standpoint of nationalist extremists who have to go on to an O.A.U. meeting in Cairo next week, British Ministers seek refuge in the excuse that nobody wants to talk about Rhodesia's internal affairs, such as the franchise, but that most of the African leaders, if not all, and some others naturally wish to debate the eternal problem of independence. In that case the only decent course was to invite Mr. Ian Smith, so that the

Rhodesian case might be authoritatively presented and defended. Hair-splitting and nonchalance at the last moment cannot divert the thoughts of reasonable men from recognition of the fact that Rhodesia has been deliberately denied elementary fair play.

Police Protest in Kenya

SIR RICHARD CATLING, the Inspector-General, and Mr. L. G. Mitchell, his deputy, and 28 other senior officers in the Kenya Police have publicly demonstrated their displeasure at — indeed, their contempt for — the expulsion from the country at 24 hours' notice of Assistant Commissioner Leslie Pridgeon, fourth in seniority in the force. Obviously by prior arrangement, organized at the shortest notice, his 30 colleagues went to Nairobi airport last Thursday to drink his health and bid him farewell. Such was the retort of the most responsible men in the force to the K.A.N.U. Government allegation that his continued presence in Kenya was "against the interests of national security". Their anger at what they consider gross unfairness must mean that they are ready in case of need to resign *en bloc* or accept dismissal. There has been no similarly forceful demonstration of disgust from any quarter at any time since Kenya gained independence.

Resentment Demonstrated

EARLIER IN THE DAY Sir Geoffrey de Freitas, the British High Commissioner, had protested personally to the Prime Minister, Mzee Kenyatta. The gesture of resentment by Sir Richard Catling and his closest colleagues was therefore a personal remonstrance to the head of the Government which had suddenly declared a prohibited immigrant a man who had rendered splendid service, some of it quite recently while dealing with the Somali threat to Kenya. If reckless Ministers in strife-torn Kenya want to undermine the competence, solidarity, and dependability of the police, there could be no better procedure than to victimize senior officers in whom their associates have complete confidence. Nor will this insult be lost on the Nairobi businessmen who try to persuade themselves and others that the Kenyatta Government is to be trusted.

Bayete

BAYETE, the Matabele salute given only to royalty, rang out in Edinburgh last week when 29 chiefs from Southern Rhodesia were received by the Queen. A couple of days later I talked to most of them at a reception given by Mr. Evan Campbell, the High Commissioner in London, and it was evident that the opportunity of paying their respects to the Sovereign had been the highlight of their tour. When asked what had impressed them most, not one mentioned the scurrying crowds in London or the sky-scrapers. After all, they have a more than adequate supply of tall buildings in Salisbury nowadays. Themselves farmers, they wonder at the standards achieved on the English and Scottish farms which they had seen, and praise the ability of people in Pakistan and Italy to support their families from small patches of land, which, said several of the chiefs, were of no better quality than their own, though supplied with more water. When I asked a group of four if they had not noticed that the peasants in Pakistan and Italy worked harder than most Africans, they laughed and agreed unreservedly. "Give us money for more dams and let us work harder", said one of them.

Contempt for Politicians

THEIR CONTEMPT for the African politicians seemed unanimous. Not one of the 29 has joined a political party, and all, with whom I spoke were emphatic that scarcely any of their people in the countryside are interested in such movements; the people, they insisted,

resent the pressures of the politicians and want only to live free from intimidation. All the trouble is in the towns or organized from the towns, said chief after chief. Several added that the Government had done the right thing in rustivating men who were bent on creating trouble. So large a body of chiefs had never previously come to Britain from any part of East or Central Africa. This party seemed to me to constitute splendid representation of level-headed Africans.

Rhodesians Fire Malawi Salute

THE TWO GUNS which fired a royal salute when the Duke of Edinburgh arrived in Nyasaland on Sunday and also the salute two days later when he opened the Malawi Parliament had been borrowed from Southern Rhodesia, which, at the request of the Nyasaland Government, lent a Southern Rhodesia Artillery detachment of 16 officers and other ranks. Dr. Banda, who has so often used explosive language about Southern Rhodesia, cannot have appreciated the task of asking that neighbour to co-operate so conspicuously in the celebration of independence. I doubt whether this dependence upon Southern Rhodesia has been suitably acknowledged in the official programme, in the Press releases from the Information Department, and in the two local newspapers. If my suspicion should be unjustified, as I hope, I will gladly acknowledge it to have been unfounded if proof be sent — preferably, of course, by airmail.

"Distinguished" Chaos

THE VIEW OF U THANT that the United Nations military operation in the Congo has been "distinguished" is certainly not shared by the Congolese Government, which made its displeasure very clear by deciding that no Minister or official should attend the ceremony at Leopoldville Airport which marked the departure of the last contingent of the U.N. force. That deliberate snub on the fourth anniversary of so-called "independence" followed many earlier slights. U.N. military expenditure in the Congo in the four years is officially stated to have been rather more than 381m. dollars, or £136m., while the civilian programme has cost 51.5m. dollars, or nearly £19m. Forty-five member States have paid their assessed contributions to the military costs, but 67 are in arrears, among them the Soviet Union and France. Of the troops supplied by 22 countries, 126 were killed in action, 75 died from accidents, and 34 from natural causes. That expenditure in lives and cash could scarcely have had less impressive results, for the Congo is still in a state of chaos, with serious rebellions in three of the provinces and less grave disturbances in many other areas. Even in the capital city there are numerous murders and daily assaults and robberies.

Fruits of Incompetence

THOUGH CLAIMING that the United Nations force "has done its difficult job remarkably well", U Thant has had to admit that the future must depend upon "the re-training and reorganization of the National Army, including the training of a substantial officer corps, and the achievement of national reconciliation among the contending political leaders and factions". That, in plain English, means that there is frighteningly little to show for an exercise which was intended to achieve those two purposes and many others, long, long ago. Despite the catastrophic record of incompetence in the Congo, politicians of many races and nations and journalists in the United Kingdom and the United States blithely suggest that the United Nations should "intervene" in Southern Rhodesia! There could be no worse proposal. Fortunately, it will not be adopted, if only because U.N.O. could not find the cash for so crazy a venture — one which Rhodesians of all parties would resent and resist.

Commonwealth Presidents and Prime Ministers Confer

Southern Rhodesian Independence A Major Topic for Discussion

THIS WEEK'S COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE is being attended by 18 Presidents and Prime Ministers, seven of them Africans. Uganda, Kenya and Malawi (Nyasaland), having become independent since the last conference, are represented for the first time—by Dr. Milton Obote, Mzee Kenyatta, and Dr. Banda respectively.

Dr. Nyerere, who attended in 1962 as President of Tanganyika, on this occasion represents the new United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Dr. Karume, lately President of Zanzibar, and now First Vice-President of the United Republic, has also come to London, but as this issue went to press it was not clear whether he would attend the conference. Hitherto Prime Ministers (and Presidents) have been entitled to take one colleague to the conference table and to have three advisers behind them. At the current talks only Heads of State and Prime Ministers sit at the conference table, and each is restricted to one adviser behind him. Many Ministers who have flown to London will consequently not be admitted to the discussions.

Pressure from African Delegates

Before the conference opened yesterday it was clear that the British Prime Minister's hope of excluding discussion of Southern Rhodesia had been abandoned, for it had become known that some African members, and not they alone, had decided to insist on it. Indeed, some told journalists that they would consider withdrawing from the conference if their wishes in this matter were not met.

On Sunday the Press was informed that the Ministers for External Affairs of the African Commonwealth States would meet next day for talks on Southern Rhodesian independence. Later it was stated that a further meeting would be broadened to cover others who might care to attend.

On Monday a 16-page manifesto was addressed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ghana to "the Government and people of Great Britain . . . to spell out in clear and unequivocal language the position of the Government and people of Ghana, which is in close accord with the stand taken by the rest of Africa, on the grave issues which the Southern Rhodesian question raises". The document was widely distributed among Commonwealth delegations in London.

A statement from the Ghana High Commission expressed surprise that anyone could regard independence as an internal matter for Southern Rhodesia and Britain.

"Brothers in Bondage"

When President Nkrumah arrived that day he was greeted at the airport by a crowd of Ghanaians who carried banners proclaiming "We demand one man one vote for Southern Rhodesia" and "Down with Imperialism".

Mr. Margai, of Sierra Leone, said on his arrival: "Mere words won't do. We need more deeds on Southern Rhodesia."

On Monday evening four Prime Ministers and President Ayub Khan of Pakistan briefly discussed the subject in the "Panorama" programme of B.B.C. television.

Sir Alec Douglas-Home said that there was "no constitutional issue before the Commonwealth at this meeting with regard to Southern Rhodesia".

Mzee Kenyatta replied that "all African States are determined to help our brothers still in bondage, in

the chains of colonialism and imperialism". Referring to Sir Alec's remarks that Southern Rhodesia had a multi-racial Constitution and that the problem was one of time, he asked: "Who is judge of the time? The African majority have said 'We are ready'". Britain must accelerate their progress to liberty.

Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, greeted the suggestion that it was a question of time with the comment: "How much time do you want?". He thought that the crucial issue at the conference would be the progress of the remaining Colonial territories to independence; and Southern Rhodesia was no more crucial than British Guiana.

Mr. Keith Holyoake (New Zealand) said he would do his best to prevent Southern Rhodesia becoming a "log jam" in the conference.

Dr. Williams said that the Commonwealth had not meant much to his part of the world. The other Prime Ministers had found it a valuable forum for the exchange of views.

Though the conference settles its own agenda, the plan of the U.K. Government was to defer discussion of Africa's place in world affairs and of a British report on progress towards independence within the Colonial Empire until the last two days of the meeting. That conception was sharply criticized by some of the Africans, who insisted on an early opportunity of expressing their views on Southern Rhodesia.

Delegations from East Africa and Malawi

Mwalimu J. K. Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, has with him in London the First Vice-President, Sheikh Abed Karume; the Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Oscar Kambona; the Minister of State in the President's Office, Mr. Abdurhamani Babu; the Minister of State in the First Vice-President's Office, Mr. I. M. Bhoke Munanki; the Permanent Secretary for External Affairs, Chief Michael Lukumbuzya; Mr. B. Mkapu of the External Affairs Department; Mr. James Simba, private secretary to the President; the Chief of Protocol, Mr. J. W. Mbwambo; and Mr. George Rockey, Press secretary to the President. Mrs. Nyerere has accompanied her husband.

Dr. Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, is accompanied by the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. F. K. Onama; the Minister for Commerce and Industry, Mr. J. S. Mayanja-Nakangi; the High Commissioner in London, Mr. T. B. Bazarrabusa; Uganda's Representative at the United Nations, Mr. A. K. Kironde; and the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Mr. P. Munyagwa-Nsiebirwa.

Mzee Kenyatta has brought the Minister for Home Affairs, A. O. Odinga; the Finance Minister, Mr. J. S. Gichuru; the Minister for Health, Dr. N. Mungai; the Attorney-General, Mr. Charles Njonjo; the Secretary to the Cabinet, Mr. D. N. Ndegwa; and the Permanent Secretary for External Affairs, Mr. R. J. Onko.

O.A.U. Meeting in Cairo

Dr. Banda's colleagues are the Finance Minister, Mr. J. Z. U. Tembo, and Mr. Alake Banda, who edits the party publications and directs broadcasting policy.

The conference will close next Wednesday. Two days later the Heads of State and Prime Ministers of 33 independent African countries are due in Cairo for a four-day gathering of the Organization of African Unity. Seven of those now attending the Commonwealth Conference will fly to Egypt for that "summit" meeting which is to be preceded by a four-day conference of African foreign Ministers.

A draft agenda circulated by the O.A.U. Secretariat shows that there is to be formulation of a policy for "the decolonization of Southern Africa".

The Liberation Committee of Nine, based on Dar es Salaam, and responsible for the so-called "freedom fighters", is to report on its achievements since the Addis Ababa conference of May last year.

Unilateral Declaration of Independence Opposed

Statements by Prime Minister, Peers, and Sir Edgar Whitehead

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME told the House of Commons on Thursday that he had made it quite clear to the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia that a unilateral declaration of independence would be an unconstitutional act.

The Prime Minister having said that he had not yet replied to Mr. Ian Smith's letter of June 25, and that such correspondence was of course confidential, Mr. Brockway asked whether it had been made quite clear to the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia how serious would be the effects of any unilateral declaration of the independence of that territory.

The Prime Minister replied: "Yes, this has been made absolutely clear; but I hope that such an event will not take place".

Sir Godfrey Nicholson: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that there is anxiety, perhaps ill-founded, lest the full and inevitable consequences of such an act are not known to the inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia? Will be in his own good time see that the position is made crystal clear?"

The Prime Minister: "I would consider this. I was asked whether the Government understood the serious consequences. My answer is 'Yes'".

Mr. Stonehouse: "When the Prime Minister writes to Mr. Smith, will he tell him that he agrees with Sir Robert Tredgold, former Federal Chief Justice, who yesterday said that a unilateral declaration of independence would amount to treason? Would he also take up with Mr. Smith his unconstitutional action in consulting Mr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa, bearing in mind that Southern Rhodesia as a non-sovereign State has no responsibility for external relations of that description?"

The Prime Minister: "We have made it clear that a unilateral declaration of independence would be an unconstitutional act. Whether Mr. Smith meets Dr. Verwoerd or not is no concern of mine".

Nine Peers Attack "The Times"

NINE PEERS have pleaded that white Rhodesians should not be hectorated and bullied from Britain and suggested that a leading article in *The Times* "could hardly have been harsher if you were discussing an act of aggression by a potential enemy".

The signatories of the letter were Lord Salisbury, Lord De La Warr, Lord Boyd of Merton, Lord Chandos, Lord Coleraine, Lord Colyton, Lord Reith, Lord Robertson of Oakridge, and Lord Twining. They wrote:—

"No doubt the purpose of your leading article on June 26 'Mr. Smith on the Brink' is to dissuade the Southern Rhodesian electorate from supporting their Prime Minister in his demand for independence, but one would have thought that the effect of it would be just the opposite.

"You say that the British Government must make clear what the results of a unilateral act would be and avoid at the same time 'threatening gestures which would play into Mr. Smith's hands'. You add: 'Britain cannot recognize a unilateral act, and thereafter would have to seek means to deal with it'.

"What is this but a threat? And what effect, apart from increasing intransigence, do you expect to follow from it?"

"We deplore no less than you the possibility of Southern Rhodesia seceding from the Commonwealth. Like you, we wish to see a genuine multi-racial society established there, a society of which every Rhodesian, irrespective of the colour of his skin, will be a full member. But we cannot believe that the purposes which we have in common with you, sir, will be advanced by the policies which you advocate or by the tone in which you urge them, which could hardly be harsher if you were discussing an act of aggression by a potential enemy.

"We believe that the great majority of white Rhodesians are fully conscious of their responsibility towards their black

fellow-subjects and, if only they are not hectorated and bullied into courses which they believe to be dangerous, that they will faithfully discharge them. But we believe also that we have a duty here to understand their difficulties and help them to overcome them.

"At this crucial moment in the relationship between the two countries, may we appeal to H.M. Government in this country to make it clear that they intend to uphold the present Constitution of Southern Rhodesia, which is, after all, as much their creation as that of the Southern Rhodesian Government, and which is itself, as the Prime Minister re-emphasized in his broadcast this week, the guarantee of a multi-racial society.

"And may we appeal equally to our fellow-subjects of the Queen in Southern Rhodesia, who have in this country many more friends than they perhaps realize, to concentrate on working that Constitution, in letter as in spirit, provided that no attempt is made, in any quarter, to upset it or alter it over their heads. That surely is the way of wisdom."

Set on Collision Course

Sir Tufton Beamish, Conservative M.P. for Lewes, said in a letter to *The Times* that Sir Robert Tredgold's grave warning about the probable results of a unilateral declaration of independence were timely and important.

"It is surely clear from what he said that such a declaration would be an illegal act of the greatest folly and that its consequences for Southern Rhodesians, black and white, would be wretched.

"Sir Robert, however, only hinted at two other likely outcomes of such a step. Is it not practically certain that it would lead to the setting up of a government-in-exile which would be recognized by a majority of the United Nations, including many Commonwealth countries? Would it not also mean the immediate rupture of trade relations with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, to which countries well over one-third of Southern Rhodesia's exports go, and the end of the common services?"

"Even if it did not result in the ending of imperial preference on Southern Rhodesian tobacco, is it not obvious that the country's economy would be seriously jeopardized, the confidence of foreign investors lost, and that widespread suffering would result?"

"In short, would not the country be left politically practically friendless and economically nearly isolated? It does seem appropriate to ask these questions, and also whether the Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, thinks that he has a mandate to follow the collision course on which he appears to be set. If he has not, surely the Southern Rhodesian electorate would not support him in following such a course if the likely results were clearly understood.

"I believe that the lack of sympathy in this country for a unilateral declaration of independence would be as conspicuous as is the good will towards Southern Rhodesia as a whole."

Mr. Patrick Wall had written:—

"While it is clear that the majority of Rhodesians would back a declaration of independence should any British Government break the existing Convention by interfering in their internal affairs, it is surely equally clear that any declaration of independence made without any semblance of constitutional justification would split the Rhodesian electorate and could prove wholly disastrous to the future of Southern Rhodesia.

"In view of the deteriorating situation in other parts of Africa, surely it would be wise for Britain to demonstrate her sympathy for the Southern Rhodesians in their present very difficult situation by reaffirming the validity of the present Constitution, which is only two years old, and the 1957 Convention.

"This sympathy might also be translated into practical terms by grants and loans designed not only to encourage African secondary education and African agricultural development, but also to assist with the amazing development now taking place in the lowveld which will in the not too distant future provide work for over half a million Rhodesians.

"Many people are coming to recognize the justice of Southern Rhodesia's claim for independence, which is reinforced by recent occurrences in the Congo, Algeria, and Zanzibar. It must equally be recognized that it is impossible to pursue these negotiations at the moment and that in all probability time is on the Rhodesians' side if only they are prepared to be patient."

Britain Owes Rhodesia £120m.

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, Leader of the Opposition, in Southern Rhodesia, told journalists before he left London for Salisbury at the week-end that a unilateral declaration of independence would provoke civil war among the European population. He did not think such conflict probable, but when normality was overthrown by illegal action terrible things might follow from something done by a junior official.

Independence on a basis acceptable to Rhodesia could not be negotiated with any Government in the United Kingdom, whatever its party political complexion, until after the general election. A period of delay and development was necessary. If Britain would give substantial financial aid, Southern Rhodesia's economy could be put back on its feet and there could be concentrated efforts to expand the secondary education of Africans.

Southern Rhodesia had been deprived of at least £120m. of aid from Britain under the Commonwealth Development and Welfare Acts, from the benefits of which she had been excluded on the ground that she was not a dependent territory. H.M. Government now argued that she was a dependent territory. In common fairness, therefore, her entitlement to large financial help ought to be recognized.

Sir Edgar also said, *inter alia* :—

Resentment Among Rhodesians

"At our party congress the other day we adopted a unanimous resolution that no member of the party would recognize the legality of the Government of Southern Rhodesia if it made a unilateral declaration of independence. The sooner independence comes, the better pleased will H.M. Government be; but it must be negotiated.

"Not since 1776 has independence been snatched. If that attempt were made I think there would be a small majority against it in our Parliament. But if our Constitution were suspended by H.M. Government, a large majority of Rhodesians would support the idea of going it alone.

"Since we have been self-governing for 40 years, very strong feeling had been aroused that Southern Rhodesia should be denied independence when it is granted to territories with nothing like our record.

Independent for Many Years

"At the Havana Conference which established G.A.T.T., Mr. Attlee, then President of the Board of Trade, assured the assembled nations that H.M. Government had no influence over Southern Rhodesia's trade policy, and that she could make trade treaties without reference to Britain.

"I had the same experience in Washington in regard to monetary affairs when the governor of the Bank of England affirmed that the Bank had no right to interfere with the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

"We have maintained and paid for our own armed forces. Not only did they give great help during the last war, but we were asked for troops at the time of the Suez crisis and for Malaya, and quite recently we have been asked for a bomber squadron for service in the Middle East.

"The British Prime Minister has said that this Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference will be concerned mainly with economic matters. Yet we, who have had 100% independence in economic affairs since before the last war, are excluded. That is both unfair and unwise. It is better to bring people together to talk out their differences than to keep them apart. I am glad that the Prime Minister of Uganda has said that our Prime Minister should have been invited.

"If we had a cooling down period and concentration on development and educational expansion we could show our

population that the prospects are rosy. We have industries in which we can compete in the world sphere, and we are ready for big expansion in secondary and technical education. After their eight-year primary course we have some 25,000 Africans ready for further education, and the number will increase by about 5,000 a year. It is vital that the top quarter at least should go on to secondary schools. For that we shall need another 500 teachers.

Countering the African Extremists

"If a unilateral declaration of independence is avoided, and if the African nationalist politicians see that really substantial funds are being supplied for education, and that better jobs are being quickly provided for Africans, much of the tension would disappear, though they would not agree to anything short of one man one vote tomorrow morning.

"Southern Rhodesia's African nationalists have had the most ineffective leadership in all Africa. If they formed a Government there would be absolute chaos from top to bottom, and 95% of our civil servants and police would leave the country.

"The test for advancement should be merit. If it were I should not be afraid of an African majority. I ran our party caucus for 18 months with a non-European majority, and on every problem we worked as a team without regard to race. That is what we want in the country in general.

Warning Against Rhodesian "Treason"

"Usurpers" Run Risk of Civil War

A UNILATERAL DECLARATION of independence, particularly if acted upon effectively, would amount to treason, Sir Robert Tredgold, a former Federal Chief Justice, told the Rhodesia National Affairs Association last week. Though anyone thus guilty might be protected from the consequences by the success of the revolution, he would be liable to prosecution if he set foot in England or to extradition if he went to any other part of the Commonwealth.

The moment Ministers of the Crown declared independence they would forfeit office. "If they purposed to continue in office they would be usurpers and would forfeit any right to the obedience of the people of the country."

Because the Governor would be expected to call upon a new Prime Minister to form a new Government, the "usurpers" would have to restrain him from doing his duty. Other officials would have to be similarly checked.

"There would be a very serious risk that a shooting civil war might eventuate. It would be the plain duty of every soldier, policeman, or civilian to do everything in his power to defeat these actions, even by the use of force. It is inconceivable that some at least would not do their duty:

"Moreover, any arrest by the usurpers would be illegal, and those against whom the attempts were made would be entitled to resist arrest by the use of force if necessary. It is unlikely that all would submit tamely."

A new Constitution would have to be produced, replacing the Queen and her representative in the country by a President or other such dignitary. Constitutional safeguards which now prevented the Government of the day from doing exactly what it liked would be removed.

Sir Robert did not agree that the Crown was merely a symbol of the Government in power, as Mr. Smith, the Prime Minister, had suggested in a recent broadcast was common knowledge. "I for one did not know this, and I should say it is definitely wrong", Sir Robert said. "The Crown is a symbol of many things—the State, of our link with the United Kingdom, of our Constitution, and of all the great system of law supporting it."

If there were a unilateral declaration of independence, Southern Rhodesia would have to face a period of international outlawry with no assurance of how long it would last. Unless some countries could be persuaded to recognize such a régime and re-establish relations, "we should soon be in a parlous plight internationally, and internally the situation would be only a degree better."

If the revolt failed and the usurpers lost control, they would be liable to prosecution under the Preservation of Constitutional Government Act or the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, if not for treason itself.

Celebrating the Independence of Malawi

Duke of Edinburgh Compares Nationalism with Dictatorship

NYASALAND became the independent State of Malawi at one minute past midnight on Sunday. Seventy-three years of British rule were ended with the lowering of the Union Jack and the hoisting of the new black, red and green flag to the strains of the country's new national anthem.

The Duke of Edinburgh represented the Queen. The Governor, Sir Glyn Jones, has become Governor-General. There were delegates from about 80 countries.

Malawi is Africa's 37th independent State. July 6 had been chosen as Independence Day because it was the date on which Dr. Kamuzu Banda, now the Prime Minister, returned in 1958 to organize the African national movement after an absence abroad of some 40 years.

Moderation and Tolerance

When handing over the constitutional instruments conferring independence the Duke of Edinburgh read a message from the Queen, who welcomed Malawi into the Commonwealth and said: "You will, I know, aspire to the ideals of your friends' moderation and tolerance".

Dr. Banda replied that the people of Malawi cherished the bonds with the royal family. He hoped for a visit by the Queen.

"Malawi", he continued, "will take no sides in international conflicts and keep out of East-West controversies, but we will not adopt a negative, rigid, sterile policy of neutralism. Rather we will adopt a positive, flexible, progressive stand of neutralism and alignment—which is what I call discretionary neutralism and alignment".

Independence had opened the doors of two important clubs—the British Commonwealth and the United Nations. He had no illusions about independence, which brought a challenge posed by the problems of poverty, ignorance and disease. "But we are not afraid of these because we are a united, disciplined people, and know we are not without friends in Europe, America, and elsewhere".

"Nationalism A Cloak for Dictators"

At a civic luncheon the Duke said:

"Patriotism is the essence of democratic self-government, while nationalism is the cloak of dictators. Patriotism is neither exclusive nor is it intolerant of others—unlike nationalism, which signifies a narrow, bigoted view of anything strange and foreign".

Dr. Banda, who has frequently said that he does not mind being charged with dictatorship, replied: "Patriotism is nationalism at its best, and nationalism is patriotism at its best."

"The British fascinate me. You are the only people in the world who sent me to jail yesterday and invite me to Buckingham Palace tomorrow."

Prince Philip applauded when the Prime Minister compared the British leaving Malawi with the Romans leaving Britain. Said the Prince: "I do hope that Britain has done for Malawi as much as the Romans did for Britain". The Prime Minister retorted: "The only straight roads in Britain were built by the Romans".

The Malawi people were friendly but didn't want to be swallowed. "We don't want anyone from across the Zambezi to steal our beautiful country."

"I have no quarrel with the British, and I want to work with you and stay within the Commonwealth. I repeat that he is a fool who thinks that the days of the British Commonwealth are numbered. The Commonwealth is flexible. It will last much, much longer."

On Saturday, when opening Nyasaland's first trade fair, at which the largest stand was taken by Portugal,

Dr. Banda said businessmen were welcome so long as they realized that they were in Malawi, not England, France, or even America. "They must not come here with the idea of making this a 'banana republic'. I am not going to allow this country to become a puppet of any business company". Industrial licences would have to be approved by him personally, he said—after stating that many businessmen were "crooks". Dr. Banda emphasized, however, that he was not anti-white.

When unveiling an independence memorial in Blantyre on Monday he declared he would "become a madman once again" if Sir Roy Welensky returned to power in Southern Rhodesia, adding:—

"We defeated Welensky. I cut him down to size. The other day he told me to go and dance on Mlanje Mountain and hang from the chandeliers of Lancaster House. Now I'll hang him from the chandeliers of Lancaster House. If anyone in London or in the Conservative Party even in this present Government is planning to boost Welensky into power he is asking for trouble".

According to a report in the *Daily Mail*, "at one stage the Prime Minister's interpreter standing beside him reeled from a resounding blow from the Prime Minister's fly-whisk when he misinterpreted a line of the speech".

At a State luncheon he hailed Mr. Ian Macleod as the man "responsible for our independence and my freedom from a British jail". The most sensible thing Britain had ever done had been to make him Colonial Secretary at that time.

Portuguese Prominence

The *Guardian* correspondent cabled: "While the Ghanaians have sent a delegation 80 strong, including a band, the Portuguese outshine everyone at the independence trade fair. Dr. Banda improved the fair's opening hour by bringing Krobo Edusei and a Portuguese vice-admiral together in such warm conversation that the Ghanaian Agriculture Minister ended by inviting the Portuguese to exhibit their products in Accra. Dr. Banda invited both Chinas to send delegates and then impishly told a crowd this week-end: 'If they want to shake hands I have done my bit'. Dr. Kaunda has stayed away, sending two other Ministers".

B.B.C. news broadcasts ceased on Monday, when the new Malawi Broadcasting Corporation began its own news reports, prepared partly from material received from Reuters.

First Foreign Service Appointments

FIVE AMBASSADORS-DESIGNATE have left Nyasaland for training. Mr. David Rubadiri, who is to be first Malawi Ambassador in the United States, is already in Washington, where he will have Mr. F. P. Kalilombe and Mr. G. F. Pollard as counsellors. The High Commissioner-designate in London is Mr. Nyemba Wales Mbekeani, lately assistant town clerk of Blantyre-Limbe; the counsellor in the London office is Mr. H. J. H. Borley. The High Commissioner in Ghana is to be Mr. Vincent Gondwe, a B.A. of Bristol University. The Ambassador in Western Germany will be Mr. T. S. Mangwazu, lately assistant registrar of trade unions. Mr. Bridger Katchga, Ambassador-designate in Ethiopia, trained in social science at the Jan Hofmeyr College in Johannesburg and then worked as a welfare officer in Northern Rhodesia; the first secretary in Addis Ababa will be Mr. E. E. Bailey.

A National Union of Kenya Students has just been established at University College, Nairobi.

Six Africans, three of them children, were killed by lightning during a recent thunderstorm in the Bungoma area of Kenya.

An aviation school for an air wing of the Tanganyika/Zanzibar military forces will open this year, preference being given to candidates from the T.A.N.U. and Afro-Shirazi parties and their youth groups. West Germany will supply about 30 planes and pay for other equipment and training.

PERSONALIA

MR. KANYAMA CHIUME has been appointed Foreign Minister of Malawi.

MR. N. W. MBEKEANI is now High Commissioner in London for Malawi.

DR. REGINALD BENNETT, M.P., has been elected a director of Bowmaker, Ltd.

MR. F. MPANGA, Solicitor-General to the Buganda Government, is in London.

MR. JOSEPH MURUMBI is Acting Prime Minister in Kenya during the absence of MZEE KENYATTA.

SIR EDWIN CHAPMAN-ANDREWS has been appointed to the board of Massey-Ferguson (Export), Ltd.

MR. ERIC DUNLOP is now Permanent Secretary in the Northern Rhodesian Ministry of Labour and Mines.

West Germany's Minister of the Interior, HERR HOECHERL, attended the Malawi independence celebrations.

VISCOUNT MALVERN was 81 on Monday, which was the 67th birthday of MAJOR-GENERAL W. A. DIMOLINE.

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR PEVERIL WILLIAM-POWLETT, a former governor of Southern Rhodesia, has joined the board of Appledore Shipbuilders, Ltd.

THE REV. TOM COLVIN, a Church of Scotland missionary who was deported from Nyasaland by the Federal Government in 1959, has returned.

MR. P. H. VINCENT has been appointed resident representative in Paris of the Standard Bank, which has opened an office at 18 Place Vendome.

MR. HENRY A. BAKER, who is in charge of the accounts of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, has just completed half a century on the London staff.

MR. H. ST. L. GRENFELL has been elected to the board of Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation, Ltd. to fill a vacancy caused by the retirement of Mr. P. V. EMBRY-EVANS.

DR. MAHMOUD RAID, Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic, arrived in Dar es Salaam last week as leader of a good will mission to Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

MR. CYRIL SPENCER, who was for many years in the Colonial Service in Uganda, has been appointed deputy executive director of the International Coffee Organization.

SIR PATRICK RENISON, vice-chairman of the British Red Cross Society, and lately Governor of Kenya, represented the society at the centenary celebrations in Madrid of the Spanish Red Cross.

MR. J. MALTAZ, chairman of the National Export Promotion Council of Southern Rhodesia, and MR. J. PENMAN, its executive officer, are due in London next week for a visit of about a fortnight.

MR. A. E. OWENS, president of Bulawayo Chamber of Industries, has criticized the Southern and Northern Rhodesian Governments for failing to make top-level approaches on negotiations for a trade agreement.

PRINCE WILLIAM OF GLOUCESTER, who visited Ethiopia last year with fellow students from Cambridge University appeared on B.B.C. Television on Monday evening to introduce a film of the trip and talk about it.

MR. C. P. NGAIZA, High Commissioner in London for the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, presented the diplomas and certificates last week at Loughborough Co-operative College, where he was a student six years ago.

MR. H. C. S. STENHOUSE, chairman of Stenhouse Holdings, Ltd., said in Salisbury a few days ago that he would invest £1m. in Southern Rhodesia if he could find the right propositions. His group recently acquired Ralph S. Harris Insurance, Ltd., of Rhodesia.

MR. CHRISTOPHER LODER is now a director of the British South Africa Company.

MR. PRITAM SINGH, a past president of the Civil Servants Club of Kenya, formerly known as the Asian Civil Service Club, has retired after 40 years in the Posts and Telecommunications Administration.

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said on returning from a short visit to South Africa that the close links of pre-Federation days had been restored and that negotiations for a new trade agreement would start at once.

The first European to be tried for murder since trial without jury was abolished in Kenya, MR. WALTER YARTY WILKIN, has been sentenced to six years' imprisonment for the manslaughter of an African house-breaker whom he had bound and kept all night in a box.

At a reception at Marlborough House last week members of the United Kingdom and Commonwealth Press met SIR ARTHUR CLARK, who has taken up his appointment as Director of Information Services and Cultural Relations in the Commonwealth Relations Office.

SIR CHARLES TAYLOR, M.P., entertained to dinner a few evenings ago the recent Parliamentary delegation to Ethiopia. Those present were LORD WALTON, LIEUT.-COLONEL JAMES ALLASON, M.P., MR. JOHN PARKER, M.P., MR. W. WHITLOCK, M.P., and MAJOR-GENERAL W. A. DIMOLINE.

ALDERMAN P. KAVUMA, Mayor of Kampala, was entertained to luncheon at County Hall last week by the chairman, vice-chairman, deputy chairman and other members and officers of the London County Council. On the same day he was the guest at dinner of the Royal Commonwealth Society.

MR. C. D. P. T. HASKARD, who has been appointed Governor of the Falkland Islands and High Commissioner for the British Antarctic Territories, joined the Colonial Service in Tanganyika in 1940, was transferred to Nyasaland in 1946, became a provincial commissioner there nine years later, and is now Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Natural Resources.

MR. A. H. BALL is now chairman of the reconstituted board of East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd. The other directors are MR. R. W. ROWLAND (with MR. J. A. G. MILLS as alternate), MR. R. W. BYRON, and MR. A. T. DEMBENIOTIS. The company has recently been acquired by Central Life Sisal Estates, Ltd., and African Investment Trust, Ltd., are now the secretaries.

MR. S. SAWYER, vice-president of the Rhodesia National Party, who was to have broadcast an appeal to Rhodesians to speak out against the unilateral declaration of independence, was told by the Southern Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation last week that his talk has been cancelled because that question was not considered a subject for broadcasting.

THE RT. REV. OLIVER ALLISON, Bishop in the Sudan, has said in London that he believes that foreign missionaries will eventually be allowed to return to the Southern Sudan, where, despite the expulsion of some 300 missionaries, the Sudanese Church is not depressed or fatalistic. The Sudanese Government was not the enemy of the Church, but did not understand. Given mutual understanding, reality and truth would in the end prevail.

Arrivals from Southern Rhodesia now in England include MR. D. W. BAX, MR. & MRS. D. E. CHASE, MR. J. O. CRAMP, MR. J. V. DANCKWERTS, MR. J. K. A. DAVEY, MAJOR K. T. FRANCIS, MR. & MRS. A. E. GARLAND, MR. S. M. B. HUDSON, MR. B. T. A. HONE, MR. & MRS. J. N. JONES, MR. E. J. MANSON, MR. & MRS. J. N. MILLER, MR. & MRS. J. L. MUNRO, MR. & MRS. W. T. B. PIERS, MR. & MRS. O. A. TEMPLAR, MR. N. F. TOWNLEY, and MR. T. A. WRIGHT.



**THERE IT IS—
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Compulsory Military Training

Dr. Banda Will Beg Everywhere

EVERY BOY IN NYASALAND will soon be compelled to undergo military training. Any members of the Malawi Youth League or Young Pioneers who molest women will be dismissed.

Those statements were made by Dr. Kamuzu Banda, the Prime Minister, when he addressed Young Pioneers who had completed an eight weeks' leadership course at Nasawa. He said:—

"I am going to give the Young Pioneers more than 1,000 acres here. These boys will come to be trained in agriculture, carpentry, mechanics, and later even flying and sailing. Yes, flying. Haven't you seen Air Malawi? One day there will be the Malawi Air Force too.

"We intend to teach our boys marching and drilling, to prepare them to take up the defence of their country if necessary. Very soon we shall pass a law forcing every boy to go through military training of some kind.

"These young men are being taught here that it is their job to protect the weak in the villages — the young girls and women, old men and women — because, in addition to everything else, they are assistants to the police. They must help the Police to keep Law and Order in this country. They must protect the young girls. If any members of the Youth League or Young Pioneers are reported to me for molesting girls or women, or beating anyone without any reason whatsoever, they will be dismissed. Such members are a disgrace to the Young Pioneers, the Youth League, and the Malawi Congress Party.

"Some of the people I sent to Ghana to learn come back with wrong ideas — that they would have big salaries, big houses, plenty of money. That idea is to be expelled from the mind of everyone who comes here. Self-sacrifice, dedication to duty, high sense of responsibility, honesty, integrity — these are the things taught here.

"Our youths will grow their own food here under supervised conditions. Instead of getting two or three bags to an acre, as in the villages, they will get 20. You parents will learn from them; and instead of getting one, two, or three bags per acre, you will then get 10, 15 or 20 simply because your boys have been to this place.

"I mean business. I mean to build this country politically, economically and socially. Those people in Salisbury who think to see me in a fix are fools.

"I Will Even Have Devil As Ally"

"I have four million people to look after. To do what I think is best in their interest I will do anything. I will even have the devil as my ally. . . The interest of my people comes first. Therefore I shall train these boys in the way I think best — discipline, obedience, physical fitness, ability to take care of themselves wherever they are, some form of military training, and, above all, how to look after our soil, because our economy depends on the soil.

"God helps only those who help themselves. That was why I organized my people in 1958, 1959, so that even when I was in Gwelo everything was going well here. The Youth League was perfect; they rained stones on those who did not agree with us. The Women's League was perfect; Nyagondwe, Karonga came to the airport, and planted maize, bananas on the airport. Mlanje, women breaking bridges! Yes, Kamuzu in prison in Gwelo! I was sitting in prison reading the papers. Here bridges were falling. There houses were burning. Everything was shaking. Now Kamuzu is in Zomba.

"You see, I believe in instilling into my people the idea of taking care of themselves and not looking to others. Was I in New York? Not me. I was right here, organizing my troops, organizing my women. Then Zomba was shaking with fear. That's how we fought in 1959. Now here we are.

"Now that we are free, independent, I don't mind going to U.N.O. I am going in November. I will say that I did not ask you to help me with my independence, but I ask you to help me now with my economy. I will say the same thing to President Johnson and to whoever is British Prime Minister in November. I will beg money from the United Nations, the World Bank, anybody. Everybody is doing that. Why should I be ashamed?

"I have faced Welensky and Armitage. We fought the British — not that we were against them, for we had nothing against them. We fought a system of government which was here. Now the British and us are friends. No quarrels, no friction, no bitterness whatsoever. We are friends, equal people, and on July 6 equal members of the Commonwealth. My word will mean just as much in the Prime Ministers' Conference as Home's or whoever is there. I can block anything there because members of the Commonwealth are equal. So on July 6 we are equal even with Britain herself."

British Aid for Years Ahead

U.K. Government's Payments and Promises

THE COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS OFFICE has issued the following statement:—

"Talks have recently been held in London with the Nyasaland Finance Ministers on the scope and nature of the financial assistance which Nyasaland might expect to receive from Britain after attaining independence. These discussions ranged over the whole field of Nyasaland's financial and economic affairs, including the recurrent and development budget prospects for the period 1964-1969.

"H.M. Government, recognizing the special circumstances of Nyasaland's financial situation, are prepared to make provision for a substantial amount of aid to Nyasaland for some years to come, both in balancing her budget as well as for capital development. The two Governments agree to consult together regularly on the financial and economic position of Nyasaland.

Annual Consultations

"H.M. Government are providing up to £5m. in 1964 to cover the deficit on the recurrent budget. The question of the amount of British aid for the Nyasaland budget in 1965 will be discussed between the two Governments in November.

"The two Governments are agreed on the importance of a well-balanced and sustained development programme both in securing Nyasaland's economic prospects and in enabling the Nyasaland Government to reach its objective of a balanced budget in the shortest possible time. H.M. Government will be considering with the Nyasaland Government in the November discussions the level and form of British assistance towards the 1965 development programme. Additionally, they will discuss the British contribution towards the 1966 development programme. A similar procedure will be adopted in each subsequent year with a view to examining the Nyasaland Government's need for a British financial contribution to capital development in Nyasaland for two years ahead and the ability of the British Government to provide it.

"Meanwhile to enable the Nyasaland Government to complete projects in the 1964 development programme and to make some advance provision for 1965, H.M. Government are proposing to make available now a grant of £3m. which includes the balance allocated to Nyasaland under the C.D. & W. Acts.

"Preliminary discussions have also been held with a view to reaching an agreement between the two Governments on the nature of technical assistance which will be offered to Nyasaland after independence, in addition to the proposed capital and recurrent aid."

Mr. Sandys, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, told the House of Commons last week:—

"On the dissolution of the Federation the British Government undertook to discuss with the Southern and Northern Rhodesia Governments the resulting financial situation, including the possibility of British aid, taking into account the debt burden which they had assumed. The following table gives details of the aid already agreed and the further aid which it has been decided to make available to Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland.

	Southern Rhodesia	Northern Rhodesia	Nyasaland
	£m.	£m.	£m.
Gift towards recurrent budget	—	—	4.27*
Gifts in respect of ex-Federal short-term debt	4†	2.75†	0.73*
Loans towards costs of compensation for H.M.O.C.S.	—	3‡	1.75*
Gifts for development	—	—	3
* Gift for University College £1.85m.*			

*Aid already announced.

†To be made available as to half as soon as possible and half in April, 1965.

‡This loan will be made available on the normal terms for such loans.

"The British Government will be ready to discuss further with the Northern and Southern Rhodesia Governments separately in the autumn the question of what aid, if any, might be provided for development and other purposes. Discussions about further aid for Nyasaland will be held in November."

Malawi National Anthem

THE ENGLISH RENDERING of the new national anthem for Malawi reads:—

O God, bless our land of Malawi,
 Keep it a land of peace,
 Put down each and every enemy,
 Hunger, disease, envy,
 Join together all our hearts as one,
 That we be free from fear,
 Bless our leader, each and everyone,
 And Mother Malawi,
 Our own Malawi, this land so fair,
 Fertile and brave and free,
 With its lakes, refreshing mountain air,
 How greatly blessed are we,
 Hills and valleys, soil so rich and rare,
 Give us a bounty free,
 Wood and forest, plains so broad and fair,
 All beautiful Malawi,
 Freedom ever, let us unite,
 To build up Malawi,
 With our love, our zeal, and loyalty,
 Bringing our best to her,
 In time of war or in time of peace,
 One purpose and one goal,
 Men and women serving selflessly,
 In building Malawi.

More than 80 submissions were made from many countries, including the U.K., U.S.A., France, Denmark, Germany, and numerous African countries.

The winning entry was that of Mr. Michael-Fred Sauka, of the Nyasaland Audit Department, and a part-time music teacher at St. Mary's Girls' Secondary School, Zomba, where he is the organist of the Roman Catholic church. He submitted four entries. He is 29 years of age.

Trade Barriers Between Rhodesias

MR. G. W. RUDLAND, Southern Rhodesia's Minister of Trade, Industry and Development, announcing that most Southern Rhodesian goods are now dutiable in Northern Rhodesia at the rates applicable to manufactures of United Kingdom origin, said that exceptions were made in respect of most foodstuffs and agricultural products, which will continue to be duty-free; of cigarettes and tobacco, which will remain dutiable at excise rates; and of certain clothing, tyres, tubes, and radio sets and parts, which will be dutiable at concessionary rates. Northern Rhodesia has simultaneously reduced many of the protective tariff rates.

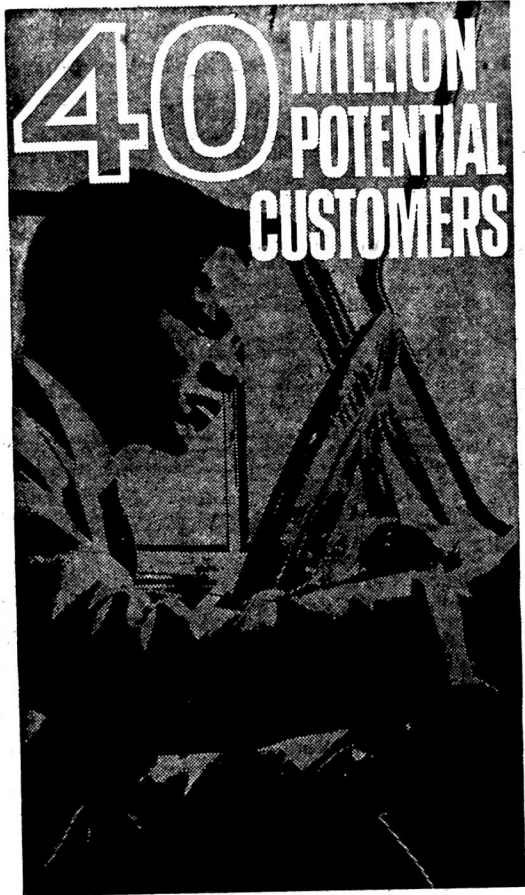
The Minister regretted that the Northern Rhodesian Government had made its decisions without prior consultation with Southern Rhodesia.

Some Southern Rhodesian products will lose part of their market in Northern Rhodesia. Others will be affected little or not at all.

Southern Rhodesia is to make some consequential changes immediately in regard to imports from Northern Rhodesia. Protective tariffs will be introduced on some manufactured textile goods in order to safeguard local manufacturers against competition based on imported piece goods which will now be available to Northern Rhodesia manufacturers on more favourable terms than those enjoyed by Southern Rhodesian manufacturers.

"Real unity can flourish only where there is real freedom. It is a lesson the world learns slowly"—Her Majesty the Queen.

"I do not know whether the Press educates politicians or politicians the Press"—Mr. J. D. Otiende, Minister for Education in Kenya.



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"Investigate" Inspector-General

Kenya M.P.s. Want Security Check on Britons

FOUR M.P.s. IN KENYA—headed by the Government whip, Mr. John Kali—a senator, and a trade union leader issued a statement in Nairobi on Monday demanding a Government inquiry into the conduct of Sir Richard Catling, Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Louis Mitchell, his deputy, and nearly 30 other senior police officers who went to the airport last week to bid farewell to Assistant Commissioner Pridgeon, who, after 18 years' service, was deported on 24 hours' notice.

The demand is for "immediate review of the security situation", starting with Sir Richard Catling and Mr. Mitchell.

"We request the Government to institute an immediate inquiry into the conduct of these senior police officers and any other police officers who were present at this farewell ceremony for a man considered to be a security risk in this country to an extent as to warrant his removal from Kenya within 24 hours.

"There should be a complete review of the security situation with a view to clarifying the position of British, citizens and other expatriates occupying key positions in the security set-up of this country".

A Government spokesman commented that Sir Richard and Mr. Mitchell had gone to the airport "merely to see off someone with whom they had worked in the police for many years". They had no intention of showing disrespect to the decision of the Government.

In Praise of Polygamy

"Confusion of Christianities"

MR. MESHACK NDISI, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services in Kenya, and chairman of the Kenya Family Planning Association, suggested when he spoke in London last week at the fourth conference of the International Planned Parenthood Federation that Africans have a greater love of children than people in the Western world.

Social change and migration to the towns were making the problem of the unwanted more and more manifest in Africa, he said, but in traditional society it had not existed because of polygamy, the extended family, the economic value of children, and natural love, "perhaps greater than the love felt for children by people of Western countries".

Polygamy had caused family spacing, had prevented overtaxing the health of the mother, and had enabled her to give all the care which the children needed; and competition with the husband's other wives had kept up to scratch a wife who might otherwise be neglectful.

In the extended family a fatherless, motherless, or orphaned child was still much wanted, and because it lived in the closest contact with many uncles and aunts it did not feel

isolated, as was generally the case in Western society. Even now adoption was almost unknown in Africa because there was no need for it.

Christianity stood for monogamy; "I am not quite sure why". Rather, it was a confusion of Christianities—Roman Catholics, 10 varieties of Protestants, 13 varieties of Presbyterians, Seventh Day Adventists, Plymouth Brethren, Methodists, Salvationists, and Baptists—so wide a range of choice that influence must have been less effective than it might have been.

One of the results of the monogamy upon which Christianity insisted had been the unspaced family, maternal ill-health and weariness, and neglected children. If not practised together with other personal disciplines, monogamy could mean tragedy, tragedy which could often not be compensated by Christian charities.

Political Association Unfeasible

Uganda's Objections to E.A. Federation

SUCH FUNDAMENTAL differences on foreign affairs and citizenship have been revealed in the East African federation working party's talks that its report to the Heads of Government should be published fully to avoid the "serious risk of completely misleading" the territories' residents, the Tanganyika/Zanzibar Government stated after the most recent discussions.

The Tanganyika/Zanzibar and Kenya views are that control of foreign affairs and citizenship are essential attributes of any federal government, otherwise there could be no genuine political association. Uganda had apparently accepted this argument, obliquely, by recommending that the Heads of Government should be informed that political federation was not feasible and that the alternative was a strengthening of the Common Services Organization.

The Uganda delegation had maintained that the Minister of Planning had asked what further powers his country would have to surrender to a continental African government, if she was now asked to hand over foreign affairs to an East African federation. Having regard to Uganda's federal Constitution, the East African merger would mean that his country's federal States would enter as independent units, when such a move should be made by the Central Government.

Uganda wanted agriculture, livestock, animal husbandry and marketing boards to be exclusively State concerns, subject to limited qualifications, while the other territories suggested that certain aspects should be federal, or concurrent in respect of marketing boards. Mining legislation would be federal, but mineral ownership would belong to each State. No agreement was reached on trade unions, a Senate, and the choice of a federal capital was passed to the Heads of Government.

Mr. S. Mayanja-Nkangi, Uganda Minister for Commerce and Industry, told Parliament in Kampala that Uganda would have a greater stake in the benefits of the East African common market under the agreement reached by the Trade Ministers. Industries allocated to Uganda included the manufacture of bicycles and nitrogenous fertilisers; under a quota system, the country would brew a large proportion of its own beer. Tanganyika had submitted a list of seven industries it wished to be developed exclusively in Tanganyika but, while Uganda and Kenya agreed that the industries should be developed in East Africa they could not agree that they should all be developed in Tanganyika. After "considerable negotiations" Kenya had been allocated the electric light bulb industry and Tanganyika the radio, Landrover and motor vehicle tyre and tube industries. Agreement had also been reached on the introduction of a system of quotas within East Africa to assist the promotion of infant industries in the individual countries.

In order to co-ordinate the policies of the Governments of Ethiopia and Kenya, monthly meetings of Ministers are to be held alternately in Addis Ababa and Nairobi.

An Italian living in Ndola, Giustino Facione, was last week ordered to leave Northern Rhodesia within two days because his presence in the country "was not in the public interest".

Attacks by more than 200 Lenishina supporters were made near Chinsali on a Northern Rhodesian police party of 15, and one officer and one constable were wounded by spears. Tear-gas having failed to halt the assailants, the police opened fire. More than 1,000 tribesmen armed with spears were reported to have gathered in the neighbourhood.

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Company Meeting

The Standard Bank Limited

A Prosperous and Eventful Year

SIR CYRIL HAWKER ON BROADENING BASE OF ACTIVITY

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE STANDARD BANK LIMITED will be held on July 29 at the head office, 10 Clements Lane, London, E.C.4.

The following is the statement by the Chairman, SIR CYRIL HAWKER, which has been circulated with the report and accounts:

The past year has been a prosperous and eventful one for the Bank, and your directors are able to recommend an increase of 2½% in the final dividend for the year ended on the 31st March last. Business conditions remain favourable at present, and though in Africa these can change quickly, we hope for a continuance of profitable trading. In the course of the year we also began to carry out the plans we have for some time been considering for the broadening and expansion of our business.

Far-Reaching Staff Changes

Before I describe the steps we have taken in this direction I want to pay a special tribute to all our staff, in Africa, in London and elsewhere. Without the hard work and initiative of these men and women, sometimes in difficult conditions, the substantial progress of your Bank would not have been possible.

A staff of high quality and morale is the most valuable possession of a Bank such as ours, and it must be preserved. With this in mind we are this year beginning to make far-reaching changes in our salary structure and the system of promotion. The new plan is designed to provide greater incentive and swifter opportunities for promotion. We hope that the Bank will thus be able to offer an even more attractive career for ambitious and talented young men and women. The cost of carrying out these proposals will be substantial but it should be well worth while.

Extension of Activities

I go on now to the extension of our activities. As you know, we have this year established, in combination with three other banks, a new banking institution: the Midland and International. This new bank, which opened its doors on March 9th at 26 Throgmorton Street, will have as one of its objects the provision of medium and longer-term finance for capital development and export projects in all parts of the world. It has an authorized capital of £20 million, of which £10 million has been issued and paid-up.

The four partners, the Midland, the Toronto-Dominion, the Commercial Bank of Australia, and the Standard, together have wide interests in different parts of the world, and their combined resources are impressive. The new bank is not, however, an exclusive organization; in due time other international partners may be found. Your directors warmly welcome the new partnership. We see it as an imaginative conception; participation will, in their view, widen our horizons and enable The Standard Bank to play an increasingly important part in international finance.

In recognition of the same broadening of the base of our activities that led to our participation in Mid-

land and International, we have this year extended our representation in foreign countries. As you know, we have for many years had offices in Hamburg and New York. With the growing importance of Japanese commercial relations with Africa we decided to establish a post in Tokyo, and in September 1963 one of our senior officers, Mr. F. E. Johnstone, took up his position there as our Far Eastern Representative. In February of this year I had the pleasure of visiting Japan for the official opening of our office. There are already indications that this new link with Japan is proving of value.

The countries of Western Europe, too, are showing a growing and welcome interest in the African territories where we operate. So that the Standard Bank will be better placed to serve them, we have recently established representative offices in Paris and Milan. Officials of the Bank will, however, continue to make frequent visits to the Continent and assist in maintaining close contact with our business friends. In New York, while remaining in Wall Street, we have moved to larger and more accessible ground floor premises.

Directorate

In Central Africa as a result of the dissolution of the Federation we have set up separate boards of directors in the three successor States, and these boards are responsible directly to our administration in London. Co-ordination of the Bank's activities in the three territories is maintained by the appointment of Sir Robert Taylor as Chairman of each board. New posts of administrative manager have been created in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (now about to become Malawi). With these arrangements we hope to ensure that each territory receives due consideration of its own individual interests. Mr. H. R. Reed, formerly an assistant general manager in London, has been appointed "general manager for Central Africa".

Much to our regret, Mr. Evan Campbell was obliged to relinquish his place on our local board in Salisbury on his appointment last year as High Commissioner for Southern Rhodesia in London. Also in Central Africa I am sorry to record the retirement, on account of ill-health, of Mr. C. G. Rogers, formerly our general manager there. Mr. Rogers, who has served the Bank with single-minded devotion for nearly forty years, will be much missed.

It is with much pleasure that I report that in August last year Mr. C. R. P. Hamilton accepted an invitation to join the board in London and was appointed Deputy Chairman. Mr. Hamilton retired last year from the Bank of England where he had a most distinguished career. He has wide administrative experience and considerable knowledge of finance and commerce both in this country and overseas. During the short time that he has been with us he has already proved a most valuable member of your board and a great help to me.

We have also been fortunate in obtaining the services as a director of Mr. B. C. J. Richards, C.M.G., formerly governor of the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Mr. Richards will bring to the board a wealth of practical experience of African financial affairs.

A great loss to the board will be Mr. J. F. Prideaux, O.B.E., who is resigning this year on account of the heavy pressure of his other commitments. Mr. Prideaux has been a director of the Bank since 1957. During these years his help and guidance have been invaluable; it is a matter for great regret that he finds it necessary to relinquish office.

The Accounts

Turning now to the balance-sheet and profit and loss account, I would point out that the issue of 650,000 Standard Bank shares at 46s. 3d. per share to Midland and International Banks Limited, to whom I referred in my circular to shareholders in December last, increased the issued capital to £11,650,000 and provided a share premium of £853,125. The newly-issued shares do not qualify for dividends in respect of the year ended on March 31, 1964.

From the consolidated balance-sheet, it will be seen that current, deposit and other accounts have risen during the year by over £50 million. On the assets side United Kingdom and other Government Treasury bills are lower by over £7 million and trade and other bills by more than £3 million. On the other hand, advances to customers and other accounts show a rise of some £44 million. An increase of approximately £2 million in trade investments is mainly accounted for by our holding in the share capital of Midland and International Banks Limited.

I am pleased to be able to report that the group has done well this year in all the territories in which it operates. This is reflected in the improvement in our profits for the year, which have risen to the figure of £1,906,647. The growth in business in these areas has resulted in an increase in the demand for banking facilities which has enabled us to employ our resources to their full extent.

Allocation of Profits

Of the profit of £1,906,647, an amount of £589,080 has been retained by the subsidiary companies in their own accounts. £500,000 has been appropriated to the reserve fund of the Standard Bank of South Africa Limited, to which account it has also been thought prudent to transfer a further £250,000 from that subsidiary's inner reserves. These transfers will permit the subsidiary company to take advantage of the existing buoyant conditions in South Africa while meeting requirements under the Banking Act, and to play its full part in assisting in the expansion of the economy of that country. After taking into account the sum of £224,418 brought in from the previous year, the total carried forward in the accounts of the subsidiary companies amounts to £300,998.

The profit remaining to be dealt with in the accounts of the Standard Bank Limited (including dividends received from subsidiary companies) amounted to £1,317,567. The balance brought forward from the previous year was £477,509, making a total of £1,795,076.

The increase in share premium account of £853,125, to which I have already referred, increased the reserve fund to £11,953,125. Your directors propose to

allocate £46,875 to the reserve fund to bring this up to £12,000,000.

An interim dividend of 5 per cent was paid in February last, and your directors recommend that the final dividend to shareholders be raised by 2½ per cent to 12½ per cent, making a total distribution for the year of 17½ per cent. This will leave £531,638 to be carried forward to the next account.

East and Central Africa

The environment in which the Bank works in East and Central Africa continues to change rapidly. Last year when I made my report it was hoped that a federation of East African territories might soon be in being. This has not yet come to pass, although federation is still the avowed aim of leaders of the East African territories.

Although federation has not yet been achieved, the East African Common Services Organization carries on its good work in administering and co-ordinating communications, transport and other services. The Currency Board continues to maintain confidence in the currency and to fulfil many of the functions of a central bank, while the Common Market helps to minimize trade barriers between the territories.

Certainly, there are serious difficulties in the way of further integration of this area. We wish success to the efforts of those who have to make the decisions and solve the problems involved, because we believe that in the long run federation will be the means of bringing greater prosperity to these countries.

Advantages of Closer Union

The advantages of closer economic union are obvious and real, but they are sometimes over-simplified, and expectations are aroused which cannot immediately be fulfilled. The disillusion which may result should not be allowed to obscure the very great benefits that can flow from a pooling of resources in the case of relatively underdeveloped countries.

The most obvious of these benefits spring from the economies of large-scale operations. Many efficient modern manufacturing plants need a larger market than is provided by most of the smaller African States individually. The advantages of larger markets increase as, with economic development, manufacturing activity grows in importance relatively to agriculture. Where resources are scarce, the pooling of public services brings economies in central administration and the use of technical skills. This applies particularly to the very expensive operations such as power supply, defence and civil aviation but also to such services as health, research and collection of revenue.

In present conditions, when developing countries are urgently seeking funds and investment from overseas, there are clearly advantages if they can present a common front and offer wider markets. A number of small countries competing with one another can harm the interests of all by the multiplicity of their demands and by outbidding each other in offering inducements to prospective investors. By acting together they can help to create confidence in their political stability; they can formulate worth-while propositions and projects; they can offer the greater security and more acceptable guarantee of their combined resources.

From the viewpoint of the Bank, problems arise when a large economic group, in which it has operated a widespread branch system, breaks up into smaller units. Administration may become less economic and less efficient, the free movement and most effective

deployment of funds may be obstructed to the detriment of the country as well as of the Bank. In adapting itself to the new conditions the Bank must try to avoid becoming less flexible and thus less useful in providing banking services.

Creating Common Markets in Africa

I have stressed the very real advantages that can follow from the union of small economic units. However, we do recognize that federations and common markets may, in certain circumstances, set up stresses in some of their constituent parts. A common tariff, designed to protect and encourage industrial development, can, in the absence of action by the Government, perpetuate the advantage of regions where industrial development is already advanced. New industries are naturally attracted to where others are already established with ancillary utilities, financial and commercial services, and a ready-made consumer market. Less developed parts of the common unit complain that their cost of living is increased while they obtain few industrial benefits from the prospective tariff. The tension and grievances arising from a growing disparity in development and prosperity become evident when an external force of cohesion is removed.

These facts must be faced if efforts to preserve or create Common Markets in African territories are to succeed. But for the foreseeable future, one of the greatest needs in developing Africa will be for private capital and skills from overseas. The private investor is a free agent, and the suggestion that he should not site his enterprise where, in his opinion, it is most likely to succeed, may result in his withdrawing altogether. Promoting regional development is not easy, even in a closely knit political and economic unit such as Britain. In African countries a possible way may be the appropriate siting of Government and other official projects.

Private enterprise cannot be forced into a more even regional distribution, but various inducements can be used to help to equalize the advantages and disadvantages of different areas. I believe that African statesmen have the wisdom and strength of purpose to tackle these problems realistically. Recent decisions taken in East Africa on the distribution of industry suggest that real progress is now being made there.

The Political and Economic Spheres

Politically, the past year has been an eventful one for the East African territories. Last December, Kenya and Zanzibar celebrated their independence in impressive ceremonies, at which the Standard Bank was represented by your director, Lord De La Warr.

In January a *coup d'état* led to the overthrow of the Government in Zanzibar. In April a union of the country with Tanganyika was announced, but the situation remains confused and detrimental to business.

In January, also, army mutinies of varying degrees of seriousness occurred in the mainland territories. These disturbances were quickly suppressed and quiet returned to East Africa.

Economically, East Africa has had a good year, and your bank has benefited from the livelier business conditions. Crops on the whole have done well, export prices have remained firm, and markets have been available. There was a useful increase in the quota for coffee exports. Sisal has been outstanding in providing high export proceeds for Tanganyika and Kenya.

Independent African Governments are everywhere anxious to promote agriculture and rural welfare, and

measures to increase and improve agricultural production are already meeting with success in many areas. Co-operatives for the marketing of African produce have for some time been firmly established in East Africa, and this movement is growing in strength and expanding in scope.

Industrial production is also increasing in East Africa, with business firms overseas showing more interest in these territories. I should also mention the growth of the tourist industry. New African Governments have been quick to appreciate the value of the splendid scenery and game resources of their countries, and tourism is now contributing substantially to their receipts from abroad.

Dissolution of the Federation

The break-up of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is being accomplished more smoothly than had been expected. Provision has been made for an orderly progress to the establishment of separate currencies, and new central banks are being organized on sound lines. Some valuable economic links between the three territories have been maintained, and we hope that it will be possible for these to continue. The vigorous upsurge in demand for copper has been a favourable feature of the economic scene in Central Africa in the past year. The plentiful tobacco crop will also be helpful if markets and satisfactory prices can be obtained.

While I have spoken in encouraging terms of conditions in the territories in which we operate, it cannot be said that in general the longer term commercial prospects for developing countries have improved. Some relief has been given by an increase in commodity prices over the past two years, but the proceedings of the recent Conference on Trade and Development, sponsored by the United Nations at Geneva, have demonstrated the worsening position of primary producers on the whole and the lack of agreement on measures to meet the situation.

If Western industrialized countries turn increasingly to protection of domestic agriculture, to the exclusion of low-cost manufactures from less-developed countries, and to the substitution of synthetic for natural raw materials, it would seem that developing territories in Africa may need to look for additional markets further East.

While in the coming years in Africa there will doubtless be as there have been in the past, setbacks and difficulties of all sorts, we believe that as the new countries settle down there is bound to be an expansion of trade and business relations with the rest of the world. The time has gone when commercial banks of one nationality could look upon overseas territories as their own particular preserves. Today's needs for development are so great that even world-wide capital and skills will scarcely be enough to meet them. In this international effort we hope to make our own not inconsiderable contribution. The more that we and African Governments can jointly increase the confidence of investors in Africa the more that contribution can be.

South Africa

The Standard Bank of South Africa Limited has had an exceptionally successful year, fully participating in the great increase of economic activity which the Republic experienced in 1963. With the upturn of business, advances increased significantly. The increase in revenue which resulted was not attributable to higher interest rates, which were generally at a lower level than in the preceding year. Expenses of the Bank,

particularly salaries and allowances, also increased, but profits were nevertheless considerably in excess of the previous year. Resources also increased, in spite of keen competition from other deposit-receiving institutions, and at the year's end the Bank's advances/deposits ratio remained satisfactory.

I am pleased to report that in March of this year Mr. A. E. H. F. Behrens was appointed to the board of directors. He has wide experience in both South and South West Africa which will be of especial value. The Cape Board suffered a sad loss in the death of Mr. Paul de Villiers, who had joined the board in 1962. Although he was on the board for only a little over a year he will be greatly missed by his colleagues. Appointments we welcome are those of Mr. H. W. Middelman and Mr. C. S. Milford to the Cape Board. Both these gentlemen have wide interests in South Africa.

Extension of Activities

The Standard Bank of South Africa has also been extending the range of its activities. In addition to its interests in National Industrial Credit Corporation Limited and in International Factors (South Africa) Limited, the Bank became at the end of last year one of the principal sponsors of a new Merchant Bank in South Africa. This institution opened for business on December 2 under the name of the City Merchant Bank and is now well established on a profit-earning basis. The authorized capital is R5 million, of which R2 million has been issued.

The business of the City Merchant Bank is related to the use of South African funds in the development of the South African capital market. For this reason it has not been initiated as a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Standard Bank of South Africa, which indeed subscribed for only 30 per cent of the issued capital, the balance being provided by certain other leading South African institutions. It is our belief that institutions such as the City Merchant Bank can best serve South Africa and their own shareholders by canalizing local funds and putting them to productive and profitable use. The sponsoring company, The Standard Bank of South Africa, is in a somewhat different position in that it is concerned not only with the utilization of local funds but also with the mustering of international resources required for the development and expansion of the Republic's economy.

Banking Bill

Competition in the banking field is intensifying. I mentioned in my report last year that the commercial banks in South Africa have felt for some time that the provisions of the existing Banking Act have pressed somewhat hardly on them. A new Banking Bill has been passed by Parliament, the provisions of which will ensure more equitable treatment as between commercial banks and other deposit-receiving institutions. While the position of the commercial banks will be eased somewhat, other deposit-receiving institutions will be subject to stricter statutory requirements. I will not burden you with technicalities; one effect of the new legislation will be that part of the funds which we are at present required to deposit with the South African Reserve Bank will be freed and thus become available for the further development of our business in South Africa.

In last year's report I discussed at some length various aspects of the Republic's economy, and I feel that you will not wish me to go over again developments which have already been widely reported.

There are indications that the tempo of business activity in South Africa has diminished slightly in

recent months as the slack in the economy has been taken up; a pause for consolidation would, however, not be unwelcome.

As you are aware, for the last two years a survey of economic and political events in African territories has been sent to shareholders at the same time as the report of the directors and accounts. This year we are adopting a different procedure. In the Central and East African territories the financial accounts of the Governments, with reports on the economic results of the past year and on future prospects, are available in June or July. We feel that our own survey should be able to take account of this authoritative and up-to-date information, and we therefore propose to issue the survey separately at the end of July on a wider distribution. We believe that in this way we can make a more useful contribution to the understanding of events.

Standard Bank's Increased Profits

Dividend Raised by 2½% to 17½%

THE STANDARD BANK, LTD., reports group profit after tax to March 31 at £1,906,647, compared with £1,236,223 in the previous year. Subsidiaries have retained £589,080 (£127,822) leaving in the accounts of the parent bank £1,317,567 (£1.1m.). An interim dividend of 5% took £336,875 and a final of 12½% will require £842,188. Despite the increase of 2½% in the distribution, the carry-forward is up from £477,509 to £531,638. The issued capital is £11,650,000 in £1 shares. Net current assets of the group exceed £70.1m., investments total nearly £63.8m., bank premises appear at £19.6m., holdings of U.K. and other Treasury bills at £5m., trade investments at £3.1m., trade and other bills at £24.2m., and remittances in transit at £55.4m. Advances to customers are just under £258m., whereas current, deposit and other accounts aggregate £467.5m. Capital reserves amount to £5.6m., and there is a reserve fund of £12.7m.

Sir Cyril Hawker is the chairman, Mr. C. R. P. Hamilton deputy chairman, and Sir Frederick Leith-Ross vice-chairman. The other members of the board are Lord De La Warr, Sir Keith Acutt, Sir George Harvie-Watt, and Messrs. W. A. Acton, H. C. Drayton, G. H. R. Edmunds, C. R. Hill, L. A. Martin, J. F. Pridaux (who is retiring), B. C. J. Richards, W. M. Robson, and C. H. Villiers. The general manager is Mr. R. E. Williams, and Mr. H. D. Roberts is deputy general manager.

There is an East African board consisting of Mr. A. A. Lawrie (chairman), Sir Donald MacGillivray, and Messrs. I. S. Ednie, J. L. Riddoch, R. G. Ridley, and G. B. Shields.

Sir Robert Taylor is chairman of the Southern Rhodesian board, the other members of which are Lord Acton, Viscount Malvern, Sir Charles Cumings, Sir Albert Robinson, and Messrs. R. C. Bucquet, H. W. Jeffreys, D. G. Nicholson, and Lewin Tucker.

Sir Robert Taylor is also chairman of the Northern Rhodesian board whose other members are Messrs. J. W. Cross, M. Gersh, W. L. Lewis, D. G. Nicholson and J. Thomson, and of the Nyasaland board on which his colleagues are Mr. G. W. Dunlop and G. W. Hill.

The annual statement by Sir Cyril Hawker appears on other pages.

European Stabbed to Death

MR. P. J. A. OBERHOLTZER, the father of seven children, was driving with his wife and young daughter on the Umali-Melsetter road on Saturday night when he was forced to stop by a road-block. The car was then attacked with stones by Africans, and as he tried to drive round the obstruction the car overturned. Though he suffered a fractured skull, a post-mortem examination has shown that death was caused by a stab wound in the chest. Mrs. Oberholtzer and her daughter were injured. Mr. Basil Port escaped with minor injuries when a grenade was thrown into his flat in Bulawayo on Sunday. Another grenade was thrown at a mail train leaving Bulawayo. A dress shop in Salisbury was burnt, and an African was stabbed to death in Harare township.

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If that spirit animates people of such diverse interests, many others would surely derive similar pleasure and profit from the paper if they knew and used it as thoroughly.

Perhaps you are one of them. Shall we add your name to our subscription list? The Air Edition to East and Central Africa costs 110s., the surface mail edition 52s. to any address.

East Africa and Rhodesia, 26, Bloomsbury Way, London, W.C.1.

E. A. & R.

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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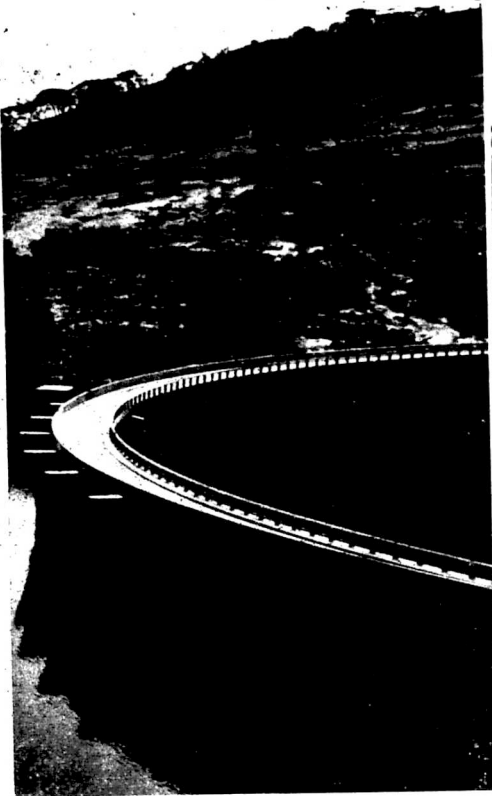
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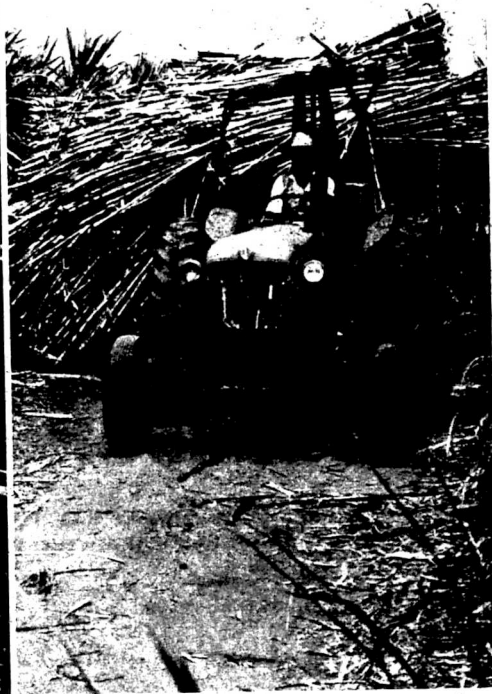
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THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1964

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

PRETENCE, which in this unprincipled era is the chief characteristic of politics throughout the world, made the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference of the past week, the thirteenth of the series, wretchedly unfortunate; but pretence has kept the truth from the public. Misled by a mass-circulation Press, of which so many once-responsible organs are now as prone as the politicians to the production and distribution of pretence, the electorate has been given the grotesque impression that the conference has been seriously engaged in the onerous, urgent, and honourable task of rescuing Southern Rhodesia from a desperately dangerous situation, and that the eighteen independent member States of the Commonwealth have applied their combined wisdom to the problem. What, on the contrary, too many of the Presidents and Prime Ministers did was to deliver set speeches which had been composed primarily for other audiences — the people of their own country and the African Heads of State meeting in Cairo which will open tomorrow and concentrate its antipathy upon Southern Rhodesia for the sole reason that the Governments there have not passed into the hands of black Africans.

that country's internal affairs have not been discussed, but merely the United Kingdom's responsibilities towards Southern Rhodesia, is ridiculous. The internal affairs of a country with a record of loyalty to the Crown and Commonwealth unsurpassed by any of the States represented at Marlborough House were more discussed than any other subject. There were suggestions for amendment of Southern Rhodesia's Constitution. Is that not essentially an internal affair? There were demands that Southern Rhodesia should be told that she must accept the principle of universal franchise. What is that but interference in an entirely internal question? Delegates vied with one another in declaring that the United Kingdom Government should convene a constitutional conference at which spokesmen for all political groups in Southern Rhodesia would exchange views. That idea flagrantly infringes Rhodesia's freedom to order its own affairs, especially as some of the African extremist political leaders have for very good reasons been placed under restriction. The exchanges about Southern Rhodesia, it will be seen, cynically breached Sir Alec Douglas-Home's pledge.

* * *

Official spokesmen sought to reduce the damage by emphasizing that the subject was taken in "restricted" session and that speakers were generally good-humoured.

Some were certainly not. Those who were doubtless remembered how much their parties had gained

Mr. Macmillan To Be Blamed.

in Africa by violence organized under cover of geniality at the top. All the proceedings at the conference were supposedly confidential, and those in restricted session were treated as "top secret". In fact, as this issue of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA shows, Presidents and Prime Ministers eagerly unbur-

Monstrous assertions have been made in the conference, to quote the words of Mr. Clifford Dupont, a member of the Southern Rhodesian Cabinet, who protested sharply and justifiably at the breach of the undertaking given as recently as July 8 by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom that Southern Rhodesia's internal affairs would not be debated at the conference over which he was about to preside. The pretence that

Prime Minister's Pledge Broken.

dened themselves. One issued to Fleet Street a verbatim typescript of his speech before it was made. At least one other gave reporters a document which contained denunciations of Southern Rhodesia which he had not uttered in the conference chamber. Others who purported to treat the proceedings as secret nevertheless dropped names and other news items with abandon. When we remarked at a social function to one participant with whom we could claim long and friendly acquaintance that "you people leak like sieves", he replied gleefully: "Mr. Macmillan taught us. You know that at the last conference, when he was anxious for our support for the United Kingdom attempt to enter the European Common Market, he made a special appeal to us for secrecy about the proceedings; and next morning all the London papers had long reports of what he had said and nothing about our sharp criticisms in reply. That forced us to tell our sides of the story. I agree that Commonwealth Conferences would be much more valuable if they were as secret as the ordinary Cabinet meetings in any country. They never will be again. You have blamed Mr. Macmillan for many things. Blame him for this also".

* * *

The stock allegation was repeated that the situation in Southern Rhodesia is explosive. It would become that only if African subversionists and seditionists, some of them per-

Pertinent Questions.

haps masquerading as "freedom fighters", were incited by their politicians to every kind of outrage. With a mixture of pretence and farce, African territories which in January suffered mutinies in their so-called armies offered to provide troops for use against Southern Rhodesia. Tanganyika, one of the States to make that proposal, has to depend at this moment for the maintenance of law and order on six hundred Nigerians (who are to be replaced by Ethiopians). Was the idea that the Zanzibar appendage of the "United Republic" should contribute its quota of military might? If not, why not? If so, was it to consist of a mixed "force" of Zanzibari revolutionaries, some trained and armed by Communist Chinese, some by Communist Russians, and some by Communist East Germans? All those fishers in troubled waters were quick to send "technicians" and weapons to Zanzibar's "Revolutionary Command", which still takes no notice of the allegedly "United Government" in Dar es Salaam. Pertinent questions on such points will not have been mooted at the table in Marlborough House.

Three days after the Prime Minister of Kenya had been widely reported as offering troops, a Kenya spokesman said — when the story had had plenty of time to establish itself in Africa — that the proposal had merely been to provide ground and other facilities for United Kingdom troops on their way to Southern Rhodesia. Be that as it may, it can safely be assumed that nobody will have been realistic enough to refer to the Kenyatta party's present reliance on British troops and aircraft or his recent disgraceful public statement that British airmen would "urinate" upon Kenya. Such is the background to the endeavour to concoct a concluding *communiqué* which will not be too inconvenient to the United Kingdom Government, which will avoid refusal to sign by any of the African participants, and which will not strengthen support in Southern Rhodesia for independence outside the Commonwealth. That exercise in expediency is the result of departure from the fundamental Commonwealth principle that the internal affairs of constituent States shall not be discussed. Abandonment of that axiom having been agreed, it was outrageous to deny Mr. Smith the right to put Rhodesia's case.

Statements Worth Noting

"Chiefs have a major rôle to play in the future development of Zambia". — Dr. Kaunda, Prime Minister.

"Some people say that they have not yet seen the difference between now and pre-Uhuru days except for the flag. Rome was not built in a day". — Dr. J. G. Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry.

"The allowance which Members draw for each day's attendance in Parliament amounts to roughly the average amount of tax payable per head of the population in a whole year". — Mr. J. S. Gichuru, Finance Minister in Kenya.

"The Government is greatly concerned at the continuing violence. It is determined that every man, whatever his colour, beliefs, or political affiliations, should be able to live in peace without interference or intimidation". — Sir Evelyn Hone, Governor of Northern Rhodesia.

"Government looks forward to the day when all land cases in Kenya will be eliminated by virtue of registration of titles. Only then will the African farmer have the confidence to sink his savings into the land with the full knowledge that no one can take it away from him". — Mr. J. H. Angaine, Minister for Lands and Settlement.

"Kenya has sought investments and industries from America, Britain, the European Economic Community, the Soviet Union, other Eastern European countries, China, Japan, India and Pakistan. Our policy of non-alignment is not only related to political matters but also to all other spheres". — Dr. J. G. Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry.

Notes By The Way

Why the Difference?

WHEN THE QUEEN and the DUKE OF EDINBURGH gave a dinner for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, the official list of guests referred to "Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Dr. the Hon. A. Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, the Hon. Jomo Kenyatta, Prime Minister of Kenya, and Dr. H. K. Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi". I wonder why "the Hon.", customary for Prime Ministers, was omitted in the cases of Dr. Nyerere and Dr. Banda? Incidentally, the President of Ghana, was listed as Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. By that analogy the Malawi leader's name might have been given the prefix Ngwazi, one on which he sets store.

Dr. Obote

DR. OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, the youngest attendant at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, can look back on his visit to London with more than ordinary satisfaction. He was the first of the visiting African Prime Ministers to be received by the Queen, the first to be invited to call on the Prime Minister, and at the opening session of the conference in Marlborough House he was seated on the immediate left of Sir Alec Douglas-Home. Other African political leaders must have felt somewhat envious of that hat-trick. Dr. Obote, who has the gift of appearing not to be under pressure, had in fact a very full programme of social, political, and business engagements, some in the City in connexion with investment possibilities in Uganda. Having attended several gatherings at which he was present, I had personal evidence of the favourable impression he was creating. Three prominent men who know all the East African territories well made almost identical comments to me on different occasions.

Best Hope

NOBODY in Eastern Africa has a firmer, more sensible and more encouraging grip on his country than Dr. Obote, they all considered, adding (if I may paraphrase their statements) that he has some difficult problems to solve and threats to overcome, but provides more ground for confidence that Uganda will succeed under his guidance than is available from Kenya, Tanganyika or Zanzibar. Among their most serious difficulties is the relentless if hidden struggle within the Cabinets between pro-Western and pro-Communist activists. If President Nyerere and Prime Minister Kenyatta became seriously ill or died tomorrow, the succession might in either or both cases be won by contenders who would be more pleasing to Russia or China than to the Western world. There are no such fears about Uganda. Recent happenings in Zanzibar have certainly aroused anxiety in the minds of many men in responsible quarters who had previously been much too complacent about East Africa in general. They now regard Dr. Obote as the best hope in that part of the world.

Commonwealth Centres

THIRTY-NINE leading organizations in Britain want a Commonwealth Centre in each country of the Commonwealth. There is, unhappily, not the slightest likelihood that their recommendation will be adopted. Indeed, when precisely the same proposal was made many months ago at another meeting under the

auspices of the Royal Commonwealth Society I was told in reply to a question to the chairman that a number of such centres would be established at an early date, one almost immediately. In fact, not even one has yet emerged. It gives me no satisfaction to recall that that justifies my cautionary note at the time — which was not appreciated by the organizers of the earlier conference. Whereas my scepticism referred only to East and Central Africa, it proves to have been applicable to every State within the Commonwealth, Britain included. During and after the last war I repeatedly suggested in this journal that a Commonwealth House should be opened in London as a memorial to those from all parts of the Commonwealth who had served against its common enemies. The proposal was later supported by some public men and publications, but neither the Government of the day nor any of its successors was interested. Nor was the slightest concern shown by any of the 39 bodies which now want action.

Performance, Not Palaver

THERE ARE within the Commonwealth several republics whose leaders have said categorically that their countries would quit if circumstances should indicate that that would be profitable from their standpoint. Is it likely that such men would favour a Commonwealth Centre in their capitals? Less tactless African and Asian politicians have revealed similar thoughts when emphasizing their adherence to "non-alignment", which must be understood to mean that they are no more committed to acceptance of a Commonwealth view than to a Communist view of any problem. Can such so-called neutralists be expected to promote Commonwealth Centres? The recommendation is clearly more emotional than realistic. Another suggestion is that a Commonwealth Information Conference should "discuss how information should best be interchanged between member countries". The heavy expenditure involved would assuredly not be warranted, for those whose job it is to organize Commonwealth information are either fully aware of what needs to be done or incapable of doing it. Some Commonwealth Information Services are notoriously incompetent, and they will grow worse as the whole tempo of administration drops with the departure of more and more experienced expatriates. A jaunt to London or some other rendezvous for days of palaver will not repair their deficiencies.

How Not to Recruit

WHAT WOULD BE THOUGHT of an announcement by the Royal Navy, the Army, or the Royal Air Force that in selecting candidates for commissions preference would be given to members of the political party in power and the associated youth league? That is the basis on which the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar intends to select applicants for commissions in the infantry and specialist branches of the Army. It is officially stated that "preference will be given to candidates who are members of Tanganyika African National Union, the Afro-Shirazi Party, the T.A.N.U. Youth League, and the Afro-Shirazi Youth League". It is also interesting to note that applications are to be sent to the "Permanent Secretary, Defence and Youth".

Africans Wage War of Nerves Against Southern Rhodesia

Commonwealth Conference Concentrates Pressure on United Kingdom Government

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S PROMISE that the affairs of Southern Rhodesia would not be discussed at the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers and Presidents has been broken.

On the insistence of the representatives of the seven African States, it was placed second on the agenda and occupied much of Friday and most of Monday — the intervening week-end having provided opportunities for continuance of the discussions when the Commonwealth visitors went to Chequers and Dorneywood, the official country residences of the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

Mr. C. W. Dupont, Minister without Portfolio in Southern Rhodesia, who had flown from Salisbury on Friday, protested on the following day, telling Press: —

"The internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia, for which my Government has been fully responsible for over 40 years, have engaged the attention of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference for part of Thursday and most of Friday and will continue to be the subject of debate on Monday.

Breach of Precedent

"These discussions are in flagrant conflict with established precedent as indicated by the British Prime Minister in the House of Commons on July 8, when Sir Alec said: 'I never disclose to anybody the agenda of a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, but I confirm that we do not discuss each other's internal affairs at formal meetings'.

"As the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia has been prevented from attending the conference by another breach of established custom, my Government assumes that the British Government will answer on its behalf in accordance with its responsibility for the conduct of our external relations. I imagine that this will be done in the course of Monday's discussions.

"My Government looks to British Ministers to counter the monstrous assertions made to the conference and distributed so assiduously to the Press."

Sir Edgar Whitehead, Leader of the Opposition, and a former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, had said in Salisbury a few hours earlier that the African and Asian members of the Commonwealth were waging a war of nerves against Southern Rhodesia with the deliberate intention of driving its Government into rash and illegal acts which would play into the hands of the African nationalists. It was essential for Rhodesians not to fall for their plot.

Britain's Responsibility

The official *communiqué* issued after Friday's session of the conference said (in part): —

"The Prime Ministers reviewed the progress of British territories towards independence and membership of the Commonwealth. The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Duncan Sandys, described the extent to which Britain's former Colonies had already achieved their independence and the prospects ahead.

"Commonwealth Prime Ministers took the opportunity to express their opinions on this statement with particular reference to Southern Rhodesia and British Guiana. They recognized that the responsibility for the progress of the Colonial territories to independence must remain with Britain; and British Ministers undertook to give careful consideration to the views expressed by their colleagues."

Journalists were told that the discussions had gone very well and that much of the heat had been taken out of the subject. It quickly became evident, however, that that interpretation was much too optimistic, for some of the African Prime Ministers spoke freely of their determination that the final *communiqué* must commit Britain to specific action, including the summoning of a constitutional conference to consider the whole question of Southern Rhodesian independence on the basis of an African majority in Parliament.

The conference had opened on Wednesday, July 8.

Some African delegations, that of Ghana in particular, had obtained preliminary prominence in the Press for their demands that H.M. Government should recognize that the present Constitution of Southern Rhodesia had failed, that Africans must be in the majority in the Government for a transitional period before independence, and that the United Kingdom Government should invite representatives of all political groups in Southern Rhodesia to a conference at which a new Constitution would be worked out.

Those conditions were said to be essential if leaders from other parts of Africa were to persuade the nationalists in Southern Rhodesia not to insist on immediate universal suffrage.

Dr. Obote, of Uganda, promptly argued that Southern Rhodesia should not become explosive in the conference, which must recognize that the subject was the concern of the British and Southern Rhodesian Governments. As will be seen from the report in other columns, however, he spoke firmly in conference.

Mr. Marghai, recently appointed Prime Minister of Sierra Leone, took a much stronger line than had been expected. Mwalimu Nyerere (Tanganyika) and Mzee Kenyatta (Kenya) also spoke sharply. The interventions of Dr. Banda (Malawi) were described as more like mob oratory than argument.

Critics of Rhodesia

The Prime Minister having agreed to abandon his plan for consideration of Southern Rhodesia on the last day, and to make the subject the second item on the agenda, it was understood that it would be avoided when world affairs were discussed. Mzee Kenyatta, however, used that first opportunity to say emphatically that he and others considered Southern Rhodesia the most important of all the subjects to be debated. He spoke mainly about South Africa, however.

When the progress of British territories to independence was reached, a strong line against Southern Rhodesia was taken mainly by Sierra Leone, Ghana, Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya, and Malawi, the Prime Minister of Nigeria being more ready than his colleagues to understand the British Government's predicament.

Suggestions from Whitehall spokesmen that the session had gone harmoniously appeared to irritate some of the Africans. In other quarters it was felt that an attempt was being made to force the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia into a unilateral declaration of independence. Sir Alec Douglas-Home was understood to be arguing persistently against anything which would provoke such a declaration.

Several speakers referred to the possible use of Commonwealth troops against Southern Rhodesia.

Mzee Kenyatta allegedly offered troops from Kenya if they were wanted by the United Kingdom Government.

Dr. Nyerere also spoke of collective Commonwealth action, military if necessary, referred to the danger that the Commonwealth might break up on the issue, and said that if the Commonwealth evaded its responsibilities his country might back a Southern Rhodesian government-in-exile and give it military support.

The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations replied that Britain could not march into Southern Rhodesia, in which there was not one British soldier, policeman, or official. As to the demand for a constitutional conference, Mr. Ian Smith would probably refuse to attend, and the African political leaders could not do so because they were under legal restriction.

Sir Alec Douglas-Home made it clear that Britain would not contemplate the use of troops, and that that was the only means by which it could impose on Southern Rhodesia a new Constitution and independence under black majority rule.

The conference had reached that stage when Mr. Dupont arrived in London.

Because the Prime Minister's official residence in Buckinghamshire has only 11 bedrooms, the Prime Ministers and Presidents were split into three parties for visits for dinner, bed and breakfast. All but Dr. Nkrumah accepted the invitation; his non-appearance was said to be due to a misunderstanding, and he lunched with the Prime Minister at 10 Downing Street on Monday. Most of the visitors were also the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Sandys between Friday evening and Monday morning.

On Sunday evening Mzee Kenyatta, speaking in the African Service of the B.B.C., called for cessation of Britain's "lip-service" to African freedom.

In meetings with various groups President Nyerere insisted that Britain must not be allowed to evade a commitment over Southern Rhodesia in the final communiqué.

On Monday morning the conference spent another two hours in restricted session dealing mainly with Southern Rhodesia. It was thought that all present joined in talk on the subject.

On the previous evening the Africa Bureau had described British tactics as "an evasion of responsibility" which endangered Commonwealth unity. "H.M. Government should spell out publicly what it would do if faced with an illegal declaration of independence and invite the Government and representative leaders of Southern Rhodesia to a constitutional conference to determine how their country can gain independence. Release of all political restrictees would be essential to the success of such a conference".

League of Empire Loyalists

The League of Empire Loyalists had written to the Prime Ministers of Great Britain, Australia, Canada and New Zealand:—

"As Prime Ministers of the four remaining founder nations of the Commonwealth you must bear the responsibility should the present Commonwealth Conference go down to history as that which finally proclaimed to the world that the Commonwealth stands for barbarism against civilization. By acquiescing in the insulting refusal to invite the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia to attend the conference you have already virtually ensured that that responsibility shall be yours.

"Kwame Nkrumah, self-proclaimed chief enemy of the civilized government of Southern Rhodesia, is attending the conference with the avowed intention of demanding that the same savage tyranny which he has imposed upon Ghana shall be imposed upon Southern Rhodesia. He is emboldened to do so by the knowledge that his impudent demand will be made so by the men who apparently feel no shame at their readiness to snub and insult their kinsmen in Southern Rhodesia while fétting such creatures as the convicted manager of the vile Mau Mau conspiracy.

"Even now the determination of any one of you gentlemen to champion our kinsmen in Rhodesia rather than heed hypocritical talk of 'democracy' from a tinpot dictator who even in the heart of London requires an escort of armed British police officers to protect him from the wrath of his own people could ensure that the voice of barbarism shall not dominate your counsels".

On Monday the League telegraphed to Sir Alec Douglas-Home: "Kenyatta says Africans know about suffering. Victims of Mau Mau, of Congo savagery, and of Nkrumah tyranny testify to this. Issue in Southern Rhodesia is between white civilization and the barbarism of so-called African nationalism. Empire Loyalists again urge you reject African nationalist impertinence and stand by white Rhodesians. National opinion poll suggests British people agree".

At the week-end the African Foreign Ministers left for Cairo. The Presidents and Prime Ministers will follow tomorrow for the African "summit conference".

MR. LESTER PEARSON, the Canadian Prime Minister, ranged himself with the Africans and Asians on Monday in the demand for African majority rule in Southern Rhodesia.

Recognizing that the problem was the responsibility of the U.K. Government, he suggested that other Commonwealth Governments could help British Ministers in their predicament. He submitted a short draft statement of principles on racial equality.

To help the Southern Rhodesian Government, he said, Canada was willing to spend several million dollars on a crash programme of training Rhodesian Africans in its academic institutions and public service. The Southern Rhodesian issue was as important as that about South Africa three years ago, and if H.M. Government thought it helpful Canada would take part in a good offices mission.

He hoped that the Commonwealth leaders would make a clear declaration that their States would not recognize a unilateral declaration of independence or an illegally established Government in Rhodesia.

Mr. Margai and Dr. Banda were again said to have spoken "heatedly".

The British Prime Minister tabled proposals for joint technical assistance for Commonwealth development projects. He offered to raise British capital aid for higher education within the Commonwealth from £2.5m. to £5m. annually for the next five years; suggested the creation in Britain of an institution for the training of public administrators; proposed a Commonwealth medical conference next year; and the establishment of an independent Commonwealth Foundation to promote contact between members of professions, offering from H.M. Government half of the necessary income of about £250,000 annually.

A Kenya spokesman denied that its Prime Minister had offered troops for service against Southern Rhodesia, saying that what had been proposed were facilities in Kenya for British troops if H.M. Government should decide to take military action—an idea which has been dismissed in the conference by British Ministers.

Mr. George Nyandoro, speaking for the Zimbabwe African People's Union, who had been lobbying conference delegations since their arrival, told journalists that all but four had expressed broad support for Z.A.P.U.'s representation: the Australians and New Zealanders considered that no British initiative could be expected until after the general election in October, and the Malaysians and Pakistanis were preoccupied with their own serious problems.

The final communiqué from Marlborough House had not been issued when this issue of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA closed for press.

Independence Not Now A "Burning Issue"

"Negotiations Best Way," Says Mr. Smith

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, told journalists in Salisbury last Thursday that independence was "not a burning issue with my Government at the moment"; that "negotiation is always the best way"; that there was a time-limit for negotiations with the United Kingdom Government; that things must be brought to a head "as soon as possible"; and that he hoped to obtain independence for the country by the end of the year.

He was willing to visit London if something could be achieved which was not possible by correspondence, "assuming that we have not come to the bitter end". He preferred not to define those last words, and when asked if he saw "a glimmer of hope in the situation", replied: "I would not like to be as optimistic as that".

He disagreed with the view of Sir Robert Tredgold, a former Chief Justice of the Federation, that a unilateral declaration of independence would be treason.

Southern Rhodesians would resent their country's internal affairs being discussed by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London. Though he had not been given a specific assurance on the point by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, he had been led by the Prime Minister's reply to Mr. Turton in the House of Commons to believe that there would not be such discussions.

"If I had thought that they were going to be discussed, I might have been more insistent on my attendance". It seemed contrary to all for which Britain had stood that there should be any such discussion in the absence of those most closely concerned.

Mr. Clifford Dupont, Minister for Information, would leave that night for London because Southern Rhodesia's Information Services in London "were practically non-existent" and the Government had to try to make them more effective.

The Minister was not going for the specific purpose of representing Southern Rhodesia's interests in connexion with the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. It would, however, be useful to have him on the spot while the conference was in session.

Poll Friendly to Rhodesia

A POLL taken for the *Daily Mail*, which published the results on Monday, showed that almost one-third of the people interviewed had no opinion as to what Britain should do if Southern Rhodesia declared itself independent; 43% thought that such a declaration should be recognized, and rather more considered that no economic sanctions should be imposed. Only one in eight of those questioned supported the idea of sanctions.

Dr. Obote's Plea for Three-Point Declaration

Immediate Constitutional Conference on Southern Rhodesia

DR. A. M. OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, said when the progress of the British territories towards independence was under consideration:—

"We have been told by the Secretary of State the policy which the British Government is following in respect of these territories for the achievement of independence. This conference should be interested in the progress of all British territories towards independence. Our main interest will be on Southern Rhodesia and British Guiana, but, as already indicated by the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, there are other areas which are equally important, such as British Honduras.

"Britain is still a Colonial Power; Britain has Colonies. The President of Ghana has referred to the United Nations General Assembly Resolution on decolonization.

"I would have liked the Secretary of State to go a bit more into the real plans to rid Britain of these Colonies. The mention of the South Arabian Federation, the promise to Swaziland, Basutoland and other High Commission Territories, can be noted by us, but it is not only in this conference that we talk about Colonies. We belong to other organizations in which the subject of Colonies is a burning issue. I therefore suggest that the time-table mentioned by the Secretary of State for the South Arabian Federation, the High Commission Territories in Africa, British Honduras, Mauritius and Barbados should be revised.

"The Secretary of State stated that Britain would be happy to see these Colonies independent, and that Britain has no desire whatsoever to withhold independence for more than is absolutely necessary. I would wish to know the basic problems, which are considered to be 'absolutely necessary' today by the British Government in not granting independence to these territories.

Progress Too Slow

"I remember in 1962 attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference as an observer. I met at that time the Prime Ministers of Barbados and Mauritius. I would have expected that since they were either Prime Ministers or Chief Ministers in 1962 the progress towards independence should have been completed by now. I want to stress this aspect of the programme in order to indicate to colleagues that the image of the Commonwealth must be shown to be in line with resolutions passed by the United Nations.

"Britain was one of the very few countries which participated in the founding of the United Nations and in drafting the Charter of the U.N. This aspect of the problem must, I submit, be re-examined by the British Government so as to assist some of us who come from areas where there are still Colonies — they may not be British Colonies — to exert, at times in a small way, our influence in seeing that other territories which are not under the United Kingdom achieve independence. We are talking here and stressing the problem as it affects the Commonwealth.

"It has been suggested that there are complications, dilemma and lack of powers in regard to constitutional settlement in Southern Rhodesia and in British Guiana, but we cannot discuss these territories without at the same time bearing in mind the problems of Angola and Mozambique.

"The African Continent is united on the issue of all territories in Africa achieving independence. I would not like what I have called competition between Britain and Portugal for the last position in granting independence to Colonies to continue. I suggest that where a territory has not got the sort of problem we have in British Guiana and Southern Rhodesia arrangements be made as early as Britain can organize to grant them independence.

"Regarding the second point of membership of the Commonwealth, I do not remember having heard from the Secretary of State the significance of this part of the item on the agenda. I hope that these territories when they achieve their independence would consider being members of the Commonwealth.

"Regarding Southern Rhodesia, we have heard from the Prime Minister of Kenya, who has explained his experience in

Kenya as a unique position. There is, however, one point which I must state. There have been suggestions that the best way of tackling the Southern Rhodesian problem would be to say as little as possible at this stage so as not to drive Southern Rhodesia into South Africa. I cannot understand this line of argument.

"The issue in Southern Rhodesia is this: a minority is in government, and human rights are denied to a majority. The minority constitute a cause of concern. The country is not independent, and should this minority decide to declare Southern Rhodesia independent unilaterally, and then join with South Africa, I would expect the British Government to take a very firm stand on the treasonable act of a few thousand people pretending to usurp powers and going to the extent of unilaterally ceding Her Majesty's territory to a foreign Power.

"I would favour a definite declaration by this conference, stating the following:—

(1) That Britain, and Britain alone, can grant independence to Southern Rhodesia;

(2) Britain has no intention of departing from the principle of one-man-one-vote before a territory achieves independence;

(3) That Britain will call for a constitutional conference forthwith, and should the representatives of the 'settler Government' refuse to come to this conference, I would propose that the Constitution — which I have reason to believe is an Order in Council — should be immediately suspended.

"If these proposals are acceptable to my colleagues, the idea which I understand is being pursued in certain quarters — that the urgent need is that Britain should give financial assistance in Southern Rhodesia for education and other social services for the Africans — must be rejected. British aid must not be tied up with constitutional rights of the majority of the people.

Responsibility Lies in London

"The question of Southern Rhodesia is the responsibility of the British Government. I am anxious to fix responsibility on the British Government lest anybody should hold that the responsibility lies in Salisbury or in any of the Commonwealth capitals. This is Britain's baby, and she alone is competent, legally, morally and constitutionally, to lead, as she has led all of us round this table, step-by-step towards self-government and independence.

"The one member of the Commonwealth who is responsible for this unfortunate state of affairs, who made the mistake in 1923 of handing over the African inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia to the tender mercies of the white settlers, is now saying to us that she is helpless; she comes to us and asks for advice as to what she can do. If Britain really means that she would do something if only she could, then I suggest she should first of all declare in unmistakable terms that she has no intention of departing from the principle of one-man-one-vote and of granting independence only when democratic institutions have been established.

"Having done this, I would suggest that Britain should immediately suspend the Constitution and convene a constitutional conference, to which the leaders of the four major political parties would be invited. I maintain that it is within the competence of the British Government to suspend the Constitution and subsequently to take such steps as are necessary for the security and good government of the people of Southern Rhodesia.

"Britain has done this in British Guiana in recent history notwithstanding that that Colony was already internally self-governing, and Britain should do so in respect of Southern Rhodesia. The Constitution of Southern Rhodesia derives from an Order in Council, and the same Order in Council can be repealed or amended.

Liquidate all Colonies

"I would go further and suggest that the day of colonialism has gone for ever. Britain should take immediate steps to liquidate her Colonies. We, as members of the Organization of African Unity, which is committed to a relentless war against colonialism and racial discrimination, are often embarrassed by our being members of an organization whose founder and central figure still believes and practises colonialism.

"On the question of British helplessness in putting the Southern Rhodesian situation right, I am one of those who

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Z.A.P.U. Threatens Revolution in Southern Rhodesia

Memorandum Circulated to Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London

SUSPENSION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF

Southern Rhodesia by the United Kingdom Government, immediate release of all political detainees and prisoners, and a constitutional conference for the specific purpose of transferring power on a one-man-one-vote basis are demanded in a memorandum presented to those attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference by the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union.

The signatories of the memorandum are Mr. George Nyandoro, secretary-general, Mr. Jason Moyo, national treasurer, and Mr. T. G. Sibundika, secretary for publicity and information.

The document refers to "an unqualified right to a revolution to destroy any barriers to a popular and peaceful government since our only contact with the settler-dictatorship is conflict".

Simultaneously with the release of the memorandum to the Press in London, Mr. R. I. Sibanda, Z.A.P.U. representative in Accra, issued a statement which said:—

"We now stand ready to fight and destroy that which stands in our way. This is the hour of revolution in Zimbabwe, and British firms and concerns will be confiscated to pay for the damages caused by a revolution sparked off by her imperialistic intrigues.

"Freedom-fighters in Zimbabwe are waiting for Britain's answer. The people of Zimbabwe will tolerate no further dilly-dallying by Britain. Britain has to call us to a conference now, for once the revolution starts in Zimbabwe all chances of a cease-fire and negotiation will have passed".

The long memorandum states, *inter alia*:—

No Partial Sovereignty

"The United Kingdom Government is the sovereign colonial authority over Southern Rhodesia and therefore completely responsible for all developments in the country. There has never been negative, passive, or partial sovereignty anywhere. Britain can therefore neither evade nor shift the responsibility of initiating positive measures to redress the situation in order to enable all inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia to establish a popular and therefore peaceful and stable government.

"The world has been frequently treated to the so-called repeated formula that, when it comes to altering the Constitution, representation, and the franchise of Southern Rhodesia, the British Government regards itself incompetent to effect any such measures and shifts the responsibility to the Southern Rhodesian settler-dictatorship under the phrase of 'internal affairs', in the full knowledge that the settler-dictatorship is a faction in the conflict and by all standards of common sense could not but regard this as approval and encouragement for its continued existence. It is as good as expecting a condemned criminal to hang himself.

"The formula of 'internal affairs' of Southern Rhodesia is obviously regular strategic exercise to brainwash the world into recognizing and acknowledging the U.K. Government's self-imposed weakness over the issues of Southern Rhodesia. The power to alter constitutions, and consequently the franchise and legislature, is the very essence of sovereignty and is not shareable with an agent, who in this case is the settler Government of Ian Smith. We therefore cannot recognize conventions for convenience, let alone if such conventions are devices, as is the case in Southern Rhodesia, to bar Africans from taking over government of their country.

"Recent statements by British Ministers indicating what ought to be done are late attempts to prevent precipitation of a situation whose gravity is now far beyond the requirement of words but rather positive action.

"The settlers have tasted so much licence of unbridled government that they have convinced themselves that British colonial sovereignty over Southern Rhodesia should be an assistance rather than a hindrance to attainment of their independence; hence their resentment and threat, like spoil

children, to declare independence unilaterally at even a demonstrated feeble attempt by Britain to resist their demand.

"In his reply to Winston Field's demand for settler-independence, Mr. R. A. Butler, then Minister for Central Africa, pointed out: 'In any case Her Majesty's Government, in accordance with normal precedent, would expect to convene a conference to discuss financial, defence, constitutional and other matters which always have to be settled before self-governing dependencies are granted independence'.

"Subsequently, on November 12, 1963, the British Prime Minister, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, said: 'We have accepted the principle of self-determination without qualification; we have accepted that the majority should rule. We insist, as far as we are able to do before independence, that minorities must be protected'.

"On the growing threat by Ian Smith to plunge the settlers into a unilaterally declared independence, Mr. Sandys, in answering questions on television three weeks ago, asserted that it was for Britain to grant independence and any unilateral declaration would have no legal validity. The British Prime Minister subsequently stated that a unilateral declaration of independence would be an 'unconstitutional act'.

"We do not know how much of these British statements is meant to be a basis for positive action to remedy the situation and how much is just political talk as an effort to cool and deflate a charged atmosphere.

Queer Tactics

"It is our experience in Southern Rhodesia that at all stages when the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia has to be modified the United Kingdom Government enters into queer and elaborate negotiating tactics of a two-way traffic between themselves and the settlers to the exclusion of the Africans as if they either do not exist or it is not their country that is being negotiated about.

"The United Kingdom Government emerges after these types of negotiations with either a decided constitutional position to impose on the Africans without consulting them or, if a make-believe consultation must be put up, she emerges in a united front with the settlers in the double capacity of bargainer and decider of the final terms of the constitution. This is how the Constitution of 1923, the 1953 Federal Constitution, and the present 1961 Constitution came into being.

"Continuous negotiations have been in progress with the Rhodesian Front settler-dictatorship since March 1963, ever since the regime through Winston Field demanded independence. Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead in May and June respectively have also been brought into these 'confidential' negotiations. This pattern of back-stage British approach on the constitutional issues of Southern Rhodesia with their settler kith and kin, to the exclusion of the African people, is obviously constant and deliberate. It leaves us with one conclusion to make quite reluctantly—that such talks are continued constitutional conspiracies against the African people.

"We do not enumerate the well-known evils that are being savagely perpetrated on the African people by the settler-dictatorship, because, dastardly though they are, they are effects rather than the cause. Even if the settler regime were toothless, the basic problem would still be as grave—that the minority government has no right to be in power. Our attention therefore is not so much on the question of what Britain is going to do in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence as to what the British Government is doing now to remedy the present position resulting from years of neglect.

"Should the settler-dictatorship be allowed to reach the point of declaring independence, at that point we shall have no alternative but to regard colonial authority and settler-dictatorship to have ceased and the obligation to maintain our State shall automatically and rightfully fall on us.

Extreme Tension

"There is extreme tension in Southern Rhodesia. The situation is dangerously explosive. Daily clashes between Africans and whites are mounting towards a grave conflict, and as long as the settler-dictatorship is using the State machinery of the police and army to repress us we have no alternative but to strike back by any means available to us.

"We have made it abundantly clear that the transfer of power to the majority on the strict, unqualified, and unequivocal basis of one-man-one-vote, not as an objective, but as a direct immediate solution to the problem, is our standpoint.

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PERSONALIA

SIR JOHN CALDICOTT is in London from Southern Rhodesia.

YANG HSI-KUN, Deputy Foreign Minister of Nationalist China, attended the Malawi Independence celebrations.

MWALITU NYERERE, President of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, has had an audience of the QUEEN.

MR. R. J. BRIDGE, for the past two years acting principal of Uganda Technical College, has retired. His successor is MR. G. H. WALWYN.

MR. W. DELANO, secretary-general of the International Secretariat for Volunteer Services, is visiting East Africa from the United States.

Malawi's first High Commissioner in London, MR. N. W. MBEKEANI, has been received in audience by the QUEEN, who also received MRS. MBEKEANI.

LORD FORESTER was 65 on Sunday. SIR ARTHUR KIRBY reached the same age on the following day, when SIR ANDREW MACTAGGART became 76.

MR. FELIX ONAMA, Uganda's Minister of Internal Affairs, has announced the formation of a counter-spy organization "because of the number of spies in the country." Staff will be trained in Israel.

MR. EDWARD KHASAKHALA, a K.A.N.U. backbencher, has demanded the deportation of a European farmer who shot four lions which invaded his dairy farm from Nairobi game park.

MR. C. W. DUPONT, M.P., will tomorrow address the Monday Club on Southern Rhodesia. MR. HAROLD SOREF, chairman of the Africa group, will give a cocktail party for the Minister before the meeting.

DR. KAUNDA will lead Northern Rhodesia's delegation to tomorrow's African summit conference in Cairo. MR. MAINZA CHONA, Minister for Justice, and MR. KAMANGA, Minister for Transport, will also attend.

Kenya has no intention of preventing the outflow of capital by legislation, because the country would lose more as a result from falling investments, MR. J. S. GICHURU, Minister of Finance, has stated in a written answer in the National Assembly.

MR. S. N. ODAKA has been appointed Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in the Office of the Prime Minister of Uganda. He has been Deputy Minister for External Affairs for the past year, and was previously Parliamentary Secretary in the Prime Minister's Office.

MR. JUSTICE F. SOUTHWORTH was on Monday appointed Chief Justice of Malawi. After serving in Tanganyika, Palestine, and the Bahamas, he went to Nyasaland as an assistant judge in 1955, and presided over the commission which five years later investigated newspaper reports of an incident in Blantyre during the visit of MR. MACMILLAN, then Prime Minister.

MR. A. J. B. OGILVY has joined the boards of Tilmanstone Investment Trust, New York, and General Trust, and European and General Corporation, Ltd.

THE QUEEN and the DUKE OF EDINBURGH are to pay a State visit to the Sudan from February 8 to 12 next. PRESIDENT ABOUD paid such a visit to this country from May 26 to June 4 this year.

MR. C. P. NGAIZA, High Commissioner in London for Tanganyika and Zanzibar, as the representative of the President of the United Republic, dined last week in the officers' mess of 41 Commando Royal Marines.

MR. MBUYU KOINANGE, Minister of State for Pan-African Affairs, and MR. DAWSON MWANYUMBA, Minister for Works, represented the Kenya Government at the Malawi Independence celebrations. They are to visit Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia before returning to Nairobi.

MZEE KENYATTA, Prime Minister of Kenya, placed himself next to the QUEEN for the photograph taken when the Commonwealth Prime Ministers and Presidents dined with HER MAJESTY at Buckingham Palace, and next to SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME when they dined with the Prime Minister in Downing Street.

SIR JOHN FLETCHER-COOKE, who was Deputy Governor of Tanganyika when he retired from the Colonial Service in 1961, is to be the Conservative candidate in the Test Division of Southampton in the general election. He was unsuccessful in the Luton bi-election last year. At the last general election the Tory majority in his new constituency was 6,766.

THE EARL OF SANDWICH, who sat in the House of Commons as VISCOUNT HINCHINGBROOKE for 21 years as M.P. for South Dorset, has failed to secure selection as prospective Conservative candidate for the Test Division of Southampton. In February he was unsuccessful in the Winchester and Bromley constituencies. He has been keenly interested in African affairs for many years.

SIR CLEMENT NAGEON DE LESTANG, a Seychellois and former Chief Justice of the High Court of Lagos, who had previously been Acting Chief Justice in Seychelles and a puisne judge in Kenya, has been appointed to the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa. So has MR. JUSTICE DUFFUS, of the Western Region of Nigeria, a Jamaican. The president of the Court of Appeal is a Nigerian, SIR SAMUEL QUASHIE-IDUN.

MR. J. K. ILAKO, who had served in Central Nyanza as a district commissioner, has become Counsellor in the Kenya High Commission in London, of which MR. J. A. ORONGO, formerly an education officer, has been appointed Third Secretary, and MR. D. D. AFANDE executive officer. MR. D. P. KATANGI, Information Officer at Kenya House for the past year has gone to New York as Press Attaché in the Kenya Mission.

When the DUKE OF EDINBURGH reached London Airport last week by B.O.A.C. airliner, from attending the Malawi independence celebrations, nine cameramen on duty for newspapers and news agencies declined to take photographs in protest against instructions that they must keep behind a barrier some 50 yards from the DUKE. The airport manager announced later that the Press enclosure would in future be of its normal size and at the customary distance from aircraft.

MR. J. BOURN, a first Secretary in the British High Commission in Dar es Salaam, is to become British Deputy High Commissioner in Zanzibar early next month. Before the last war, throughout which he served in the Army, he was a junior official in the Ministry of Health. In 1947 he was transferred to the Colonial Office as an assistant principal, and was seconded to Tanganyika in 1953-55. In 1961 he was transferred to the Commonwealth Relations Office, and in the following year to the Central African Office in Whitehall. He went to Dar es Salaam just over a year ago.

NORTHERN RHODESIA



For information
APPLY TO

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

Telegrams: "NORHODCOM LESQUARE LONDON"

Telephone: WHITEHALL 5858 Cables: "NORHODCOM LONDON"

SIR MARTIN ROSEVEARE is on leave from the Colonial Service in Nyasaland.

It is proposed to establish a travelling fellowship in memory of DAME LILLIAN PENSON.

MR. P. G. D. CLARK, a provincial commissioner in Northern Rhodesia, has recently retired.

GENERAL COSTA ALMEIDA has arrived in Mozambique to take up duty as Governor-General.

MR. G. M. KAMAU has been re-elected Mayor of Nakuru and MR. C. J. ARIWO deputy mayor.

THE QUEEN and the DUKE of EDINBURGH are to pay a State visit to Ethiopia from February 1 to 8 next year.

MR. A. R. MACDONALD, for the past eight years chairman of the Kenya Public Service Commission, has retired.

MR. ALBERT AGRAN and MR. MAURICE O. GILL have been elected to the board of The Proprietors of Hay's Wharf, Ltd.

SIR COLVILLE DEVERELL, who was in the Colonial Service in East Africa for many years, has received the honorary LL.D. of Dublin University.

DR. RAPHAEL ONYANGO, a medical officer in Uganda, has been appointed director of the East African Trypanosomiasis Research Organization at Tororo.

Passengers for Mombasa in the BRAEMAR CASTLE include MR. & MRS. J. L. A. FENTON and DR. E. A. TRIM, and for Dar es Salaam MR. & MRS. F. A. FOLLET-SMITH.

MR. K. A. P. DALBY, Lord Mayor of Bristol, last week opened Likuni Farm Institute, near Lilongwe, Malawi, the people of Bristol having contributed £48,000 towards the cost.

An African, COLONEL S. O. OPOLOTO, now commands the Uganda Army, in succession to COLONEL GROOM, who has left the country after serving for five years in various capacities.

SIR JOHN HATHORN HALL has resigned the chairmanship of the Clerical, Medical and General Life Assurance Society, but will remain on the board. The new chairman is LORD GEDDES.

MR. BAZARRABUSA, High Commissioner for Uganda, held a reception last week at the Commonwealth Institute for DR. OBOYE, Prime Minister of Uganda. On another evening he was the guest of the Uganda-Britain Society.

A reception in honour of PRESIDENT and MRS. NYERERE was given last week at the Hilton Hotel, Park Lane, London, W.1., by MR. C. P. NGAIZA, High Commissioner for the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, and MRS. NGAIZA.

MAJOR-GENERAL W. A. DIMOLINE was received by the QUEEN last week on termination of his appointment as Colonel Commandant of the King's African Rifles. The K.A.R. disappeared last week when the last of the battalions became the Malawi Rifles.

SIR ARCHIBALD FORBES will shortly resign from the board of the Central Mining and Investment Corporation, Ltd., following his appointment as chairman of the Midland Bank. MR. S. D. H. POLLEN will combine the offices of managing director and chairman.

THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA is to receive from H.M. Government for his personal use a Dove aircraft, the Ethiopian Government having recently requested such a gift as replacement for two old aeroplanes. Parliament is to be asked to vote the cost, about £65,000.

BIRTH

JENKINSON.—On July 13 to Joy (née Joelson) and BARRY JENKINSON, of Chetton Grange, Bridgnorth, Shropshire, a gift of a daughter, SARAH-JANE ELIZABETH, a sister for HOWARD and JAMES.

MR. IAIN MACLEOD, lately Secretary of State for the Colonies, and now editor of the *Spectator*, is said by *Private Eye* to have mentioned himself 68 times in one recent issue of that journal—nine times using his own name, five times his pen-name, and 54 times the word "I".

MISS FRENE GINWALLA, an Asian woman journalist born in South Africa who was declared a prohibited immigrant in Tanganyika last year after working for about two years in Dar es Salaam in close contact with some Ministers, has been informed that she is free to return to the country.

East and Central Africa Lodge

MR. JOHN C. EARLL was last week installed in the chair of the East and Central Africa Lodge of Freemasons, No. 7446, E.C., by his predecessor, Mr. Gerald S. Cox.

The officers for the ensuing year are: senior warden, J. W. Deegan, C.M.G., C.V.O., P.G.St.B., P.D.G.W. (E. Africa); junior warden, W. G. M. Lugton, P.M.; chaplain, the Rev. J. Gillett, P.D.D.G.M. (E. Africa), P.A.G. Chap. (Cornwall); treasurer, E. L. Larcombe, P.M.; secretary, F. H. G. Palmer, P.M.; director of ceremonies, F. S. Joelson, P.A.G.D.C., L.G.R.; senior deacon, the Rev. R. T. Izard; junior deacon, L. Clough; assistant director of ceremonies, W. Dick, P.M.; almoner, H. Bentley, P.M.; assistant secretary, R. G. Müller, P.M.; inner guard, R. S. Cayzer; stewards, S. A. Walden, P.M., C.M.G., G. W. Williams, C. H. B. Rose, Colin O. J. Miller, and Norman Gillett; Tyler, C. Norrington, P.M., L.G.R.

The Lodge, which was consecrated in 1956; meets on the first Tuesday in March, May, July, and September. Freemasons from East and Central Africa coming to the United Kingdom are invited to communicate in advance with the secretary at The Holt, Capel, near Dorking, in order that they may receive notice of any meetings during their visit.

Malawi's One-Man Band

Dr. Banda Takes Eight Portfolios

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, who was already also Minister of Information, Minister of Transport and Communications, and Minister of Trade and Industry, has now taken to himself another four portfolios, those of Defence, Public Order, Natural Resources and Surveys, and Social Development and Health.

Mr. John Tembo, aged 32, has become Minister of Finance, but Sir Henry Phillips, the late holder of that portfolio, has promised to continue as financial adviser.

The other Ministers are Messrs. Orton Chirwa (Justice), H. B. M. Chipembere (Education), A. W. Bwanausi (Development and Housing), W. Chokani (Labour), and Y. K. Chisiza (Home Affairs).

Tanganyika and Zanzibar

PRESIDENT NYERERE told about 300 African students whom he entertained to tea on Sunday that the new United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar would not break down. Though some newspapers had said that it would collapse in a few days or a few weeks, "it is not going to collapse at all". Mr. Karume, lately President of Zanzibar, and now First Vice-President of the United Republic, was present.

"Suspend Constitution", Says Z.A.P.U.

(Continued from page 863)

This is the only correct basis on which all stable and democratic Governments stand, as is the case with all Governments represented at the Commonwealth Conference.

"We would be extremely insulted to be expected to concede to the fiction of transitional years of qualifying to rule. It would be tantamount to asking the African people of Southern Rhodesia to accept that they are human beings of lesser quality than any in the Commonwealth. A suggestion we are not prepared to countenance whatsoever.

"Anyone who imagines his property or kith endangered by concession of power to the Africans has every liberty to remove from the country rather than indulge in devising excuses to prevent the majority from taking over government of their country.

"The U.K. Government has hitherto been invariably preoccupied with the interests of her kith and kin, the settlers of Southern Rhodesia foremost, in considering solutions to issues affecting Southern Rhodesia. The usual emphasis on 'protection of minorities' and on their 'great economic contribution' as arguments to hinder majority rule are reasoned from this premise. In seeking a popular constitutional solution we are not contending the issue of whether or not the settlers brought economic developments to the country. That is an irrelevant and mischievous point to involve.

"The initiative to bring about a popular constitutional change in Southern Rhodesia must of necessity come from the U.K. Government as long as she retains colonial authority. To suggest that the initiative must come from the Southern Rhodesia Government, a faction in the conflict, is in other words saying to the white settlers: 'You oppress the African people as long as you choose'.

"Insistence on this position means letting the settlers continue a course of unbridled dictatorship over the African people, causing a stalemate over any possible solution, and,

under the stress of oppression, this gives us an unqualified right to a revolution to destroy any barriers to a popular and peaceful government since our only contact with the settler-dictatorship is conflict.

"In these circumstances we would then have to know whether British sovereignty over Southern Rhodesia bears positive aspects only when it comes to the protection of the settlers — whatever the pretext used.

"We frequently hear the argument that the African people of Southern Rhodesia cannot get one-man-one-vote tomorrow. To us the problem is a clear political and constitutional one, requiring no involvement of mathematical computations about representation or bringing in of educational and economic factors to confuse the franchise. We know of no country where any of its voters had to undergo a training exercise of how to vote before being entered on the voting register. It is to contemplate that the exercise of a vote by 'A' is in itself a training in the same process to 'B' who has been denied one. There is therefore no question of denying any inhabitant of Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) a vote.

"As majority rule based on a strict basis of unqualified one-man-one-vote is the prerequisite to independence we take it that the Commonwealth Conference will consider the establishment of such majority rule as a priority.

"Our demands towards the immediate solution of the problem of Southern Rhodesia are that:—

"(1) The African people's national leader, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, through whom only successful negotiations on behalf of the African people are possible, be released immediately, together with all other political detainees and prisoners so that they can fulfill their political obligations; and

"(2) The British Government suspend the present Constitution of Southern Rhodesia, dissolve the reckless regime of Ian Smith, and convene immediately a constitutional conference with the specific purpose of transferring power to the majority inhabitants on the strict, unqualified and unequivocal basis of one-man-one-vote".

British View of Commonwealth

Views of 39 Public Bodies

FAITH IN THE COMMONWEALTH has been expressed by 39 influential British organizations, which sent representatives to a conference recently convened by the Royal Commonwealth Society.

The views then expressed are thus summarized:—

"Now is the moment for a determined effort by Governments and organizations outside of Government to employ the resources and spirit of the Commonwealth for bridging the gap between the developed and the developing countries, to prove by example how different races can respect one another's views and work together in friendship, and to show what the Commonwealth could do as a power for world peace within the framework of the United Nations.

"The Commonwealth is often misunderstood, not only by foreign nations, but also by some of its own citizens, who suppose it to be a political alliance which is losing its force. The truth is that its value rests upon historic foundations which transcend the political alignments of the moment. There have been some unfortunate occasions when Commonwealth co-operation and consultation has broken down and has failed. However, the Commonwealth will survive these troubles, and its 'healing touch' (to use the late Mr. Nehru's phrase) will be felt even where there are political disagreements.

Effective Co-operation

"Co-operation is most effective at present in the fields of social, technical, economic and cultural development, through the practice of continuous consultation between departments of Government, and the habit of working together, aided by the Commonwealth system of communications. These present a firm base upon which to build; and, since the Commonwealth provides a technique for co-operation, rather than a binding legal formula, it is not exclusive. This technique can be extended in appropriate instances to other friendly countries, as in the case of the Colombo Plan. The Commonwealth can never be a closed shop.

"Far too little is known about the existing links uniting the Governments, the professions, the universities, commerce, and industry throughout the Commonwealth. The network is complex and comprehensive; from science to literature, from medicine to law, from trade to industry, and not least in sport, close co-operation and co-ordination exists and continues to grow. Everywhere good will and personal service count as much as institutional regulations.

"It is impossible in this statement to list in detail the constructive proposals put forward by individual organizations as to what should be done, but it is clear that there is a profound desire to see a co-ordinated effort made to ensure continued improvement in Commonwealth co-operation. The word 'co-ordinated' is stressed, as the problems to be tackled are so massive that only by co-ordination can results be achieved and wastage of effort avoided. Three fields in which action could with great advantage be taken are: (a) education in the broadest sense, (b) the dissemination of information, and (c) trade, aid and investment.

"The English language, as the most widely spread of the international languages and the first or second language in every Commonwealth country, is one of the most effective channels for promoting co-operation. The teaching of English will continue to be of immense value, as the key to progress in the developing countries.

Radio and Television

"In the wider field of education the media of radio and television offer possibilities for progress on a scale that could not have been attained hitherto. The scope for training in the professions, the arts, agriculture, trade organizations and individual firms is enormous. Over and above the benefits already being derived from the exchange of knowledge between countries, and the co-operation between universities, there is a special need for educational assistance to the developing countries.

"More funds therefore should be spent particularly on (a) training in the developed countries of senior administrators and technicians and professional men and women from the developing countries, and (b) secondment overseas of teachers, doctors, scientists, managers, and other experts, without damage to their careers.

"The response to the call for young men and women to serve voluntarily for short periods in the developing countries is encouraging and exciting. It offers a use of manpower that can contribute much to friendship and peace.

"Encouragement should be given to the organization of conferences of professional bodies in different parts of the Commonwealth. Appropriate tax concessions by all Commonwealth Governments would greatly facilitate the holding of such meetings.

"Stages of development and ways of life vary so greatly

amongst the peoples of the Commonwealth that it is vital for each country to make a real effort to understand the problems of the others. The contribution to this cause of Press, television, radio, publishing and organizations for supplying speakers is already very considerable, but so much more can be done.

Television and radio programmes produced in the developed countries should be made more readily available to developing countries at minimum cost, and television and radio equipment should be provided at a low rate of interest. Preferential rates for Commonwealth Press telegrams should also be maintained.

The demand justifies a further supply of finance for: (a) technical training of engineers in telecommunications, (b) increased training of journalists and broadcasting staff, (c) the supply and distribution of books, (d) the provision of additional public libraries, and (e) the exchange of outstanding speakers round the Commonwealth.

There are dangers in censorship in any form, and freedom of speech and the right to express one's opinion honestly must be zealously guarded if there is to be true dissemination of information.

The calling of a Commonwealth Information Conference is recommended. It should include representatives of Press, radio, and television, voluntary organizations and Government information services of all Commonwealth countries. This gathering would discuss how information should best be interchanged between member countries.

Private Investment

The recent United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva has shown that, though there are numerous differences facing the developed and the developing countries in improving trade relations, success can be achieved by patient negotiation.

The Commonwealth, with so much experience of liberal co-operation behind it, can give a strong lead in working actively for international commodity agreements and in furthering the cause of the expansion of world trade generally.

The private investor can play a decisive rôle in reinforcing the efforts of Governments in the provision of capital and technical assistance. He brings with him not only his capital but his 'know-how', and in his own interests is concerned to ensure that proper management, proper technical advice, and proper training facilities accompany his investment. In turn he asks for adequate security and a reasonable return on his capital.

Great opportunities exist for strengthening the network of cross-links between Commonwealth countries. Impetus and cohesion can be given to this process of co-ordination by the Prime Ministers. We recommend that they give their encouragement to the setting up in each country of a Commonwealth Centre as a focus for attention upon Commonwealth affairs over the widest possible field.

Finally, we believe that the ideals embodied in the Four Freedoms and the Charter of the United Nations can only be attained by nations which respect the rule of law and which habitually co-operate in candid and friendly meetings. Where the spirit of Commonwealth co-operation prevails, these objects are within our reach.

Participating Organizations

The organizations participating in the conference were the Association of Commonwealth Universities, the Association of Education Committees, the British Bankers' Association, the British Broadcasting Corporation, the British Empire and Commonwealth Games Federation, the British Employers' Confederation, the British Institute of Management, the British Medical Association, the Centre for Educational Television Overseas, the Chartered Institute of Secretaries, the Commonwealth Association of Architects, the Commonwealth Broadcasting Conference, the Commonwealth Migration Council, the Commonwealth Press Union, the Council for Education in the Commonwealth.

The Engineering Institutions Joint Council, the English Speaking Union, the Federation of British Industries, the Headmasters' Conference, the Institute of Chartered Accountants, the Institute of Race Relations, the Law Society, the National Council for Supply of Teachers Overseas, the National Farmers' Union, the National Union of Teachers, the Overseas Development Institute, the Overseas Employers' Federation, Overseas Service, the Publishers' Association.

The Royal Academy of Arts, the Royal Commonwealth Society, the Royal Institute of British Architecture, the Royal Society, the Royal Society of British Architects, the Royal Society of Over-Sea League, the Royal Society, the Royal Society of Arts, the Thomson Foundation, the U.K. Committee of the Federation of Commonwealth Chambers of Commerce, the Victoria League, and Voluntary Service Overseas.

Lord John Hope, chairman of the Royal Commonwealth Society, told a Press conference that the aim was to sell the Commonwealth to Britain and also to the Commonwealth,

some members of which felt that the United Kingdom had lost faith in the Commonwealth. It could be said that the purpose was to repair the damage done to the Commonwealth when Britain attempted to enter the European Common Market. Among those attending the conference there has been anxiety about the Commonwealth but no pessimism. [Comment appears in Notes By The Way.]

Unilateral Declaration "Insane"

Sir Edgar Whitehead on "Appalling Isolation"

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, Leader of the Opposition in Southern Rhodesia, who had returned from London only a couple of days earlier, told the National Affairs Association last week that if Southern Rhodesia made a unilateral declaration of independence any Government which recognized it would commit an act unfriendly to Britain. It was therefore most unlikely that any country would recognize Rhodesia, and the present uncertainty, instead of being ended, would be enormously increased.

The world would regard Southern Rhodesia as a country without a legal Government and in rebellion against Britain. An African nationalist government-in-exile would almost certainly be set up, possibly in Northern Rhodesia, and receive official recognition from a number of African States and possibly the Communist bloc and some Asian countries.

Relations between the two Rhodesias would be ruptured; trade would be completely disrupted; there would be a breakdown in the operation of the air lines, railways, and Kariba hydro-electric plant; and an iron curtain on the Zambezi would bring the grave risk of guerrilla activities.

Northern Rhodesia would unquestionably suffer a severe economic setback, but political sentiment might swamp economic considerations. Southern Rhodesia would face economic disaster.

Under an unrecognized usurper Government Southern Rhodesia could not operate normally within the Commonwealth sugar pool, and development of the lowveld would be dealt a mortal blow. The tobacco market would also be gravely affected.

To tear up the present Constitution by a unilateral declaration of independence would be the ultimate insanity.

Sir Edgar did not believe that H.M. Government would breach the Constitution by attempting to legislate for Southern Rhodesia. He repeated that if unilateral action were taken by the Southern Rhodesian Government, the Opposition would stand firmly by the Constitution and refuse to recognize the Government.

He had said during his London visit that the United Kingdom Government ought to make an outright gift to Rhodesia of between £2m. and £3m. for the expansion of African education and provide some £40m. during the next four years for development purposes in the country.

Less Reason for Deterrence

MR KEITH KYLE said in *The Times*: —

"A unilateral declaration would deeply divide white Rhodesians, unite the most unfortunately divided black Rhodesians, force the British Government to intervene, and align Britain with the United Nations and African members of the Commonwealth.

"If the declaration were deterred, the white Rhodesians would be (more or less) united, the blacks remain divided, no British initiative would be forthcoming whatsoever, the Government and Britain would remain out of step with the United Nations, the Commonwealth, and with her own passionately proclaimed principles.

"Southern Rhodesia is a member of the United Nations by virtue of British membership and British responsibility for Southern Rhodesia's foreign relations and thus for her conduct as a member of the international community. This is the whole point.

"Everything else is tactical — while, as I thought when reporting on television from Rhodesia, deterrence made sense while Mr. Winston Field, a man with high personal prestige among all races, remained Prime Minister, there seems much less point in it now; and at least a case for letting Mr. Smith get on with it and making suitable dispositions to meet him at Philippi."

Mr. Odinga Pledges His Loyalty

"Imperialists Spreading Malicious Rumours"

MR. OGINGA ODINGA, Minister for Home Affairs in Kenya — who had not accompanied his Prime Minister to London, though his name appeared in the official list of delegates — said on Sunday when addressing a large rally at Kangundu, 50 miles from Nairobi, that imperialists had spread malicious rumours saying that he had plotted to seize power. If he had wanted power he could easily have had it by ingratiating himself with the imperialists when Mzee Kenyatta and the old guard nationalists were in prison during the Mau Mau emergency.

"Africans have seized power from the imperialists who ruled Kenya for so long. I would not like to seize power from Africans. I was put into power by the Africans who elected me".

Rumours about him and Mzee Kenyatta had been disseminated by imperialists and those who licked their boots. After the imperialists had left there were still a few people who had followed them and were still in Kenya.

"We are now discovering them and chasing them away. One of them was kicked out recently" — the reference being obviously to Assistant Police Commissioner Pridgeon, who was expelled earlier this month at 24 hours' notice.

"The imperialists have sucked our country and left us like dry bones. We saluted the imperialists while they were in power. Now it is their turn to salute us. We shall deal severely with those who are spoiling the African Government".

Witchcraft in Kenya

A WITCH-DOCTOR confessed on Monday before a large crowd at Baricho, about 120 miles from Nairobi, that he had bewitched and caused the death of nine men and women. He and about 200 other witch-doctors, including 27 women, gave up their potions, bones, and other paraphernalia and promised not to practise any kind of sorcery henceforth. Mr. James Kibuga, the local M.P., had arranged the meeting as part of a Kenya African National Union drive to rid Kenya of witchcraft.

Riot Police Out in Nairobi

THREE PLATOONS of riot police broke up a demonstration in Nairobi on Monday by about 1,000 unemployed Africans, who had stoned the labour exchange. The Minister of Labour being absent, the Minister for Natural Resources, Mr. Sagini, appealed to the crowd, which had demanded free food and housing until found employment, not to cause trouble during the absence of the Prime Minister, "for if he has to return here because of trouble it will shame our country".

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Mr. Tshombe's Congolese Government

Small Cabinet of New Men

MR. TSHOMBE was on Friday sworn in as Prime Minister of the Congo, Minister for External Affairs, Minister for Information, and Minister for External Commerce.

Though the new Constitution entitled him to a Cabinet of 19 members, he has appointed only 11. The last Government under Mr. Adoula had 27 Ministers and six Secretaries of State.

Two ex-secessionist leaders beside himself have been appointed by Mr. Tshombe, namely Mr. Godefroid Munongo, his former Minister for the Interior in Katanga, who becomes Minister for the Interior of the whole Congo, and Mr. Albert Kalonji, former President of the "Diamond Province" of South Kasai, who has been made Minister for Agriculture.

The other members of the Cabinet are Messrs. Jean Ebosini (Economic Affairs), Frederic Balonji (Education), Domingue Ndinga (Finance), Adolphe Kishwe (Mines and Energy), André Lubaya (Public Health), Jean-Jules Kidisho (Public Works and Transport), Leon Mambuleo (Justice), and Joseph Ndanu (Youth and Sports).

None had ever held Cabinet office in the Central Congolese Government.

President Kasavubu and Mr. Tshombe will attend this week's African summit conference in Cairo.

Amnesty for Political Prisoners

Mr. Tshombe's first official announcement was that all political prisoners, estimated to number about 600, would be released. There was no special mention of Mr. Gizenga, the left-wing leader who was at one time Vice Premier, who has been in "administrative detention" for about two and a half years.

The curfew imposed in Leopoldville seven weeks ago after a number of bombing outrages has been discontinued, and the state of emergency in Stanleyville has been declared at an end.

On Saturday Mr. Tshombe ordered about 2,000 former members of the Katanga Gendarmerie who have been in exile in Angola to return to the Congo. They are to be integrated into the National Army, in which their European officers (believed to number 13) will act as "technicians".

Mr. Mulongo, who had previously seen the President of East Katanga and General Bobozo, the Army commander in that area, said that he was about to visit North Katanga to try to reach a settlement with the rebels who controlled that part of the country from Albertville. He added that the ex-gendarmes from Katanga could either join the National Army or take civil employment.

A young Scot and a West German who had entered Katanga without proper travel documents were expelled at the week-end.

Membership cards of the Tanganyika African National Union and identity cards with Dar es Salaam addresses have been found on the bodies of Africans killed last week while serving with the rebels in the Kivu Province. The documents were exhibited to journalists in Bukavu by an officer of the National Army after it had routed a rebel force which was said to have lost hundreds of dead.

Rebel Successes

It was reported on Monday from Bujumbura, Burundi, that rebels had on Friday occupied Kabalo, some 200 miles west of Albertville, and later taken Kongolo, from which trainloads of National Army troops and civilians had retreated to Kindu. A dozen Roman Catholic missionaries, all Belgians, remained in Kongolo. "Field Marshal" John Okello, of Zanzibar fame, was rumoured to be with the rebels.

The British Consul-General in Elisabethville, Mr. W. Wilson, flew to Bujumbura to take charge of endeavours to rescue 14 British subjects from a mission in rebel country.

Mr. John Biggs-Davison, Mr. A. Fell, and Sir John Eden, three Tory M.P.s, tabled a motion inviting the House to note the "vindication" of Mr. Tshombe.



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Lower Sisal Prices Expected

Anxiety About "Threat" from Synthetics

THE MONTHLY CIRCULAR of Messrs. Wigglesworth & Co., Ltd., refers to a "threat" to sisal from synthetic and other substitutes. It states:—

"The market for East African sisal has continued exceedingly quiet and sales have remained much below normal. Although present contracts absorb the greater part of the higher grades produced for some months ahead, larger quantities are now becoming available. In lower grades competition from Brazilian sisal has greater influence, and this has been a weak market for some time, with prices considerably below equivalent African.

"Consumers in general show the greatest reluctance to buy anything beyond their immediate requirements since they feel that African sisal prices, as a whole, are much too high. Since the early part of the year African sisal prices have been at an unrealistically high level. On the one hand, growers in Africa have shown great reluctance to reduce prices until necessary through increasing pressure of unsold stocks. Since a substantial part of the production was sold ahead, there was no great pressure to sell.

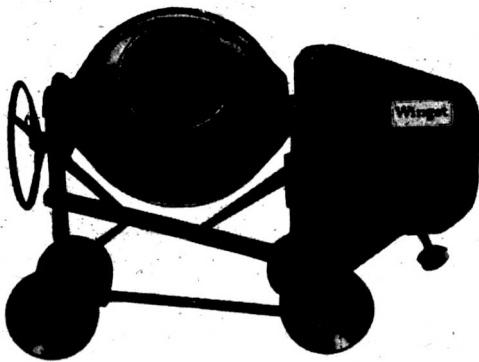
Brazil Underselling East Africa

"In Brazil, where sisal is not normally sold beyond the current shipment period, there has been considerable selling pressure on the part of growers and exporters who wished to benefit from the high and profitable price level. As a result Brazilian prices have steadily fallen, and sisal has at times been offered at a discount of as much as 20% below equivalent East African. This clearly could not continue, and there has been a gradual trend away from low-grade African to Brazilian, and, more recently, a steady attrition in the price of African 3s and UG.

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"In higher grades, although there has so far been less pressure to sell, it is equally questionable whether it is in the interest of African sisal producers to maintain prices at what must be considered too high a level. A downward adjustment to bring prices of all grades more into line with one another, and with competing fibre, appears overdue.

"The threat from synthetics and other substitutes to displace sisal twine makes it all the more necessary that the price of the natural fibre should be restored to competitive levels.

"Prices for No. 3 and UG have fallen during the past month by £6 to £10 per ton. April production figures show a further increase compared with last year, and for the first four months of 1964 the totals are 69,235 tons from Tanganyika, an increase of 5,764 tons, and 23,167 from Kenya and Uganda, an increase of 1,846 tons."

At the time of writing there were no buyers of the top three grades, which were nominal at £148 per ton for No. 1, £147 for A, and £146 for 3L and 2. No. 3 was quoted £135, UG £130, and tow at £96 for top quality and £89 for No. 2.

The raising of the Tanganyika export tax on sisal increased its levy on top grades by about £3 at current prices.

News Items in Brief

The British Information Services have opened offices in Lusaka.

An Anglo-American-German consortium is prepared to invest £6½m. in a paper and pulp industry near Broderick Falls, Kenya.

Firearms from East Germany are now reported to have been flown into Zanzibar, which had previously received arms from Russia and China.

A silver inkstand weighing 160 oz. and 20 inches long and more than seven inches wide has been presented to the Parliament of Malawi by H.M. Government.

Diamond sales for African and other producers in the first half of this year amounted to £64.8m., against £57m. in the corresponding six months of last year.

Independent Northern Rhodesia is to establish diplomatic missions in London, New York, Washington, Moscow, Cairo, Dar es Salaam, Leopoldville, and Accra.

Inter-African News Agency (IANA) is now the domestic news agency for the Central African territories, the South Africa Press Association (SAPA) having ceased to operate in those countries.

When 15 young Kenyan Africans returned home last week after spending a year in Russia, their leader, Mr. Sindui Githamba, said that they were now ready to serve their country in any way.

Delegates from the Lenshina Church on the Copperbelt and in Broken Hill have told the Northern Rhodesian Government that it dissociates itself from recent incidents in the Chin-sali area, where Lenshina followers attacked a police party.

Central Line Sisal Estates, Ltd., a subsidiary of The British Central Africa Co., Ltd., announces that acceptances have been received in respect of more than 90% of the shares of East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd. The board will therefore exercise its right to acquire the balance of the issued share capital.

African parents in Salisbury and Bulawayo who had previously paid token tuition fees of about £1 a term have lately not paid, many of them saying that they were under political intimidation not to do so. Fourteen schools have consequently been closed. In none had more than half the fees been received.

An African woman refused to move from a reserved seat in the front row of the public gallery when Malawi's first independent Parliament was opened by the Duke of Edinburgh. She sat tight and yelled: "I fought for independence and went to prison. None of these people (gesturing at V.I.P.s and diplomats) fought for our independence". M.Ps. cheered. She stayed.

Southern Rhodesia can compete with other sugar-growing countries, Sir Ray Stockil, chairman of Hippo Valley Estates, Ltd., said at the annual meeting. Mr. G. Eilman-Brown, a director, who is chairman of the Rhodesian Sugar Association, gave a warning that the Commonwealth sugar quota would be sacrificed if there were a unilateral declaration of independence.

Rhodesian Mining Ventures, Ltd., a subsidiary of the Gold Fields group, is engaged in intensive prospecting of some 10 square miles surrounding the old Ranco mine, some 50 miles south of Fort Victoria; results are described as very promising. Rhodesian Chrome Mines, Ltd., has applied for an exclusive prospecting licence over 96 square miles in the same locality. It had been previously thought that gold would not be found in economic quantities in the Limpopo metamorphic belt.

Tanganyika's Memorandum

"Commonwealth Could Break Up on This Issue"

A MEMORANDUM circulated to the Heads of Government by the Government of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, reads:—

"The objective of the United Republic in making these proposals to the Commonwealth Conference is to assist in the search for a peaceful solution to the problem in Southern Rhodesia.

"The situation in that Colony is rapidly coming to a crisis. Sporadic outbreaks of violence have already occurred; African leaders are either in prison or under detention; and there is the imminent threat of a unilateral declaration of independence by the present Southern Rhodesian Government.

"In law and in fact, the United Kingdom has sovereign rights over Southern Rhodesia. The U.K. Parliament alone has the power to grant independence to that Colony, just as Britain alone hands the instruments of independence to all other of her Dependencies.

"In this regard British policy, by declaration and by practice, has been to relinquish sovereignty only when there exists an effective territorial Government which has the full support of the people. Britain has invariably insisted on a demonstration of this public support, frequently by means of a pre-independence general election on a wide if not universal franchise. The same policy must be followed in Southern Rhodesia.

Involvement of the Commonwealth

"The Commonwealth is an association of independent States, none of which surrenders its sovereignty. There is no unanimity on foreign policy, nor on internal economic policies. But there is an acceptance of two basic principles: independent sovereignty for each member, with government by or with the consent of the inhabitants; and human equality and dignity. The exclusion of South Africa from the Commonwealth stemmed from its unwillingness to comply with these two principles.

"For Southern Rhodesia to acquire independence with a Constitution which violates either of these two principles would therefore imply her expulsion from the Commonwealth. Such exclusion would deny four million Africans the right to become part of the Commonwealth, although they themselves do wish to conform to these principles. The Africans of Southern Rhodesia would thus be refused an opportunity which has been accorded to the inhabitants of every other British Dependency on the attainment of independence.

"There is a grave danger that the Commonwealth could break up on this issue, for the African members would be quite unable to acquiesce in a Commonwealth denial of the principle of racial equality. Independence for Southern Rhodesia on any terms other than majority rule would involve such a denial. Despite the legal responsibility of Britain, it would be a Commonwealth denial if the Common-

wealth as a group failed to exert itself positively in support of this principle.

"The Commonwealth thus has the responsibility to secure positive steps for Southern Rhodesia's advance to democratic independence. It has also a responsibility to ensure that these steps are not frustrated by illegal action on the part of the present Southern Rhodesian Government or by any other minority group.

Illegal Declaration of Independence

"A unilateral declaration of independence by a Southern Rhodesian Government would be a violation of the sovereignty of Britain. Legally and politically, Britain would then be bound to take action to enforce her sovereignty; in the circumstances of Southern Rhodesia failure to do so must be regarded as an acquiescence by the United Kingdom in the denial of the principle of racial equality.

"There is a real and imminent danger that such a unilateral declaration may be made by the present Southern Rhodesian Government. The Commonwealth must at this meeting consider the action which it proposes to take in such an event. This is our only opportunity.

"If there is at any stage a unilateral declaration of independence, the Commonwealth, individually and collectively, must act. Action must involve:—

"(a) A refusal by all Commonwealth countries to grant recognition and a British use of the veto in the Security Council to prevent admission to the United Nations.

"(b) Full economic and financial pressures must be operated by every member. These would include, for example, withdrawal of Commonwealth and any other trading preferences on all Southern Rhodesian products and a denial of all credit and loan facilities.

"(c) Joint Commonwealth military intervention with troops from member countries coming under British command.

"It would not be sufficient for members of the Commonwealth simply to deny recognition. It is also necessary that the other steps outlined should be taken. A Commonwealth failure to take positive action might compel the United Republic, which is directly affected by events in Southern Rhodesia, to recognize and give military support to a Southern Rhodesian government-in-exile.

"It is conceivable, however, that a public statement by the conference, declaring the determination of Commonwealth members to take the actions set out above, might in itself be sufficient to restrain the Southern Rhodesian Government from the policy it has threatened.

Positive Steps for Democratic Advance

"Regardless of whether or not there is any attempt to secure independence unilaterally, positive steps towards democratic independence must be taken. The present conference must announce that, with the full support of the Commonwealth, the British Government will summon a new constitutional conference for Southern Rhodesia to which it will invite the Southern Rhodesian Government, the Parliamentary Opposition, and the two African nationalist parties — Z.A.N.U and P.C.C.

"The conference should be held whether or not the Southern Rhodesian Government or the Parliamentary Opposition, attends. Further, any attempt to sabotage or frustrate the conference decisions must be treated as a refusal to obey the sovereign Power, and must call forth the same Commonwealth reactions as a Southern Rhodesian Government illegal declaration of independence.

"The Southern Rhodesian issue is urgent. It demands from the conference a recognition that just as the Commonwealth has the obligation to help its members to defend their freedom, so the Commonwealth has the obligation to help in securing freedom.

"The Commonwealth as a whole, and each of its members, must have an interest in the maintenance of peace. There is at present a great danger of violence being used as the means of overthrowing the minority Government. This can be avoided only if the majority are given hope that justice can be secured peacefully with the co-operation of the Commonwealth.

"A Commonwealth declaration of intent to intervene if necessary may itself secure the co-operation from the Southern Rhodesian authorities which is necessary. But if it does not, than the intervention will reduce violence to a minimum and will almost certainly safeguard the lives of innocent people who might become the victims of undisciplined civil strife.

"And it will give to reasonable members of the minority community an assurance that their rational and understandable fears will be taken into account at the same time as the rights of the majority of the nation."

Dr. Obote's Statement

(Continued from page 862)

believe that the Southern Rhodesian white settlers are still very dependent upon British capital and British good will. In fact, they cannot go on without both these. So, once again, the question of responsibility for the Southern Rhodesian situation can be placed squarely on the shoulders of the British Government, British financiers and industrialists, and the British public.

"But while the responsibility is on the British, the Commonwealth is deeply concerned with what is going on in Southern Rhodesia. The strength of the Commonwealth lies in the fact that people of different races, coming from different parts of the world, meet and work together. We, as members of the Commonwealth, are only too willing to render the British Government such assistance as she may require in solving the Southern Rhodesia problem.

"While the British have tremendous influence upon the white settlers, the other members of the Commonwealth are similarly not without influence upon the non-white members of the Commonwealth, and if we all pool our resources, a dialogue would be established whereby peace and co-operation would result."

Developing the S. Rhodesian Lowveld

Immense Impact on Country's Economy

SOUTHERN RHODESIA is rapidly becoming an important producer of sugar. Whereas it could not meet its own requirements a few years ago, there was an export of 81,000 tons last year, and four years hence it is estimated that at least four times that tonnage will be available for shipment to other markets; and at today's prices that would add about £1.3m. a year to the national income. It is even estimated that eight years hence the country's production could be a million tons a year.

About £5.6m. have been spent by the Government on dams and irrigation schemes in the Chiredzi-Hippo Valley-Triangle area, and three years hence, when the present expansion scheme is completed, the expenditure, including that on a branch railway, will have risen to £9.4m., while the expenditure of companies on the estate will have totalled about £21.5m.

By 1967 some 60,000 Africans should be employed in the lowveld, which will thus provide for a population, with their families, of some 250,000.

It has been officially estimated that some 600,000 acres in the lowveld could be irrigated, and detailed planning of the rest of the Sabi-Limpopo area is in train. Preliminary estimates suggest that more than £200m. might be profitably invested in that part of Southern Rhodesia in the next quarter of a century.

The rapidity of the development is believed to have no parallel anywhere in Africa.

De Courcy a Menace to Investors

Deception, Lies and Trickery

MR. KENNETH HUGH DE COURCY'S appeal against conviction and sentence of seven years' imprisonment on charges of fraud, forgery and perjury in connexion with property transactions in Rhodesia has been dismissed by the Court of Criminal Appeal. Crown costs in the trial and the appeal are officially stated to have been about 8,730 and 4,700 guineas respectively.

The appellant was ordered to pay £4,750 towards the Crown's costs of the appeal.

Mr. Justice Sachs said that the court endorsed the statement of the Common Serjeant when passing sentence that "no deception, no untruth, and no trickery was too low for you [de Courcy] to stoop to". He added: "The menace such a man can be to investors was greatly increased by his social position and the way in which, according to the evidence, he secured the personal confidence of men in public life". Never before had any member of the court come across in any one case so great a number of individual documents each of which was so pungently redolent of fraud. The court had seriously considered whether to increase the sentence.

Ministers Cut Salaries

MINISTERS in Northern Rhodesia, who have been paid £2,650 plus tax-free allowances totalling £1,310, or just under £4,000 a year have agreed to a reduction of £100, and Parliamentary Secretaries, who have received £2,500 and a tax-free allowance of £300, are to lose £50. These reductions are, however, additional to compulsory deductions for party funds. Such contributions have been at the rate of £50 a month for Ministers, £30 for Parliamentary Secretaries, and £10 from back-benchers. Those from Ministers have now been reduced to £30 and from Parliamentary Secretaries to £20.

Deported from Malawi

THE MALAWI GOVERNMENT'S first deportee is Mr. E. P. Usavi, publicity secretary in Blantyre of Mr. Nkomo's People's Caretaker Party. Dr. Banda favours the rival Z.A.P.U. Mr. Usavi was told on Saturday that he must leave within three days.

Swingeing Tax Increases in N.R.

Big Companies to Pay 9s. 6d. in the £

THE MINING COMPANIES in Northern Rhodesia and the Chartered Company, which have hitherto paid a tax rate of 8s. in the £, are to have income tax levied at 9s. 6d. in the £.

Mr. Arthur Wina, the Finance Minister, when making that announcement in his budget speech, said that he hoped the change would be temporary and that other arrangements could be made in consultation with the mining companies after the question of Chartered royalties had been settled.

The Minister regretted that he was inhibited from making really satisfactory arrangements for additional revenue for capital purposes by the fact that 80% of the country's mineral royalties were retained by the British South Africa Company and paid largely overseas. The heavy increase in the higher rate of company tax was a purely temporary measure. He hoped that next year's budget would contain more satisfactory permanent arrangements.

It was imperative for the country to acquire control of the mineral royalties, of which a full historical and legal study was awaited from economic consultants in London. The long-term aim was an agreement with the mining companies "under which they will undertake to plan and finance a vigorous programme for production and to contribute a reasonable part of their returns from sales to Government revenue as payment for the extraction of our natural resources".

The change in company tax is to apply only to enterprises with a taxable income in excess of £500,000. Hitherto companies have paid 8s. in the £ after the first £50,000, which had a tax rate of 6s. 6d. Medium-sized concerns will now pay 7s., instead of 8s., but the 6s. 6d. concession on the first £50,000 is abolished.

Mr. Wina estimates that these changes will yield an additional £4.4m. Custom and excise duty changes recently announced should produce £2.1m.

The budget provides for revenue totalling £56m. Current expenditure to the end of June next year is estimated at £45.3m. and capital expenditure to the same date at £15.1m.



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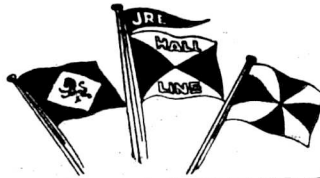
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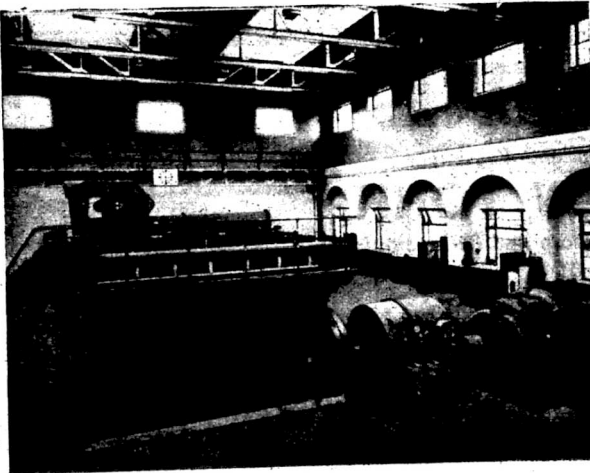
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