

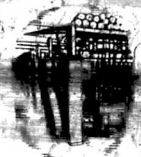
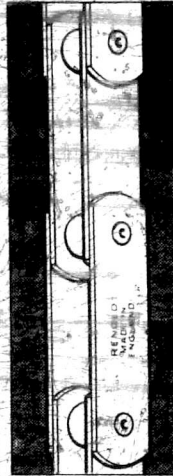
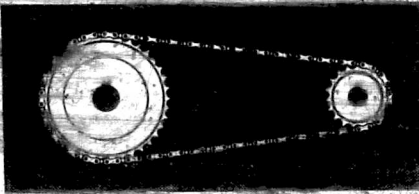
EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, May 24, 1962

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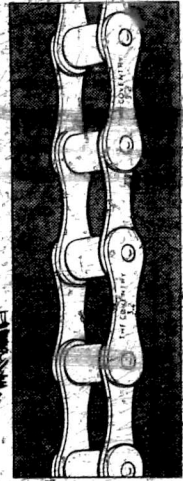
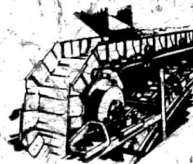
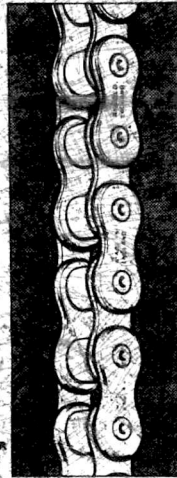
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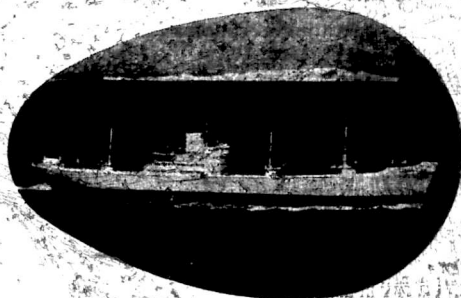
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

FROM ITS FREQUENT CRITICISMS of the failure of prominent publications to deal fairly with developments in the territories with which it is concerned, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has shown that it is far from complacent about the Press. Because the subject is of public importance, and because the views of an able African politician with a keen understanding of the value of publicity should be widely known, we report at considerable length in this issue an address given in Paris last week to the International Press Institute by Mr. Mboya. He had necessarily to generalize, and generalization is always dangerous. He said, for example: "In the majority of cases the world Press is served by foreign journalists who pay short visits to the various parts of Africa and on whom the world's verdict over Africa may rest; the news agencies often rely on such journalists or reporters, who may not themselves know enough or physically be able to cover the area assigned to them to be able to interpret the African scene". Neither in that passage nor elsewhere in the speech was it recognized that the world's Press is served day by day by journalists resident in Africa, who until recently were almost always on the staff of a locally published newspaper, and are now increasingly complemented by staff correspondents of leading London newspaper and news agencies who have orders to keep moving about Africa, maintaining touch with changes in men and affairs, and reporting several times a week, if not daily, on events, trends, personalities, and probabilities.

Generalization Is Dangerous.

those resident and those who are constantly on the move, than it does the correspondents who are sent on brief assignments of a special nature, such as a visit by royalty or a prominent member of the Government or the celebration of an important country's independence. Surely, perhaps hundreds, of journalists flock in from many countries on such special occasions, and since most of them know nothing about Africa, it is understandable that many of their reports should be superficial, inaccurate, and irritating to those whose country has been misdescribed. The harm done by such ephemeral and light-weight publicity is, however, negligible, and it is regrettable that Mr. Mboya, and doubtless his associates, should have been so misled by it. It is even more surprising that he should have entirely overlooked the main sources of news supply. They still have their faults, of course, but in quality, quantity, and spread of interest there has been a most marked improvement in recent years. Some of those responsible are about as pro-African as they could well be, so much so that they are frequently criticized in private by fellow journalists for neglect of the first rule of objectivity in reporting. Yet the very existence of these firm allies was not even hinted at by Mr. Mboya. Some of them are bound to feel disappointed.

Nor is the accusation broadly true that responsible publications in and especially concerned with Africa have been fundamentally opposed to change. Indeed, they have often been ahead of the politicians, and at the cost of great unpopularity some of them gave invaluable help to the earliest advocates of African advancement, political, social, cultural and economic.

Press Ahead Of Politicians.

The verdict about Africa of the general public and of leader-writers depends far more on the professional competence of these men,

to the earliest advocates of African advancement, political, social, cultural and economic.

All of those pioneers, be it recalled, were Europeans, not Africans. Mr. Mboya asserted that nearly all the newspapers and reviews resented "a move away from privilege towards equality, from restrictions towards liberty, from racial injustice towards fraternity". Having known for almost half a century nearly every English-language production between Khartoum and the Limpopo, we can only say that we do not recognize that description. There have been all too many occasions on which unfortunate, intolerant, hurtful public statements by misguided men have had to be reported, but those same papers, with scarcely an exception, have been equally prepared to give prominence to the criticisms of other men who were convinced of the need for change and campaigned courageously for it. If the alleged determination to prevent change had existed, those who were ahead of their time would have been very differently treated by the Press, which recorded their comments and proposals as news, and often criticized editorially. If leading articles of that kind went unanswered, the Press can scarcely be blamed—unless Mr. Mboya intended to charge East African editors generally with declining to print letters expressing a point of view different from their own.

So far as EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA is concerned, every prominent African politician within its sphere has been aware for years of its willingness to publish letters from

Opportunities Which Africans Do Not Use.

any of them who take exception to our leading articles. In the course of private conversation the writer has not merely reminded scores of them of this fact, but has emphasized that, because pressure on space compels us to make a selection of the letters received, the policy is to give a definite preference to those which criticize our own opinions. Yet, as regular readers know, only very, very seldom does an African prominent in public life take advantage of this open invitation. Presumably the reason is that they do not find it easy to refute criticisms which they may not like. It should be added, however, that we have repeatedly been told by Africans that they welcome this journal's candid comments—and that they recognize that we have written quite as frankly about politicians in the United Kingdom and European politicians in East Africa as about African nationalist leaders whom we have considered misguided. During the recent Kenya Constitutional Con-

ference in London a European delegate gathered together at one evening party three of the most outspoken African delegates, took the editor across to them, and introduced him with the mischievous remark: "Now tear him to pieces". Animated and most good-tempered conversation followed, and within a few minutes all three had agreed that the criticisms of this paper had been useful from their party standpoint, that the coverage of news and comment had not shown bias, and that Africans who claimed freedom for themselves must expect and respect honest criticism from others.

No African leader in Kenya has been given so much space in the United Kingdom Press as Mr. Mboya (except of course Kenyatta, and that on very different grounds). However often Mr. Mboya comes to London, which he

Press Less Blameworthy Than the Politicians.

prising frequency, he is interviewed at the airport and often several times elsewhere, and at least something appears in every Fleet Street organ even if he has nothing new to say. The broadcasting and television authorities have been similarly hospitable. Far from there being any disposition to suppress his views, it can be said with confidence that not one European in Kenya today can be so sure as he of receiving opportunities of stating a case. It is politically moderate Africans who are shabbily treated by the United Kingdom newspapers, radio, and television. Nor is it fair to blame the Press primarily for the present general lack of confidence in Kenya. That mistrust is fundamentally the creation of politicians, the most prominent names on the scorecard being Macmillan, Macleod, Blundell, Renison (a political Governor), Kenyatta, and Mboya. Had the politicians acted reasonably—including the many, many more who recognized the dangerous courses which were being pursued but lacked the courage and pertinacity to avert impending tragedy—it would not have fallen to the Press to point out the dire risks of their recklessness. "The Press has not provided understanding", says Mr. Mboya. Let him re-read the warnings published by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA almost week after week from January 1960. He will not then deny that at least this journal provided understanding of the calamities ahead. A far worse indictment could be made against politicians in Kenya—and in the United Kingdom also—than that against the Press which is recorded in other columns of this issue.

Notes By The Way

Strange Letter

IN A STRANGE LETTER quoted on another page Mr. Kaunda, leader of U.N.I.P., admits that his party's London committee libelled the Federal Prime Minister and that its legal adviser recommended an apology to Sir Roy Welensky and payment of £1,000 damages to a charity of his choice. Then, claiming not to be withdrawing the apology or justifying the libellous charges, he describes them as having arisen from political events, and, in order to reinforce an appeal for money, adds that U.N.I.P. has to meet heavy expenses for maintenance of its supporters and prosecution in Northern Rhodesia. Since prosecution will certainly not have been undertaken frivolously, that is *prima facie* evidence that U.N.I.P. supporters continue to run foul of the law and a few months ago more than 2,000 of them were jailed for offences ranging from murder, attempted murder, attempted train robbery, and arson (sometimes by petrol bombs) to lesser forms of violence.

Outrageous Record

POLITICAL EXTREMISTS in the United Kingdom will nevertheless doubtless contribute to a party with this outrageous record. Who will sit at the receipt of custom? Not surprisingly Mr. Stonehouse, M.P. The innuendo that Sir Roy Welensky has taken an unfair advantage of a political opponent is implicit in Mr. Kaunda's remark that a Commonwealth Prime Minister had never previously sued a political opponent for libel. If that be true—and it seems unlikely—may not the reason be that Prime Ministers elsewhere have been spared such charges as have been made in the name of U.N.I.P.?—charges so indefensible that the party has been advised not to allow the matter to reach the courts. Sir Roy Welensky has seemed to me to show marked tolerance under attacks from various quarters which have often gone far beyond fair comment. Had he been so minded, he might, I am sure, have collected much more in damages for his favourite charities.

Pro-Gizenga Agitation

THE COMMITTEE OF AFRICAN ORGANIZATIONS in London has demanded the unconditional release of Gizenga, former Deputy Prime Minister in the Congo, the Parliament of which had decided by 64 votes to 22 to deprive him of his immunity and put him on trial on charges of treason, of attempting to buy arms abroad, and of maltreatment of prisoners. C.A.O. falsely describes him in a statement circulated to the Press as having always stood for Congo unity, adding the fatuous assertion that "to accuse Gizenga of secessionism and military plots is like accusing Tshombe of wanting to bring about unity and peace in the Congo". The committee warns the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, "and other Imperialist Governments" that Africa will never forget "their most shameful and fowl game in the Congo and elsewhere". "Fowl" appears in the typescript. The Movement for Colonial Freedom, a Brockway organization, has also started a "Save Gizenga" campaign. Why are these bodies so concerned to prevent the trial of the man who, next to Lumumba, was the chief Communist apologist and activist in the Congo? If three out of four of his fellow

African members of the Congolese Parliament consider that he should be tried on charges of treason, why should busybodies in London try to impede the course of justice?

Ethiopian Resentment

LORD LYTON argued in a maiden speech in the House of Lords last week that the Somalis in Kenya should be allowed to join the Somali Republic before the Colony becomes independent. A report was very naturally given in the Somali news programme of the B.B.C. which has now been criticised by the Ethiopian Government newspaper on the pretext that the mentioning of Lord Lyton's remarks suggested that they reflect the views of H.M. Government. That is, of course, an absurd idea. Since H.M. Government has in fact no strong views on this subject, it was agreed at the recent Kenya conference in London that a commission should be appointed to investigate and report. Lord Lyton, who served in Kenya 40 years ago, made other statements which are scarcely remembered when he came in Ethiopia.

One Man One Vote

AFRICAN EXTREMISTS in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have declared for at least eight years that there is an almost unanimous demand by Africans for the system of one man one vote. That claim has frequently been dismissed as nonsensical by officials of varying rank, by missionaries, and by other people with special opportunities of judging the facts, including many moderate-minded Africans. Mr. Michael Langley, who lives in Reigate, has now said in a brief letter to the Press that rather less than three years ago after publication of the Lennox-Boyd Constitution for Northern Rhodesia, he was asked to discover what measure of support there was in a particular chiefdom for the universal franchise alleged by Mr. Kaunda and other politicians to be demanded by the people. Mr. Langley questioned about 1,200 Africans, "and only four knew what I was talking about—and they were schoolmasters". Such was the situation in an area described as "more advanced than most of the 37 rural districts in the territory".

Poor Standards

ANY BUSINESSMAN would reject automatically an application for a job from a stenographer who could claim a shorthand speed of only 80 words a minute, and a typing speed of 30 words would likewise be more of an irritation than a contribution in any normal office. Yet the Government of Tanganyika has announced that it will pay a starting salary of £300 a year to African men or women with those rudimentary attainments after they have undertaken a so-called secretarial course at the Technical Institute, Dar es Salaam. Only a very lackadaisical person, one without any regard for time, would tolerate a stenographer, let alone a "secretary", so far from proficient. A busy man might stipulate double the above shorthand speed and thrice the typing speed as necessary qualifications.

Lords Emphasize Serious Situation in Kenya

Tributes to Contributions of British Settlers

THE GRAVITY of the situation in Kenya was discussed last week by the House of Lords.

LORD COLYTON, on whose initiative the debate had been arranged, congratulated Mr. Maundling on his handling of the recent Kenyan conference in London, and continued, *inter alia*:

"But the hardest part is still to come, and the omens are far from favourable. In fact, the political, economic and social dangers which confront Kenya are greater than those facing any of the other emergent British colonial territories past or present.

"The most maligned British settlers, under the deposed administration of British servants, and with the help and aid of the African inhabitants, in the short space of 60 years transformed Kenya from a backward, poor, pest-stricken territory into one of the most advanced and civilized countries of East and Central Africa.

Killed By Machiavellism

"These settlers, in many cases through fear and insecurity, are now being forced to leave their homes in hundreds, if not yet in thousands, and to abandon all they or their forebears have built up. We have an obligation to ensure that, so far as is humanly possible, they shall not suffer disproportionately from events over which they have no control.

"The true multi-racial concept was killed by the decisions of the first Lancaster House Conference just over two years ago. From that date, unless a really long period of transition—say, eight to 12 years—had been permitted, it was clear that Kenya was bound to become a purely African State.

"That is the reality today, and it is this fact which has led to the wholesale collapse of morale and confidence among the European community and among the Asians—settlers, businessmen, and civil servants.

"At this stage it is clearly up to the African leaders by their words and deeds to set the course. Some of the more extreme leaders of K.A.N.U. may consider the Europeans expendable; but the economy which the Europeans have created is not expendable, and the sooner this is publicly recognized in Kenya the better.

"The demand of the minor tribes for a regional form of government is based on fear of political domination by the Kikuyu, with their greater numbers and skill, and alas! in the case of many of their leaders, their sinister record in the Mau Mau rebellion.

Fear of Kikuyu Dictatorship

"This perfectly understandable fear does not seem to have been appreciated in Whitehall until comparatively recently, but tribal hostility and fears were regarded by many European civil servants and settlers as the greatest danger facing Kenya. This fear of Kikuyu dictatorship inspired the newborn insistence of K.A.D.U. on the principle of regionalism, which has now been enshrined in the new Constitution, albeit in a modified form. I congratulate H.M. Government on accepting this fact fairly and squarely. On the extent to which it is effectively carried out, in the spirit as well as in the letter, will depend the question of peace within Kenya's borders.

"The draft Constitution does not indicate whether Ministers can be chosen from both Chambers. Should not the final Constitution provide that a specified number of Ministers, as in this country, should be selected from the Upper House? The Constitution of New Zealand provides for the election of four Maoris to the House of Representatives. Is it too much to ask that even in an independent Kenya there should be some representation in the Lower House of the non-African minorities?

"What is to be the future of the British Forces in Kenya after independence? It is vital that British troops should remain for at least five years, preferably more. This is not

merely to maintain confidence among the European community; although the continued presence of some of them is agreed by everyone to be essential to the economic life of the country. It is also not in any sense to preserve a British base, to be used in the cold war or for any other such purpose. It is simply that the local Kenya forces are not capable of preserving the frontiers of Kenya from external incursions, notably from Somalia and Ethiopia.

"Moreover, until the new regional Constitution can be proved to be workable, we must frankly admit that a Congo situation in Kenya remains a possibility. It is tragic, but it is true. The fears of the smaller tribes and the underlying hostility are such that in certain circumstances civil war could break out.

Need for British Troops

"Surely it is only common sense that any decision on a final date for self-government, and in due course full independence, should be coupled with an agreement for the continued presence of British troops, on a par with the agreement made with the Government of Malaya when that country obtained its independence.

"The new Coalition Government are not functioning as a coalition at all. The Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries who are supposed to be working together during the week go out over the week-ends and abuse one another with unfeeling regularity. Some K.A.N.U. leaders have gone so far as to say that no regional government will be formed in London, or that regionalism is dead. All sorts of rumours about a party trace have failed. The fact is that the views of all politicians in Kenya are firmly fixed on the coming elections.

"We cannot exclude the possibility of the complete breakdown of government by coalition during the next few months. In that unfortunate event, the only course would be for the Governor to rule directly by decree, with a small number of nominated advisers.

"All this is having a disastrous effect on Kenya's parlous economy. Two years of severe drought and the worst floods in history, coupled with the prevailing political uncertainties, have seriously damaged the agricultural industry. The departure of many European small mixed farmers is leading to increasing unemployment of Africans. Irresponsibility of their union leaders, particularly while Mr. Mbeaya was away, and the black-listing of European employers and Africans against the day of independence are taking their toll in industry, and this again brings increasing unemployment. It is estimated that one out of three African workers are at present unemployed.

Economic Distress

"The Asian workers, particularly in Nairobi, are in even more acute distress. No less than 60% of those engaged in the building trade are out of work. Investment is at a standstill. Crime is increasing in town and country. The civil service, expatriate and locally recruited, are uncertain as to their future, and more and more expatriates are preparing to leave. Until this trend can be reversed it is quite illusory to hope for the successful launching and operation of the new Constitution.

"H.M. Government could help by embarking on a bold phased purchase of land from the mixed farmers in the European Highlands for transfer to African ownership under a wide extension of the settlement schemes.

"By providing the finance for the transfer of a large portion of the existing European mixed farms into African hands, H.M. Government would ensure the friendship of an independent Kenya for a long period, since much of the tension on the political front would immediately be eased, and such an act would almost certainly result in a great softening of emotions on this burning issue of land, with the result, I hope, that a large number of the European farmers could remain.

"The African politicians must be brought to a sense of reality and of understanding of their responsibilities; and, if necessary, self-government, and therefore independence, must be delayed until they do so.

"Two years ago Lord Perth enumerated four conditions laid down earlier by Lord Boyd of Merton which must be attained before, as he said, we could guide Kenya to self-government. First, power should be exercised by the people through representative parliamentary institutions which they should not abuse. Secondly, there should be general acceptance that every race and community has its part to play in public

and economic life. Thirdly, we should be reasonably able to expect an improving standard of living and the retention of the confidence of investors. Fourthly, a competent and experienced civil service composed of local people should be created. Can we put our hands on our hearts and say that these last three conditions have been fulfilled? I certainly could not do so."

LORD LISTOWEL largely agreed with Lord Colyton, but considered the maintenance of British troops after independence to be politically impracticable, however desirable on security grounds.

If the commission inquiring into the future of the Northern Frontier Province reported that the Somali population should be allowed to join with the "brothers in Somalia," the secession of territory should be made before authority passed into African hands.

Kenya would be ruined if most of the European farmers and professional men left. H.M. Government must provide more to keep the country solvent. He did not suggest compensation for all farmers and others with capital investments who might wish to leave, but that there should be loans for agriculture and industry, and facilities for the Government's recurrent expenditure over and over independence.

"I hope that we shall give more than the usual assistance towards compensation of British civil servants who retire after independence. A very large number of administrators and technicians will wish to leave. When in Uganda in January 1961 I was told by the British who were going to leave when Uganda becomes independent in October 1962:

"I do not take the gloomy view that Kenya is heading for disaster, but the situation is an immediate challenge to the Government here and to the people of Kenya, and the future of the country will be decided by what they choose to do now. If the Government have excellent imagination and financial generosity, and if Kenyans of all races put their shoulders to the wheel and are prepared to take calculated risks, its future is just as bright as that of the other young nations in Africa."

Lord Lansdowne's Maiden Speech

LORD LANSDOWNE, making his maiden speech as Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, agreed that the strongly partisan speeches made in Kenya by African politicians immediately on returning from the London Conference were out of tune with the spirit shown at Lancaster House, but did not think that should be taken too literally. The Acting Governor reported satisfactory indications of a corporate spirit in the Council of Ministers, cutting across party divisions.

Europeans and Asians did not seek to exercise political power out of proportion to their numbers. "They do, however, seek naturally—and, in my opinion, rightly—to continue to be able to play their part in the destinies of the country, particularly in agriculture, commerce and industry, where they have made such a great contribution."

The deficit in Kenya's recurrent budget this year was estimated at £24m., and the deficit would steadily increase in the next two years, without taking account of the extra burdens that came with independence. H.M. Government was making available over £74m. in grants for recurrent expenditure. Kenya also needed very substantial assistance towards development expenditure, and the British Government would supply a very large proportion of the finance required for the three years, July 1, 1960, to June 30, 1963. The development plan provides for a net expenditure of £264m. There was still a sizeable gap in the finance needed, to complete the programme in 1962-63.

Contribution of Europeans

Kenya's 67,000 Europeans, out of a total population of some 64m., probably contributed about half the Government's total revenues, and a further 25% was attributable to the 170,000 Asians. The viability of Kenya's economy must therefore depend very largely on the restoration of confidence among those sections of the community which made a major contribution to the economy and among outside investors.

The loss of confidence which developed among the settlers during the past two years has caused them drastically to reduce their capital expenditure and no longer to think of their holdings as long-term investments. This policy of 'wait and-see' has naturally had repercussions on all branches of the national economy. Capital has been transferred out of the country, and this has helped to discourage new investment

from overseas. For the farmer and other property-owners this has created a situation in which they cannot readily realize their assets. It has also produced a good deal of unemployment.

"The land settlement schemes involve the purchase of about 350,000 acres in the scheduled areas and the settlement of nearly 20,000 African families over a period of two to three years, at a cost of about £134m. The capital for these schemes is being provided by the International Bank, the Colonial Development Corporation, and H.M. Government, and the share of H.M. Government being £71m. West Germany may also participate. About 180,000 acres have been bought or approved to be bought at a cost of about £1m.

"Much larger land resettlement schemes have been suggested by the Association of European Agricultural Settlement Board Farmers and by the Kenya Coalition. The proposals by the former would entail winding up the original European settlement schemes and providing for African resettlement at an estimated cost of £5m. to £6m. The proposals submitted by the latter would provide for the settlement of about two million acres of land at an estimated cost of between £20m. and £40m.

Causes for Settlers' Uneasiness

Mention has been made in previous articles of the position of European farms whose owners are through no fault of their own no longer able to contribute effectively to the economy of the country, these farms being in areas where they cannot immediately be fitted into the existing land settlement scheme. Attention has also been drawn to the position of farms established in the Kipkarren and Kaimosi areas which were leased from the Nandi tribe. In all these cases there seem to be grounds for special consideration. The Kenya Government have in mind how the outstanding proposals submitted previously, which we are considering, would be met.

The Government fully recognize and accept their responsibility for maintaining law and order in Kenya before independence. We shall keep the necessary British troops there for this purpose. But the question of what should happen after independence, and the sort of arrangements in the field of defence into which we might enter with an independent Kenya Government, are matters which it would be fruitless for us to discuss now.

"I have never been among those who decry the British imperial achievement. Within the ranks of our imperial and colonial administration and of our pioneers overseas have been many of Britain's finest sons and daughters. It is not arrogant to be proud of their achievements; it is not vain-glorious to respect their worth.

"Kenya has in full measure benefited from the courage, energy, and resource of such men and women. Kenya has still so much to gain from their continued participation in the development of its future national life. Of course it is natural for the Africans to be eager to run the country from which they spring, and of course it is natural for the settlers who have done so much towards the creation of the nationhood of Kenya to be concerned for its continued orderly progress and for their own place in a country which is also their home.

"The responsibility of H.M. Government is to all Kenyans, and it is our determined will to do everything in our power in co-operation with the new Kenya Government to ensure that the rights of all Kenyans are upheld, so that together they may go forward in confidence and mutual respect to fashion a united, prosperous and independent nation."

K.A.N.U. Speeches Cause Uneasiness

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUGH described Kenya's position as very precarious.

While in London many of the principal K.A.N.U. leaders gave tremendous assurance in their speeches and in private conversations as to their future attitude towards Europeans, advocating friendship, equality, and conciliation between nations and colours, and stating that they would repeat the same assurances when addressing Africans in Kenya. But already what they are saying is so much different that it also causes for uneasiness.

Having many times been among Africans in a dozen countries of Africa, I have witnessed the happiness, gratefulness and friendliness of so many African families due to the benefits brought to them by British settlers; but I cannot help sharing the anxiety of the increasing dangers, both to black and to white, from persons not best suited or trained for government and administration. I urge our Parliament in this country not to discontinue too rapidly their helpful trusteeship."

(To be continued in next issue)

Central African Affairs Debated by House of Commons

African Nationalism Primarily A Matter of Status

OPENING SPEECHES in the House of Commons debate on the Federation were reported in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA last week.

MR. HENRY CLARK (Conservative) dismissed Mr. Healey's speech as a shallow, cheap Sunday paper appreciation of the situation. The problems in the Colonial Empire had already been solved, and of the real hard-nuts that remained the Federation was the hardest.

African nationalism, an immense force, neither intrinsically good nor intrinsically bad, grew like every other big movement, trade unionism, or Socialism—starting from a very small number of people in a particular area. It was misrepresented by the Opposition as a question of the haves and have-nots, and Africans were not dominated by economics in their political thinking.

To the African the suggestion that the standard of living is to be increased is meaningless. He has had the same standard of living for thousands of years and has been fairly content with it. He has known the good days of good harvests and bad days of bad harvests, but he has no tradition about our Victorian ancestors called progress and what we call percentage rates of growth. What African nationalism means for the African is an increase in his prestige, not necessarily a better life. He wants to become a more important person in the community, and to have a great feeling for status.

When he talks of African nationalism the Home Secretary should not muddle it with an economic desire of the African people. Wealth is of little importance in African tribal communities, but status is immensely important; and it is this status for which the ordinary African is looking when he becomes nationalistic. Africans can quite honestly say that they would rather have a poor Nyasaland than one ruled by Sir Roy Welensky. It is this strange mixture of motives—the European materialistic one the African desire for status—which produces the very great problem in the Federation.

Motives Become Muddled

The difficulty is that the motives become muddled as the Africans begin to enter the economy and some of them, often in large numbers in Southern Rhodesia, move into the middle class and tend to support the *status quo*. These Africans are drawn on one side by the desire to rise up in the society which exists in Southern Rhodesia and on the other by their obvious attraction to African nationalism.

"We must give the greatest credit, and not damn by faint praise, to what has been done and what has been accepted by Southern Rhodesians. They have accepted the most fantastic changes, which two or three years ago would have seemed out of the question; but the rate of change must continue and I am confident that it will. There must be more and more change in Southern Rhodesia towards power for the Africans and a share in their country. These things will come. If the Home Secretary finds that the problem looks insuperable today he may find that tomorrow opinions will have caught up, for opinion is catching up very fast. I am confident that he will find a solution. I have the highest regard for his knowledge of human nature, and it is my experience that human nature in Africa is not very different from what it is in this country."

MR. JACK JONES (Soc.): "This problem and that of the Common Market are two of the biggest this country has ever had to solve. The fellow who believes that handing a vote to every applicant—who will vote at the behest of every hoodoo or witch-doctor or Dr. Banda—will solve this problem at the ballot-box must think again. Tens of thousands of educated Africans are doing a good job of work. Hundreds of thousands are striving hard in the universities, colleges and schools, but millions have yet to learn the use of toilet-paper.

"To hand out ballot-papers willy-nilly lends itself to terrific exploitation of Africans by Africans. It would be the easiest thing in the world for African politicians, and even for European politicians, to go into the hinterland and with a couple of bags of salt and a load of two of meal get thousands of votes overnight.

"Suddenly, in the eyes of the hon. Member for Guildford (Sir R. Nugent), Dr. Banda becomes a great statesman. When we formed a Labour Government some of us who were trade union poachers were immediately transformed and became rather good gamekeepers. Dr. Banda, instead of riding about in jeeps with money from outside and not from inside Rhodesia, was telling his constituents that all they had to do was to put their thumb-mark where he wanted it and next day

they could draw money from the bank as Europeans did. The same Dr. Banda ran round telling people that if they had their children vaccinated against smallpox they would become sterile. He was vaccinated a few months before making those statements.

"This is not altogether a party matter, for unless we can solve this problem as a nation there will be no future at all for these territories. Without the Copperbelt this country and America would look very small indeed within 10 years. The idea there would be a complete failure to produce copper is absolute nonsense. But 'big brother' is waiting patiently, hoping that the situation will arise when he can step in. These are the sort of things about which the Africans should be fully informed.

Praise From Socialist Member

The copper owners have made tremendous strides forward in the last 15 years, and hospitals, houses, football fields, motor-cars, and even beer-halls have been provided. These actions and these people have given the Africans the impression that they should have the right to vote.

"When looking at the questions asked in examinations which had to be sat for jobs on the State Railways we saw European school teachers, because they were not being sufficiently well paid, deciding to go on the railways. They were sitting the examinations alongside young Africans; and many of these young Africans were getting higher marks than the Europeans. If they can pass the examinations they should hold the job of fireman and so on on the railways; should they not have the right to vote?

"In the wonderful university in Salisbury—and there is not a finer one in the world—African students work alongside whites, studying, eating, and doing their homework together. Six months ago they could not even go to the local cinema together; they can now.

"Sir Roy Welensky makes mistakes, but no one can say that he has not got 'guts'. I admire a fellow who lets one know exactly where he stands. Sir Roy Welensky has said that if the Federation is tampered with he will go to the extent of using force. That was all right 20 or 30 years ago. But these days have gone.

"This country cannot afford any longer to lose its immense potential. Africa represents economic potential for us. The Rhodesias contain some of the greatest mineral wealth in the world. There are mountains of iron ore and limestone by the million tons. I saw a steel man, and I have seen modern steel furnaces and blast furnaces there. There is tremendous economic potential in Central Africa which we cannot afford to lose. If we mess about much longer with the problem and add strength to the forces of nationalism, this will create discontent and lead to disaster. I have a list 15 pages long taken from Press reports, during the last month of arrests of members of the U.N.I.P. and the other various political parties who have gone about preventing the right of free speech and all the rest. If we could get the Africans honestly to believe that the European is his best friend, in the final analysis, as many already do, we could make a success of it."

African Moderates are Brave Men

MR. STEPHEN HASTINGS (Cons.): "In the non-racial university in Salisbury a third of the 300 students are Africans. Given the background, it is an extraordinary advance.

"The Europeans, particularly the Rhodesians, who are genuinely and unselfishly working for non-racialism, have a right to expect, and to ensure so far as they can, that as they hand over power they should do so to men who are moderate and reasonable in character. This concerns their future and the future of their children.

"By any normally acceptable standards there must be doubt about whether the three pan-African parties—Zimbabwe, U.N.I.P., and Malawi—are led by a majority of men who can be regarded as moderate and reasonable. The majority demand immediate power. To the Europeans this cannot seem reasonable. Secondly, they condemn non-racialism, which is theynch-pin of the whole experiment, as a disguise for retrenching European power.

"The African moderate has not made more impression in this country because he has no lurid threats to make. His television value is a good deal lower than that of some African nationalist leaders who come over here. But he exists. When I was in Southern Rhodesia last autumn they were joining the U.F.P. at the rate of about 100 a week. Also, as

Relations Between Press and Governments in Africa

Mr. T. J. Mboya's Address to International Press Institute*

WHAT RELATIONS ARE CREATED between the Press and the new Governments of Africa will largely depend on the background and reactions in the period of the nationalist struggle.

Was the Press hostile or sympathetic to the nationalist cause? Was it reactionary or progressive? Was it identified with the imperialist forces and money interests? How far is it still regarded as a tool of foreign penetration and an agent for neo-colonialism?

The local Press in Africa may in this regard suffer from the reactions of the African countries—the attitudes of a hostile foreign Press.

Journalists are bound to ask what is this freedom of the Press? Does it include the right to do and say what they please, even if it means directly or indirectly wrecking all our efforts at consolidating our dearly-won independence and our efforts for economic reconstruction? Does this Press in Africa recognize that it has a duty to Africa and that we expect it to make its own constructive contribution towards our general efforts?

In the majority of cases the world Press is served by foreign journalists who make short visits to the various parts of Africa and on whom the world's verdict on Africa may rest. The news agencies often rely on such journalists or reporters, who may not themselves know enough or physically be able to cover the area assigned to them to be able to interpret the African scene. The result is that news coming out of Africa is often, if not always, related to the already biased and prejudiced mind that keeps asking such questions as "Is this pro-East or pro-West?" Very few, if any, of the world's Press ask such logical and simple questions as "Is this pro-African?"

Press and Nationalist Struggle

* Government of the people for the people for the people is probably the simplest definition of democracy in the so-called free nations politicians on platforms and editors on leader pages rush to the defence of this sacred principle. Some mass-circulation dailies, the ones that have tears in their eyes, would give away the Status of Liberty or bound copies of the British Constitution if this were mechanically possible, if it would justify an increase in advertising rates.

"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" is the most cherished definition of the brotherhood of man. A motto, easy to understand, it has been perpetuated in the minds of men by politicians who could find nothing better to say and by generations of leader-writers and feature-page tricksters who found their task made easy by such resonating words.

Against this background I have to comment on the remarkable fact that the nationalist struggle in Africa for self-determination, freedom in all its forms, the elementary rights of man, has been carried on so frequently amid a general chorus of Press protest. Especially in East and Central Africa, independence has been attained or brought within early reach despite a general Press hostility.

I mean, of course, the national newspapers and reviews of Africa, edited and published by experienced overseas technicians, taken for granted by these of European upbringing increasingly available to and consulted by the African people with the recent growth in literacy, and assumed internationally to represent the mature voice of an otherwise unarticulated country. These are the pillars of influence, the builders of an image, increasingly supplemented in the editorial and business sense by subsidiaries printed in some major vernacular.

Mr. Tom Mboya, Minister of Labour in Kenya, and secretary-general of the Kenya-based Kenya African National Union, flew from Nairobi to Paris last week to address the annual conference of the International Press Institute. His address has had to be somewhat abbreviated for publication owing to heavy pressure on our space.

I also include the Western Press, and especially some of the influential papers published in the metropolises of the Colonial Powers.

I am not talking about the tone or opinion of a newspaper that you may have picked up on an odd occasion, but about the whole tendency of the Press to disparage, belittle, and oppose, to be fearful, sceptical, or simply patronizing during the whole period of emergence of the African personality and African political power. I do not in this include the nationalist Press or the African-owned Press.

The established Press in Africa—rooted in overseas traditions, capital, and professional ideas—has generally shown a fundamental dislike or distrust of change. Change was disliked by all who sought and found comfort in ancient institutions, in the solidity of sameness, and who shied away from new ideas. Change was distrusted by those to whom Africa was the arena of a carefully-stratified society, the tight clubs, the few who were in or so, and the native bourgeoisie in the cities, all having a vested interest in whose business interests were strangled to a state of atrophy who could not or would not move with the times of new forces, new needs, new markets, new methods, new balance-sheets, new editorial teams.

Resentment and Fear

Secondly, there has been a professed sense of outrage in nearly all newspapers and reviews at the lurch in which it along there has had to be uprooted, the beliefs and the ambitions and even the dearest hopes of the people, as if a shock that we who have represented our people in their struggle should make demands for such unbecoming things as self-determination, freedom in all its forms, human dignity, and human rights. It aroused a justified resentment when we spoke of a move away from privilege towards equality, away from restrictions and towards liberty, away from racial injustice and towards fraternity.

It led to something like fear when the frustrations of our people or the frustrations of their leaders in the emotional atmosphere of meetings and rallies generated passionate strides along the road to inevitable limits. It drew carefully-designed businessmen when we met palliatives with impatience, strategy with better strategy, stinkings with rebuffs. This was not strict, and it has annoyed. How right were! The freedom of our people, the creation of outlets for their ambitions, the substitution of self-respect for wretchedness, the achievement throughout Africa of such things as health and learning and economic security—these things are not a game.

Thirdly, there has been a campaign, rooted in superiority and conducted with maddening paternalism, designed to show that the people of Africa were unready for self-determination, incapable of controlling and enjoying freedom, inherently unaware of or indifferent to the dignity of man. It has been argued in the Press for years—referring again in particular to the newspapers and reviews of East and Central Africa—that the grant of liberty would extinguish freedom. In tones varying from despair to ridicule, the Press has submitted that democracy would lead to the collapse of administration, the extinction of industrial enterprise, the running down of agriculture, marketing structures, communications, social services, and the whole fabric of an ordered society.

Press Has Not Provided Understanding

Just what was the Press hoping to accomplish? If their campaign had succeeded a sense of inferiority might have crippled the energy and zest of our people. Constant gloomy prediction about the fate of major industries and services, and the people undertaking them or employed by them, has contributed greatly to the uncertainties of ordinary families, to lack of confidence and flight of capital, factors that have magnified difficulties out of all proportion to conceivable hazard.

The Press has not provided understanding. It has never strengthened us with faith. It has discounted—in the fields of economic planning and executive skill—African potential, calibre, or concern. In nostalgia for the past and fear of the present, it has hesitated on the threshold of the future, never committing itself to belief—or even hope—that stability and material progress and acceptable social justice would assuredly follow the unmaking in Africa of the spirit of man.

The African leaders are not saints. Few of them have pretensions to genius. Not one would minimize the challenges and problems that must mark a change of regime, especially in the early days. But all of them have been in pursuit of that

most noble theme of British justice: "Let right be done". All of their drive strength from the knowledge that the discipline, judgement and dedication of our people—and the economic potential in all spheres—are virtually untapped. Despite Press misrepresentations, these assets are there. With them we can win the struggle to build a new Africa. Without them we could never have begun.

As a result of all this we have arrived at a stage of peculiar relationship between new or emerging independent Governments and the established Press. The Press has been forced to accept, however uneasily, that we have arrived or are standing at an open gate. While they cannot trust all their past fears and suspicions aside, they must accept that the sun still rises every morning, that the human race is still divided into two sexes, that beer tastes the same. The Press has therefore to get on terms with new sets of values, with a whole new reality, and with us.

The African leaders seize the advantages of having a free and professionally competent Press, carrying out an informative, a critical, and often an educational function, and with some of its columns or features providing outlet for eccentricity, inventiveness, or grief.

But what we look for is a national Press in every sense meant in the country of its origin, instead of being an agent of the interests overseas. Basic capital establishment of a modern Press has to be expanded like other essential amenities. Investment in this field would be helpful if, without damaging any primary interests, more particularly by local talent could be achieved through the process we call Africanization. Public companies could approach their task more effectively if their whole lives and interests and attitudes were welded into the country and they themselves had to live with the outcome of the results of their concentration.

Apart from finance, this is a problem of personnel. News-writers and reviewers have too often been staffed with recruits from overseas, some having no real interest in or knowledge of Africa, not even knowing the language of the people. Some, thinking a two or three-year contract in a Kenya would be amusing, some glad to get the job after their street had been too good-by.

The standard of objective reporting, on which comment could properly be based, has therefore been generally low. At times it has been slanted, or twisting a sentence out of context, or using a word ill-used, or preferring a story about failure or fear to a story of achievement or endeavour; stressing every day the clash-of-personality angle rather than common purpose and dogged advance.

Journalists Must Respond Constructively

This is not easy to resolve. We have not as yet produced our own news or comment. Journalists that professional editors would be eager to engage. But this must come. Meanwhile the African leaders might sometimes be forgiven for saying they would prefer some interim inefficiency to what has often been apparent lack of scruple. Africanization would bring to newspaper production the boon of familiarity—not the familiarity that breeds contempt, but that which makes a watch-dog valuable and gets by with only honest mistakes.

The established newspapers and reviews in East Africa can be confident that they need not be suppressed or be absorbed into some Government propaganda machine. But they will have to find their feet. What they are facing now is not really a political challenge but a business dilemma. They must have scruple which must be seen to be maintained. Their coverage of news must be accurate and comprehensive. Their comment must be relevant and fair-based. They must cater for a whole new personality on the world stage. If they do not meet these basic needs they will be put out of business by people who can and will.

I should mention the treatment of Africa by the whole of the international Press. I could complain about publication of stories about riots that never occurred; about mobs that were never formed in streets that don't exist; stories of gloom and despondency; quoting people who carry no weight or misquoting people who do; comments of correspondents who, after 20 minutes in Africa, write pungent stuff which seeks to turn back the clock of history at a time when the production of our history needs sympathy, sagacity, cold reason, to help it to reality and make it all worth while.

The world Press must understand that Africa today is something new. Our policies, approaches, and determinations and feelings are not governed by those considerations or emotional reactions that are fatalistic throughout so many countries. Our lives are not coloured by daily obsession with East versus West.

We are building a society that is pledged not to distort the cherished values of dignity and freedom, is committed to justice and effort and effective independence—a society that has a new discipline to offer, forceful enough in world councils to repel the manoeuvres of two great armed camps, and bring the world back to understanding that the dialectic of

both sides is no substitute for duty to the physical well being and spiritual commitment of man.

This should be a story of construction and compassion, a story that has never yet appeared in print. If you think it rates a column, we should place no restriction on where you would be able to travel or on whom you would like to see. It would give us no pleasure to say that we achieved all this despite the world Press. We would rather have your shrewd appraisal—and be jolted at times by constructive ideas.

The Press has a duty, in our society as well as its normal and popular functions and service. It must respond constructively to the challenge before us. It must recruit and train local people rapidly. It must identify itself with African aspirations, understand and share our anxieties, and join us in the task of nation-building. It must learn to treat Africa in her own context on the basis of her people's emotions and not in the East-West context or on the basis of foreign interests. These things it must do or face the charge of traitor.

[Editorial comment appears under Matters of Moment.]

Kivu Gorillas

MR. CHARLES FLETCHER, a British zoologist who recently arrived in Kampala with eight gorillas, about which he has had inquiries from zoos in Britain, said that at £2,000 each, has been told that he may not export them pending settlement of a dispute with the Congo authorities. He told reporters this week that he had paid the authorities in Kivu for a trapping permit, but that the Leopoldville Government now declared that the permit had been wrongly issued as a result of slight administrative discrepancies. He said he threatened legal action. To a suggestion that there were only about 200 gorillas in the whole Congo, Mr. Corbett replied that he believed they could be numbered in thousands.



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PERSONALIA

MR. THOMAS KANZA is now Congolese Chargé d'Affaires in London.

MR. JANUSZ LEWANDOWSKI is Chargé d'Affaires in Tanganyika for Poland.

SIR DONALD KINGDON left £19,045, on which duty of £3,908 has been paid.

M. D.A. MCKEE is acting as Belgian Vice-Consul in Ndola, Northern Rhodesia.

MR. GOODMAN GLASSER has joined the board of the Northern Rhodesian Land and Agricultural Bank.

DR. GOBIND RAM SETHI, from India, has been appointed F.A.O. agricultural statistician in Tanganyika for a year.

MR. CHRISTIE, manager in Nairobi of Barclays Bank, D.C.O., and MR. CHRISTIE, on leave in Britain.

MR. JULIUS NYERERE, an arts graduate of Edinburgh University, is to receive its honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

DR. E. A. IRIN, former Director of Medical Services in Uganda, arrived last week in the British Isles from Uganda.

MR. W. O. JENKINS, lately a director of the Tanganyika Cotton Co., Ltd., has arrived in England on retirement.

MR. THIO OULWICK has left Kenya for South Africa. He was one of the staunchest propagandists for the settler cause.

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE has invited the 17 members of the United Nations Committee on Colonialism to visit Ethiopia.

MR. LEONARD MORGAN has been appointed to the Federal Public Service Commission while MR. JOHN SLAVEN is on leave.

SIR JOHN CARMICHAEL, a former Financial Secretary in the Sudan, has resigned the deputy chairmanship of Bendix Laboratories, Ltd.

MR. G. W. GEMMELL, chairman of Alex, Lawrie & Co., Ltd., has been elected to the board of National and Grindlays Bank, Ltd.

DR. SARVABALLI RADHAKRISHNAN, who has taken the oath as President of India, visited East Africa in 1956 while Vice-President.

MR. L. COLLINS, managing director of Coffee Services, Ltd., Kenya, and MRS. COLLINS have arrived in England on retirement.

MR. MICHAEL WRIGHT is to be TV sales manager with the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation. His counterpart in sound is MR. R. MANUS.

MRS. MONICA CHAVURA, representing the Chiweta/Chitumba ward in Rumphi, is the first African woman to be elected to a district council in Nyasaland.

COLONEL N. D. BURNS, of Lusaka, has been appointed honorary secretary in Northern Rhodesia to the Forces Help Society and Lord Roberts Workshops.

MR. RALPH RUSHMERE is acting as Secretary to the Federal Ministry of Commerce and Industry during the absence on leave of MR. DONALD CUMMINGS.

SIR KENNETH GRUBB, president of the Church Missionary Society, and LADY GRUBB hope to attend the independence celebrations in Uganda in October.

MR. VICTOR MKELLO, general secretary of the Tanganyika Plantation Workers' Union, has been elected president of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour.

MR. ANDREW KNOX is now bursar of the University College, Dar es Salaam, to which he has gone from the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology.

SIR RICHARD WOODLEY, a former Mayor of Nairobi, and chairman of the British Standard Portland Cement Co., Ltd., Kenya, and LADY WOODLEY have arrived in London.

MR. R. A. BUTLER, Minister for Central African Affairs, is to address the annual general meeting of the Joint East and Central African Board on June 5.

MR. D'ARCY ARTHUR BAKER-CARR has resigned from the South-Western Tobacco Marketing Board in the Federation. He is replaced by MR. EDGAR DAVEY.

MR. A. O. ODINGA, M.L.C. for Central Nyanza, has asked the people of the Kano area to abandon cattle ranching and concentrate on growing cotton, rice and sugar.

MR. F. H. TATE, vice-chairman of Tate and Lyle, Ltd., a group with interests in the Federation, has been elected chairman of the council of the London Chamber of Commerce.

MR. C. APAR NGELECHEI, the first African from the Kipsigis district of Kenya to come to the London School of Oriental and African Studies, has compiled the first Kalenjin dictionary.

MR. D. A. TUTTLE, a director of African Explosives and Chemical Industries, Ltd., and MR. TUTTLE were homeward passengers in the UGANDA, which arrived in London last Thursday.

MR. MANJILAL K. PATEL, who has become Minister of Commerce and Industry in Uganda following the resignation of MR. C. K. LATEL, is a 39-year-old advocate who has practised in Jinja.

THE VEN. ELINAJA J. NGALAMU, Archdeacon of the Southern Sudan, and the REV. JEREMYAN K. DOTIRO are to become Assistant Bishops of the Sudan, to be consecrated towards the end of the year.

ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER H. A. NUAMAH and CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT J. E. O. NUNO of the Ghana Police have arrived in Tanganyika to advise the new Commissioner, MR. ELANOWA SHAMU on police training.

The honorary degree of D.C.L. is to be conferred by the University College of Sierra Leone on SIR MAURICE DORMAN, lately Governor-General of that country. He was at one time in the Colonial Service in East Africa.

MR. CHRISTOPHER RODNEY FIELD, now at Cambridge University, has been granted a Leverhulme research scholarship to take a diploma course in wild life conservation at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

MR. WILLOUGHBY CAREY has retired from the headquarters staff in London of the Church Missionary Society, which he had served in Nigeria, the Sudan, and Kenya before returning to England in 1957 to join the finance department.

MR. J. M. COLTART, who is intimately concerned with the Thomson Group's publications in East and Central Africa, has been appointed deputy chairman of The Scotsman Publications, Ltd., of which he has been managing director since 1955.

SIR COLIN THORNFLEY, lately Governor of British Honduras, who was previously in the Colonial Service in East Africa, is about to retire from the public service. LADY THORNFLEY and he now live at Sheriffs' Corner, Maperton, near Wincanton, Somerset.

FR. H. ZOETMELK, aged 75, who arrived in Nyasaland in 1911 and opened Catholic missions at Katete, Mzimbaizi, Karonga and Viba in the Northern Province, has had to retire to Holland because of ill-health. He took his first—and last—home leave in 1925.

MR. ISAAC K. ARAP KOSKEI, the first African chairman of the Nandi African District Council, Kenya, served for nine years in the King's African Rifles, retiring as a sergeant in 1937. He has been a councillor of Nandi A.D.C. for 21 consecutive years.

MR. PHELIP MBOGO has been returned unopposed to the National Assembly of Tanganyika for the Mpanda constituency. The bye-election was caused by the appointment of the previous member, MR. C. S. K. FUMBO, to be Tanganyika's High Commissioner in London.

THE QUEEN opened on Monday in London the Congress of the Federation of the Commonwealth and British Chambers of Commerce, which is being attended by some 300 delegates. MR. WALTER P. SANDERSON heads the delegation from Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and MR. R. J. HILLARD that from East Africa.

MR. MICHAEL KAMALIZA, Minister for Health and Labour, has returned to Dar es Salaam from Geneva, where he represented Tanganyika at the 15th session of the World Health Assembly. He was accompanied by DR. CHARLES MTAWALI, Deputy Permanent Secretary to the Ministry.

DR. P. T. HASKELL, who has become director of the Anti-Locust Research Centre in London on the retirement of DR. T. H. C. TAYLOR, has been on the staff of the centre since 1955. He has travelled widely in East Africa. DR. TAYLOR succeeded DR. (now SIR) MORIS UVAROV.

SIR CYRIL HAWKER, deputy chairman of the Standard Bank, was accompanied by Mrs. HAWKER, left London on Sunday for Rhodesia. Early next week they will fly to Nairobi, and after 10 days in East Africa will go to South Africa. They will come home in the ATHLONE CASTLE, sailing from Cape Town on June 29.

Miss PEARLA KAY, the American singer, and Mr. CLIFF RICHARD, the British "pop" singer, have agreed to appear at charity shows later this year in Kenya to raise money for needy children. The suggestion was made by MR. TOM MUMBA, Kenya's Minister of Labour, who called on them while in London last week-end.

MR. HERBERT CHITPEO, who was called to the bar in the Middle Temple in 1953 and has been practicing in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, has been appointed Director of Public Prosecutions in Tanganyika from June 1 as part of that Government's Africanization programme. MR. ROLAND BROWN remains Attorney-General.

MR. R. L. ROLPH, now chief administrative secretary of East Africa Railways and Harbours, served throughout the last war in the Royal Engineers, at one time on railway construction in Ethiopia. He joined the Colonial Engineering Service in 1950, and was for five years in the Public Works Department in Kenya before transferring to the Railways.

MR. R. D. MANSELL, of the Lusaka branch of the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and MR. J. O. M. WILKINSON, of the finance and economics department of Rhodesia House, London, are among the 60 senior banking and insurance officials from 19 countries attending the British Council's ninth annual City of London course from May 20 to June 1.

MR. R. K. MWANJISI has been transferred from the Ministry of Education and Information Services in Tanganyika to be Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister's Office, replacing MR. E. A. KISENGE, who in turn goes to the Ministry of Local Government and Administration in place of MR. L. NANGWANDA SIAGNA, now Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury.

COLONEL J. P. FEENY has been appointed special European member for African interests in Nyasaland in the Federal Assembly; and MR. J. R. N. CHINYAMA and MR. M. S. MALUNGA have been specially elected for that territory. The specially appointed European member for Northern Rhodesian African interests has not yet been chosen, but MR. D. KONKOLA and MR. A. MUBANGA have been specially elected.

MESSRS. M. KASSULAMEMBA, E. LYOBA, and A. MBOAWILE (Mwanza), M. PHIRI (Songea), R. MAMELELA (Dodoma), and B. HAMISI (Dar es Salaam), all officers in the fisheries section of the Tanganyika Ministry of Agriculture, have left for a four-month course in fisheries training organized by the Israeli Government at Michmoret, the first such overseas course to be opened.

MR. R. W. H. BARNETT, Deputy Commissioner of Customs and Excise in East Africa, is on leave in England pending retirement.

MR. MALIK KASSIM was the only nominee for the presidency of the Uganda Chamber of Commerce and MR. D. C. STALEY the only nominee as vice-president. Others elected to the executive committee are Messrs. W. J. BUSE, N. CALO, J. F. DASTUR, P. W. D. GILDERSON, M. N. MAINI, W. MILNE, C. U. PATEL, R. Z. PATEL, D. A. RAISWELL and A. TAMALI.

MR. J. W. SHILLING, manager of Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., who recently succeeded MR. HARRY OPPENHEIMER as chairman of Rhodesian Acceptances, Ltd., British and Rhodesian Discount House, Ltd., and several other companies, has been appointed chairman of five of the Orange Free State gold mining companies of the Anglo American group.

MR. M. WARRENDER RICHARDSON, lately Assistant Postmaster-General in East Africa, who has arrived in England on leave, recently went to East Africa in 1947 after three years of flying duty in the Royal Air Force, which he joined after 16 years in the British Post Office. He was largely responsible for the establishment of *Postgen*, the monthly magazine of East Africa, Posts and Telegraphs.

MISS LESLEY GEORGINA SMITH, of Salima, Nyasaland, has won the first Rangeley Scholarship Award, which at £400 is the most valuable available in the Federation. She will take a teaching course at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The scholarship was established for Nyasaland students in memory of MR. W. H. J. RANGELEY, a former provincial commissioner, who died aged 49 in 1958.

MR. ERIC GEORGE LE TOCCO, of the staff of the Commonwealth Relations Office, will shortly leave London for Kampala to prepare for the establishment of a United Kingdom High Commissioner's Office when Uganda becomes independent. MR. LE TOCCO, who was born in 1918, was educated at Ely College and Exeter College, and served during the war in the Royal Engineers. He has held C.R.O. posts in Accra, Karachi and Dublin.

LIEUT-COLONEL P. J. BLAKE, M.C., M.B.E., the new commanding officer of the 1st Bn. The Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, now in Kenya, was twice wounded in Italy during the last war. He served in Kenya for three years during the Mau Mau rebellion, and returned to the battalion in Kenya three years ago after postings to Malaya and Germany. He succeeds LIEUT-COLONEL P. M. SLANE, who is now on the staff of Northern Command, York.

MR. A. A. NEKYON, Uganda's Minister of Information, has denied Democratic Party reports that the new Government has agreed, at the instigation of the Kabaka Yekka party and the Buganda Lukiko, to reject the Molson Report on the "lost counties" dispute. The Governor, SIR WALTER COUTTS, last week met Buganda's Prime Minister, MR. MICHAEL KINTU, to discuss the problem, and handed him letters from MR. MAUDLING for the KABAKA and the LUKIKO.

Passengers for Mombasa in the RHODESIA CASTLE include MR. L. E. LA GRANGE, the REV. & MRS. G. LAM, MR. & MRS. J. D. N. MOUNTER, MR. R. W. NAIRNE, MR. & MRS. A. J. PALING, MR. & MRS. D. S. PALMER, MR. & MRS. A. B. PULFORD, MR. & MRS. A. G. REED, MR. & MRS. J. W. ROSSIE, DR. & MRS. H. V. ROTHE, MR. & MRS. D. ST. J. SLOANE, DR. & MRS. G. D. VINDEN, MR. & MRS. R. M. WARNER, and MR. & MRS. G. T. WILSON. Among passengers for Dar es Salaam are DR. J. A. D. BENNETT, MR. & MRS. R. H. CLIFTON, MR. & MRS. B. E. GOODE, MR. F. J. MITCHELL-HEDGES, MR. & MRS. E. E. RICHARDSON, MR. C. D. RODGERS, MR. & MRS. P. C. SMITH, and MR. MRS. E. WHATTON.

Interdependence A Striking Need

Mr. Butler in Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia

EXAMINATION OF NYASALAND'S FINANCIAL PROSPECTS and the question of an alternative form of association with the two Rhodesias must precede any final conclusions about the Protectorate's future, Mr. R. A. Butler, Home Secretary and Minister responsible for Central Africa, stated on arrival at Sakaia Airport on Tuesday of last week from Salisbury.

Mr. Butler said that he wanted to meet not only Government officials but representatives of all other points of view, so that he might form an impression of the best way of furthering the country's economic, financial and political future. H.M. Government acknowledged that the Malawi Party had, on a firm mandate in the last elections, stated that it was willing to remain in the present Federation, "but before any final conclusion is reached, the examination I have referred to should take place. I think that, for very obvious reasons, there is a great problem connected with the economic future of this very attractive country."

After two days of talks in Zomba with Dr. Banda, other Ministers, and the Governor, Mr. Butler repeated in almost identical terms at the airport his insistence on the preliminary stage of economic review, to be conducted by a group of personal advisers. Dr. Banda had agreed to nominate a Nyasaland representative to join the group. "My advisers must be free to follow through their examination and make their proposals in what they think fit," Mr. Butler stressed. The final decision would have to be acceptable to the territories and the good will of the people.

Further London Talks

He had invited Dr. Banda to London for further talks at the end of next month or early in July, when another constitutional conference on the territory might be considered. There had been "very strong" pressure on him during the round of conferences with Dr. Banda and his Ministers, and his contacts with them had confirmed that they were not willing for the time being to consider alternative forms of association for the territories comprising the Federation, though he hoped it would be possible later. He had found a "very great determination" to make an independent Nyasaland economically sound. The country's main financial difficulties were the budget and the development plan, with both of which the British Government was willing to help.

Dr. Banda told reporters that he was "completely satisfied" with the outcome of the discussions. He was "very, very happy. All I want is dissolution. Nyasaland out—that is all. I have no interest in any Federal review conference. Mr. Butler has assured us that no association will be imposed except a kind of association acceptable to us. I will not discuss an association until Nyasaland has seceded."

The chairman of the Nyasaland Residents' and Settlers' Association, Mr. John Ness, told Mr. Butler that the European community would not tolerate a British Government betrayal, as had happened in Kenya, and wanted the ties of the Federation to be strengthened. An independent Nyasaland ruled by the M.C.P. would be no place for Europeans, since that party would make life intolerable.

On Friday Mr. Butler arrived by air in Lusaka and was met by the Governor, Sir Evelyn Hone, and Northern Rhodesian Ministers. U.N.I.P. boycotted his arrival, but about 100 African National Congress members were present to chant slogans and wave banners declaiming "Federation Must Go."

A Liberal Party delegation led by Sir John Moffatt told the Home Secretary that the right of secession apparently being accorded to Nyasaland should logically be granted to the other two territories, and thereby bring to an end "this political Federation."

Next day Mr. Butler flew to the Copperbelt and also met the Chiefs' Council, led by Chic Chikwanda, who told him that its 25 members did not want federation "in any form whatsoever."

Before a Lusaka crowd of some 6,000 Africans on Sunday the U.N.I.P. leader, Mr. Kaunda, declared: "We, the people of Zambia, are determined to break this ugly Federation, British Government or no British Government, we are going full steam ahead. We will not tolerate it if Mr. Butler allows Nyasaland to secede but tries to keep Northern and Southern Rhodesia together. If force is used to do this, we are pre-

pared to meet it. If Mr. Butler does not listen, what happens will not be our fault. It will fall squarely on their shoulders. "Economic factors are delaying Nyasaland's secession, but we have enough money to secede. Nothing prevents us from leaving except selfishness. If we contest the elections, we shall have only two platforms—Federation must go, and prosperity for Northern Rhodesia."

On Monday Mr. Kaunda and five other party members met Mr. Butler for 75 minutes at Government House. They afterwards issued a memorandum containing their representations to him, including a threat that unless the Federation were scrapped there would always be a standing invitation for trouble.

"We say that Federation must go and that the Ministries which fall under the smug, bowler-hatted men of Salisbury must be returned to their respective territories. African opinion is unanimous on the Federation. It is a set-up which exists only in the imagination of the British Government. The majority of the people in all the territories will continue to be governed to their utter disgust by people from Salisbury only at pistol point."

"We say that no form of association, political or economic, which is unacceptable to the majority of the people has any moral binding on those people. Therefore our stand to dismantle the present Federation gets strengthened with each passing day. It is inconceivable that Britain, with her vast experience of colonialism, should persist in paudering to the brain and clamour of a handful of people."

U.N.I.P. Water Conditions

The group put six conditions to Mr. Butler which would have to be met before U.N.I.P. would agree to contest the Northern Rhodesian general election: (1) that the delimitation commission, "upon which the whole new Constitution is based", should have a British judge as chairman in order to prevent local commissioners "carving up" the country and "making a mockery" of the elections; (2) immediate lifting of the ban on some African politicians from visiting certain districts; (3) release of all "political prisoners"; (4) a decision to hold the elections in the first weeks of October before the rains start; (5) a Federal review conference to conduct the funeral rites of the unholy trinity should not be held until both Northern and Southern Rhodesia have legislatures representative of majority opinion; and (6) it should be clearly stated that should any national seats remain unfilled, the entire Constitution would be declared void and a fresh start made.

"Your Personal Future"

At a civic luncheon in Lusaka the same day Mr. Butler said: "You have perhaps the strongest economy, but I am struck by the need for interdependence between the territories. It is precisely because I believe there is a need to decide what should be the nature of that interdependence between the territories that I propose to appoint certain advisers to myself to follow my visit to this territory."

Saying that he did not want to decide anything about the Protectorate's future until after the general elections, he continued: "No solution could be satisfactory to all concerned. I warn you of that. I desire to maintain not only racial freedom but also freedom under the law for individual citizens. It is that feature that has come to my attention since I have been here, and that feature, I am sure, the Governments of the territories have very much in mind."

Yet there can be complete confidence that a solution can be reached through wisdom and patience. If you show fear of the future, you will damage not only your economy but also your personal future. If you show confidence, which is what I ask, then I believe we can work with the recent rising forms and tides of African nationalism."

Mr. Butler met other party delegations before returning to Salisbury on Tuesday for final discussions with the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, and others.

Meetings Ban to Prevent Riots

Aftermath of Southern Rhodesian Strike

PUBLIC MEETINGS—other than sports, religious and cultural gatherings—have been banned for three months in Salisbury and Umtali, Southern Rhodesia, following disturbances in both places on Monday and Tuesday of last week in which two Africans died and 28 were wounded when riot police had to open fire to disperse crowds of strikers who were engaged in violence. Mr. N. F. Grant, Salisbury chief magistrate, said that he would issue the order to prevent a repetition of such disorders.

An African woman who defied the strike order on Monday and went to work in Salisbury was beaten up and raped by strikers when she returned home that afternoon. Twenty-seven Africans are known to have been wounded and injured by strike pickets, 14 African men and two women acquired a position in hospital. More than 70 arrests were made.

On Tuesday police and troop reinforcements were moved to Umtali after Africans had established road-blocks, stoned police and set a municipal tractor on fire, allegedly in protest against the arrest on the previous day of Mr. Leopold Takawira, "external relations officer" of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, who had to open fire and four Africans were wounded.

Some 2,500 municipal employees were dismissed for participating in the illegal strike, and about 3,000 workers were dismissed by businesses in Salisbury. The City Council has set up a panel to consider the cases of some 2,000 unmarried African males who were ejected by the security forces from their hostels after they had refused orders to return to work.

Three Workers in Four Ignored Strike Call

The strike was called by the splinter-group Southern Rhodesian African Trades Union Congress, which the Z.A.P.U. support, though the latter body denied all connexion with the strike call. More than 75% of the African labour force in Salisbury ignored the call, despite intimidation. Mr. J. T. Malufke, general secretary of the breakaway T.U.C. said that he might call for further action if there were continuance of the "planned victimization".

Mr. A. E. Abrahamson, Minister of Labour, deplored the suffering resulting from the A.T.U.C.'s "extremely reprehensible" action, and expressed pleasure that the great majority of workers had ignored the strike call. The Government had appreciated their attendance at work despite the gangs of loafers who had tried to prevent their doing so. "It is not Mswaka (the president) and Malufke who will provide jobs for all those who have been thrown out of work as a result of their illegal action".

After meetings to discuss the dismissals with employers and with Mr. Reuben Jamela, leader of the original S.R. Trades Union Congress, the Minister said on Thursday that he hoped the employers and the workers' representatives would continue to co-operate within the recognized machinery of the law on the positive and urgent need for improving working conditions and rates of pay. He continued:—

"Nor should the positive moves up to the present that have been made possible only through employer-employee co-operation be ignored. Of 49 industrial board reports 40 have been unanimous. In eight cases majority and minority reports have been reconciled by agreement, and in one instance only have I had to use my powers under the Industrial Conciliation Act to impose an arbitrary solution.

"I want this sort of peaceful progress to continue towards the goal of a living wage for all. I hope that, as the Conciliation Act permits and as is Government policy, we shall see the replacement of industrial boards by industrial councils through the registration of trade unions.

"What would most please the enemies of peaceful progress and good industrial relations would be a hardening of attitudes in the field of labour and in the country at large. This is what those who seek to create chaos in our country would most like, and this must be avoided. We must work together for the promotion of unity and identity of effort. We must oppose resolutely those who wish to promote bitterness and division.

Mr. Jamela has blamed the splinter group for its "irresponsibility" and the Government and employers for having ignored his warnings over the past year about the need to pay Africans higher wages.

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Lord Dalhousie's Call for Harmony Faith in Inter-Racial Understanding

LORD DALHOUSIE, Governor-General of the Federation, said last week when addressing a joint meeting at Victoria Falls of the Municipal Associations of Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland that "whether the Federation continues in its present form or not, we have a tremendous task to create stable conditions in which white and black can live together and work and prosper together in harmony with each other. Even if you do away with the Federation altogether you will not do away with the basic problems."

Much of the criticism of the Federation was totally unjustifiable, but not all of it.

"Never before have courage and leadership had more scope. We must live in the context of Africa today, and for this we must weed out all the rubbish of the past which stand in the way of racial harmony. It is going to take much courage, but it will be done, and will be done in the next few years will be done."

It was vital that not only whites but blacks should believe that a stable and permanent multi-racial State could and must be created in Central Africa. "The races in this country are entirely interdependent. Without each other's help we can never earn the rich rewards which this land has to offer. The sooner those who are racially minded grasp the truth of this the better."

Civil Servants in Kenya

Expatriates Needed for Some Years

MR. F. N. GRIFFITH-JONES, Acting Governor of Kenya, said on Friday when addressing the annual meeting of the Senior Civil Servants' Association in Nairobi:—

"I am aware only too well of your doubts, worries, and anxieties, and that without a high proportion of expatriates remaining for at least some years after independence Kenya will be unable to run efficiently without public services being drastically affected. I hope that confidence will be restored before it is too late."

"Kenya cannot afford to spurn the talents and skills of its citizens who are non-African just because they are not African. It is not Government policy to close its doors to all Asians and Europeans seeking to enter the service or to expel all non-African officers already in the service."

Lord De La Warr's Message

EARL DE LA WARR, chairman of the Joint Commonwealth Societies' Council, has issued a message for Commonwealth Day, which falls today. It states, *inter alia*:—

"Now we are reaching the real testing-point of our Commonwealth. The newly-won independence of so many different races and countries; the strongly felt emotions of racialism, anti-colonialism and neutrality; in a different way, the fear of the European Common Market—these things, although understandable, are, alas, forces potentially dangerous to our unity. Can we grow through them and survive?"

"We can, but if, and only if, we recognize that periods of transition are always difficult and that troubles which today seem overwhelming may in fact be only growing pains, such as all of us have experienced at some time in our history. These troublous years are the true test of our belief in the importance and worthwhileness of a great empire that has transformed itself into a community of free nations; important and worthwhile, not only to ourselves and to each other, but to the maintenance of freedom and of the values for which the Commonwealth stands throughout the world."

"The Commonwealth twice saved the world by its

'togetherness' in war. Let us on this Commonwealth Day in 1962 pledge ourselves to set the world a sensible and adult example of 'togetherness' for peace, based on true understanding of each other's problems and aspirations. If we cannot do this with all our experience of multi-racial co-operation, who can?"

Street Fights in Nakuru

Kenyatta "Fed Up" with K.A.D.U.

RIVAL GANGS of K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U. supporters fought with sticks and stones in the streets of Nakuru on Saturday night, and police had to intervene with tear gas. Eight injured Africans were taken to hospital and 17 arrests were made.

At a K.A.N.U. rally next day, Kenyatta said that he was "completely fed up" with his K.A.D.U. colleagues in the Coalition Government, adding: "We must work hard to eradicate them and ensure that they never appear again."

He alleged that Mr. Maudling, the Colonial Secretary, had referred during the Lancaster House Conference to the K.A.D.U. leaders as "those silly people" because of their insistence on regionalism for Kenya. A general election would, Kenyatta insisted, place this year. In some Nairobi circles it is not now expected until early in 1963.

In Mombasa, where K.A.D.U. held the second of their symbolic foundation-stone laying ceremonies for their proposed regions, the party leaders said that they had found support for the regionalisation plan from most people during his tour of the Colony.

The general secretary of the party, Mr. Makenzie, predicted that there could not be elections this year because of the time it would take to demarcate the boundaries of the six regions, delimit the constituencies, register the voters in each region, and hold initial elections to the regional assemblies.

The Minister for Legal Affairs, Mr. A. M. F. Webb, said two days earlier that the sequence of events as agreed at the Lancaster House Conference would be: (1) settlement in discussion with H.M. Government of the details of a Constitution based on the framework agreed at Lancaster House; (2) making the necessary instruments for an internal self-government; (3) a general election; (4) introduction of the Constitution for internal self-government. The date of the election would thus take place before the introduction of the Constitution for internal self-government but after the completion of the draft Constitution.

Mr. Mboya, Minister of Labour, said on his return to Kenya that he had met Mr. Maudling while in London last week and put the case for immediate British aid for mass emergency employment measures to offset the dangers inherent in the Colony's grave unemployment problem. He denied that his speech to the International Press Institute had contained threats against the Press in East Africa.

Portuguese Accused of Torture

ALLEGATIONS OF TORTURE by the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique were made to the United Nations Committee on Portuguese Overseas Territories last week when in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika, it heard petitions from two rival groups, the Mozambique African National Union and the National Democratic Union of Mozambique.

Mr. Placido Viegas, a Goan and a former police officer in Portuguese East Africa, appearing for the former party, stated that he had been gaolled for a fortnight for having made derogatory remarks about Portugal as a joke. He said that he had not been allowed to sit or sleep while in prison. He could not remember being struck by his guards, "because after about six hours I was out of my mind", but on leaving the cell he found that his legs were bleeding and "swollen like an elephant's". Asked about Portuguese reforms, he admitted that the colour-bar restrictions had been largely removed.

The group's leader, Mr. Mathew Mmoale, claimed that Africans in Mozambique were forbidden to form parties or unions, own shops, listen to foreign radio programmes, or read newspapers not controlled by the Government.

For the other party, its president, Mr. H. C. Gwambe, submitted a 35-page memorandum on Portuguese "misrule". It began with references to Vasco da Gama as "a strangulator who first oppressed the indigenous population."

Letter to the Editor

Before T.A.N.U. Became Respectable

Mr. Yinza's Faulty Memory

SIR—In your Notes By The Way, in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA of April 5, you made certain unfounded allegations against The Tanganyika African National Union (T.A.N.U.). You said ironically *inter alia*: "Has he [Mr. Macmillan] based from his memory the violence organized in Tanganyika by T.A.N.U. before it became 'respectable'?" This was your comment on a speech made by the British Prime Minister in Stockton-on-Tees on April 2. According to your paper, Mr. Macmillan said: "In the Colonies we are achieving evolution without violence". This was followed by your

comment: "I am not concerned with what the British Prime Minister is reported to have said. What we in Tanganyika are concerned about is your gross misrepresentation of the facts. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has often made comments which we have considered prejudicial to the interests of Tanganyika, but this is about the most disappointing of them all."

Through the world, except perhaps at 66 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1, knows that T.A.N.U. achieved her natural ambition without resorting or attempting to resort to violence. Its organizers, led by the "Father of the Nation", Mr. Julius Nyerere, pursued all peaceful means to break down the barriers of colonialism. Anyone who has ever lived or attempted to follow the political developments in Tanganyika will bear witness to this fact. T.A.N.U. had a tremendous following from the early days of its formation. The orderly public meetings held then and now show both the respect people had for the organization and the support they have always given to it.

I think, sir, your Notes By The Way leave much to be desired. You say T.A.N.U. organized violence before it became "respectable". It is interesting to know, nonetheless, that respectability is available to those who organize violence.

Yours faithfully,

Dar es Salaam,
Tanganyika.

J. M. YINZA,

Director of Information Services.

[Mr. Yinza's short memory might be refreshed by re-reading local newspaper reports of 1957 and 1958, when there were repeated convictions of T.A.N.U. officials and members for intimidation, violence, subversion, extortion, and/or other charges.]

Mr. Nyerere himself was refused permission to hold further meetings in Dar es Salaam early in 1957 after he had made a speech at a great open-air meeting which, in the words of the then occupant of the office now held by our correspondent, "could well have aggravated race relations and could well cause breaches of the peace".

Later came deliberate encroachments on European land by T.A.N.U. agents, culminating in the notorious Matomondo Valley case, in consequence of which Britons took the unprecedented step of complaining to a Visiting Mission of the United Nations against the unwarranted leniency shown to T.A.N.U. law-breakers by a Tanganyika Government which was astonishingly tolerant of the party's activities. Otherwise, the number of court cases would have been immensely increased. But Mr. Yinza will find enough of them recorded in the Dar es Salaam newspaper files to justify a statement which he has disputed against all the evidence.

We readily agree that the record of T.A.N.U. has been far better than that of K.A.N.U. or U.N.I.P., for instance; but there can be no question that intimidation and violence were practised in its name before it became "respectable". Ed.]

£4m. Oil Refinery for Tanganyika

THE TANGANYIKA GOVERNMENT has decided to negotiate with the Italian E.N.I. company for the building of an oil refinery costing about £4m.; one capable of refining more than 500,000 tons of oil annually and supplying the whole Tanganyika market.

£2m. Appeal for East Africa

African Medical and Research Foundation

AN APPEAL FOR £2m. was launched in London last week by the African Medical and Research Foundation, of which the African board consists of Lord Twining (chairman), Mr. M. S. Amalemba, M.L.C., Mr. S. N. Eliufoo, M.N.A., Mr. Paulo Kavuma, Sir Eboos Piribhai, Captain Malin Sorsbie, Sir Alfred Vincent, and Mr. Michael Wood (one of the founders and director of the work in East Africa).

The board in the United Kingdom consists of Sir Miles Chifford (chairman), the Aga Khan, Viscount Hambleden, Baroness Ravensdale, Mr. Ambrose Appelbe, Mr. Ronald Moss, Dr. Thomas Rees, Dr. Christopher Wood, and Mr. W. F. Davis (hon. secretary and treasurer).

When Sir Archibald Cochrane and Thomas Rees, a New York plastic surgeon, visited East Africa in 1957 they found that there was an urgent need for expansion and improvement of the health services, and boards were established in Nairobi, London, and New York to arouse interest and collect funds. A year ago an American television star, Mr. Robert Allen, gave a five-year grant. Another benefactor in the U.S.A. has paid for a pilot and the running and maintenance costs, and three mobile medical units are already on the road. £65,000 is needed to keep the present staff, vehicles and equipment at work, and rather more than £250,000 for a cancer treatment centre, an additional mobile medical unit, mobile clinics, a high frequency radio, and other equipment. Expenditure over the next five years is assessed at £2m.

The appeal literature states that malaria is the most prevalent in Africa, than had been suspected until recently; that there are 110,000 cases of pulmonary tuberculosis in Kenya; that malaria is still Africa's greatest killer; that the average African suffers from severe anaemia, his blood pressure being 40% to 50% below normal; and that African patients entering hospital nearly always suffer from two or three diseases other than that of which they complain.

Expenditure on medical care in Africa as a whole is now about 7s. per head per annum. In Great Britain it is £14, and in the U.S.A. £30.

The chairman of the appeal committee is Viscount Hambleden. Donations should be sent to Sir Miles Hambleden, Portugal Street, London, W.C.2.

Uganda Moves Towards Independence

SIR WALTER COUTTS, Governor of Uganda, told the National Assembly last week that the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism and the Ministry of Community Development had been created for the special purpose of kindling the imagination of the people with the magnitude of the task before them and communicating to them a spirit of dedication, self-help, and community service. He hoped that these patriotic officials whose services the country would require, and who had already indicated their intention of retiring, would reconsider their decision.

Though the 4th (Uganda) Battalion of The King's African Rifles would at the time of independence become Uganda's Army, H.M. Government would meet the costs until March next and make a capital grant for quarters in Jinja.

Appealing for a united endeavour to make Uganda progressive, peaceful, and prosperous, the Governor said that the Government elected by the people believed that that vision could be realized by patience, good sense, and good will.

Uganda Independence Celebrations

THE DUKE OF KENT will represent The Queen at Uganda's independence celebrations in October. He will be accompanied by The Duchess, for whom this will be the first official engagement abroad since their marriage last June. Their Royal Highnesses will spend about a week in Uganda. The Duke of Edinburgh represented Her Majesty at the Tanganyika independence celebrations last December.

U.N.I.P. and Sir Roy Welensky

THE UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY of Northern Rhodesia having had to pay £1,000 to a charity nominated by Sir Roy Welensky, whom a party publication had libelled, Mr. Kaunda has asked people in the United Kingdom to subscribe that and further sums of money. A letter from him in the current issue of the left-wing Socialist weekly *Time* says:—

"The London Committee of the U.N.I.P. has been sued for libel arising from an article in their newsletter *The Voice of Zambia* which dealt with the death of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in an air crash over Northern Rhodesia.

"The plaintiff was Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Central African Federation—that is, the Federation from the insulting existence of which our party was formed to free the people. I call it insulting because it was imposed upon my people against their known wishes, so that they, the overwhelming majority, were brought to express an opinion.

"Now Sir Roy Welensky has been libelled, and, according to the advice of my London Committee has apologized for the libel and has agreed that the £1,000 which Sir Roy Welensky demanded should be paid to a charity chosen by himself.

"I am told by friends who know something of the history of such cases that this is the first time a Commonwealth Prime Minister has sued a political opponent for libel; but I am not sure whether he is faced with the task of raising the money to pay the £1,000 and the costs (£400 or more).

"I am not withdrawing my apology or in any way seeking to qualify the charges made against Welensky in the libel suit. I say that these charges arose from political events and were made in the course of our political struggle. The damages claimed will serve to weaken my party at a critical moment in its campaign against the dominance of Welensky's Government.

"My party is at this moment engaged in heavy expenses connected with the defence of its supporters against police prosecutions in Northern Rhodesia, and it is vitally important that funds must not be drawn away from that, or from the essential expenses of our campaign at this time of an election under the new Constitution.

"I appeal to you, the friends of my people and those who wish us well in our struggle, to subscribe to our defence fund and help us to go forward in the task of achieving self-government and independence. Mr. John Stonehouse, M.P., has kindly agreed to be treasurer of the fund."

[Comment appears in Notes By The Way.]

Ties Off for Kaunda

EUROPEAN REPORTERS attending an African nationalist rally in Lusaka on Sunday were asked to remove their ties as a mark of respect for the United National Independence Party and its president, Mr. Kaunda. When they replied that they would rather withdraw and leave the speech unreported, party officials pleaded with them to remain.

Erosion of Law and Order

CONVICTIONS FOR MURDER, manslaughter and assault numbered 2,940 in Northern Rhodesia last year, a sharp rise from the previous year's 2,176, states the annual report of the Judiciary. For involvement in public disturbances 2,886 people were convicted, compared with 1,065 in 1960. Cases of rape and indecent assault totalled 200, as against 147 previously. Cases of arson rose from 87 to 348, but those of theft, burglary, house and storebreaking, false pretences, fraud and receiving stolen goods fell slightly, from 4,685 to 4,544. Twelve people sentenced to death for murder were executed. The convictions arose out of U.N.I.P. disturbances in the Northern and Luapula Provinces in the second half of the year.

Tanganyika is to have a National Tourist Board. The Zoological Society of London has bought two young gorillas, a male and a female, from Uganda.

A male and female Arabian oryx have been captured in the Aden Protectorate by the Fauna Preservation Society's expedition from Kenya. In order to preserve the species from extinction, specimens are to be flown to Kenya.

Outrages by U.N. Troops in Katanga

FORTY-SIX CIVILIAN DOCTORS in Elisabethville, who some time ago testified to atrocities committed in Katanga by United Nations troops, have now published their report in English and French, and M. Paul Struye, President of the Belgian Senate, has written a foreword to the book emphasizing the need for an impartial international inquiry into allegations which are given in great detail, often supported by photographs.

The accusations of the doctors, who describe themselves as "46 Angry Men", were addressed to the president of the Central Committee of the International Red Cross in Geneva, who was assured that the list of murders and assassinations contained the name of no civilian killed by stray bullets or any other doubtful case.

There are 14 categories of violations of international law, including rape; physical injury to European and African civilians; sexual abuse; execution with brutality; machine-gunning and looting of civilian homes; taking hostages and taking false testimonies; thefts ranging from jewels and wrist-watches to motor-cars; bombing hospitals and using them for military purposes; destruction of civilian installations; the arrest and murder of Red Cross orderlies; and the operation in a great concentration camp of about 40,000 Baluba in conditions so unhygienic that the doctors estimated at least 2,000 deaths in six months.

Ethiopians Chery Guilty

Thirteen named civilians, all unnamed, were killed on December 5; four more on December 13, including the Swiss head of the Red Cross detachment and his Belgian and Dutch assistants; five were killed on December 15; another three next day; another two days later; and five the next day.

The sworn testimonies declare that some of the murders were committed by Indian troops, most by Ethiopians, and at least one by Swedish troops.

In December 141 bodies of men, women, and children killed by United Nations action were found, 32 being of Europeans, of whom four were women. Thirty of the Europeans were civilians; the other two, who had lived for some time in Katanga, were volunteers in the Katanga National Guard. Of 108 Northern Rhodesian and Katanga Africans found dead, 54 were civilians and 13 were women.

By December 22 there had been 40 wounded, including 179 Katanga soldiers and police, 174 Katanga civilians, and 48 European civilians.

That month three European women were raped by United Nations mercenaries. In two cases the criminals were Irish.

There is a list of 66 persons who were arbitrarily arrested during the month, detained against their will, and refused legal assistance or the right of appeal to a magistrate.

The Katanga Health Council noted on November 29 that more than 1,000 Baluba had been buried in their camp in September, October, and November. At the time of the report the average daily death rate was 20, some caused by murder, some by U.N. firing, but most through illness, especially of newly-born infants and young children.

The report is published by Dr. E. Vleurinck, 96 Avenue de Broqueville, Brussels, Belgium.

NORTHERN RHODESIA

For information
APPLY TO

The Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia

57, HAYMARKET,
LONDON, S.W.1

Telegrams: NORDHODCOM LESQUARES LONDON
Telephone: Whitehall 3858 Cable: "NORDHODCOM LONDON"

Commons Debate on Federation

(Continued from page 921)

and maintain law and order. Well have they done it. But they have recently been moving into a well-nigh intolerable phase. When they take firm action to prevent a riot becoming a major disturbance and someone gets his shins bruised or his clothes torn they are accused of brutality. There are headlines in the Press and in the B.B.C. news, and questions in this House. If they delay action until a minor riot becomes a major disturbance they are criticized—and in that case rightly so. But at present the danger is that whichever way round it is they will be wrong. That atmosphere is thoroughly unhealthy. Some of us have the utmost admiration for these honourable, courageous, and single-minded administrators.

Mr. JOHN STONEHOUSE (Socialist), who wanted universal adult suffrage in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, agreed in the need for continued economic association between the territories. He would add to these Tanganyika, Uganda, and Kenya. It could be achieved by a common administration.

"The real problem will be in Southern Rhodesia, where the Europeans are very loath to give up power. Provided the Government stick to their intentions, Northern Rhodesia will have an African majority in the next year or so. If it does, it emerges there will be trouble in Northern Rhodesia, where the white minority is far too small to govern. It will be impossible in certain areas for Sir Roy Welensky's Federal troops to intervene, because this would be an invitation to the Nations to invite Ghanaian, Egyptian or any other troops to intervene in order to protect the Africans.

Disaster in Southern Rhodesia

If Africans are not admitted into the Government of Southern Rhodesia to a very considerable extent there will almost certainly be some uprising. There will be disorders, with the possibility that South Africa will be invited to send in troops to assist in putting down the trouble by force. If the Africans appeal for outside assistance who can expect that the United Nations will refuse to intervene? The terrible, bloody story of Algeria could be repeated in Southern Rhodesia. This fraud of a Constitution in Southern Rhodesia will certainly lead to a reactionary Dominion Party making utterly worthless all the promises made by Sir Edgar Whitehead and his colleagues. It will make all the more likely that the African people will demonstrate and rise against this new rule. The only way to prevent that disaster is for the Home Secretary and his colleagues to suspend the Southern Rhodesian Constitution, call back these parties for fresh talks, and ensure that we do not abdicate responsibility.

Mr. F. M. BENNETT (Cons.): "I have always believed that federation was the right answer and I believe so today. Mr. Healey blamed all that has happened on the conduct and lack of vision of the European electorate in the Federation. I do not consider that this is fair. If the Europeans there had done five or six years ago what they are prepared to do now, we should not have had the circumstances which have given rise to this debate. But let us not stand in a white sheet ourselves. There is a grave responsibility upon us for the unsatisfactory developments within the Federation.

"The Opposition have a grave responsibility too. Throughout the past 10 years they have done nothing to help the situation out there. They have done a great deal to hinder.

"Rhodesians and Nyasalanders of all races are beginning to realize that a solution must be found. It is surprising how the most vigorous African nationalist if one takes him through a hat will say: 'That is quite sensible; it obviously must be done with by some central body'. The items I mentioned included fuel and power, transport and communications, posts and telegraphs, overall economic planning, a currency board, and university education.

Like A Totem Pole

"The economic links must above all be borne in mind. I am sorry that Mr. Thorpe has left the Chamber because I have rarely heard such nonsense as he talked about economic matters. If we are to achieve satisfactory sound economic links, a measure of political co-ordination will be necessary as well.

"If we start by saying that there shall be a right of secession, every nationalist politician who wants to get into power will go hammer and fangs for secession.

"Could we have some system under which, unless legislation going through the Central Government had overwhelming support by representatives of all three territories, there could be a built-in right of veto in certain circumstances for legislation affecting the individual territories to which it applied? It would make the right of secession irrelevant.

"We make the mistake of picking a particularly distinguished, successful, virulent or vigorous African—almost like a totem pole—to whom we try to hand independence. In every territory where we have made this mistake we have learned to rue it afterwards. We are still seeing this in Kenya. We shall see it increasingly in Northern Rhodesia. The moment the Northern Rhodesians think that there is no need to gang up against the Europeans divisions will start among the Africans. Anyone who imagines that this will not be so does not know the tribal set-up.

"My rt. hon. friend's main job will be to restore confidence in H.M. Government, in this country, and in this Parliament. A large number of people in that country of all races greatly distrust this Government and the Opposition. To be a visiting M.P. of any party is not nowadays pleasant.

"United Nations intervention is greatly irresponsible when these people have to learn to live together and settle their own differences."

Mr. RICHARD MARSH (Soc.): "One of the things which worries me is that time and again independence under British colonial rule, which in many ways is very enlightened, has been the reward of bloodshed. Independence has been given after the uprising and the horrors of internal conflict. I disagree completely about the right of a Constitution a right of secession. Either the Federation must be accepted and forced to work or the quicker it is broken up the better.

"Every concession the British Government have made has been wrung out of them by pressure from all sorts of quarters. As long as the African believes that it is the prerogative of the Europeans to surrender real political power to him he will never accept any constitutional jiggery pokery or any bromide phrases about multi-racial partnership and marching into the future hand-in-hand.

"An African leader once informed me with great indignation that most of the African Government officials had for more graduates in them than had an educated African elsewhere. A major occupation except in politics. We should be very before we condemn authoritarian Governments in countries in which there is no alternative. This is perhaps an argument for educating the Africans, but not an argument against permitting them to accept the power of government."

Mr. R. W. SORENSEN (Soc.): "I lament the passing of federation in Central Africa, as must all who understand the meaning of preventing the Balkanization of the world. Nkrumah is a pre-eminent advocate of pan-Africanism which can never take continental unitary form; it must be federation. Nigeria is a federation. The United States is a federation. Everyone of us believes in the principle of federation; but we must build it on a sound foundation."

Mr. Butler's Reply

Mr. B. A. BUTLER said in the course of his reply: "I need the good wishes and the prayers of those who wish for some solution to be found. I should be deluding the House if I caused hon. Members to think that in a short time I could come back with an already fixed solution. That would be impossible.

"Much depends upon the timing, as it always does in politics. The approach to this question is absolutely vital and timing will be the vital thing.

"An important feature of my tour will be to restore confidence not only between the House and the Federation and the Governments concerned, but also between the House and some of the personalities in Central Africa.

"My hon. friends attach importance to moderate opinion being given a chance to express itself, and that is why we attach so much importance to stemming intimidation from whatever source it may come.

"There is no question of our giving priority to any race or section of opinion. It is important for us to be absolutely just and to face the emergent tide of African nationalism with fairness, but, nonetheless, to face the legitimate claims and contribution of the European community.

"Mr. Healey said that we should not surrender any further powers to the European minority, and there was a cry from this side of the House, 'Nor to anyone else'. That is exactly what I feel. We have no intention of surrendering further powers to any particular section. We intend, so to speak, to keep the ring.

"As for the references to statements about force made by either European or African leaders, H.M. Government do not intend to tolerate any statements which refer to a settlement by force of the intricate problems of the Federation. I referred to the importance of stopping intimidation on the African side. Equally, the use of force in any way to solve this is inappropriate at the present time.

"The Preamble to the Constitution of 1953, introduced by our own Government, runs as follows: 'whereas Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should continue under the special protection of Her Majesty, to enjoy separate Governments for so long as their respective peoples so desire.' I must pay

tion for Northern Rhodesia and how it should be applied is being discussed between the Governor and the Litunga. I shall meet the Governor and ascertain his feelings. I do not doubt that the future of Barotseland will come up during my tour.

"I have been asked several questions about secession. I will just repeat that H.M. Government acknowledge the position of the Malawi Party which won the last election on the firm mandate that it was not prepared for Nyasaland to remain within the present Federation. The Government feel that before a final conclusion is reached there should be a full examination not only of the financial position—and it is a very serious one—but also of the consequences of withdrawal and the possible alternative forms of association with the other territories. The Government intend to take a constructive attitude in the matter and to see whether with agreement we cannot forge economic and other associations for the future.

"In the case of Northern Rhodesia we propose that there shall be no frustration in connexion with the national seats. We propose that if the national seats do not succeed—the first round there will be by-elections to fill them. In answer to Mr. Krunda's question, we do not propose that nominations should be given to the Governor to fill the national seats. It may be necessary to have a second round if the national seats are not filled on the first round.

"I am not prepared to summon a Federal Review Conference, but I am prepared to do some exploratory work, to hear views, and to carry this matter further. It is my conviction that we can obtain a moderate and firm solution."

Parliament

Colonial Office Staff Decrease Party Clashes in Northern Rhodesia

THE STAFF of the Colonial Office, MR. MAUDLING told the House of Commons, has dropped from 1,664 in the financial year 1952/53 to 874 at present. He continued:

"This reduction reflects the net position after taking account not only of reductions arising directly from the independence of former colonial territories but also of the transfer of work previously done by the Colonial Office in respect of territories which are still dependent to the Department of Technical Co-operation, the Central African Office and the taking over, by the Colonial Office, from the Commonwealth Relations Office of responsibility for some South African High Commission Territories. A reduction of another 50 on the C.O. establishment is expected by the end of the current year.

"As regards the Overseas Service, in 1955 there were about 25,000 officers classed as expatriate officers. The present numbers are much the same despite the fact that several territories have since become independent. Of this total about 14,000 are designated officers under the Overseas Service Aid Scheme serving in dependent territories."

MR. E. L. MALLALIEU: "Is the rt. hon. gentleman aware that in the French territories which received independence recently civil servants remained servants of France? So they do not feel that their careers are at stake if they train successors, and they have been able to stay on in the newly independent territories in far greater number than civil servants have been able to stay on in ours."

MR. MAUDLING: "I will look at that. I cannot understand how an independent country could have its civil servants employed by a separate nation. I do not think that that would be acceptable to our tenets."

MR. THOMSON: "Is it not tragic that when a man has gained expertise in the Colonial Service he should have to give up that job to become secretary of a golf club in Surrey?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I absolutely agree. This is one of the reasons why we supply finance through the Overseas Aid Scheme to enable these countries to employ these expatriates."

MRS. CASTLE: "Is it not a fact that there are about 1,000 European officers in Kenya who were locally recruited, in many cases were locally born, who were not recruited by or on behalf of the Colonial Secretary but have been designated on the ground that they were employed before the publication of Colonial 3067? Are there not a number of Asian officers in exactly the same position, but who have not been designated simply because they had not reached the salary stage arbitrarily fixed for the right to convert under the Libby provision? Is not this a quite unjustified distinction?"

MR. MAUDLING: "This is a very complicated matter, but the provisions for deciding who should be designated were worked out in consultation with the staff associations and were approved by the full Kenya Whitey Council."

attention to that Preamble in considering any plans for the future that may be brought forward.

"The Barotseland position is important. The new Constitu-

MRS. CASTLE: "Is not the staff association protesting against this discrimination? M.P.s. have received a lot of correspondence on this point. They are totally unsatisfied with the answer."

MR. MAUDLING: "These things were worked out very carefully with the staff association. As far as I know, having looked at the matter carefully, they are fair."

MR. WALL asked the Home Secretary what steps were being taken to prevent anti-British films, such as To-day, series No. 46, being shown in Northern Rhodesia.

MR. R. A. BUTLER: "Censorship is a matter for the Film Censorship Board of Northern Rhodesia appointed by the Governor. I am consulting the Governor about this film."

Aid for Tanganyika

MR. F. M. BENNETT asked whether any modification had been made to the financial settlement with Tanganyika announced by the Colonial Secretary on August 4, 1961.

MR. SANDYS: "Yes. In order to alleviate financial difficulties arising from delays in the receipt of funds from other sources and from unforeseen expenditure consequent on floods and famines, the British Government has agreed that the Tanganyika Government should receive as part of the special gift of £2m. towards the development plan (amounting to £1m.) which would have been drawn between July 1, 1961, and June 30, 1962, the Tanganyika Government should be taken to spend equivalent sums on the purchase of British goods and services.

"A sum of a million pounds will be made available for payments after May 1, 1962, for British goods bought in Tanganyika, and £1m. will be paid to the Crown Agents by monthly instalments between May and October this year for the account of the Tanganyika Government, against that Government's undertaking to place new contracts for British goods worth £1m. by October 31, 1962. Parliament will be asked to vote the necessary funds by a summer supplementary estimate."

MR. BRUCE DAVIDSON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Central African Office) was aware that the home and tea-room in Nalola of Mr. Isaiah Naklonga had been repeatedly stoned and that he had been threatened with death by supporters of the United National Independence Party. As this was one of many instances of intimidation of Africans opposed to U.N.I.P., what new measures were to be taken to check such political violence in Northern Rhodesia?

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Mr. Naklonga's tea-room was stoned both during the week-end April 7-8 and the Easter week-end. These incidents appear to have taken place as the result of rivalry between U.N.I.P. and the African National Congress. The Governor has assumed additional powers under the Preservation of Public Security Regulations, and this together with increased police patrolling, appears to have checked the tendency to violence on the part of the adherents of these parties."

MR. SWINGLER asked what loans or grants had been made in each of the last five years for the expansion of educational opportunities for Africans in Southern Rhodesia.

THE PRIME MINISTER: "H.M. Government have contributed more than £1.8m. in Colonial Development and Welfare grants over the last five years towards the development of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury, a multi-racial institution."

Commonwealth Parliamentary Association

THE UNITED KINGDOM BRANCH of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association has elected to its executive committee Mr. W. T. Aitken, Mr. Bernard Braine, Sir Herbert Butcher, Sir David Campbell, Mr. Nigel Fisher, Mr. Hugh Fraser, Mr. P. C. Gordon-Walker, Mr. James Griffiths, Mr. D. Healey, Mr. A. Henderson, Mr. A. Creech Jones, the Earl of Listowel, Mr. Reginald Maudling, Sir Roland Robinson, Mr. Duncan Sandys, Mr. J. Strachey, Mr. G. M. Thomson, Miss J. Vickers, Mr. D. Wade, Mr. P. Wall, and Mr. Richard Wood. The Prime Minister is ex-officio chairman, and the joint honorary treasurers are Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and Mr. W. Glenvil Hall. The Earl of Munster, deputy chairman since 1954, did not stand for re-election. Delegations from the United Kingdom branch were entertained during the past year by Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Zanzibar, and Nyasaland. At the annual meeting last week members criticized what was termed an unduly stringent limitation of funds for exchange visits within the Commonwealth.

R.S.T. to Spend £7½m. on Chambishi

CHAMBISHI MINES, LTD., a company in the Rhodesian Selection Trust group, announced on Monday its decision to develop the Chambishi orebody at a capital cost of about £7½m.

Sir Ronald Prain, chairman of the group, described the decision as the first fruits of the merger between the R.S.T. and Roan Antelope companies and as proof of confidence in the orderly and planned development of Central Africa and in the future of the world copper market.

Chambishi, which is about 15 miles from Kitwe and Chingola and 20 miles from Mufulira, has published ore reserves of 35m. short tons, averaging 3.27% copper. The present grade of Roan Antelope is 3%, at Mufulira 3.55%, and for the whole Copperbelt 3.5%, but Chambishi has the high grade of 4.5%.

The plan of working is to start later this year and is expected to produce some 100,000 tons of copper in the third year of development, and that by 1967 production will be at a rate of 250,000 tons of copper annually.

The funds required are to be found by the present shareholders in the Chambishi company, or whose issued capital is £10m. and £10m. Corporation 277.

The new mine will be the largest copper development anywhere in the world.

Copperbelt Strike Ended

THE 20-DAY COPPERBELT STRIKE ended yesterday with the return to work of some 32,000 African miners, who had struck for increased pay and longer holidays. The Northern Rhodesian African Mineworkers' Union called for a return to work as a "gesture of courtesy" to the inquiry commission which opened on Monday of last week under the chairmanship of Sir Roland Morrison, G.C., but it will take its members out again if it is not satisfied with the commission's findings, said the general secretary, Mr. Matthew Nkoloma. It is estimated that to grant the miners' claims would cost the mining companies about £37m. a year. The strike has cost more than £5m. in lost production and pay for Europeans and Africans who remained at their posts, but the lost output will probably be made up during their current financial year by the companies, which have been voluntarily withholding about the market 10% of their production capacity. There was no violence during the strike.

De Beers Interest in Tanganyika

DE BEERS CONSOLIDATED MINES, LTD., which has a half share in the Williamson diamond mine in Tanganyika, reported gross profits for 1961 after tax at R49,614,701 (R2m. in 1960), the rand being worth 10s. Taxation took nearly R21m. Shareholders in the parent company receive dividends of R1.40 per 50 cent share. The consolidated balance sheet shows the issued capital at nearly R153m. Investments appear at R122.6m., fixed assets at R40.6m., diamonds on hand at R37m., and current assets less current liabilities at R25.5m.

In 1958, a loan was made to the Tanganyika Government which with interest amounted to more than R1.3m. at the end of last year. It has been agreed that that balance plus interest shall be repaid over the next five years, and that the debt shall be treated as a loan chargeable on the country's public revenue, and not, as hitherto, repayable from dividends received from Williamson Diamonds, Ltd. The De Beers interest in that company is valued at R57m.

The treatment plant at Mwadui operated at full capacity during the year, in which 2,788,496 tons of kimberlite and gravel were treated for a recovery of 667,619 carats, compared with 525,780 carats in 1960. There was a profit after tax of rather more than R4.2m., from which dividends totalling R2m. were declared.

Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer is chairman of the De Beers group, his colleagues on the board being Baron Edmond de Rothschild, Lord Robbins, Sir Reginald Leeper, Major General I. P. C. Villiers, Dr. A. G. W. Compton, and Messrs. P. J. L. Coker, D. E. Forayth, R. B. Hagar, H. J. Joel, W. Marshall, Carl, D. McHardy, P. J. Oppenheimer, J. D. Rudd, D. A. B. Watson, and A. Wilson.

Tanganyika's Economic Structure

ESTABLISHMENT OF INDUSTRIES for the processing of local raw materials is one of the main aims of the Ministry for Commerce and Industry in Tanganyika. Mr. George Kahama, the Minister, told Mwanza Chamber of Commerce at its annual dinner.

In explanation of the Government's attitude to business, he said:

Although we aim at the promotion of commerce and industry in a truly Socialist context, with equal opportunities for all, and the gradual elimination of the under-privileged among our people, it has never been the Government's intention to exclude private enterprise.

"What we have already started to do is to create a new class of African businessman who in the past has been very largely excluded from participation in commerce. This will be done mainly through the active efforts of the Ministry of Co-operative and Community Development by setting up a co-operative wholesale organization with chain stores, retail branches, and super-markets. In the long run this may involve some necessary changes in the overall retail structure of the economy, but this should be viewed as an inevitable form of development in a country where the bulk of the people have hitherto been denied opportunities for advancing themselves economically.

"The advancement of the African people within commerce and industry is not only morally desirable, it is a matter of practical necessity. In a country of this size and potential it need constitute no threat to private enterprise, because our economic structure of the future is likely to consist of one sector entirely owned by the State, a joint State-private enterprise sector, a co-operative sector, and a purely private enterprise sector—all playing a part in development.

Better Air Services to E. & C. Africa

QUADRIPARTITE AIRLINES (B.O.A.C., C.A.A., E.A.A., and S.A.A.) will from June 1 operate 11 services weekly from Salisbury to the United Kingdom, and from June 24 no fewer than 25 a week from Nairobi.

From Salisbury there will be two flights daily to London on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, three on Fridays, and one on other days. Each day there will be a flight to Rome; two services weekly will call at Zurich; and there will be one weekly call at Athens, Frankfurt, Paris, and Amsterdam. A British United Airways service once weekly from Salisbury will call at Lusaka and Ndola on the way to London.

East African Airways will operate seven Comet flights a week from Nairobi to London, and there will also be a B.O.A.C. daily Comet service. Four B.O.A.C. Britannia flights each week, four South African services with Boeings, and three B.U.A. Britannias will also operate between Nairobi and London. Thus there will be at least three flights out of Nairobi every day to the U.K. Rome will have at least one flight a day from East Africa, and Cairo, Benghazi, Athens, Frankfurt, and Zurich will also be served.

From June 24 Khartoum will have 11 B.O.A.C. services a week in each direction.

Commonwealth Development Finance Company

COMMONWEALTH DEVELOPMENT FINANCE CO., LTD., reports consolidated profit after tax for the year ended March 31 at £142,887, compared with £257,490 in the previous year. Investments stand at £15.4m., and another £2.7m. was due to be disbursed. In November the company subscribed £5,900 to the African Loan and Development Co., Ltd., registered in Rhodesia with an issued capital of £700,000 to provide finance for African commercial and agricultural undertakings in the Federation. Previously C.D.F.C. had provided £3m. for Kariba and £150,000 for Chimindu Sugar Estates, Ltd., and subscribed £100,000 of the capital of Industrial Promotion Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyassaland, Ltd. It had also lent £500,000 to East African Tea Estates, Ltd., Uganda. The issued capital of C.D.F.C. is £7.3m., and it has bank advances totalling nearly £7.7m.

The new cathedral at Mbale, Uganda, will, it is hoped, be consecrated in October, the month in which Uganda is due to become independent. The building fund is still £2,000 short, and an appeal has been issued by the Bishop. Cheques should be sent to The Rt. Rev. L. Usher-Wilson, Box 356, Mbale, Uganda.

Company Report**GALLAHER LIMITED***(Incorporated in Northern Ireland)***Increased Group Profits****Turnover Reaches Record Figure****Smoking and Health****"Whole Problem Out of Perspective"****MR. CECIL W. MASON ON THE OUTLOOK**

THE FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF GALLAHER LIMITED, was held yesterday at Granite House, Cannon Street, London, E.C.

MR. CECIL W. MASON, Chairman of the Company, presided.

The Secretary, Mr. George Hill, A.C.A., read the notice convening the meeting and the report of the auditors.

The following is the Chairman's Statement circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended December 31, 1961.

In my Statement last year I said that your Directors would not be able to present satisfactory results for the year 1961, but this must be coloured by the uncertainty as to whether and when the Chancellor of the Exchequer would use the powers to impose by Order a surcharge on duties, including tobacco duty. The Chancellor did, in fact, use these powers in July, 1961, when tobacco duty was increased by 10%. In these circumstances your Directors hope that you will consider the Group's trading results for 1961 to be satisfactory.

Trading Results

The Group profits, before tax, for the year 1961 amounted to £13,661,427, an increase of £1,918,150 over the 1960 profits. The proportion of the Company's 1961 profits absorbed by taxation is considerably higher than in 1960 by reason of the increase in the rate of profit tax from 12½% to 15%.

The Group net profit, after tax, for 1961 is a record at £6,350,881 as compared with £5,834,300 in 1960—an increase of £516,581; thus, the effect of the higher rate of taxation imposed on all of our profits for 1961 has been that the increase in profits of £1,918,150 before taxation becomes an increase of £516,581 after taxation.

The Directors have transferred to General Reserve Account the sum of £4,000,000, which increases the balance on the Group's General Reserve to £14,300,000. An interim dividend of 5% less tax, was paid in 1961 on the Ordinary Capital of £24,300,000, and your Directors recommend a final dividend of 15% less tax. The appropriation to General Reserve exceeds the net profits available after dividends, so that, after taking credit for taxation provisions for previous years no longer required, the carry-forward in the consolidated profit and loss account at £3,299,895 is £654,149 less than the carry-forward from last year.

Arising out of 10% surcharge on tobacco duty imposed in July, 1961, the Group has made an exceptional profit, after all relevant taxation of £618,193, which has been transferred to the credit of Reserve for Contingencies.

Current Assets

In the Consolidated Balance Sheet at December 31, 1961, the total current assets amount to £102,490,272, an increase over the figure in the 1960 Balance Sheet of £4,798,144.

Stocks of work-in-progress and finished goods at the end of 1961 were fractionally more in quantity than at the end of 1960, but the 10% surcharge on tobacco duty which the Group has to pay immediately on the withdrawal of tobacco from bond, has brought about an increase in the value of those stocks. The amount due by trade customers was higher for the same reason.

The quantity of leaf tobacco which we held in stock at the end of 1961 was marginally lower than at the end of 1960, but the average cost of these stocks was higher.

Leaf Supplies

In my Statement last year I told you that we were able to improve our stock position and had bought more than twelve months' replacement of leaf tobacco. It is fortunate that we did increase our stocks when the opportunity presented itself, because 1961 was a difficult year in which we were unable to purchase enough tobacco of the types we required to cover a full twelve months' usage.

Despite the downward trend of commodity prices in general the price of leaf tobacco shows a continued rising trend. The average cost of our purchases again increased, and I regret to say that there are signs that prices may rise further this year.

The 1961 U.S.A. crop contained limited supplies of quality tobacco required by United Kingdom manufacturers, and strong competition for these types resulted in the higher average cost of our purchases.

The 1961 Rhodesian crop, which it had been hoped would be more suitable to our requirements, again proved to be disappointing.

The current crop which is now being sold in Rhodesia is estimated to be of record weight at 250 million lbs., but the effect of drought conditions experienced over large areas of the country during the growth of the crop will again result in a difficult buying season.

In Canada the quality of the crop has been more suitable to our requirements, and I am pleased to record the improvements which have been effected in the grading and handling of this tobacco.

In India, while prices were higher than in the previous year, the quality of the crop was satisfactory, and we were able to purchase our requirements.

Sales

During 1961 the Group's turnover increased to a record figure of £349,000,000 compared with £320,000,000 in 1960. This was due partly to the increase in the price of some of our cigarette brands in June 1961 and the increase in duty arising from the Government surcharge applied at the end of July 1961, and partly to an increase in our quantity sales which resulted in an improvement in our share of the market.

This increase in our sales was achieved in spite of the very intense competition which continued throughout the year and the depressing effect on consumption which occurred as a result of the July duty increase. The lat-

ter had an immediate effect on sales, in particular of the higher priced cigarettes and tobaccos, which had not recovered by the end of the year.

During the latter part of the year the Company introduced Benson & Hedges King Size Filter cigarettes and a small sized cigar—Harlequin—both of which are making satisfactory progress.

Your Company is continually reviewing the competitive position of the Group and will continue to introduce new brands from time to time.

General Matters

Last year I referred to the additions to our manufacturing capacity and informed you that our new factory in the Manchester area began production in 1960. Considerable progress has been made since that date and the new producing capacity is now well advanced.

Despite the steps we have taken in the past few years to add to our manufacturing capacity, some of our factories are still congested. During 1961 an opportunity presented itself to resolve these production problems and the Company arranged to purchase a large modern factory building adjacent to the Company's principal factory in Belfast. Completion of this purchase will take place at the end of June, 1962. Although this building was designed for use as a textile mill, a considerable sum of money will have to be spent in adapting it to our use, and it should prove itself to be a fine modern factory for our purpose.

The new cigar factory at Cardiff for J. R. Freeman & Son Limited, which was nearing completion at the time of the Annual General Meeting last year, has been in production since October, 1961. This single-story factory is proving to be highly satisfactory in every respect and economical in operation. It has also provided the Group with reserve capacity for cigar manufacture. The old cigar factory at Cardiff has been sold.

In the middle of 1961 the company acquired the old and well-established name "Ardulla" and the United Kingdom and Eire trade marks associated with it. These brands are now being sold through the Group's selling organization.

Early this year we purchased the business and the world trade mark rights, except in New Zealand, of John Cotton Limited, which was established 192 years ago.

J. Wix & Sons Limited

As you have already been informed, the Company acquired from The American Tobacco Company in early January, 1962, the whole of the issued share capital of J. Wix & Sons Limited, in exchange for £3,600,000 of ordinary stock in Gallaher Limited, equivalent to 7,200,000 10s. ordinary stock units. The profits of Wix from the beginning of January, 1962, will form part of the profits of the Gallaher Group, but as Gallaher did not own the Wix shares at December 31, 1961, no account is taken of Wix in the accounts of Gallaher Limited, at that date.

For your information the Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss account of Wix at December 31, 1961, are shown at the end of the statement of accounts.

Engineering Subsidiary

Our engineering subsidiary had a satisfactory year. Its main product, the Mono Pump, is sold in many countries of the world.

These results again reflect credit on management, staff and workers, and we thank them for their achievement.

Export

In January this year Gallaher International Limited, was formed, and at the time the following Press statement was issued:

"Gallaher Limited, announces the incorporation of a new subsidiary company—Gallaher International Limited—with an authorized capital of £250,000.

"It is the intention of Gallaher Limited, to extend through this new company its interests in world markets outside the United Kingdom and Eire. Heretofore its overseas interests have been negligible, in comparison with its business in the United Kingdom.

"This company will deal with the brands of Gallaher Limited, Cope & Lloyd (Overseas) Limited, J. R. Freeman & Sons Limited, J. R. Wix & Sons Limited".

Since 1932 we have had arrangements which precluded your Company from trading abroad, and our overseas trade was handled by British-American Tobacco Company Limited. An agreement has now been reached whereby Gallaher is able to trade in world markets, with the exception of New Zealand where Gallaher trade marks have been sold outright to B.A.T.

B.A.T. acquired many years ago the export rights of J. A. Patticotux Limited, the makers of "Golden Service" and "Nelson" cigarettes. The export rights of Hedges Limited and of Peter Jackson Limited, have never been owned by your Company.

It is now the intention of Gallaher to enter world markets whenever suitable opportunities arise, either by developing its own trade marks or by handling established businesses, and it is for this purpose that Gallaher International Limited, has been formed.

Smoking and Health

All shareholders will have seen references to the Report of the Royal College of Physicians on Smoking and Health. It seems to me that the recent publicity has put the whole problem out of perspective. Excess in most habits is harmful, but the great majority of smokers exercise moderation in this habit, from which they derive pleasure and comfort without injury to their health.

It is certainly not our wish to encourage children under 16 to smoke, and, in conjunction with the trade, certain steps have already been taken, as announced in the Press, and the trade is consulting with the Government to see what further steps can be taken.

As has so often been stated, there is no scientific evidence as to the cause of cancer. It is to be hoped that with all the research going on in the world today science will soon discover the cause. Your Company will continue to play its part in this research.

Outlook

This is, of course, a particularly difficult year on which to make a realistic forecast of our trading. Apart from the continuing high rate of duty, which in itself will have an effect on the level of consumption, the recent smoking and health controversy has had a material effect on sales, and it is still too soon to be able to judge long-term reaction. I can say, however, that competitively the goodwill of your Company's brands because of their high quality, is second to none, and I have every confidence that your Company will maintain its share of the trade.

Directors and Employees

Immediately following the completion of the purchase of the Wix business your Directors appointed to the board of Gallaher, Mr. F. H. Wright, the Managing Director of J. Wix & Sons Limited, who has been associated with the tobacco industry for 40 years. It gives us great pleasure to welcome Mr. Wright to the Board, not only for his personal qualities but because his experience and knowledge of the trade are of great

value to us in our deliberations. I am happy to welcome the Wix employees to our Group and would like to place on record our appreciation of the co-operation we have received from the Wix management, which has been and is proving most helpful.

In the course of the next year two of your Directors, Mr. J. D. Hopkins and Mr. J. Young, will be retiring.

Last year I told you of the formation of a Board of Management, and we have recently appointed as Directors three of its senior members, Mr. R. S. L. Berkeley, Mr. H. B. Glyn and Mr. A. W. H. Stewart-Moore. These three new Directors have spent their working lives in the service of the Company. We have also appointed as Director, Mr. A. W. S. Pollock, who is Managing Director of Gallatin International Limited. Although he has not had long service with the Company he has gained his experience in the tobacco trade in world markets. I and my colleagues are confident that these four new Directors will be an added strength to the Board.

During the year we have appointed to the Board of Management Mr. J. C. L. Boyes, who has succeeded Mr. R. G. Knight as Chief Accountant of the Company on the latter's retirement in May last year.

To all employees of the Group I give my best thanks for their support and enthusiasm, which has enabled us to present to you the results of another successful year.

The report and accounts were unanimously adopted, and the retiring Directors, Sir Walter A. Edmanson, C.B.E., D.L., and Mr. J. D. Hopkins, who retired by rotation, and Mr. R. S. L. Berkeley, Mr. H. B. Glyn, Mr. A. W. S. Pollock, F.C.A., Mr. A. W. H. Stewart-Moore, and Mr. F. H. Wright, F.C.A., who had been appointed during the year, were re-elected.

Liab's Extract of Meat Co., Ltd., has declared an interim dividend of 4%.

Tanganyika yesterday became a full member of the International Civil Aviation Organization.

All 14 occupants were killed when a U.S. Air Force transport plane crashed last week on the Ngong Hills outside Nairobi.

A unified East African Army after independence of the territories was suggested last week by General Sir Richard Hull, C.I.G.S., when he visited British and K.A.R. units in Kenya.

Anglo American Investment Trust, Ltd., reports profit for 1961 after tax of R.8,016,398 (R.7,693,374 in 1960). Ordinary shareholders received R.2.50 per R.2 share.

The U.N. International Atomic Energy Agency's seven-member mission went last week from Tanganyika to Kenya. Its discussions concern a technical assistance programme involving the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Rhodesian Selection Trust, Ltd., has declared an interim dividend of 2s. per share, less tax of 8s. in the £1, in respect of the year ending June 30. Mutitua Copper Mines, Ltd., will pay an interim of 2s. 6d. at the same rate of tax.

Blackwood House reports profits after tax for the year ended October 31 at £17,381 (£16,720 in 1960). The ordinary dividend is raised from 6% to 10%, and shareholders are to receive three ordinary shares for every 17 shares held on June 29 next.

James Finlay & Co., Ltd., a group with large tea growing in East Africa, reports a net profit for 1961 of £698,327 (against £707,460 in 1960) before tax of £343,000 (£370,000). The ordinary dividend is maintained at 11%, requiring £220,500. The carry-forward is £612,927 (£610,130).

For financial reasons, Lindi is to cease to be a port for ocean shipping, all such traffic being to be handled at Mtwara. At the request of the Tanganyika Government, the railway line way from Mtwara to Machinga is also to be closed. Mtwara and the railway were built for the Tanganyika groundnut scheme.

The Buganda Lukiko has informed Mr. Mauding that it is "shocked and profoundly disturbed" by the Molson Commission's recommendation that Buganda and Bugangazi counties should be restored to Bunyoro in order to solve the "lost counties" dispute. The commission is considered to have exceeded its terms of reference in suggesting changes in Buganda's boundaries.

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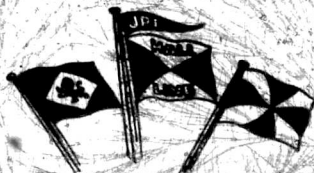
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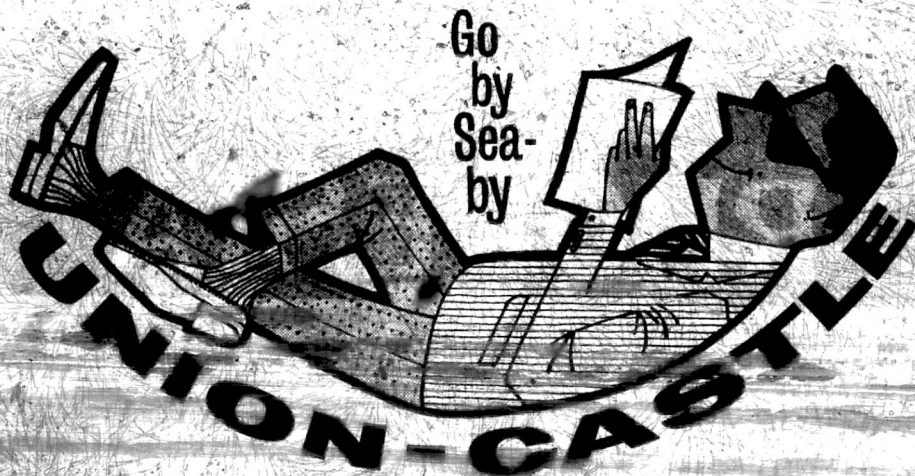
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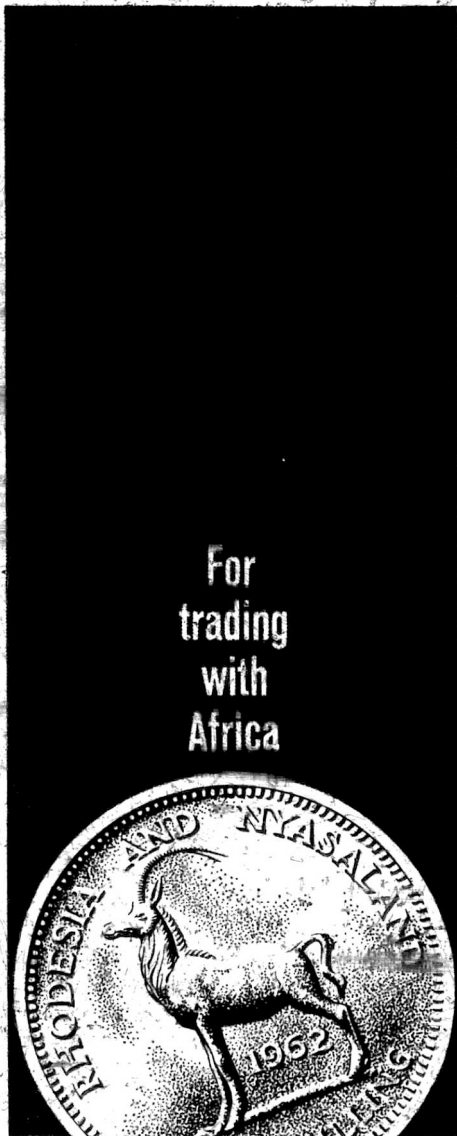
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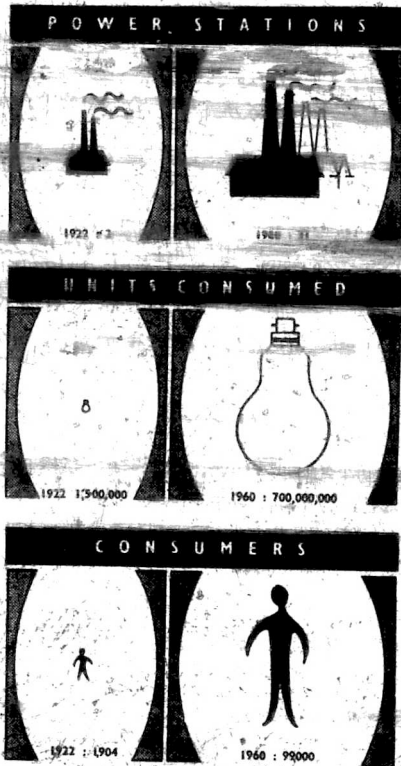
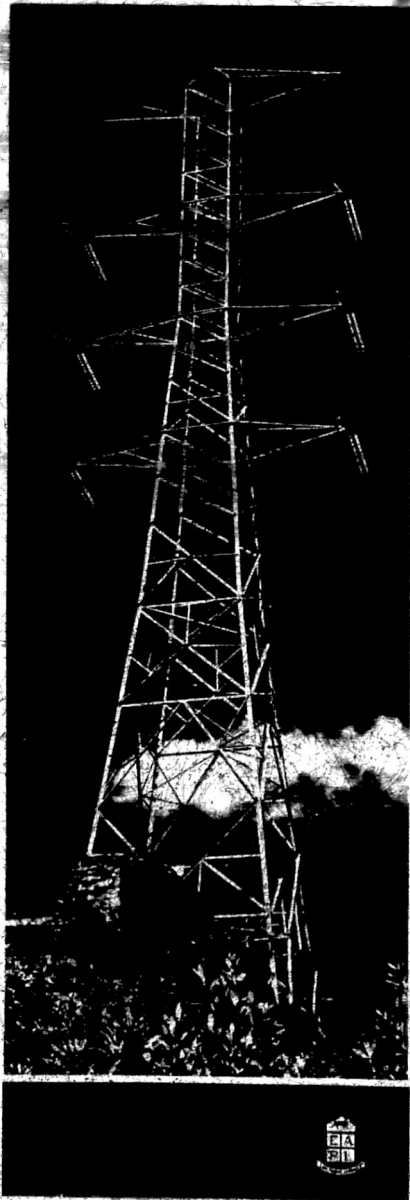
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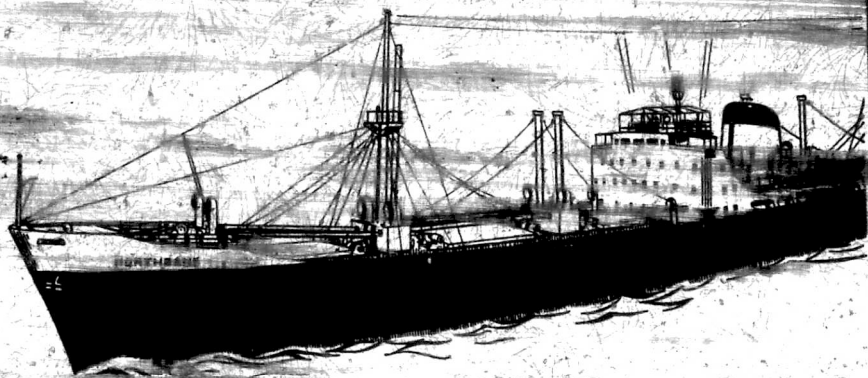
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

MR. R. A. BUTLER, who has tackled many testing problems in his time, has more than once described that which faces the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland as the most difficult question which he has ever undertaken. That serious approach to a complex and critical situation is in sharp and welcome contrast to the slick schemings of Mr. Macleod, whose behaviour when Secretary of State for the Colonies caused one of the most trusted men in his own party, Lord Salisbury, to charge him publicly with unscrupulousness which had almost destroyed the faith of the Federation in the United Kingdom Government. Those who endorsed an accusation which would have ended the career of the Minister when there were better standards in political life included the Federal Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, many other political and business leaders in the three territories, and the then Archbishop of Canterbury. Recognizing the gravity of such responsible condemnation of what had been done in the name of Great Britain, Mr. Butler knew that his first task must be to create confidence in his own intentions, for otherwise he could not hope to re-establish normal relations between H.M. Government and those leaders in Central Africa who bear the heavy burden of deciding what measures shall be taken to remedy past mistakes and the mischief wrought by the Macmillan-Macleod policy of surrender to African nationalist extremism.

Recent statements by the Minister for Central African Affairs and Sir Roy Welensky indicate that the Federal Prime Minister considers that Mr. Butler's sixteen-day visit has been abundantly worthwhile, and that their personal relations are easy, friendly, and hopeful. That does not suggest, of course, that either underestimates

Mr. Butler's Contribution.

the difficulties ahead or the possibility, indeed the likelihood, that strain may develop some months hence. If mutual trust grows meaningfully, however, the prospect of dealing successfully with that strain will have been markedly improved. What was so distressing and dangerous throughout the Macleod era was the lack of trust. The main blame was rightly placed upon the man who is now chairman of the Conservative Party, but the Prime Minister was personally involved in breaches of promises to the Federal Government. The delicacy and difficulty of Mr. Butler's mission was therefore evident. He had also to deal with African politicians as touchy, erratic, and eccentric as Dr. Banda and Mr. Kaunda, both of whom have wilder men in their entourage; and it was doubtless the wild men in Z.A.P.U. who dissuaded Mr. Nkomo in Southern Rhodesia from the normal courtesy of meeting the emissary of the United Kingdom Cabinet. In the circumstances, Mr. Butler has very naturally thrown the emphasis on the importance of continuing the right kind of economic association between the three territories, but, drawing an analogy from the arrangements within the European Economic Community, he has asked responsible people to note the virtual impossibility of a satisfactory economic association which has no political ties. Since he is to report to the House of Commons this afternoon, further comment is better deferred until next week.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA will almost certainly decide to embark upon the greatest economic and social development plan in its history, one calculated to cost upwards of thirty million pounds in the first of two five-year phases. **£30m. Development Plan For Southern Rhodesia.**

That prospect is the more exciting because the confidence on which it is based takes fully into account both the destructive stridency of

African nationalist propaganda and the sorry assumption in too many other quarters that the only sensible policy is to mark time until final decisions about the future of the Federation have been made. The truth, of course, is that that kind of defeatism is precisely what the pan-African extremists want to see disseminated, for it would greatly weaken the most hopeful factors in a situation of immense importance to all Central and Southern Africa. For almost a year four outstanding experts have been studying all aspects of the Colony's development potentialities, and last week they completed their labours in London, in which the Minister of Native Affairs, Mr. H. J. Quinton, had flown in order to work closely with them in the final week. It will be his responsibility to present the report to Parliament, which will find him enthusiastic about the proposals, for he is confident that the necessary funds can be found, partly from the World Bank.

Practically every document written about Southern Rhodesia in the past half-century has been scrutinized in the light of present knowledge by the advisers, whose thousand

Aim to Double Rural African Purchasing Power.

foolscap pages of typescript are consequently a compendium of the work of many other men re-assessed in modern terms. Probably no other African development plan has been so thorough and comprehensive. It is to be examined by the Cabinet of the Colony as a matter of urgency and laid before Parliament within two or three months. If the recommendations are accepted in anything like their present form, the first quinquennium will, as mentioned above, require an expenditure of at least thirty million pounds; and that would assuredly give the country a great "second boost" comparable in effect with that experienced after the last war, except that on this occasion the first objective is a quick doubling of the earning power of Africans in the rural areas. Having kept steadily in view the principle of stage-by-stage progress in accordance with what Africans can be expected to achieve for themselves under the right guidance and encouragement, those concerned with the inquiry have no doubt that the purchasing power of the rural masses could soon be increased at least twofold; and that, apart from its contribution to individual and family contentment, would substantially expand the market for existing industries and provide attraction for expansion in many new directions.

Throughout the investigation there has been close consultation with Africans, but the committee was wholly European in membership because the Government wanted absolutely objective advice from people from outside Rhodesia.

Government's Impressive Choice of Advisers.

who have a wide knowledge of Africa in general and high standing in their own vocation. The chairman of the committee, Professor John F. V. Phillips, has a high reputation as an ecologist and agriculturist. After being selected for the unhappy and thankless task of winding up the government home in Tanganyika (which other people, not he, had mismanaged), he was for nearly nine years Professor of Agriculture in the University of Ghana, and he has also undertaken about a dozen missions in different parts of the world for the International Bank. His colleagues were Sir John Hammond, probably the greatest authority on animal husbandry in the Commonwealth, and perhaps in the world; Dr. Leonard Samuel, an economist, and Mr. Roger Swynnerton, Kenya's last Director of Agriculture, author of the radical and first-rate Swynnerton plan for African agriculture in that country, a man who had done splendid work in Tanganyika, and, incidentally, a Rhodesian by birth. This, then, was a highly experienced team, not merely professionally distinguished, but with practical knowledge of many countries, and especially of Africa. When Dr. Phillips was asked how he would describe their approach to the problem, he replied that it had been holistic (a word which indicated that the influence of Smuts is still upon him) and synoptic, and that the human, biological, physical, and economic problems and potentialities had all been thoroughly surveyed in a document which contained twenty-nine technical reports but was nonetheless primarily concerned with man himself. European agriculture, and mining, commerce and industry, which are still almost entirely European enterprises, have been closely examined, but perhaps the main emphasis will be found to have been placed on means of inspiring the African to make the best use of all the possibilities open to him. If that could be done, there would be an upsurge of effort, which, coming from the grass roots, would be healthier and much more productive than past attempts to impose a plan from above.

The intention is to have this great plan debated by Parliament, it is hoped as a non-party measure, before the general election

later this year, and then to begin work on the scheme immediately. Its success in the rural areas will clearly depend largely upon a great and effective effort in public relations, the measure of co-operation given by the Africans will be decided by their understanding of what is intended and to what extent they will benefit. The difficulty of quickly arousing enthusiasm among conservative peasants allergic to innovation is not underestimated, but the Minister nevertheless believes that by the time next year there will be such general understanding of

the prospective benefits that the African political extremists from the towns who ceaselessly seek to stimulate discontent in the countryside will get short shrift. Because this change in the situation is unlikely to be overlooked by their leaders, they will probably try to find and emphasize political objections to what is essentially a non-political scheme; and if they do, they will receive automatic support from the pan-African and other external denigrators of Southern Rhodesia. That prospect is, of course, merely an additional reason for an early and bold decision and its prompt promulgation.

Notes By The Way

Job Analyst

NOT MANY YEARS ago the Colonial Office and the Colonial Service would have been horrified at the idea of the appointment to any overseas territory of a "job analyst". Now someone bearing that title has been recruited in this country for Tanganyika; and so far as I know he is the pioneer of his type in East and Central Africa. Perhaps this is official emulation of what has been done in recent years in industry in the Rhodesias, especially on the Copperbelt, where the advancement of Africans could be expedited only by breaking down many jobs. Since Tanganyika became independent last December, however, the trend has not been to analyze the need to keep competent non-Africans in posts which required their knowledge and experience, but to get rid of many of them with maximum speed, even at the cost of damagingly reduced efficiency.

Competence at a Discount

MR. NYERERE has spoken publicly of that risk, saying at Makerere College recently that some of those who clamour for Africanization just want the jobs, houses, and high salaries, and are not much concerned with the question of competence and the maximum use of local skills. The few educated Africans, he emphasized, might entrench themselves as a new privileged class, as exploiters of their own people. That has been said in this journal for years, and has been well understood by those who know the conditions of East and Central Africa; but it has not suited the politicians, white or black, and especially not members of the House of Commons, to face this vital truth, one which should have prevented so unreasonably swift a scurry to independence. Complacency and complience have troubled little about competence.

Plethora of Platitudes

"WE ARE SURFETTED with the views of the African nationalists on the one hand and the United Federal Party on the other, but we have never had anything but a plethora of platitudes from visiting British statesmen or their representatives on the spot. Loyalty to the Crown remains unimpaired, and is probably as intense as in any other country in the Commonwealth, perhaps the more so because of the feelings of frustration which the dithering in Parliament and the biased Press reports have engendered."—Mr. G. H. Peters, of Gwelo, Southern Rhodesia, in a letter to *The Times*.

World Beaters

MANGOES FROM MALINDI have been described by leading fruit wholesalers in Covent Garden Market as "absolute world beaters" and they command a higher price than mangoes from any other source because of their exceptional freshness (for they quickly reach London by air from the coast of Kenya), their superior quality (no fibrous fruits being sent), and their careful packing. A retired officer of the Royal Navy, Commander K. R. C. Letts, who began the export experimentally eight years ago when agricultural officer in that part of Kenya, soon aroused enthusiasm among local Arab landowners, and now there is a co-operative marketing society with 82 members, most of them Arabs who have together more than 500 acres under mangoes. Among those in London to whom gifts of the fruit have been sent have been the Queen, the Queen Mother, and Sir Winston Churchill.

Colonel Mostert

COLONEL M. C. P. MOSTERT, who has retired from the appointment of general manager of East African Airways Corporation, joined Wilson Airways, Nairobi, in 1930 as a pilot after spending five years in the South African Air Force. He was manager and chief pilot of the company for two years from 1934 and then manager and a director. When war broke out in 1939 he took over the Communications Flight until he was recalled to the South African Air Force, units of which he commanded in Africa, Madagascar, and Italy. When demobilized he joined B.O.A.C. which seconded him to Iraqi Airways as general manager and technical adviser. Later he returned to London as assistant general manager of B.O.A.C.'s subsidiaries, until he went to West Africa early in 1954 as general manager of West African Airways. Some 30 years ago he could claim to be the only pilot who had crossed Central Africa from east to west: with Mrs. Wilson as passenger, he had flown from Zanzibar to Dakar, at that time a very noteworthy journey, for it meant flying for hours at a time above the heaviest type of forest in which no landing-grounds existed.

Activated Sludge

THE DIARIST of the *Financial Times*, who runs a register of what he calls inspiring business titles, has noted that a company called Activated Sludge for many years occupied space in the same building and on the same floor as the Conservative Central Office.

Kirk Urges "Recognizably Different" C. African Association

General Assembly Agrees on Impossibility of Continuing Present Federation

IT WAS THE DUTY of the Church to think in terms of realities, but political parties could hardly be expected to do so, for they were bound by present possibilities, immediate objectives, and the state of opinion of their supporters. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was told in Edinburgh last week by the Rev. Dr. Robert Mackie, convener of the Special Committee, Aneut Central Africa, who moved that a "recognizably different" structure of association in a form more acceptable to the inhabitants of the three territories be established in Central Africa, an association linked by the strongest ties of ties of mutual consent.

His "divergence" suggested that the General Assembly believed that the increase of African opposition to the Federation and the apparently incompatible attitudes in the three territories made it difficult to see how a Federal review conference re-constituted on a representative basis could possibly recommend the continuance of the Federation.

The politicians' leaders "will overstate their case to maintain or secure power. Even in this country we have been unable to keep Central Africa out of party politics. In our report we seek to remind men of the larger issues that are being affected for good or ill by the limited decisions of today.

Sacrificing Prejudices

"Simply to seek to maintain rights which others may not accept as being even legitimate, simply to talk in terms of a political philosophy in which others have not been trained, simply to press for independence to the detriment of interdependence, can only maintain an obsessive political conflict. Our hope is that the report may encourage the peoples of Central Africa to keep on trying to forge the strongest link it is possible to forge by mutual consent, and that our own prayer for the mutual confidence so sorely needed may go beyond words into action."

Seconding the motion, Sir Alick Buchanan-Smith said that it concerned one of the most difficult problems facing humanity. "Although not so explosive as the nuclear bomb, the problem of inter-racial relationship is fraught with just as much danger. It is surely the Christian Church's duty to act as the reconciliator to bring men together, and to do nothing which might lead to a sharper cleavage of the races.

"If concord is to be achieved there must on all sides be considerable sacrifice of prejudice. Directly the Church attempts to take sides in lesser issues—or is even thought to be taking sides—the Church suffers. Its duty is to point the direction in which civilization should advance and to warn when mankind transgresses the Christian precepts. But the Church has no right to claim omniscience as to the precise route or the speed of progress. We do not want the ordinary citizen to lump the Kirk together as one with the politicians, the economists, and the newspapers."

Opposing the motion, a former Moderator, the Very Rev. Dr. R. H. W. Shepherd, proposed that the efforts made by the British and Central African Governments to remove the main objections to the Federation by constitutional and other changes be welcomed. Recalling that the Monckton Commission had suggested continuance of the Federation in an altered form, he urged all political leaders in Central Africa to unite to achieve a happy and prosperous future for all their peoples.

"The attention of politicians and churchmen has been focussed far too much on the towns, where political theories are hatched and political ambitions fed, and far too little directed to the thousands of villages in which the inarticulate masses of Africa live. Over 6m. of the 8m. Africans in the Federation live in rural places.

"We must ask again and again as political schemes are propounded: How will this affect the common man and woman and the helpless children to whom political questions mean nothing, but to whom daily bread and necessities and the simplicities of rural life mean everything?"

"To my mind, every vote for the dissolution of the Federation may mean starvation for ordinary Africans. The temptation has assailed me to get out of controversy at my time of life, but the thought of the common man in Africa makes me go on, whatever odium I incur in certain quarters. My conviction is that to break up the Federation means a poorer life for unnumbered thousands of ordinary men, women and children.

"The present deliverance is a departure from the emphatic declaration of the Monckton Commission in which there was no thought of dismantling or dissolving the basic structure of the Federation. Behind its creation lies for thousands the vision of a State that might set the pattern for the whole of Africa, a State with full co-operation between black and white. To seek in any way to disorganize that Christian vision is to incur a heavy duty of responsibility to the present and coming generations."

The Scotsman reported that Dr. Shepherd was at first heard in sympathetic silence, as his voice at times swelled with emotion, he described how he had spent 42 years in Africa and forecast bleak economic conditions for Africans if the Federation were broken up. As his speech went on there were restive murmurs and an impatient stamping of feet. His motion was overwhelmingly defeated.

Federation A Dirty Word

The Rev. Dr. W. J. Barber said that there was no suggestion that all association between the territories should be dissolved; but "Federation" had become such a "dirty word, like a red rag to a bull", that there was no hope of peace "as long as we keep mouthing the word". There could still be some kind of association retaining the economic benefits.

During a four-month stay in the Federation he had met people from every strata of society, from Africans to tea planters—and even the latter knew perfectly well that the Federation was dead. History had not stood still since the Monckton Report. Dr. Barber had told him that he had no desire to get rid of Europeans, especially the British, and that he would not Africanize the administrative services at the expense of efficiency.

A petition from the Duchess of Hamilton, Sir Gerald Reece, and the Rev. Simon Fergusson, dissenting from the special committee's report on the grounds that it was not specifically Christian and lacked a clearly theological emphasis, and asking that it should be referred back, was rejected.

A supplementary report from the committee expressing reservations over the intricacy of the final constitutional proposals for Northern Rhodesia and their liability to abuse, but agreeing that all concerned should give them a fair trial in the forthcoming election, was approved.

Totally Unfit for Self-Government

In opening the General Assembly, the Earl of Mansfield, Lord High Commissioner, had said that Central Africa showed the aftermath of the well-meant but hopelessly premature grant of self-government to races which through lack of past training were still totally unfit to receive it.

The situation had, alas, been made worse by ill-considered actions on the part of the very international organisation which it had been hoped would put an end to the continuing disorder and destruction.

East, Central and South Africa each remained in a state of tension of varying degree, and each was fraught with potentialities for violence and disaster in a way that must cause the gravest concern and anxiety.

"For the whole of Africa we can only pray that God may send such guidance to rulers, administrators, political leaders, and the peoples—both in Africa and in the European countries concerned with Africa—that the legitimate aspirations of the emerging nations may

be satisfied, while at the same time full justice is done to all the inhabitants, irrespective of race, creed, and colour".

Should Missionaries Criticize?

Political catchwords and racial slogans appeal easily to Church members who are citizens and patriots in lands of swift social change. Fascination of power, pay and promotion, coupled with pressures by national non-Christian religions, could weaken their loyalties, and already the Church has failed under such "furious strain", said the Rev. James Munn, convener of the Foreign Mission Committee.

"Government measures and policies may seem to people from the West oppressive and unfair. What do we expect our missionaries to do or say in such a situation? They must have the personal conviction that they understand better than most the nature of the injustice. But when you see something of your kind in this way you often bring down something on your own ears."

"The first concern of the missionary must be for the welfare of the Church, not to relieve his conscience of some unjust measure, morally justified. Do we seek therefore to

muzzle our missionaries? Certainly not. Within the Church they will make their influence felt and their convictions heard; but if any Christian criticism of national policy is to be made, it is the business of the national Church to lift up its voice, not the responsibility of one who, perhaps without consulting the Church at all, can speak only as a foreigner. For an individual to protest and be expelled from the country may bring suffering to the Church. His precipitate speech could provoke disciplinary action against fellow-missionaries.

"The Christian Church is everywhere beset by the spiritual danger of being preoccupied with itself, its status, its progress, and its weakness. Real deliverance from such a danger does not lie in political guarantees, popular recognition, or material resources, but in ardent mission and selfless service of others for the sake of Christ.

"In lands of swift social change, where the claims of national aspirations are loud and insistent, the Church is sharply assailed by this danger, for national loyalties are buoyant or defiant; the taste of independence is intoxicating; and always Churchmen are citizens, and their legitimate pride in their homeland makes them feel that they should be heard."

With one exception none of the members of Scotland's missionaries were citizens of the countries in which they served. Mr. Munn asked the Assembly to consider whether in 1938 there had been 456 missionaries but last year only 100, and the needs of the mission field had not contracted a fraction.

Peers Criticize Government Severely Over Attitude to Kenya

Continuation of Report of Debate in House of Lords

LORD SALISBURY was glad the Government at last recognized the desperate nature of the situation with which Kenya was faced. The new Colonial Secretary certainly did. He did not mince words about the situation with which he was confronted.

He had said quite bleakly and unequivocally that the great danger was fear; fear of discrimination, fear of intimidation, fear of exploitation. He recognized the urgent need to dispel those fears if disaster for black and white alike was to be averted. All must admire the pertinacity with which Mr. Maundling pursued his aim.

Lord Listowel, who in colonial affairs seemed to be the modern disciple of the great Dr. Pangloss, seemed to think that, as a result of what had already happened at Lancaster House, all the troubles of Kenya were practically over. But there was still no certainty that the two parties would work together. The leaders of African parties had an ineradicable habit of saying one thing in London and something very different when they returned home.

"The confidence of the European population, on whom the economic viability of the country depends, is not unnaturally far from restored, and the exodus of white farmers and others is not only continuing but increasing.

Danger of Inter-Tribal War

"It should be made clear to the African political leaders, and to the European population and everyone else, that there will be no general election in Kenya until the details of a new Constitution have been agreed—and have actually been put into operation with the support of both parties.

"If a general election took place and K.A.N.U. won a victory, as is very probable, the other tribes might very likely refuse to accept the position, and then there would be an acute and immediate danger of an inter-tribal civil war in which the minority communities, including the Europeans, would be ground between the upper and the nether millstones.

"It would be wise for the Government to make clear to the white farmers that if, as a result of circumstances for which they were not responsible, but which arise entirely from the policy of H.M. Government, they are driven to leave Kenya, where they had hoped to make their homes, funds will be made available to enable them, their wives and families to start life elsewhere. That, surely, is plain justice."

"Under the Government scheme after the last war to set up an Agricultural Settlement Board for ex-Servicemen it was made a precondition of being accepted under the scheme that all the assets of applicants in this country must be declared, converted into cash, and transferred to Kenya. The applicants were forced, in order to get the advantages of that scheme, to put all their eggs in the Kenya basket. If, therefore, these people are now utterly ruined, it will be as a direct result of a condition which the Government themselves imposed. That, to my mind, would be a shocking thing.

H.M. Government in London could not possibly intend responsibility for such an event on the Kenya Government, for the booklet which the Kenya Government published at the time stated categorically: "It must be remembered that Kenya is a Crown Colony and cannot proceed without the consent of the Colonial Office."

"I ask the Government to give special attention to the position of these men, whose indignation and sense of injustice is very great, and I think extremely natural. These ex-Servicemen have perhaps a more direct claim on the Government even than the other farmers in Kenya. But all these farmers, morally, are in the same position."

Macblundellism Has Dismally Failed

"There has been a tendency for the Government to try to force these people to stay in Kenya by making it clear that they could expect no help if they left. But that policy has dismally failed. It has created bitterness and desperation, and has not stopped the exodus.

"H.M. Government should also make it clear that British troops will not be withdrawn. Nothing would do more to restore confidence, both among the Europeans and among the loyal Africans, and nothing would do more to restore our prestige in the eyes of all Africans, than such an announcement—for there is no doubt that the signal lack of sympathy which has been shown in recent years by H.M. Government to the European community in Kenya has been generally regarded by the African population there not as evidence of a progressive outlook, as was no doubt intended, but only as a gesture of utter defeatism and weakness."

"The indications are that it is the policy of H.M. Government that the Coastal Strip should be finally incorporated in Kenya. I take it that the Government will quote in support of that view the report of Sir James Robertson. It is, of course, a production of the highest distinction, but it is extremely limited in scope, and in particular, entirely omits the one aspect which one would have thought should dominate all others in consideration of this particular problem—the strategic aspect. Nothing is said about that at all. Indeed, a cynic might almost draw the conclusion that H.M. Government, having already made up their mind, had taken considerable trouble to ensure that all strategic considerations were completely ruled out."

"It is almost as if the writer were saying in paragraph 40: 'I was tipped off the wink that I was not expected to concern myself with strategic aspects, however important those might be; otherwise I might have come to very different conclusions.' That, of course, might be an erroneous impression on his part of what H.M. Government had in mind; but, if so, in a matter of this importance one would have expected the Colonial Secretary to tell Sir James so at once, so that he could take the wide strategic aspects into account.

"Yet the Strip, or a portion of it, including the port of Mombasa, ought surely not lightly to be given up. It might well occupy a position of crucial importance for ourselves, and indeed for the whole of East Africa."

another world war—a position almost as important as that of Singapore.

"The Central African Federation will always be prepared to do what it can under its present management, but would you want to be certain of the position in that area if federation came to an end and Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia came under Dr. Banda and Mr. Kaunda with full independence? And if federation went wrong, and if Portugal would not play—and I really should not blame her—we should not have a square yard for a Western base between the Union and Aden except the Mombasa Belt. Can anyone really assess the importance of the Mombasa Belt without going that into account? Yet it was apparently excluded from Sir James Robertson's terms of reference. Is it too much to hope that this House will press the Government to take these wider aspects into account before coming to a final decision?"

"The Robertson Report spoke of H.M. Government being willing to continue to exercise protection over the Coastal Strip only with the wishes of the bulk of the inhabitants of the British Protectorate. It will not be the bulk of the inhabitants of Kenya who desire that. It will be the Kikuyu, the Masai, and men of that kind. Do we really wish to leave a decision of this importance to the Western world to them?"

LORD LYTON said in a maiden speech that 40 years ago he went to Kenya, and 100 miles from his nearest white neighbours, administered territories of the Northern Frontier. He had never since exercised comparable responsibilities. Last autumn he had returned to Kenya with a wife.

Everyone was talking of Mau Mau. Said with a dovetail intonation, rather swiftly, the word sounded very like the sound of a dove.

One immediate impression was that Mau Mau has produced a schism in the soul of all the Africans: not between the Kikuyu and others alone, but even in the soul of the Kikuyu themselves. It is a movement in some sense comparable to that of the Mad Mullah in Somaliland and that of the Mahdi in the Sudan. It has produced a division of loyalties which has crippled for the time being the Kikuyu soul—which will take a long time to recover.

Fear of A Gadarene Gallop

Forty years ago I could have recommended non-commissioned officers in the K.C.S.I. in which I served, for training for commission. Last year, when at the 3rd K.A.R. annual dinner there was sent a single African officer in our company. In my district 40 years ago there was at least one Turkana chief whom I could have recommended to take my place and become a district commissioner. Last autumn there was no African D.C. in Kenya. Crash programmes have been approved, but they are no substitute for steady planning and education. I sympathize with those who fear the possibility of a gadarene gallop. There is a terrifying lack of foundation beneath the relatively educated and sophisticated African politicians.

"There is a 400-mile frontier between the Somalis of the N.F.D. and the Somalis of Jubaland, now part of the Somali Republic. Along the roof of Kenya is 500 miles of ill-defined frontier—lines on maps principally—with the empire of Ethiopia, which cuts through the unhappy Boran, from whom the settlers in Kenya have derived such benefit. All the beef industry of Kenya is based on Boran cattle which are crossed with pedigree bulls from Europe. That mixture has produced a beast which can be sold for £36, instead of £10, the price of the African beast. That is part of the measure of the improvements due to the use of Boran cattle.

"Before any of the Somalis, Galla or Boran are placed under a Bantu administration—I repeat, before any of them are so placed—careful consideration should be given to what is best for them. They have their ideas about *uhuru*; and if the Kenya Bantu politicians are in favour of *uhuru* for themselves they should be sympathetic in not refusing the Somalis and Galla.

"Indeed, the Somalis extend over a dry and arid country as beneficial occupiers. I say beneficial occupiers because they have the unique Somali camel, a beast which, when the grass is green, as it is only occasionally, will go entirely without water for two to three months. The Somalis have maintained themselves in one of the most arid parts of the world, which is eight times the size of this country.

"The Ethiopian Empire has been created since Gladstone sent British troops into Egypt. Freed from pressure, the Abyssinians have enslaved their neighbours. The regime, at any rate amongst the Boran, but I believe elsewhere, is unenlightened, backward, and oppressive. I wish that we whose blood has been spent in recovering this empire, could make representations to the Emperor regarding the Somalis, who have their right to *uhuru*. Our Somalis are of the same stock as those of the Ogaden in Ethiopia. They are both Darod,

and at some time they will press strongly for freedom. This is surely the moment to make representations to the Emperor that the Somalis may be together.

"None of this Northern area, peopled by tribes of Hamitic stock, should be handed over to a Bantu administration. No Bantu politician knows this area. Mr. Ngala, according to the provincial commissioner, whom I recently visited in Isiolo, is the only prominent Bantu politician ever to have been to the N.F.D., and he went there by air when floods were on and could not reach anybody."

Will Never Accept Kikuyu Domination

LORD TWINING said that he must declare an interest in Kenya, for he owned 10 acres and 10 sheep there, the rôle of the sheep being that of a mowing machine.

Since their entry from London the public attitude of the African political leaders had not been encouraging; there had been quarrels and disagreements. Some considered the Government to be a coalition only in name. Unfortunately, some of the leaders had given public interpretations of the agreement they have signed, in terms of very different terms from the Emperor's understanding of it.

"The grant of independence to Kenya cannot be long delayed. The sooner a decision can be taken the better, for delay will not help. But many apparently important problems remain to be solved.

"In the last elections in Kenya two matters of far-reaching importance have emerged, the relative domination of Kenyatta and his claim to be the national leader, and the K.A.D.U. policy of regionalization. It seems to be widely taken for granted that Kenyatta is the undisputed leader of the future and that he will be swept into power by an overwhelming majority of the electorates. This is not necessarily so, either by K.A.D.U. or by many observers who are not naturally careful thinkers but have a close knowledge of the situation. The situation is that the Kikuyu, the main business of the country, supported by several other tribes with whom they have alliances, have, it as their aim and ambition to dominate the country. The minority tribes, who support K.A.D.U., will never accept Kikuyu domination.

"The Kikuyu are intelligent, hard-working, and possessed of a strong political sense, but they are greatly feared. This fear makes the minority groups firm in their determination to accept only a Constitution which will give them adequate safeguards. The menace of the so-called Land Freedom Army and the indiscipline of the K.A.N.U. Youth Movement give substance to these fears. Kenyatta and other K.A.N.U. leaders have ordered their followers not to engage in lawless activities, but the response has not been very promising and a real danger to security undoubtedly exists.

"So long as fear overshadows the situation the chances of a peaceful solution are dim. The African leaders alone cannot dispel this fear. They know that the great majority of Africans want a peaceful and stable existence, and they should take even stronger steps to curb the activities of the extreme minority groups who lust for power and whose methods are intimidation and violence.

Masai Case

"Under agreements made in 1904 and 1911 the Masai, evacuated land they claimed as theirs in the Rift Valley so that it could be thrown open to European settlement and an area of land in the southern part of Kenya was reserved as the exclusive use of the Masai. Here we have clear evidence of the encouragement given by Government to European settlement as a matter of policy. No one ever dreamt that the day might come when the Europeans would have to go and their land become available for redistribution.

"The Masai base their case on the fact that they gave up this land to the European farmers and that they never agreed to its being given at any time to anyone else. They claim that it is not available for redistribution, especially to their traditional enemies, without their consent. The attitude of H.M. Government is that it does not admit any claims, in respect of the land the Masai vacated, and that the Masai Reserve is adequately protected by entrenched provisions in the Constitution. From a strictly legal point of view these may be something in this attitude, but the Masai do not look at these matters as we do. At the time the agreements were made they took our word at its face value that they were vacating land for European farming and for no other purpose.

"I have had some experience in dealings with the Masai. Their word is their bond, and they may always be relied on to honour their bond. Unless they can be convinced that at the time the agreements were signed it was made quite clear to them that the British Government had been given the right to dispose of the land in the Rift Valley as they thought fit, they will consider that we are being dishonourable, and we shall be leaving a position which could easily develop into a major cause for future trouble. Surely it is incumbent on H.M.

(Concluded on page 952)

Mr. Butler's Visit to Federation

Base Established for Fresh Outlook

A BASE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED for considering a fresh outlook on the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Mr. R. A. Butler, Home Secretary and Minister responsible for Central Africa affairs, stated when he returned to London on Sunday after a 16-day tour of the Federation for talks with Ministers, politicians, businessmen, and others.

He did not agree with the reporter who suggested that everyone accepted the contention that the Federation could not continue in its present form, replying: "We have not finally decided anything. It is impossible and very stupid to decide something on the basis of a two or three weeks' tour. What we have got is a base for considering a fresh start. We have a readiness to discuss—and that is more than I expected."

"I visited all three territories and various parts of them, and I got a pretty good view of what is thought by the Africans, the Europeans, the business people, and those who want investment and those who want to build. I think they all want to co-operate. They want to build in the future, which is what I have tried to bring out."

"I shall in a few weeks start on the next phase—my team of advisers to investigate the economic effects on Nyasaland if she were to secede. We have got the facts; and we must take time to see that this team is properly chosen."

"There is a great deal to be said for having some central place in which politics can be discussed as well as the economic association. We have discussed all this, and I think there is a great deal to be said for having a look to see what sort of link we can get. It may be that there will be a different link between Nyasaland and the rest."

Introduction in Northern Rhodesia

"I did emphasize the importance of preserving law and order. It is very important in Northern Rhodesia, where they are going to hold an election, that the vote should be fair and free. I have said that I shall stand behind the Government if they have to take steps to put down intimidation."

Mr. Butler had told a meeting of the National Affairs Association in Salisbury on Thursday that the special complexities of the Federation "outtrival any problem with which I have had to deal. They arise from the existence of three territories at different stages of development and containing more than two races."

"Is it necessary for the territories to be pulled apart? Our aim is that there should be no particular dominance by one race over another. No reasonable person wants to put the clock back. But there are legitimate arguments about the speed and direction of advance."

"What I wanted on this visit was to create a greater degree of confidence by bringing the facts of the situation into prominence, even at the risk of being misunderstood. Above all, you must have confidence that you and your children have a future here. I will not let you down."

"The word 'Federation' is the waste-paper basket for the political minds of all parties in all the territories I have visited. My advisers are going to examine the relationship between Northern and Southern Rhodesia and what links the two should have with Nyasaland, if possible. I am not going to accept a one-sided view that the Federation has failed. There are many features worthy of praise. Now there has to be an examination of what adjustments are necessary in the light of modern times."

"It is our view that Southern Rhodesia should go forward to elections under the new Constitution. Changes in that territory would need the consent of the Southern Rhodesian Government. The U.M. Government can take up no other position, whether or like it or not; that is the constitutional position."

"With regard to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, I have seen far too many instances of the possibility of intimidation. We cannot delegate our responsibilities in Central Africa to the United Nations. It has no executive responsibility in these matters. We have advanced nearly 600m. people to independence in the past 20 years. It is our long-standing policy

to do so. The U.N. should take account of this. The situation will be confused and worsened if political leaders and others are led to believe that the U.N. can intervene."

On Saturday Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, issued this statement:—

"The Federal Government have completed their talks with the Secretary of State, Mr. R. A. Butler, and my colleagues and I are glad to have had the opportunity for full and frank discussions on a wide range of subjects. The Federal Government will co-operate to the full with the committee of advisers the Secretary of State proposes to appoint to investigate the economic effects on Nyasaland which would result were the territory to secede from the Federation, and the forms of association between Northern and Southern Rhodesia."

"We have long been concerned that the harm to Nyasaland which would stem from secession has not been fully appreciated apart from the obligations to the civil service and the problem of apportionment of the national debt. It is not generally realised that the Government would be bound to finance over 50% of Nyasaland's recurrent expenditure."

"For some time, therefore, the Federal Government have urged the Government of Great Britain to make a determination of what the consequences of the secession of Nyasaland would be, and we welcome the Secretary of State's decision to have an examination made. The Government is glad to note the statement made by Mr. Butler that no decision has been made other than to undertake an appraisal of the situation by the committee of advisers."

"Mr. A. D. Evans, Secretary for Home Affairs, will be appointed as the Federal Government's representative on the Secretary of State's advisers and the committee."

On the same day Sir Roy said a Press conference that Nyasaland's secession would be dangerous for everyone in Central Africa. "I am strongly opposed to the tendency that is developing in Africa towards fragmentation of the existing parts of the Commonwealth into small States. The danger from the political, economic and education standpoints has scarcely begun to be appreciated."

Were an anti-Federation majority elected in Northern Rhodesia, it would not necessarily be a decisive factor in the Federation's dissolution, since Federal Governments had been known to operate satisfactorily and properly elsewhere even with the State Governments in opposition.

Sir Roy added: "If the position arises—and I do not think it will—that there was no form of political union between the territories, I do not think I would stay on the political scene. He recalled that economic union without political ties had been tried in the former Central African Council, but the former was not really effective without the latter and would not stand the test of time. Mr. Butler, he thought, was bringing to bear on the problem perhaps the best mind in the British Government."

Lies in U.N. About Rhodesia

Bishop Alderson on Current Problems

"A GENTLEMAN who has never been near Africa informed a United Nations committee last month that 'white hands in Southern Rhodesia are reeking with African blood', and another said that Rhodesian and South African policies are identical," the Rt. Rev. C. W. Alderson, Bishop of Mashonaland, told the 32nd diocesan synod at its recent meeting in Salisbury.

"Lying is now common coin, and not only in materialistic societies," he continued. "No vilification is too bad for colonial administration, past or present, for attempts at friendship and co-operation between men of different races, for living together in peace."

"Much is said about the white people's determination to maintain a permanent supremacy in Southern Rhodesia through the country's new Constitution; and if that is true, it must be condemned. But less is said about the steps being taken to advance the Africans educationally, socially, economically and politically, until racial origins are irrelevant."

"It is a special Christian duty to examine most carefully the question of franchise, lest it become indeed an excuse for hanging on to power and privilege only. Suffrage has become the test of men's recognition of each other as men and not children. Murder, arson, terror and threat are forbidden to Christians."

PERSONALIA

MR. HARRY RECANATI has joined the board of Ralli Brothers, Ltd.

MR. E. J. G. ROY has joined the board of E. W. TARRY & Co., Ltd.

SIR RODERICK JONES left £36,439, on which duty of £7,908 has been paid.

MR. R. W. KETTLE has arrived in England on retirement from Nyasa, Ltd.

MR. W. F. W. RAM has been elected a director of the Charterhouse Investment Trust, Ltd.

LORD SNOWDON attended a dinner given by Sir Duncan Oppenheimer last week at the United University Club.

MR. E. C. CATTI has left Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia. The Rev. Canon MORRIS is taking his place temporarily.

THE ADA KHAN addressed Cambridge Commonwealth Association last Thursday in honour of Commonwealth Day.

MR. P. H. A. BROWNRIGG, resident director in Rhodesia of the Anglo American Corporation, has returned to London.

MR. J. WEEDSMAN has been elected chairman for 1962 of the executive committee of the U.N. Commission for Refugees.

MR. H. J. QUINTON, Minister of Native Affairs in Southern Rhodesia, has flown back to Salisbury after a week's visit to London.

MR. GUY AH-MOYE, a Seychelles medical student in London, has been elected president of the Seychelles Students Union in Britain.

THE HON. MRS. A. CAYZER, wife of a deputy chairman of British & Commonwealth Shipping & Co., Ltd. is on holiday in Las Palmas.

MR. MATTHEW KAMBEI is the first African in Kenya to become a provincial trade officer. He has been appointed to the Coast Province.

MR. RICHARD SAMPSON is mayor of Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, for a second term. Mr. THOMAS PARKER is the new deputy mayor.

MR. J. G. ASH has been appointed chairman of Kamna, Ltd., to fill the vacancy caused by the death of his father, Mr. H. GARTON ASH.

MR. JOHN WATTS, chairman of Rhodesia United Transport, Ltd., and MRS. WATTS are due in England tomorrow by the STIRLING CASTLE.

MR. WAYNE FREDERICKS, deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of African Affairs in the Department of State in Washington, is visiting England.

MR. A. E. CHINBUAH, principal secretary to the Ghana Ministry of Agriculture, has been appointed deputy regional representative for Africa of the F.A.O.

MR. C. K. S. TUMBO, Tanganyika's High Commissioner in London, returned at the beginning of this week from a short visit to Dar es Salaam for consultations.

MR. CLEMENT MORRIS has been elected mayor of Chingola, Northern Rhodesia, for the third time. Mrs. THERESA GILBERT has become the first woman deputy mayor.

THE EARL OF PERTH, lately Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, has been appointed a director of the Royal Bank of Scotland and of J. Henry Schroder Wagg & Co., Ltd.

DR. M. N. ETAMADIAN, a former director of health services in Iran, recently completed a W.H.O. investigation in Ruanda-Urundi of emergency and long-term health needs.

SIR HAROLD ROKREE COX, chairman of the Metal Box group, which has East and Central African subsidiaries, has been elected chairman of the governors of the College of Aeronautics.

MR. K. V. NYASULU, Malawi Congress Party representative in Southern Rhodesia, has been expelled from the Colony for activities considered likely to endanger the country's security.

THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH will attend a dinner in New York on June 7 in connexion with a United States appeal for the World Wild Life Fund, of which he is the president in Britain.

MR. LEWIS DOUGLAS, the former United States Ambassador to Great Britain, and MISS SHARMAN DOUGLAS left London on Sunday for South Africa on their way to visit the two Rhodesias.

COLONEL B. N. ADAMS has been appointed chairman of the Southern Rhodesian "Build A Nation" campaign's executive committee. SIR THOMAS CHEGWIDDEN is chairman of the board of trustees.

MR. P. C. WALWA, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture in Tanganyika, is attending a meeting in Niassa of the advisory council of the International African Migratory Locust Organisation.

In the Kenya Legislative Council AN COMBORO HOWARD WILLIAMS proposed that the Kenya African Democratic Union and the Kenya African National Union should merge. This was the only vote in favour of the idea.

MR. MAMOUN BEHEIRY, governor of the Bank of Sudan, was a member of the United Nations group appointed by the Acting Secretary-General to study the economic and social consequences of world disarmament.

MR. G. V. BALLE and MR. L. V. BALLE, now presidents of Ralli Brothers, Ltd., have resigned from the board of the company, which recently became a subsidiary of SIR ISAAC WOLFSON'S General Guarantee Corporation, Ltd.

PROFESSOR E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD and DR. L. S. B. LEAKEY were the guests of honour in London last week of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. For their services to anthropology they received the Viking Medals awarded to them by the Wenner Gren Foundation of New York.

DR. JACQUES VERSCHUREN, a Belgian ecologist who has spent the past seven years in the Albert National Park of the Congo, and MR. ROBERT WATSON, a British zoologist, are now in the Serengeti National Park, Tanganyika, on an F.A.O. mission to study the connexion between wild life protection and game-cropping.

SIR STEPHEN LUKE, Senior Crown Agent, is about to leave for Port of Spain for a few months as Interim Commissioner to deal with the dissolution of the Federation of the West Indies. During his absence SIR JAMES PAROUHARSON, lately general manager of East African Railways and Harbours, will act as second Crown Agent.

MR. P. F. BARRETT, Deputy High Commissioner for the Federation in London, and MRS. BARRETT were entertained at a farewell luncheon last week by the HIGH COMMISSIONER and MRS. ROBINSON on the occasion of their transfer to Washington, where MR. BARRETT will be Counsellor for the Federation in the British Embassy.

MR. JOHN SHAW RENNIE, who was in the Colonial Administrative Service in Tanganyika from 1940 to 1951, when he went to Mauritius as Deputy Colonial Secretary, is to become Governor of that Colony on the retirement shortly of SIR COLVILLE DEVERELL. Since 1955 MR. RENNIE has been Resident Commissioner in the New Hebrides.

The men's candidate secretary in London of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa is to be an African, MR. GEORGE MBARUKU, from Lushoto. Educated at St. Andrew's College, Mimaki, near Dar es Salaam, he was a teacher and medical assistant in the Zanzibar Diocese from 1934 until 1960, when he became secretary of Lushoto Native Authority.

Sir Edgar Expects African Majority Within Twelve Years

United Nations Committee Deems Southern Rhodesian Situation Explosive

THE FULL TEXT has now been published in New York of the report made to the General Assembly of the United Nations by its Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples—that being the official (or officialese) title of what is commonly called the Committee of Seventeen.

The report, which runs to 10 loosely-typed foolscap pages, is in fact the document presented to the Special Committee by its Sub-Committee on Southern Rhodesia, consisting of Mr. Chandra S. Jha (India), chairman; Mr. Sory Coulibaly (Mali), vice-chairman; Mr. Najmuddin Rifa'i (Syria), rapporteur; Mr. Nailo Swai (Tanganyika), Mr. Taieb Slim (Tunisia), and Mr. Ignace Willes (Congo). They recently visited London for talks with the Earl of Home, Foreign Secretary, who presided; Mr. Butler, Minister for Overseas Affairs; Mr. Duncan Sandys, Commonwealth Secretary; and Mr. Manning, Colonial Secretary.

The United Kingdom Ministers are said to have stated that Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, expects an African majority in the Parliament of that Colony within 12 years, and possibly somewhat sooner.

No U.N. Interference

It was made clear that H.M. Government could not share its responsibilities for the administration of overseas territories, or countenance interference in their administration by the United Nations. The British spokesmen emphasized that Southern Rhodesia had been a self-governing Colony since 1923, and that by long-standing convention the United Kingdom was precluded from interfering in Southern Rhodesia's internal affairs or legislating for Southern Rhodesia without the consent of its Government. The Sub-Committee described that contention as questionable because the majority of the people were excluded from participation in the Government.

The sub-committee's conclusions are thus stated (in part):

"The sub-committee repeatedly impressed on the United Kingdom Government the gravity of the situation and the unwisdom of transferring power to a minority Government of settlers in Southern Rhodesia. It stressed the danger of conflict and upheaval if the Constitution were forced upon the territory in face of total opposition of the African population. That such opposition does exist is beyond doubt.

"Africans hardly had a chance to express their opinion in the official referendum of July 25, 1961, since out of a total population of nearly two and half million Africans not more than 6,000 were qualified to vote in the referendum. Secondly, in the unofficial referendum held by the Zimbabwe [The name is thus misspelt throughout the report.—Ed.] African People's Union—by far the largest representative political party in Southern Rhodesia—the Constitution was rejected by an overwhelming majority. Thirdly, the Africans have refused to register on the voters' rolls and have threatened a boycott of the forthcoming elections. Furthermore, responsible leaders of political parties have expressed their determined opposition to submit to a Constitution which was designed to transfer power of internal administration and government to the European minority.

"The fact that the new Constitution would entrench political power and authority in the hands of a European minority to the detriment of the African people who form the largest section of the population without any ultimate control by the British Government and Parliament with respect to internal administration and government lies at the root of the African opposition.

"The strongest opposition centres round the franchise qualifications. The avowedly sincere belief of the U.K. Government that under these conditions as embodied in the Constitution of 6 December, 1961, Africans in the course of eight to 12 years will form the majority of electors on the

A roll and thus obtain a majority in Parliament—a belief which the sub-committee does not share—is no realistic answer to the powerful and irresistible urge of the indigenous people in Southern Rhodesia for freedom and equality on the basis of one man one vote.

"Nor does it appear to the sub-committee as justifying the legal transfer of power to the Southern Rhodesian Government as constituted at present, which is what the Constitution of 6 December, 1961, amounts to, notwithstanding the non-use previously of the reserve powers under the Constitution of 1923, or as complying with the principles embodied in paragraph 5 of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in resolution 1514 (XV).

"Twilight Status"

"Immediate steps shall be taken in respect of governing territories or all other territories which have not attained independence, to transfer all powers to the people of those territories in full consultation or negotiations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.

"In the considered opinion of the sub-committee, franchise qualifications are too limited. The two alternative proposals are unnecessary, and the sub-committee remains convinced of the necessity of the application of universal adult franchise.

"The Special Committee has come to the conclusion that Southern Rhodesia does not qualify for the status of a territory which has attained full measure of self-government within the meaning of the Charter. It is difficult in the view of the sub-committee for the United Nations to accept a twilight status for the territory, a status which falls short of the full measure of self-government but in which the administering authority considers itself deprived of power to perform its responsibilities under the Charter and resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly.

"The Sub-Committee considers it necessary, in the larger interests of Southern Rhodesia and of peace and freedom in Africa, and on a broad consideration of the United Kingdom's own responsibilities and record, that the same process which went into the making of the proposals now embodied in the constitutional enactment of 6 December, 1961, should be initiated again without delay to bring about the necessary reconsideration of these proposals in full consultation with the leaders of all political parties. Only thus can emerge a Constitution for Southern Rhodesia guaranteeing full democratic freedom and equality of political rights, and ensuring constructive and harmonious co-operation between the various elements of the population. So that any constitutional advances may have a chance of success, it must be based on the acceptance of the principles of equality and non-discrimination and must secure the agreement of the majority of the population.

"Repercussions of Desperation"

"The situation in Southern Rhodesia appears to the sub-committee to be of great urgency and gravity. It sincerely hopes that the U.K. will earnestly reconsider the situation in Southern Rhodesia with a view to devising a Constitution acceptable to the overwhelming majority of its population. If there is no genuine attempt to revise the policies and procedures adopted hitherto, the sub-committee feels that a mood of desperation may set in which might lead to serious conflict and violence, whose repercussions might not be limited to Southern Rhodesia alone.

"In the light of the foregoing conclusions, and in view of the grave and potentially explosive situation in Southern Rhodesia, the sub-committee is of the opinion that, in the absence of favourable developments, the situation in Southern Rhodesia should be considered by the General Assembly at its resumed 16th session or at a special session as a matter of urgency.

The Committee of Seventeen has approved a report asking the General Assembly to call on the U.K. to take immediate measures to dissolve the Federation and to fix a date for Northern Rhodesia's independence. Great Britain, Australia, Italy and the U.S.A. voted against the report, which was supported by 12 of the other 13 members, one representative being absent.

£52m. Development Plan for Uganda World Bank Mission's Proposals

EXPENDITURE OF £52m. up to June 1966 would be needed to finance development proposals suggested by a World Bank mission to Uganda, which emphasizes the importance of allocating funds to immediate wealth-producing activities which would in turn provide increased revenue for social services.

Agriculture must provide the main opportunities for economic growth during this period, with effort concentrated on increasing cotton output (to at least 475,000 bales yearly) in order to offset the uncertainty of the demand for coffee. Production of coffee should also rise, however, to 145,000 tons; and of sugar to 110,000 tons; tea, 15,000 tons; and meat and livestock to £160,000 to a value of £500,000 annually.

Investment costs for the plan are proposed for the modernization and mechanization of African farming. Work on 90% subsidy on insecticides and one of 50% on ploughs, carts, coffee mills and hullers, and cattle kraals.

A reduced tariff on imports combined with increased cotton production could still realize some £4m. from export duties. Stricter coffee grading to improve quality is needed; the Coffee Marketing Board should have more say in the export of coffee crops, with only wet-processed coffee for sale in the open market and price incentives introduced for hulled coffee; and divisions between controlled and free coffee markets should be abolished.

To aid the livestock industry, veterinary dispensaries should be provided at county headquarters in cattle areas; and South Ankole should be cleared of tsetse fly infestation to permit ranching. A similar eradication scheme in South Busoga would open up land for arable farming by a public corporation.

Diversify Crops

Removal of racial restrictions on land tenure is urged to encourage investment. The country's economic base, heavily dependent on cotton and coffee, should be broadened by greater production of tobacco, groundnuts, sugar, and tea.

A new category of agricultural officer will be required to lay out demonstration plots and give instruction in crop spraying and other techniques, and it is suggested that another 112 agricultural assistants, 70 more field officers, and nine more agricultural officers will be needed within four years.

Loans for fishermen to buy motor transport to market their catches are recommended, with roads provided to give access to new fishing areas.

The Kilembe copper mine's known ore deposits will be exhausted by 1969 at the present rate of extraction, and its future will therefore depend on the discovery of fresh ore and a London price of at least £220 a ton. Mining legislation should, says the report, be simplified to encourage local prospectors and small miners.

"Unnecessarily cumbersome" regulations covering building and town planning schemes should be relaxed to aid private industry, which should be afforded reasonable Government protection where necessary. Sunday shop-opening and an adjustment of trading licence fees are advocated.

Budget support for tourist trade should be gradually increased from the present £10,050 a year to £25,000 for the publicity purposes. Extra attractions suggested for the Kampala-Entebbe area include a casino and a swimming pool.

The mission feels that modification of the present approach to health and education could be advantageously made without adding to the cost. Preventive medicine must be stressed, dispensaries should be converted into health centres and more regional hospitals should be built. Enrolment at the Makerere Medical School should be doubled to provide more local doctors.

Large multi-denominational schools would be more economic than continuance with the present duplication of primary schools run by different religious bodies, and simpler grant structures would help to fill existing vacancies. By raising the pupil-teacher ratio in secondary schools from the present 16 to one to 20 or 25 to one the existing schools could receive 2,800 additional children.

"Stringently selective" standards should be applied to applications for overseas scholarships, and none should be given for courses available in East Africa.

African housing estate rents should be raised to cover the maintenance, running, and administration costs. Civil servants should pay economic rents for their houses. Only on remote

stations and at institutions should the Government build and manage houses.

Tax proposals include: local graduated taxes and progressive income tax for all races, the latter based on the p.a.y.e. system as soon as possible; conversion of company tax into profits tax, with shareholders paying tax again on dividends; re-introduction of death duties; higher motor vehicle taxes (coupled with a suggestion that the molasses by-produced at the sugar factories be reduced to alcohol and blended with imported petrol); and tax concessions for pioneer industries.

The mission does not consider Uganda over-taxed. A "relatively high" proportion of the national income is spent on official salaries, which are "very high" in relation to private incomes. They should be brought into line as the number of qualified local people increases.

The higher levels of the Uganda Development Corporation's staff should be strengthened, and the group should be allowed to operate with the minimum of interference from politicians or officials.

Central Guidance Lacking

Agriculture, tourism and industry would, it is estimated, require £17,000,000; roads, £2,900,000; education, £5m; and health, £2,300,000. The Uganda Government would be expected to supply £22,000,000 of the £52m. total. The Uganda Development Corporation, the Uganda Electricity Board and East African Railways and Harbours would, ideally, provide £18,200,000. But the inability of British and local capital sources to finance the full scheme would, it is thought, leave a gap of between £9m. and £12,600,000 — "quite a large gap, but one it should be possible to bridge with efficient effort and good management by Uganda and good will abroad".

More opinions from outside Government circles should be obtained from advisory committees. "The principal weakness in development planning in Uganda has been the lack of machinery at the centre, to assess the relative priorities of proposals for public development expenditure, to tap the new and growing external sources of funds available for African development, and to consider possible changes in public action needed to stimulate the private sector of the economy. The temptation to accept assistance regardless of purpose should be sharply resisted.

National Income Up 4%

"With reasonable luck, the development programme should increase the national income by 3% to 4% a year. If the programme is carried out successfully, we should expect the rate of growth to accelerate even further by the end of the period and after to around 5% a year".

The leader of the mission was Professor Edward S. Mason, Lament University Professor at Harvard and president of the American Economic Association. The other members were: Sir Herbert Stewart, agricultural adviser, and Messrs. Andrew M. Kamarck, World Bank chief economist; Richard E. Boyd, W.H.O. health adviser; Norman D. Lees, industrial adviser; Franz Lutoff, a World Bank economist; George M. McKelvie, transport adviser; Thomas Wilson, U.N.E.S.C.O. educational adviser; and Montague Yudelman, agricultural economist.

The mission was in Uganda from September to December, 1960, at the request of the British and Uganda Governments.

Uganda Border Raids

AFTER ABOUT 1,000 PIAN tribesmen had made a retaliatory sally against the Suk in north-eastern Uganda last Wednesday, killing some 107 men, women and children, 76 men of the K.A.R. intercepted the raiders the next evening and were forced to engage in a night-long fight when the Pian refused to halt and became aggressive. The troops killed 80 Pian and made five arrests; 600 stolen cattle were recovered. The Suk had previously raided the Pian and killed 22 people.

Lords Debate on Kenya

(Report concluded from page 946)

Government to negotiate a new agreement between the Masai and the other political leaders in Kenya.

Some of the European mixed farmers have already left. A great many more would leave if they could. Most of this land must be given over to African farming. Two schemes, for which £14m. has been made available, are operating. One for smallholders is proving practicable, but the larger one for yeoman farmers, requiring areas of from 10 to 15 acres, is running into difficulties, largely owing to the scarcity of Africans willing to take up units of this size. Other schemes have been drawn up by various European interests in Kenya, some of which perhaps give too great an emphasis to the need to compensate European farmers.

The most promising is a well-thought-out scheme submitted to the Colonial Secretary by the Kenya Coalition Party, in association with the Kenya National Council, the Kenya Union and the Kenya Farmers' Association. I most strongly commend this scheme to your lordships. I believe that it provides the right answer. It proposes the purchase of 50% of the mixed farming areas over three years, representing approximately one million acres, at an estimated cost of £15 per acre disregarding the value of loose assets, the disposal of which would be the responsibility of individual owners. In the first three-year phase 100,000 African families, representing a total of half a million people, could be settled. In the second three years the settlement of up to another 100,000 African families could be attained.

To carry out this scheme the Government would need to find £75m. per annum for six years. It is cheap at the price. No one can imagine that the Kenya revolution can be carried cheaply, and for this expenditure H.M. Government would be giving Kenya a chance to enter upon her new state of independence with a reasonable possibility of economic viability and the solution of one of her most difficult social problems. It also seems to provide the safest and most practical safeguard against a complete breakdown of law and order, which would certainly cost a great deal more to be put right.

Position Deteriorating Rapidly

The position in Kenya is deteriorating so rapidly that I hope H.M. Government will not delay. A right decision now on these lines, and put across in an imaginative way, could do more to restore confidence and stability in Kenya than anything else.

Owing to the uncertainties of the future and the generous terms of compensation offered, the loss, actual and prospective, of qualified officers from the technical departments must cause grave concern. There are not sufficient Africans with qualifications available to fill more than a few posts.

I am particularly concerned about the future of the medical service. A major part of the problem is how to replace experienced expatriate medical staff. It will be difficult to replace them from this country; and at the foreseeable rate of output it will be many years before a sufficient number of African doctors will have been trained to meet the needs. Other African territories that have gained independence are faced with similar problems and are scouring the world for doctors.

I believe that the answer lies in the establishment of international technical services, organized and administered by the appropriate United Nations agencies. In the case of medical staff this would be the World Health Organization. If something of this sort is not done quickly there will be a rapid decline of the scope and quality of technical services, especially medical services, and Kenya and other African countries will lapse into the state they were in 60 years ago, with appalling results to the health and well-being of the people.

The emotional appeal of nationalism causes a rather parochial attitude towards the proposal for an East African Federation. Sovereignty is very highly prized. Great value is attached to a national flag, a national anthem, and a vote in the United Nations General Assembly. Despite the great advantages which federation would bring, it is doubtful whether the political leaders would be prepared to give up this vote. Perhaps some form of confederation, which would reduce the loss of national sovereignty to a minimum would meet the case.

LORD WALSTON emphasized that the White Highlands were not originally an area of rich, fertile land which had been wrested from the native inhabitants of Kenya, but land entirely out of cultivation when the British took over; it was made an enclave primarily to preserve the tribes of Kenya from further encroachment by Europeans. Only because European farmers had de-

veloped those areas so successfully had they become the object of envy of many Africans.

I have great sympathy with many of the people who have gone out there, who have given their lives. They have made a very good life for themselves, but they have made their homes in those areas and now see their future threatened.

If the Government, as I hope they will, see fit to pay some form of compensation to those people, I hope it will be not on a diminishing scale but rather on a rising scale. They should be encouraged to stay if they possibly can, rather than find themselves in the position where the compensation offered is so high that they cannot afford to refuse it. I would rather see a situation in which such compensation as was offered to-day was a small portion, increasing after five years, if they felt that they must leave, to a higher level, and to a still higher level after seven or eight years.

I am far from convinced that the landlord-tenant system is the right sort of thing to see in modern conditions in Kenya. I do not believe that a system based on yeoman farming or peasant farming is necessarily the best. If we look ahead 20 or 30 years we want to see a far more highly mechanized, highly capitalized agriculture. If we are going to base our methods of land reform on the fact that we consider a holding of 15 or 20 acres to be the largest that could reasonably be expected, I believe that we are setting ourselves future trouble and inability to raise the standard of living and of production as fast as could be achieved.

Catastrophic Fall in Capital Values

LORD MCCORQUODALE of NEWTON said that he had just come back from Kenya, where his wife had a farm in the beautiful O'Kolau area.

Kenya's economic position was far from good. Exports were about £15m., while imports were no less than £20m., a very serious gap. Exports from the Rhodesian Federation and Nyasaland, however, had been £11m., and imports £15m., giving a surplus of £6m. to £7m.

In Kenya there has been a most catastrophic fall in the capital values of such industries and shares. One can purchase shares in first-class companies with a present yield of more than 25% to 30%. As a consequence, there has been a complete cessation in the last two years of private investment and development, with a severe increase in unemployment, causing the Africans very much distress. Of 36 firms of architects in Nairobi four years ago, 14 are closed and four more are closing; and at least 200 building contractors over the last five years have closed down. Such is the position two short years after the first Lancaster House Conference.

We are now witnessing on a massive scale the start of the exodus of the white farmer from Kenya. In all the conversations I had during the last three weeks or so the talk of nearly everybody was of emigration. There is a total lack of confidence in the future of the country and of their individual position when Africans take over, and a complete lack of confidence in a possible future in the country for their children. There is always in the background the present fear of tribal bloodshed. They are also witnessing a severe run-down of life in Tanganyika since independence. Is it any wonder that so many wish to get away before disaster overtakes them? They hear the K.A.N.U. speeches.

The great majority of white farmers, especially the British, do not wish to leave. They love their country, which they have developed from bush, doing a wonderful job.

H.M. Government have a big load of responsibility in this matter. It is they who have allowed this loss of confidence in the good faith of this country. If H.M. Government would give a pledge forthwith to the settlers that arrangements for a financial nature would immediately be made, as Lord Salisbury suggested, so that, in the event of their having to withdraw appropriate compensation for their losses would be guaranteed to them, then it is quite possible that some measure of confidence in their future might be restored and many would stay as long as is possible. It is complete lack of any such confidence which is so desperate for them.

If the worst occurred, a cost of between £30m. and £40m. is indicated.

LORD LANSDOWNE: "The cost would be between £130m. and £140m. at 1959 value."

LORD LUCAN saw considerable danger in Lord Salisbury's suggestion that the Government should offer generous compensation. It would do nothing to restore confidence, and would merely remove the flood-gates to the movement away from Kenya. African politicians certainly had it in their hands to allay the fears of farmers and other residents in Kenya.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR, who replied for the Government, said that, if all went well, Kenya's potential was enormous; but the dangers and difficulties were equally great.

Commonwealth Trade Opportunities

Great Challenge to British Enterprise

MR. REGINALD MAUDLING, Secretary of State for the Colonies, emphasized the importance and immense scope for exports from the United Kingdom to the Commonwealth when he spoke last week at a luncheon given in London by Barclays Bank D.C.O. in connexion with the 21st Congress of British and Commonwealth Chambers of Commerce.

The Minister said, in part:—

"Britain's trade with the Commonwealth in recent years has not shown the same growth as our trade with Europe, and the share of the Commonwealth market for manufactured goods held by British exporters has notably declined. Since the war trade between industrial countries has risen faster than trade between industrial countries and the one-man and primary producers on the other, but I cannot help feeling that there has been some failure on our part. We must face and put right the decline in our competitive position.

Commonwealth Taken Too Much For Granted

"We have tended to take Commonwealth markets for granted. Obviously we could not indefinitely retain the degree of predominance which gave us 52% of Australia's imports or 60% of New Zealand's. The growth of new industrial competitors, the disappearance of the adventurous protection of post-war discrimination against the dollar, were bound to have a considerable effect.

"Now the pendulum has swung too far the other way. From taking Commonwealth markets too much for granted, we are in danger of writing them down too much. The growth of competition and the considerable restrictions often imposed by Commonwealth Governments to protect their

domestic industries have caused surprise and even resentment among some businessmen.

"While our preferential position is less than it was, it is still of great importance. About half our total exports of the Commonwealth still benefit from preferences; and it should not be assumed, as it sometimes is, that preferences are bound rapidly to disappear. Quite apart from the tariff preferences, moreover, there are the tremendous natural advantages that we enjoy by reason of a common language, common sentiment, and common commercial and technical background. These advantages are important and permanent.

Complete Misunderstanding

"It is also said that our trade with Commonwealth countries is becoming less important because they are developing their own secondary industries. This is a complete misunderstanding of the situation. In fact, it is the opposite of the truth. The more Commonwealth countries develop their industries, the more they will develop their prosperity and the better they will be as markets for our goods. If we had to compete our exports to countries that are not developing their own industries the outlook would be a very poor one indeed. In fact, the recent expansion of our export trade has been most marked in those areas where industrial expansion is proceeding fast.

"The pattern of Commonwealth trade is changing, and British industry must adapt its products. Many traditional lines will disappear, but many new demands will take the place of the old. It is quite essential that we stop bemoaning the trades that have gone and concentrate on the opportunities of the future. Commonwealth countries as a whole will import more and more as they grow, and as a whole will import become more diversified. An industrialized India, for example, could within a generation provide a market for imports of a spectacular scale.

"The lesson we should draw from the industrialization of many Commonwealth countries is not one of despair but of opportunity. It is a great challenge to British enterprise, for in the developing Commonwealth lie for the enterprising and the adaptable opportunities that do not diminish but will grow year by year."

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required by the GOVERNMENT OF WEST CAMEROON to supervise and to plan the Extension Service of the Agricultural Department and to carry out investigations into and to plan the improvement of cash and food crops. Much of the agriculture is of the plantation type, viz. palm, rubber, banana, tea, cocoa and vegetables. Duties will entail touring remote areas.

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Another Kenya Party Murder

K.A.D.U. Youth Organizer Killed

A K.A.D.U. YOUTH-WING ORGANIZER in the Kakamega area of North Nyanza, John Gai, was found slashed to death in a forest on Saturday night after he had tried to escape from a gang which stoned him and two companions when they stopped in a village to buy cigarettes.

At a meeting next day in nearby Kisumu, when an appeal was made by the local K.A.D.U. member of the Legislature, Mr. Musa Amalemba, for calm, coupled with a warning that revenge attacks should not be made, he was shouted down by K.A.N.U. hecklers who chanted "Uhuru na Kenyatta". Scuffles broke out, and the police had to intervene to restore order. One man was beaten to the death with a stick.

Mr. Amalemba linked the Gai murder with that of another K.A.D.U. supporter in Mombasa last month during a K.A.N.U. rally, and asked: "Must we Africans kill one another just because we cannot agree?"

Earlier Mr. Amalemba, the K.A.D.U. leader, who is joint Minister of State with Kenyatta, gave a warning that Kenyatta's habit of "overlooking" K.A.D.U. and leaving the regional Constitution which was agreed in London could lead to "political disaster in Kenya."

His patience is not inexhaustible. We may find it impossible to work in the Commonwealth or even to operate the Constitution, and we may have to review our stand on the London agreement. If this happens, the whole blame for delaying Uhuru and dividing Kenya must be placed squarely on the shoulders of those K.A.N.U. leaders who are mismanaging the country.

Immediate Federation Suggested

In the East African Central Legislative Assembly meeting in Nairobi, Mr. Mwai Kibaki of Kenya, who is K.A.N.U.'s executive officer, suggested that the three East African Governments should open immediate negotiations on the establishment of a federation and begin with such practical steps as the formation of a central bank to replace the Currency Board and the appointment of an expert to co-ordinate overall economic planning.

"It is important that East Africa should not fall victim to tribalism and neo-colonialism," he said. "Some people do not believe in the latter, but the big Powers have not given up the old idea of small countries being controlled by larger ones. I do not agree with those pessimists who say that federation is an unworkable proposition. Arguments about tribalism being a stumbling-block have already been used against belief in African nationalism. The only way Africa will get independence from the neo-colonialist forces is by grouping in large units." So long as the Central Legislative Assembly believes in pan-Africanism, East Africa has special advantages to make a start on this idea.

When presiding at the opening meeting Kenyatta had stated that the Common Services Organization provided a framework on which the structure of a closer political alliance between Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika could be built, and the whole question would have to be considered in due course. Floods which have raised the level of Lake Victoria 4ft. have inundated farms and houses and drowned livestock on the Kano Plains around Kisumu, where some 100,000 people are threatened with starvation.

Rare Oryx Captured

THREE ARABIAN ORYX, including a pregnant female, have been flown to Isiolo, in the Northern Province of Kenya, where it is hoped they will be able to breed and so save the species from extinction. Major Ian Greenwood, of Kenya, who led an expedition to the Ruba al Khali "empty quarter" of the Arabian peninsula north-east of Aden to capture the antelopes for the London Fauna Preservation Society, has estimated that only 11 more remain alive in the region, where a Bedouin group recently slaughtered many of the animals with machine-guns. Killing an oryx—from which the legend of the unicorn is thought to have originated—is regarded in Arabia as a sign of prowess.

Afro-Asian Pressure Inevitable

Not Guilty of Applying Double Standards

WINDS OF CHANGE were blowing so hard through Africa that the newly-independent African States in the United Nations must be expected to urge the accelerated grant of independence to the remaining colonial territories, even though that pressure were ill-advised and premature. Mr. H. G. Nicholas, Nuffield Reader in the Comparative Study of Institutions at Oxford University, told a meeting of the Royal Commonwealth Society in London a few days ago.

Discussing "The United Nations: Blessing or Menace?" he suggested that the Afro-Asian bloc had balanced their own claims against those of world organization in a manner which reflected credit on themselves and on Britain, their former colonial master.

Individual States, he said, who have not yet done this, should be urged to stop at nothing in their demands for the ending of colonialism. They have not come out too badly. They had nothing to lose in supporting the Soviet colonialism, or the ending of colonialism in 1962; but they nevertheless rejected it and instead for a "rapid" end to colonialism.

Mr. Nicholas said that the Afro-Asian bloc had, in the States, a Russian motion calling for sanctions against Portugal, received 26 votes (11 of them from Soviet countries), with 43 against and 32 abstentions. These do not seem like irresponsible acts of new States susceptible to every siren song.

The other accusation against the Afro-Asian bloc was that it operated a double standard, giving its members of the new Western Democracies and N.A.T.O. members insisting on excessively rigorous application of the Charter's principles, while adopting a more indulgent tone towards the Communist States.

But there is no evidence that the majority of the new States have supported the Communists or adopted towards them standards different from those applied to the West. They know that the West is susceptible to arguments based on justice, morality and fair play, and that the Russians are not.

"Should Britain continue to support the U.N. in view of the allegations that the basic ideals of the Charter are being flouted? These are serious charges, if true, and the interests and those of the Commonwealth, would not be served by withdrawing from an organization in which she has rightly been one of the central pillars.

"The U.N. cannot be an agency for collective security. It is a multi-lateral forum for diplomacy and a place for showing our respective wares. Its value is as a fire-extinguisher to prevent great powers clashing, as in the Congo.

"Perhaps it is not always run as well as it would be if it were staffed by experienced British colonial officials. Our attitude should surely be that although we do not agree with every voting majority or every act of individual officers, the organization will have no more stalwart or loyal supporter."

Mr. Mboya and the Press

THE LEADING ARTICLE in last week's EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA criticized Mr. Mboya for statements which he had made when addressing the annual conference of the International Press Institute. On Monday *The Times* wrote in a leading article on the same subject:

Mr. Mboya made it evident that he had the British Press in the forefront of his mind. He accused it of inaccuracy, superficiality, misrepresentation, and a fundamental bias against African nationalism and the African struggle for independence.

"To Mr. Mboya the Press is a malign, persecutory influence. The everyday efforts of a network of foreign correspondents, agencies, and local editors amount to a collective effort to induce a sense of inferiority that might have crippled the energy and zeal of our people. The daily endeavour to find and transmit facts, make sense of them, and comment on policy takes on the aspect of psychological warfare.

"Mr. Mboya is not the only African to feel like this—not the only politician. He said that in East Africa the Press must identify itself with African aspirations, understand and share our anxieties, and join us in the task of nation-building. These are fair requests; but it is just such terminology that is used when South Africa, Portugal, Ghana, or any other country guns on the news. They, too, call for objectivity and declare the Press need not fear suppression if it sticks to the truth. That is always an ominous assurance."

Tanganyika and Kenya Africanization

NEARLY ONE-THIRD of the 4,469 officials in Tanganyika in permanent posts carrying salaries of £444 or upwards were Africans (numbering 1,337) at the end of March. Three months earlier their number had been 1,170.

In the Ministry of Co-operative and Community Development 64% of the senior and middle grade officials are now Africans. In the Prime Minister's Office the proportion is 50%; in the Ministry of Local Government and Administration and the Ministry of Home Affairs, 39% each; and in the Ministry of Health and Labour, 38%; but in the Ministry of Justice, the Treasury, the Audit Department, and the Judiciary less than 10% of the senior posts are so far held by Africans, and only 13 of about 900 education officers and school supervisors are Africans.

The urgent need for trained men is further shown by the fact that of 6,715 senior and middle grade civil service posts 1,457 are vacant and another 389 are temporarily filled by employees on month-to-month terms. The Ministry of Agriculture has vacancies in the professional and technical grades for more than 50 men in its agricultural division and 30 each in the veterinary and water development divisions.

Africans in senior posts in the civil service in Kenya have increased by one-third in the past year, and there are now 1,243 Africans in appointments, 747 ranking in senior posts, which were formerly held by Europeans and Asians. The largest increase has been in the police, in which the number of Africans in the higher ranks has risen within a year from 298 to 436. In the provincial administration there has been a 60% increase in Africanization.



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Minimum Wages in Tanganyika

MINIMUM WAGE RATES of 150s. monthly for adult workers in Dar es Salaam and Tanga, of 125s. in the Arusha, Moshi, Mwanza, Tabora, Dodoma, Mtwara, Lindi, Mbeya, Kigoma, Bukoba, Korogwe and Iringa areas; and of 100s. elsewhere in the country, with special arrangements for fixing statutory minima in non-plantation agriculture, have been unanimously recommended by the Minimum Wages Board of Tanganyika, of which Mr. D. P. Chesworth was chairman, and of which the other members were Messrs. Michael Kamaliza, S. J. Katungutu, Barclay Leechman, M. G. Lewis, and D. J. Stringer.

Provision of housing of an approved standard would entitle the employer to deduct between 25s. and 10s. monthly in the three categories.

The need to move from the short-period task system to a working day of seven or eight hours is stressed as is the desirability of raising minimum wages in the lower categories.

Another recommendation is that the Government should consider paying a subsidy to gold mining concerns, which could not otherwise meet the minimum.

Average wages of Africans in Tanganyika are said to have increased by 21% between mid-1960 and mid-1961. The recommendations would increase plantation minimums by 36% and in Dar es Salaam by 15%.

Uganda Not To Be A Republic

CONFIDENCE in its well-established institutions and the traditional respect for hereditary chiefdomship, general in Uganda, have led the new Government to decide that a republic would be inappropriate for Uganda, the Governor, Sir Walter Coult, said in his speech from the Throne when he opened the first meeting of the National Assembly since the April elections. He announced that Uganda would become an independent state within the Commonwealth in October, acknowledging the Queen as Queen of Uganda.

Mr. Nyerere Warns Africans

MR. JULIUS NYERERE, former Prime Minister of Tanganyika, said recently when he was installed as an honorary fellow of Makerere University College, Kampala, that educated Africans might make themselves a permanently privileged class. Some of them, he emphasized, recommended the replacement of non-Africans by Africans merely because they wanted the job, the pay, and the house. There was an obvious temptation to Africa's new leaders to step into places hitherto occupied by Europeans and Africans without really changing the Colonial setting.

Scornful Africans

AFRICANS NOW HOLDING high posts in their country's civil service are no longer interested in their less fortunate colleagues and are "adopting the colonialists' attitudes," the general secretary of the Tanganyika Union of Public Employees, Mr. J. R. Magongo, complained at a mass meeting in Dar es Salaam. "I want these people to realize that they can be thrown out of these posts as easily as they attained them," he declared. "We did not urge Africanization so that those who rise cast scornful glances on those below."

Leaders Must Teach

MR. RASIMU KAWAWA, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, told district secretaries of the Tanganyika African National Union and its Youth League at a recent seminar in Dar es Salaam that the aim should be to bring together 50 leaders from a given area, train them thoroughly in a specific subject, and then send each of them out to train another 50. That plan had been operated with great success in the Southern Region.

Mr. Chona Guilty of Sedition

U.N.I.P. Official "Shifty and Unreliable"

A SUSPENDED SIX-MONTHS' SENTENCE for sedition has been passed on Mr. Mainza Chona, 32-year-old secretary of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, and a member of the English Bar.

Passing judgment, the Chief Justice, Sir Diarmaid Conroy, said that the accused had been a "shifty witness, constantly hedging and more concerned with making political speeches than in answering questions. No-one who saw him in the witness-box would accept him as a witness of truth and reliability."

The accused had pleaded not guilty to publishing last December seditious matter in a U.N.I.P. circular letter in which he wrote: "Those of you who have attended the courts will know your political colleagues must have got the same impression as myself, that the Government are in a gutter stamping and committing mock justice. As for the Native courts, all of you must have got the impression that they have been organized to tell any African that the Government administrative officials want to have failed, whether he has committed an offence or not. I have witnessed trials myself from the beginning to the end. If I had tears I would have shed them."

Sir Diarmaid agreed that errors and defects in the administration of justice might be freely criticized to achieve an improvement, but he could not accept the accused's submission that he had published the statement in that spirit; rather, it had been written to create an enthusiastic and widespread reaction by members of the party so that they would take action to bring pressure to bear on the British Government and so achieve their ends.

Although the maximum penalty for sedition was seven years' hard labour, the Chief Justice said he could take a more lenient view because of the circumstances of the case, and accordingly sentenced the accused to six months' imprisonment with hard labour, suspended for three years "in order to give him a chance to mature into a responsible citizen."

Counsel for the defence had pleaded in mitigation that his client regretted the publication. He was a politician — and politicians are known on occasions to make extremely rash statements.

Mr. Field Leads Rhodesia Front

MR. WINSTON FIELD, president of the former Dominion Party and former Leader of the Opposition in the Federal Assembly, has been elected leader of the new Rhodesia Front at a congress in Salisbury attended by more than 200 delegates. Among the new party's policies are opposition to compulsory inter-racial integration and recognition of Government's right at all levels to "provide separate facilities and amenities for the various groups to enable them to preserve their customs and ways of life". The party would uphold the principles of the Land Apportionment Act, which Sir Edgar Whitehead's United Federal Party Government in Southern Rhodesia has undertaken to repeal if it is re-elected in the general election later this year. The new group, "realizing that the Federation cannot continue in its present form", will seek the co-operation of the constituent territories in an endeavour to preserve those aspects of association which would be of mutual benefit.

S. Rhodesia Meetings Ban

FOLLOWING ACTION by magistrates in Salisbury, Umtali and Marandellas to ban public meetings in those areas for three months in order to prevent a repetition of recent disturbances sparked off at political meetings, the Southern Rhodesian Minister of Justice has decided to proscribe all public gatherings for the next eight weeks in Bulawayo, Gwelo, Que Que, Hartley, Lomagundi, Gwanda, Bellingwe, Victoria and Charter, because of the threat of a recurrent "pattern" designed to promote feelings of hostility and to arouse passions and emotions which are likely to result in further serious public disorder.

Misinformation for the United Nations

Z.N.P.'s Caricature of British Rule

THE ZIMBABWE NATIONAL PARTY—of which the president is Mr. Patrick Matimba and the deputy president Mr. Paul Mushonga—has circulated a long typewritten memorandum, headed "United Nations versus British Colonialism in Southern Rhodesia", which it recently submitted to the Committee of Seventeen of the United Nations.

British rule is described as "brutal suppression of our people by flogging, imprisonment without trial or with mock trials, cold-blooded murder, savage exploitation, and robbery of their land and property."

In asking that the General Assembly of the United Nations should request H.M. Government to suspend the present Constitution of Southern Rhodesia and conduct a general election on the basis of universal adult franchise, the Zimbabwe National Party writes:

"The British have swarmed on our land, with millions of pounds worth of armaments have recently been shipped to Southern Rhodesia, and every British settler, man and woman, is armed with modern fatal weapons. Every year hundreds of people were murdered by these irresponsible settlers. The prisons are overflowing with political prisoners, who are arrested for the slightest criticism of our fatherland. Military alliances between Verwoerd, Salazar, and Whitehead have been formed.

"We cannot guarantee that our people can continue to restrain their anger in the face of increased British brutal and savage oppression, provocation and terrorism."

"It is abundantly clear that a crisis in the security of our peace-loving people and world peace at large is looming unless the bitter enemy of mankind, British Colonialism, is liquidated from its fatherland forthwith."

The party has in London a "director of international affairs."

Dr. Banda Threatens Resignation

DR. HASTINGS BANDA, leader of the Nyasaland Malawi Congress Party, and Minister of Natural Resources, told a meeting in Zomba on Sunday that he would resign if the Governor, Sir Olyn Jones, signs papers allowing the Federal Government to proceed with the proposed £3m. Nkula Falls hydro-electric scheme, which is designed to provide much needed power for industry and commerce in the territory. He said that he was prepared to be gaoled again for his attempts to obtain Nyasaland's secession from the Federation.

East African Dinner Club

MR. REGINAED MAUDLING, Secretary of State for the Colonies, will be the chief guest of the East Africa Dinner Club on Thursday, June 21, when the president for the year, Lord Boyd of Merton, will take the chair.

NORTHERN RHODESIA



For Information

APPLY TO

The Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia

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Parliament

British Control of Zanzibar's Finances Budget Deficit of £630,000 This Year

ASKED WHAT ACTION he proposed to take about Zanzibar's serious financial situation, MR. MAUDLING replied:—

The opportunity was taken at the time of the recent constitutional conference to discuss the position with Zanzibar Ministers. Zanzibar's revenues are heavily dependent on cloves exports, and if, as appears likely, import restrictions in the main markets severely curtail the level of exports, Zanzibar will end their current financial year on June 30, 1962, with a budgetary deficit of about £630,000, which exceeds the reserves available. Zanzibar will also face difficulty in balancing the budget in 1962-63.

In these circumstances H.M. Government have agreed to make immediate repayment of the outstanding loan of £200,000 provided at the time of the 1895 Agreement between Great Britain and Zanzibar. This amount will be advanced from the Well-Being Contingent fund pending the presentation of a supplementary estimate to Parliament. H.M. Government have also undertaken to assist the Zanzibar Government if necessary with a grant-in-aid of the expenses of administration in the period up to June 30, 1963, when the position will be reviewed. Over that period the finances of Zanzibar will be subject to financial control by H.M. Government. The Zanzibar Government recognize the need to bring the budget into balance at the earliest possible date and accept that this will involve economies in expenditure and measures to increase

Training Troops in Kenya

MR. SHINWELL asked the Secretary of State for War what plans were for training troops in Kenya.

MR. PROFUMO: Kenya is a valuable training area, and so long as troops are stationed there they will continue to make use of it for their normal training. Obviously, any arrangements for the British Army to train in the country after independence will depend on agreement being reached with the Government of Kenya, and it is too early for me to comment on that possibility.

MR. SHINWELL: Is it true that there is to be an increased concentration of troops for training in Kenya? Should that

be so, is it not very desirable that we should not experience any difficulty as a result of the new dispensation and that therefore we must be extremely careful that we have their consent?"

MR. PROFUMO: "No. I am not aware of any increased concentration in the training of troops in Kenya. We hope to go on training in Kenya which, as the rt. hon. gentleman knows, is a very valuable area."

MR. F. HARRIS: "Will my rt. hon. friend take into account that it is very much in the long-term interests of people of all races in Kenya that these bases and our troops should remain there as long as possible, and that it is particularly to the long-term benefit of the economy of Kenya?"

MR. PROFUMO: "My hon. friend will understand if I do not comment on the political aspects. I should prefer not to go further than to say what I have in answer to the question."

Ill-Equipped for Independence

MR. BERNARD BRAINE, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said when addressing a Conservative meeting in Manchester on Commonwealth Day:—

"Some Commonwealth territories are singularly ill-equipped for one reason or another for the advent of independence. Some, like Kenya or the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, are problem children, with racial problems that have retarded their development. Some, like Uganda and Zanzibar, suffer from an acute shortage of the human and material resources necessary if they are to face an independent existence with any confidence. Some of the present 13 members of the Commonwealth suffer from these defects. They are short of trained man-power. They cannot be said to have anything like an assured economic future. The only sizeable territory still not independent by the end of 1963 may be the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland."

State of the Parties in Uganda

AS A RESULT of the ballot for the nine specially elected members of the National Assembly of Uganda, the Uganda People's Party has 43 seats and the associated Kabaka Yekka 24 seats, giving the Coalition 67 against 24 won by candidates of the Democratic Party in the recent general election. Mr. I. K. Babiha, a U.P.C. member of the former legislature who had failed to win a Toro seat, has become one of the specially elected members. On the morning of the special poll Mr. John Kakonge, secretary-general of the U.P.C., resigned his post and announced that he would "seek refuge" in Tanganyika, because of the party's "humiliating act of mean ingratitude" in dropping his name from the list of those whom it would support for specially elected seats. After Mr. Kakonge's public statement, Mr. Obote, the Prime Minister, said that he had wanted him in the Cabinet and had provisionally submitted his name to the Governor for a portfolio; he regretted that Mr. Kakonge had acted hastily on incorrect information. Later Mr. Kakonge stated that he had decided not to go to Tanganyika.

Anarchy in Kivu

A STATE OF EMERGENCY has been declared by President Kasavubu in the Kivu Province of the Congo "in order to put an end to the anarchic situation reigning in Bukavu, the capital", where the Provincial Assembly has been unable to meet since May 7 after passing a motion of censure on the local president, Mr. Miruho, and several of his Ministers. Dr. Sture Linner, formerly in charge of U.N. Congo operations, and now special representative in Brussels for the acting Secretary-General, U. Thant, has been having talks in London on U.N.O.'s rôle in the Congo. In Belgium he has discussed the recruitment of Belgian teachers, doctors, and engineers to the Congo under U.N. auspices. Mr. Tshombe has returned to Leopoldville for further talks with Mr. Adoula.

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Anglo American Corporation Report

ANGLO AMERICAN CORPORATION OF SOUTH AFRICA, LTD., a group with very extensive interests in the Federation, reports consolidated net profits after tax for 1961 at R.16,914,211, against R.15,688,902 in 1960 (the rand being worth 10s.). Ordinary shareholders receive 90 cents per R.1 share; the general reserve is strengthened by R.7m., bringing it to nearly R.71m.; and the carry-forward is over R.1.5m.

The issued capital is R.100m. in ordinary shares and R4.75m. in 6% cumulative preferred stock. There are outstanding 4% registered bonds due to be redeemed by mid-July totalling nearly R.8.2m., R.2m. of 5½% convertible notes, and R.7.7m. of 5½% convertible bearer bonds. Loans from associated companies and others total R152m. Investments standing in the book at R102.5m. had a market value of almost R200m. and there are numerous investments valued by the directors at R16.2m. Loans due from associated and other companies total R36.8m. cash and debtors total R159.5m. and other assets and other property appear at R.7.1m., and creditors total R.100m.

The group has holdings in a large number of finance and investment companies (including Rhodesian Acceptances and Rhodesian Anglo American) and in industrial corporations (a number of them in Rhodesia); in diamond mines (including Willoughby Diamond Mine, Tlokweng) in high cost prospecting (some in the Federation) and copper companies, these being Bancroft, Kamsabpi, Mchanga, Rhokhana, and Rhodesia Copper Mines. The report, a well-illustrated document which gives very full information.

Mr. Harry Oppenheimer is the chairman, and Sir Keith Wilson and Mr. R. B. Hagart are deputy chairmen. Mr. W. J. Wilson is managing director, and the other members of the board are Lord Robbins, Sir George Albu, and Messrs. E. C. Baring, D. G. Beckingham, E. T. S. Brown, P. H. A. Brown (resident in Rhodesia), W. Marshall Clark, I. Coulter, P. V. Emrys-Evans, G. W. Engelhard, A. Royden Harrison, H. C. Knoch, P. J. Oppenheimer, M. J. P. Smith, and H. A. V. Smith.

There are 12 alternate directors, namely Sir Frederick Crawford (resident in Rhodesia) and Messrs. C. R. Anderson, F. S. Baring, G. C. Fletcher, N. K. Kinkead-Weekes, H. R. Lewin, C. S. McLean, G. W. H. Rely, J. W. Shilling, S. Spiro, H. H. Taylor, and A. Wilson.

The corporation is negotiating with a syndicate of Swiss banks for a loan of 50m. Swiss francs to meet the loan due for redemption on July 1, 1962. Subject to the agreement of the Swiss and South African banks, the loan will be convertible within five years into ordinary shares at a price starting at R20, and increasing annually by 50 cents to R22.

Kilifi Plantations

KILIFI PLANTATIONS, LTD., report a trading loss for 1961 of £9,089, compared with a profit in the previous year of £4,980, this change in fortune being due to a much reduced crop of 770 tons of sisal in consequence of abnormally heavy rainfall and to lower prices for the fibre, the net average being just over £59 per ton f.o.b. for all grades. At the end of the year the area under sisal was 5,314 acres. The issued capital is £75,000 in shares of 2s. Fixed assets stand in the books at £78,645, current assets less current liabilities at £30,442, and a quoted investment has a market value of £4,925. The statement of the chairman, Mr. J. F. Priddle, appears on another page. His colleagues on the board are Mr. L. J. D. Mackie and Mr. N. J. Robson.

Importance of Better Roads

ANOTHER 500 CARS AND 200 TRUCKS are added each month to the vehicles on the roads of the Federation, which had 122,000 cars and about 50,000 trucks in use at the end of 1961, Mr. Ralph B. Fawcett, managing director of the Ford Motor Company of Rhodesia, Ltd., told the Institute of Transport at a meeting in Salisbury, when he appealed for an immensely improved network of roads. If the Great North Road to Kenya were made a full width, all-weather, tarred highway and given satisfactory east-west feeders, some 55 million people would provide a "fabulous" potential market for Rhodesia's industries. The challenge was to Governments to develop trans-continental roads, to commerce and industry to take a large view of export possibilities, and to transport operators to provide economical distribution. But Federal factories would not become serious competitors in the great markets available to them if transport facilities were improved. Their market surveys from clubs and hotels in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam.

Board's Petition

A PETITION by the Southern and Northern Rhodesian Grain Marketing Board seeking special permission to appeal against a Federal Supreme Court judgement in a dispute between the board and the milling companies has been refused with costs by the House of Lords of the Privy Council. In the Northern Rhodesian High Court the Chief Justice had awarded the board £29,211 under guarantee given by the companies for payments for maize supplied to four milling groups which went into liquidation in 1958 while owing the board some £47,000. An appeal to the Federal Supreme Court reduced the award to £9,369.

HOLDERS of 80% of the issued capital of Willoughby's Consolidated Company have accepted the cash offer of 12s. 9d. per unit made by London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Company. The offer closed on May 1.

THE BANK of Rhodesia and Nyasaland cut its bank rate on Monday from 5½ to 5%. This was only the second change since the bank was established in 1957. The most favourable borrowing rate from the commercial banks has lately been 7½%.

BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O. has declared an unchanged interim dividend of 5%. The estimated profit for the half-year to March 31 after tax and provision for transfers to inner reserves was £643,000, compared with £645,000 in the corresponding period of last year.

TO MARK its centenary, the Standard Bank is to pay a special bonus of 2½% in addition to the unchanged 15% dividend for the year ended March 31. After appropriating £150,800 to the reserve fund and writing down prepaies by another £50,000, the carry-forward is £317,233.

IN ORDER to discourage money transfers from East Africa, the East African Currency Board last week increased its commission charge from 1% to 1½ on outward remittances and reduced the rate from a 1% to 1½ on inward remittances. The rate to be charged to the commercial banks for crop finance is down from 3% to 5½%.

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Big Scheme for Rural Development

EXPENDITURE OF BETWEEN £20m. AND £33m. in the next four years in a "new deal" for Northern Rhodesia's rural areas is proposed in the report of the Rural Economic Development Working Party, whose chairman was Mr. Trevor Gardner, now Acting Finance Minister. Among the other members were the Secretaries of all Ministries directly concerned with development.

The report (Government Printer, Lusaka, 5s.) which assumes the African population of the Protectorate is now about 84m. and that it will double before 1985, states:—

"This expanding population will have to be fed and will demand employment. There is already considerable unemployment in the towns. Even in the year of rapid expansion from 1958 the economy was unable to provide substantial employment in urban areas, and since 1957 the number of jobs in the rural areas has been stationary.

"Productive work for a high proportion of our young people leaving school must be found in the rural areas if it is to be found at all. If it is not found the social and political consequences will be serious. This problem must be tackled now if it is to be solved.

"More must be done, and quickly, to show the African in Northern Rhodesia that he can, by his own efforts with the help, achieve tangible improvements in his living standards. One of the basic ingredients for the future will be a contented and prosperous rural population; and funds spent toward this end will represent a capital investment in long-term security.

"Rapid development is essential if the rural areas are to be enabled to make their due contribution to the economy of the country; if a proper balance between the rural and urban economy is to be established, and a conditions are to be created in which the ever-increasing flow of migrant Africans from schools can be absorbed in gainful rural employment, instead of, as a matter of course, flocking to the towns.

"A more systematic and intensive development plan is needed. Much has been done, often with inadequate resources, but it has only scratched the surface of the problem. The survey we have undertaken has convinced us that by intensive efforts results could be more quickly achieved.

"Lasting improvements in the wealth of the people of the rural areas could be brought about only if the individual were enabled to produce more for his own consumption or for sale in an assured market at prices giving a reasonable return for his efforts. Government must play its part by showing the way and supplying extension and supporting services, but the enterprise of private individuals, where necessary working in co-operation, would produce the end results.

Government action in fostering and assisting rural development would therefore be ancillary to the action of the private individuals and firms undertaking the development work. Willing co-operation of private interests must be obtained from the start, and adequate consultative machinery was essential.

Government would also have to assist by providing marketing facilities and capital at economic rates. Subsidies to assist an enterprise in its first stages might be justified in certain circumstances, but not to keep the enterprise going if it was unable to pay its way in the long term.

About two million acres of Native reserve and Native Trust land in Northern Rhodesia are described as first-class arable land. Because much of it is up to 600 miles from the railway rural productivity is at a very low level.

Other factors are stated to be poor standards of husbandry, conservation and resistance to change by Native authorities and the rural populations; poor health and low nutrition, which limit the capacity to work hard; lack of individual land tenure; political opposition to agricultural controls; and, above all, the absence in urban areas of young men whose energy and labour might accomplish a revolution in African farming methods.

The report envisages a fourfold increase to nearly £8m. during the next eight years in the value of surplus agricultural production, and makes proposals for the greater use of forests, intensified development of fisheries, exploitation of game resources by game cropping, and the development of rural industries.

It recommends measures within the subsistence economy to introduce a wider range of crops and produce more high-protein foods, especially meat. Management and capital must be supplied in the first instance by the Government. Larger extension staffs would be required to direct the programme, more capital must be provided, mechanization must be encouraged, and there must be an increase in the use of fertilizers.

Selection Trust

MINING FINANCE AND EXPLORATION

Results for Year ended March 31st, 1962

	£	(1961) £
Revenue, less expenses, of the Company and its subsidiaries was	3,728,740	3,497,330
Taxation amounted to	1,789,087	1,610,746
	1,939,653	1,886,584
Interest of outside shareholders in profits of subsidiaries was	100,371	30,663
Lessing	1,839,282	1,856,921

This amount has been applied as follows:	£	£
Transferred to reserve on surplus	1,117,972	1,117,972
Ordinary dividend of 7s. 3d. per stock unit (1961-72) less tax	1,152,721	1,117,972
	£1,839,082	£1,856,921

Exploration expenditure of £461,147 (1961, £339,891) was charged to Exploration Reserve.

Net appreciation of £26,429 (1961, £196,287 depreciation) was credited to Investment Reserve.

Consolidated Net Assets

	£	£
Quoted investments at book value	3,256,687	3,047,391
Unquoted investments at book value	470,074	327,466
Net current assets	2,418,436	2,331,751
Other assets less liabilities	1,490,212	1,431,637
Interests of outside shareholders	(1,881,214)	(1,833,703)
Appreciation of investments over book values*	31,737,061	26,166,000
Total Net Assets	£30,291,255	£34,359,547

* Taking quoted investments at stock exchange prices and the unquoted investment in Trustech Corporation at directors' valuation.

Analysis of Assets and Income

	% of Assets	% of Income
United Kingdom	5	3
U.S.A. and Canada	50	32
Ghana and Sierra Leone	12	4.30
Rhodesia	12	7
South Africa	14	15
South-West Africa	12	13
	100%	100%

The above percentages take into account both direct and indirect interests in the countries concerned and are necessarily only approximate.

Principal Interests

American Metal Climax	Trustech Corporation
Bikita Minerals	Van Reefs Exploration and Mining Company
Consolidated African Selection Trust	Western Decolite
Rhodesian Selection Trust	Western Holdings
Sierra Leone Selection Trust	

Copies of the annual report of Selection Trust for the year ended March 31, 1962, may be obtained from the Company's Transfer Office at

107 CHEAPSIDE, LONDON, E.C.2

Company Report

Kilifi Plantations, Limited

MR. J. F. PRIDEAUX'S STATEMENT

THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF KILIFI PLANTATIONS, LIMITED, will be held at 10, Old Jewry, London, E.C.2, on Monday, June 18, at 2.15 p.m.

Mr. J. F. PRIDEAUX, Chairman of the company, has circulated the following statement with the report and accounts:—

It is a considerable disappointment that the 1961 crop was as low as 770 tons (which includes as usual production of fine fibre and tow). The shareholders are no doubt aware that it was a year of remarkable weather in Kenya, and led to unusual working conditions at Kilifi, especially in the second half of the year when the estate usually produces the major part of its crop. During the five months July to November, 60 inches of rain fell, compared with a total rainfall for the whole of 1960 of about 42 inches. The comparable total in 1961 was 78 inches.

The sisal market, which had been remarkably steady throughout 1960, varied much more last year, and on average was at a rather lower level. Last year I gave the variations for No. 1 and No. 3 grades, and the following gives the fluctuations of these grades for the last two years, with prices on the basis of £ per ton, c.i.f., U.K.

Grade No.	1960		1961	
	High	Low	High	Low
1	103	100	102	80
3	99	86	88	72

Unfortunately in 1961 the market was at the higher level during the early part of the year when the production of the estate was at its lowest, and in general a lower price level had to be faced in the second half of the year. Towards the end of November prices started to move up, and at the time of writing No. 1 grade is quoted at £99 per ton and No. 3 at about £84. However, in 1961 the low production and lower average selling prices led to a loss for the year of £9,089 compared with an overall profit of £4,980 the previous year. It is regretted that in the circumstances it is impossible to recommend any dividend.

One of the problems caused by last year's extraordinarily high rainfall was the rapid growth of grass in all the sisal areas. With a large proportion of immature areas it was impossible to maintain a satisfactory programme of weeding in these conditions, and indeed with such a low production it would have been financially difficult to have done so. It is hard to assess

how much long-term harm may have been done by this, but the growth of sisal must have been at least seriously retarded.

Last November Mr. Johns tendered his resignation as manager, and the board are grateful to him for his loyal service to the company over the last seven years. It was fortunate that we were able in his place to obtain the services of Mr. Jerram, who has been in the sisal industry for a number of years.

In July Mr. B. O. Moore made his last visit to the estate as visiting manager. He would like to express their appreciation of his services over the last seven years. In his place Mr. K. P. Flint has been appointed. Besides having previously been manager of sisal estates, Mr. Flint is now visiting agent to several estates in Kenya and Tanganyika, and we are glad to be able to rely on his varied experience, especially at such a difficult time for the estate.

Last year Mr. Robson visited the estate in January and again towards the end of the year. In the latter part of the year I was glad to be able to visit Kilifi again, and besides discussions with our new manager there it was possible for me to talk over the problems of the estate with Mr. Flint in Nairobi.

Last year 300 acres were planted, but it is regretted that this planting, and that of the previous year, have not been satisfactory, very largely because of the weather conditions that have been experienced. A review of all areas under sisal is being undertaken with a view to ensuring that the limited expenditure possible is made to best advantage.

As I have said in the past, Kilifi is on the small side to work as a sole unit. Your directors are giving careful thought as to whether the basis of your company could be improved, but present conditions of political uncertainty in Kenya are a difficult background for any such problem.

Shareholders have no doubt been closely following political developments in Kenya, and recently in particular the lengthy conference held in London. It is to be hoped that the result will be that all political parties in Kenya will do their best to ensure that their country achieves the political stability that has been so unfortunately lacking over recent years.

Finally, I would like to thank all the staff for their efforts towards bringing your estate back to a profitable basis.



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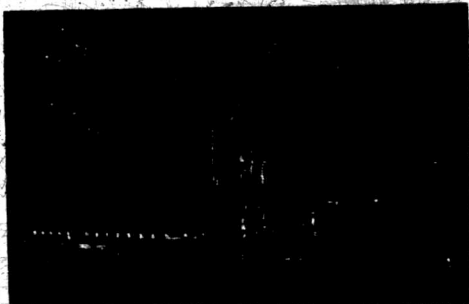
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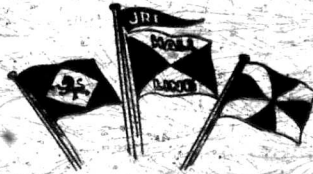
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