

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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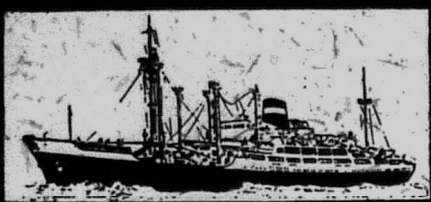
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1962

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

ALL BRITISH ENDEAVOUR in the Rhodesias, a magnificent contribution to the extension of civilization to Central Africa, is jeopardized by the lack of faith in Britain's place and mission in the world which has been the distinguishing characteristic of United Kingdom Governments ever since the end of the last war, especially that headed by Mr. Macmillan. That truth—which EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has been almost alone in proclaiming year after year, and indeed week after week for long periods—has at long last forced itself upon public opinion in this country, not least because the United Nations, in flagrant breach of its Charter, has interfered persistently, recklessly and mischievously in the affairs of Southern Rhodesia, demanding in particular that Her Majesty's Government should suspend a Constitution which was negotiated not many months ago, which was accepted by the African nationalist party (but quickly rejected when its leader returned home and came under pressure from his wilder associates, and doubtless from Afro-Asian extremists elsewhere, especially those from whom funds had been received), and which had still not been introduced. Indeed, it took effect only on Thursday last, when the Parliament of the Colony was dissolved in preparation for a general election in the middle of next month.

Central Africa In Jeopardy.

No Government anywhere could be expected to tear up a new, drastically changed, and liberal Constitution at the behest of external critics, and in declaring that that was his decision the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia knew that he had the support not merely of the whole European community except for a

few cranks and exhibitionists, but of many level-headed Africans, whose numbers would have been immensely increased but for the intimidation practised so widely and ruthlessly by the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union until it was recently proscribed for its deliberate policy of subverting law and order and making nonsense of the Government's plan for progressive participation by responsible Africans in the development of the processes of parliamentary democracy—though not, of course, on the principle of granting the vote to all adults, since the consequence of that foolishness would condemn the Colony to the dictatorship of a few self-seeking, wholly inexperienced, and sometimes malevolent manipulators of a population the great majority of whom have still no conception of the problems of administration, let alone those of finance, development, external affairs, and the other complications of modern life.

* * *

The basic issue is whether pan-Africanism is irresistible. A staggeringly high proportion of public men in Britain and at least an equally high proportion of newspaper and radio commentators on African affairs have infected the minds of millions with their own

Craven Fear of Being Great.

defeatism, and a Government which long ago abandoned principle for expediency has shown not the slightest inclination either to check a public despondency damaging to the national honour and interest or to set a dutiful example of moral strength. The consequence has been surrender all along the line. At the height of Britain's greatness Lord Tennyson wrote: "Pray God our greatness may not fail through craven fear of being great"—which couplet the Royal Over-Seas League adopted long afterwards as its motto.

No Government anywhere could be expected to tear up a new, drastically changed, and liberal Constitution at the behest of external critics, and in declaring that that was his decision the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia knew that he had the support not merely of the whole European community except for a

Adult Suffrage Unjustifiable.

the whole European community except for a

The craven fear of being great (in the finest sense of the word) has destroyed the influence throughout the world of this country, the greatest mother of nations in all history; that influence has been cast away by nerveless Ministers and other betrayers of a great trust—not by any means merely selfish from the standpoint of Britain, but likewise crucial for the hundreds of millions of Africans and Asians who had relied upon British guidance throughout the further decades needed to bring them to the stage at which they could assume the duties of government without grave risks, social, economic, political, and military. Ministers in Britain, abandoning care and caution, have within a decade and a half wrecked the Empire and imperilled the Commonwealth. With a few honourable exceptions like Lord Home, it is to such Ministers overseas as Mr. Menzies and Sir Roy Welensky that men of robust mind must now look for courageous leadership.

* * *

In this issue will be found another stirring speech by the Federal Prime Minister, this time on the text that pan-Africanism is not irresistible. Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead both affirm that, if the disastrous drive for black African majorities in the two

Rhodesias can be contained for the next few years, it will be possible to build securely on a multi-racial basis, and so provide for a rich and vital area of Central Africa a structure incomparably stronger and more generally beneficial than anything which could conceivably result from premature surrender of authority to the tiny minority of African politicians who are avid for an authority which they are hopelessly incompetent to exercise. They are impatient because they know that if they cannot attain their ambitions very quickly their schemes will come to nought, partly because the mass of Africans, recognizing what has happened in Ghana, the Congo, Kenya, and elsewhere, will refuse to be similarly sacrificed, and partly because the world in general will realize how sadly it has been bemused by the double-talk and catch-phrases everlastingly repeated by anti-colonialist fifth columnists who include in their ranks so many pseudo-intellectuals in the West that the British Foreign Secretary was moved a few days ago in another connexion to refer to the need for Chairs of Horse Sense in our universities! The fifth columnists, white, black and brown, not least those in the United Kingdom and the

United States, can be counted upon to blur any issue if that course will suit the pan-Africans; in short, if it will help to put more bullies into power.

* * *

When he addressed the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations last week the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia expressed the conviction that there would be an African majority in the Parliament of the Colony within fifteen years. Ten years ago nobody would have thought that possible. Now the relinquishment of control by the white man at that quite sharp pace is peremptorily dismissed as not worthy even of discussion by a body which is interested neither in facts nor in rational debate, but merely in moralizing and posturing. Indeed, even before Sir Edgar Whitehead rose to speak thirty-seven African and Asian nations had tabled a resolution calling upon the United Kingdom Government to suspend immediately the new Constitution, countermand the general election, convene a constitutional conference, and introduce universal suffrage; a resolution in that sense was carried by eighty-one votes to two (with seventeen abstentions), and it was automatically endorsed by the General Assembly by the same majority but with nineteen abstentions. In neither case was the voting a verdict on the facts or on Sir Edgar's presentation of them. It was simply a registration of prejudice. Such biased and improper condemnation and exhortation will naturally have no practical effect in London or in Southern Rhodesia—unless, in the latter case, it should be quickly followed by abdication to black African politicians in Northern Rhodesia, where last week's general election was so inconclusive that by-elections will be required for ten of the fifteen national seats.

* * *

That exposes once more the absurdity of the fantastically artificial and complicated Macleod Constitution — termed a "dog's breakfast" by the Opposition spokesman in Parliament and "a side-rule Constitution" by his own side—which was ostensibly intended to ensure voting on racial lines, but, as was immediately predicted by those who knew the local circumstances, could not be expected to do anything

of the kind. Voting, it is clear, has been essentially racial. It has given the United Federal Party fifteen members, the United National Independence (African) Party fourteen, and the African National Congress five. The inter-racial Liberal Party, which had three Ministers in the last Government, has been entirely eliminated, with ten of its eighteen candidates losing their deposit. It had been widely thought that the Liberals might win two or three seats, that the A.N.C. might not get as many as five, and that the Barotse National Party would win both contests in that Protectorate, where, surprisingly, its candidates polled only about three score votes each against large U.N.I.P. majorities. Until the results of the by-elections on December 10 are known the outlook cannot be judged. Meantime, Mr. Nkumbula, the A.N.C. president, holds the balance, and is naturally exploring the bargaining position open to his party. Several leading British newspapers have emphasized that the U.N.I.P. and A.N.C. vote was about four times that of the U.F.P., but not one of those publications, having with unconcealed satisfaction stressed that both African groups want to destroy the Federation, thought fit to point out that the lower roll, which is almost wholly African, contained 92,255 names, compared with 37,330 on the higher roll, which has both European and African names. It is quite likely that at the second time of asking the candidates for the ten "national" seats may again fail to qualify. The U.F.P. should, however, win in Livingstone, and so raise its membership of the new House to at least sixteen.

Four days after the Northern Rhodesian by-elections there will be a general election in Southern Rhodesia, where, as a direct consequence of United Kingdom folly in Northern Rhodesia and

Southern Rhodesia Will Not Surrender.

Nyasaland, the result may depend, not upon the electorate's judgment of the respective policies of the United Federal Party and the Rhodesian Front, but upon fear that the surrender imminent in Nyasaland will soon be repeated in Northern Rhodesia, and the feeling that Southern Rhodesia's European community should therefore concentrate on safeguarding the state of civilization already attained rather than upon measures for rapid development in the African economy, education, and participation in public affairs. No retrograde outlook would certainly lead to the defeat of the U.F.P.—which, it should be remem-

bered, would fight as staunchly as any other section of the community against premature surrender to an uncivilized African majority which has been and would again be dragged by intimidation, violence and general thuggery. It would be tragic indeed if political follies outside Rhodesia were to drive the electorate of that splendid Colony to actions which no one would regret more than they. It ought, however, to be clearly understood that the Europeans of Southern Rhodesia will on no account submit to the fate inflicted upon Kenya by a defeatist Government in the United Kingdom. We do not believe that, in demonstration of that determination, they will turn away from the U.F.P. On the contrary, both for its internal policy and its insistence on the need to maintain the Federation (though in somewhat changed form), and because of the general trust in Sir Roy Welensky in particular, we look for a United Federal Party victory.

Statements Worth Noting

"We have no leaders these days having the courage to call a spade a spade".—Mr. C. M. Ralli.

"I regard British policy in Kenya as abhorrent".—Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa.

"Our main task is to get rid of shabby houses and clothes".—Mr. Rashidi Abdallah, regional commissioner for the Tanga Region of Tanganyika, on taking up his office.

"Self-help schemes should be undertaken by all who will benefit from them, irrespective of their job or race".—Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, Prime Minister of Tanganyika.

"When I was in London I met Soviet agents and arranged for 30 more scholarships for students from Kenya".—Mr. Oginga Odinga, vice-president of the Kenya African National Union.

"In the Aberdares region of Kenya the return of millable wheat did not exceed one bag per acre. In the Naivasha area some 40,000 acres produced an even smaller yield".—Standard Bank report.

"We should not pass regulations which the people do not understand. The chiefs themselves do not understand some of the laws we pass here".—Mr. G. B. K. Mageri, M.N.A., Uganda.

"Nothing is more likely to inspire confidence overseas than the success of the voluntary effort of the people of Tanganyika to help themselves".—Mr. J. F. Lloyd, chairman of the Tanganyika Sugar Growers Association.

"In the circumstances of Tanganyika today it is more important to lend money to 100 farmers to buy ploughs than to lend the same amount of money to one farmer for a tractor".—Mr. Derek Bryceson, Minister of Agriculture.

"The British Resident in Zanzibar did not know of the decision of the East African Common Services Organization to close the Marine Fisheries Station in Zanzibar until a month after it had been taken, and then from another source".—Mr. Clyde Sanger, telegraphing from Nairobi to the *Guardian*.

Notes By The Way

Public Gravely Misled

TWENTY MEN AND WOMEN prominent in one or more aspects of public life have signed a seriously misleading statement which has been advertised in the *Observer* under the heading "Fair Trial in Southern Rhodesia". Yet they could scarcely have written in the same space anything less fair to that Colony. Among the signatories of a deplorably inaccurate pronouncement were Lord Longford and Lord Poole, the Bishops of Chichester and Manchester, Bishop Ambrose Reeves and Canon L. J. Collins, Sir Maurice Bowra, Sir Jock Campbell, Sir Kenneth Grubb, and Sir Stephen King-Hall, such Parliamentarians as Mr. Dingle Foot and Mr. Harold Wilson, such other publicists as Mr. Frank Cousins, Mr. John Freeman, and Mr. Victor Gollancz, and, more surprisingly, Colonel David Stirling and Colonel Laurens van der Post. These last two, at least, and I should have thought most of the others, might have been expected to know that they were being asked to sponsor gross and grave inaccuracies—against which the *Observer* is not willing to have its readers warned, for it has declined to publish a protest in the following terms sent to it by the editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA:—

Protest Not Published

"SINCE YOU ASSUREDLY assume responsibility for the content of your advertisements, I hope that you will allow me to refer to the many inaccuracies and innuendoes in the advertisement in your last issue headed 'Fair Trial in Southern Rhodesia'. The stated object was to appeal for funds to 'provide for the legal defence of those in Southern Africa who are accused of offending against racist legislation, and to aid their families and dependents'. Would you or the signatories name any persons who are accused of 'offending against racist legislation'? I know of none, or of 'racist legislation' against which any of those recently arrested might be thought to have offended—for the simple reason that the policy of both the Federal Government and the Southern Rhodesian Government is to establish a non-racial State. Enormous strides have been made in that direction, and legal racial barriers are fast disappearing. In case anyone should interpret 'racist legislation' as meaning the franchise qualifications, it should be stated that they apply to everybody—white, black, and brown—and that the purpose is to guarantee the maintenance of the standards of civilization already attained. It is necessary, moreover, to emphasize that the qualifications were approved by the Opposition (African) leaders. As they are in the true interests of all the people, they can scarcely be deemed 'racist' by any person of impartial judgment. Since there is no longer any 'racist legislation' in the Federation, nobody, I repeat, can have 'offended' against it, and there can consequently be no need for legal defence on that score.

Through Terrorism to Power

"THE ADVERTISEMENT states that 'the situation in Southern Rhodesia deteriorates rapidly. If the Government persists in banning all legitimate African opposition to its racist policies, and the African-accused cannot rely upon receiving justice in the courts, embittered violence may become inevitable'. That statement about the proscription of all legitimate African opposition—presumably referring to the action taken first against the National Democratic Party and lately

against the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union—is grossly misleading. Those parties were banned only after they had conducted long campaigns of intimidation and violence, which included murder (sometimes by pouring petrol over non-compliant Africans and burning them alive), arson, assaults, and destruction of property, including churches, hospitals, dispensaries, schools, and the homes and shops of Africans whose only offence was to refuse to do the bidding of political thugs. Some of the African political leaders have declared themselves and their parties to be non-violent, but such protestations were almost always quickly corrected by verbal violence from other leaders. In any event, exhortations to non-violence had no effect. Party officials (as elsewhere in Africa) were evidently convinced that terrorism was the quick way to power.

Misrepresentation in Britain

"FEW CIVILIZED countries would have tolerated their terrorism for so long as Southern Rhodesia has done. Has Britain not legislated against the activities of certain political movements?—which have not indulged in horrors comparable with those chargeable to Z.A.P.U.; and the violence attributable to the N.D.P. and Z.A.P.U. was certainly directed from above, not the spontaneous protest of a frustrated population. But for its intimidation Z.A.P.U. would have been seen to represent only a small minority of the Africans of Southern Rhodesia. What scarcely anybody in this country seems to understand is that Africans constitute more than half the membership of the Government party, the United Federal Party, which is in fact the only party in the Colony widely representative of both Europeans and Africans. The enlightened and courageous policies of the Federal and Southern Rhodesian Governments, which deserve the admiration of the people of Britain, are unhappily misrepresented almost daily in the United Kingdom Press and by a few indefatigable but wholly unreliable speakers and broadcasters."

Z.A.P.U. Violence

SINCE THAT LETTER was sent a friend newly arrived from Southern Rhodesia has told me that on the Sunday before last, as a direct consequence of the removal of intimidation by Z.A.P.U., only about 40 Africans attended a political meeting near Salisbury while more than 4,000 felt free to follow their inclination and see a football match. A few weeks earlier, it will be recalled, an African who declined to join the crowd herded to a Z.A.P.U. meeting in the same locality, insisting that he preferred football, was killed for his demonstration of independence. My friend, who has been on duty as a special constable in African townships near Salisbury, is emphatic that the Africans are immensely relieved at the action of the Government in proscribing Z.A.P.U. and removing the pressure of the party thugs, who had made life intolerable not only for adult males and their wives, but even for young children, many of whom were badly beaten and many more threatened merely because their parents had resisted the blackmail by which Z.A.P.U. raised funds, collected crowds, and purported to carry African support. Any signatory of the *Observer* advertisement who was unaware of such facts as the above must be highly selective in his or her reading, for there cannot be any daily newspaper in London or the provinces which has not published in recent months at least some reports of Z.A.P.U. violence in Southern Rhodesia.

Federation's Progress by Merit Thwarts Pan-African Cynics

Sir Roy Welensky's Speech to South African Institute of International Affairs

PAN-AFRICANISM and its sponsor at the United Nations, the Afro-Asian bloc, intend that Africa shall be governed by black men and black men only, come what may, and its leaders have boundless ambition in that direction. From the inception of the Federation in 1953 we have stood in its way, because of its purely racial concept and practice. Our non-racial approach not only thwarts their ambition but embarrasses them as well.

South Africa remains the ultimate target, but the leaders of pan-Africanism have had to change their strategy towards this country, and also to some extent towards the Portuguese provinces in Africa. They now consider it necessary first to break up the Federation, to gain control of as many of the fragments as possible, and thereafter to set about our neighbours to the south, east and west once more. They believe that they must first crack us to get you, and they are busy trying to do this.

I intend to draw no comparison whatsoever between the policy you follow here in South Africa and the policy we follow in the Federation. Each has its virtues and each has its defects, but I can say this about South Africa's chosen way of life, as a statement of fact to give emphasis to a point I wish to make: your policy is so clearly divorced from the thinking of the Afro-Asians and their pan-African wards on this continent that the issues about South Africa, especially in the debates of the United Nations Organization, are clear cut. Ours are not. We are not yet fully independent, and to this extent we cannot conduct our own case. We must depend to some degree on what willingness and what resolution others choose to display in making our case for us.

Lowered Standards, Corruption, Oppression

The policy we follow is one of progress based on merit, not race, and we are determined that, despite present imperfections, in the course of time merit and merit alone shall be the criterion in the public life of the Federation. This policy is extremely hard to gainsay, and we present a problem to the pan-Africanists.

In the short term they may be able to get away with their promises of what the political kingdom will bring; but in the long term — and it is already upon some of them — lowered standards, corruption, and the terrible oppression which the African has shown he can wreak upon the African bring disillusionment. Only the ignorant and cynical can now go on claiming that the pan-Africanists have a better, more honest way of life to offer than we have. This is the truth, but pan-Africanism goes on with scant regard for truth. Nevertheless, one result has been to force them time and again to show their true colours as pure racialists.

Another result has been that we are now being pressed to go faster in our progress towards multi-racialism, to lower standards, and to bring the African into the public life of our country at an ever increasing pace without regard to his ability — for this is the only way our opponents can get around the logic and the morality of the stand we have taken.

The evidence of the progress of eight years is there for all to see. Never mind how much or little money there is to spend on schools, how long it takes to train an engineer or a doctor; never mind the backwardness of the vast majority of our African people and especially their womenfolk; never mind the political uncertainty, which has been forced upon us in Central Africa, itself gravely retards development and discourages investment, from which alone we can derive the resources we need for African advancement: the demand is that we go faster.

Those who direct pan-Africanism deliberately disregard all the essentials of real progress, and, again in the short term,

they can afford to do so, because it is unfortunately true that to many ordinary Africans these are not recognized as essential. They will accept that it takes a year or so to train as a mechanic, but they cannot see why it should take years of experience to become a competent civil servant, or more than six weeks to learn to be a diplomat; and the qualifications they seem to require of a politician or a Prime Minister are strange, to say the least.

I speak of these people in no unkindly way, but with an awareness of how great our task still is in the Federation, and how grave an injustice the pan-African leaders are inflicting upon their own people.

In the campaign against the Federation the old standbys — the Africa Bureau, the long-haired gentry, and the like — are as enthusiastic as ever, and about as effective; but the pan-Africanists have developed other weapons to a considerable extent in the past 18 months.

Propaganda Danger

U.N.O., with 110 members and a majority of Afro-Asian members, is today in the hands of a highly organized clique whenever pan-African issues come under consideration — which, they see to it, is often; and that clique is now trying to convert the force of words and propaganda into a physical power which they want to see intervene in the affairs of countries such as ours. The Charter of U.N.O. does not provide for this, and although the lessons of the Congo fiasco are beginning to be appreciated by the more responsible nations — and by those who have had to pay for it — this trend must be watched. Its implications are wide, and the threat it contains is by no means confined to us in Africa.

Thus in U.N.O. the Federation is already on trial, by those whose qualifications to sit in judgement scarcely bear scrutiny. Of the 61 member States which first voted to bring Southern Rhodesia into the issue, 22 are dictatorships, 23 do not even honour their subscriptions to U.N.O., and two tolerate slavery in this year of grace.

Within the councils of the Commonwealth itself the principle that Commonwealth countries do not interfere with each other's internal affairs or politics was abandoned at the last meeting which South Africa attended. The old and valuable concept of a Cabinet of Commonwealth Heads of State has gone by the board. Press conferences and hand outs of set speeches are now the order, and this year's conference made it clear that these meetings have now taken on certain characteristics which U.N.O. has developed in recent years.

In all this there is a real threat to the future of the Commonwealth association and to the ability of its leaders to meet to discuss matters of common concern. Which of its present members would like to see what happened to South Africa happen to it? Yet which of its members is perfect?

Skeletons in Commonwealth Cupboards

The affairs of Ghana are too well known to need recounting, but there is scarcely a Commonwealth country without an embarrassing skeleton in its cupboard. Two have restrictive immigration policies which take account of colour. In one a third of the population is deprived of the vote on grounds of race. Sheer hypocrisy attaches to the external policy of at least one other.

The Federation's fault is not that it does not subscribe to the Commonwealth ideal; it is that it stands in the path of pan-Africanist ambition, and because the meetings of the Commonwealth Heads of State are in danger of becoming yet another forum for its spokesmen, it may well be that attempts will shortly be made to exclude us from these conferences.

Our problem in the Federation resolves itself into several parts. First, we have to resist this force of pan-Africanism — no easy task — because it is purely racialist and out to sweep the white man from control of any part of Africa; it is interested neither in logic nor in standards of civilization, and it is prepared to go for power whatever the cost to the ordinary man. It is heavily backed from outside the borders of our country. It has harnessed the forces of propaganda to a remarkable degree, and it has enjoyed some 10 years of fashion and sympathy, especially with those who have wanted a plausible excuse for getting out of their commitments on this continent.

(Continued on page 225)

Non-Racial "Nationalism" Only Solution for Southern Rhodesia

Sir Edgar Whitehead's Optimism Fully Supported by Sir Roy Welensky

UTTER DISASTER would be the lot of the inhabitants of all three territories of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland were it to be completely broken up, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Edgar Whitehead, said in London on Tuesday before flying back to Salisbury after his visit to the United Nations.

Such a move would make no sense at all, for the three countries were essentially inter-dependent with their common services, currency and a common market for each other's industries. The removal of those ties would mean loss of efficiency and increased costs, to say the least.

If the Federation could not continue in today's precise form, it was absolutely necessary that an alternative system that was workable and acceptable should be found to accommodate the major changes that were bound to be required. Balkanization had to be fought against. He was in full agreement with the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, that dissolution of the Federation would be tragic.

Colour Wholly Irrelevant

For his own part of the Federation, Southern Rhodesia, he was wholly optimistic that once his party was returned to power at the general election next month it would be able to effect its genuinely non-racial policies, and that would set the country on the right road for long-term prosperity. There had sometimes been violent right-wing European opposition, but the young people of the country realized that his approach offered the only hope of happiness. He envisaged a fully non-racial State in which Rhodesians would initiate and continue developments in concert with their fellow Rhodesians. Colour would be wholly irrelevant.

Overseas commentators often portrayed Sir Roy Welensky unfairly as a reactionary in contrast to his (Sir Edgar's) "liberal" moves. But Sir Roy Welensky gave him his full moral support on the new Constitution and for future plans, and had campaigned on his behalf.

Given reasonable immunity from outside pressures, the object would be achieved: to establish a community run by men according to their abilities, with the full participation of all four racial groups in every sphere of the country's activities, until the stage could be reached when politics themselves would be divided on the normal economic differences and not on racial lines.

Worse Than Congo

Were an African Government to take over now, the resulting collapse would be worse for both Africans and Europeans than even the Congo situation might suggest. To prepare for an African majority within 15 years, however, was not mere guesswork. That time was essential for the Africans to acquire the fullest training and best qualifications available in local government, industry, labour, trade unionism, management, the public service and politics.

Over 70 years predominantly European effort had built up an advanced economy. Political interest among Africans had become evident only seven years ago, and was still by no means widespread. The day-to-day problems of farming and schools were considered of

greater import, with little bother about who organized improvements, as long as they were tackled.

To force the pace now would destroy what had already been developed. Sir Edgar was not at all frightened at the thought of an African majority ruling the country. What was alarming was that it might be produced by revolution instead of through evolution. The mass of the African people were satisfied that his aims were worthwhile, and he would pursue them firmly by inculcating a new nationalism based on Southern Rhodesians as one people, regardless of colour. It should be remembered that Africans comprised one-third of his party caucus.

"African" African Policies Incompatible

Answering questions, Sir Edgar said that he had stated three years ago that were "extreme African nationalist Governments" to assume power in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, he could not see how the Federation could continue. That was because such Governments would be "African African" groupings which would be incompatible with Southern Rhodesia's non-racial structure. Jobs in all walks of life in the Colony were to be filled by local people according to ability and regardless of their colour, but under an "African African" Government the policy would be to fill every possible post only with black Africans unless such personnel could not possibly be obtained.

Really enthusiastic nationalist supporters in Southern Rhodesia numbered no more than about 6,000. A considerably larger number was sympathetic and would probably vote for such a party. Possession of a nationalist party membership card was no guide, however, for many people had been forced to buy them as an insurance against threats, boycotts of their businesses, and actual intimidation. Many of his own party's African members also held nationalist party cards so that they could produce them on demand.

Nationalist support followed the pattern to be found in other African countries—strong in the townships and the nearby areas, but becoming increasingly weak the further one penetrated into rural districts.

Between 13,000 and 13,500 Africans had registered to vote in next month's election, despite the most strenuous opposition from the African nationalist party. The number should have been higher: he had hoped for 50,000 African electors.

He had not pressed for increased registration since the banning of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union because the rolls had been closed at the end of August and those who enrolled afterwards would not be able to vote next month. After the elections he would press for more Africans to register.

Safeguarding Minority Rights

Those already registered on the lower roll were also entitled to vote on the upper roll, which they could influence to the extent of 20%. That gave them a really substantial say, and any European who repelled African voters would be very heavily penalized.

The Constitution contained its own provisions for any amendments that changes in the state of the country might require. Legislation could not be introduced, for example, to reduce or disenfranchise the Africans politically except through a referendum in which the four racial groups would vote separately, and a negative vote from any one sector would immediately preclude the introduction of such measures. It was intended that racial discrimination in public places would be deemed a criminal offence—a provision that no other country had yet provided.

The referendum method, coupled with direct appeal to the courts, which currently acted as a safeguard for the African political minority's rights, would eventually work the same way for the European, Asian and mixed races as the African majority grew. Sir Edgar said that he was rather proud of the device, which he had contrived himself as a "unique" means of preserving entrenched safeguards in a manner that, short of revolution, really would ensure that they operated fully to protect minority rights.

Sir Edgar has had several talks with Mr. Butler, Minister for Central Africa.

Northern Rhodesia's First Slide-Rule General Election

U.F.P. Win 15 Seats, U.N.I.P. 14, A.N.C. 5, and 10 National Seat Contests Are Frustrated

THE UNITED FEDERAL PARTY in Northern Rhodesia, led by Mr. John Roberts, has won 15 seats in the general election held on Tuesday of last week.

The United National Independence Party, led by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, has won 14 seats, and the African National Congress, led by Mr. Harry Nkumbula, five. The special Asian seat was won by Mr. Kashibhai Patel, an Independent backed by U.N.I.P.

Ten of the 18 Liberal Party candidates lost their deposits. Both Barotse National Party candidates were heavily beaten.

The Governor, Sir Evelyn Hone, announced on Friday that he had accepted the resignations of the three Liberal Party Ministers and would set up a care-taker Government, with portfolios held by four civil servants and one nominated African member until after the 11 by-elections that will be held on December 10. He said that he could not ask any party leader to form a Government unless the party commanded at least 23 of the 45 seats in the Legislative Council.

Mr. Nkumbula has had lengthy discussions with Mr. Roberts and Mr. Kaunda on the possibility of forming a Coalition Government. His conditions for aligning his party with U.N.I.P. (which was set up four years ago by a breakaway from the A.N.C.) are that "if Kaunda and his henchmen made a statement unreservedly condemning Communism and the use of violence and intimidation, I could join them".

As to the U.F.P., "if they stated that they wanted to see the end of political federation and its replacement with only an economic association, I could join them".

Mr. Nkumbula said that he had also had talks with President Tshombe of Katanga about that province's possible secession from the Congo to become linked with an independent Northern Rhodesia.

Later Mr. Kaunda issued this statement: "I believe that both Mr. Nkumbula and myself should forget the bitterness of the past and do what we can to establish majority rule in this country. I ask him to work with me to form a Government which can break the Federation and establish a democratic Constitution. If the African parties co-operate in this hour we can break the stranglehold of the U.F.P. We have a duty to the country which is above party differences. It is essential we should honour that duty".

The U.N.I.P. leader claimed that the election results showed that there was an urgent need for fresh constitutional talks. He said that in his heart of hearts he had known that he would fail to gain any significant European support. He blamed the U.F.P. for having built up over the years barriers through which there was no passing, "though no one can accuse us of not having tried".

Voting passed off without incident, with a high poll among 92,255 African and 37,330 European voters. Apart from the middle roll national constituencies, U.N.I.P. received some 65,000 votes; the U.F.P. 22,000, and the A.N.C. 17,000.

To prevent impersonations, voters had to dip their thumbs in specially prepared red ink, which remained indelible for two days. Two Europeans in Lusaka, including Mr. Colin Cunningham, a former leader of the Rhodesia Republican Party, refused to comply. Mr. Cunningham complaining that it was a trespass against his person. Neither man was allowed to vote.

In Elisabethville, Katanga, the British Consul had to be admitted to hospital after being stoned by a group of Northern Rhodesian Africans who had come to his office to vote. When it was discovered that only 17 out of about 100 persons were eligible (the remainder not having registered) and that the ballot papers had been delayed in the post, they stormed the building. Katangese gendarmerie arrested 15 of the demonstrators after dispersing the crowd with rifle-butts.

The figures given hereunder are based on the latest information available in London as we go to press.

Upper roll results were:—

Broken Hill: H. J. Roberts (U.F.P.), 1,801; I. B. Nkonde (U.N.I.P.), 290; A. Price (Liberal), 35. U.F.P. majority, 1,511. Percentage poll, 84%.

Chingola: S. W. Magnus (U.F.P.), 1,668; C. M. Morris (Independent), 646. U.F.P. majority, 1,022; 92%.

Eastern Rural: A. E. Carlisle (U.F.P.), 1,243; H. W. Gardner (U.N.I.P.), 555; Mrs. E. Randolph (A.N.C.), 201; O. C. Carruthers (Lib.), 195. U.F.P. majority, 688.

Kitwe East: J. J. Steyn (U.F.P.), 2,328; G. E. Mushikwa (U.N.I.P.), 179; Mrs. J. Percy (Lib.), 60. U.F.P. majority, 2,149; 95%.

Kitwe West: H. J. E. Stanley (U.F.P.), 1,936; U. G. Mwila (U.N.I.P.), 311; K. A. Mills (Lib.), 103. U.F.P. majority, 1,625.

Livingstone: a by-election will be held on December 10 because of the death of the U.N.I.P. candidate.

Luanshya-Kansenji: C. D. Burney (U.F.P.), 1,638; T. L. Desai (U.N.I.P.), 390; M. W. Wijnberg (Lib.), 191. U.F.P. majority, 1,248.

Lusaka East: G. N. Musumbulwa (U.F.P.), 1,806; Mrs. R. Allard (Lib.), 297; S. A. Wateridge (Ind.), 236; Mrs. L. Terry (A.N.C.), 79; F. J. G. Triegaardt (Rhodesia Republican Party), 27. U.F.P. majority, 1,509; 91.7%.

Lusaka West: H. R. E. Mitchley (U.F.P.), 1,607; E. Kreft (Ind.), 633; G. S. Mwanza (A.N.C.), 182; S. Hutt (Lib.), 122. U.F.P. majority, 974; 90.5%.

Mufulira: P. J. Wulff (U.F.P.), 2,224; A. C. Stevens (Ind.), 337. U.F.P. majority, 1,887; 93.8%.

Ndola East: T. P. V. Lawler (U.F.P.), 1,728; T. M. D. Mtine (U.N.I.P.), 221; C. D. Smith (Lib.), 214. U.F.P. majority, 1,507; 89.9%.

Northern Rural: J. M. Mwanakatwe (U.N.I.P.), 1,172; V. A. Shone (A.N.C.), 297; U. J. Moffat (Ind.), 140. U.N.I.P. majority, 875.

Roan: H. J. Liebenberg (U.F.P.), 1,564; M. K. Nayooto (U.N.I.P.), 309; W. Kirby (Lib.), 67. U.F.P. majority, 1,255; 83%.

Southern Rural: J. J. Burnside (U.F.P.), 588; M. M. Nalungwe (U.N.I.P.), 491; G. A. Patel (A.N.C.), 296; R. Harvey (Lib.), 42; C. E. Kirstein (R.R.P.), 38. U.F.P. majority, 97; 87.8%.

Western Rural: N. Coates (U.F.P.), 1,427; J. W. Shaw (U.N.I.P.), 601; R. E. Farmer (Lib.), 78. U.F.P. majority, 826; 91.3%.

Lower roll results:—

Bangweulu: K. D. Kaunda (U.N.I.P.), 4,347; H. Kasokola (A.N.C.), 229. U.N.I.P. majority, 4,118.

Barotseland East: A. N. L. Wina (U.N.I.P.), 1,057; F. L. Suu (Barotse National Party), 655. U.N.I.P. majority, 992; 81.4%.

Barotseland West: M. Nalilungwe (U.N.I.P.), 688; G. M. Mukande (B.N.P.), 69; I. M. Singulwani (A.N.C.), 42; B. M. Akombelwa (Lib.), 35. U.N.I.P. majority, 619; 77.5%.

Copperbelt Central: A. G. Zulu (U.N.I.P.), 14,371; L. B. Lombe (A.N.C.), 1,947; E. M. Daimon (U.F.P.), 100. U.N.I.P. majority, 12,424.

Copperbelt East: J. Chisata (U.N.I.P.), 11,896; S. P. Chanda (A.N.C.), 829. U.N.I.P. majority, 11,067; 88.2%.

Copperbelt West: S. Wina (U.N.I.P.), 5,217; N. J. Chindefu (A.N.C.), 225. U.N.I.P. majority, 4,992.

Eastern: W. P. Nyirenda (U.N.I.P.), 1,655; J. S. Soko (A.N.C.), 792; N. D. Chabinga (Lib.), 31. U.N.I.P. majority, 863; 89%.

Lusaka Rural: E. M. Liso (A.N.C.), 1,606; S. Kalulu (U.N.I.P.), 1,061; M. J. Nkabika (U.F.P.), 28. A.N.C. majority, 535; 84%.

Midlands: E. H. K. Mudenda (U.N.I.P.), 7,198; J. E. M. Michello (A.N.C.), 3,280. U.N.I.P. majority, 4,539; 81.8%.

Muchinga: A. M. Milner (U.N.I.P.), 2,742; C. Sinyangwe (A.N.C.), 55; G. M. Kabichi (U.F.P.), 28. U.N.I.P. majority, 2,687; 91.4%.

Northern: S. M. Kapwepwe (U.N.I.P.), 3,840; D. I. Yamba (A.N.C.), 87; D. B. Lisuba (U.F.P.), 24. U.N.I.P. majority, 3,753; 89.8%.

North-Western: S. C. Mbelishi (U.N.I.P.), 1,419; C. S. Chizawu (A.N.C.), 264; Y. Chikombe (Lib.), 17. U.N.I.P. majority, 1,155.

South-Eastern: R. C. Kamanga (U.N.I.P.), 1,468; H. A. Thornicroft (A.N.C.), 688. U.N.I.P. majority, 780; 86.2%.

Southern: C. J. A. Banda (A.N.C.), 2,300; H. G. Habanyama (U.N.I.P.), 1,452. A.N.C. majority, 848; 88.6%.

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PERSONALIA

MR. REX REYNOLDS is in London from Southern Rhodesia.

SIR GLYN JONES, Governor of Nyasaland, has arrived in London.

SIR PATRICK RENISON, Governor of Kenya, has arrived in London for talks at the Colonial Office.

MR. MASINDE MULIRO, Kenya's Minister of Commerce and Industry, has been in London for a few days.

SIR EUGENE MILLINGTON-DRAKE gave a dinner party on Monday at the Garrick Club for the EARL OF INCHCAPE.

The Rt. Rev. OLIVER GREEN-WILKINSON, Anglican Archbishop of Central Africa, has arrived in London on leave.

LADY MURIEL ANNE MAUD CAINE, wife of SIR SYDNEY CAINE, left £24,546, on which duty of £2,935 has been paid.

MR. J. F. LIPSCOMB has resigned for private reasons as chairman of the Board of Agriculture (Scheduled Areas) in Kenya and will return to Britain.

MR. P. V. EMRYS-EVANS, president of the British South Africa (Chartered) Company, has made good progress from his operation and is now convalescing.

PROFESSOR Z. K. MATTHEWS, Africa Secretary of the inter-church aid division of the World Council of Churches, has been visiting Kenya and Northern Rhodesia.

SIR NEIL PRITCHARD, British High Commissioner in Tanganyika, flew back yesterday after consultations during the past week at the Commonwealth Relations Office.

SIR VICTOR ROBINSON, Q.C. formerly Attorney-General in the Federation, has been sworn in as chairman of the Southern Rhodesian 12-man Constitutional Council.

MISS HANNAH STANTON, a British missionary who was deported from South Africa two years ago, is now running a women's hospital for Africans and Asians in Kampala, Uganda.

THE REV. MICHAEL MANSBRIDGE has taken up his appointment at the Royal College as chaplain. MRS. MANSBRIDGE was at one time on the staff of the African Girls' High School at Kikuyu.

PRINCESS ALICE, COUNTESS OF ATHLONE, presented the patron's medal of the Royal Anthropological Society to MRS. BRENDA ZARA SELIGMAN at a dinner in the House of Lords last week.

MR. GRANVILLE ROBERTS, public relations officer to the Chartered Company group, will leave London tomorrow for Lusaka, where he will spend some months. He will be accompanied by Mrs. Roberts.

PROPERTY FOR SALE

WELL-BUILT FAMILY RESIDENCE together with small cottage in lovely Surrey. Close schools and station. Ground floor: study, breakfast and dining rooms, lounge, usual offices, cloakroom, etc. First floor: two bedrooms, each 17 feet 9 inches x 15 feet 6 inches; a third, 22 feet by 10 feet 9 inches; a fourth, 14 feet by 9 feet 9 inches. Wash-basins, built-in wardrobes, bathroom and toilet. Cottage: kitchen, etc. double bedroom, sitting room, bathroom, toilet. Rayburn heated throughout both properties; solid fuel. Gas and electrical points all rooms both properties. Two garage storage sheds, tennis lawn, orchard, well-stocked garden. Price freehold, including fixtures and fittings: £15,500, partly on mortgage if necessary. Low rates.—Box 139, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, 66 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1

MR. G. F. MWENDA is now area commissioner for Dodoma, Tanganyika. Earlier this year he attended a youth leadership course.

MR. T. B. BAZARRABUSA, Uganda High Commissioner in London, gave a reception at the Royal Overseas League last week for the DUKE AND DUCHESS OF KENT after their tour of Uganda for the independence celebrations.

SIR RONALD PRAIN, chairman of the R.S.T. group of Northern Rhodesian companies, was one of the guests of THE QUEEN and the DUKE OF EDINBURGH at a cocktail party held in Buckingham Palace on Monday evening. There were about 60 guests.

MR. C. BERKELEY, of Luanshya, MR. F. LEGG, MR. G. M. KING, MR. N. A. TURNER, and MR. & MRS. J. F. C. SWAN, of Lusaka, DR. W. W. THOMPSON, of Mufulira, and MR. W. W. DAVISON and MR. J. F. VESIY of Mongu are among visitors from Northern Rhodesia now in London.

SIR FERDINAND CAVENDISH-BENTINCK presided at the annual dinner in Nairobi last week of The Green Jackets in East Africa. Others present were MAJOR-GENERAL H. J. MOGG, LIEUT-COLONEL D. R. L. BRIGHT and LIEUT-COLONEL F. E. DRACOTT.

Two of the U.F.P. candidates in the Southern Rhodesian general election next month will be MR. R. G. HOSKIN DAVIES, a past chairman of the Rhodesia Tobacco Association, and MR. P. J. POWER, a former manager of the Argus Press group of newspapers.

SIR RONALD SINCLAIR has been appointed president of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa. He is to be succeeded as Chief Justice of Kenya by SIR (ALFRED) JOHN AINLEY, currently chief justice of the unified judiciary of Sarawak, North Borneo and Brunei, who was a puisne judge in Uganda from 1946 to 1955.

SIR RONALD PRAIN, chairman and president of the Rhodesian Selection Trust, Ltd., spoke to a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies in London last week on "Economic Priorities in Central Africa". MR. BRIAN F. MACDONA, general manager of Barclays Bank D.C.O., was in the chair.

Visitors from the Federation now in the United Kingdom include MR. D. G. DOBELL, MR. & MRS. W. L. HOLDEN, MR. P. L. LINDSELL, MR. J. M. MACDONALD, MR. J. O. MEEHAN, MR. W. A. N. PITCH, MR. J. C. STEELE, MR. J. W. SWAN, MR. & MRS. P. D. SMITH, MR. & MRS. H. H. TAYLOR, MR. & MRS. R. F. WILSON, and MR. W. H. YOELL.

A conference of the Metal Industries group of companies held last week in Folkestone was attended by, among others, SIR CHARLES WESTLAKE, the chairman, LORD COLYTON, a director, and Messrs. W. HADLEY, J. M. HALL, and HERACE WHITE, all of whom worked at one time in East Africa, and MR. D. E. WHITTON, group representative in Central Africa. He will return from the United Kingdom about November 22.

MR. DONALD C. BAKER, a London director of the East African Power & Lighting Company, Ltd., and MR. G. E. WYATT, managing director designate of the company, will leave London tomorrow by air for Nairobi. At the beginning of next year MR. WYATT will take over from MR. A. J. DEN SMALL as managing director. MR. BAKER will also revisit Tanganyika, and then go on to Nyasaland in his capacity as chairman of the British Central Africa Co. Ltd. He is due back in London on December 9.

Mrs. Gray

Mrs. Vera Francis Gray, wife of Mr. J. A. Gray, managing director of Southern Africa and father of Mr. Alan Gray, editor of this journal, has died in a London hospital after a short illness.

New Commonwealth Institute Opened Queen's Reference to "Thread of Personal Concern"

THE QUEEN, who was accompanied by Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, opened on Tuesday afternoon the new Commonwealth Institute, which abuts High Street, Kensington.

The building, unlike anything else in London, is most successful, taking the form of circular galleries one above another, so that from any point the visitor can glimpse a wide variety of displays, many of them colourful and arresting. It is like being under a "big top".

The sections devoted to the Federation and East Africa are striking.

The Queen said:—

"It is just 75 years since my great-great-grandmother, Queen Victoria, laid the foundation-stone of the old Imperial Institute. Since that great occasion the development of the Institute into its present form as the Commonwealth Institute has mirrored the development of the Commonwealth itself.

"Seventy-five years ago it was the Queen-Empress and the Imperial Institute; today it is the Head of the Commonwealth opening the new building of the Commonwealth Institute—for the Empire has been transformed into a Commonwealth of equal and independent nations. Only a tiny proportion of its total population lives in independent or trust territories. The constitutional pattern has undergone an immense change, but the spirit and the ideals and the genuine friendship of its members remain the same.

"Contributions for the original building, came from all quarters of the globe; and that same generosity and spirit of co-operation have prompted the wonderful contributions in cash and in kind for this new building. In fact, the realization of this whole venture is convincing proof of the success of the Institute in the past and of the faith in the future of the Commonwealth shared by all its members.

"I suppose that between us my husband and I have seen more of the Commonwealth than almost any people alive. To us its diversity and unity, and the friendliness of all its many peoples, are alive and real. Unfortunately, it is not possible for all the people of Britain to travel quite so extensively; but this building provides the next best thing.

Bringing the Commonwealth to Life

"It has assembled the Commonwealth under one roof. Its imaginative design and lively exhibits will give the Institute much better opportunities than ever before to make the Commonwealth come alive for all who enter within its doors.

"The facts and figures about this building are very interesting, as is the technical description of the shape of its roof, but the really important statistics are those concerning the people whom the Institute reaches. The old building attracted 45,000 school children every year, and 15,000 students and teachers came for courses and conferences. Even more important is the audience of over one million who attend the 9,000 talks arranged annually all over the country by the Institute. These are impressive figures; and I am sure that this new headquarters will inspire their very rapid increase in the future.

"We in the Commonwealth form an association of peoples as well as of Governments; and our association cannot prosper to the full unless ordinary people in each country really care about what is happening in the others. It is the thread of personal concern and understanding between individual people that weaves the strong fabric of the modern Commonwealth. It is in the name of all the peoples of the Commonwealth that I declare this building open."

Sir Edward Boyle, M.P. Minister of Education, had said:—

"This Institute has had a varied history. Its main purpose originally was to act as a centre for information and investigation concerning trade and industry. At the great inaugural City meeting in January, 1887, T. H. Huxley said that he regarded the proposed Institute as 'the public and ceremonial marriage of science and industry', following an increasingly intimate flirtation over the previous 30 years.

"In the period up to the Second World War the Institute became renowned for the scientific service it provided, including the supply of commercial and technical information and the analysis of raw materials. At the end of the war the Government decided to take over all the scientific side of the

work. The purposes of the Institute were re-defined, largely in educational terms, and responsibility for it was transferred from the Board of Trade to the Ministry of Education. As the report of the 1952 Committee put it, 'the main emphasis should shift from products to persons'.

"I am sure that we have all welcomed this shift of emphasis. The inner strength of the Commonwealth lies in its people. My own concern as Minister of Education is to arouse the interest of boys and girls from their early years in the Commonwealth story, with all its variety and colour. On the foundation of that interest we want to give them some ideas of the unique position of the Commonwealth in the world today, and of its future as a living and developing partnership.

"Above all, we want them to be able to think in practical terms about the many nations which make up the Commonwealth today. In this connexion, one of the very best sources of help for the schools is the Commonwealth Institute.

"The change in the functions of the Institute is being matched by a change in the type of building which houses it. Whatever its architectural merits, the old building was wasteful of space and quite unsuited to the Institute's present purposes. In its place we have a building of the most contemporary design combining beauty with efficiency. The ode on the opening in 1893 referred to 'the airy domes and towers'; now we have no towers, but we have obtained an effect no less 'airy' by means of a roof composed of five hyperbolic parabolooids.

Participation by Every Commonwealth Country

"It has been essentially a Commonwealth enterprise. The copper covering for the roof above our heads and the timber for the floor are both gifts from overseas. Every single Government in the Commonwealth including of course Your Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has contributed to the building and its embellishments or to the exhibitions that it contains.

"Queen Victoria opened the original building. Despite changes of location and function, the ultimate purpose of the Institute has never altered. In the faith that in its new home the Institute will be better able to serve the interests of the Commonwealth, I invite Your Majesty to open this building."

Sir James Robertson, chairman of the board of governors, said:—

"Since the founding of the Institute at the time of Queen Victoria's Jubilee the Royal family has always shown the warmest interest in the work which the Institute has tried to do, and it is a new and compelling inspiration to us who are carrying on the work that Your Majesty and His Royal Highness should signify to us that we still have the interest and support of the Royal family with us.

"Our responsibilities at the Institute in terms of the Commonwealth today are greater than ever before and our duty as laid down by King Edward VII when Prince of Wales 'to serve the interests of the entire Empire and to promote a feeling of unity among the whole of Her Majesty's subjects' is, with the wording altered to fit the modern Commonwealth, as pressing as ever.

"We hope that the exhibitions will give the visitor some idea of the variety of cultures and civilizations to be found in the Commonwealth, and that they will succeed in bringing the people of other Commonwealth countries closer to the people of Britain; and that the same will be true of the work which we do all over the country in colleges and schools.

Dispelling Doubts and Fears

"Only by greater mutual knowledge and understanding between the various peoples of the Commonwealth can the links of fellowship and friendliness be increased and strengthened. This is the aim of the governors of the Institute, and it is our fervent hope that what we do here in London may inspire other Commonwealth countries to establish similar centres of information and instruction, where their peoples too may learn about this country and the other nations of the Commonwealth.

"If we are in any way to succeed in carrying out these aims, then to Your Majesty's visit today and to the attendance at this ceremony of so many distinguished people from this country and from our sister Commonwealth nations will be due the inspiration which we need for our great task.

"Doubts and fears have recently been expressed about the Commonwealth's future. Surely this great new building, the co-operation of so many Governments and people in its building and furnishing, and this gathering in themselves refute any idea that the Commonwealth ideal is out of date. They are proof that people here and overseas believe in the Commonwealth and are willing to work together to strengthen the cultural and spiritual ties which link us all together."

All the flowers for the floral decorations and for the bouquet presented to the Queen had been flown from Kenya.

Nyasaland Delegation in London

Africans Not Paying Their Taxes

WITH THE ARRIVAL on Tuesday of Dr. Hastings Banda, Minister of Local Government, Natural Resources and Surveys in Nyasaland, and leader of the Malawi Congress Party, discussions have begun in London in connexion with the Nyasaland Constitutional conference which will open in Marlborough House next Tuesday under the Minister for Central Africa Affairs, Mr. R. A. Butler.

The M.C.P. members accompanying Dr. Banda are Mr. Kanyama Chiume, Education Minister; Mr. Willie Chokani, Labour Minister; Mr. Orton Chirwa, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Justice; Mr. J. Tembo, M.L.C. for Dedza; and Mr. I. K. Surtee, M.L.C. for Central Districts.

The three United Federal Party delegates are the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. M. H. Blackwood (Blantyre West), Mr. L. A. Little (Shire Highlands), and Mr. R. F. Morgan (Lilongwe Town).

Mr. C. Cameron, the Minister of Works, will attend as the only Independent member of the Legislature.

On his way to London Dr. Banda had talks in Tanganyika with Dr. Julius Nyerere and the Prime Minister, Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, and in Kenya with Kenyatta, president of the Kenya African National Union, whose supporters carried Dr. Banda on their shoulders when they met him at Nairobi Airport. Assurances of "moral" support were given, but it was stated that Dr. Banda was told that Nyasaland could not be accepted in an East African Federation until it had proved that it could support itself.

Dr. Banda also visited Ethiopia and Egypt. Other members of his delegation went to the Sudan, and Mr. Chiume had talks in Ghana with President Nkrumah.

Changes in Nyasaland

In Nyasaland a new personal tax bill is being introduced under which Africans earning more than £61 a year will have to pay tax on a sliding scale. Exemption may be granted for life or for a particular year on grounds of age, infirmity or sickness. The Government has estimated that European, Asian and African earnings average respectively £1,185, £556, and £51 a year. There are some 9,500 Europeans, 13,200 Asians and other races, and 2,840,000 Africans.

Despite a country-wide "pay your taxes" campaign mounted by the M.C.P., only £374,791 has been collected from Africans this year, some £40,585 less than for last year.

The Education Ministry has announced proposals for establishing a national youth movement to promote social welfare by taking over charitable organizations; it would run a blind school, homecraft training, homes for handicapped people, and many recreational activities.

The Internal Affairs Ministry has stated that Africans who conform to certain sanitary requirements may now live next door to Europeans in previously reserved white residential areas.

Hundreds of Africans in Ndirande village, near Blantyre, are refusing to use a newly installed water tap because it is connected to an extension from the nearby European "Federal" high school. *Malawi News*, the M.C.P. news-sheet, has alleged that the people "suspect that the water is first used for the baths of European scholars before it is sent to Ndirande for drinking". The villagers walk several miles instead to a muddy stream to draw drinking and washing water.

Two African men and a woman said to be a witch have been charged in Blantyre with murdering six men who died of snake venom. The woman has admitted in a preliminary hearing that she prepared the "medicine" to kill victims after a marriage dispute.

KENYA AND ZANZIBAR are among the British Dependencies which will be eligible for associated status within the European Common Market if Britain should join, delegates of the Six and the U.K. have agreed in Brussels. Since Uganda has become independent, its position will be considered later with that of such other independent Commonwealth countries as Ghana and Nigeria. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has not yet been included for examination, since the large degree of commercial autonomy which it enjoys makes it an exception to the other dependent territories.

Too Much Maize in Kenya

Quotas for Large-Scale Growers

HEAVY OVER-PRODUCTION of maize in Kenya on top of last year's crop surplus may require a cess to cover export losses of 11s. or 12s. a bag on the current crop in the scheduled (European) areas, Sir Patrick Renison told farmers last week when he opened a Royal Agricultural Society Show at Kitale. The average over-all payment for the 1962 crop has been fixed at 24s.

"I realise", the Governor said, "that even an increase of 4s. on the provisional price notified to you by the Cereal Producers' Board will come as a sore disappointment to farmers, but unless production by the large growers of maize can in some way be controlled the price must necessarily be depressed. The Government is asking the Cereal Producers' Board to prepare a scheme whereby individual quotas will be allocated to such growers for the 1963 crop.

"After a full discussion in the Council of Ministers, the many complex issues surrounding the maize industry are being further studied by the Ministry of Agriculture, and I hope that as we move to independence we shall be able to devise a system which will have the effect of preserving two main principles—to ensure that normal production is related to the internal needs of the country, for only by this means shall we avoid the recurrence of situations of the kind in which we now find ourselves, and to encourage producers who grow maize in optimum conditions to produce the crop for export.

"Introduction of the new hybrid maizes may mean that for the first time it will become truly economic to grow maize for export in certain circumstances. But if we are to achieve these two seemingly contradictory aims we must revert to a system of individual quotas for the large grower.

"Government is no longer in a position to pay farmers for losses, but a scheme has been devised whereby growers of all ranks who can truly be said to be commercial growers of maize will be enabled to obtain short-term finance. The scheme can cover only maize produced under quota from the scheduled areas.

"Our difficulties in resolving these problems may perhaps cause farmers to fear for the future of the maize industry. I do not share these fears. We have built up over the years a most efficient system of marketing maize, and it would be most unwise to dispense with it altogether. The extent of the differential between the price to the grower and the price to the consumer is often the subject of criticism, but the true differential is not at all unreasonable.

"The charges by the Maize Board for all its work are no more than 4s. a bag, and while the cost of the bag, cesses, transport charges, and the like must increase the differential, it should not be imagined that the maize trade is not run on businesslike principles. It is extremely efficient, and the Maize Board is to be congratulated on its prudence and diligence. I do not know how many Kenya people would have died without its work in last year's drought and floods.

"We cannot afford such surpluses as in the last year. Few growers can afford to grow for export. They must produce at a level which will not be harmful to the interests of their neighbours. It is for this reason that individual quotas are of such importance. Quotas for the large grower will probably have to be maintained after we move into regionalism".

Famine and Flood Costs

FAMINE AND FLOOD RELIEF MEASURES in Kenya have cost £5,289,989, including estimated expenditure of some £250,000 between now and February on work still in progress. Private contributions totalled £240,489, comprising £182,489 from the Famine Relief Appeal Fund, £28,000 from the Forces Famine Appeal Fund, £15,000 from the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, and gifts worth £15,000. The American Agency for International Development provided assistance valued at £3,206,000, including £2,445,000 worth of maize, £499,000 worth of milk powder, and £262,000 worth of vitaminised edible oil. The British Government provided £1,542,000, mainly for the costs of famine relief purchases and distribution, and the Kenya Government voted £31,500. Expenditure by H.M. Forces totalled £270,000.

Vigorous Young Economy Expanding Output Values Increased in S. Rhodesia

SOUTHERN RHODESIA'S ECONOMY has generally expanded during the past four years, the Federal High Commissioner in London, Sir Albert Robinson, stated in a letter to *The Times* last week in which he commented on a report from its Salisbury correspondent on the closure of the *Evening Standard*, the Federation's only daily afternoon newspaper. The report had said that since the newspaper was established four years ago, the Colony's economy had contracted progressively.

"In all three major economic spheres—agriculture, mining and manufacturing—the value of output has increased", Sir Albert continued.

Regarding agriculture, the production of maize by African farmers increased from 536,000 bags in 1958 to 1,186,000 bags in 1961. The gross income from European agriculture, which is the main element in the agricultural money economy, grew from £14,300,000 in 1958 to £25,200,000 in 1961. Sales of the most important crop, tobacco, rose from 147m. lb. in 1958 to 221m. lb. in 1961.

In mining, the index of volume of output rose from 137 in 1958 to 152.5 in 1961, while the total value of mineral production in the Colony rose from £25m. in 1958 to £27m. in 1961.

As regards industry, the gross operating profits from manufacturing in Southern Rhodesia rose from £10,400,000 in 1958 to £12,400,000 in 1961. The index of industrial production (excluding building and construction) for the Federation as a whole increased from 102.9 to 120.8 during the same period.

In building and construction, however, there was a decrease in profits from £4,200,000 in 1958 to £2,300,000 in 1961, and there has also been a drop in employment in this sector in particular.

Since 1958 the gross domestic product *per capita* in Southern Rhodesia has risen from £88 per annum to £94 a year and the average earnings of Africans in employment rose from £79 in 1958 to £95 in 1961.

"These figures reveal that in a generally expanding economy there have developed some weak sectors, particularly building and construction, and the Southern Rhodesia and Federal Governments are admittedly concerned about them. Their attack on the problem is along two fronts—the expansion of industry itself, to absorb labour and raise incomes in urban areas, increased and co-ordinated development of the agricultural sector to bring more subsistence farming into the money economy and to provide more rural employment. The Governments are confident that, with the solid structure that already exists and the resources available for future development, the country's economy will go ahead as successfully as in the past. Confidence in the future is also shown by continued new investment in important industries such as iron and steel, phosphates and fertilizers, motor assembly, textiles, paper and pulp, and the proposed establishment of an oil refinery.

Favourable Balance of Trade

"The Federation has had its share of political problems recently. Despite these pressures the economy has on the whole shown a remarkable resilience with record central bank reserves and highly favourable balance of trade figures.

"The closing of *The Evening Standard*, against the generally favourable economic background, is to be regretted. Your report attributes its failure to the falling off of advertising support. It should be noted that, during the time that *The Evening Standard* has been operating, television has been established and has had exceptional success. It is possible that the decline in advertising revenue for *The Evening Standard* may be due to some extent to the growth of television, which offers an important competitive medium to advertisers. Whatever the reasons, I am sure that neither the publishers of the newspaper nor your correspondent would wish to give inadvertently an unfavourable impression to British investors of Southern Rhodesia's economy. I hold the firm opinion that this vigorous young economy will continue to expand generally, despite temporary setbacks in some sectors during the challenging period of political change through which we are passing in Central Africa."

Convictions for illegal oath-taking among Africans in Kenya increased by nearly 30% last year, states the police annual report.

Visitors to East Africa last year numbered 57,085 (50,652 in 1960), dividing a 16-days' average length of stay into 67% for Kenya, 21% Tanganyika, 10% Uganda, and 1% Zanzibar. They included nearly 25,000 people from Britain and 7,000 Americans.

African Work in Local Government Fostering Community of Interests

MR. B. V. EWING, Minister of Local Government and Native Affairs in Southern Rhodesia, has just made the following statement on local government policy:—

"In the urban areas local government, as distinct from Central Government, should assume responsibility for and make the decisions involved in all matters which are properly the concern of local government. Arrangements should be such that additional functions, and the additional financial powers to meet the obligations traditionally covered by local government in other countries may be devolved on local authorities in Southern Rhodesia.

"The system must foster to the maximum degree a community of interest and the concept of community development and responsibility.

"It is essential that African participation in local government be achieved without delay.

"New local authorities must be established wherever possible in areas where a community of interests exists and where the circumstances otherwise warrant. The less developed areas must be financially assisted by the more developed areas in matters which arise from the development of the area as a whole. Control of finance must be related to the sources from which it is obtained.

Avoiding Racial Conflict for Control

"Local government and local authorities must not be subjected to the destructive influences of racial conflict for control.

"The approach to local government in the urban areas must be based on the fact that, though towns and cities may be composed of different local government entities and communities of economic interest they are interrelated in a number of ways, and that their long-term interests are indivisible.

"Broadly speaking, there are three possible systems of local government for the future in Southern Rhodesia.

"(1) *The Regional Authority system*, in which (a) the constituent local authorities would be responsible for internal planning, services and amenities; a wide franchise could apply for the African townships and community development would be fostered; and (b) a regional authority would be responsible for outline planning, common services (e.g., transport, fire services, housing, etc.), as well as bulk supply of major utilities; representation could be by nomination from the constituent authorities, based on the rateable value of each constituent local authority, with minimum and maximum representation laid down.

"(2) *The Partial Incorporation system*, in which municipal African townships (and possibly some Government African townships) would be incorporated into the municipality, leaving existing perimunicipal town management boards (and possibly some Government African townships) as completely independent authorities.

"The ward system could be applied to the enlarged municipality, but the municipal franchise would have to be brought into line with the town management board franchise.

"If this system is to be adopted there will still be need for some form of co-ordinating machinery to deal with the problems of the urban region as a whole.

"(3) *The Single Local Authority system*, in which each urban area would be formed into a single unitary authority by fusion of the existing authorities. The ward system and the franchise could apply on the same basis as under the partial incorporation plan.

"No single solution may be applicable to every urban centre in Southern Rhodesia and a flexible approach is essential. Local authorities will be asked to meet together in each area as a matter of urgency to examine their local approaches to the general problem in the light of the principles set out above. Consultation with areas which do not yet have local authority status will be essential.

"Should any local authorities put forward proposals for a co-ordinated approach to the overall problems of their entire area, by way of any system other than those outlined above, their proposals will receive the closest possible scrutiny and attention, provided they meet the basic principles and considerations. It is only when arrangement cannot be reached between the interested parties that Government would have to intervene."

An allegation by Mr. Luande, organizing secretary of the Uganda Trades Union Congress, that the Government had secret plans to deprive workers of the right to strike was promptly denied by the Acting Minister of Labour.

Helping Communism in Africa

American Critics of U.N. and U.S.A.

THE UNITED NATIONS — and its apologists in the United States — have embarked on a road in the Congo which can only lead to the triumph of Communism in Africa, says the American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters in a statement which has been given prominence in many American newspapers.

The chairman of the committee is Dr. Max Yergan, a well-known American Negro author and lecturer. On the committee are members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, a former State Governor, and persons prominent in many other spheres in the U.S.A.

In the statement are the following passages:—

"The recent moves by the Congo's Central Government, supported by U.N. military force and United States economic subsidy, to isolate Katanga economically and physically has shocked thinking people throughout the free world. The economic, political and military might of the West is now being utilized to crush a staunch and viable anti-Communist African Government.

"Full support is given to the personal ambitions of Congolese Premier Cyrille Adoula and his Government, which has already proved itself incapable of governing without the support of the U.N. military machine.

President Moise Tshombe Anti-Communist

"In Katanga's President Moise Tshombe the United States has a known quantity. He is a stalwart anti-Communist African leader who has been a consistent friend of our country and has governed Katanga in an efficient and progressive manner. Instead of working with him in an effort to seek a solution to the internal problems of the Congo, we are doing our best to destroy him. Our State Department chooses to support the relatively unknown quantity of Premier Cyrille Adoula's Government, which, we believe, will move ever leftward, or at the best become 'neutralist'. Where is the logic in this?"

"The State Department seems bent on pursuing a suicidal policy in the Congo which can only jeopardize the free world's position throughout the world and endanger our own national security.

"The American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters, made up of thousands of Americans throughout the country, calls on Congress to begin immediately a full-scale public investigation of the State Department's abortive Congo policy before it is too late. Its Congo policy is diametrically counter to American security interests. We do not want another State Department 'success' in the Congo similar to the 'success' in Laos.

U.N. Interference in the Congo Resented

"The future of the United Nations hangs in the balance. The American people are repelled by the arrogant interference of the U.N. in the Congo. The destruction of Katanga's economy, the shooting down of African men, women and children, and the continued provocation which must lead inevitably to a bloody civil war in the Congo — all this is certainly not part of the supposed 'peace-keeping' functions of the United Nations. Further, the American people recognize that in its attempts to crush the Government of Katanga the U.N. is acting in a totally illegal manner from the point of view of accepted international law and even its own resolutions. If this suicidal policy continues, the American people will turn away from the U.N., recognizing that it has become an organization dangerous to our own interests.

"If the U.N. is to survive, it must withdraw immediately all troops from the Congo and let the Congolese settle their affairs without outside pressures. We believe that it is imperative that the Congress of the United States should withhold all action on further American loans, grants, or bond purchases from the U.N. until this situation is resolved. The United Nations — and its apologists in the United States — have embarked on a road which can only lead to the triumph of Communism in Africa. We see no reason why the American people and their taxes should help."

The British South

Africa Company

Industrial Expansion in the Federation

The British South Africa Company has recently stated that the Group's policy is unchanged; the development of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is the primary field for employing its financial resources.

The establishment of the railway system in the period 1898 to 1910 was the first major task of The British South Africa Company in the commercial field. Nearly 2,500 miles of railway, stretching from Mafeking and Beira to the Congo, were built in an undeveloped country with the Company's money or by debentures guaranteed by the Company. The railways played a fundamental part in the development of the Rhodesias.

The British South Africa Company Group has contributed £4 million in loans towards the financing of the Kariba Hydro-Electric Scheme, which provides power for the copper mining companies and other industrial concerns both north and south of the Zambesi. When the loans are repaid the money will be lent to the Federal Government for development projects.

The Group has taken a large stake in the £11 million development scheme of The Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company Limited. That Company has expanded its works at Redcliff and it is able to supply the Federation's steel requirements and add to the country's exports.

The British South Africa Company Group subscribed for a substantial part of the share capital of Chilanga Cement Limited. The Chilanga Company, which has a factory near Lusaka, supplied more than 400,000 tons of cement for the Kariba project.

A Subsidiary provided a significant part of the initial share capital of Rhodesian Alloys which has its headquarters at Gwelo. After a very testing formative period this refinery for ferro-chrome and allied products is now well established. That Company provides a valuable outlet for Rhodesia's raw materials such as chrome ore, limestone and coal and it is one of the main consumers of electric power in the Federation. Its products are exported to markets all over the world.

The British South Africa Company Group has contributed substantially to the industrial expansion of the Federation, and it is a policy it will continue to pursue.

Farming Figures for the Federation

CROP AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1961 was worth a gross £135.2m. (crops, £106.7m.; livestock, £28.5m.), compared with the previous year's £119.5m.

European crop production in Southern Rhodesia was worth £45m., including £31m. from tobacco, £9.3m. from maize and £2.3m. from sugar. Tea at £4.6m. was the main contributor to Nyasaland's total of £5.9m. Northern Rhodesia's, £4.8m. included £2.2m. from maize and £2.1m. from tobacco.

African crops sales were highest in Nyasaland at £3.2m., which included £1.2m. worth of tobacco, £1m. from groundnuts, and £500,000 from cotton. In Southern Rhodesia the total was £2.9m., including £1.7m. from maize. Northern Rhodesia's £2.3m. included £1.1m. from maize. Subsistence crop values stood at £14.4m., £14.2m. and £14m. respectively for Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Livestock production on European farms in Southern Rhodesia was worth £12.4m., including £6.9m. from cattle slaughtered; Northern Rhodesia, £2.6m.; Nyasaland, £100,000. African sales in the Colony were £1.9m., with subsistence at £4.7m.; Northern Rhodesia, £600,000 and £3.7m.; Nyasaland, £500,000 and £2m.

Volumes Up, Values Down

Excluding small-scale market gardening and forestry, European agricultural output for Southern Rhodesia was £60.4m., with input of £35.1m. and net income calculated at £19.5m., all increases over the previous year's respective figures of £51.8m., £34.3m., and £11.8m. Northern Rhodesia's totals were £7.8m. (£6.4m.), £4.7m. (£4.6m.), and £2.2m. (£1m.). Only output figures were available from Nyasaland, at £6.3m. (£6.2m.).

Based on 1954=100, the total indices for crops and livestock on European farms in the two Rhodesias increased in volume but decreased in value, compared with 1960, with a similar trend in Nyasaland for crops.

Crop value in Southern Rhodesia fell to 87.9 from 91—tobacco, 88 (89); maize, 83.6 (95.7); and livestock to 105.9 from 107.6—pig sales however rising to 127 from 104.7. Comparative volumes were: tobacco, 183 (173.2); maize, 221.5 (117.2); and all livestock, 191.9 (141.4).

Northern Rhodesian value indices were: tobacco, 96.3 (100.7); maize, 76.4 (88.6); and all livestock, 102.8 (103.7); but with pig sales rising to 141 from 126.2. Volumes were tobacco, 203 (169.7); maize, 199.5 (150.3); and all livestock, 345 (236.4).

Nyasaland's European tobacco and tea values were 114.5 (122.1) and 90.9 (97.8) respectively; volumes, 87.6 (104.2) and 185.3 (153.3).

Somali Republic Boycotts South Africa

THE SOMALI REPUBLIC has ordered a discontinuation of all trade operations with the Republic of South Africa. No South African may now enter the Somali Republic unless he is a political refugee; South African aircraft and ships may not use landing or port facilities; and no Somali citizen may travel by South African plane or ship.

African Clerics' Education

SINCE TENTATIVELY ESTABLISHING Standard VIII as the minimum educational qualification for African aspirants to the Anglican priesthood a year ago, the Bishop of Mashonaland has not received a single commendation for such a candidate, he told the diocesan synod recently. He added: "While we are busying our minds with a post-matriculation theological college I do not know of a man I could send to it for nearly four years. Unless sufficient men of this minimum standard exist and offer themselves, men of lower standards must inevitably be sought and taken, or else for many years ahead non-African priests must serve African congregations. A bishop may not jeopardize the ministry beyond a certain point—as I fear may already be a danger in this diocese."

First Nyasaland Report Since 1949

THE RE-CONSTITUTED DEPARTMENT OF LANDS has issued the first annual report since 1949 on land and mining in Nyasaland.

Acting on its policy of buying undeveloped freehold land to resettle Africans from congested areas and from private estates, the Government had by 1960 purchased more than 500,000 acres for £428,000. During 1961 a further 32,517 acres were bought for £44,008, and agreements were made to buy another 48,881 acres for £103,805.

Of the Protectorate's 23,347,840 acres, 86.5% is African trust land, 10.8% public land (including forest reserves and non-private land in the four townships), and 2.7% privately-owned freehold land (compared with 5.1% in 1945). Rent from public land for the financial year 1960-61 was £14,897 (£14,037). There are 179 trading centres throughout the country.

Of nearly 50 mineral varieties recorded over the years, only corundum, galena, gold, kyanite, limestone, and mica have ever been worked. Prospecting for diamonds was carried out all over the Protectorate, and on a small scale for gold in one area of the Southern Province. Mining during the year was confined to quarrying building stone in the Southern and Central Provinces.

Mr. R. Bathurst-Brown is Commissioner for Lands.

Uganda Becomes Independent

This 72-page profusely illustrated special number of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA contains contributions from many present and past leaders of Uganda.

There are also career sketches of all Ministers, and articles on Makerere, Namulonge, Kilembe the Railways, the recommendations of the World Bank Mission to Uganda, and other subjects.

Price: 5s. post free from

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA,
66 Great Russell St., London, W.C.1.

The Benefits of Federation

(Continued from page 215)

It is largely a force of words, but it has never hesitated to whip its followers into physical violence and to flout the law, and it has made the weapon of intimidation peculiarly its own.

A daunting force to some, but to my mind not to be regarded as irresistible. To meet this force we in the Federation have had to do two things: provide a way of life and government which will, in the long term if not in the short, be preferred by the mass of Africans to the specious promises of the pan-Africanists; and buy time to do this by building up forces capable of maintaining law and order within our borders and of meeting any possible threat from without. We are doing the former and have done the latter, though it has been costly and a burden on a developing country. I myself have resented that so much money and effort have had to be diverted to defence from progress and advancement.

Our efforts to remove discrimination of one race against another have had to be genuine, but at the same time not such as to cause social upheaval or so great a degree of resentment that the very purpose of those efforts would be defeated. We have never accepted the inevitability of lower standards, nor, with the experience of the past eight years behind us, do we accept it now.

The African must come up, for his sake as much as for ours, and it can be done, given time. Moreover, we see nothing wrong or out of the proportions set by history in requiring reasonable time for prejudices to go and social injustices to be removed. They cannot be wished away, which is a fact which must be faced; nor can they go by revolution without being replaced by worse.

Resources Growing

Anyone who knew the Federation in 1953 and who makes an honest comparison between those times and today cannot fail to be astounded at the degree to which discrimination and prejudice have gone in eight short years; nor can he fail to recognize the anxiety so many feel lest the actions of extremists retard or set back this orderly progress, as they can so easily do.

Although in the task of teaching and training we have already achieved considerable success, our great problem is that once their meaning and value are appreciated the demand for learning, skill and the opportunity to use them becomes almost insatiable.

It is not generally realized that, despite everything, the economy of the Federation is strong, and our resources are growing; nor is it generally realized how much we have managed to do in eight years, the life of our country. In 1961 there was a record favourable balance of trade of nearly £59m. This year it is likely to be even better. The gross domestic product at factor cost rose from £362.2m. in 1954 to £561.4m. in 1961. The total available finance from both domestic and external sources was £85m. in 1954; it was £118.3m. in 1961.

African wages have risen since Federation by 39%. Expenditure on health has been more than doubled, from £4.247m. in 1954 to over £8.6m. in the current year; the number of hospital beds has been increased from 16,800 in 1955 to some 27,500 today. Eighty-five per cent. of black African children of lower primary school age, seven to 15, are today in school in Southern Rhodesia — one in five of the whole population. In the Federation as a whole the proportion is one in seven, which cannot be bettered by any other country in Africa except South Africa.

Happy Haunt of Agitators

But this strength and growth are not enough to provide, as we must for the foreseeable future, still more schools, hospitals, housing and other essential amenities to millions who cannot pay for them, and who can still contribute only little to the real income of the country. It is tragic that every act of violence, every political outcry of the extremist, not only revives prejudice but holds back our progress still further, and keeps more industrialists and more investors in doubt as to our soundness as a repository for their money. It is one of the greatest problems we face, because the Federation, partly controlled as it is from Whitehall, is the happy hunting-ground of the extremists and the political agitator.

Like all the Metropolitan Powers, Great Britain has decided to get out of her Colonial responsibilities as speedily as possible. There is nothing wrong in the decision as such; it all depends on how it is carried out and what is left behind. So far as Great Britain was concerned, I had always understood, from my earlier discussions with British Ministers, that the intention was to advance all Britain's Colonial Dependencies to independence as soon as they were capable of carrying the responsibilities that went with such a status. On this

issue I believe there was very little difference between the policies of the Socialist and Tory Governments.

But when Britain came to implement her decision some years ago, the course she decided to follow was reflected in the winds-of-change speech. Her going was pinned to the fashionable word "freedom", and her determination to persevere in this disengagement from Colonial responsibility has been proved by its continuance, despite the lesson of Ghana, the invidious position to which Kenya has been brought, and the extent to which the extremists have been pandered to in my own country.

Understandably these people, both within the Federation and elsewhere, were quick to take advantage of what the change of wind meant, and for a while every little demagogue had his day. Indeed, it was not unknown for a demagogue to be built up where none existed in order to find someone to whom to hand over power.

Britain Reverses Policy

So far as the Federation has been concerned, Britain's decision to pull out came early in the life of the country and represented in several ways the complete reversal of a policy which had led to the inception of the Federation only a short while before. It is all too often lost sight of that the concept of Federation was Britain's, and that both the British Tory and the Labour Parties when in Government played leading parts in its foundation and in enshrining partnership and the concept of multi-racialism in its Constitution. So far was British official thought at the time from accepting the inevitability of African racialist government that a new State was created, the very purpose of which was to keep this sort of Government with its extremist manifestations from Central Africa.

Soon, however, came the reversal of British policy; and the British Government has since done much to encourage and stimulate African nationalism in the Federation, despite proof positive given time and again of its extremism and of its determination that African racialism must dominate in Government.

The African extremists were quick to take advantage of what the wind of change meant in Britain and as quick to take advantage of the personalities installed in the capitals of the northern territories. The result today in Nyasaland is the entrenchment of a single party in a *de facto* Government hostile to Federation, a Government which had its origins in the character of the Nyasaland Administration in the first years of Federation, as well as in a liberal use of the weapons of rioting and intimidation in its pursuit of its political goals.

There were, as there are now, a mere handful of Europeans in Nyasaland to influence the course of events. Law and order and everything to do with day-to-day life of the African is territorial under the constitutional division of power; and Nyasaland is still a Protectorate of Great Britain. Therefore, though we foresaw and resisted the course of events, there was little the Federal Government could do about them, provided the Federal Constitution was not transgressed, which it was not.

External Support for Nationalism

In Northern Rhodesia the pattern was much the same, while in Southern Rhodesia, the oldest and the most developed of the three territories of the Federation, extreme African nationalism has also shown itself; but it was not until recently that it took the form of movements in the north and received the same measure of support from abroad.

In all three territories the African nationalist movements have been supported from abroad, but the branches in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have found special sympathy in some circles in Britain, have close ties to Accra and Cairo, and the unstinted backing of certain Afro-Asian members in Manhattan.

In all three territories the game of violence and threats of violence, coupled with political demands, has been played, but it has been particularly effective in the north, where it can be almost constitutionally played — if that is not a paradox — by setting London against Salisbury, Lusaka and Zomba. And I assure you that there have been those in London who have joined in this game with zest, having every sympathy for the cause of pan-Africanism and being every bit as willing to blind themselves to the evils of its methods.

In this way the pan-African leaders within the Federation have taken advantage of the prevailing climate of disengagement. But lately things have not been so easy and the fashion has begun to change, as fashions do. A growing body of public opinion in Britain is beginning to question the policy and some of the past actions of their Government; and I

make no apology for having deliberately instigated a campaign of information and fact in Britain, which I know to have had profound effect.

There is an awakening of conscience, but it still has a long way to go, although I have no doubt in my mind that the British public have found it extremely unpalatable to see their own kith and kin being treated as they have been treated in some of the independent African States. Also, of course, what has happened in Kenya has been a bitter pill for many British people with relatives and connexions in Kenya; and what is about to happen will be even harder to swallow. But translating this into official thinking, and above all action, is another matter. The most one can say is that certain of the British leaders have become disillusioned.

A factor which has contributed materially to the difficulties of the pan-African leaders — and this I refer to with pride — has been the determination of so many Rhodesians not to let our country be a second Congo, a second Ghana, or a second Kenya. These Rhodesians have satisfied themselves that our policy is not repressive, though it will take time to mature. They have satisfied themselves that the unseemly scramble out of Africa has brought bad, not good, and suffering, not benefit to the average African.

They have satisfied themselves that almost the whole world has fallen for the magic of words, that fine phrases and propaganda have cloaked something which is essentially evil in fact and result. Therefore they have decided that in the interests of the African, as much as the European, we must stand firm in the Federation, although they are prepared to open up every opportunity for reasonable discussion of our problems. Against this background constitutional negotiations are in progress.

In Southern Rhodesia Sir Edgar Whitehead, who is at this time putting the facts about his country before the U.N., has just introduced a new Constitution for the territory and will shortly seek the endorsement of the electorate of the further progressive measure which it represents — progressive but real, because the new Constitution, though it will bring Africans into the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, still demands that a man shall qualify to play a part in public life. And, have no illusions about it, Southern Rhodesia will not be forced from this requirement, and sees no reasons why it should be. A fact all too often overlooked, incidentally, is that since 1924 there has been nothing whatsoever to debar an African from entering Parliament and holding the highest office in the land.

Extravagant Nyasa Demands

Nyasaland's political leaders are in London negotiating another step in the territory's constitutional progress. Extravagant demands have been made by the governing party; but though this party may not like it, the fact is that Britain will largely decide what changes are to be made. It is also true that the facts of economic life are creeping up on Nyasaland and that the annual subsidy of nearly £5m. from the Federal Government alone is not something which can be ignored by a country as poor as Nyasaland.

The outcome of the Northern Rhodesian election will have an important influence on the minds of the British Cabinet. The Macleod Constitution always seemed at best designed to achieve a stalemate and at worst to be charged with bias; and although it is virtually certain that my party will emerge as the majority party, and a substantial vote given the African National Congress has cut U.N.I.P. down to size, even now we must await the outcome of the by-elections on the frustrated middle roll before Whitehall will face the issue — which is that the extremists have been rejected in terms of a Constitution designed by Whitehall itself.

I have little doubt that all the old arguments about thousands of men and women being deprived of a voice will now be revived. All the old methods of intimidation — of the individuals in Northern Rhodesia and of authority in Whitehall — will be used once more. Nothing will be said of responsibility re-entrenched, or of all the many thousands of Africans who have shown themselves glad to accept it as Northern Rhodesia's way of life and bitterly opposed to the men of violence.

Vilest Intimidation

Let me tell you something of what intimidation means, because the Africans I have just referred to, in openly taking a stand against the extremists, have had to face one of the vilest and most pernicious weapons the history of political life has ever thrown up, and have shown courage which should be an example to us all.

On December 7, 1961, the house of the secretary of Highfields Branch of my party was attacked with petrol bombs, and in Southern Rhodesia in 1962 there were 33 such petrol bomb attacks, mainly against Africans and their homes. On September 16, 1962, an African was beaten up because he had

gone to a boxing match instead of attending a particular political party's meeting; he died. Last month an African police reservist in Southern Rhodesia was stoned, beaten up, soaked with petrol, and burnt to death because he was a police reservist. Sir Edgar Whitehead has 7,500 African police reservists — all volunteers.

In Northern Rhodesia the petrol bomb is a common weapon. In August, 1961, the dormitory of a girls' school at Chilube Island was set on fire while there were 59 girls inside. In April, 1962, a young African was beaten to death during a political rally in Bancroft. Last week an African was stoned to death in Kitwe and three men with him were seriously injured by African political rivals.

I could tell you of the staff of a mission station in Nyasaland forced to leave following threats of death from Africans; I could tell you of the persistent threats used against African members of the Federal Parliament; but I think I have made my point — that the many thousands of Africans who have come out on the side of moderation in the Federation really believe in it themselves and prove this in what they go through.

Moderates Will Stand Firm

We must now wait and see what Whitehall will do. In my view Whitehall has now excuse enough, and excuse acceptable in the minds of thinking people, to stand firm at last, and translate that firmness into support for the genuine multi-racial concept which has been endorsed in Northern Rhodesia, just as it is entrenched in the Federal Constitution as a whole.

If they do not they must remember that we are moderate; but moderates are not weak people. We shall still stand firm. We must now demand an end to this uncertainty. We see no reason why these affairs should not be settled speedily; and we know that it is only when these constitutional issues are settled that there can be a renewal of progress and development in the economy of the country and in the advancement of our backward people. We also believe it is time for our responsibility to be acknowledged by a sufficient measure of independence in the Federal field to free us from the hindrances we have had up to now. The issues cannot in my view be delayed more than a few months longer.

Even then we do not expect to be free from the pressures of the pan-Africanist and those who stand behind them. These will go on for some time to come; yet I am convinced that if we — and by this I mean South Africa, the Federation, and our neighbours to the east and west — can survive this present surge of that movement for the next three to five years, then we shall have saved Southern Africa from its evil consequences.

This is by no means an empty statement or idle boast. I have already said that pan-Africanism is very largely a force of words and propaganda, and I want to give all the emphasis at my command to the truth of that statement and its implication. Pan-Africanism has neither budget nor army except what it can extract from the U.N. by dint of propaganda. This is known, but what is not widely recognized is that it is a force of unity on only a very few issues, and that no real cement holds the pan-African movement together other than the common desire to rid Africa of the white man and of everything that the white man stands for.

Inter-African Rivalry

How little identity of real interest there is amongst these pan-Africanists is not hard to see. It is reflected in the sharp division between the Casablanca and Monrovia groups, as clearly as in the bitter and explosive rivalry that exists between the major political parties in Kenya, which have in fact emerged almost exactly on a tribal basis. Even the logic of a close economic association between Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika has not come near to overcoming the nationalism of the political leaders of each territory. And what identity of interest, commercial, political, defensive or ethnic, is there between Nyasaland and Nigeria?

Far from real unity, there is every sign today of increasing rivalry between the newly-independent African States — rivalry for leadership in the dream of some pan-African empire and also for the handouts of dollars and pounds which have become a feature of recent years. As for the leadership in this new imperial effort, I see as yet no leader on the African scene with the standing or the backing needed to make him the new Napoleon of this continent.

The truth is that the people of Africa are not homogeneous. Nor does the geography of the continent lend itself to close ties between the nations except on a regional basis. So many years must pass before the influence of tribalism ceases to be acutely felt that within that time we can with justification believe that the force of pan-Africanism as we know it today will have been spent and something far better will have taken its place.

But we have no illusions. There can be no compromise with pan-Africanism in that time. Once you try to compromise you go under. There have been attempts—some by individuals, some by businessmen, some by Governments—to compromise, which have resulted only in degradation and ultimate failure. Far from these being the far-sighted wisdom of impartial men, they are direct aid and comfort to those who will in the end accept you or do business with you only on tolerance and on their distasteful terms.

Compromise No Answer

Every investment withheld from the moderates today lessens their ability to withstand extremism now and in the future; and history has shown how quick and expert the pan-Africanists are to take advantage of those, whether they be individuals, firms, or Governments, who seek to compromise and hope to get the best of both worlds. You cannot satisfy the crocodile by feeding others to it.

I see no reason to compromise. In Southern Africa pan-Africanism and its evils are not regarded as irresistible, and they are being contained. Nor do I see any reason why in my country we should lose heart. Whatever may have been said, the Federation, as it was created in 1953 by Act of the United Kingdom Parliament and with the consent of Her Majesty the Queen, is intact and strong, and our troubles are certainly no worse than those of many other countries. We stand in no greater danger than does Austria or Greece, and our history has certainly not been as turbulent or tragic as that of Poland or Czechoslovakia.

Real "Nationalism"

I prefer to look to the forces that are working for good; and I find them in my country. Many thousands of Africans of whom one hears little are coming forward on the road of advancement and in support of moderation. Many thousands are backing our endeavours to create a new nationalism in the Federation—for we are not afraid of that word, although we are doing all we can to make the ordinary man and woman unafraid of what it has meant in the past, in terms of the weapons of pan-Africanism, the weapons of intimidation and thuggery. Instead we are seeking to give it its proper meaning once again, which is pride in nationhood and in our case in a community working together without sense of race.

Nor in the broader field of the Commonwealth's future am I afraid of what Britain's entry into the Common Market will mean, though I am keenly aware of the difficulties which must inevitably flow from it. But a third world force is being created—for that is what the Common Market is to mean—and I acknowledge that Britain must participate in this, and lead if she can. Yet I see it as essential for Britain, who will be only one voice in seven in the European Community, to have the Commonwealth in some substantial association with her in the future.

The Federation's stand on this important issue is to support Britain in her negotiations with the Six and her endeavours to find ways in which Britain's entry can carry the strength and support of the Commonwealth into her association with the European Community, while at the same time bringing benefit to the Commonwealth as well. A prosperous Britain and a prosperous Europe can only benefit the developing countries with which they are associated and by doing so bring further prosperity to the Community of Europe; but even this does not go far enough because, if not for the sake of the developing countries themselves, then in the interests of the West, the real progress of these young countries must be speeded up. There is far too much poverty about for safety and stability.

Money Down The Drain

We in the Federation do not believe that development can be substantial if it is based largely on charity and handouts. These have their value, especially in the fields of education and research and in the tackling of special but expensive projects; but fundamentally development will go forward and be sound only if it arises from the capacity, potential and strength of the country itself. Even after so many years the fashion of political freedom still obscures this fundamental factor, and in that time millions of pounds and dollars have gone down the drain.

I have appealed for a new look at the economies of the younger countries, and it is my belief that, because so many of them are primary producers, the greatest assistance that could be given them at this time, and the best safeguard of their allegiance to the West, could be given through the development of such factors as international commodity agreements. Not only would they be able to find development funds from their own resources and avoid the begging that goes on today, but their planning could be both realistic and long-term. Such agreements would be of the greatest benefit to the future of the younger countries and to the progress of their backward people; and nothing could identify them more effectively with the interests of the West.

Abandoning Racial Concepts

I have so often in recent times been presented in a blood-stained image, an oppressor and a reactionary. Time and again it has been said that "my" troops or "my" police have shot down innocent Africans in order to maintain the policy of the Government I lead. How little truth there is in this is shown in the fact that my Government has no police force, not one single man, and in the fact that the Federal Government's Army and Air Force have never fired a single shot during any civil disturbance except at the request and under the direction of the territorial Governor concerned. This is the constitutional position in the Federation and this is the fact. Yet the accusations go on. They do not worry me unduly because of whence they come.

What I have said and done is on record for all to see. I have constantly urged the abandonment of any concept of race in the assessment of a man's worth or his rights, and as consistently I have tried to show my countrymen that there is nothing to fear in this, provided only that a man shall be capable of earning what he gets, and that in public life the normal demands of civilization, above all law and order, shall be met. My greatest reward has been to see these precepts followed by so many in my country. This, with their steadfastness, is my reassurance for the future.

Tragic Retreat from Africa Powers Have Ignored Tribalism

THOUGH TRIBALISM is still a major factor in public and private affairs in East and Central Africa, it has been studiously ignored in almost all United Kingdom comments on political developments in the territories. Now the *Daily Telegraph* has dealt forcibly with the matter in a short leading article, which said:—

"The pathetic and tragic fallacies which have marked all the best-intentioned attempts of the European Powers in their retreat from Africa arise from the fact that they have chosen to ignore the tribal element. Under their own jurisdiction that element had remained quiescent—but special tragedies, such as the Mau Mau Rebellion, closely associated with the Kikuyu tribe, should have warned them.

"The story is the same whether one considers Ghana, Kenya, the Congo, or the Rhodesias. Withdraw the European political and administrative framework, and what happens? Immediately the old tribal rivalries rear their ugly heads. While the British Parliament at Westminster argues neatly contrived policy on 'electoral rolls' one tribe is sharpening its assegais or its pangas against another. That is what is looming in Kenya, where other tribes greatly fear the possible dominance of the Kikuyu. That is what may still beset Ghana, where President Nkrumah has not yet won the confidence of the Ashanti.

"That is why it is feckless to condemn or approve the latest arrests in Ghana in terms of 'Communism' or 'anti-Communism'. That is why it is sadly nonsensical to attempt to balance whites and blacks in some gently democratic scale. The nonsense rhymes written by the late Mr. Lear all had a comprehensible point. But the nonsense now being written in African history by great-hearted Europeans has no such devious logic. It steadily ignores the one constant factor—tribalism—in favour of Western democratic formulae which are purely superficial."

Northern Rhodesia Elections

(Concluded from page 217)

South-Western: H. M. Nkumbula (A.N.C.), 3,924; C. S. Mukando (U.N.I.P.), 616. A.N.C. majority, 3,308.

By-elections will be held on December 10 in the Chambeshi and Kafubu reserved national constituencies and the Kabompo, Luapula and Zambezi open national constituencies, where candidates failed to obtain the necessary percentage of votes. The only two reserved national constituencies successfully contested on October 30 were:—

Lower Kafue (African): F. B. Chembe (A.N.C.), 54%; R. S. Puta (U.N.I.P.), 43.7%; I. E. Kalima (Lib.), 2.2%. Won by A.N.C.

(European): J. B. Eaton (U.F.P.), 51.4%; A. Tieder (U.N.I.P.), 42.9%; G. Percy (Lib.), 2.5%; A. H. Duff (A.N.C.), 1.6%; H. J. Butler (R.R.P.), 1.5%. Won by U.F.P.

Luangwa (African): P. C. Zindana (U.F.P.), 42.9%; I. C. Mumpansa (U.N.I.P.), 40.1%; A. H. Gondwe (Lib.), 17%. Won by U.F.P.

(European): C. E. Cousins (A.N.C.), 51.1%; J. J. Skinner (U.N.I.P.), 38.8%; Sir John Moffat (Lib.) 7.6%; A. Dahl (R.R.P.), 2.5%. Won by A.N.C.

Special national constituency:

K. N. Patel (Ind.—U.N.I.P. supported), 1,071; J. D. Naik (A.N.C.), 519; I. M. Bagas (Ind.), 129. Mr. Patel's majority, 552.

Rhodesia-Katanga Capital Reduced

IN THE CHANCERY DIVISION of the High Court on Monday Mr. Justice Plowman confirmed the resolution of the shareholders of Rhodesia-Katanga Co., Ltd., for reduction of the capital from £2m. to £160,176.

An affidavit by the chairman, Mr. M. T. W. Easty, stated that the company had suffered an aggregate loss of at least £1,190,000 in its principal assets, of which £1,132,551 would be absorbed by writing 17s. 6d. off each £1 share. That would permit writing down the investment in the Kansanshi Copper Mining Co., Ltd., Northern Rhodesia, to £400,000, which would still be some £50,000 above the directors' valuation. Investments in loans to Kansanshi had totalled £942,653.

Other mineral rights and a farm stood at £373,531, and quoted investments had a book value of £279,832. The Kansanshi Mine had been flooded for five years because technical problems in exploiting the ore were at present insoluble. The coal and other mineral rights were worthless.

Being taxed as a finance company, Rhodesia-Katanga expected "gratifying fiscal consequences" from its offer to acquire the share capital of Kentan Gold Areas, Ltd., holdings in which and in Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., constituted the main assets.

The bid to Kentan holders is of one 10s. Rhokat share for each £1 share in Kentan.

Falcon Mines, Ltd., Southern Rhodesia, produced 5,506 oz. gold in October from 22,000 tons milled. The mine working profit was £26,980.

Port charges in East Africa on import cargoes are being raised by 1s. 6d. per harbour ton, this being the first increase since April, 1957. Export handling charges are not being changed.

Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., is to invite holders of ordinary stock in African and European Investment Co., Ltd., to exchange two stock units for one share in the corporation.

M.T.D. (Mangala), Ltd., reports that 1,041 long tons of copper were recovered in the quarter ending September 30 from milling 316,900 tons of ore. The associated Mangala Company recovered 1,577 long tons from milling 778,580.

North Chartered Exploration Co. (1957), Ltd., has received an offer of £164,532 for its holding of 377,300 ordinary shares of 5s. in Rhodesia United Transport, Ltd., which stand in the books at the cost of £84,375. The directors strongly recommend acceptance, but as the investment represents about half of the net assets of the company, a general meeting is to consider the matter. If the sale is approved the board intends to use the new funds to diversify the company's portfolio.

British South African (Chartered) Company reports estimated revenue for the quarter ended September 30 of £2,977,000 after providing for the payment to the Government of Northern Rhodesia of 20% of the net revenue derived from the exercise of its mineral rights in that country. For the corresponding quarter of last year the figure was £2,596,000. For the full year to September 30 revenue for mineral royalties, rents and fees at £10,897,000 showed an increase of £594,000.

Seventeen European primary schools in Kenya are to admit non-European pupils from next year.

A bull calf has been born to a North American bison by an Ankole bull at Chessington Zoo, England.

An East African secretary bird sent to London Zoo to replace a specimen which died earlier this year has been "adopted" by the Chartered Institute of Secretaries.

Silverware and furniture worth more than £290 disappeared from the ATHLONE CASTLE on her last outward-bound trip to South Africa. Members of the crew have been questioned by detectives in Southampton.

The Mozambique newspaper *Noticias* has been suspended for eight days for inserting advertisements into space left in a censored report on the meeting of the Overseas Council of Portugal—one of the advertisements being for a funeral agency.

Representatives of 15 Somali tribes in two border towns have in the past few weeks petitioned the Ethiopian Government for acceptance as Ethiopian nationals, and have accused the Somali Republic of maladministration and causing suffering.

A further £45,080 over and above the £86,380 already approved have been voted by the National Assembly for spending on Uganda's diplomatic service, with a further £25,000 for housing diplomatic staff overseas. An independence monument in Kampala will cost £40,000.

Shashi River irrigation scheme begins this month in Southern Rhodesia near the Bechuanaland border where 30 African farmers are pioneering maize-growing. Within two years 200 farmers are expected on the 1,000-acre scheme, which envisages eventual large-scale cultivation of cotton and groundnuts.

East Africa should re-consider its opposition to associate membership of the European Common Market, a meeting in Entebbe, Uganda, of German ambassadors has stated, coupled with the reminder that Germany's commitments for helping associated countries must take precedence over plans for other undeveloped countries that are not members.

The Governors-General of Mozambique and Angola should be members of a Council of Ministers for Portugal's overseas territories, which should have greater representation in the National Assembly and its corporative chambers, the special meeting of the Portuguese Overseas Council has recommended after a fortnight's session to revise the basic law governing the administration of Portugal's overseas territories.

Independence gifts to Uganda include £10,000 from the East African Tobacco Co. for a radio re-diffusion system in Mulago Hospital; £8,000 each from Barclays Bank D.C.O. (for a teachers' training college library) the Standard Bank (for a boys' senior secondary school) and National and Grindlays Bank; scholarships from Israel (150), Ghana and Holland; and a mobile library and mobile veterinary clinic from the United States.

British Overseas Stores, Ltd., of which the Allen, Wack & Shepherd group of companies in Southern Africa and Maxwell Brady & Co., Ltd., Nairobi, are subsidiaries, report group net loss after tax of £13,435 (£24,787). Losses by subsidiaries having totalled £15,315 (£44,067), the parent company had a profit of £1,880 after tax (£19,280). No dividend is being paid on the ordinary stock. Because so many Europeans have decided to leave Kenya, "the future prospects of profitability of our small company in Nairobi are extremely uncertain" in the Federation and Mozambique political uncertainty had "a very marked influence on trade". Messrs. R. J. Blackadder, V. C. Ponsoby and C. E. B. Samerville have left the board, which now consists of Messrs. J. C. S. Ferguson, H. C. Mumford, I. E. Robinson, and M. E. Gamble (managing director).

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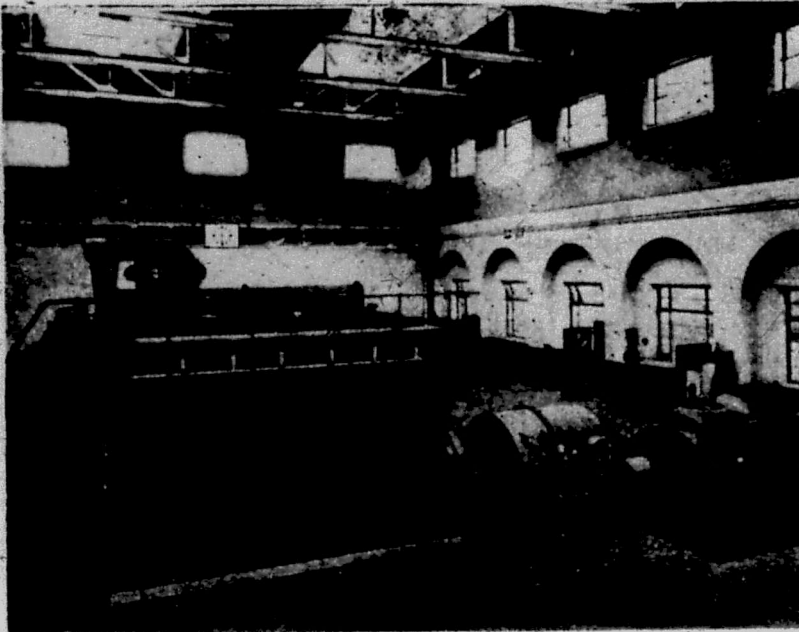
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EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, November 15, 1962

Vol. 39 No. 1988

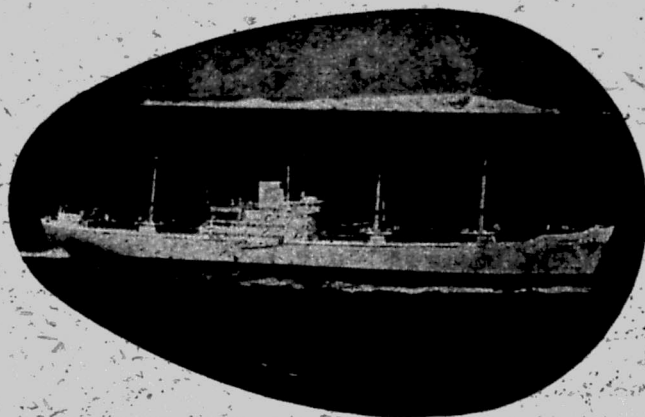
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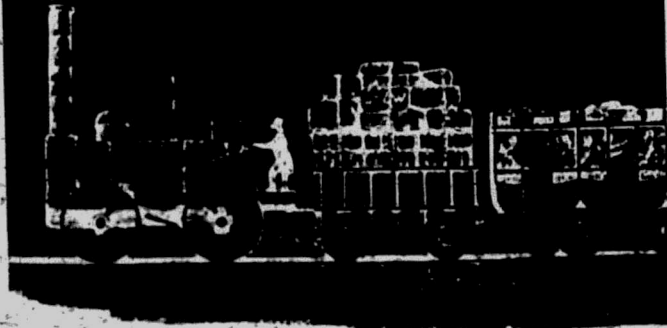
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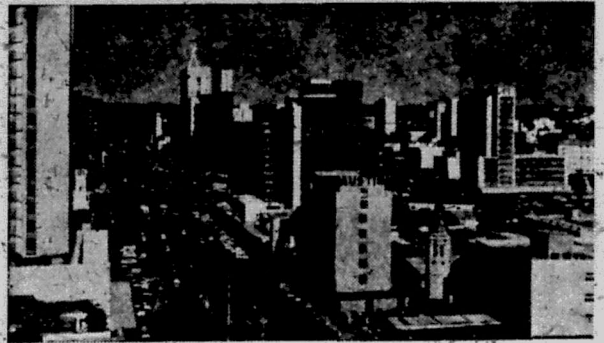
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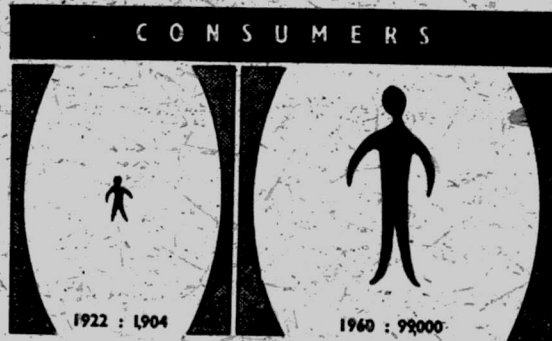
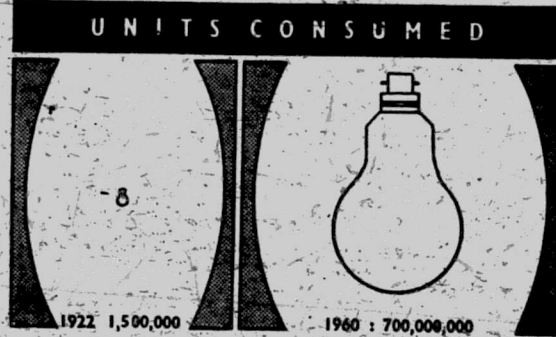
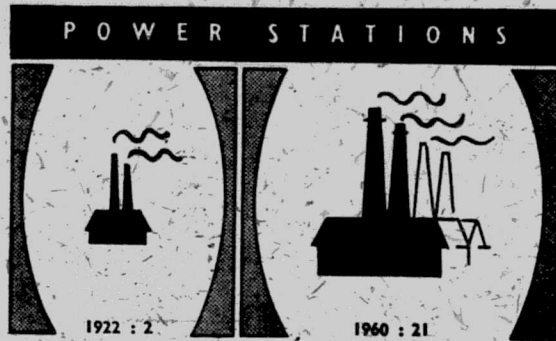
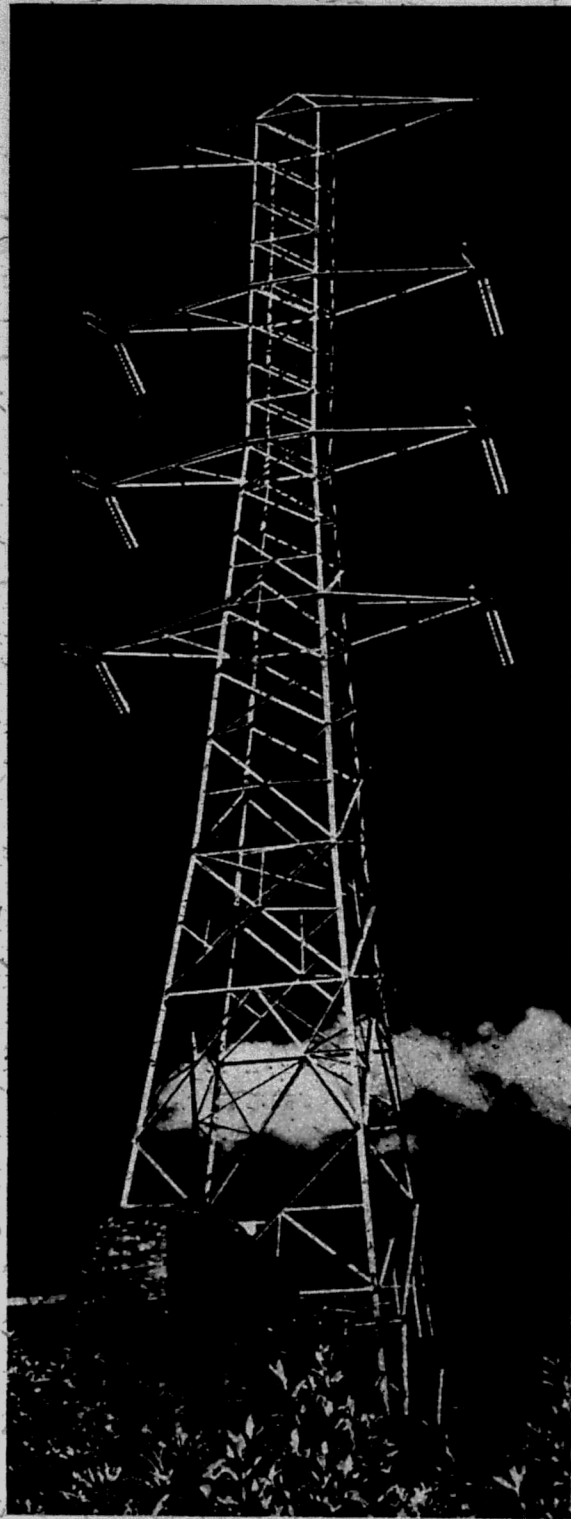
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1962

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

FLEET STREET gives front-page space to British Central Africa whenever the stability of that vast and highly promising area is threatened by an outburst from some extremist African in Southern or Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland, or for that matter in Tanganyika or Kenya, or, indeed, by a more experienced but no less stupid politician in the United Kingdom or the United States; but when the Prime Ministers of the Federation and Southern Rhodesia make outstandingly important speeches defining their policies, plans, and faith, and explaining how the plotting of nihilistic racialists can be defeated, their carefully prepared statements are ignored by the London daily and weekly newspapers or dismissed in one or two paragraphs. Last week **EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA** gave nearly four pages to a verbatim record of an address by Sir Roy Welensky on the theme that pan-Africanism, though spreading rapidly and manifestly dangerous, is not irresistible. The subject is highly topical, the treatment was sparkling, and by normal journalistic rules the speech was undoubtedly newsworthy. Yet not one daily newspaper in Britain published what any impartial reader of the full text could consider a fair or adequate summary.

In consequence, the British public is completely unaware of this confident and impressive pronouncement by a leader who is very generally admired in this country, despite the fact that he has been misrepresented as an ogre by many organs of the British Press and by radio commentators. It was television that enabled him to correct the false impression which had been so sedulously circulated. He is what television producers call a "natural", a man whose personality is faithfully and

forcefully served by this new medium of mass communication. His first appearance in a television programme made a great impact, and on every subsequent occasion he has been equally successful, with the result that millions of people in the United Kingdom regard him not merely as a dependable leader of his country, but as far more inspiring and trustworthy than most United Kingdom Ministers. It is deplorable, therefore, that they should have been denied knowledge of his declaration that there need be no capitulation to pan-Africanism. Can the universal silence be due to the fact that his declaration of faith is tantamount to denunciation of the defeatist Macmillian - Macleod policy for Africa?

In this issue will be found the substance of the address to the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations by Sir Edgar Whitehead, whose two main points were that Southern Rhodesia can and must advance as a truly non-racial State, and that the

Two Prime Ministers Unfairly Treated. mass of Africans, who recognize the essential contribution made by the white men in their midst, must not be prevented from expressing their opinions and exercising their other rights as free men by the thuggery of a tiny minority of African politicians and their strong-arm gangs. Whenever Mr. Nkomo, president of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union until it was proscribed some weeks ago, or one of his lieutenants made a statement, however extravagant or even outrageous, it received prominence in London newspapers. When in one of the most important speeches which he has ever made, one which he travelled from Central Africa to North America to deliver, Sir Edgar Whitehead told representatives of the whole world why Z.A.P.U. had been banned, and of his plans for the evolution of a State in which

capability and character, not colour, will be the only tests—on the one condition that the responsible leadership be allowed a few more years in which to train large numbers of Africans and give them some experience in the management of affairs, political and economic—he has been denied the opportunity of explaining his case, for leading United Kingdom newspapers treated him as shabbily as they had just treated Sir Roy Welensky. They showed much more interest in details of the voting (which everybody knew to have been rigged before the speech) than in recording the main passages spoken by Rhodesia's leader. Triviality again triumphed over responsibility.

* * *

The chief power of the Press, said a newspaper proprietor many years ago, lies in the power to suppress. That power of suppression has been used more ruthlessly by London publications in the past three years than at any time since the 'thirties—when there was only one morning, evening

or Sunday newspaper of influence in the capital of the Commonwealth which was not undisguisedly and consistently pro-German. The honourable exception at that time was the *Daily Telegraph*. Unfortunately, it is much less staunch nowadays in its support for British endeavour overseas, although from the Commonwealth standpoint the times are as crucial as was the Hitler era. It is incredible but undeniable that both the quality and the mass-circulation London newspapers are today as unalert to the threat of pan-Africanism as they were a generation ago to Nazism and Fascism. All know what horrors were wrought by those manifestations of nationalism gone crazy. Comparable tragedies, if in more restricted compass, could result from the nationalisms which now obsess Africa and Asia—nationalism which, to mention but a few of the disasters, has brought China and India to war, engulfed Indonesia, wrecked Algeria and the Congo, and dragged Ghana and Kenya to the brink of ruin.

. . . .

Frenetic and exhibitionist intellectuals in this country deem these disasters as barely worth their notice; they are more concerned to agitate for universal suffrage in lands

which have no understanding of such a conception and still attach primary importance to tribal allegiance. Even the foulness of Mau Mau has been treated by such folk as though it had been a little local aberration, whereas it was the filthiest movement in British African history. Moreover, it

still threatens Kenya because of the lamentable weakness and abysmal folly of Her Majesty's Ministers in Britain and in that Colony. Staggering to relate, their simplicity and iniquity in releasing many of its political and gang leaders from banishment or detention camps, despite the obvious certainty that these wicked men would once more resume their evil conspiracy, met with no sustained criticism except in this journal. Yet no act of British administration in Africa had been so discreditable. "Mau Mau has won after all", the pan-African extremists everywhere told one another gleefully; "violence has succeeded in Kenya, and we can gain power elsewhere by the same means". The Macmillan-Macleod-Blundell surrender to outrage in Kenya certainly encouraged violence in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

** * *

SECESSION OF NYASALAND from the

Central African Federation will not be discussed at the constitutional conference which opened in London on Monday: that

can be said with confidence
Secession of Nyasaland. —despite the fact that many of the most influential papers in the country, seemingly in-

spired from common sources, had insisted during the previous few days that the real subject for consideration was Nyasaland's withdrawal from the Federation, and that Sir Glyn Jones, the Governor, was reported to have said that a date for complete independence would be considered. The conference will, on the contrary, confine itself to arranging the terms on which that country may reasonably be granted full internal self-government, with the president of the Malawi Congress Party as Prime Minister; and there are good grounds for asserting that Dr. Banda has accepted this decision of H.M. Government. However, he will doubtless press for private talks outside the conference about independence and secession (which would, of course, occur in the reverse order, for there could be no independence if the right of secession had not previously been conceded). United Kingdom Ministers are believed still to have made no decision in this matter, but in Government quarters there is an evident drift in that direction. Nothing more can happen until after the general election in Southern Rhodesia a month hence and the eleven by-elections in Northern Rhodesia four days earlier (by-elections which emphasize the folly of the Macmillan-Macleod plan which the Opposition called a dog's-breakfast Constitution).

New Governments will thus take office in both the Rhodesias just before Christmas, and Mr. Butler, First Secretary of State and Minister for Central African Affairs, is likely to revisit the Federation early in the New Year to discuss Nyasaland's withdrawal from the Federation, its complete independence before the end of 1963, and its co-operation with its neighbours in a modified form of association. Every responsible person knows that it would be crazy and disastrous (to use Sir Edgar Whitehead's terms) to sunder all the inter-territorial links, and it is still hoped that Nyasaland African leaders will have the judgment and courage to admit the need for close collaboration in matters of common

concern. Now that they are about to shoulder heavy administrative burdens they would be prudent to drop electioneering tactics and accept arrangements which will increase efficiency, decrease costs, and promote the inter-racial good will of which Dr. Banda so often speaks. His present mood is genial, even though he emphasizes that "I come to take". The United Federal Party has no objection to his taking self-government on fair terms. That ambition satisfied, and with the prospect of independence soon, he and his party would best serve Nyasaland by not seeking to cut her adrift from a practical partnership which has given it great benefits already and can continue to contribute immensely to the country's progress. An amended form of association is needed by the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

Notes By The Way

Sir Hugh Foot

SIR HUGH FOOT has made a statement which, though intended to explain his resignation from the British delegation at the United Nations, has made matters worse rather than better from the standpoint of the British and Southern Rhodesian Governments, which should in his view have made specific proposals last summer for constitutional changes in the Colony. Because his ideas were not accepted, he felt that he could no longer appear as the advocate of a policy with which he disagreed. Why, then, did he return to New York? The right course would obviously have been for him to resign then. Indeed, Ministers should have required him to resign. Instead, he returned to the United Nations, and, by his demission when Southern Rhodesian affairs were under discussion, aggravated an already difficult situation. Having resigned in circumstances which were bound to attract optimum publicity, he now says coolly: "I have an obligation to the Government, and especially to members of the United Kingdom mission in New York, not to add in any way to their difficulties, and I am especially anxious not to say anything which might make the situation in Southern Rhodesia more difficult and dangerous". He is experienced enough to know that his resignation could scarcely have come at a worse time or been more embarrassing.

Unconvincing Explanation

NEVER HAVING SET FOOT in Central Africa—though I happen to know that he was invited to Rhodesia some months ago—he declares that his continuing concern has been to "prevent a dreadful calamity for everyone in Southern Rhodesia", that the future of the white population must depend on reaching a working understanding with the great majority of the people of the country, and that self-government must be built on consultation and co-operation. No responsible white Rhodesian would quarrel with such sentiments; but they would all emphasize what Sir Hugh does not deem worthy of mention—that the African political leaders have been given every opportunity of consultation, that they have rejected it in favour of violence, and that their tactics, and especially their violence against Africans who will not accept their dictatorship, are resented by

the mass of the people. Sir Hugh might read with profit the statement of Sir Edgar Whitehead which is reported in other columns of this issue.

Thomson Foundation

MR. ROY THOMSON, with the cordial approval of his son and two daughters, has established a £5m. trust which is expected to have an annual income of about £500,000 to spend on providing education and vocational training, especially for the service of emergent countries. The work, however, is not to be confined to under-developed States or even to the Commonwealth, the trust deed enjoining the trustees to concern themselves with efforts to raise standards of journalism and television anywhere in the world. Since Mr. Thomson has spoken of the need to send technically qualified people to help emergent territories in solving the problems of providing dependable newspapers, magazines, and television services, the Foundation which will bear his name must be expected to work for higher journalistic standards in this country also, both for internal reasons and for export to communities which need impartial and disinterested news and fair comment on public affairs.

Training for Press and Television

TRAINING ON THE SPOT is intended, but help is to be given to the establishment in Britain of a residential centre which will provide intensive training for journalists; accommodation has already been acquired for a television training centre near Glasgow. The general purpose is to promote the "advancement of knowledge and medical and spiritual enlightenment of all peoples, with a view to achieving closer understanding between them and encouraging and enabling them to play an informed and responsible rôle in their own national affairs and the affairs of the world". Mr. Thomson, who has substantial newspaper and television interests in East and Central Africa, and in many other countries, will have made a permanent contribution of great value if his hopes can be translated into practice. Heavy but honourable responsibility rests upon the trustees, Lord Alexander, Lord Kilmuir, Lord Williamson, Mr. K. R. Thomson (son of the benefactor), and Mr. J. M. Coltart

(one of his chief lieutenants in a business which now owns 100 newspapers). The deed under which they will act is so broadly drawn that they have wide discretion. If they use it imaginatively, impartially, wisely, and with their eye on the future, they may all feel some years hence that they have never been associated with a more challenging or satisfactory task of mass education and mass leadership.

Fifty-Nine Minutes Late

WHY DID THE TRUSTEESHIP COMMITTEE of the United Nations decline to allow at least 15 of its members to speak in the debate on Southern Rhodesia after Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Prime Minister of that Colony, had addressed the committee in the capacity of "the distinguished representative of Great Britain"? If the question is intriguing, the question is amusing. Indeed, it may be recalled years hence as a happy episode in a visit to New York which obviously gave Sir Edgar a good deal of pleasure. On the afternoon of the debate the Constitution of his country was due to be replaced by the one which was negotiated in London some months ago, and voting in the Fourth Committee was rushed in order that a pre-arranged demand for intervention by H.M. Government might be presented in due official form to the United Kingdom delegation while British Ministers still had legal responsibilities in Rhodesia. One minute before what was thought to be zero hour, the text of the resolution, which had been carried by an overwhelming majority, was handed to the British delegation. "You are just 59 minutes too late", its spokes-

man was able to say, for the strategem had failed because its organizers had made a mistake of an hour in their reckoning. To their credit be it said, they accepted the miscarriage of their plan in excellent humour, some of the Afro-Asians in particular laughing heartily at their own discomfiture.

Malawi's Conference

HEADS OF DELEGATIONS who address the inaugural public session of a constitutional conference are expected to be brief and non-controversial. Dr. Banda, who was supposed to take only three minutes at the Nyasaland conference on Monday, made an extempore speech of 19 minutes, thus arrogating to himself as much time as was taken by all the other speakers put together. He also ignored the convention to be non-contentious. His statement, very repetitive and over-generous in flattery, ended with the words: "In 1960 I said I had come in the spirit of give-and-take. This time I have come in the spirit of take—to take what is mine by conquest at the ballot-box and by successful and creditable performance in office". Members of his Malawi delegation wore half-crown-sized lapel medallions of Dr. Banda's head in black on a white background, and four of them sported the red, green and black party tie with "Kamuzu's" head. These pieces of M.C.P. publicity had not previously been seen in London. The conference is planned to take about a fortnight. Whether loquacity will defeat that hope remains to be seen.

Conference to Consider "Further Constitutional Advance"

Opening Speeches by Mr. Butler, the Governor and Nyasaland Party Leaders

THE NYASALAND CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE opened in London on Monday at Marlborough House under the chairmanship of the First Secretary of State and Minister for Central African Affairs, Mr. R. A. Butler.

He said:—

"I recall with the utmost pleasure the visit which I made to Nyasaland in May of this year. I was impressed then on that all too brief occasion with the beauty and the potentiality of this country and the vigour and ability of the political leadership.

"Her Majesty's Government have watched with interest the working of the constitution which was agreed at the conference at Lancaster House in 1960. The progress of your Government in its management of the affairs of the territory, and the courage and vigour with which you are facing the problems which beset the territory are manifest. It was against this background that I agreed last July that this conference should be convened to consider further constitutional advance for the territory.

New Impetus for Development

"In paying tribute to the achievement of your Government, we are all, I am sure, conscious of the debt which we owe to the Governor, Sir Glyn Jones, for his wise and patient understanding. His leadership in this time of transition has been of inestimable value. In this task he has been supported by the devotion and experience of his official Ministers. We have also admired the way in which Dr. Banda and his colleagues have grappled with their responsibilities.

"It is fair to say that a new impetus has been given to the development of the territory, which has stemmed from representative government. The civil service, as I am sure all of you would readily agree, have played their full part in this venture and I take this opportunity of acknowledging their efforts.

"It is fitting also that I should refer at this time to the tragedy which befell Nyasaland in the untimely death of Mr.

Dunduzu Chisiza, whose ability and enthusiasm were widely recognized and will be sorely missed.

"I should also like to acknowledge the contribution made by Mr. Blackwood and the other Opposition members of the Legislature to the successful working of the constitutional arrangements which were brought into force last year.

"It would be wrong if I did not draw attention to the difficulties with which the territory is faced. The economic and financial problems of Nyasaland will not be easily overcome and will tax the efforts of the territory's leaders and its people. In the long run Nyasaland can succeed only through its own endeavours, though H.M. Government will naturally do everything possible to assist the territory in tackling its problems. We in this country value highly the special ties which have been developed with Nyasaland since Dr. Livingstone first directed the attention of the British people to that country. As a result of our work there, we have a special affection towards your people, of which our Protectorate responsibilities are the formal expression. We know that these feelings are reciprocated and we trust they will be further strengthened as a result of the work of this conference.

"A great deal of hard work lies ahead of all of us, but most of us know each other very well. There is a mutual confidence, respect and friendship between us all which will see us through to success. I trust we shall prove worthy of the task before us."

THE GOVERNOR, SIR GLYN JONES, replied:—

"The convening by you of this conference marks the arrival of Nyasaland at another important milestone in its political history. It constitutes an admission on the part of H.M. Government of the progress which has been made in the territory since the last Constitutional Conference in 1960 and we are indeed grateful to you for the very gracious acknowledgement of that progress which you have just made in your speech.

"It is difficult for us, who live in Nyasaland, to judge our own performance and we welcome an objective assessment of it—I need, perhaps, hardly add that where such assessments are favourable we find them particularly welcome! Nevertheless we are conscious of shortcomings and we do not claim to be the first government to have achieved perfection in the British Commonwealth.

"We in Nyasaland have travelled hopefully since 1960 and have now arrived at this important point in the territory's history. Many sitting round this table must feel a sense of achievement. It is right that they should. At the same time all of us here are keenly aware of the problems, particularly the economic and financial problems, which Nyasaland faces at this stage of its development. We should not rest until we have resolved those problems. We wholeheartedly acknowledge, however, that we shall need help to do this and are more grateful for your assurance that H.M. Government is prepared to do everything possible to assist us."

"Our particular object at this conference is to consider further constitutional advance for the territory. Behind this object lies the fact that what may be decided here will affect the life of every individual whose home is in Nyasaland."

"We seek to create a new, more advanced form of Government. Burke described Government as a contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human wants. Men have a right to require that those wants should be provided for by that wisdom. I pray that we shall not fail in wisdom on this occasion."

"It is our duty to contrive such constitutional arrangements for Nyasaland as are best suited to advance the prosperity, welfare and happiness of each and every individual, whatever his race, who calls Nyasaland his home. The individual has a right to expect this of us and only our intention so to contrive can justify our presence here."

DR. BANDA spoke next, saying:—

"I consider it a great honour to me to lead my delegation to this conference. I would like to thank you, Mr. Secretary of State, very much for the kind welcome and kind words and kind and nice things that you have said about my country and its people. We were greatly honoured when you paid us a visit in May this year. Like yourself I am a great believer in personal contact. Your visit to Nyasaland last May gave me and my people an opportunity to know you and establish between us personal relationships which I cherish very greatly. It is very kind of you, in fact most generous of you, Sir, to say so many nice and good things about my country and my people. Particularly I am happy, indeed flattered, when you say nice things about me and my country, when you speak about the beauty of the country, the potentialities of the country and the vigour and ability of its political leadership and you understand how proud I must feel when you in your position—the high place you hold in the British Government—when you say what you are saying, the kind expression, and to tell you what it arouses in my heart. We were greatly honoured by your visit. On our part we got to know you, to know more about you and to discover in you a man with great kindness, simple dignity, easily approachable and a man who had a quick grasp and analysis of the real problem facing him, and a man who was not afraid to give credit where credit was deserved."

No European Exodus

"I associate myself entirely and wholeheartedly with the tribute you paid to our beloved Governor, Sir Glyn Jones, and the civil servants under him. No one knows better than I do that without his wise understanding and sympathetic guidance we would not have got where we are in Nyasaland now, and I am old enough politically to know what has gone on in other countries. If we have achieved a measure of success since September 2, 1962, it is chiefly, if not entirely, due to his wise understanding and guidance, because he himself understands our problems, he has managed, in fact succeeded, in transmitting his own feeling to the civil servants under him."

"I would like to assure you, Sir, that you should not pay any attention whatsoever to what you read in such papers as the *Daily Express*, and *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Mail* and the *Yorkshire Post* about the impending exodus of civil servants from Nyasaland next July. I anticipate no such exodus next July, next year, or any other month or any other year after that. If I may tell you, Sir, the relationship between these British civil servants in Nyasaland and the elected Ministers can be described only as excellent, Sir, and if I am not telling the truth there are civil servants here from Nyasaland and they can go and tell the reporter of the *Express* here that I am telling falsehoods, but I am quite certain no such thing will happen, and I challenge anyone, any man to claim that civil servants in Nyasaland are running away next

July. You must excuse me, Sir, for this blunt speaking, but that is my style."

"I would also like to associate myself with the tribute that you paid to the Honourable Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Michael Blackwood. I do not hide it from you, Sir, that he and I have disagreed and even quarrelled violently in the past, and no doubt we shall continue to do so even in this conference. But, Sir, I must be frank and honest with you. Whatever my disagreement with him I must give him the credit that is due to him. He and his colleagues, and there are only five of them, have provided us with a responsible Opposition, and let me tell you, Sir, whatever you hear about me, I like responsible opposition."

"You have rightly, Sir, drawn attention to the economic and financial difficulties facing my country and my people. No one is more clearly aware of these economic difficulties and problems as I am. Nor have I made any attempt whatsoever to hide them from the people. I have the honour to lead. Far from it. On the contrary I have taken every opportunity to impress it upon my people that we face great and grave economic and financial difficulties which will become more and more acute with independence. But I am not afraid of these difficulties and problems, Sir. You see, Sir, I lead the people, intelligent people, determined and dedicated. They believe in me. I believe in them."

"I am most grateful to you, Sir. The Governor has already thanked you for the kind assurance you are giving us, and I want to associate myself with the Governor's words. We are most grateful to you, Sir, for your assurance that H.M. Government will do everything possible to help us, because I do not hide it from you or anyone else that we shall need your help. But I can assure you, Sir, that we will do everything in our power possible to deserve any help you give us in this country."

Not Poor, But Neglected

"In fact we have already started doing so. We have just passed an ordinance creating a development scheme. We have also imposed a graduated tax. My friends to the right tried to make political capital out of it at one time, but they did not succeed, because my people understand, and I am sure he was only just teasing in the Legislative Council, he had to say something. So then, Sir, I can assure you that you will not find us ungrateful to you. We will do everything on our part to deserve your assistance, because we are among other things a proud people, we want to feel that we are doing something for our country, and that is why I have all along from the time I went back to the present told all my people that our country is not poor, but neglected, and it is up to us to develop because it can only develop with our own effort, our own sacrifice and our own energy, but of course we shall want help from outside."

"I am very grateful to you, Sir, for referring to the affectionate ties that bind my people to the people of the United Kingdom since the days of David Livingstone. Like yourself, Sir, we in my country cherish these ties. That was why, among other things—if you will forgive me for referring to an unhappy incident—that was why, Sir, we strongly resented and bitterly opposed the imposition of the kind of association which was not in keeping with these ties, and which to us meant a loosening of these ties. I am very happy that, as a result of the wise action on the part of H.M. Government, particularly since 1960 when you gave us a new Constitution, the old relationship between your people and mine has been restored, and I must say that the result of the work of this conference will strengthen those ties even further."

"I have referred to my friend the Hon. Leader of the Opposition here. I have said that he and I disagree and will continue to disagree, and I am sure will disagree here, but I am quite certain that he is a realistic man. I am saying this because I have been reading the newspapers; indeed I know the newspapers tried to provoke me to go on his neck, but I will not do it at all; I will not do it. Only with your permission, Sir, I would like to say one thing, because it would not be fair or honest on my part to hide from you the circumstances or the background under which my delegation and I are here."

"H.M. Government gave us a new Constitution in 1960. Under that Constitution elections were held last year. As you know, Sir, that Constitution provided for two rolls, an upper roll and a lower roll. Though it does not say so, the upper roll was intended for Europeans and the lower roll for Africans."

"What happened? My Hon. Friend challenged me on the lower roll; I accepted his challenge. He put candidates to contest the lower roll; I put candidates to contest his upper roll. What was the result? Every one of his candidates lost his deposit. Not a single lower roll seat was gained by my friend. I gained at least two of his higher roll seats, and one

(Concluded on page 249)

Sir Edgar Whitehead's Address to United Nations*

Emphatic Faith that Southern Rhodesia Can Build a Strong Non-Racial State

WHEN THE FIRST WHITE PEOPLE came into Southern Rhodesia in 1890, a country the size of pre-war Germany, the population was estimated to be about half a million. It was a very empty part of the world. Today the population is nearly 4m., of whom 3,600,000 are Africans. The population has multiplied seven times in 70 years.

That it will double within the next 20 years is one of the major factors which must lead to consideration of the whole of our economic and political future. The day when we could rely purely on agriculture is passing. The need for industry and development is paramount.

The first Constitution giving Southern Rhodesia some form of self-government was 40 years ago. In 1922 a choice was put before the electorate, then entirely white, as to whether they would prefer to become part of South Africa or govern themselves. By a large majority they decided to try how they could get on alone.

Since then the country has grown out of all recognition. Industry has grown probably more than in almost any country in Africa apart from those along the Mediterranean shore and South Africa. Standards of agriculture have risen. There have been great changes in thought. We had paid our expenses as we went. We have had very little external aid. After the last war we had a great burst of industrial activity and great investment from outside our borders.

Slight Interest in Politics

It was then that our African people began to take an acute interest in politics. Before the war that interest had been very slight. When we were asked in 1953 to decide whether we would join in a Federation with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, we inquired at meetings with chiefs and representatives of the African people whether they considered it a good idea or not, and we found very little interest.

Of course, we are part of Africa. The white people, like the Africans, have lived there for a long time. Some of my friends are of the fifth generation born in Africa. Some of my Ministers are third generation born in Africa. We have a permanent place in Africa: We cannot feel that, because once upon a time we had lived in Europe, therefore our main ties are with Europe.

Many people believe that all workers in our country have white employers. That is no longer true. At our last census 56,000 were employed by African employers, and the number of African employers is growing rapidly.

What we intend is complete removal of all racial distinctions. We are going very far in that direction—farther than some of the older countries have gone. We propose that racial discrimination in public places in Southern Rhodesia shall be made a criminal offence. Very few countries have done that.

In all countries with a very rapid increase in population there is a growing pressure on food supplies. We have achieved quite astonishing progress in that direction. White farmers have put on to field scale many of those soil tests and experiments which are so difficult to implement beyond the exploratory stage, with the result that last year they achieved the highest output of corn per acre anywhere in the world, including the United States. They have built up a tobacco industry which is the second largest exporter of Virginia tobacco in the world. In so doing they have made profits, the taxation from which has been invaluable in supplying the essential Government services that our people want.

So many of the experiments about local conditions, so many of the tests with new types of seed, new plants, and new weeding methods have been applicable in African agriculture and there we are carrying out a massive improvement in methods. Production per acre is most encouraging, far better than we expected.

Our infant and child mortality must now be one of the lowest in Africa, and it is still falling. In the tasks of feeding and providing opportunities in industry we have made very great progress. We have tremendous potential in irrigation. An altogether new level of living can be obtained by the people with the experience we have now gained.

We have a number of irrigation schemes specifically for African farmers, and have found that the normal return of the ordinary farmer after a fairly short training can be raised as high as \$200 per acre per annum. Those with a particular skill do very much better than that. We are an empty country. We have at least a million acres which can be treated in that way.

Rich Resources

We have made our part of the world self-supporting in sugar. In items like raw cotton, groundnuts, and wheat, not only can we ensure that future generations will be adequately fed but I am absolutely convinced that we can make a real contribution to relieving the food deficiency of the world as a whole if we carry on as we are developing today.

The type of pine that grows on the African continent, where temperatures are generally higher than in Europe, is a highly economic proposition with us. From plantations that we have established we have made ourselves self-supporting in newsprint.

We are blessed with a great variety of minerals. Contrary to expectation, in Southern Rhodesia most of the mineral industry is not in the hands of one or two large groups; quite small enterprises, locally financed, have found profitable minerals, with all the possibilities of a really great industrial future. We have adequate supplies of coke and coal, unlimited supplies of high-grade ore, and practically all the derivatives, the various alloys that are used. We are one of the world's largest producers of chrome. We have magnesium, manganese, tantalum, and a host of other minerals.

Industry already exists on a large scale. Our steel works produce a variety of products for the local market, and we can export pig iron to Europe at a profit after paying the transportation costs. All these developments mean more and more employment and opportunities for our people.

Modern labour movements, which have the full encouragement of the Government, are growing up. We will not recognize any trade union unless its membership is open to all races. If it restricts membership to one race only, we will not recognize it officially as a *bona fide* trade union.

Everything we are doing is leading towards the non-racial approach for the future we are trying to build. We have changed the old system of a rigid minimum wage to a minimum wage industry by industry, governed by boards in which the workers have full representation in determining with the employers what the minimum wage ought to be. With one or two exceptions, our wages are now probably among the highest in Africa.

Africans Paid on Same Basis as Whites

We have accepted in the whole of our labour legislation the principle of the rate for the job, and that means that where jobs had traditionally, though not by legal embargo, previously been done by immigrants from Europe or by local white people, as and when Africans take over those jobs they are paid exactly the same rate as the white man was paid. Not long ago all the drivers and engineers on the railways were white. Today hundreds of the drivers and engineers are Africans; they get exactly the same wage as the white man receives for doing the same work. Because we have no expatriates that is the system we are trying to build up. Our people, of whatever race, are all Rhodesians, and for any work they do they receive the same rate, regardless of colour or race.

The land problem is at the basis of a great deal of political difficulty. In the old days in our country any young man who married was allocated by his chief enough land to cultivate. With a seven-fold increase in population that is becoming difficult.

In the early days, when land was plentiful, areas were set aside by law for the use of the African people only, and the remainder was divided between those who could buy, into

*Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, spoke to the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations for about 80 minutes on October 30. This somewhat abbreviated report is taken from the official record.

land for African use and land for European use. That was done deliberately because the economic position of the white man was so much better than that of the African that unless such provision had been made the white man would have bought up all the land. As the years have gone by more and more land has been added to what was reserved for the use of the African people only; until today about four-ninths of all the land is reserved for the exclusive use of the African people.

About one-ninth is what we call national land for the use of the nation. The remainder is divided between land that may be bought by people of any race and land that is exclusively for the use of white people or African people for purchase. Our firm intention is to do away with that distinction within the next 12 months. The land reserved on a tribal basis for Africans under the new Constitution will continue to be reserved for that purpose exclusively, but all the other lands in the country will be available for purchase by people of any race.

Some Africans prefer the old tribal life on a mainly communal basis. Others are extremely desirous of getting advantage of freehold tenure and owning their own land. To date about 7,000 of them have purchased land up to 200 or 300 acres in extent, when I met the African National Farmers' Union last year I promised that we would get them another 3,000 farms of from 200 to 500 acres in the next 18 months. That pledge will be honoured. We are obtaining capital funds to assist in financing them, and everything possible is being done to stimulate the growth of co-operatives. Those developments will, I believe, lead to a great upsurge of wealth.

At present we have two farming organizations—one white and the other black—but already in the work of soil conservation and so on the organizations are coming together. I am quite confident that within a very few years the farmers of all races will be working together in one organization.

Achievements in Education

This year, in the course of two tours I have gone through all the remote rural areas, meeting the people to hear at first hand exactly what their needs are. Land is their first need. The second is education. What we have done is to establish the very broad base whereby primary education, for the first five years, is practically universal. At the last estimate 95.1% of all the children were actually in school for those first five years. The next three years of primary education are not as good. That is where the greatest demand lies at present.

But the standard is very high with the eight-year primary course. At the last U.N.E.S.C.O. meeting in Paris, and the following one in Madagascar, we had very full discussions with all the experts on these subjects, and they told us—and it is in the official report of the Paris meeting—that our last two years of primary education would be counted as secondary education in most African countries with a six-year primary course instead of an eight-year course. U.N.E.S.C.O. recorded that we had over 60,000 African children in secondary schools—because that was their reading of the change.

Allegations have been made to this Committee that, for reasons connected with the franchise we have deliberately held back secondary education. I have been Prime Minister for four years, and during that time the full secondary schools have increased in number from 23 to 42 schools, and I have twice raised taxation in order to get the extra money necessary for improved educational facilities.

If it is suggested that we are wrong in trying to give all children some education, I can only reply that, having travelled through my country and talked to the parents, I should be faced with an explosive situation if I were to say that half the children were not to go to school at all in order that the other half could get more secondary education. None of the parents would agree. The universal desire is for universal education.

Warm Tribute to Teachers

I pay tremendous tributes to our teachers, because for two or three years many of them have been working the "hot-seat" system, giving two courses and lectures a day in order that more children may get education. We are training 1,100 to 1,200 fully qualified teachers a year. On the technical side we have established a teacher-training school which at present is for Africans only, and which, I think, has one of the highest standards you will find anywhere. It is better than the standard provided by the Federal Government for white children, and I am hoping to get a number of teachers from there from our own training school who will be amongst the best technical teachers in Africa. For a country that is industrializing rapidly the training of our own technicians is obviously one of the first demands.

When I became Prime Minister we had approximately 600,000 children in school. In four years we have increased

the number to 593,000. We have increased the expenditure enormously, with no help from outside. It has been possible only by increased taxation, which has been borne willingly.

On a historical basis, built up over 70 years, we have a white community of about 225,000 persons, who are permanent dwellers in the country, with a great love of it. They have done a great deal for it: whether in agriculture, or in the establishment of industry or forestry, or in providing an administration when the country was primitive, they have fulfilled an invaluable service. There is not the slightest doubt that that will continue. They have no real ties or loyalties outside Southern Rhodesia.

About six years ago, almost for the first time, the African people began to take an acute interest in politics. That interest must be recognized and met. But the solution that has been so simple in many parts of Africa, with a number of expatriates, many of them with great devotion and loyalty, serving the country where they spent their life-work and then retiring very often somewhere else, is quite different from where you have all the races living together on a permanent basis, and where, in particular, industrial employment has been built up to the level at which already 600,000 people are dependent for their livelihood and employment on those industries. You cannot then make the sudden and violent change-over in the political situation which is made elsewhere.

African Majority Within Fifteen Years

I have, of course, been aware for a long time that there is a great suspicion on the part of our African people who take an active participation in politics that the white majority seek to cling for ever. That is quite untrue. I have told a predominantly white electorate that in my opinion there is no doubt that the African will have a majority within 15 years—a very short time in the life of a nation, and a very short time in which to train administrators up to senior levels.

There is no idea that suddenly one day what has been a predominantly white Government will change into an entirely black Government. That is not our approach at all. The idea is that right from now, whether the man had his origin in Europe or in Africa, both white and black shall take part at every stage of planning, at every stage of development, and that gradually, as the years go by, the majority will predominate. But the other will not disappear. It would be a tragedy for all our people if one of the ingredients disappeared. The minority still have a most valuable and important part to play, and it is essential that they should not leave, but that their acquired knowledge should continue.

I am absolutely satisfied that ours is the right way for our conditions, with that large majority. I was talking the other day to a young, active white politician who at the age of 30 has acquired quite a bit of prominence. He said: "I know that your successor is likely to be an African, but I do not mind that at all so long as he belongs to our party; and I am quite prepared to serve under him." We cannot afford to waste the talent of those born in the country, educated in the country, with loyalty and devotion to it, prepared to fore-go race and serve loyally under somebody of a different race.

Alternative Courses

In the solution of our problems we have three alternatives. One—which I have utterly rejected in public in my own country—is to try to continue white supremacy indefinitely. I have told my own Parliament that white supremacy in Southern Rhodesia is an extinct as a dead—*is dead* word. Of course, every word I say here will be reported in my own country; and I regret it.

The other alternative is that, following the pattern of most of Tropical Africa, the expatriate will disappear as soon as his presence is no longer essential; that, wherever he can be replaced by an African able to do the work, he will be replaced. That, to my mind, is our country would be doubly disastrous.

To begin with, we have no expatriates; our people were born and brought up there. Those who have had homes there feel that, if they are going to be completely discriminated against in their employment and everything else, it would be impossible to remain, and the country would collapse. If that policy were actually carried out we would be faced with a situation probably worse than that which arose in the Congo. The result would be to deprive the country of a million of the country, and nothing but disaster would follow.

I believe there is a better way for my country—that, first of all, all vestige of discrimination against the

PERSONALIA

MR. REX REYNOLDS has left London for Rhodesia after a short business visit.

H.H. THE AGA KHAN sent £3,500 to the Tanganyika National Fund, which has now closed.

THE REV. J. MTEKATEKA, a canon of South-West Tanganyika, has been appointed Archdeacon of Njombe.

MR. K. C. MATTHEWS has returned to Coventry from his visits to the Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, and the Rhodesias.

SIR ANTHONY SWANN, Defence Minister in Kenya, is due back in Nairobi at the end of the month after leave in this country.

MR. HUGH C. BARING has joined the board of United African Explorations, Ltd. He is a director of several trust companies.

MR. G. B. CARLAND, Deputy Governor of Uganda, has been appointed registrar of Birmingham University as from April next.

MR. J. R. E. CARR-GREGG has arrived in Nairobi from Accra to take up duty as director of British Information Services in Kenya.

DR. DENIS REBBECK, managing director of Harland & Wolff, Ltd., has been elected president of the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation.

THE REV. S. G. CANN, a U.M.C.A. missionary in South West Tanganyika, is to be area secretary for the mission in South-East England.

SIR ARCHIBALD ROSS, British Ambassador in Portugal, and LADY ROSS have returned to Lisbon after visiting Mozambique and Angola.

SIR NEIL PRITCHARD, British High Commissioner in Tanganyika flew back to Dar es Salaam in the middle of last week after consultations in London.

DR. S. K. LUYIMBAZI-ZAKE, Education Minister in Uganda, attended last week's U.N.E.S.C.O. meeting in Paris, when Uganda was admitted to membership.

MR. OROTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, received from the President of the United States during his recent visit a walking-stick which MR. KENNEDY had used for about 20 years.

MR. L. E. TENNANT, Chief Game Warden in Uganda, is chairman of the committee appointed to advise on the practicability of establishing a zoo near Kampala or Entebbe.

MR. H. L. KIRKLEY, director of the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, and MR. T. F. BETTS, field director for East and Southern Africa, have been visiting Tanganyika.

MR. GILBERT D'ESTRANGE, the deputy chairman, will become chairman of the Provident Mutual Life Assurance Association on January 1 in succession to Sir Eric Cross Barrow.

MR. B. G. S. CAVEN, deputy chairman of British & Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd., was a passenger for Lusitania in the Portuguese CASTLE when she sailed for South Africa last Thursday.

DR. BRUNNER, Foreign Minister of West Germany, presided last week at a conference in Uganda of 25 German ambassadors and other heads of missions in Tropical and Southern Africa.

MR. S. A. BRYAN, First Secretary of State, and Miss Bryson received the guests at a Government reception last night at Lancaster House in honour of delegates to the World Bank Constitutional Conference.

MR. HARRY BARON, chairman and managing director of a large property company, has made a personal donation of £10,000 to the President's Free Range Campaign for the special purpose of financing the purchase and initial running of a farm institute in Northern Rhodesia.

MR. J. F. THOM has been elected a director of Fisons Fertilizers, Ltd., a group with East and Central African subsidiaries. He has taken control of the sales force of the parent company.

MR. C. H. KINSLEY, who has been appointed general manager of Bahtu Press (Pty.), Ltd., Johannesburg, returned to South Africa some months ago after spending 17 years in the Federation as a journalist.

COLONEL ARTHUR EDWIN YOUNG, Commissioner of the City of London Police, who was seconded to Kenya during the Mau Mau rebellion, is expected to be appointed Chief Inspector of Police for England and Scotland.

SIR GEORGE HARVEY-WATT, chairman of Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa, Ltd., has joined the board of the Standard Bank. He is a director of the Midland Bank, the Eagle Star Insurance Company, and other enterprises.

SIR DONALD MACGILLIVRAY, who has been chairman of the Council of State in Kenya since it was created four years ago, has been elected chairman of the Kenya Meat Commission in succession to MR. J. A. R. KING, chairman since 1957.

MR. S. N. OKOVA, who for the past two years has been in Addis Ababa as an assistant economic affairs officer with the United Nations, has returned to Kenya on appointment as Under-Secretary in the East African Common Services Treasury.

DAME LESLIE WHATELEY, director of the World Bureau in London of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, will leave tomorrow to spend three months in a number of African countries, including the Sudan, East Africa, Rwanda, and the Congo.

When he suggested recently that £30m. should be spent on providing Matabeleland with water from the Zambezi River, the Southern Rhodesian Minister of Social Welfare, MR. A. E. ABRAHAMSON, said that such a project would do more than any other scheme to quell the unrest caused by poverty.

DR. CONOR O'BRIEN, whose term in Katanga as U.N. representative caused so much controversy, is in London from Ghana for a few days. His book "To Katanga and Back" was denounced on Monday by a United Nations spokesman in New York as "tendentious both as to facts and interpretation".

PROFESSOR D. T. JACK, Professor of Economics at Durham University, who has served on several East and Central African commissions of inquiry, is to act as arbitrator in a steel demarcation dispute between the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation and the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers.

MR. ALFRED MERCADO, MR. GEORGE SCHECHTER, and MR. WILLIAM S. TENNANT, representing the Foundation for Co-operative Housing in the United States, have just visited Kenya at the joint invitation of its Ministry of Health and Housing and the Agency for International Development of the U.S. Government.

MR. A. F. COOPER has arrived in Dar es Salaam to take up his appointment as manager of the Tanganyika Development Finance Co., Ltd., to the initial capital of which £500,000 each will be subscribed by the Tanganyika Development Corporation, the Colonial Development Corporation, and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Tanganyika's delegation to the current session of the General Conference of U.N.E.S.C.O. consists of MR. WILSON ELIJUFO, Minister of Education and Information Services, MR. AL NOOR KASSUM, Parliamentary Secretary to that Ministry, MR. D. D. J. GUMBI, of the Ministry staff, and MR. A. K. TIBANDEBAGE, Tanganyika Chargé d'Affaires in Bonn. MR. ELIJUFO and MR. KASSUM spent a few days in London before going to Paris for the meeting.

SIR ERNEST VASEY, speaking in Nairobi on his way to Washington to join the World Bank, said that the East African 'common market' needed to be established permanently to attract investors, with a treaty for an East African economic community that could be extended as other African countries became independent.

Visitors from the Federation now in London include: MR. DON C. DYKES, MR. JUSTICE A. S. HATHORN, MR. & MRS. H. R. HAYES, MR. H. HEPPELL, DR. H. JOHNSTON, MR. & MRS. J. A. MUNTZ, the REV. JOHN KALALE, MR. I. G. PAPER, MR. I. R. ROSIN, MRS. M. E. ROSIN, M.P., LIEUT-COLONEL C. J. SWIFT, and MR. E. F. VERNALL.

DR. FRANCO NOGUEIRA, Foreign Minister of Portugal, has stated that during the past 18 months more than 300 foreign journalists and radio and television correspondents have visited Mozambique and Angola, a fact which gave the lie to the critics who alleged that Portugal discouraged independent observation of its African territories.

MISS HANNAH STANTON is warden of the women's hostel at Makerere College, Uganda, not of a women's hostel in Kampala merely for Africans and Asians, as erroneously stated in a recent paragraph. She has under her care Europeans and Americans, as well as Africans and Asians. A friend writes that she is discharging her duties "very well, with great humility, dignity, and charm".

MR. BAKARI MAHARAGE JUMA has been appointed Commissioner for Co-operative Development and Registrar of Co-operative Societies in Tanganyika, vice MR. A. M. DYER, who retired recently. MR. JUMA, who joined the Government service in 1963 as a clerk, was the first member of the Co-operative Department staff to take a course in this country at Loughborough Co-operative College (in 1949).

MAJOR GERALD ACTON, assistant D.C. at Forest Lister in Nyasaland, has been admitted to hospital after fighting a leopard with his bare hands at Mlanje, where the animal had been attacking Africans. Major Acton shot the leopard as it sprang on him, but was clawed on his back and legs and bitten in the shoulder before he could kick the wounded cat away and shoot again. The leopard ran for cover and was chased by hundreds of Africans, who despatched it with knives and guns.

MR. E. F. N. GRATIAEN, Q.C., who was one of the legal advisers during the recent Uganda Constitutional Conference in London, was refused admission to Nigeria last week when he arrived by air at Lagos Airport to defend Chief Awolowo, leader of the Federal Opposition, and others who are charged by the Federal Government with treason, felony and conspiracy. Though he had been a member of the Nigerian Bar for some years, he was escorted to an aircraft due to leave for England a little later. Among the counsel for the defence in the Awolowo action is MR. E. H. O. DAVIES, who was one of the Counsel for Kenyatta when he was accused of managing Mau Mau.

MAJOR-GENERAL W. A. DIMOLINE, Colonel Commandant of the King's African Rifles, presided at the annual dinner, held in the House of Commons last week, of the King's African Rifles and East Africa Forces Officers' Dinner Club. Among those present were FIELD MARSHAL H.R.H. THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, guest of honour, GENERAL SIR WILLIAM PLATT, MAJOR-GENERALS E. B. HAWKINS and A. R. FYLER, BRIGADIERS F. R. W. JAMESON, H. MCL. MORRISON, R. S. MCNAUGHT, M. H. AP RHYS PRYCE, H. K. DIMOLINE, K. PEARCE SMITH, D. N. IRVEN, J. S. WILKINSON and P. W. P. GREEN, SIR JOHN HATHORN HALL, and LIEUT-COLONEL H. MOYSE-BARTLETT (honorary secretary).

MR. G. M. HULETT has retired from the offices of chairman and managing director of Sir J. L. Hulett & Sons, Ltd., Natal, a company with large sugar interests in the Federation. The new chairman is MR. R. S. ARMSTRONG, and MR. J. M. TAYLOR has become managing director.

Obituary

Archbishop Chichester

THE SUDDEN DEATH in Rome while attending the Vatican Council of the Most Rev. Aston Ignatius Chichester, Titular Archbishop of Velebusdo, who in 1955 became the first Archbishop of Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, was recently reported in these columns.

Lord Justice Russell has since written in *The Times* in the course of a personal tribute:—

"He was, I think, as a man and a priest as well loved as any I have met. I met him first when he arrived as Rector at Beaumont towards the end of my first term there. In those days the cricket field, during certificate examinations, was given over entirely to lawn tennis courts: the new rector was almost at once observed—gown skirts tucked into trouser pockets—acting as ball-boy: to us this was the first sample of the virtue of humility that illumined his life in all but the raising of finance.

"At first glance he lacked dignity: portly of habit, rather untidy in dress and coiffure, patchy in his shaving, a marked cast in his eye contributing to a crabwise gait. His speech was nasal. The whole invited and initially received mockery, which soon became indulgent and affectionate mimicry.

"I never met anyone, ecclesiastic or lay, male or female, Catholic or non-Catholic, old or young, who did not love him. The only tendency to reserve came perhaps from those responsible for control of expenditure on purposes which he considered important.

"When he was sent to Africa in episcopal rank he was sad to leave the Jesuit order. In Africa his reputation was everywhere. He was known as 'Chick'—though in England it was 'Chick'. If you went to Africa and said you knew him it was a password, even among those who had cause to know that his assumption of skill with a motor vehicle outran his technical competence.

"He has left behind him very many of all shades of thought, dogma, and skin who remember him as a good, intelligent and kind man—and a very shrewd one as well".

MRS. BLAIR SHAW, whose death is reported, had lived in Kenya for upwards of 30 years, first in the Nyeri district and then for many years near Turi. While her husband was with the Forces during the last war she ran their farm.

ADMIRAL SIR ERIC FULLERTON, K.C.B., D.S.O. who has died at the age of 84, commanded the river gunboats SEVERN and MERSEY when they were sent to East Africa in 1915 to destroy the German cruiser KOENIGSBERG, which had taken refuge in the Rufiji River. Unfortunately, the shelling of that vessel, though it made her unusable, failed to destroy her guns, which were removed and used effectively in a number of land actions against British and Belgian forces. Fullerton was made D.S.O. When he returned to Europe in 1916 he was given command of the battleship ORION in the Grand Fleet. He returned to East Africa in 1930 as Commander-in-Chief on the East Indies Station.

Threats to the Commonwealth

Sir Roy Welensky's Warning

THE COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS' CONFERENCE had been turned from a family gathering into an international forum, Sir Roy Welensky told the Federal Parliament last week.

At the recent conference instead of constructive discussion there had been a spate of set speeches, often directed mainly at audiences outside Marlborough House. If discussions were to be confidential, delegations would have to be smaller.

The principle that Commonwealth countries should not interfere in other countries' internal policies or politics had been abandoned. That could lead to the end of the Commonwealth, in which the forces of disruption were already dangerously explosive. "I do not believe that the Commonwealth could withstand the additional strains imposed by each country claiming and exercising the right to repair its neighbours' fences".

Signs were not lacking that the Federation would be the next country to be singled out for attack. "The attack will rest mainly on emotional grounds; but it will be no less dangerous because it is unreasonable. We can expect to have our political philosophy attacked by countries which are in the thrall of outright dictatorships—or what is now euphemistically called one-party rule. We can expect to be criticized by countries whose record of achievement does not even begin to compare with ours, and where freedom of the individual is but a faint memory of Colonial rule. We can anticipate that every lie about us will be cloaked in the dignity of truth and every fact in our favour dismissed as lying propaganda".

External Interference in Internal Affairs

Sir Roy said that, if necessary, he would give back as good as the Federation got: "Our record of service to the community and our non-racial policy of government can stand up for itself, and we shall be able to give a good account of ourselves".

If the Commonwealth was to retain its value as a sorting house for ideas for a large and important group of countries, it was vital that none of its members should abrogate to themselves the right to question each others' internal policies. The great danger lay in the immaturity and lack of restraint of some Commonwealth countries, and their determination that everyone else must be forced into the same mould as themselves. "This road can lead only to the division of the Commonwealth into two camps on mainly racialist lines, and ultimately to its disruption".

The case for British membership of the European Common Market was very strong politically and economically.

Politically there was in the E.E.C. the beginning of a new world Power which would only strengthen the forces of peace and economic progress. Economically H.M. Government saw the enlargement of their domestic market from 50m. to 230m. people as a challenging opportunity, and indeed Britain's best hope of keeping up with modern technological progress, which requires a broadly based domestic market as a condition precedent to the development of large-scale industries.

As the new countries developed their secondary industries, the older countries had to concentrate on more sophisticated industries, such as electronics and the manufacture of jet aircraft, in which the cost of research and investment could be supported only by a large domestic market.

"The Commonwealth, by virtue of its diversity and its preponderance of under-developed countries, cannot provide such a market. Europe can; and Britain is a European country." The Prime Minister said that he could well understand why H.M. Government was anxious to take part in the recent achievements in Europe. "I am sure also that they are sincere in their desire to join only if they can safeguard the interests of the Commonwealth".

Great problems must, however, be overcome before taking that decision. Indeed, a number of things could go wrong after Britain had joined. For example, the people of Britain

might fail to meet the economic challenge, and the British Government would have only one vote out of seven in the Community; despite their determination to preserve their traditional sovereignty, it might in time slip away, for economic unions tended either to develop into political unions or to disintegrate.

Drain on British Funds

Until Britain could reap the full advantages of belonging to the new club it seemed quite likely that the flow of capital to the Commonwealth, which was so necessary for its development, might turn into a trickle because of the need to develop and re-equip industries inside Britain.

"If a country is to develop it must have access to markets abroad and the world structure of prices should be such that it may produce for export at a profit which can be re-invested in further development, thus reducing its requirements of external financial aid". While the Federation needed capital from overseas, it was more important that it should have expanding markets and fair prices so that it could earn foreign exchange which could be capitalized in the Federation for the benefit of its people. The countries of the E.E.C. appeared to be in sympathy with that viewpoint, for they had indicated their readiness to negotiate agreements for liberalization of world trade. The United States was thinking along the same lines. "I regard this as of the greatest importance to the Federation, for we do not fear competition for our exports".

The Federal Government held that the country's interests would be best safeguarded if it were associated with the Six.

As to suggestions of common markets in East Africa or Africa as a whole, an idea talked about in international circles with increasing frequency, it was important not to pronounce too hastily. "For example, I would see no real economic advantage in a formal regional trade grouping of African States if there were no basis for trade between them, but only for trade between the individual States on the one side and countries outside Africa on the other. But, there was clear scope for increased economic co-operation between African States.

"It is not impossible that the forces that are moving against us in other spheres will try to oppose our association with E.E.C. on other than economic grounds. If so, we shall have to argue our case with the British, as other Commonwealth countries are doing".

P.M. Again Attacked by Lord Lambton

Government Not Trusted in Africa

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, which for the past year has consistently criticized the Macmillan Government for its abandonment of principle and resort to expediency in East and Central African affairs, has more than once recently had the public support of Lord Lambton, Conservative M.P. for the Berwick-upon-Tweed Division of Northumberland, who has now written in the *Sunday Express*:—

"The method of the Government is to say what is convenient at the moment without consideration of the future or the truth, and being governed at any cost by the necessity of saying what people want to hear.

"Shortly before the last election, Mr. Macmillan asked Sir Roy Welensky to accept the Monckton Commission. Sir Roy expressed the greatest reluctance, but eventually agreed when told that it would help the Conservatives to win the election; that if we won we would stand by him; and that at any rate the question of secession would not be considered. He was later given further assurances that secession would never be discussed.

"Despite this, secession was recommended in the report, and now the feeling of the Rhodesian leaders is that the British Government's word counts for nothing.

"The rightness or wrongness of the Monckton Commission is irrelevant. What is totally wrong is Mr. Macmillan's having broken his word to Sir Roy. It is not defensible by any standards; and it is because these methods have been so widespread during the last few years that I have reluctantly attacked Mr. Macmillan.

"Without idealism, without frankness, without a theme of policy, a country will decline in power and influence. That is what we are doing under the veneer of prosperity today".

Legislative Council Boycott Threat

U.N.I.P. Demands New Constitution

NOTHING BUT TROUBLE will result if the United National Independence Party is not asked by the Governor to form a Government for Northern Rhodesia after the national seat by-elections on December 10, the party leader, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, told his national council in Lusaka at the week-end. It resolved that he should fly to London next month to obtain a new Constitution from H.M. Government.

He contended that under the present Constitution "the minority party" could be put into power. U.N.I.P. won 14 seats in the general election on October 30, against 15 for the United Federal Party and five for the African National Congress. Mr. Kaunda added: "You cannot expect peace in those circumstances".

If Mr. John Roberts, the territorial U.F.P. leader, were to form a Government with the A.N.C., "we will give him hell"; and U.N.I.P. might "make it impossible for the Legislative Council to function if Europeans continue to withhold support from us at the by-elections".

The U.N.I.P. publicity secretary, Mr. Sikota Wina, announced that if the party were not called on to form the Government there was a possibility that Mr. Kaunda would tell the party's elected members not to take their seats. If U.N.I.P. did sit in the Legislature, one of its first motions would be that the Federation be abolished and that a new Constitution be introduced.

Music of Violence

The party director of elections, Mr. Nalumino Mundia, announcing that U.N.I.P. would contest all 11 by-elections, stated that "cha-cha-cha will be the music of the day when we go for our Constitution which will give a clear African majority", and that Europeans would forfeit their right to stay in the country unless they voted for U.N.I.P. candidates. "Cha-cha-cha" is the U.N.I.P. euphemism for "violence". Mr. Mundia later withdrew his reference to it.

Speaking on Sunday to some 8,000 Africans who gave him a five-minute ovation, Mr. Kaunda said that he wanted to see no signs of racial bitterness among Africans who were disappointed that Europeans and Asians had failed to support his party. "For the sake of the good ones you must not hate the whites or the Asians".

He asked his supporters to promise to keep the peace and not to fight with members of the A.N.C., with which party he hoped to form a Coalition Government. Two other solutions to the present impasse were intervention by Britain to give Northern Rhodesia a new Constitution, or votes from Europeans "for reason and progress" to help U.N.I.P. win the by-elections. "I want to warn the British Government in good time that we are not going to let ourselves be ruled by Welensky".

Liberals Disband

The Liberal Party, all of whose candidates were defeated, nearly all losing their deposits, has announced its disbandment, with the suggestion that members should join or support U.N.I.P., "which has proved that it commands the support of four out of five African voters". The announcement states that the Liberals can no longer obtain their objective of controlling the transfer of power to African nationalists. "Bumbling incompetence" by European leaders was responsible for this, not "belligerent African pressures".

The former leader of the party, Sir John Moffat, said that one-party African government was now a fact. It remained to be seen whether it came in peace or after a few months of strife and race tension. "Those who deplore this should remember that up to now we have had a one-party European Government. It is true that the new Government might not meet the tests of a genuine democracy, but past Governments have not been democratic either—and this applies to the Federal Government as well.

"If the A.N.C. sides with the U.F.P., then we shall be heading into major trouble. U.N.I.P. polled three times the votes of the U.F.P. and four times the votes of the A.N.C. With this backing, I cannot see them meekly accepting the consequences of a pact between two parties with nothing in common except hatred of U.N.I.P. It is difficult to see how Mr. Nkumbula can avoid siding with U.N.I.P. This will mean having an African Government at the beginning of the new Legislative Council instead of at the end, as the British Government had planned.

"The effect will be that the Federation will die, but I believe that Northern Rhodesia will agree to an economic

association with Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. When the new leaders assume full authority they will not run the country on British democratic lines, but Northern Rhodesia has far better prospects of building a stable society acceptable to all races than any other country in Africa".

An "unofficial" boycott of certain firms on the Copperbelt has been reported. U.N.I.P. headquarters has disclaimed any knowledge of it.

A meeting of 25 chiefs representing all the Protectorate's chiefs has called on U.N.I.P. and the A.N.C. to co-operate before the December 10 by-elections.

Schizophrenia of British Radicals

Inter-Racial Co-operation Repudiated

SIR ALBERT ROBINSON, Federal High Commissioner in London, said last week when addressing Ilford Chamber of Trade and Commerce:—

"Within six weeks the final round of the negotiations that will determine the future course of events in Central Africa will begin. By the middle of December the results of the Southern and Northern Rhodesian elections and the outcome of the Nyasaland constitutional negotiations will be known. Mr. Butler has received his advisers' report. This document will probably remain a piece of confidential domestic advice to the Government in London.

"A period of investigation, re-investigation, inquiry and consultation on many aspects of our affairs must now give way to final decisions regarding the pattern for the future. I believe that if the political leaders of Central Africa and Mr. Butler can approach this final phase in an objective fashion, then a lasting solution will be possible.

"Two major pressures cause many of us in Central Africa considerable alarm. First, the fact that so many intellectuals and radicals in Britain who exercise profound influence in the Press, in the Socialist Party in particular, and to some extent in the Conservative Party, together with those occupying important posts in the field of television, radio, the churches and the other major instruments of public opinion in Britain, seem to suffer from a strong schizophrenic malady which has a highly damaging effect upon our affairs.

"All the energies of these people in respect of African affairs are directed towards securing so-called freedom for the large masses on that continent. This gives them tremendous satisfaction, and explains why they angrily repudiate the alternative solutions of inter-racial countries.

In Quest of Chaos

"On the other hand, when their purpose has been achieved and countries are given their so-called freedom in the circumstances of a chaotic Congo, or the more peaceful circumstances we have witnessed in other African countries, but coupled with the immediate establishment of an authoritarian régime in which the lights of liberty are quickly extinguished, then these radicals and intellectuals deplore the failures and bemoan the fact that their high hopes have been dashed. The other half of their character then manifests itself in that, despite the tragedies and the failures that we have witnessed during the last few years in Africa, these same people continue to urge upon the British Government similar solutions for Central Africa with all the evidence that exists.

"Their propaganda and their efforts inside and outside the British Government will have to be matched with all our skill and resources.

"The other pressures which seek to wreck the chances of a happy solution to our problems is the activity of certain Casablanca extremist Powers in Africa, supported by the Soviet countries. These countries supply money and instruction in ways and means of ensuring chaos and dislocation in our country. Many of the political movements within the Federation rely almost completely upon these resources for their finance.

"If all political parties could undertake to rely upon internal resources instead of having to dance to the tune played by their masters elsewhere, then we should be much closer to finding truly satisfactory and independent solutions to the great problem of human relations that we are grappling with in Central Africa.

"I would appeal for a truce in our affairs during the last period of negotiations. Let those British radicals and intellectuals who constantly concern themselves with our affairs, as well as the extremist pan-African countries who interfere in our affairs, lay off for a while so that Rhodesians of all races can plan a happy future for themselves and the generations to come".

Draft Constitution for the Congo

Provinces to Have Little Power

ALL REAL POWER will rest with the Federal Government of the Congo if the draft Constitution prepared by a team of United Nations experts be adopted.

The Katanga would lose at least half of its present revenues—and be less well treated financially than when under Belgian administration.

Moreover, if it disagreed on a major matter with the Federal Government, that authority would be entitled to suspend the provincial Constitution, dismiss its Government, and appoint a committee of administration.

In short, the plan is designed to create a strongly centralist Congo—which means abandonment of the plan for regionalism adopted by the Congolese political leaders at their conference in Tananarive.

The draft Constitution runs to 52 pages of typescript. An explanatory memorandum takes 25 pages.

The opening statement is that "The Federal Republic of the Congo is a sovereign, federal, democratic social State".

Division of Authority

The Federal Government would retain control over foreign affairs; defence; external security; the gendarmerie; federal finance, taxation and currency; foreign exchange; customs, including import and export duties; communications; higher education; commerce, banking and company law.

Matters of "common interest" to the Federal Republic and provinces would include civil and traditional law; labour legislation; legislation concerning mineral and oil deposits, industry, power, and the conservation of natural resources; internal security; pensions and public health; agriculture and scientific research; and taxation (including excise duty) other than that reserved to the Federal Government.

All other matters would be the exclusive concern of the provincial Governments—including administration of the province, its electoral laws and finance; the grant of concessions for mining and other enterprises; public works of local interest; provincial police, law courts, and prisons; local government; local taxes and duties; and internal communications.

At Mercy of Federal Government

A state of emergency might be proclaimed by the President on the advice of the Federal Government in time of war, if an external danger threatened the Republic or if the regular functioning of federal or provincial institutions was interrupted, and the President might then suspend part or all of the federal or provincial Constitutions, such actions being submitted as soon as possible for the approval of Parliament.

A state of emergency might be proclaimed over-all or part of the territory of the Republic.

A conference of Governors of provinces, presided over by the President of the Republic, and attended by former Presidents and the Federal Prime Minister, would meet twice a year. Its function would be merely advisory.

If the Constitution of a province be suspended, the President of the Republic would appoint an administering committee under a Federal High Commissioner.

The Federal Parliament would have the sole right to legislate on customs duties, import and export taxes, and income tax, whether of individuals or businesses. Other taxes, including excise duty and purchase tax, might be imposed either by the Federal Parliament or

by the provinces. Customs and excise duties would be collected by the Federal authorities, and other taxes by the provinces.

Import duties and taxes paid by commercial companies and 50% of export tax revenue would accrue to the Republic. Excise duties, purchase tax, and 50% of export taxes paid within their own territory would go to the provinces.

Mining and oil drilling concessions would be granted by the provinces, but all resultant revenue, including royalties, would be paid to the Federal Government, which would return half of the net income to the province from which it derived.

A special police force under the Federal Government would be established for the Federal district of Leopoldville. In case of emergency that force could be used in any province which asked for its assistance, or in which the Federal Government judged it necessary for the preservation of public order.

Each province would have its own police force, but the size and equipment would be determined by Federal law.

The gendarmerie and the national *Sûreté* would come under the exclusive authority and control of the Federal Government.

National Army

The Republic would have "one national army for land, sea, and air", the organization, rules of discipline, and conditions of service being determined by Federal law.

All the garrisons of the army stationed in the provinces would be under direct orders of the Federal General Staff.

Intervention in the internal affairs of a province would be permissible (1) at the request of the provincial Government; (2) when a state of emergency had been proclaimed by the Head of State; (3) on the refusal of a provincial Government to conform to a Federal order or a ruling of the Constitutional Court.

The strongly centralist character of the Constitution is emphasized in the following passage in the explanatory memorandum:—

"It is sufficient to cast a rapid glance over the list of matters figuring in Articles 40 and 41 to see that the Federal Government is strengthened in various ways: for example, questions reserved for its exclusive legislation; existence of a national centralized army; power to suspend the Constitution of a province in case of emergency; control in the last resort of the police forces; economic power given to the Government by the system of sharing revenue laid down in Articles 176 and 179; the right of the President of the Republic to convene Provincial Assemblies in extraordinary session; possibility for the Federal Government to grant subsidies to the provinces; finally, the measures to ensure the uniform administration of justice in all parts of the Republic"

Use of Dr. Banda's Head

WHEN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL of Nyasaland discussed the Development Bonds which the Government is to issue at 10s. each, Dr. Banda said:—

"Du" [the late Danduru Chisina] came to see me about the design to be put on the bond. He wanted my head on it, and we had an argument about it. I told him that while I am still alive the only place where I would like to see my head is anything that has to do with the Malawi Congress Party. There I don't care—whether it's a tie, a badge, a shirt, or anything else.

"But when it comes to money, or something else money—and a bond is money—at this stage I prefer not to have my head on it.

"So I told 'Du' that in my view the best appropriate design to be on the development bond should be a woman, a mother with a baby beside her. After all, I have a woman, my woman, and I like to think of myself as a mother, the mother of all the children of the country, just as I consider myself the father of all the children of the country.

"I beg the Minister of Finance to reserve the first 50 bonds for me. From No. 1 to 100, 50 are reserved for me. Nos. 1 to 500 are going to be approached to various people. Nos. 501-510 to Mangochi Chisina, Nos. 511-520 to Tanyaka Chisina, Nos. 521-530 to Joseph Banda, and Mangochi Datta Chisina.

Bombing by Katanga Alleged by U.N.

U Thant Demands Positive Replies on Plan

KATANGESE AIRCRAFT were reported by United Nations sources in the Congo to have dropped about 70 bombs last Sunday in northern Katanga in raids on a road junction at Kaseyalubunda, a bridge over the Lukuga River near Kabeya Maji, a hospital in Masemba and villages in Mbila, Kitula, Kaseya and Kabalo.

The Katanga Government issued a formal denial, describing the charge as a "new element in the programme of psychological preparation" by the U.N. for a fresh offensive against the province.

The U.N. command in Leopoldville issued a *communiqué* stating that intensive air reconnaissance would be mounted to verify what seemed to be "fairly reliable" reports on the bombing. It added that first estimates of casualties had been exaggerated. U.N. jet fighters had been instructed to "react immediately" to Katangan aircraft engaged in offensive operations.

On Tuesday the U.N. reported more Katangese bombing, and in New York the Katanga Information centre stated that air raids had been directed on Sunday against Congo troops "besieging" Kongolo.

The Acting Secretary-General of U.N.O., U Thant, wrote last week to President Tshombe and to the Congolese Prime Minister, Mr. Adoula, demanding "positive replies" from them by today on his renewed appeal for a speedy fulfilment of his plan for the reintegration of Katanga with the Congo. Failing a satisfactory reply, economic sanctions affecting Katanga's copper and cobalt exports are understood to be under consideration by the U.N.

Mr. George McGhee, a United States Under-Secretary who recently visited the Congo, has flown back via London and Brussels in order to mediate between Katanga and the Central Government.

Norway has offered the U.N. command 300 officers and men for anti-aircraft crews in the Congo.

In Elisabethville two Tunisian U.N. soldiers have been arrested after a brawl in the city in which two Katanga policemen were killed and two others and a civilian wounded.

Plans announced in Elisabethville last week for a 5% cash tax on all bank balances, 5% on the value of capital equipment, and 5% on all rents paid last year, have been shelved, a Katanga Government spokesman stated on Monday.

The U.S. Government has offered the Congolese Government some \$5,000,000 to finance the import of American goods, bringing the total of such aid to \$29m to date.

Outlook Terrifying

As Nixon Part, will last month United Kingdom representative on the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, said in a B.B.C. television programme on Monday evening: "I believe that the future outlook is bleak and terrifying. There is a prospect of perhaps 10 years of unending bloodshed. On returning to this country I find an extraordinary fact we are on the edge of a new era. We are not only in Southern Rhodesia, but in East and West Africa. There is a new era and a new era will find that you have an unending bloodshed in Africa."

South Republic "Crisis"

The South African Government has announced that it will be withdrawing its forces from the territories of the former South African Republic. The Government has also announced that it will be withdrawing its forces from the territories of the former South African Republic. The Government has also announced that it will be withdrawing its forces from the territories of the former South African Republic.

Universal Suffrage Beats Democracy

May Lead to Civil War, Says Oppenheimer

MR. HARRY OPPENHEIMER has said in London at a dinner of the South Africa Club that the refusal of African nationalists everywhere to consider any political system except that based on "one man one vote", and the support given to that attitude, particularly in relation to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, by people in the United Kingdom and the United States, had caused most South Africans to dismiss the possibility of compromise solutions to the problem of power in Africa.

The emergence of one-party States in most parts of Africa and the chaotic conditions in the Congo had convinced most white South Africans that black Africans could neither operate a parliamentary democracy nor provide honest and efficient administration.

Mr. Oppenheimer continued:—

"Paradoxical as it may seem, it is the acceptance of a 'one man one vote' franchise which has destroyed parliamentary democracy in most of Africa.

"In a primitive country where literacy is low and tribal loyalties strong, the masses cannot be expected to differentiate between an appeal by the Opposition to turn out the Government and an attempt to subvert the constitution. In such circumstances free elections on the basis of 'one man one vote', far from ensuring stable democratic government, are very likely to lead to civil war, and it becomes necessary—indeed, desirable—to accept a one-party system."

Rhodesians Will Fight for Liberty

"But now consider those countries where there is a large permanently settled white population. Africans in South Africa or Rhodesia who insist on 'one man one vote' are really, consciously or unconsciously, demanding the end of all parliamentary opposition and the concentration of power in the hands of a single African nationalist party. This is something that no substantial European population will accept or ought to be asked to accept. They might, as in Southern Rhodesia, agree to abandon their position of domination, but they will fight, and rightly so, to maintain their political liberties."

"I still believe that a policy of racial partnership in Southern Africa is right and practical. I do not mean by that, however, that I think that the white population should surrender its interests or its mission—for it still has a mission. The whites have undertaken a work of civilization in Africa and they are determined to complete it. It would not, however, be true civilization unless Africans were associated with it to the full extent of their ability and will to co-operate.

"This sounds old-fashioned, of course. But where have the new fashions in Africa taken us? In most of Africa principle has been surrendered—not to force but to the mere threat of force."

"In South Africa and in Rhodesia great issues of principle are under debate. Opinions differ widely, and neither side has a monopoly of courage or sincerity. Out of their clash we may yet work out solutions to our racial problems that will serve us and provide a pattern of wide application elsewhere in Africa."

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Sir Edgar Whitehead's Speech to U.N.

(Continued from page 239)

African people which has existed in the past shall be finally eliminated and put outside the law. Secondly, that all separation of land between races, except for the old tribal lands, must be done away with. Thirdly, that peoples of all races must be involved — not just in the final decision-making but in the prior planning. Fourthly, that by our acts in the next few years may be seen the absolute sincerity of our desire to build this new world.

I have done, I think, more in the last four years to remove racial discrimination than had been done by anybody else in the previous 40; and I intend to complete the task for the happiness of all the children of all races now growing up in my country.

We have one of the highest birth-rates in the world, and a very high survival rate. Wherever I go I see these thousands of children, dependent for their future prospects on the right decisions being taken now. I am absolutely sincere in believing that it is only by this new way that we can attain our goal — something unique in Africa. But Africa has a habit of producing new things. It has never been tried elsewhere on the continent, but I believe that it can succeed. I intend to make it succeed.

Proud Record

When I took over the Constitution had been in force for about 37 years. It gave the entire administrative power to the Southern Rhodesian Government. From the economic, educational and agricultural achievements, I do not think they did too badly. In comparison with others, they did extremely well. There were mistakes; but nobody is perfect.

On the legislative side we had complete freedom in the all-white Parliament to do whatever was desired unless it involved discrimination. If so, it was reserved for United Kingdom decision.

With regard to discrimination, everybody would agree that you cannot possibly, while you have different religions and faiths, enforce the same marriage law on everybody, regardless of his religion. Each must be allowed to have his own. There are certain situations like that in which differences in law are quite proper.

In earlier days the United Kingdom was not perhaps terribly interested in us. Communications were very slow before the days of aircraft, and I do not think much interest was taken, and progress was slow. In later years they were very interested. They sent a diplomatic mission, which is our existing linkage with the U.K.

The Committee decided on a previous occasion that we were not, in fact, self-governing internally. I felt very sad about that, because the United Kingdom, with her great generosity, has assisted all her Dependencies through Colonial Development and Welfare Funds. Every time we hoped for some assistance we were told that, as we were self-governing, we could not have access to those funds. For 30 years we have been completely deprived of aid from C. D. & W. funds because we were self-governing. So it is perhaps a little unfortunate now to be told by this august body that we are not self-governing after all — and so should have been receiving that assistance all this time. I could have gotten very much further with our health services and other developments had that aid been available.

Out-of-Date Constitution Refurbished

It seemed to me that the time had come when we needed to refurbish our out-of-date Constitution. If we continued with the old Constitution it was fairly clear that at the next general election it was likely that only two Africans would find a place in our Parliament; in the one after that, seven or eight; in the one after that, perhaps 15. It was going to be a very slow process. Other measures in our old Constitution needing changing, so I asked the United Kingdom to discuss a new Constitution. They said it would be necessary to have a full conference of all political parties and all interested parties in order to reach agreement on a new Constitution, and that was done.

Our conference began in London in December 1960. We had only two days there. We resumed in our own capital city in January, when I took the chair for a fortnight while we discussed the less important matters and waited for the British Ministers and impartial chairman to join us at the end of January. We reached complete agreement — with the exception of the right-wing European party — and the report

to the conference was issued embodying that agreement.

It was a clear three weeks afterwards that Mr. Nkomo announced that he no longer agreed with the agreement. All of us had reserved our position on the one point of franchise, but as to the rest of the agreement, with that one exception, we had agreed to the full terms — particularly with regard to the Declaration of Rights, in which I was especially interested.

Contrary to what is so often thought, I am convinced that there will be an African majority in my country in a given number of years, and I was therefore particularly interested in the protection of minority rights and in the device that was enshrined to protect them. I am rather proud of that device, which I think unique. I thought of it myself and got the others to accept it.

It was that with regard to entrenched clauses — which, unhappily, in the past have not always been observed — we should have to have a referendum of our four racial groups, voting separately before any alteration could be made. I am very happy with that device, because if there is anything that really does give protection to minorities that is it. Where you have many races sharing a country, who are going to share it permanently, I hold that, with regard to the entrenched principles, you could have no better protection than that particular device.

Some people say that our next Parliament could make the franchise more onerous or unfavourable to the African. It could not be done unless the Africans themselves agreed to it — which, of course, they never would.

As for the other device, instead of the final decision going to a political body in the United Kingdom, it now goes to the courts. There is an absolute right of appeal for anybody who feels aggrieved by anything connected with the Declaration of Rights, to go right through until it reaches the Privy Council in London, where, on a strictly judicial basis, it will be decided whether the Constitution has been violated or not. That is a far better protection, in my opinion, than any political decision.

African representation was non-existent under the old Constitution, but they would have gotten probably their first two seats in Parliament at the first election. There is now a certainty that African voters will control at least 17, instead of two, at the first election, and progressively more at subsequent elections. That may be insufficient to satisfy many parts of world opinion, but it is nevertheless a very great advance. It is bound to advance further. Nothing can check it. And while we are training the African administrators — not just in the Government, but for business, industry and so on — so that the fully non-racial State which I have outlined can be in fact achieved, I think a rate of progress of that nature is not perhaps so unreasonable as it would be in a country where Africans predominate to 98% or 99% of the population.

Aim to Build a Non-Racial State

I know the suspicions that the European minority intend to cling to power for all time. I give the most solemn assurances that that idea is completely impossible. What we want is limited time to build a non-racial State — which, I admit, should have been started sooner — and we have every intention of doing it.

In my country anybody may hold any opinions he likes, without fear for himself, or make any criticism. Anybody can start any political party, holding any principles he chooses. At one time, we got up to about 12 political parties of the most widely varying shades of opinion.

The one thing I have taken action against is the refusal of a particular party to allow any sort of life or liberty to its opponents — those who absolutely refused to allow anybody who disagreed with them in politics to lead a normal life. Where another political party tried to hold a meeting it was invariably broken up. Where they even tried to hold private meetings, stones were thrown through the window. Where somebody belonged openly to another political party, he was either estranged or boycotted or his opinions were interfered with, or in some cases they even resorted to physical violence and petrol bombs.

One man was actually killed for failing to attend a political meeting which he had been ordered to attend. He went to a football match instead. For that he was beaten to death. Those are the things for which I have banned political parties — not their opinions.

The first political party that is prepared to allow its opponents to hold meetings peacefully, to compete with them, to argue and reason, is in no danger whatsoever of being banned. So far as I am concerned, I have no desire to suppress opinions. But what I must do, and shall continue to do so long as I hold my present post, is to take action against any political party that refuses to tolerate its opponents.

Many of those people of all races, but particularly the Africans, who really believe what I believe, that the future and happiness of my country lie in making a genuine non-

racial State, have suffered terribly for their beliefs. They have stood firm because they believe it so deeply and sincerely. Those who worked with me have often been called stooges and ridiculed. But a very large number of them hold the views sincerely that it is the best way for their own children. They have no right to have those beliefs absolutely refused and rejected and to suffer physical assault. And they have stood firm.

A picture has been painted from time to time that I use security forces — all white, all heavily armed — to maintain my position as Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia. It is quite untrue. But for my African people in the security forces it would be quite impossible to maintain those positions.

The police reserve in our country at the moment consists of 8,700 whites and 7,500 Africans. But the African who volunteers is paid only if he is called out for duty. This number has not only increased since the banning of Z.A.P.U. from 6,100 to 7,500, but has now gone over the top; I have had to increase the maximum to allow these volunteers to be taken on. I have talked to them on many, many occasions. They genuinely want to preserve law and order; they genuinely want to let people go about their daily affairs without interference, even to allow people to take no part at all in politics if they prefer sports or something of that kind. Those are their sentiments. If those people did not feel like that I should not be sitting here today.

Loyalty Which Cuts Across Race

I have a passionate belief that if we go ahead with the new Constitution in the spirit in which it was drafted by Rhodesians of all races, that within the next four or five years we can build into a nation in Southern Rhodesia people of every race — and we have many Asians and many people of mixed race who are genuinely devoted to seeing that the immense economic possibilities are going to be liberated for the use of the next generation; to complete our education programme; not destroying our industry and start again from the beginning on some different system; but to build from our present position, wipe out the errors of the past, clear away every barrier separating our people from one another, until we have reached the stage at which our resources — our human resources even more than our natural resources — are being used to the greatest benefit of all our people and we can feel a new loyalty — a burning loyalty which cuts clean across races.

I have risked my whole political future with a predominantly white electorate in preaching this over the last two years wherever I go. I see people of all races now beginning to recognize this ideal; I see them beginning to believe that it is going to work.

I believe that from my little corner in Africa we are going to be able to produce something that will be of real value to the world as a whole. I am not suggesting that anybody will copy us, but that we, living shoulder to shoulder, having to work out our future, may be able to find the solution that will be of value to others.

NORTHERN RHODESIA



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U.F.P. Endorses Non-Racial Policy

Sir Roy Welensky's "Concrete" Backing

SOUTHERN RHODESIA'S "only hope is the revolutionary change in our traditional policy" that the United Federal Party will present to the electorate on December 14; the Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, told the party congress in Bulawayo on Saturday.

The 400 European and African delegates, who gave him a standing ovation when he was re-elected chairman of the territorial division of the party, gave him unanimous support for his plea that the U.F.P. should "go the whole hog on the doctrine of the non-racial State".

It was agreed that it was a basic right that people should be free to associate with whom they pleased in their homes and private institutions; that they should be free from discrimination solely on the grounds of race, colour or creed in public places such as shops, cinemas, hotels, cafés and restaurants; that such discrimination should be made illegal; and that people should be free to acquire and occupy land in urban areas irrespective of race, colour or creed.

The Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, said when he arrived in Bulawayo that he hoped his presence would "bury once and for all rumours of a difference between Sir Edgar Whitehead and myself. If I live through the next six or seven weeks I hope to give concrete proof of my backing".

When Sir Edgar returned last Thursday to Salisbury after his visit to the United Nations and London, he said that although the voting could not be altered, a "quite unbelievable" change had occurred in the atmosphere at U.N.O. because of his talk to the Trusteeship Committee. A deeper interest in and a far better understanding of Southern Rhodesia's affairs now existed.

The British delegates had never visited the Colony and had been attempting to make a legalistic case out of written reports. "What the delegates wanted to know was what our plans and intentions were. The British representatives were unable to talk about that because they did not know".

Now they and the other delegations knew what the situation really was. The chief British representative was "fairly belting all opposition when I left; he was jumping down their throats as soon as they opened their mouths".

The Prime Minister added that the results of his visit were such that a second Rhodesia office might be opened in New York, in addition to that in Washington.

Church and Politics in Nyasaland

AN AFRICAN CHURCH LEADER in Kenya who recently visited Nyasaland has written in *Rock*, which is published by the Christian Council of Kenya: —

"I found a lot of political fear and intimidation around. It was discouraging to note how schoolchildren were wearing the Malawi badge every day—even in the classroom—as they were the Youth Wing of the Malawi Party.

"This happens with Church elders, too; many of whom will even wear their badges in church. One feels as though the motto is 'Caesar first, and then Christ.' I was dismayed by the pressure brought on everybody to join one political party.

"In Kenya we in the Church have been too afraid of politics. In Nyasaland I felt that the Church was too much in politics, without criticizing things in nationalism that are wrong.

"One of the missionaries there said: 'We need the brethren from Kenya. Could you send us, if only for a short time, one or two revival brothers who can speak and preach in English fluently to come and help us?' A provincial commissioner, himself a keen Christian, also says: 'What the Church needs here is revival. I felt that in Nyasaland we are seeing the total political commitment of the Church.'

Labour Wants New Constitutions

Communist Successes in Africa

ANOTHER CONSTITUTION should be prepared for Southern Rhodesia in talks with the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, and "leaders of the African movement there", the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, said in the House of Commons.

Criticizing the absence in the Queen's Speech of any mention of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, he said that a look at the situation in the two Rhodesias could not satisfy anybody on the policies that had been followed.

"Can anybody really suppose that the Northern Rhodesian Constitution will last? We do not know exactly what will be the result of the election today, but there seems to be general agreement that it is most unlikely to lead to any stable Government. It does not lead any distance at all along the path of constitutional reform and towards independence. The plain fact is that this question will have to be looked at again by the Secretary of State, with a view to giving to the people of Northern Rhodesia a constitution that corresponds far more closely with modern democracy. It is not satisfactory as it stands to make an arrangement which might, just, perhaps, possibly, give an African majority in the Legislature when the Africans are in the overwhelming majority in the country.

"Much the same is true of Southern Rhodesia. I do not know exactly what the Minister concerned feels about this, and whether he is intending to do anything more about it, but we have a very curious situation here. Sir Hugh Foot has resigned because he can no longer support the policies of H.M. Government at the United Nations. As I understand it, he resigned partly because he did not think that H.M. Government were right in trying to make out that they had no further responsibility for the affair. Yet Sir Edgar Whitehead is now apparently speaking as British representative at the U.N. The Government cannot have it both ways. If he is representing Britain there he is very closely tied up with us, and we must accept our responsibilities.

"As we all know, in 1923 a great measure of independence was given to Southern Rhodesia; but the fact remains that it was this House that had to approve the recent Constitution, and that this Constitution plainly is not adequate to the situation today. To give a large African majority—a majority of ten to one—a quarter of the seats in the Legislature is too little and too late. In my view the only thing to be done now is for the Government to approach Sir Edgar Whitehead and the leaders of the African movement there and work out with them another constitution. Unless that is done there will be no peace in Southern Rhodesia; that is all too clear".

Russian Influence

A warning against Communist successes in African countries was given by Dr. Alan Glyn (Con., Clapham). "The great struggle in Africa and Asia continues. Whatever we do the Russians will make every effort to spread their influence in these spheres. Everywhere in Africa and Asia we are losing ground, for the simple reason that the Russians are getting there first. They are giving contracts, offering loans at lower rates of interest, and selling goods at very favourable rates, with low initial payments and the remainder spread over a long number of years. It is up to us to make sure that we combat that effort as quickly and as forcefully as we possibly can. We have to make it clear that we are in Africa and Asia to help the people there, and not allow the Russians to get ahead of us in these areas.

"If our negotiations with the Common Market are successful, I am sure that as part of one enormous unit in Europe we shall be in a much better position to help the backward African territories, because by doing this we shall probably be giving the greatest encouragement to those countries not only to be friendly disposed to us but to exclude the Russians from these spheres of influence. This is the best way of combating Communism in Asia and Africa—by helping the people there in every possible way we can.

"By help, I do not mean only Government capital, but private enterprise as well. Many countries have systems of guarantees, and this is one matter into which our Government might look very carefully, in order to find some form of guarantee by which private investors who are free to invest in Africa or Asia may have a margin of security. This is something which would encourage investors and which would help our own nation's finances in giving aid to Africa and Asia".

Malawi Black List

Mr. R. A. Butler, Minister for Central African Affairs, answering a question from Mr. Biggs-Davison, said that investigations in Nyasaland had not produced evidence that the Malawi Congress Party had drawn up a black list to intimidate individuals uncongenial to that party. The party leader, Dr. Banda, and his colleagues had frequently stated in public that Europeans and people of other races who desired to invest capital or their personal expertise in promoting the territory's development were welcome, provided they were ready to co-operate with the elected Government.

Mr. Harold Wilson accused H.M. Government of "dragging its feet" on Southern Rhodesia at the United Nations. The resignation "of the outstanding pro-consul of our age", Sir Hugh Foot, had gravely weakened the Government's position.

Smouldering Congo

As to the Congo, where "agreement is apparently as far away as ever, with the Adoula Government weakened, Mr. Tshombe as intransigent as ever, and with the smouldering dangers which we can all recognize from past experience", Britain and Belgium had, he said, a heavy responsibility to bear for having refused to give the U.N. their full backing. "Undue sensitiveness to the requirements of certain financial interests have, once again, been at work". There had been a "sinister" build-up of aircraft for the Katangan air force, possibly provided from West Germany.

Mr. Biggs-Davison asked about troops of the Central Congo Government stationed in Katanga.

Mr. P. Thomas: "One battalion of A.N.C. troops is stationed at Kamina. They serve as part of the U.N. force. I am not aware that their presence has given rise to any provocation".

The Lord Privy Seal announced that the Government would make a grant of £714,000 through the U.N. to assist the Congo to buy British goods and services, in the light of the acceptance of proposals for a national reconciliation by the Central Government and Katanga.

A saving of £7,000 a year was achieved by closing the British Information Centre in Addis Ababa, Mr. Heath stated. Information work in Ethiopia had been assumed by Embassy staff, and the British Council's work was expanding.



PLAYER'S
please
THE WORLD'S
BEST LIKED CIGARETTES

Nyasaland Conference in London

(Concluded from page 237)

supported by my party. I am saying this, Sir, because no-one in this conference must forget the facts and background to this conference now, because when I was going about telling the people about the election I did not hide anything from anyone. Everybody knew why I was fighting the election. The issues were clear to me and to my people, and I did not hide them from the Governor. We won the election.

"Before the election we were told that if H.M. Government allowed the election to take place as planned there would be bloodshed, Nyasaland would be another Congo, but I promised the Governor and promised your predecessor in office that I would do my best to keep the peace, and when the election took place everyone agreed that it was the best election held anywhere — orderly and no incidents. Again we were being told that if the election took place and we were allowed to assume power the majority of Europeans, particularly businessmen, would leave Nyasaland. Well, Sir, they have not left. I have not heard of a single businessman who has run away because we are in power.

"I am saying this to emphasize the background under which my delegation and I are here. We feel, Sir, that we have come here, certainly I have, to receive. When I came here in 1960 I said I had come in the spirit of give and take. This time I have come in the spirit of take, to take what is mine by conquest at the ballot box, and if I may be forgiven for saying so, Sir, by successful and creditable performance in office.

"As you have said, Sir, we face a great task, a hard task, but I am certain, as you also have rightly said, that we are all old friends here, and this should enable us to come through without any difficulty. Thank you very much, Sir".

Conference to Plan Internal Self-Government

MR. M. H. BLACKWOOD, Leader of the Opposition, replied: —

"The assumption on which our delegation is attending the conference is to move Nyasaland to internal self-government, and the leader of the majority party, in this case Dr. Hastings Banda, up to Chief Minister or Prime Minister.

"I would like to pay tribute at this juncture, Mr. Secretary of State, to the ready accessibility that you, Sir, and Sir Glyn Jones, His Excellency the Governor, have at all times accorded to me as the Leader of the Opposition, and of course to the very friendly treatment which the leader of the majority party has always accorded me, and I would hope that the cordial relations between us will continue notwithstanding any divergence of view.

"In the process of fulfilling this constitutional advance, we would naturally expect safeguards to be written into the Constitution and provision made for the sanctity of the safeguards. This hitherto has been done by Bills of Rights and Constitutional Councils and other devices, and we would expect in the case of Nyasaland certainly a Bill of Rights and also a Constitutional Council. We have already studied the various constitutions of Southern Rhodesia, Ghana, Tanganyika, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and in the light of the experience we are not satisfied that a final sacrosanct conclusion has been arrived at, and we feel minorities are still too vulnerable, and the Constitutions as produced so far are too open to conversion into a vehicle for dictatorship. The trend towards one-party government is already apparent and, having regard to what happened in the Republic of South Africa, we consider that changes in the Constitution or to the Bill of Rights should require a two-thirds affirmative vote of each racial group taken separately.

Stagnation of Development

"The fact that a person has certain rights, including the right of appeal to the courts for protection, is not always adequate, and to use an example that the leader of the majority party has just made himself, the recently introduced personal tax in Nyasaland is thought by some to be *ultra vires*. But they are reluctant to go to the court because the cost which may be incurred acts as a sanction. While this is a suitable sanction in the case of frivolous litigation, nonetheless it may be a deterrent in the question of the preservation of rights, and accordingly we have given some consideration to the question of providing an *ombudsman* on the lines of the Swedish institution. It is not without significance that this has in fact been a matter of comment in the United Kingdom in the last few days.

"We are deeply concerned with the almost complete stagnation of private development, and the need to pro-

vide many more employment opportunities for the masses has become urgent. The developer and investor is only reassured by government action to protect his interests and rights, be they of his person or land; he is not influenced by the political announcements alone to the effect that he is welcome. This conference must give close attention to these problems.

"My delegation and the party which I represent has no wish to stand in the way of majority rule, and in principle we have no objection to full internal self-government. We feel that it is a necessary pre-requisite to finally determine the future of Nyasaland and its association with the other territories that in each territory there should be what is to-day called a popular elected government with responsible elected Ministers capable of meeting on equal terms around the conference table. It was our understanding that the pattern being followed by H.M. Government was to this end. We accordingly welcome this conference as being a necessary step in finalizing the future pattern of Central Africa and bringing an end to constitutional instability and change which at present inhibits development on every hand, to the detriment of all and of the African people in particular".

MR. C. CAMERON, the only Independent member of the Legislature, said: —

"It is customary on such occasions that speeches are of a general and non-contentious nature, and I will endeavour to restrict my remarks within these bounds.

"First of all, Mr. Secretary of State, I do appreciate your invitation to attend the conference, because by doing so you have recognized that there is in Nyasaland at least a large volume of support by the non-African communities for working with the great majority of the people, their elected representatives and their chosen leader. That this volume of support is there was manifestly demonstrated in the territorial elections of last year. Further, we of this persuasion in Nyasaland are bent on maintaining the mutual working understanding which there is at present with the people and their leaders.

Sustaining Mutual Efforts

"It is heartening to hear you acknowledge the efforts of Dr. Banda and the elected Ministers in our efforts to set the country on a steady and proper course for the future, and in this connection I would like to associate myself with your remarks about the debt we owe to the Governor, Sir Glyn Jones, for his patient understanding and assistance in tackling our responsibilities. I can assure you, Sir, that the energy and effort so far demonstrated will be sustained.

"This transitional stage to which you have referred is now ended, and it is fair to say that the 'reasonable period of trial' mentioned in the Report of the previous conference has elapsed. Moreover, the necessary experience which the chairman of that conference, Mr. Iain Macleod, thought to be a pre-requisite to further advance, has been acquired".

The Malawi Congress Party delegation is led by Dr. H. K. Banda, Minister of Natural Resources and Surveys, and of Local Government.

The other M.C.P. delegates are: Mr. M. W. K. Chiume, Minister of Education and Social Development; Mr. W. Chokani, Minister of Labour; Mr. O. E. C. Chirwa, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Justice; Mr. T. Z. U. Tembo, M.L.C., and Mr. I. K. Surtee, M.L.C. Their adviser is Mr. A. S. Sacranie.

The United Federal Party delegation comprises Mr. M. H. Blackwood, Leader of the Opposition, Mr. L. A. Little, M.L.C., and Mr. R. G. Morgan, M.L.C. Mr. Mathews Phiri is the group's adviser.

The official delegates are Sir Glyn Jones, Governor of Nyasaland; Mr. J. B. Pine, Q.C., Attorney General; and Mr. H. E. I. Phillips, Minister of Finance, and Mr. P. W. Youens, Deputy Chief Secretary (adviser).

Mr. C. Cameron, Minister of Works and Transport, is attending as an Independent member.

When he arrived in London last week, the Governor told reporters that a date for the complete independence of Nyasaland would be discussed at the conference.

Mr. Blackwood commented that if this were so, then his delegation had been tricked, for he had just received what he took to be an assurance from the Chief Secretary of the Protectorate last month that the conference would be concerned solely with the country's internal affairs and that there would be no discussion on the issue of the Federation.

"If I find that this assurance is not being kept I shall lead my delegation out of the conference room".

The British Central Africa Company

Chairman's Comments on Disappointing Results

MR. DONALD C. BROOK, chairman of the British Central Africa Co., Ltd., has written a circular letter to the shareholders saying:

"Our financial year, ended on September 30, 1962, has been a disappointing one for all concerned in our business. In my chairman's statement on last year's accounts, written early in February of this year, I said that, on the basis of a continuance of the then low level of tea prices, our profits must inevitably be lower than those of the past few years.

"Cool night temperatures which began in February, two months earlier than usual, prevented the natural increase in crop we were entitled to expect. Although our made tea to the end of February was 426,257 lb. ahead of that for the corresponding period of last year, the total for the full year showed a slight decrease on the previous year. Against this background I submit the following preliminary information for the year ended September 30, 1962:—

"The made tea produced was 3,013,224 lb., against 3,032,081 lb. for the previous year. Sales approximated 3.4m. lb. and commanded an average price in all markets of some 29½d. per lb. net, as compared with 2.8m. lb. realizing 39.5d. per lb. net last year.

Profits Halved

"The group gross profit from estates and plantations before deducting depreciation, income tax and other items shown in the profit and loss account is estimated to be £120,000, the comparable figure for the previous year being £233,234. It is expected that the proportion of the £120,000 applicable to tea should approximate £90,000, against £189,156 for 1960-61.

"As a result of these reduced earnings the interim dividend declared by the board on October 17 was 5% payable on November 20, compared with the interim dividend on 10% paid in October, 1961.

"Our subsidiary company produced 428 tons of all grades of sisal fibre, compared with 379 tons in the previous year.

"Confirmation has been received from the United Kingdom income tax authorities that your company qualified as an overseas trade corporation for the fiscal year ended April 5, 1962. As our methods of trading are unchanged, the company expects similarly to qualify for the year to April 5, 1963.

"Since the annual general meeting held in March I have paid two further visits to Nyasaland—in March and June, 1962. During the first visit I asked Mr. P. B. Leahy, a partner of my colleague Mr. G. S. Napier-Ford, to accompany me, and we made a thorough examination of our factories and manufacturing processes, with some improvement in the quality of our tea and in the prices received.

"During my visit in March I also went into the problem of tenants growing cotton at Chikwawa, to which I have referred in my last two annual statements. It was obvious that, despite successful legal proceedings for trespass which we took as a test case, the reluctance of many of our tenants to sign special tenancy agreements had not been overcome. A very difficult position would have faced us when the cotton crop was ready for ginning, for we could not have purchased cotton from tenants who had in fact become trespassers. After discussion with the authorities it was decided to accept an offer by the Farmers' Marketing Board to purchase the property and buildings thereon at a price of £60,000, which was paid forthwith. This is a satisfactory conclusion to an embarrassing and potentially dangerous situation.

Mr. Brook is now on his way to Nyasaland once more.

Mini Mini (Nyasaland) Tea Syndicate

Mini Mini (NYASALAND) TEA SYNDICATE, LTD., reports net profits after tax for the year to June 30 of £1,728, against £11,752 in the previous year. A final dividend of 7½% making 10% for the year, less tax, is proposed. The carry-forward is £9,723.

The issued capital is £20,000 in 5s. stock units. There is capital reserve totaling £91,877 and revenue reserves of £68,723. Fixed assets total £179,296 and current assets less current liabilities £42,305.

The company has 600 acres of mature tea, of which only 70,000 lb. were sold at a net average sale price of 27½d. compared with 32,000 and 22,440 lb. in the two previous years. The 1962 net amount is 114.

Mr. C. A. Mackie is the chairman, and his colleagues on the board are Commander J. G. Ashworth, R.N. (Retd.), and Colonel D. G. Dickson.

Brooke Bond & Co., Ltd.

Wait and See Policy in Kenya

BROOKE BOND & CO., LTD., the great tea growing and tea distributing group, which has plantations in Kenya and Tanganyika, reports profit for the year to June 30 after tax at £2,073,415, against £2,173,710 in the previous year. Group profits before tax reached a record of £5,231,031; the previous best had been £4.6m. in 1956. The tea growing companies produced the largest outturn ever (44m. lb.) Ordinary dividends take £703,125, appropriations to reserves are rather more than £1.4m. (£1.2m.), and the carry-forward exceeds £1.5m.

Issued ordinary capital amounts to £111m., and fixed assets stand in the books at £15.6m., current assets less current liabilities at £22.1m., and investments at £1.1m.

The current planting programme in Kenya will be completed in a few months with the addition of 200 acres of tea, so providing an area adequate to keep all the factories fully occupied. Then a "wait and see" policy is to be adopted.

Mr. John Brooke writes:—"Despite the uncertainties caused by Britain unburdening herself of Colonial responsibility, Africans continue to work well in all jobs they undertake for us. We are giving positions of responsibility to more Africans, with rewarding results. British members of our East Africa staff and their wives have shown outstanding spirit and adaptability in weathering pre-Independence difficulties. Some decided to leave Kenya and Tanganyika, causing much enhanced opportunities for promotion for those who stayed at their posts; opportunities that are being firmly grasped by people who understand that a profitable group of tea estates will depend largely on European management with African support for a great many years to come."

The group's area under tea in Kenya is 9,750 acres and in Tanganyika 3,950. Mr. W. G. Dickinson, chairman of the Tanganyika Tea Co., Ltd., retired recently after more than 31 years with the group in East Africa. He has been succeeded by Mr. F. W. G. Knight. Mr. W. A. Holmes, a director and agricultural superintendent of Brooke Bond (East Africa), Ltd., has also retired.

The board of the parent company consists of Mr. John Brooke (chairman), Mr. T. D. Rutter (deputy chairman), and Messrs. David Brooke, L. G. Green, C. D. Warner, C. W. Dudley, J. G. Cock, R. F. Furber, and D. G. H. Wright.

Riddoch Motors Profits Nearly Trebled

RIDDOKH MOTORS, LTD., of Tanganyika, report profits after tax for the year ended May 31 at £34,712, against £12,359 in the previous year, despite the fact that an additional £12,100 had to be provided for income tax, an additional £6,464 for corporation tax, and £3,500 for staff bonuses. A 10% dividend takes £18,125, and after transferring £12,000 to a dividend equalization reserve the carry-forward is £39,092.

The issued capital is £250,000. Fixed assets total £268,519 and current assets less current liabilities £29,884. Revenue reserves amount to £151,092.

Mr. H. E. Sarwati, M.P., Mr. J. A. Miller, the company's general sales and service manager, and Mr. E. McDonald, the secretary, have joined the board, of which the other members are Mr. John L. Riddoch (chairman), Mr. A. T. Brown (managing director), and Mr. D. R. McDonald.

Mr. Riddoch comments: "It is to be hoped that the new corporation tax of 2s. in the pound will prove temporary, since it renders extremely difficult the ensuring of adequate returns to investing stockholders, particularly in less prosperous years, and companies such as yours must strive for increased turnover and lower operating costs to produce a reasonable level of net profit."

Tanganyika urgently needs new development capital, and should offer further definite inducements to private (not only industrial and farming) investors, who need to see in the territory a field for investment with attractions greater than those elsewhere. A company tax level of 7½% is a deterrent to investment. Your company is owned by some 300 stockholders, only 16% of whom live in Tanganyika. It would be encouraging to see more local people acquiring an interest in what is a Tanganyika company.

Excavations at Chambishi

CHAMBERS MINES, LTD., have placed a contract with Mr. Alfred McAlpine and Son (Rhodesia), Ltd., for the excavation of an open pit in preparation for mining operations at the company's property on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia. The contract, which will cover a period of nearly four years, is for the removal of 16m. cubic yards of material, involving excavation to a depth of nearly 400 ft. Various ground-level elevations will be about 1,500 ft. to 1,600 ft. The pit will open in its final form about 200 ft. by 100 ft. Work should start within two months.

Company Report**Wankie Colliery Company Limited***(Incorporated in Southern Rhodesia)***Many Factors Made 1962 A Difficult Year**

THE FOLLOWING is from a statement by the chairman, MR. P. H. A. BROWN RIGG, D.S.O., O.B.E., which has been circulated to members with the annual report and accounts:—

It is with great sorrow that I have to record the death in July of Colonel the Lord Robins, K.B.E., D.S.O. Lord Robins was the senior director of the Company, having been on the board since Wankie's head office was transferred to Rhodesia 10 years ago. The tremendous contribution that he made in a great variety of ways to the progress of this country is well known and needs no elaboration from me. I would only like to add that by his death we have lost the most agreeable and helpful of colleagues.

As members will know, the productive capacity of Wankie was expanded during the years 1953 to 1956 at the request of Government to an annual output of five million tons. In fact, this output has not yet been required, the highest sales being 3,945,378 tons in 1957. The chief factor in the shortfall has been the advent of Kariba power, which we estimate has now reduced our coal sales by 1,250,000 tons a year. At the same time the increased use of diesel engines by the railways and the slower rate of economic growth in the country have caused sales to fall below our earlier estimates.

Drop in Sales

Last year in my statement I said that we expected a further drop in coal sales this year. The decline from 3,418,934 tons in the year ended August 31, 1961, to 2,901,264 tons this year was larger than anticipated.

The main reasons for this fall—apart from increased Kariba power, as expected—were the unrest in the Congo, which led to a suspension of all dispatches of coal and coke to our customers in Katanga for several weeks; the three weeks' strike of members of the Northern Rhodesia African Mineworkers' Trade Union on the Copperbelt in May; and finally, towards the end of the year, an undue shortage of railway trucks which meant a loss of sales of about 60,000 tons. This shortage of trucks, arising mainly from exceptional exports of maize, also meant that we were unable to tender for an export order from overseas, one of the first opportunities in this field we have had for several years.

New Coal Price

I also warned last year of a probable increase in the "deficiency revenue" due to the Company under the price agreement following on our arrangement with Government to maintain the average selling price at 20s. per ton for the third year in succession. By the year-end this deficiency amounted in fact to £159,843. This, and the general tendency of all costs to rise, has necessitated an increase in the notified average selling price of coal from 20s. per ton to 22s. per ton with effect from November 1, 1962, the first price increase since 1959.

The new price represents an increase of only 10% over a three-year period, which compares favourably with most other commodities. It is in fact not high enough to enable the Company to recover the accrued "deficiency revenue" over one year to which in terms of the agreement it is entitled; but we have been

anxious in the general interest of the country to restrict the increase to as low a figure as possible.

If our estimates of gradually increasing sales over the next few years are realized and if there are no exceptional increases in costs beyond what we have estimated, we hope to be able to maintain this price for two or three years and to recover the total revenue due to us over that period. It is reasonable to say that if sales could be increased by upwards of 500,000 tons per annum, we might well be able to reduce the price below the new figure.

Trading Profit

The trading profit for the year of £986,381 reflects the lower level of sales, but has been compensated to some extent by increased income from investments. The total profit for the year before taxation, but after all charges, was £1,181,143, compared with £1,532,373 the previous year. After providing a net amount of £340,000 for taxation, and appropriating £265,000 to general reserve, it has again been possible to declare dividends of 1s. 3d. per share after tax. Dividends for this year have been declared as a gross amount, from which Federal tax and territorial surcharge have been deducted.

Our investment income, which this year reached £333,299, is an important factor in enabling us to maintain our present dividend distribution at a time when coal sales have been at such a low level. Over the years we have been able to use portion of our reserves to assist substantially in railway development and to invest not only in Government stocks but also in Rhodesian equities which are allied to our business. During this year we have increased our holdings in Nchanga and Rhokana to 106,250 and 125,200 units of stock respectively.

Power

One of the more important ancillary services operated by the Company is the generation and supply of electric power, not only for our own colliery requirements but also for local consumers in the Wankie area whom we are already supplying. The regional demand is expected to increase over the next few years, and this has occasioned a review of the generating and supply arrangements for the whole area. Our own security of supply we should be able to ensure for some time to come, at no great cost.

We are conscious of the need to maintain under continuous review the requirements and conditions of service of our labour force at the collieries, and on July 1 of this year all our African employees received a 5% increase in wages. In addition, the questions of job grading of all our employees, and of individual advancement to more responsible and skilled work, continue to receive our close attention. Relations with our employees have remained satisfactory throughout the year, and I would like to express our appreciation of the loyalty which all have shown during a difficult period.

Copies of the annual report and accounts are obtainable from 40, Holborn Viaduct, E.C.1.

BROOKE BOND & CO. LTD

*extracts from the statement dated
24th October, 1962, of the Chairman*

Mr. JOHN BROOKE

circulated to Shareholders on
7th November, with the Report
and Accounts for the year to
30th June, 1962.



Group Net Profit after-tax for the year to 30th June, 1962 is £2,146,144. Last year it was £2,210,825. Group profit before tax is a record £5,231,031. Last year's profit before tax was £4,061,878. Reasons for improved profits were:

- (a) sales rose by £6m. to £113½m;
- (b) from our tea-growing companies came the most bountiful harvest ever gathered.
- (c) stable tea market prices enabled our selling forces at home and abroad to earn more profits.

The unusually high tax provisions in relation to profits this year were due to:

- (a) increased rates of taxation on profits in the U.K., East Africa and India.
- (b) exceptional expenses and losses not allowable for tax purposes, including adjustment of £163,829 for unrealised profit on inter-company trading.
- (c) larger dividends from overseas subsidiaries, causing an increase in tax compared with last year of £105,000.

U.K. Sales brought home the main share of the increased turnover of £6m. in the face of a static market and against doughty competitors. We continue to expand our trade with the multiple shops, whilst in no way neglecting the independent grocer, who is still the mainstay of our business. Young and old alike are taking a keen interest in our picture cards (one in every packet of Brooke Bond Tea and two in every tin of Coffee). Our picture card albums, selling now in millions a year, help to spread a knowledge of Natural History.



Overseas Sales companies also had a rewarding year. Brooke Bond India continues to gain trade in a rapidly expanding internal tea market. India is fortunate in having this splendid

local outlet for her tea-growing industry, and the healthiest backing for a big export trade is a large and flourishing home consumption of the same commodity.

Packing and Transport sides of the business have matched the rising sales, and we have benefited from a full year's working of the new tea factory at Redbourn. We started two medium-sized building projects—one the re-building of the last of the bomb-damaged sections of our London factory, and the other a further 45,000 sq. ft. extension to our original tea warehouse at Manchester.

Tea Plantations A record crop. Brooke Bond tea bushes have seldom enjoyed such favourable treatment from the 'forces of nature', though they are accustomed to being tended with consistent care by the hand of man.

Development of new areas continues in India and in East Africa. Despite the uncertainties caused by Britain-unburdening herself of colonial responsibility, Africans continue to work well in all the jobs they undertake for us. We are giving positions of responsibility to more Africans with rewarding results. British members of our East Africa Staff and their wives have shown outstanding spirit and adaptability in weathering pre-Independence difficulties. Opportunities for promotion are being firmly grasped by people who understand that a profitable group of Tea estates will depend largely on European management with African support for a great many years to come.

Prospects This year we have again got away to a flying start with continued impetus from good sales and good crops. With cautious optimism we may hope for a good year, but we do not expect a bumper one (we never do).

It is well known by now that profits do not accrue evenly in the Tea Trade. In this country, we have held our packet prices unchanged since May, 1957, and have taken our chance for profits on the 'ups and downs' of the Tea markets.

Brooke Bond & Co. Limited

Wankie Colliery Company

WANKIE COLLIERY CO., LTD., reports a net profit for the year to August 31 of £1,181,143 before tax of £340,000, compared with a profit of £1,532,373 and tax of £535,000 in the previous year. The lower trading profit results from decreased sales, which totalled £2.9m. tons of coal (3.4m. and 3.8m. in the two previous years) and 152,210 tons of coke (182,515 and 188,771). The distribution to ordinary shareholders is maintained at 1s. 3d. per share after deduction of tax.

Issued capital is £5,277,810, and outstanding debentures amount to £1.9m. Fixed assets appear at £6,365,428, investments at £4,375,733, and current assets less current liabilities at £862,333.

The company has agreed to participate to the extent of £400,000 in an Anglo American Corporation group loan of £5.1m. to the Federal Government for the development of rural resources in the three territories.

Mr. P. H. A. Brownrigg is the chairman, and Mr. L. Wishart the managing director. The other members of the board are Sir Keith Acutt, Sir Frederick Crawford, Sir Ronald Prain, and Messrs. T. Coulter, N. K. Kinkead-Weekes, M. W. Rush and M. Van Weyenbergh. There are five alternative directors: Messrs. F. S. Berning, F. E. Buch, I. M. Cowan, D. G. Nicholson, and G. W. H. Rely.

The annual statement of the chairman appears on another page.

Wankie Colliery, Southern Rhodesia, has raised its average price for coal to 22s. a ton.

Pretoria Portland Cement Co., Ltd., which has a Rhodesian subsidiary, reports that in the year to June 30 there was a profit after tax of £1,026,733, compared with £1,162,698 in the previous year.

M.T.D. (Mangula), Ltd., incorporated in Southern Rhodesia, reports net profit to September 30 at £797,061 (£823,724). Dividends take £550,000 (the same). Transfer to reserve is increased to £250,000 (£225,000). Capital expenditure totalled £342,811 (£261,193).

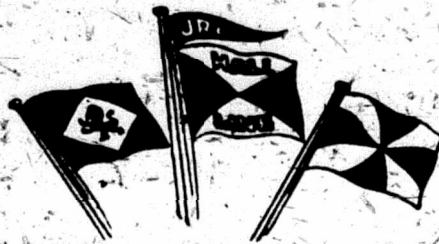
Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, Ltd., a group with large Rhodesian interests, reports profit after tax for the year ended June 30 at £3,833,000 (£4,032,000). The net dividend is unchanged at 25%, but on a capital increased, by a rights issue of one for ten.

Sisal outputs in October: Bird & Co. (Africa), 1,942 tons, making 7,293 tons for July-October; E.A. Sisal Plantations, 236 tons, making 836 tons for four months, compared with 645 tons in the corresponding period last year; Dwa Plantations, 145 tons, making 1,440 tons for 10 months (1,411).

Agreements for a pipe-line to carry crude oil through Mozambique to a £10m. refinery at Umali, Southern Rhodesia, have now been signed. The pipe-line, costing £5m., and the refinery should be in operation within two and a half years, when the Rhodesias will become self-sufficient in oils and petrol.

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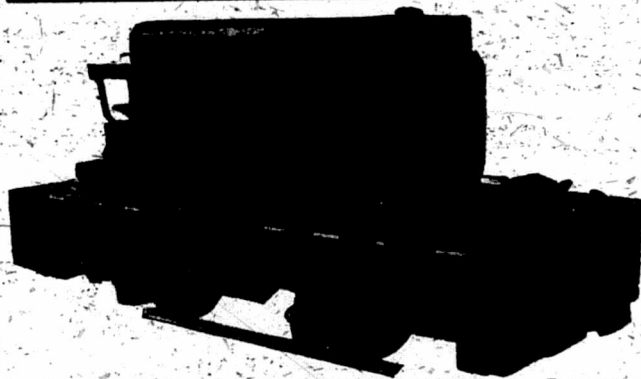
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