EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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Commons Debate Central African Affairs

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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Principal Contents

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THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1962 Vol. 39 No. 1991 42s. yearly post free

MATTERS OF MOMENT

A BITTER SPEECH by the chief spokesman of the Opposition in Monday's debate on Central Africa was generally expected, but Mr. Healey was so censorious in his references to Southern Rhodesia, so inaccurate in some of his statements of supposed fact, and so unbalanced in his assessment of men and matters that Mr. Roy Mason, a member of his own party who has visited the Federation (which Mr. Healey has not done), denounced his leader's attitude as so irresponsible that, had he not already decided to refrain from supporting his party's motion, he would have declined to vote by way of protest. That robust approach will be recorded in our news column next week. Here it can just be noted that it contained a much needed reminder that dictatorial African politicians eagerly exploit the illiterate masses, and that such names as Nkrumah, Kenyatta and Mau Mau spatter the story of surrender to African agitators; and Mr. Mason was not sure that Dr. Banda or Mr. Kaunda would not follow the path of dictatorship. Of forty Members of the House who have visited the Federation at the invitation of its Government, he declared, all but five had said publicly on their return that they believed it important to maintain the Federation, or, at the very least, to continue a strong economic connexion between the three territories.

Commons Debate Central Africa.

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How different that attitude of realism was from the laboured theorizing of the Front Bench speaker. Mr. Healey was so careless that, having declared that "the bulk of Europeans" in Central Africa "never wanted federation" he incautiously added that one-third of them had voted against the proposal. Since when has one-third been "the bulk" of any community? Nor was he happier in ascribing Southern Rhodesia's high standard of living to subsidies from the United Kingdom and economic integration with Northern Rhodesia. When challenged to give particulars of the subsidies, he could only think of last year's small loan. Unfortunately, no Member pressed him, as some should have done, in order to expose the truth that the generous subsidies to which he attached so much importance were mythical. What Southern Rhodesia has not had from the British taxpayer is grants. Any tiny Protectorate has been far more generously treated than that fine Colony. Its trade has, of course, gained from the development of Northern Rhodesia, and from the expenditure in that country of large amounts of Federal Government revenue (much of it raised in Southern Rhodesia); but that is surely an argument for the maintenance of close inter-territorial links under a responsible centralized system of government.

Opposition Ignorance.

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Mr. Butler—who had been described as "made of ectoplasm" and prone to "sidle off in opposite directions"—was much less circuitous in language than he often is. Having asserted that the problem of the Federation was the most intractable of those with which he had ever dealt, he made several useful and direct statements of principle: that the solution found must be just and realistic; that the benefits which have accrued from the past association must be preserved; that the economy of the two Rhodesias "is interlocking in respect of the sources of wealth, power and communications"; that the investigations of his team of advisers have given the Government no reason to alter its view of the advantages of association; and that the history of the Rhodesias has a significance which cannot be disregarded.

Worth Noting For Future Use.

Few Members can have expected him to go so far — especially as he had been closetted that morning with two African nationalist leaders from Northern Rhodesia, both of whom want the Federation dismantled. His words, so soon after a discussion with them, were the more heartening. They should be noted by advocates of the Federation — for use against the Minister if necessary in the conflict which must soon be joined.

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Only at the very end of his forty-minute speech did Mr. Butler utter words which the House appears to have accepted as unimportant but which seem ominous to us. They were: "I shall endeavour to keep the House informed of these matters as they develop. If necessary I shall do so before we rise for the Christmas recess". In the previous sentence he had suggested that the New Year seemed the right time for consultations with the Federal and territorial Governments. If he had no reservations on that point, why should the Minister have promptly volunteered to say something further within the next fortnight? We deduce an intention, indeed a decision, to make another statement, almost certainly one of real importance, just before Parliament rises. Will Monday, December 17, prove to be the date? Is not the plan to announce then that H.M. Government has agreed, without consulting Sir Roy Welensky, that Nyasaland may secede? Mr. Butler has certainly given private assurances in that sense to Dr. Banda. Is it not probable that the Malawi leader has insisted on early public confirmation; that the Government realizes that such a pronouncement will be regarded in many quarters as *ultra vires* the Federal Constitution; that there will consequently be outbursts of anger in the Rhodesias and in this country; that the week in which the House adjourns for Christmas has been chosen for the disclosure in the expectation that Parliament and Press will then be preoccupied with other subjects, and that repercussions will therefore be short; and, by no means least, that emotion will have subsided before Mr. Butler goes to the Federation in January? If these conjectures prove justified, the Federal Government would be presented before the visit with a *fait accompli* which would make nonsense of the consultation prescribed by the Constitution. Some readers will deem this series of postulates too Machiavellian. That is precisely why we expect some such manœuvres.

December 17.

Notes By The Way

More Recklessness

MR. T. J. MBOYA, Labour Minister in Kenya, and general secretary of the Kenya African National Union —whose repetition of wicked allegations against European farmers in the Colony has been deservedly denounced by the Acting Minister for Internal Security, a fellow member of the Council of Ministers, in a written reply which is published in other columns — is an eager seeker after publicity for the fantastic exaggerations which he emits at frequent intervals with apparent spontaneity. As he passed through London a few weeks ago on one of his many trips to the U.S.A., he gave a gathering of journalists an outrageously inaccurate statement about United Kingdom aid for Kenya and the cost of compensating officials who have left the country in the past two years; and his grotesquely false figures were left uncorrected by Mr. Bruce McKenzie and Mr. W. B. Havelock, two Ministers who sat beside him and must have known that the Press representatives were being bamboozled, not briefed, by their ebullient colleague.

"Ripe for Independence"

NOW MR. MBOYA has told a television interviewer that "Kenya has always been ripe for independence; there has never been a time when Kenya could not have been independent". Millions who watched an ITV programme last Thursday evening heard those words. Because there was no corrective to that foolish assertion many people who have no conception whatsoever of the history and state of Kenya were not made aware of the nonsensical nature of the claim. It implied a record of responsibility on the part of Kenya's African politicians. The truth is that many of them have shown staggering irresponsibility, and that Mr. Mboya, though among the ablest of them, is as unreliable as any. An outstanding proof of his recklessness has been his championship of Kenyatta, the convicted leader of the foul Mau Mau movement. Yet prominent politicians and other people in the United Kingdom and the United States vie with one another in describing him as a "moderate"!

Crazy Claim

SUCH FOLK are unlikely to be brought to their senses by his crazy claim that Kenya has always been ready for independence. They will still declare that "Tom" (as some of them address him) is the real hope for a country which has been brought to the brink of disaster by follies for which he and his closest associates are greatly to blame. Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod, and Mr. (now Sir Michael) Blundell are, of course, the chief culprits because they lacked the courage or the common sense to withstand the agitation, threats and

thuggery of a tiny minority of politically ambitious Africans and their parasites, most of whom are now members of the Kenya African National Union, a deeply divided party in which the leadership of Kenyatta is increasingly derided, and in which the next two leaders, Messrs. Odinga and Mboya, are at open and bitter enmity. If these men cannot run their own extremist party competently, why should anyone expect them to be able to manage the affairs of a country? — a country to which their invincible conceit has done incalculable damage.

Surrenderists Miscalculated

IF KENYA WERE READY for independence, is it conceivable that that status would have been granted first to Tanganyika, then to Uganda, and not yet to incomparably the most developed of the three East African territories? Kenya, which the Macblundell Constitution was intended to set on the road to internal self-government and then independence, has been denied what this "wind of change" Government in the United Kingdom intended simply because the African politicians of the Colony have spent almost three years demonstrating their distrust one of another, destroying the confidence of the mass of the people and of the non-African communities, scaring capital and individuals away from the country, and causing general havoc to the economy and public and private finances. The Macmillan-Macleod plan was to thrust Kenya into independence with maximum speed. That even those surrenderists could not do what they wished is irrefutable evidence that Kenya is still not ready for independence. None of Mr. Mboya's preposterous pronouncements has been wilder than that which was transmitted by television into millions of homes in this country.

Comment Suppressed

ADMISSION by well-known men and women that their signatures had been appended — in some cases without their prior knowledge — to public appeals which contained serious misstatements and innuendoes might have been expected to produce general criticism in leading newspapers. It has done nothing of the sort. Those which published a few paragraphs on the subject last week had lost interest by the next day, and scarcely any have published letters on the subject, though presumably all, or almost all, the leading journals received correspondence which was obviously topical and would certainly have been of public interest. By this suppression of comment Southern Rhodesia was once more unfairly treated. Several readers of this journal have told me that they sent letters to leading Fleet Street papers. None appeared in print.

Moral Duty

THE TIMES declined to publish a letter from the editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA which said: "Canon Collins and other signatories of an appeal for funds who have now admitted that false statements were made in the advertisements which they addressed to the public cannot exclude the possibility that some of the donations came from people who were deceived by misrepresentations which they mistook for the truth. If the sponsors of the appeal are to absolve themselves from collective complicity in obtaining money by misrepresentation, they ought surely to arrange for all who responded to the appeal to receive copies of the correspondence which has since passed with the High Commissioner for the Federation, including his comments on the affair. With that material might be included a stamped postcard on which each donor could indicate by a tick whether the gift was to be returned or retained. Unless that be done the signatories will not, I suggest, have discharged their moral duty.

To Mitigate Irresponsibility

"SERIOUS damage has been done to the reputation of Southern Rhodesia by the well-known men and women who carelessly permitted the use of their names in endorsement of statements which they had either not seen or had not troubled to question or check. In whichever group the individual signatory falls, his or her irresponsibility cannot be adequately met merely by signing a letter to the High Commissioner. I suggest that those who now recognize their fault should jointly buy space in the journals which published the original advertisements and tell their readers that they dissociate themselves from allegations which ought never to have been made. Scruple is so little regarded nowadays that actions on these lines to put themselves right with the public — and with their conscience — would be the more appreciated by those who prize the tradition of high principle in public affairs".

Killed in Car Crashes

MR. PAUL MUSHONGA, who was killed in a car crash last Saturday night on the Salisbury-Bulawayo road, was the fourth African political leader in Central Africa to lose his life in that way in recent months, the others being Mr. Katilungu, leader of the African National Congress in Northern Rhodesia (which, had he lived, would have been extremely unlikely to make common cause with Mr. Kaunda and U.N.I.P.), Mr. Dunduza Chisiza, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Finance in Nyasaland (and recognized by everybody to be the ablest of the young Malawi Congress Party leaders), and Dr. Parerenyatwa, chief lieutenant of Mr. Nkomo, president of the now proscribed Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union in Southern Rhodesia. That Colony has thus lost within a few weeks two of its best-known African politicians, and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have each been deprived of a man who could ill be spared. Many Africans are extremely reckless car drivers. That four prominent in the nationalist movements in the Federation should have been killed in this way within a year is regrettable evidence of that tendency.

Former Governors Excluded

IN THE PAST DECADE 92 senior civil servants in the United Kingdom have resigned in order to take up appointments in industry, two-thirds having left the Ministry of Aviation. The Admiralty, War Office, G.P.O., Home Office, and the Ministries of Air, Defence, Power and Public Building and Works all lost several. Somewhat strangely, neither the Colonial Office nor the Commonwealth Relations Office appears in the official list of Government departments, from which civil servants with salaries above £2,000 went into commerce or industry on resigning or retiring. There have, of course, been quite a number of cases of senior Colonial officials, including ex-Governors, joining boards or taking up executive duties with well-known companies either in the United Kingdom or in East or Central Africa. Why, I wonder, were the cases of former Governors excluded from the information laid before Parliament last week? The question does not imply that I am one of those who objects to former civil servants entering business. Commerce should obviously be free to recruit capable men from any source.

Benefits Accrued from Association Must be Preserved

Mr. Butler Emphasizes that Change in Federation Must be Just and Realistic

CENTRAL AFRICAN AFFAIRS were debated in the House of Commons on Monday on a Socialist motion "That this House regrets the failure of H.M. Government to revise its policies in Central Africa in accordance with the wishes of the population, and calls upon H.M. Government to dissolve the present Federation and to promote constitutional reforms in the three territories so that they may achieve early independence under representative democratic Governments".

MR. DENIS HEALEY, Labour spokesman on Commonwealth matters, said in the course of a 50-minute speech: —

"The First Secretary of State is to move an amendment which asks us to welcome the constitutional progress in Nyasaland, take note that elections are pending in Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and endorse H.M. Government's continuing efforts to promote a constructive solution to the problem of the future association of the territories in Central Africa — an amendment drafted with characteristic ambiguity by the rt. hon. gentleman himself. It voices some unexceptionable sentiments and asks us to support the Government's policy without giving the slightest indication of what it is.

Mandate to Secede

"We on this side are delighted that Dr. Banda and the First Secretary have agreed to further constitutional progress, but we deeply regret that, although it is a year since the Malawi Congress won an overwhelming victory in the elections in Nyasaland on a programme which, the Foreign Secretary concedes, constitutes a mandate for secession, H.M. Government apparently still have no measures in mind which would allow Dr. Banda to carry out his mandate.

"The First Secretary of State asks us to note that elections are to take place in the other two territories under new Constitutions. This is meant to persuade us that their new Constitutions represent a step forward, in the same sense as the new Constitution just adopted for Nyasaland. I suppose it also implies that we would be unwise to ask for more until the elections under these new Constitutions are over. I doubt whether anybody on this side of the House could follow the rt. hon. gentleman here.

Mockery of Human Rights

"The new Constitution for Southern Rhodesia was forced through Parliament just over a year ago in the face of overwhelming opposition from the African population and in face of united opposition from the parties sitting on this side of the House. One hon. Member of the party opposite has had the courage to say to his constituents that he regrets the vote which he cast for the Government on that occasion more than any other vote he has ever cast in his life. H.M. Government gave up vital powers to implement their responsibilities to the population of Southern Rhodesia in return for a charter of human rights which has already been made a mockery in the territory.

"Next week's elections offer the African population of Southern Rhodesia — which outnumbers the white population by 17 to one — a chance of winning under one seat in four. The only party which represents the African majority has been banned and its leaders are in restriction. Of the 50,000 Africans who Sir Edgar Whitehead, the territorial Prime Minister, said qualified for the vote, under 10,000 have registered, and it is doubtful whether more than a few hundred will choose to cast their vote.

"The election will be as meaningless as the Federal election which took place last February, in which the Federal Prime Minister was confirmed in office by 10,000 votes in a population which numbers nine million.

"Northern Rhodesia's new Constitution has already been proved a total failure. The vital elections under it have been held. Nearly one-quarter of the seats remain unfilled and are likely to remain unfilled after the by-elections next week. The result of the general election is a deliberate distortion of the people's will. The party which won two-thirds of the votes has obtained only one-third of the seats. On the other hand, the voting pattern provides indispensable evidence of popular feeling which H.M. Government can ignore only at their grave peril.

"The purpose of the Constitution was to produce a Legislative Council in which the Africans could predominate only if they were in alliance with the Liberal Party. The result has been to annihilate the Liberal Party, which has since disbanded itself.

Non-Racialism a Dream

"The general aim of this Constitution as put to us by the Leader of the House in the two versions which he presented, and, secondly, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the third version under which the elections were actually held, was to encourage what was called non-racial voting. In fact, the election has exposed this non-racial conception as a dream. As a result, two years after the Monckton Commission recommended that there should be an African majority in the Legislature of Northern Rhodesia, there is still no African majority.

"But there are some very important lessons to be drawn from the voting, even though the franchise was restricted, even though there were dual rolls, even though the Constitution was deliberately designed to distort the will of the people.

"In the first place, the United National Independence Party, under the leadership of Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, emerged head and shoulders above all other parties as representative of the inhabitants of the territory. It received nearly two-thirds of the total votes cast and 78.2% of the votes cast on the lower and more representative roll.

"Secondly, U.N.I.P. and the African National Congress, which also fought the election in search of a mandate against federation, won 80% of the total votes in the three different voting blocks, and the anti-federation parties got nearly 30% of the total votes even on the uper roll, which was almost exclusively European. There could not be a clearer mandate against continuation of the Federation.

"Thirdly, we have been told a great deal about the desire of the people of Barotseland for separation from the rest of Northern Rhodesia. What happened? Although U.N.I.P. had only six months in which to organize support in Barotseland, and in spite of the tremendous tribal authority of the chiefs, U.N.I.P. got over 90% of the votes. In Western Barotseland, on the lower roll, U.N.I.P. got 688 votes to 42 cast for the Barotseland National Party, the party of the local chiefs. In Eastern Barotseland, on the lower roll, U.N.I.P. got 1,507 votes against only 65 cast for the Barotseland National Party.

"I ask the rt. hon. gentleman whether, in view of these dramatic results, he will agree not to consider any proposal for partitioning Northern Rhodesia when he considers that territory's future. I hope that he will lay to rest the serious concern felt throughout the African population of Northern Rhodesia by telling us unequivocally that, in view of the clear demonstration of opinion of the people of Barotseland in these elections, he rules any such proposal completely out of court.

Fault of Europeans

"Many on both sides of the House will deeply regret the evidence that non-racialism is not a political possibility in the politics of Northern Rhodesia at present. Many will deeply regret the disappearance of the Liberal Party. All of us must applaud the heroic efforts made by U.N.I.P., under Mr. Kaunda, to try to make non-racialism a reality.

"If non-racialism has failed in Northern Rhodesia, the fault unquestionably lies with the European rather than with the African. Mr. Kaunda spoke to white audiences in the heart of the Copperbelt. His men canvassed European homes. No attempt whatever was made by representatives of the United Federal Party to do likewise so far as the Africans were concerned. Not one European candidate of the U.F.P. spoke to an African meeting in an African township; in fact, the main function of the newspapers supporting the U.F.P. in the elections was deliberately to inflame racial fear of the African in the European population. The result was that even so respected a man as Sir Stewart Gore-Browne was able to obtain only 55 European votes in a constituency in which there were 5,000 European voters.

"Nevertheless, I believe that Mr. Kaunda can win the confidence of the European population if given a chance. The

only people who can give him that chance are H.M. Government. We in Britain are extremely fortunate that the African nationalist movement is led by a man of courage, integrity, and wisdom such as Mr. Kaunda has displayed throughout his political career, and I pray that the rt. hon. gentleman will so conduct his responsibilities as to make it possible for such a man to remain the leader of African opinion.

"Mr. Kaunda has shown his real stature by his immediate attempts, when feeling was still inflamed by harsh things said in all quarters during the election, to heal the breach inside the African nationalist movement by coming to agreement with the African National Congress led by Mr. Nkumbula.

"Mr. Nkumbula, too, deserves great credit for his evident readiness to try to reach agreement with Mr. Kaunda. It is sometimes more difficult to make a compromise from a position of weakness than from strength.

"Both these men are deeply concerned that their people shall not follow the unhappy pattern set by the people of Kenya in recent months. They are deeply conscious of the need for the African nationalist movement to remain united before and after independence. Provided H.M. Government rise to their responsibilities, there is every chance that the new leaders of Northern Rhodesia will remain united during the very testing time which lies ahead for them as well as for us, and that this territory will ultimately achieve independence as a stable society.

"The elections have shown overwhelming support for U.N.I.P. and even greater support for secession. This has already been recognized by wise men on the spot. One of the most striking developments in the last week or two has been that Mr. Tshombe, Prime Minister of Katanga as he calls himself, is coming to terms with the African leaders in Northern Rhodesia and is beginning to recognize that his alliance with the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, is a broken reed. When will H.M. Government show the same wisdom and come to terms with the same facts?

Ectoplasmic Politician

"Perhaps the rt. hon. gentleman is nerving himself to do the right thing in Nyasaland. He told the conference which took place a week or so ago: 'In this Constitution we shall be transferring, as is right and proper, the substance of political power to the African people in Nyasaland'. If that is right and proper in Nyasaland, surely it is right and proper in Northern Rhodesia.

"One of the things which we admire most about the rt. hon. gentleman is his ability to sidle off in opposite directions at the same time without any apparent feeling of inconsistency. I know that he is a man of flesh and blood, but in his political career he gives the impression of being made of ectoplasm.

"If he is to be consistent with himself in Central Africa, he must recognize in his behaviour and policy in Northern Rhodesia the same principles which he seems to be prepared to recognize in his policy in Nyasaland.

"The First Secretary should instruct the Governor of Northern Rhodesia to form an interim Administration which reflects the will of the people of Northern Rhodesia as expressed in the voting. He must immediately call constitutional talks to produce a Constitution which makes it possible for a solid African majority to take their seats in the Legislative Council and in the Administration—a Constitution with no more trick block voting and no fancy franchise, which can be understood by African and European alike as making it possible for the people to express their will through the ballot-box. He must institute an urgent programme for training Africans to take over political and administrative responsibility. Nothing shows the pathetic inadequacy of the Government's readiness to face the facts in Central Africa more than their total failure to prepare the people of Northern Rhodesia for what they must know to be the inevitable.

Playing for Time Risks Bloodshed

"The key issue is whether the Government will enable the African leaders to carry out the mandate which they have received for secession from the Federation. The rt. hon. gentleman must now grasp the nettle. There is no reason to think that if he delays any longer the opposition of European leaders on the spot or of his own back-benchers will be in any way diminished; but there is every reason to believe that if he continues to play for time he will undermine the position of the moderate African leaders and will be responsible for a real risk of violence and bloodshed which at present does not exist, but which easily could exist if he continues to defy the evidence provided of what the people really want.

"Many people feel that it is a tragedy that the Federation has failed. But I do not believe that anyone still believes that the Federation can survive in the face of profound, consistent opposition by an overwhelming majority of its inhabitants.

"According to Sir Roy Welensky, who appears to be better informed on these matters than we are in this House, the First Secretary has it in mind to allow Nyasaland to secede. I hope he will say so in this debate. If the First Secretary is prepared to accept Nyasaland's right to secede and to introduce the necessary legislation in this House next year, as I sincerely hope he is, he must offer the same right to Northern Rhodesia.

"Secession from the Federation need not imply political independence in either case. Dr. Banda is perfectly prepared for Nyasaland to have a further period of self-government before independence provided she gets the right to secede from the Federation right away. I believe that the same is true of Northern Rhodesia.

"There is no chance that the future African leaders of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia will consider economic co-operation with one another, and with Southern Rhodesia, till the political bond which now binds them together against their will is abolished. Nor will they consider economic co-operation unles they feel it consistent with their political aspirations as independent African States.

"The responsible African leaders in both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are well aware of the advantages to their own peoples of economic co-operation between independent Governments in Central Africa. Dr. Banda has said in public that he will consider a customs union with the other territories, but only after secession. Mr. Kaunda has said that 'you cannot split the Kariba Lake down the middle with a wall, like you can split Berlin'.

"But this readiness to accept economic co-operation may wither very rapidly unless the political conditions which alone can make it possible are implemented quickly; and nobody will suffer worse than the Europeans if, in fact, the disintegration of the Federation is not followed by economic co-operation. The Africans will suffer if there is no co-operation between these three territories, but they will not suffer in anything like the same degree as the Europeans. Only one African out of seven is employed in the European economy, and it is essentially to the European economy that, so far, economic co-operation inside the Federation has been relevant.

"We must all accept that H.M. Government carry very great responsibility towards the Europeans in the Federation. After all, nearly half the Europeans in the Federation have gone out there since the Conservative Party took power in 1951—encouraged by that party in the belief that the survival of the Federation would give them the chance of permanently preserving the type of privileges which they have enjoyed until now. The Government carry a responsibility here as heavy as they carry in Kenya — that of giving the Europeans the completely false impression of what their lot was likely to be if they went out. There is not the slightest doubt about that.

Federation Has Failed

"The Government will now be expected by everybody in Britain and in the Federation to implement this responsibility by doing their best to protect the Europeans on the spot from the worst consequences of the inevitable failure of their own Federation policy; and the first duty of the Government in this case is to tell the Europeans in Central Africa that Federation has failed—no doubt about it whatever—and to tell them, too—and this will be a painful duty—that they cannot hope to maintain the privileges of a master race in an area where they are in a minority of one in 30, and to tell them that they can hope for a decent standard of life and a fair return on their labour and capital on one condition: provided they accept their status as a minority in an African society.

"The bulk of Europeans in Southern Rhodesia, of course, never wanted federation anyway. One-third of them voted against it when it was put to them in 1951 or 1952.

"There is an obvious temptation for H.M. Government to buy the consent of the Europeans in Central Africa and of their own back-benchers to the disintegration of the Federation by offering Southern Rhodesia independence under a white minority at the same time that they give Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland independence under an African majority. It would be a moral crime of the first magnitude to create a new South Africa in Central Africa in this way. It would also be an economic and political catastrophe for the Europeans themselves.

"We must talk frankly about the real issues involved in Central Africa, about factors which we have always talked about in private but often felt it was impolite to raise in public. The Government will not escape blame for what follows if they give Southern Rhodesia independence under a white minority—any more than Pontius Pilate has escaped the blame for the decision he took. If we took such a step the whole of Africa would combine against the new Rhodesian State, and any chance of economic co-operation between Southern Rhodesia and the African States of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would disappear for good.

"The Europeans' standard of life in Southern Rhodesia has

depended on two things: subsidies from the United Kingdom and economic integration with Northern Rhodesia. Two-thirds of the debt of Southern Rhodesia was unloaded on the Federation nine years ago. If Southern Rhodesia were under racialist, white minority control, without co-operation from Northern Rhodesia, international investment would stream away into Northern Rhodesia, where it saw some prospect of a stable future".

MR. R. H. TURTON: "What subsidies has Southern Rhodesia received from Britain?"

MR. HEALEY: "A very good example is the £3½m. loan which the rt. hon. gentleman gave to Sir Edgar Whitehead in August, a few days after Sir Edgar had announced his intention of introducing Police State legislation into the territory. In the interests of the Europeans themselves the Government must maintain their responsibility in Southern Rhodesia and implement it by promoting rapid advance towards African majority rule.

"A thing we find it impossible to understand is the difference between the rt. hon. gentleman's language when he talks about our responsibilities at the United Nations and when he talks here. He tells the United Nations again and again: 'We cannot share or shift our responsibility in Southern Rhodesia; we cannot surrender or abdicate it'. Here he tells us: 'There is nothing we can do about it. We have no powers whatever. We have no responsibility. It is entirely up to the people on the spot'.

"If he believes that we cannot surrender or abdicate our responsibility, let him declare this afternoon that the Government will not give independence to Southern Rhodesia till there is a Government there which represents the majority of the population. In July he promised to look into what he called the juridical aspects. What are the results?

European Rebellion a "Black Disaster"

"Nothing would do more to create the possibility of some African co-operation in political advance in Southern Rhodesia than a clear statement by H.M. Government that they are ruling out the possibility of betraying or surrendering their responsibility in Southern Rhodesia, that they will not abandon their responsibility until there is a Government in the territory which represents a majority of the population.

"We still have the power to suspend the Constitution, as we did in British Guiana and Granada. We should show at least the same determination to protect people with black skins for whom we are responsible in Southern Rhodesia as Eisenhower showed at Little Rock, or as Kennedy shows today in Mississippi.

"The argument always put is that if we do our duty there will be a Carsonite rebellion by the European population in Southern Rhodesia, who will declare their independence from British sovereignty and set off on their own. I believe this is an empty threat, and that it should be clearly explained to the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia what a disastrous course this would be for themselves. Only two countries in the world would recognize such a Government — South Africa and Portugal.

"The existence of a Government which was illegal from the point of view of every other country would legitimize direct intervention by the United Nations and by any State in Africa or outside, including Communist States. I cannot believe that if the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia faced the facts they could possibly believe that this is an option which offers them anything except black disaster.

"It is said that an independent secessionist State of this nature could unite with South Africa. Could it? Is there any evidence that the South African Government would wish to complicate their own problems by taking into their own State an area which would shift the balance not only of African against European in South Africa but of English against Afrikaaner, a State which would be an exposed salient in a hostile continent, a State which there would be no possibility in the long run of rendering viable from the economic point of view, or even defensible from the military point of view?

Police State Charge

"In July I asked the First Secretary to make further economic aid to Southern Rhodesia conditional on political advance. He did exactly the opposite. He gave a £3½m. loan to Sir Edgar Whitehead in August, after Sir Edgar had announced his intention of introducing further legislation which, in the view of the previous Lord Chief Justice in Southern Rhodesia, simply confirmed Southern Rhodesia as a Police State. Sir Edgar Whitehead drew the natural conclusion: he said in public that he regarded the loan as an expression of confidence in his Government and their policies. Pontius Pilate washed his hands, but he did not provide the wood for the scaffold".

MR. VICTOR GOODHEW: "The hon. gentleman is having a good time at the expense of Europeans in Southern Rhodesia. Has he ever been there to confirm the impression that he is giving us?"

MR. HEALEY: "No. But I have met many Southern Rhodesians here who have urged me with passion to say what I am now saying. Members on both sides frequently express views about countries which they have not visited, and frequently are proved right in the view they express.

"I have talked to African Members of Z.A.P.U., to ordinary Africans from Southern Rhodesia who have represented the country, and heard from them something about how they feel. I suspect that many rt. hon. and hon. gentlemen opposite who have visited Southern Rhodesia have failed to inform themselves in this way of the views of the overwhelming majority of the population.

"It is not surprising that the United Nations voted by 84 votes to two — the two being South Africa and Portugal — against the policies which H.M. Government defend and support every time they open their mouths; but it is not too late for the rt. hon. gentleman to try to undo some of the ill that he has done. He must make it clear that he will not give independence to Southern Rhodesia until there is a Government there which represents the majority of the population, and that H.M. Government will give no further economic assistance to Southern Rhodesia until there is some political advance towards majority rule".

MR. FAREY-JONES: "So far the hon. gentleman's speech has been a miasma of deliberate misrepresentation, an attack on the white population. Would he tell the House what future the coloured man has in Central Africa without the active co-operation of the white people?"

Against African Advance

MR. HEALEY: "In a sense the coloured man is the white man, since a white man is the only one whose colour is noticeable to the majority of the population. The African has the same right of independence, in his own way, in Central Africa as in any other part of Africa. I do not believe that the presence of a minority of people with white skins constitutes an argument against giving the Africans the same rights in Central Africa as in East or West Africa, or the same rights as the Asians in India and Malaya. The fact that Federation has been used as an instrument against African advance in Central Africa is the reason why from the start it never had the slightest chance of winning the support of the African population.

"The rt. hon. gentleman must ask Sir Edgar Whitehead to remove the ban on Z.A.P.U. and the restriction on its leaders. He should not be satisfied with asking for the release of Mr. Nkomo. Mr. Chikerema and Mr. Nyandoro have been under restriction for nearly four years without any public charge having ever been brought against them. Their cases have been reviewed by a secret court, the decisions of which are not subject to appeal or review. These men, as well as Mr. Nkomo and those who were recently restricted with him, should now be allowed to take their natural place in political life.

"Finally, the rt. hon. gentleman must invite European and African leaders to talks with H.M. Government for a new Constitution which will offer the Africans in Southern Rhodesia at least parity with the Europeans.

"He agreed that one of the most dangerous facts is the total breakdown of contacts between the leaders of African opinion and the leaders of European opinion. I appeal to him to take the initiative. If he wants to wait another 10 days, until the elections are over, let him do so. But we cannot wait any longer than that. There is no other way of avoiding a new Algeria in Southern Rhodesia. H.M. Government have claimed responsibility for Southern Rhodesia in the United Nations. They should carry out that responsibility".

Mr. Butler's Most Intractable Problem

MR. R. A. BUTLER, First Secretary of State, moved to leave out from "House" to the end of the Opposition motion and add: "Welcomes the further constitutional progress in Nyasaland as reflected in the agreed report of the Nyasaland Constitutional Conference, notes that elections under new Constitutions are pending in Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and endorses H.M. Government's continuing efforts to promote a constructive solution to the problem of the future association of the territories in Central Africa".

In his speech Mr. Butler said: —

"I find the motion very depressing and unconstructive. We are urged to dissolve the Federation, but are given no hint that if this were done we should look for some alternative form of association. We are urged to promote further constitutional developments in the ter-

(*Concluded on page* 309)

Mr. Mboya's False Charges "Calculated to Advance Subversion"

Acting Defence Minister Castigates "Monstrous" Attempt to Defame Kenya Police

ALLEGATIONS made last month by Mr. T. J. Mboya, general secretary of the Kenya African National Union, and Minister for Labour in the Colony, that Europeans in the Njoro and Molo areas were bribing Africans to take oaths and were making guns for the Africans to hide, have been dismissed by the Acting Defence Minister, Mr. G. J. Ellerton, as "false and calculated only to advance the cause of subversion" in a letter which he has sent to Mr. Mboya. It said:—

"On October 16 you wrote to me about certain allegations which had been made to you when you visited Njoro and Molo earlier this month. You stated in your letter that whereas the onus of proof rests with those who make allegations, with which I entirely agree, the Government has a responsibility to dispel any doubts that may exist in the minds of the public in order to win their co-operation. With this I also agree. I am bound to repeat, however, what I stated last week in Legislative Council, that, with one exception, these allegations are of a general kind and do not include specific details, susceptible of specific and detailed investigation.

"The complete and utter lack of any evidence in support of them, however, notwithstanding the very thorough and widespread inquiries into Kenya Land Freedom Army activities which have taken place during the last month, is to my mind sufficient and convincing proof to all those who are really concerned with truth that the allegations are false and are calculated only to advance the cause of subversion.

"I comment below on the allegations made in your letter, in the light of inquiries that I have caused to be made and of other available information:—

Not One European Implicated

(1) *That Kenya Land Freedom Army gun-making had in all cases been discovered on European farms; that the attitude of some Europeans could be interpreted only as condoning, or even assisting, the gun-makers; and that some Europeans had been known to state that this was their deliberate policy as it would help to eliminate Kikuyu from the Rift Valley by causing conflict between them and other tribes.*

"While some guns have in fact been recovered in the forests, it is correct that the large majority of weapons have been found on European farms. In nearly every case the whereabouts of these weapons has been disclosed by Kikuyu farm workers who, when prosecuted before the courts, have admitted to possession, and in some cases to manufacturing, these firearms.

"In no single case has any Kikuyu farm worker made any statement which suggests that any European has been implicated in gun-making, or that any European has condoned this activity.

"In the course of police investigations into K.L.F.A. activity, some hundreds of persons have been interrogated and their statements recorded. Not one of them has made any allegations of this kind—or, indeed, of any kind involving Europeans.

(2) *That it was the deliberate policy of many Europeans to dismiss arbitrarily and discriminately Kikuyu labour, regardless of how long their labour had served in the Rift Valley.*

"As Minister for Labour, you would be well placed to know if this allegation is correct. Such a policy would have serious implications, not least from the security point of view. The fact that you have not brought to my attention any specific instance of the arbitrary dismissal of Kikuyu workers just because they are Kikuyu, leads me to conclude that your information confirms my own that no discriminate dismissals of this kind have in fact taken place.

"Indeed, it is well known that many farmers in the Rift Valley have allowed unemployed Kikuyu to remain on their farms out of compassion, as an alternative to wandering homeless and workless over the countryside.

(3) *That some Africans have said that they were paid to make guns, or had been given guns to hide, by both European farmers and police officers. In one case "many people" said they suspected that the guns now being discovered were old weapons captured in the emergency.*

"I have said above that there is not a shred of evidence to support the allegations concerning European farmers and gun-making. Not a single person has come forward to make a statement alleging European complicity in this or any other activity of this kind.

Monstrous Attempt to Defame Police

"With regard to the allegation that police officers have been involved, there is again no evidence whatever to support what I can only describe as a monstrous attempt to defame the work and name of the Kenya Police.

"The guns so far captured—they now total more than 280 completed weapons—are all of recent manufacture, as can be seen by examination; in point of fact, they differ markedly in design from the type of home-made weapon captured during the emergency.

(4) *That some Africans, who have themselves apprehended gun-makers, or people who said that they had information about gun-making and oath-taking, had been warned away from police stations when they had reported these matters.*

"This is another general allegation which it is impossible to controvert or sustain in the absence of specific information. I cannot imagine, however, a police officer turning away a member of the public who had information to lay concerning the commission of such serious criminal offences, the less so at a time when the efforts of a large part of the force are diverted to the detection of subversion. In the absence of any specific complaint to the contrary, I must regard this allegation as groundless.

(5) *That some persons who were known to have been arrested and convicted had later been seen as free men who claimed that they had been released by the police in order to continue gun-running. A specific case had been brought to your attention.*

Arrested and Released

"The answer to the general allegation that the police have released arrested and convicted persons, lies, I suggest, in the result of the investigation into the one specific allegation contained in your letter. You enclosed with your letter an unsigned memorandum which mentioned the names of three persons who were alleged to have been arrested, convicted, and imprisoned, and subsequently released. The facts of these cases, which I have been able to investigate, have proved to be as follows.

"The first name mentioned in the statement is that of a man who is alleged to have been apprehended by a group of Kikuyu who took him to Kericho police station from whence, it is again alleged, he was released. In fact, this man volunteered information about the K.L.F.A. to his employer, who took him to Kericho police station. As a result of the information given to the police, a K.L.F.A. 'district commissioner' was arrested, and, indirectly, 36 home-made guns were captured and a number of convictions subsequently obtained for the possession of these weapons.

"Several days later six Africans, five of them members of the Kenya African National Union Youth Wing in Kericho, and the sixth the organizing secretary of the K.A.N.U. branch at Lumbwa, went to the man's house, arrested him, tore his clothes, and forcibly removed him to a village near Kericho were they pointed him out to a number of Kikuyu as the 'snake in the district'. They finally took him to Kericho police station where he was placed in cells until he was later identified by the police officer to whom he had several days earlier given his information, and released. The C.I.D. are at present investigating a possible case of unlawful confine-

(*Concluded on page* 308)

PERSONALIA

SIR DENIS WRIGHT, lately Ambassador in Ethiopia, is to be Ambassador in Iraq.

MR. R. H. C. STEED, Commonwealth correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, is visiting the Federation.

MR. W. H. HAMMOND spent a few days in London last week on his way from Rhodesia to the U.S.A.

MR. STEPHEN HASTINGS, Conservative M.P. for Mid-Bedfordshire, has joined the board of Handley Page, Ltd.

U THANT has been elected Secretary-General of the United Nations for the next four years, at an annual salary of £23,170.

COLONEL and MRS. N. S. FERRIS sailed in the STIRLING CASTLE last Friday on their way back to Southern Rhodesia.

MAJOR-GENERAL A. E. WALFORD has been elected president of the Federation of Commonwealth and British Chambers of Commerce.

MR. R. W. CANTELLO, who has been appointed a director of British United Airways, joined Airwork, forerunner of the company, in 1939.

MR. and MRS. PIETER LESSING are visiting Angola. While passing through the Congo they were arrested and detained for several days on suspicion of spying for Portugal.

MAJOR-GENERAL R. J. MOBERLY, representative Colonel Commandant for the Royal Corps of Signals, is this week visiting British Army and K.A.R. signals units in Kenya.

SIR RICHARD TURNBULL, Governor-General in Tanganyika, and LADY TURNBULL will sail from Dar es Salaam on Saturday, a few hours before Tanganyika becomes a republic.

Recent arrivals from the Federation include MR. A. L. M. COATES, MR. W. DOUGLAS, MR. K. C. K. ROCHESTER, MR. O. F. C. SMITH, and MR. & MRS. E. G. R. S. C. WOOD.

MR. HUGH F. EAGLETON, a managing director of Tracey Blagden, Ltd., has been seconded from London to New York to serve for one or two years as president of Balfour, Williamson, Inc.

MR. M. A. O. NDISI, acting assistant chief labour officer in Kenya, has represented that country at a seminar held in Sierra Leone under the auspices of the International Labour Organization.

MR. KENNETH M. CAMPBELL, chairman of the British India Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., has been elected to the board of the parent company, Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Co., Ltd.

DR. ABDIRASHID ALI SHERMARKE, Prime Minister of the Somali Republic, who has been in New York, was in London for a few days this week for talks at the Foreign Office before leaving for Bonn today.

SIR HUGH STEPHENSON is to become H.M. Ambassador in South Africa and High Commissioner for Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and Swaziland, in succession to SIR JOHN MAUD, who will retire next spring.

MR. GARY HOCKING, the 24-year-old Southern Rhodesian racing motor cyclist who retired this year after winning the world championship, is to head a racing team of which MR. STIRLING MOSS was the leader until his crash.

Michaelmas calls to the Bar have included MESSRS. E. KALIBALA (Kampala), A. B. SHAH (Nairobi), and A. Z. ZUBEDI (Mombasa), of the Middle Temple; and MESSRS. T. V. DATTANI (Tanga), H. G. GANDESHA (Kampala), R. W. G. RUGARABAMU (Bukoba, Tanganyika), R. K. SHAH (Mombasa), R. A. SINGH (Dar es Salaam), L. V. VADGAMA (Nairobi), and F. WALUSIMBI-KAKEMBO (Bombo, Uganda), all of Lincoln's Inn.

MR. MARCEL BRUNNER was team commandant, MR. A. EVANS team manager, and MR. NYANDIKA MAIYORO athletics manager of the Kenya team of athletes and boxers attending the Commonwealth Games in Perth, Australia.

A "flying doctor" team in Southern Rhodesia, DR. J. HARVEY and MR. L. SHAPIRO, on Sunday had what they termed a chance-in-a-million escape when their light aircraft was "shot down" by a waterspout over Lake Nyasa.

SIR KENNETH BLACKBURNE, lately Governor-General of Jamaica, and LADY BLACKBURNE arrived back in England on Saturday. They now live at Gratwicks, near Steyning, Sussex. When in charge of Information at the Colonial Office, SIR KENNETH visited East and Central Africa.

MR. J. G. DUNCAN, Federal Minister of Education, said at the Girls' High School annual speech night in Salisbury that there was a very real danger of Communist infiltration in the Federation. The best way to counteract the danger was to bridge the gap between the races.

MR. J. O. UDOJI, principal secretary to the Premier of Eastern Nigeria, has been appointed chairman of the Africanization Commission recently set up by the East African Common Services Authority. The secretary is MR. J. N. PRICE, of the East African Posts and Telecommunications Administration.

Among passengers for Mombasa in the BRAEMAR CASTLE, which sailed from London last Thursday, are DR. & MRS. B. E. JERWOOD, SIR MICHAEL and LADY PETO, the REV. T. QUINN, CAPTAIN & MRS. J. RAMILD-JORGENSEN, DR. & MRS. M. STEINECK, COLONEL & MRS. G. L. TYRINGHAM, and BARON E. VON WECHMAR.

GEORGE WAIGWA and PETER NJENGA, two 14-year-old waifs who are being sheltered and trained at Starehe youth centre, Nairobi, arrived in London yesterday with the Colony youth organizer, MR. GEOFFREY GRIFFIN, to spend about two weeks touring England to seek funds from youth groups and schools for the support of destitute African children.

A collection of gold snuff-boxes, watches, and other articles of virtu belonging to SIR A. CHESTER BEATTY were sold by auction in London on Monday for £124,029, far the highest total ever recorded for a similar sale. This was part of the collection. The second portion is to be offered next year. The highest price was £8,500 paid for a snuff-box made in 1735.

SIR ALLEN LANE, founder of the Penguin publishing house, who arrived at London Airport at the week-end, told reporters that a companion and he were stranded in the bush in Kenya for a day and a half after their car stuck in mud three feet deep on the way from Nairobi to Mombasa. They left it and started to walk, but were given lifts on bicycles until they met a bus.

DR. T. S. DETINOVA, an entomologist from the Martsinovsky Institute of Medical Parasitology and Tropical Medicine in Moscow, who for the past 15 years has worked on the development of laboratory techniques for the age grading of malaria-carrying mosquitoes, has spent six weeks in East Africa, most of the time at the Amani Institute in Tanganyika, to demonstrate her techniques. She is returning to Russia *viâ* Southern Rhodesia, the Cameroons and the Gambia.

BRIGADIER N. A. THORPE, the honorary Colonel, presided at the annual dinner in Nairobi on Saturday of the 3rd Battalion The King's African Rifles, at which the principal guests were the Governor of Kenya, SIR PATRICK RENISON, the Mayor of Nairobi, ALDERMAN CHARLES RUBIA, the G.O.C., East Africa, MAJOR-GENERAL R. E. GOODWIN, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Defence, MR. H. MULLI, and the commander of 70 Brigade (K.A.R.), BRIGADIER the HON. M. F. FITZALAN-HOWARD.

MR. K. G. Y. BROWNE, general manager in Central Africa for the Imperial Tobacco Co., Ltd., arrived in the PRETORIA CASTLE last Friday.

MR. B. K. KIRYA, Minister without Portfolio, led Uganda's team of seven boxers and 14 athletes to the Commonwealth Games in Australia.

MR. MEREDYTH HYDE-CLARKE, director of the Overseas Employers' Federation, is visiting Malaya. He will go on to Fiji and return to London via Bermuda.

MR. G. F. BEDFORD, a director of the Union-Castle Mail Steamship Co., Ltd., and MRS. BEDFORD sailed last Thursday in the STIRLING CASTLE for a holiday in Madeira.

ADMIRAL MANUEL MARIA SARMENTO RODRIGUES, Governor-General of Mozambique, who resigned last week, has visited the Federation. His relations with Rhodesians have been cordial.

MRS. KISOSONKOLE, of Uganda, was chairman of one of the working groups at a U.N.E.S.C.O. conference which ended last week in Dakar, Senegal. It discussed the rôle of African women in education.

DR. J. S. LUYIMBAZI-ZAKE, Minister of Education in Uganda, was the guest last week at a Government luncheon in London at which the DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, presided.

MR. J. N. BUCHANAN, chairman of Minerals Separation, Ltd., and MR. E. WEISS, another member of the board, are to become directors of Hecht Levis and Kahn, Ltd., a subsidiary. MR. BUCHANAN will become chairman in succession to SIR JAMES HELMORE, who is retiring.

MR. GEORGE BAKER, lately Controller of Information Services in Tanganyika, left London on Monday by air for Freetown to take up the appointment of First Secretary (Information) and Director of British Information Services in the British High Commission in Sierra Leone.

LORD LAMBTON, Conservative M.P. for Berwick, who has visited East and Central Africa, and who is very critical of the Government's African policy, is to be opposed at the general election by a Liberal candidate, MR. MERLIN MINSHALL, an architect and author, and half-brother of LORD POOLE.

THE REV. PROFESSOR ROBERT CRAIG, a Scot who graduated in Arts and Divinity from St. Andrews University, and who is now Professor of Religion at Smith College, Northampton, Massachussetts, U.S.A., has been appointed Professor of Theology in the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

MR. E. F. O. GASCOIGNE has been appointed chairman of Rhodesia-Katanga Co., Ltd., of which MR. M. T. W. EASBY remains managing director. Four directors of Kentan Gold Areas, Ltd., MR. ESMOND C. BARING, COMTE JEAN ALBERT DE LA BARRE D'ERQUELINES, MR. JOHN GENIS, and MR. RONALD F. MEDLICOTT, have joined the Rhodesia-Katanga board on the acquisition of Kentan by that company.

Obituary

Captain A. T. A. Ritchie

Stalwart Game Protector and Staunch Character

CAPTAIN ARCHIBALD THOMAS AYRES RITCHIE, O.B.E., M.C. ("Archie" to hundreds of Kenyans), who has died at his home in Malindi, and been buried at sea as he wished, had been an outstanding figure in the life of the Colony for many years. No man did so much as he for the preservation of its game or so influenced the formation of the country's splendid national parks.

At Harrow he became head of the school, captain of the shooting eight, and a member of the football team, and at Magdalen College, Cambridge, which he left in 1914 with honours in zoology, he was president of the junior common room.

Foreign Legion and Grenadier Guards

On the outbreak of the Kaiser's war he joined the French Foreign Legion, and after being in action with them in France he was commissioned in the Grenadier Guards in 1915. He was wounded at Loos that year, on the Somme in 1916, and near Ypres in 1917. He was mentioned in dispatches, awarded the Military Cross, and made a chevalier of the Legion d'Honneur. Towards the end of the war he married Miss Queenie Falconer MacDonald, who afterwards travelled with him and shared his interests.

In 1920 he went to Kenya for the East African Lands and Development Company, working for them at Gilgil for a year. Then he spent a couple of years travelling in Burma, Algeria, Spain and the Sudan, before returning to Kenya to join the Game Department, of which he was later to be an exceptionally successful chief, whose retirement in 1949 was as generally regretted by the public as by his own staff, white and black, by whom he was almost worshipped.

By his example and character, and by his skill as an advocate, he aroused general concern for game preservation in official and settler circles. He was thoroughly practical in his approach, recognizing that agricultural development had first claim on the land, and that in their own areas Africans could not be prevented from killing for food. If that was done in moderation and without cruelty, the Game Department showed understanding, but Ritchie and his friends (for his subordinates were his friends) were the sworn enemies of those who caused lingering death, and especially of Europeans and Asians who overshot their licences for gain and trafficked in trophies and the meat of animals which they had killed illegally. While true sportsmen never had a better friend in the Game Department, commercial poachers of any race never had a more resolute or resourceful antagonist.

Gallant Rescue

His annual reports set a new standard, and were of great publicity value to the Colony, as were his private films, some of animals never previously brought to the cinema. He was a keen naturalist and botanist, a lover of all kinds of wild life, an excellent photographer, an ardent angler, and, above all, a great character.

Some years ago heart trouble made it necessary for him to live at sea-level, but whether on the coast or at their home in Nairobi the Ritchies were delighted to be surrounded by their friends, and especially to give hospitality to those down on their luck. Archie, a wit and noted raconteur, had high standards in everything, and will have left kindly memories in many minds.

When Sir Evelyn Baring (now Lord Howick) got

into difficulties while rescuing an Indian girl from drowning just before he was due to retire from Kenya late in 1959, Ritchie, then in bad health, plunged to their help through heavy seas. But for that gallant act of a man who had been ordered to avoid exertion of any kind the Governor of the Colony and the girl might have been lost. For his bravery Ritchie received the Queen's commendation.

Dr. Robert G. Slade

MR. R. G. SLADE, a director of Edm. Schluter & Co., Ltd., has died after a long illness. He joined the company in 1922 at the age of 16, went into the Army in 1940, was posted to East Africa, and was in the Civil Affairs Branch of the Occupied Enemy Territories Administration. When the business became a limited company in 1951 he was appointed to the board.

In a tribute to him Mr. G. E. Schluter has written:—

"'Bob' Slade had been ill for a long time. Through nearly all his illness, and to the end, he was faithfully nursed by his wife at home. The courage with which he faced his illness was characteristic of him. He worked on at full pressure. When he could no longer manage the train, he hired a car. When the car journey from his home became too much, he took a room in an hotel near the office. He gave up only when he could not walk from his door to his taxi. Beset by constant pain, he was never known to complain.

"The better you knew him the more you knew a man passionately devoted to the maintenance of high standards of character and of performance in those of whom they were to be expected, and no less passionately devoted to the help and protection of the sick or underprivileged. His constant and most valuable resource was a ready wit and repartee. The most depressing situation and tiresome people could be livened and lightened by his good humour and a shaft of well directed wit. When he said 'good morning' the sunshine was on the 'good'; and the morning seemed much the better for it.

"His kindliness was a byword, and outside the office his interests included the Church, the Boy Scouts, old people's homes, moral welfare, and boys' clubs. Born in a poor district of London, he always retained a close interest in it and remained true to its loyalties.

"The company owes much to his loyalty, integrity, judgment, energy, and skill, as well as to the breadth and depth of his commercial knowledge. He was a good merchant. He was knowledgeable in his own sphere, he knew the value of others. Knowledge and skill, and gave freely of his support to others. He excelled in [illegible] which he called [illegible]."

Mr. Paul Mushonga

[illegible]

Engagement of Princess Alexandra

To Marry The Hon. Angus Ogilvy

PRINCESS ALEXANDRA OF KENT, a cousin of the Queen, and 12th in the line of succession to the Throne, is to marry the Hon. Angus James Bruce Ogilvy, second son of the 12th Earl and the Countess of Airlie.

Mr. Ogilvy is a director of numerous companies, including many operating in Central Africa. Among them are London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Co., Ltd.; the African Investment Trust, Ltd.; Nyasaland Railways, Ltd.; Central African Railway Co., Ltd.; Willoughby's Consolidated Co., Ltd.; Willoughby's Investments (Ewell), Ltd.; North Charterland Exploration Co., Ltd.; Coronation Syndicate, Ltd.; Arcturus Mines, Ltd.; Chicago-Gaika Development Co., Ltd.; Mazoe Consolidated Mines, Ltd.; Norton Development Co., Ltd.; Homestake Gold Mining Co., Ltd.; Hall's Holdings, Ltd.; Hall's Garage, Ltd.; and Hay's Garage, Ltd.

Two More Ministerial Changes

Lady Tweedsmuir and Lord Hastings

LADY TWEEDSMUIR, M.P. for Aberdeen South, has been appointed Under-Secretary of State at the Scottish Office, following the recent resignation of Mr. T. G. D. Galbraith. The salary of the post is £2,500, plus a taxable allowance of £750. Lord and Lady Tweedsmuir were married in 1934; he was a member of the Colonial Service in Uganda from 1934 to 1936. Both have ever since been keenly interested in East and Central African Affairs.

Lord Hastings, who farmed for several years in Southern Rhodesia, and has travelled widely in Central and East Africa, has been appointed Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. He had been a Lord in Waiting since 1961.

When Tanganyika Becomes Republic

President Will Appoint New Ministers

[illegible]

Disastrous To Break Up Federation

Sir Edgar Whitehead's Warning

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said when he addressed the recent congress of the Southern Rhodesian Division of the United Federal Party: —

"I am a firm believer that, for the greater happiness and prosperity of Central Africa, the links we forged in 1953 with the other two territories were for the good of all three territories. When the full review is held there may be major changes, but I would regard it as an absolute disaster if the Federation were to break up into three component States, for that would inevitably impoverish all three and greatly hamper the work we are trying to do.

"Everybody in Bulawayo realizes the consequences if Rhodesia Railways were reduced simply to that portion within the boundaries of Southern Rhodesia. I am an Umtali man and I know the loss of employment and business that followed when the Portuguese section was taken away and run on entirely separate lines. None of the three territories could afford to run an airways service like Central African Airways.

"Our common market is invaluable to every producer. There is not a one-way traffic. The free entry of Nyasaland tea into this country is as important to them as our exports of industrial goods to Nyasaland. When Europe — every country of which is far richer than we are — is trying to build up a common market in order to improve their conditions it doesn't make sense to fragment this grouping.

"All three territories have benefited enormously from Federation, and we must try to maintain those benefits.

"On the political side there will have to be changes. The exact form decided upon nine years ago will have to be renegotiated to some extent to make it acceptable, but the association, especially between the two Rhodesias, cannot be allowed to be broken. Whatever form it may take, it must be maintained for the good of all the people.

"It is very easy for anybody to get up and say 'I'm a Southern Rhodesian first; I believe in everyone for themselves and the devil take the hindmost'. We have enough unemployment today in the Federation without making more by breaking up the Federation. But it will be a difficult and testing period while this review is in progress. There will be crises and strains and differences of opinion as to what new form it should take. But the common sense of geography is the thing to believe in — and the common sense of the people.

"After all, whatever our political form of Government, the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland will be next door to each other for all time. The Zambezi will not cease to be there because of a political change. For next-door neighbours not to work together in unity and amity for the common good is foolish.

"The greatest contribution we can make to the maintenance of the federal association is to show that we in Southern Rhodesia of all races can reach agreement amongst ourselves and work to a common end, and set the example that will help the larger unity".

Violent Man Behind Dr. Banda

MR. KANYAMA CHIUME, Minister of Education and Social Development in Nyasaland, has been described as "the violent man behind Dr. Banda" in a report from Blantyre to which the *Daily Telegraph* has given prominence.

The writer, Mr. Alan Hart, said, *inter alia*: —

"It is wrong to assume that Dr. Banda is in complete charge of his country's destiny. Although, with Nyasaland's independence still to be won, he appears the undisputed leader, the future looks precarious.

"Internal strife, caused by the bitter battle for power in his own ruling Malawi Congress Party, has been glossed over. It seems almost as if the rivals all agree that a united front should be presented at least until the day of 'freedom'.

"The man who has emerged as the most likely challenger for Dr. Banda's position—and the greatest threat to white security—is Mr. Kanyama Chiume, the 33-year-old Minister of Education and Social Development. He is also the Malawi Party's publicity secretary.

"Feared by all civil servants and most whites, Mr. Chiume in his most violent moods is a man even Dr. Banda hesitates to cross.

"As administrator he is brilliant and tireless. European officials of his ministry regard him as a human dynamo.

"Mr. Chiume, with Mr. Henry Chipembere (now completing a three-year prison sentence for sedition and proposing violence), forced the Nyasaland African Congress to take a more militant line in 1958 and to invite Dr. Banda, then in Ghana, to take over its leadership.

"When a state of emergency was declared in Nyasaland in March, 1959, Mr. Chiume escaped arrest because he was out of the country. The extent of his racialism and extremism was confirmed when he returned in May, 1960. He told a crowd of Africans who met him at the airport: 'When I was in London, Europeans cleaned my boots. Soon they will be doing that here'.

"In the Legislative Council and at public meetings Mr. Chiume refers to the white people of Nyasaland as 'that insidious group of Colonial settlers'. Most of these whites are farmers, making up less than 6.4% of the total population; but they produce over 60% of the country's exports, mainly tea and tobacco.

"Mr. Chiume uses every opportunity to tell Europeans that they must pack up and go if they are not prepared to live by rules made by Africans for Africans. 'You must', he tells them, 'accept your black masters'.

"Backing his words with action, Mr. Chiume has banned whites from playing in Nyasaland's 'national' football team, although Europeans are bringing more and more Africans into their teams. He ordered a boycott of the activities of the European-controlled Athletic Association, which is run almost exclusively for Africans. And he persuaded the Nyasaland Government to discontinue its annual £15,000 grant to local charities.

"By such methods Mr. Chiume is determined to drive the whites out of Nyasaland. He may succeed".

U.N.I.P. and A.N.C. In London

MR. KAUNDA and Mr. Nkumbula, leaders of U.N.I.P. and the A.N.C. respectively, met Mr. Butler, Minister for Central Africa, on Monday and Tuesday to discuss Northern Rhodesia.

When Mr. Kaunda arrived in London last Friday from Lusaka *via* Dar es Salaam, he said that he was prepared to take office in order to form an African Government in Northern Rhodesia under the present Constitution, even though he had come to ask for a new Constitution. His party had agreed to form a coalition with the A.N.C. later this month. "I will oppose any minority Government", he added. "I would prefer to see British civil servants rule".

He wanted H.M. Government to appoint a commission which would divide the Federal Government's powers between the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

"Sir Roy Welensky must realize that, though he has material power, he cannot hope to keep down millions of Africans with lead and gun-powder. The British Government is fully aware of the feelings of the people.

"Let the whole thing be settled democratically. Democracy, which the British people value so much, we also value. If they can give Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia what they have given Nyasaland, they can leave us to settle the rest. We can no longer tolerate the presence of the Salisbury Government: there is no compromise in that. It must go. There is no question of talking about economic links before the people decide themselves".

By-elections are to be held next Monday for 10 frustrated national seats and one previously uncontested upper roll seat. The Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, recalling this, suggested a few days ago in an interview with a special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* that it was significant that at such a stage of the campaign both the nationalist leaders should be out of the country; if they intended running a democratic system should they not be fighting to win in the democratic way? He felt that Mr. Butler should not see any politician until the second round of the election was over, since no one knew who would be in charge before then.

"There have been direct threats of intimidation to the whole electorate in Northern Rhodesia by U.N.I.P.", he continued. "Now we see a demand that the Constitution should be revised even before the election is completed. Every person in this country is going to watch to see what the British Government will do. If it means that violence is going to pay and that the tearing up of Constitutions is the way to success, then why confine it to the black man?"

Dr. Banda and His "Boys" Return

Sir Roy on Nyasaland's Secession

CRIES OF "WELCOME HOME MESSIAH!" greeted Dr. Banda when he returned to Nyasaland on Sunday from the Conference in London at which the Protectorate received a self-governing Constitution.

As some 100,000 Africans shouted and danced at Chileka Airport, the Malawi Congress Party leader—who will become Nyasaland's first Prime Minister—was draped with a lion skin, the traditional insignia of the bravest warriors, while women of his "Amazon army" knelt and sang his praises.

"Forgive and forget the past", he told the crowd. "We now have to build our country with our own sweat. We shall need foreign capital. We therefore must have peace and calm in Nyasaland".

Europeans would, he said, be welcome if they remembered that the country was "Malawi" and was to be ruled by Africans, who should be friendly with Europeans and Asians. "In Malawi we must rule, whether we are educated or not, because this is our country. The Nyasaland Government is now under me and my boys".

The Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, protested in a radio broadcast for the Southern Rhodesian division of his United Federal Party that "once again there are signs of a weakening of resolve in Whitehall. There has been the familiar series of Press leakages about Nyasaland's future and the possibility of that country seceding from the Federation. If the history of the past two years is anything to go by, the leakages will be found to correspond closely with H.M. Government's intentions.

Unilateral Decision Opposed

"Taking my experience as an object lesson, I say: if it is their intention unilaterally to award Nyasaland the right of secession, I am bound to make it quite clear that we do not acknowledge the right of Nyasaland to secede by decision of the British Government alone. The future of the Federation is for all the Governments concerned to decide. Any decision regarding Nyasaland which will be to the benefit of the people of Nyasaland must be based on the agreement of all those Governments.

"Above all, it must be taken within the context of a decision on the Federation itself, and with the firm purpose of preserving the Rhodesian association which has set the seal on the work of Rhodes, entrenched his ideals, and brought immeasurable benefits to all the people of Rhodesia.

"I believe that Rhodesians would challenge the right of anyone to gamble with their achievements and their future, which it seems the British Government intends to do. We are engaged in a holding action while our system of progress based on merit expands, while its value is recognized by the African people. We are in the middle of our battle. If you give up in the middle of a battle, your chances of losing that battle are considerable.

"British Ministers have repeatedly give in to violence and threats of violence in the past two and half years. Negotiations have gone by the board. Stability cannot be preserved if Constitutions are scrapped one after another just because they do not meet the requirements of some favoured clique.

"This time there can be no concession on our part. This time the immediate issue is the existence of the Federation itself; and the ultimate issue is whether the moderate has any place at all in this part of Africa".

The president of the Convention African National Union, Mr. Bradford Chidankhanya, who has had a meeting with the Minister for Central African Affairs, Mr. Butler, said before returning to Nyasaland on Tuesday that the Minister had told him that there would have to be a general election in the territory within the next 10 months before the proposed wholly new Constitution—making for an enlarged legislative Assembly—is introduced. C.A.N.U. wants these elections by June.

The party feel that the recent Marlborough House conference was a waste of time, with Dr. Banda "betraying overnight his previous promises that he would obtain the burial certificate of the Federation from Mr. Butler" because of the "unconstitutional" offer of the premiership of Nyasaland. The second stage of the self-government Constitution agreed to was only a ruse to enable Sir Roy Welensky to buy time to obtain independence for the whole Federation.

It was time to stop beating about the bush. Since the area's future must be arranged by those on the spot, not by people 6,000 miles way, the Federal and territorial Governments should meet soon to discuss whether the Federation was to be dissected or not. Delay in stating once and for all what was to happen was maintaining political instability, which in turn deterred outside investors from committing themselves positively.

C.A.N.U. has written to the Governor, Sir Glyn Jones, demanding the release before Christmas of Mr. H. Chipembere and other "political prisoners", even if the M.C.P. disagrees. Otherwise the people of the country would be called on to free them "at any cost".

Appeal Which Stigmatized S. Rhodesia

MR. LAURENS VAN DER POST, one of the signatories of the advertisement by the Defence and Aid Fund which was sharply criticized in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA of November 8, has expressed his distress at having lent his name to a statement "so full of errors", and has told the organizers that his name may not be used in future for similar purposes.

Correspondence between the High Commissioner in London for the Federation and the signatories was published last week. The High Commissioner has since received from Mr. van der Post a letter reading:—

"I could not add my name to the letter of apology signed by 22 of the sponsors of the Defence and Aid Fund because it seemed to me that they took our errors too lightly and raised new issues that were not concerned with the advertisement to which you objected.

"I think the situation in Africa is so grave that it is only with the utmost precision of heart and mind, and the most scrupulous regard for the truth, that we shall be able to come out of it without disaster.

"I, personally, am extremely distressed, therefore, that I should have lent my name to an advertisement which has proved so full of errors as this one. I have taken steps to see that my name will not be used for similar purposes in the future. If you find that giving publicity to this letter will help to correct the impression our advertisement created, I think that it is only fair you should feel free to do so".

"Contemptible Advertisement"

THE RT. REV. CECIL ALDERSON, Bishop of Mashonaland, has sharply criticized in the *Rhodesia Herald* what he called "a contemptible advertisement" issued by the Rhodesian Front. Showing the legs of white and black children walking together, it had a caption "Rhodesia is not ready for this", and beneath it the words: "No single factor has contributed more to the present unhappy state of affairs in other parts of Africa and elsewhere than forced integration. The present Southern Rhodesian Government intends to impose it on the country if returned to power on December 14".

In his letter the Bishop wrote that he made a point of not intervening in political matters, but felt it necessary to ask that the country "might be spared (by all parties) the contemptible form of appeal, made in the picture of Girl Guides' legs now disfiguring our papers. It is insulting to any human being and to the Guide Movement. If the caption is true, God help Rhodesia".

The chairman of the Rhodesian Front replied that the picture was not of Girl Guides, but "a montage of the legs of three little girls, two Africans and a European".

Commonwealth Games Successes

KENYA WON TWO GOLD MEDALS and Uganda one at the seventh Commonwealth Games held last week in Perth, Australia. Seraphino Antao won Kenya's golds in the 100 and 220 yards sprints, with respective times of 9.5 and 21.1 seconds. George Oywello (Uganda) gained a points decision over a New Zealander to win the heavyweight boxing championship and his country's only gold medal. Kenya also gained two silver and one bronze medals. Uganda had one silver and four bronze; and the Central African Federation won two silver medals and five bronzes.

Serious Problems For Coffee Growers

Kenya's Quota Cut by 2,350 Tons a Year

ETHIOPIA and SIERRA LEONE are the only coffee growing countries in Africa which have notified their reluctance to sign the International Coffee Agreement. One Latin American producer, Ecuador, has taken the same step.

The full text of the statement by Mr. W. B. Havelock, Minister for Agriculture in Kenya, has now reached London. The following passages are quoted in amplification of last week's brief report: —

"Coffee has contributed significantly to Kenya's export earnings for over 40 years, and in the last decade has played a major rôle as a high-priced cash crop in the development of African agriculture.

"We depend on coffee for about one-third of our total export earnings. In the last seven years the value of coffee exports has settled at about £10½m. per annum, even though production has increased by 60% since 1955.

"Much of Kenya's coffee attracts the best prices and is highly favoured for blending purposes, but our share of the world coffee trade is only 1%. To sell the crop expected by 1966-7 — the fifth year of the agreement — Kenya will have to double its share of the world trade. This will not be easy, for world production is already nearly half as large again as world consumption.

"Basic quotas, set for six years, are to be reviewed at the end of the third year. Each year quotas may be adjusted by equal percentage changes so that the total quotas equal the estimated demand.

"Under the agreement, which has a life of five years, Kenya's export quota is 30,400 tons (516,835 bags), or 2,350 tons (40,000 bags) below its quotas for traditional markets in each of the past two years. Its exportable production in the current coffee year is likely to be some 38,800 tons (660,000 bags). Its exportable production from trees now in the ground is likely to rise to some 47,000 tons (800,000 bags) over the next two years; these estimates, if realized, would necessitate the retention from export of 22% of total production, rising to 35% assuming also that Kenya's quota is not increased.

"The Marketing Board hopes to sell at least 3,000 tons (50,000 bags) this year to new non-quota markets, and it is making every effort to dispose of coffee surplus to the quota by an expansion of the local market. Consumption by Africans in East Africa up to four years ago amounted to only about 150 tons (2,550 bags) a year, but in 1961-62 the total was 1,500 tons (25,500 bags).

"The agreement will assure maintenance of world coffee prices at roughly the present levels. Were Kenya not to adhere it would probably lose part or even the whole of its established markets, because the importers of importance to Kenya (the U.S.A., Western Germany, and the U.K.) are signatories of the agreement".

K.A.N.U. Divisions Now Self-Evident

Leaders Denounced by Luo Dissident

K.A.N.U. HAD ALWAYS been a house divided against itself, Mr. Omolo Agar, the suspended assistant organizing secretary, said in Nairobi last week when announcing his resignation and his intention to form his own political party. He is a Luo and a close associate of Mr. Mboya.

He described the K.A.N.U. leaders as jealous of each other, greedy, and selfish. Acts of violence and intimidation, were, he asserted, overlooked because they were engineered by a faction of officials. "In all these disruptive activities Jomo Kenyatta, the president, has failed to show that he can settle anything satisfactorily".

Kenyatta's former Mau Mau associate, Paul Ngei, a Kamba, has confirmed his break with K.A.N.U. by naming his new group, which claims the support of about 750,000 Kamba, the African Peoples' Party.

At a meeting near Machakos on Sunday, staged by K.A.N.U. "to show its solidarity" with the Kamba tribe, an African witch-doctor leaped on to the platform and laid a curse on Ngei.

At least 200 Land Freedom Army leaders have been imprisoned to date. Special police teams are searching the Uasin Gishu for terrorist "cells" on European farms.

Tanganyika Export Taxes

EXPORT TAXES on sisal and tea have been suddenly imposed in Tanganyika, which hopes to raise £700,000 a year thereby. From yesterday all sisal shipments will pay 5% of the f.o.b. value if over £60 a ton. Tea now pays 3% of the f.o.b. value. Recent wage increases have increased the cost of production of sisal by between £10 and £12 a ton on efficiently managed estates.

Zanzibar Communist Party

WHEN RECENTLY ANNOUNCING its formation the Zanzibar Communist Party claimed a membership of "around 1,000". The general secretary is Mr. Abdul Rahman Muhammad, and the publicity secretary and director of the "international bureau" is Mr. Ibrahim Omar. The names of other office-bearers have not been stated.

7,500 African miners at Rhokana copper mine, Northern Rhodesia, have been on strike for over a week because of grievances against African personnel staff. Production at Nchanga and Bancroft has been seriously affected.

Nationalization of tea, coffee, and sugar estates, and banking and insurance, has been called for by the Kenya Federation of Labour.

Encouraging "Freedom" Army

(*Concluded from page* 301)

ment or assault on the part of the K.A.N.U. Youth Wing members concerned.

"The second person named in the enclosure to your letter, who is alleged to have been arrested in the Lumbwa or Molo settled areas, is a known K.L.F.A. leader and oath administrator in the Kericho district. Far from being released from police or prison custody, he has successfully evaded all attempts by the police to apprehend him and is wanted at Molo for prosecution. He will be charged immediately he is found.

"The third person named in the enclosure to your letter, who is alleged to have been sentenced to four years' imprisonment, is known to the police but has not in fact been charged in court owing to inadequate evidence. He was for a time held on a restriction order, but the order has since been revoked and he is again at liberty, since he is no longer regarded as a threat to security.

"As regards the general allegation that people who have been arrested and convicted have subsequently been released by the police, it is common and accepted police practice that, in the course of their investigations, the police invite to a police station persons whom they have reason to believe can assist them in their inquiries. Such persons frequently leave the police station after they have assisted the investigation. Occasionally a person may be arrested but later released and allowed to return home on account of a lack of evidence. Once a person has been charged, convicted and sentenced by a court to imprisonment, however, he is removed from the custody of the police, who have no power whatsoever to release him from prison.

Wide Publicity

"Although you make no reference in your letter to allegations of ill-treatment at Molo, you referred to these allegations in your speech in Legislative Council last week and in your Press statement. They have therefore received wide publicity. Here again no specific allegation of ill-treatment has been made. I have, however, received the names of three persons who, it is alleged at second hand, have suffered ill-treatment while in police custody. A full inquiry into these specific allegations is now in train, but has not yet been completed. I will inform you of the outcome as soon as possible. You will realize, of course, that in this matter the police will report not to me but to the Attorney-General.

"You state in your letter that if the Government's measures to combat subversion are to succeed, they must have the public's confidence. I also subscribe to this view. I am bound to say, however, that the widespread publicity which has been given to the allegations during the last ten days has had the opposite effect.

"It has also greatly heartened members of the Kenya Land Freedom Army and has discouraged the forces of law and order upon whose devotion to duty the safety of Kenya both now and in the future ultimately depends.

"For these reasons I hope you will feel yourself able to denounce these rumours and allegations, as you have denounced oathing, gun-making and other subversive activities, in order that the police, in co-operation with the public, can continue their efforts to combat this serious threat to our security, in the knowledge that they have the full support of all Government Ministers.

"I have noted your remarks about the Kalenjin tribes. As the Minister who is at present responsible for internal security, I abhor and condemn threats to law and order from any source. As I said in reply to a question in Legislative Council today, the Government will take all measures necessary to maintain law and order, which is, indeed, its first duty. I trust I may count upon the unqualified support of all my colleagues in this endeavour.

"In view of the statement which you issued to the Press last week, which contained the substance of your letter, I assume that you will have no objection to the release of this letter to the Press".

Beaten by Kenya African Mob

CRAFTSMAN GERALD FORD, of the Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, was taken to hospital in Nairobi after being rescued by police from a mob of about 600 Africans who attacked him with bricks, sticks, and fists after a car in which he was a passenger had run into an African in River Road. He had jumped out to help the pedestrian.

Peers Discuss State of Kenya

"May Bleed to Death": Lord Salisbury

THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY called attention in the House of Lords on Monday to the state of affairs in Kenya, which might, he said, bleed to death if its problems were not handled aright.

The European population, Kenya's backbone to past prosperity, were rapidly losing heart and hope, knowing that within one, two, or three years they were to be handed over to men who were still only one generation removed from a state of savagery. Of 3,600 Europeans who had been registered as mixed farmers more than 500 had already left the country; and that was merely the beginning. If it was not the intention of the United Kingdom to abandon Britain's friends, white and black, when Kenya became independent, but to ensure peaceful transition, confidence must be restored.

Lord Walston said he could not judge whether the appointment of Mr. Malcolm MacDonald as Governor in place of Sir Patrick Renison was right or wrong. If it was for the better, why had the change not been made earlier?

Lord Ogmore thought that Europeans in Kenya would have a fine future if they would fit into the new pattern of the country.

Lord Colyton was emphatic that there should be no withdrawal of British troops before independence and only phased withdrawal afterwards.

Lord Milverton hoped that the Government might refuse to make the final reckless surrender to certain chaos. Unless there were an interval of something like five years before independence, perilous disillusion and perhaps civil war and chaos were inevitable.

The Earl of Portsmouth, who farms in Kenya, said that the real danger was unemployment, not the politicians.

The Marquis of Landsowne, Minister of State at the Colonial Office, stressed the need to adhere to the agreements made at the last Lancaster House Conference, so that every community and tribe would feel that the system of government in Kenya would guarantee justice and security for all.

The Kenya Land Freedom Army still threatened security, but all the political leaders in the Colony had condemned its activities and all other kinds of subversion.

[A fuller report will appear next week.]

Mr. Obote Will Rock the Boat

MR. MILTON OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, said on Monday that he had instructed Uganda's delegation at the United Nations to attack British colonial policy "left, right and centre", and that he was "quite prepared to rock the boat" in the cause of quick independence for Kenya. Uganda would, he added, boycott the import of goods from Kenya. He would order his Finance Minister to sever relations with the Finance Minister of Kenya, and he would take no part in this week's meeting of the East African Common Services Organization. Having made his statement, Mr. Obote flew to Dar es Salaam. He had previously seen Kenyatta, president of the Kenya African National Union, who commented that that party "thinks very highly of Mr. Obote's plan".

Woman Leader of L.F.A.

THERESA WANGUI NJAMI, the 24-year-old wife of an official of the Kenya African National Union who is under restriction for Land Freedom Army activities, has been sentenced to five years' imprisonment in Nakuru after admitting that she was "leader of young girls" in the Land Freedom Army for the whole Rift Valley Province. Evidence was given that during the Mau Mau rebellion she was with a forest gang for three years and was known as "General Mary". She was captured and taken to a detention camp, from which she was released in 1958.

Strains and Stresses in Central Africa

(*Concluded from page* 300)

ritories in terms which pay scant regard to their political situations and to what has been and is being achieved in the constitutional field.

"I have had to deal with many intractable problems during the course of my political life. The Indian political setlement would have been regarded by many as more complicated than this owing to the number of creeds and races. I had to negotiate a religious settlement under the Education Act, 1944, which was thought quite impossible to achieve owing to the extraordinary political convulsions which occurred when it was raised in the time of Mr. Balfour. I have had to deal with many diplomatic problems, but this is the most intractable.

"We have a troika of territories each at a different stage of pace, training, and development. The House should approach the problem with understanding and support, not with censure. That is the mood which I want to bring to the debate.

"As a Government we intend to continue our efforts to promote solutions that are just, realistic, and, above all, constructive. The central core of future associations is the development of the three territories.

"I hope the House will share with me the pleasure which H.M. Government have felt at the successful outcome of the Nyasaland Constitutional Conference. It is remarkable that such a wide measure of agreement was achieved throughout these long proceedings, and I pay tribute to the realism and statesmanship of the Nyasalanders of all races to whom this result is due.

"This has brought out the best spirit which has prevailed in our long association of over 70 years with the Protectorate. The Malawi Congress Party won a large victory at the last election — not only in winning all of the lower roll seats, but in winning or controlling three out of the eight upper roll seats, which at the moment are largely the preserve of non-African voters. This justified bringing into office a largely African Government, who have conducted themselves extremely well and continued to enjoy the confidence of the vast majority of people in the territory, including many non-Africans.

Self-Government Justified

"The aspirations of the people and the experience which the political leadership has now gained justified us in granting self-government. It was essential to pay regard to the special circumstances of Nyasaland. There are therefore some transitional limitations, particularly in the sphere of finance and the public service. Under the self-governing Constitution the status of the Executive Council will be raised to that of a Cabinet presided over by a Prime Minister and will cease to be advisory except in regard to those matters for which H.M. Government and the Governor retain responsibility.

"All Ministers will be non-officials except the Minister of Finance. I was particularly glad that the suggestion that the present Financial Secretary should remain as Minister of Finance for the time being should have come from Dr. Banda. This, in part, was due to the death of Mr. Chisiza, a prominent African leader who met an untimely end after his brilliant organization of the symposium recently held in Nyasaland. In making this gesture Dr. Banda has recognized that Nyasaland will continue during the next phase to be subject to special strains and stresses.

"We shall retain such constitutional powers as H.M. Goverment regard as necessary for the discharge of their responsibility to Parliament, which arises out of the assistance which the British Government give to the territory.

"I made it clear — and Dr. Banda attached special importance to this — that elected Ministers must be able to rely on the full loyalty and energies of the public service and that the service must look to the Ministers as their chiefs. At the same time, the confidence of the Civil Service must be retained, and individual civil servants must feel that they can within the framework of policy determined by Ministers perform their duties honestly and conscientiously and without fear or favour. This was agreed, and the special problem of the expatriate civil servants was recognized.

"These special arrangements allow time for practical consideration of the problem of replacing overseas officers with local officers, with the object of retaining the services of the former for as long as they are needed. There is a stage when H.M. Government are obliged to secure for those overseas officers for whom we have special responsibility the right to retire voluntarily from the service and to receive compensation. It is the intention to begin negotiation of an agreement for this purpose with the Nyasaland Government in the near future.

"It is vital to have trained men to take the place of the trained men who are there at present, and I believe that in Nyasaland there is up and coming a very considerable number of people who can take these places when the time comes.

"The minority communities were very much in my mind. The minorities, in the form of the delegates who came, did a lot to safeguard their own rights by the part they played in helping to frame the Bill of Rights.

Prime Minister in February

"To bring the full Constitution into effect will require several months of work. As a first step changes in the composition of the Executive Council, which include the appointment of a Prime Minister, will be brought into force at the beginning of February. At that stage the Governor's powers will of course remain unchanged, but it will be H.M. Government's purpose to bring into effect the full Constitution as soon as it is administratively possible thereafter.

"I think that indicates that we can make steady progress in Nyasaland — and that hon. Members opposite in their motion have done scant justice to the development of a Constitution at any rate in this territory. Many of the basic principles of British constitutional theory which govern the relations between the individual and the State will be found in practical form in this Constitution.

"In Northern Rhodesia a general election took place on October 30 — contrary to forebodings expressed in some quarters, in a perfectly orderly and peaceful manner. Tact and discrimination were exercised and commendable discipline was shown.

"No party has an absolute majority, and the Governor has appointed a caretaker Administration comprising officials and one nominated African Minister who held office in the outgoing Government. I had a preliminary talk with Mr. Kaunda and Mr. Nkumbula this morning, and I hope to continue this tomorrow before they leave. I am glad to listen to their views, but I could not by any answers prejudge the situation which may arise when the election is completed. I should like to have plenty of time — I do not mean months; I mean a reasonable time — to gauge the result of the election.

Northern Rhodesia Tranquil

"The territory remains tranquil. I am confident that all responsible political leaders will work with the Governor to maintain this situation. There is a new development plan which calls for the expenditure of £30m. over the next four years. The Commonwealth Development Corporation has recently made a loan of £1m. for African housing. The copper industry is maintaining a high level of production. A great potential can be realized if all concerned with Northern Rhodesia's future adopt a steady, stable, and sensible approach to its political problems.

"In Southern Rhodesia the new Constitution came into force on November 1 on the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly. It will mean little difference to the constitutional relationship between Southern Rhodesia and the United Kingdom. In formal terms, however, Southern Rhodesia now enjoys an even greater degree of internal self-government.

"H.M. Government's remaining powers are confined to those features of the Constitution affecting the position of the Sovereign and the Governor. The Legislature has power to amend or alter all other sections of the Constitution. This includes the franchise and the size and the composition of the Legislature. Amendment to the Constitution requires a two-thirds majority, except in the case of certain specially entrenched clauses, and those relate to the declaration of rights, appeals to the Privy Council, the Constitutional Council, the judiciary, and the provisions for the amendment of the Constitution itself. In this case, in addition to the two-thirds majority, there must be a referendum in which all four racial groups in the Colony vote separately and must also give their approval separately.

"There is also special provision for the entrenched clause procedure to be applied to the franchise, but only if the Legislature proposes to change it in a way detrimental to the African voters. That is to say, the African voters have a power of veto in this respect. The widening of the franchise, on the other hand, simply requires a two-thirds majority of the Legislature.

Ardent Belief in Non-Racialism

"The only other power reserved to H.M. Government is a power of disallowance in respect of any Southern Rhodesian law which appears to be inconsistent, first, with any of our international treaty obligations and, secondly, with undertakings given by the Southern Rhodesian Government in respect of loans under the Colonial Stock Acts. That is the

extent of our responsibility for Southern Rhodesian internal affairs. In view of the many misconstructions which are put on our powers in relation to Southern Rhodesia, and which have led to so much misunderstanding, I felt it desirable to restate the position.

"I do not, and the Southern Rhodesian Government do not, under-estimate the inevitable problems presented by the existence of a large white minority in an otherwise African country. We shall be ready to give them any help we can in trying to solve these problems, within the limitations of our constitutional relationship.

"The solution to the problem of the relationship between the two races in Southern Rhodesia lies with the people themselves. This Constitution provides the basis for progress, but the Europeans and the African people of Southern Rhodesia alone can guarantee it.

Labour Viewpoint Incorrect

"It is not my election and I have no right to interfere in it, but I know that there is a vast majority of European opinion, as expressed by Sir Edgar Whitehead in his speech at the United Nations, which does believe ardently in a non-racial idea; which does believe in an end to discrimination; which does believe in bringing in non-discrimination; which does believe in an improvement of the situation in the African reserves; which does believe in spending even more money than they are now spending on education; and which does believe in a liberation of the Constitution in the future. I am convinced that that is the case, and I do not think that the picture drawn by the hon. member is correct.

"At the United Nations H.M. Government remains ultimately responsible for Southern Rhodesian external affairs. Thus, when Southern Rhodesia is discussed at the U.N. it is necessary for the British delegation to speak for her, even though we have no say in her internal policies. We do not accept that the U.N. has any right to interfere in the internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia.

"We nevertheless found it desirable to do something to correct the wild distortion of fact which has marked the U.N. debates. The House will be aware of the arrangement which was made for Sir Edgar Whitehead to go to New York and address the Fourth Committee. His appearance had a reassuring effect on the many delegations there, who realize, as we do, that African majority government in Southern Rhodesia, inevitable and assured though it may be, cannot come about as quickly as in other African territories where the same racial problems do not exist. What the Southern Rhodesian Government are doing to advance their ideals for a non-racial State was most convincingly presented to the United Nations by Sir Edgar Whitehead.

"On African political advancement Sir Edgar said that nothing could check it. He went on: 'I know the suspicions that have existed that the European minority intend to cling to power for all time. I want to give the most solemn assurances—I have given them before—that that idea is completely impossible, and we know it to be impossible. What we want in limited time to build a non-racial State, which I admit, should have been started earlier'.

"It is my earnest wish that our ties with Southern Rhodesia, of so many years' standing, far from being weakened by this new Constitution, may be strengthened by mutual trust and regard, and that as a result we can continue to play our part in the future of that country, as we have for the past 70 years.

Destructive Attitude

"The Opposition motion proposes that H.M. Government should dissolve the Federation. This is to take a purely destructive attitude. What we must do is to build up and construct, to take account rightly of all aspirations for the future as well as of the benefits that have derived from the past. Whatever changes may be required—and they may well be radical changes—one of our aims must surely be to see that those benefits which have accrued from past association may be preserved.

"On May 8, I made clear that the objective of H.M. Government was to find an acceptable solution which would maintain the very real advantages of association between the territories. Since we have reviewed the situation in the light of inquiries undertaken by the group of advisers whose appointment I announced on June 28, we see no reason to alter our view of the advantages of association. This is despite the fact that the present Federation is the object of considerable criticism.

"There is in all the territories, in varying degrees, an expectation that there will be changes. People believe that there will be changes in the present arrangements. There is also a desire to see decisions taken which would resolve political uncertainties and retain the practical advantages of co-operation on a basis acceptable to the territories.

"It is quite clear that the consequence for Nyasaland of withdrawal from the Federation would be serious. The Nyasaland Government are fully conscious of these problems; but I should be misleading the House were I to suggest that this has in any way changed or shaken the views of the elected Ministers on this subject. I am not in a position to go any further on it today, but H.M. Government have had it under constant consideration.

"We must still seek to pursue an all-round approach to the problem of association. I am thinking more particularly of the association between Northern and Southern Rhodesia. Much here depends on the result of the elections and on the nature of the Governments which are established in the two territories. Northern and Southern Rhodesia have together built up an economy which is interlocking in respect of the sources of wealth, power, and communications. The hon. Member himself referred to the value of these links and to the statements of leaders, African and European, on this subject. The Rhodesias also have a history the significance of which we could not disregard.

"I am quite clear myself that we should look to the new year, after the elections, as a time for consultations with the Federal and territorial Governments so that we may then enter on the next constructive phase of our work.

"I shall endeavour to keep the House informed of these matters as they develop. If necessary, I shall do so before we rise for the Christmas recess. Meanwhile, in planning an acceptable future for Central Africa, we have every right to look for the sympathy and support of the House and of the country".

News Items in Brief

Yugoslavia has offered Tanganyika 300 tractors on loan.

Rhodes National Gallery, Salisbury, is exhibiting works by more than 50 African artists.

An Embassy of the Hungarian People's Republic is to be established in Dar es Salaam.

Three chiefs in the Mbeya district of Southern Tanganyika have resigned their administrative functions.

The Christmas dance of the Rhodesia Club in London is to be held at Rhodesia House on Saturday, December 8.

Young Tories connected with the Monday Club propose to publish a rival magazine to *Crossbow*, the platform for the Bow Group.

Africans will soon serve on High Court juries in Southern Rhodesia in cases in which Europeans are accused of crimes against Africans.

The England Branch of the East Africa Women's League saw the film "The Permanent Way" at a meeting held in London recently.

During the winter months a film show and tea party are to be held in Rhodesia House, London, on the first Saturday morning of each month.

Eritrea has become an Ethiopian province, following a Parliamentary vote in Asmara to abolish the Federal link established by the U.N. in 1952.

Immigrants from the East African mainland, except subjects of the Sultan, must henceforth produce entry permits before being allowed to land in Zanzibar.

The Report of the Nyasaland Constitutional Conference held in London last month has been published by H.M. Stationery Office as Cmd. 1887 (1s. 6d.).

In the past two weeks some £5,000 worth of the new Development Bonds have been sold in Nyasaland. The Government hopes to raise £2.5m. by this means.

The Kenya Government Information Services now employ only six expatriate Europeans. The rest of the staff consists of 11 local Europeans, 24 local Asians, and 144 Africans.

According to the Blantyre correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, "Malawi Congress Party intimidators bent back and broke the finger of an African at Kasupe in the Southern Province".

To mark the inauguration of the Republic of Tanganyika, a thanksgiving service will be held at St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, London, on the afternoon of Saturday, December 8. Republic Day is December 9.

By amendment to the Penal Decree in Zanzibar, increased powers are taken against provocation by inflaming racialist feelings. Although the Opposition emphasized that there was no such legislation anywhere else in East Africa, the Bill was passed.

German railway track originally used on the Tanga line in Tanganyika as far back as 1908 has been relaid for the recently opened £500,000 Soroti-Lira 71-mile section of the Uganda northern rail extension to Gulu. Continuation to Pakwach is planned.

Parliament

Southern Rhodesia's Powers

Malawi Intimidation in Nyasaland

THE TOTAL DEBT of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, including that of Rhodesia Railways and the statutory boards and commissions, is £316.1m., Mr. R. A. Butler, First Secretary of State, has stated in the House of Commons. External debts, Federal and territorial, amounted to £195.4m. H. M. Government had guaranteed loans of £52.4m., of which £47.2m. were outstanding. The figures were taken as at June 30, 1961.

MR. HEALEY: "Can the rt. hon. gentleman explain how if, indeed, H.M. Government have no responsibility for Southern Rhodesia, it was possible for Sir Edgar Whitehead to appear as a member of H.M. Government's delegation in New York?"

MR. BUTLER: "It is true that Sir Edgar spoke from the United Kingdom seat, but I do not see any other way that he could have spoken; and the fact that he did speak did a great deal of good".

MR. G. M. THOMSON: "Did Sir Edgar Whitehead tell the First Secretary, as he subsequently told the Press in Southern Rhodesia, that the British delegates at the United Nations 'did not really know anything about the case'? Does the rt. hon. gentleman repudiate this, and would he not agree that it was very disastrous for Britain's name that we replaced Sir Hugh Foot by Sir Edgar Whitehead as our principal spokesman?"

Territorial Matter

MR. BUTLER: "The latter part of the hon. gentleman's supplementary question does not represent the case at all. In regard to the alleged representations made to me by Sir Edgar Whitehead, I cannot reveal what was said in our conversations, but I would not accept any such strictures on the British team".

MR. DINGLE FOOT asked the First Secretary of State whether he would introduce legislation to amend the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia in order to give greater freedom to political parties and to individuals.

MR. BUTLER: "Except for matters affecting the position of the Queen and the Governor, the amendment of the present Constitution is a matter for the Southern Rhodesian Legislature".

MR. FOOT: "Does the rt. hon. gentleman appreciate that the African National Congress was banned in 1959, that the National Democratic Party was banned last year, and that Z.A.P.U. was banned this year? How does he expect that any democratic constitution can function if organizations representing the majority of the people are forbidden to operate?"

MR. BUTLER: "The only observation that I can make, without interfering in the affairs of Southern Rhodesia, is that all these organizations were banned because they decided to take unlawful means for prosecuting their ends. If they had not done so I do not believe they would have been banned".

MR. BROCKWAY: "Does the rt. hon. gentleman agree that certain responsibilities still rest on this House, and that if the Constitution in Southern Rhodesia results in the suppression of the parties of the majority, in the restriction of the liberty of individuals, and in a situation which is a danger to the peace of a great part of Africa, surely it is time the rt. hon. gentleman did something to secure a change in the Constitution which will provide for majority representation?"

Liberal Ideas

MR. BUTLER: "No, sir. I do not think, especially since the new Constitution came into force on November 1, that we have power to intervene in that way".

SIR H. HARRISON: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that in this country there is a very large body of opinion which is right behind Sir Edgar Whitehead and the very wise leadership which he is giving to Southern Rhodesia?"

MR. BUTLER: "All I can say in reply is that anybody who reads his two speeches at the United Nations must realize that Sir Edgar is inspired by liberal ideas. I therefore draw the attention of the House to these speeches, so that hon. Members may draw their own conclusions".

MR. HEALEY: "Would the First Secretary agree that, whether Sir Edgar has liberal ideas or not, the fact that he has not only banned the only representative African party in the State, but has made it impossible for any of the leaders of that party ever to operate in a political capacity again in that State, produces a situation of intense danger to the European and African populations alike in the territory, and is liable to expose this country, which still has the final responsibility, to serious disrepute in world opinion?"

MR. BUTLER: "I would not accept that these African members of this party are banned for ever. It was only for a limited time, if I understand it aright. In regard to the rest of the situation, I sincerely hope, as do all people who wish to see progress in these matters, that there will be a resolution of these problems in Southern Rhodesia".

MR. G. M. THOMSON asked the First Secretary of State to publish the report received from his working party of experts on the financial and economic aspects of the links between the territories of the Central African Federation.

MR. BUTLER: "The advisers have reported to me personally, and I do not intend to publish the advice which I have received from them".

MR. THOMSON: "In view of the complexity of the problems and of the importance of having as many facts as possible in order to take cool decisions about them, would it not be immensely helpful to public opinion in this country and in Central Africa if it were to have the advantage of the information now before the First Secretary?"

MR. BUTLER: "There is a motion on the order paper and there should be an opportunity for discussing these matters in the House. I certainly did not want a public inquiry. Any information which I can give to the House as a result of H.M. Government's decisions or interim decisions I shall be very glad to give".

Northern Rhodesian Deadlock

MR. STONEHOUSE asked what immediate action H.M. Government was taking to prevent a deterioration in the situation in Northern Rhodesia.

MR. BUTLER: "I am not aware that the situation has deteriorated".

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Is not the First Secretary aware that the Constitution which was apparently designed to produce deadlock, has in fact now produced deadlock? Does not the First Secretary agree that it will now be very important for the future of this territory to have a new Constitution which will allow the majority to have their wishes truly reflected? Has not the result of the last election shown that the overwhelming mass of the people in the territory are opposed to Federation? How does the First Secretary intend to respond to that?"

MR. BUTLER: "I think that the first thing for the First Secretary and the House to do is to await the result of the election. There are still 10 frustrated national seats on which we hope to have some results, and there is one upper roll seat now vacant which has to be filled. It would be very wrong for me to make any further observations pending the result of the election".

MR. HEALEY: "Does not the result of the general election already show that it is dangerous futility to rely on a Constitution expressly designed to misrepresent the state of public opinion in Northern Rhodesia, and will not the First Secretary now take steps to implement the recommendation made by the Monckton Commission more than two years ago to produce an African majority in the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia?"

MR. BUTLER: "No, sir. I can take no step or any decision in this until I see the result of the election".

Opposition to Malawi Congress

MR. GOODHEW asked why the Convention African National Union was not represented at the Nyasaland Constitutional Conference.

MR. BUTLER: "Representation is based on membership of the Legislative Council. As the Convention African National Union has no such representative it was not invited to attend the conference".

MR. GOODHEW: "Is not my rt. hon. friend aware that this party has considerable support in Nyasaland, so much so that the Malawi Party has found it necessary to attack its headquarters and members of the party on five different occasions, without any prosecutions being instituted against it? Even if representatives cannot at this late stage be admitted to the conference, will my rt. hon. friend at least see them himself and hear their views?"

MR. BUTLER: "These representatives have been interviewed at the Central African Office. They have submitted their suggestions in writing, which have been noted and taken into account by me personally. As regards seeing them, I have to bear in mind the variety of minority interests if I accede to the request of one section. Perhaps my hon. friends will speak to me about this".

Dalgety and New Zealand Loan Report

DALGETY AND NEW ZEALAND LOAN, LTD.—a company in which Dalgety & Co., Ltd., and New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Co., Ltd., merged a year ago—reports group profit to June 30 after tax at £1,242,157 (£1.4m.). Ordinary shareholders receive 8% tax free. Special provision of £200,000 has been made in respect of stocks in East Africa.

The issued ordinary capital is £9,425,125, the issued preference capital £3.3m., and there are outstanding debentures totalling nearly £14m. Current assets less current liabilities exceed £24.2m., fixed assets are £16.6m., and trade investments amount to £804,617.

Subsidiary companies in East Africa are African Mercantile Co. (Overseas), Ltd., R. G. Vernon, Ltd., and Dalgety (Secretarial and Administration), Ltd. Mr. J. P. H. Plumbe is manager of the Nairobi headquarters and branch, Mr. R. M. Baker is assistant manager, and Mr. C. F. Bourne merchandise manager. There are branches in Mombasa, Nakuru, Kampala, Dar es Salaam, Tanga, and Mwanza.

Lieut-Colonel C. P. Dawney, chairman of the group, says in his annual review:—

"The rapid changes taking place in the East African scene have presented us with a challenge, and a challenge from which we have not flinched. We confidently believe that we are in a position to be of considerable service to the African Governments which are now or shortly will be in control of the destinies of Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya.

"We have a loyal and experienced staff who have weathered the difficulties and uncertainties of the last year or two with patience and fortitude. We have substantially reorganized our business to meet these changes, and, given only a political background in which the economies of the territories can prosper, we believe that the future holds out a promising prospect for a business such as ours, which in the interests of the shareholders has always sought to identify itself with the welfare of the primary producers and of the countries which we serve.

"You may be surprised that in the face of these remarks we have taken £200,000 from revenue reserves and have used it as a precautionary measure to make a special writing down of our East African merchandise stocks. I should, therefore, like to explain that this is no panic measure, but that this action is being taken because a considerable portion of these stocks consists of items which have been saleable in the past and should be saleable in the future, but the realization of which may be substantially delayed because of a slowing up of building projects and because of the upsets caused by a transfer of substantial areas of land in Kenya from white settlement to African farming. This provision is therefore to protect the business against substantial temporary costs which might intervene".

The other members of the main board are Mr. M. G. H. Brown (deputy chairman), Lord Baillieu, Mr. R. C. Brooks, Mr. W. L. Dawes, Sir Patrick Duff, Mr. G. S. Hunter (managing director and general manager), Mr. R. Leigh-Wood, Mr. M. G. Talbot Rice, Lord Sanderson, Field-Marshal Viscount Slim, Mr. D. Abel Smith, Mr. M. J. Babington Smith, Sir Eric Speed, Mr. M. A. Stride, Mr. M. F. Strutt, and Lord Tweedsmuir.

Higher Profit for Barclays Bank D.C.O.

BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O. has reported an increased net profit for the third year in succession, the figure to September 30 being £1,721,805, compared with £1,597,462 and £1,468,809 in the two previous years. In 1961 the capital was increased to £17m. by a three-for-ten rights issue. Earnings on the issued ordinary capital were 16.6% (15.7% and 19.3%), and the 10% dividend is repeated, now on the larger capital. The reserve fund is increased by £500,000, and the balance forward is raised from £778,113 to £916,668.

Kamna

KAMNA, LTD., reports profits after tax for the year ended October 31 at £8,667 (£8,991). A dividend of 30% and bonus of 3½%, both less tax, take £9,147, and the balance forward is £9,598 (£10,078). Issued capital is £44,250 in shares of 2s. Investments in Tanganyika sisal companies stand in the books at £41,425, gilt-edged securities at £11,283, and other investments have a market value of £10,513. Current assets less current liabilities total £6,934. Mr. John Garton Ash is the chairman, and the other two members of the board are Messrs. A. S. P. Neish and J. H. S. Tranter.

Commercial Brevities

A three-member trade mission from South Korea is visiting the Federation.

About 8,000 tons of Russian sugar are now being delivered monthly at Port Sudan.

A bridge to the mainland from the island of Mozambique is expected to cost about £240,000.

Between Lourenço Marques and Beira natural gas has been struck by American oil engineers.

Canvas, plastic and leather shoes are now being made in Khartoum North by Bata (Sudan), Ltd.

Northern Rhodesia Co., Ltd., proposes to change its name to Northern and Transatlantic Trust, Ltd.

Steel Brothers & Co., Ltd., are paying an interim dividend of 1s. per 10s. deferred share out of capital profits.

The minimum wage for unskilled workers in commercial undertakings in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, is now £3 per week.

Rhodesia and Nyasaland Forest Enterprises (Pvt.), Ltd., Umtali, expect their box plywood factory to be in production by June.

Auction Holdings Nyasaland, Ltd., is the name of the company formed to take over the two tobacco auction floors in Limbe.

Production of ferrochrome has started at the £1m. ferro alloy plant in Que Que of Windsor Ferroalloys (Pvt.), Ltd., of Salisbury.

A petrol bomb was thrown recently at the Rhodesia Oxygen Company's factory in Bulawayo's industrial sites. It exploded against a window but did not start a fire.

J. Lyons & Co. (Rhodesia) (Pvt.), Ltd., intend to modernize their ice cream manufacturing plant in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, and double the present capacity.

In the year ended June 30 Rhodesia Television, Ltd., made a net profit after tax of £64,244, against which there was an accumulated loss brought forward of £58,690.

Dresses made in Rhodesia are now being exported to the United Kingdom. The business results from a visit to London by Mr. Peter Whyte, of Julie Whyte (Pvt.), Ltd.

Hecht Levis and Khan, Ltd., a subsidiary of Minerals Separation, Ltd., report group net profit to March 31 at £255,786 (£279,855). The dividend is 10%. Net assets exceed £1.2m.

Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co. (Central Africa), (Pvt.), Ltd., recently registered in Southern Rhodesia, intends to manufacture cellophane and other masking tapes in Salisbury.

Rhodesia Cement, Ltd., is to pay no dividend for the year to August 31, in which there was a consolidated net profit of £81,476 (£59,360) after tax of £29,936 (£26,263). The carry-forward is £434,049 (£361,981).

The Seychelles Trade Report for 1961 states that imports during the year were valued at just over 12m. rupees. Exports totalled 6.6m. rupees, India being the largest buyer at 4.4m., nearly all in respect of copra.

Tanganyika's outturn of tea in the first nine months of this year slightly exceeded 7m. lb., an increase of 9%. There are now 5,900 acres under tea on estates in the Tanga Region, where about 60 acres are being grown by Africans.

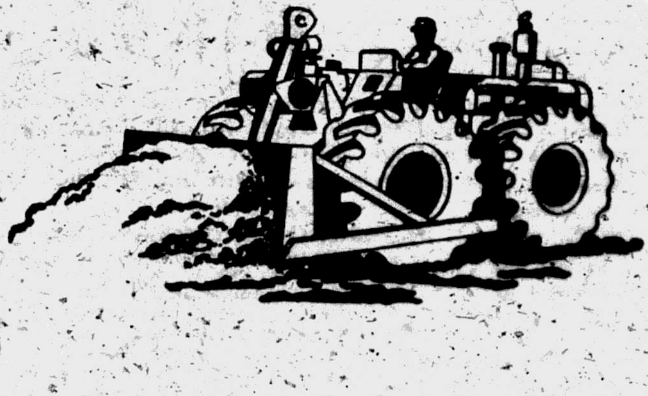
The largest advertising agency in Africa, Afamal, Ltd., owned by the Schlesinger Organization of South Africa, has been acquired by Interpublic, Inc., jointly owned by the McCann-Erickson and Pritchard Wood agency groups.

Messina (Transvaal) Development Co., Ltd. — of which M.T.D. (Mangula) is a subsidiary—reports estimated net profit after tax in the year to September 30 at £1,073,100 (£1,095,900), and has declared a final dividend of 12%, making 20%, against 31% in the previous year.

E. S. & A. Robsin (Holdings), Ltd., U.K. manufacturers of packing materials, who have subsidiaries in Rhodesia and South Africa, have acquired for £680,000 just over 75% of the ordinary capital of a South African group making corrugated containers in three factories, and offer to acquire the rest of the share capital.

Tiger Oats and National Milling Co., Ltd., of South Africa, report group profit in the year to June 30 of £714,751 (£434,235). Shareholders receive 23%. J. Palte, Ltd., of Bulawayo, and Meadow Milling Co., Ltd., of Salisbury (previously known as Rhodesian Malt Products, Ltd.) are partly-owned subsidiaries.

Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, Ltd., which has large Rhodesian interests, reports group net profit to June 30 at £4,081,133 (£4,180,033). A 25% dividend is repeated, but on capital increased by a one-for-ten rights issue. Fixed assets slightly exceed £5m., investments appear at over £25m. (with a current market value of £47.3m.), and current assets less current liabilities exceed £8.5m.



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MATTERS OF MOMENT

AN UNUSUAL FEATURE of the debate on Kenya in the House of Lords which is reported on other pages was the reading by Lord Lytton of extracts from many letters which he had received from the Colony in response to inquiries to fifty people of all races, most of the names having been chosen at random. The common factor of the replies was anxiety for an early general election. That demand corresponds with the clamour for quick reference to the electorate made by the two African nationalist parties, K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U. What their leaders, and those who have been misled by their propaganda, disregard is that some of Kenya's most stubborn political problems were evaded by the last Lancaster House Conference, which remitted major and highly controversial matters to five commissions, not one of which has yet reported, and on the recommendation of all of which there must be satisfactory decisions before it would be practicable to hold an election. Indeed, the new Constitution is so dependent upon the findings of the commissions that it was officially announced last week that it has so far been possible to draft only about one-third of that basic document; and parts of that third may have to be drastically revised in the light of the reports, some of which are not expected until next spring. It would be very optimistic, moreover, to assume that there may not be heated and prolonged wrangling on various aspects to which one or other party attaches great importance.

Because Problems Were Evaded.

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For these reasons the election cannot be held for months. Agitation for an accelerated time-table is consequently pointless—except to politicians, who, knowing the facts better than anyone else, callously calculate that it is nevertheless worth while to demand the impossible, if only to show their alertness and toughness. What it demonstrates, on the contrary, is, first, their irresponsibility, and, secondly, their conviction that the public will either fail to recognize their cynicism or will dismiss it as just another instance of party gamesmanship. The manœuvre is bad enough in the context of the conflict between K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U. It is immeasurably aggravated when pursued by the Prime Minister of Uganda (who, be it remembered, was a founder member of K.A.N.U. during a sojourn in Kenya). Mr. Obote threatened last week to impose an embargo on imports into Uganda from Kenya and to interrupt normal contacts between the two Governments unless the United Kingdom undertook to accelerate the election, internal self-government, and independence for Kenya. For that interference by one Commonwealth Government in the internal affairs of another there can be no possible justification. A day or two later Mr. Kawawa, Prime Minister of Tanganyika (and now its Vice-President), joined with Mr. Obote in asking to see the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in order that they might plead with him to expedite Kenya's independence on the ground that the work of the East African Common Services Organization is impeded by Kenya's present status.

Pressure By Neighbours.

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Yet Lord Milverton, who knows East, Central, West and South Africa, and who has had a life-time's experience of administration in Colonial territories, has expressed the considered opinion that five years are necessary to prepare Kenya for independence—not in ideal conditions, of course, but in the slap-dash, reckless way which is acceptable to the present calamitous Government of the United Kingdom. Scarcely had the former Governor given that warning against impetuosity when a Minister in Uganda spoke of "a national emergency" having been caused by the decision of nearly half the British officials in Uganda to quit the country. In Tanganyika

Preparation or Helter-Skelter?

a quarter of the civil service posts are unfilled in consequence of retirements and dismissals of Europeans; and if real merit had been the criterion for the advancement of Africans, the proportion of vacancies—for which suitably trained Africans are not available—would have been far higher. If Kenya were rushed to independence, the exodus of expatriate officials would certainly reach new heights (or depths) on account of a very general and understandable unwillingness to serve under Kenyatta and his Kenya African National Union (the so-called Mau Mau Party). As Kenyatta must know that his prestige is waning, he naturally wants an election at the earliest possible moment that he and his associates can persuade the United Kingdom to accept. What is surprising is that K.A.D.U. should not take the opposite view, for even moderate delay would give it time for necessary improvement of its organization and for at least some training for the many Africans who will be needed for posts under the central Government and in the new regions.

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Tanganyika A Republic.

TANGANYIKA became a Republic on Sunday, a year to the day after its attainment of Independence. That the President, with the widest executive authority, should be Dr. Nyerere is widely welcomed, but in many quarters in and sympathetic to the country there is anxiety about the dictatorial powers which the Government of a one-party State has found it necessary to confer upon its leader. Three months ago it rushed through Parliament a Preventive Detention Bill which made Tanganyikans themselves talk of "following the Ghana road". The explanation given was that the security of the State demanded the conferment upon the Minister of Home Affairs of the right to detain (without trial, or even explanation) people whom he deemed dangerous to the public weal. Dr. Nyerere and Mr. Kawawa, his loyal chief lieutenant, must have intensely disliked such a statute, but they were presumably satisfied that it had become necessary: and that could mean that discontent, especially in trade union circles, was far greater than had been suspected. That some ambitious malcontents hold high office is universally accepted, and a reconstruction of the Cabinet this week would have caused little surprise, though it would obviously not have been an attractive advertisement for the Republic. Dr. Nyerere, who made good use of the motto "Independence and Work", is likely to see that his subordinates fulfil his intention to "push people around"—for their own good, of course—in the name of "African Socialism" (which in tribal life has had the contrary connotation of freedom to idle). By skilfully exploiting the opportunities presented to him by foolish politicians in England who were mesmerized by the notion of transplanting parliamentary democracy in African soil, Dr. Nyerere—who has little respect for the Westminster model—has quickly attained supreme power. His real difficulties lie ahead. While not for a moment underestimating them, we wish him and his country well.

Statements Worth Noting

"The Democratic Party is a cancer complicated by tuberculosis. Such is the disease afflicting Uganda too".—Mr. Abdura Anyuru, M.N.A., Uganda.

"Tourism is today the second largest industry in Kenya. It will not be long before it is in fact the first".—Mr. A. Jamidar, Minister for Tourism in Kenya.

"American aid this year to 15 African nations for the maintenance of internal security and internal stability will total £13m."—Mr. McNamara, American Defence Secretary.

"Dictatorships, assassinations, perhaps civil wars, and even wars between African States (unless the United Nations can save the day in that respect) are what I see in the crystal ball in the foreseeable future".—Sir Stephen King-Hall.

"This is not a ship; it is an island".—A senior chief from Machakos after he and 11 other chiefs from all parts of Kenya had visited the 50,000-ton aircraft carrier ARK ROYAL, the largest carrier in the British Navy, during her visit to Mombasa.

"It is not enough to have lowered the flag of colonialism in Tanganyika. Every trend of colonialism must be removed not only from Tanganyika but also from the whole of Africa".—Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, Vice-President of Tanganyika, addressing a public meeting in Dar es Salaam.

"The Government has advocated a non-alignment policy in its international relations, but all our Independence scholarships are from Western countries. How can the U.P.C., a Socialist party, tolerate sending students to capitalist countries only?"—Mr. J. W. Kiwanuka, Kabaka Yekka M.N.A., Uganda.

"We in Nairobi look forward without reservation to becoming the acknowledged and established centre of whatever federation or consortium—call it what you will—which will bind the East African territories, and even other lands of like interests, together in a United Eastern Africa. The weight of history and the choice of commerce surely predestine this".—Alderman Charles Rubia, mayor of Nairobi.

"Russia's delegates have been assiduous in propagating the myth that colonial expansion in the 19th century was confined to the Western Powers and that only the Western Colonial Empires remain. But when can the world hope to see Azerbaijan, the Russian territories in Central Asia and Tannu-Tuva, independent? And what of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, South Sakhalin, and the Kuriles?"—Sir Patrick Dean, chief British delegate to U.N.O., criticizing the "inadequacy" of the Special Committee on Colonialism.

Notes By The Way

Mr. Crossley's Important Statement

THE WIND OF CHANGE is more necessary in the United Kingdom than in Africa or anywhere else, Mr. Julian Crossley, chairman of Barclays Bank D.C.O., says in his annual statement, which appears in full on other pages. It seems to me much more important than most of the many speeches recently made by Parliamentarians of both parties. Those of them who take their duties seriously should read very carefully what Mr. Crossley has to say about financial and economic matters, especially about British entry into the European Common Market and the importance of reasonable and stable prices for tropical and sub-tropical products. In his opinion the greatest challenge of our age is the fact that the rich nations are rapidly becoming richer and the poor relatively poorer. That, he emphasizes, is a situation on which Communism can feed, a situation which should be corrected by serious and urgent efforts to enable the underdeveloped nations to earn a good living.

If Westminster Followed Business Principles

THE SPOKESMAN for the greatest of all British overseas banks is evidently far from convinced that it would be wise for Britain to enter the European Economic Community on anything like the conditions so far outlined. Saying pointedly that "the prospective advantages seem to be nebulous for Britain and either nil or negative for the Commonwealth", he favours a pause in the negotiations so that all concerned may see the issues in better perspective. These brief references indicate the importance of a document which must have been deeply pondered not only by its author, but by the widely experienced and highly influential members of his board. If politicians were not so self-centred and so prone to imagine that all wisdom resides at Westminster, these words of warning would make a great impact on the House of Commons. Unhappily, in that Assembly the thought of Front Bench displeasure or unpopularity with the Whips suffices to make most Members docile. That docility has been largely responsible for the havoc wrought throughout the world, and especially in the dependent Empire, since the end of the last war. How different the situation would be if normal business principles and practices had been followed!

Calculated Discourtesy

WHEN TALKING last week to London journalists, Mr. Kaunda, president of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, and Mr. Nkumbula, president of the African National Congress in that country, made the insulting statement that "we have offered Sir Roy Welensky a job as manager of the railways in Broken Hill". What would they and their supporters have said if the Prime Minister of the Federation had remarked at a Press conference that one of them was fit to run a village shop and the other to take charge of an elementary school in a remote bush area? Yet such suggestions from Sir Roy Welensky would have been no more derogatory than the reference to him by the two African political leaders, who had evidently decided to seek maximum publicity for their exercise in impertinence. They had not miscalculated: Britons found the calculated discourtesy prominently reported in their newspapers next day, in some cases under headlines which indicated that the sub-editors responsible had an equally deficient sense of decency.

Idea for an Anthology

THIS INCIDENT points yet again to the strange contrast between the innate and attractive courtesy of the vast majority of Africans and the frequent and odious discourtesy of so many of the African nationalist politicians. In this matter, as in so much else, they are thoroughly unrepresentative of those for whom they purport to speak. An anthology of the outrageous public statements of prominent African agitators would be a useful corrective to the torrents of favourable publicity given to these rabble-rousers in Africa, Europe, America, and increasingly wide areas of Asia. The Nkrumahs, Kenyattas, Mboyas, Odingas, Bandas, Kaundas, Nkomos, Chiumes, and scores more, have littered their trails to power with allegations which would have denied them any authority in a sane world. But in this politically insane era demagogues—and not only Africans, of course — can make the craziest statements and do the craziest things and still escape the penalty which would be automatic in any other sphere of life. Is it surprising that the world is in such a mess?

Disgraceful Innuendo

THE SOCIALIST *Sunday Citizen*, under the heading "Africans Fear Murder Plot", has published a suggestion that Europeans in the Federation may have killed, or may have planned to kill, the four African political leaders who have lost their lives in motor accidents in the past year. The article opened with the question: "Have white extremists in Sir Roy Welensky's Central African Federation embarked on a secret campaign of murder-sabotage, to remove 'awkward' African nationalist leaders?" Recalling that Mr. Lawrence Katilungu, acting president of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress, Dr. T. S. Parerenyatwa, deputy president of the now banned Zimbabwe African Peoples Union of Southern Rhodesia, and Mr. Dunduzu Chisiza, one of Dr. Banda's closest associates in Nyasaland, had been killed in car crashes, the writer alleged that they and Mr. Mushonga, who lost his life recently, "had all earned the enmity of extremist white settlers; but, equally, all had such standing that any open bid at assassination would inevitably have aroused the African public to a fury". The foul suggestion that Europeans in the Federation had contemplated, and perhaps achieved, assassination of African leaders would, I imagine, be published by very few papers in this country, but the *Sunday Citizen* appears to think, or at any rate allows a contributor to suggest, that it is quite natural to proceed from political disagreement to conspiracy to murder opponents. Scurrility could scarcely go further. Many Africans are notoriously reckless drivers, and the unfortunate deaths of these four prominent politicians within a few months testifies to their neglect, and nothing else.

False Assumptions

EUROPEANS in the Federation, it is suggested, had marked down these four Africans as especially objectionable. That also is false. Among Europeans in Northern Rhodesia there was a very general feeling of affection for Mr. Katilungu and in Nyasaland of respect for Mr. Chisiza, the one as an old campaigner who had evaded the many snares set in his path by African political extremists, and the other as an exceptionally able, hard-working, and astute young man, who was

quickly abandoning his earlier suppositions as he came to understand facts and their interactions. Scores of people have written or spoken to me about the deaths of both men, and in every single case it was coupled with an expression of sorrow. Dr. Parerenyatwa, the first Southern Rhodesian African to qualify as a medical practitioner, had taken part in politics for only a few months, and had scarcely made any impact. When he was killed by a train striking his car at a level crossing the feeling was one of regret that a man who might have become a good doctor should have neglected his profession for involvement in a movement which engaged in so much violence. Mr. Mushonga, after three years in England, had been back in Southern Rhodesia only a few weeks. So far as I know, he had come under no criticism in that time from Europeans. Africans, supporters of Z.A.P.U., were the people who objected to his having started a new party.

Case for Press Council

TO ADD VERISIMILITUDE to a heinous story, Mr. Michael Jacobson, the writer, states that he has been shown a simple method of sabotaging a car which it is virtually impossible to detect before or after an accident. Does he ask us to believe that this means of murder will discriminate between the occupants of a car which it is designed to wreck, killing A and sparing B? If not, what relevance is his assertion supposed to have? While Dr. Parerenyatwa was killed, a companion travelling with him was injured; and when Mr. Mushonga was killed, several other people in the vehicle escaped. Such elementary facts, however, were not to be allowed to deter Mr. Jacobson, or his African informants, from their disgraceful insinuations. Is this not a case which the Federal High Commissioner in London, or someone else, should refer to the Press Council?

Three Federal Ministers Suddenly Sent to London

Strong Representations Against Unilateral British Action

THREE SENIOR MEMBERS of the Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland—Sir Malcolm Barrow, the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. J. M. Caldicott, Minister of Finance, and Mr. Julian Greenfield, Minister of Home Affairs and Law—arrived in London at the week-end in order to make representations to the United Kingdom Government on behalf of Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation, and his Cabinet.

Their departure had been entirely unexpected in Salisbury, in which news of the departure of the mission did not become known until they were well on their way.

A Federal Government statement released on Saturday said merely that among the subjects for discussion would be that of resumption of the Federal Review Conference, which was suspended two years ago.

H.M. Government's View Disputed

It has been generally assumed in political circles in London and in the Federation that the visit has arisen from the conviction of the Federal Government that Mr. Butler, Minister for Central African Affairs, gave a private undertaking to Dr. Banda when he was recently in London that H.M. Government would not obstruct Nyasaland's secession from the Federation, and was likely to make a public pronouncement on the subject within a few days.

The Whitehall view that H.M. Government has the sole right to permit dissolution of the Federation by authorizing withdrawal of a member State is strongly contested by the Federal Government, which insists that no change is permissible except by agreement between the five Governments concerned, those of the United Kingdom, the Federation, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland.

Mr. Macmillan gave a luncheon for the visitors at Admiralty House on Monday. The Prime Minister's guests were Sir Malcolm Barrow, Mr. Caldicott, Mr. Greenfield, Sir Albert Robinson, Viscount Hailsham, Mr. R. A. Butler, Mr. John Hare, Mr. M. D. Tennent, and Mr. T. J. Bligh.

In the afternoon the Federal Ministers made their first call on Mr. Butler at the Central African Office. That evening the Ministers dined with Mr. Butler, who had also invited the Lord Chancellor.

Lord Kilmuir, then Lord Chancellor, said in the House of Lords on March 27, that "legislation for the dissolution of the Federation or the secession of any one of its constituent territories is a matter solely within the legislative competence of the United Kingdom".

That opinion is not shared by Mr. Greenfield, Federal Minister of Law, and himself a barrister especially interested in constitutional affairs. Moreover, it has been contested by leading constitutional counsel in Britain whom the Federal Government has consulted.

Five years ago H.M. Government agreed that it would not in future legislate in matters within the province of the Federal Government. Though that Government has still not full sovereignty in international law, the 1957 agreement is held to have conferred upon the Federation a status not inferior to that of the Dominions before the Act of Westminster.

In that connexion emphasis is laid on the fact that when Western Australia wished to secede from the Commonwealth of Australia in 1933, its appeals to H.M. Government to intervene were rejected. That precedent is considered comparable with Nyasaland's present application to secede.

A few months ago the new Constitution for Southern Rhodesia bestowed upon its Parliament, by Act of the United Kingdom Parliament, the sole power to alter its own Constitution. Since Southern Rhodesia is a constituent State of the Federation, it is argued that the Federal Government cannot be held to be denied a similar right to be fully consulted in regard to any suggested amendment of its Constitution. The secession of Nyasaland would obviously represent drastic amendment.

December 19

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA suggested exclusively in a leading article last week that Mr. Butler was likely to announce on Monday next, December 17, that he had agreed with Dr. Banda that Nyasaland might secede. The Federal Government view being that any such undertaking would be *ultra vires* without consultation with the Governments of the Federation and the two Rhodesias, it seems likely that the sudden dispatch of this high-powered ministerial mission was connected with an expectation that Mr. Butler intended to make a statement before Parliament rises next week.

Mr. Butler's statement is now likely to be made in the House of Commons on Wednesday next, December 19, not on December 17, as was previously intended.

Dr. Nyerere Now President of the Republic of Tanganyika

May "Push People Around" to Expedite Progress of "African Socialist" State

DR. JULIUS NYERERE, first Prime Minister of Tanganyika, and founder and president of the Tanganyika African National Union, was on Sunday sworn in as President of the new Republic of Tanganyika.

At a midnight ceremony in the National Stadium in Dar es Salaam, his personal standard was raised before a large crowd, which included the diplomatic representatives of some 70 countries. The Duke of Devonshire represented Britain. The Tanganyika national anthem was sung, and a salute in the President's honour was fired by the Tanganyika Rifles.

A few hours later in the same place the President was clothed with a cream and gold damask cloak and anointed by Chief Petro Itossi Marealle. Dr. Nyerere took the oath of office, administered by the Chief Justice, Sir Ralph Windham, who had been acting as Head of State since the departure on Saturday of the former Governor-General, Sir Richard Turnbull.

A Masai warrior with a lion-mane head-dress then presented the President with a Masai spear and shield. During the ceremony the deep notes of a drum used only on the most important occasions sounded in the silent stadium.

"Candle" On Kilimanjaro

On Kilimanjaro at midnight on Saturday the national flag was raised on the summit. A bronze plaque was affixed to the rock-face to commemorate the event and to recall the lighting there last year on independence day of the torch of unity, in these words spoken then by Dr. Nyerere: "We, the people of Tanganyika, would like to light a candle and put it on top of Kilimanjaro to shine beyond our borders, giving hope where there is despair, love where there is hate, and dignity where before there was humiliation".

A military parade followed, to the throbbing of tribal drums and ululations from women in the crowd, and the new President made a triumphal drive to State House (formerly Government House) cheered by hundreds of thousands of people.

There President Nyerere swore in a new Cabinet of 15 Ministers, led by Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, who is now Vice-President and Leader of Government Business.

A new Ministry, for National Culture and Youth, is headed by Mr. L. Sijaona, formerly Parliamentary Secretary to the Finance Ministry.

The Ministry of Health and Labour has been divided into two separate Ministries, with the former Minister without Portfolio, Mr. S. A. Maswanya, taking over Health, while Mr. Michael Kamaliza retains responsibility for Labour.

Commonwealth Link

The Queen sent this message to Dr. Nyerere:—"I send you my warmest good wishes on the occasion of the inauguration of the Republic of Tanganyika and your assumption of office as the first President. I have followed your country's development with close attention and shall always watch with the friendliest interest Tanganyika's endeavours and achievements in the years ahead. It is a source of great satisfaction to me that your country remains within the Commonwealth, and I am confident the many bonds of friendship and understanding between our peoples will be maintained and strengthened".

The Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, said in his message: "We are confident that the friendship between our two countries, reflected in our association in the Commonwealth, will continue and grow in the years ahead".

As President, Dr. Nyerere will receive £3,000 yearly tax-free. The Government will pay for his travelling and entertainment expenses and for the upkeep of State House. A "retirement benefit" of £1,200 a year for life is to be paid to all future ex-Presidents of the Republic.

A State ball was held on Sunday evening. On Monday there was a State opening of Parliament and a garden party. In London a service of thanksgiving was held on Saturday afternoon at St. Martin's-in-the-Field, Trafalgar Square.

Dr. Nyerere said on Saturday that he might have to "push people around" in his efforts to change Tanganyika quickly and raise living standards above the current average of some £20 annually per head. Agriculture would receive priority for this improvement. "We must discard the hand-hoe and mechanize".

He said that he had resigned as Prime Minister a month after independence a year ago because the country was "confused and unrealistic after the achievement of independence; it was necessary to shock people, and I had to prick this balloon about Tanganyika being the same after independence".

He had reorganized his party during the year, equipping it to show the people that they themselves would have to build a new country. T.A.N.U. had to become an organization that would help people in their work. Next year its officers would be trained as community development leaders. The whole country was today more realistic than it had been a year ago.

Winds of Change Never Fast Enough

He felt that prospects for an East African Federation were good once Kenya became independent; he wanted to see a wide economic link between East and Central African countries, once all had gained independence. But it would be impossible to discuss such a future until the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland had been dissolved, as was "inevitable". He continued: "Theoretically, the winds of change can never blow fast enough. Any gradual change is too slow, because what the people want is independence now".

He criticized what he called a "no change" policy in the Portuguese administration of Mozambique.

Speaking at the inauguration of a commemorative fountain in the capital, Dr. Nyerere said that the new republican constitution would enable Tanganyika to build a society based on the principles of African Socialism.

"Our job now is to convert the land we have won into a good place for all citizens to live in, to build a society based on equality in which no one suffers without medical attention, no one is ignorant without having means to improve himself, and no one loses his freedom to live his own life in harmony with his neighbours".

Tug-of-War

BECAUSE OF THE POLITICAL TUG-OF-WAR between K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U., the arrangement whereby Kenya is represented in the East African Common Services Authority alternately by Kenyatta and Mr. Ngala is proving unworkable, for neither Minister can command enough support from the Kenya Council of Ministers to enable him to take decisions on the Colony's behalf, the Prime Ministers of Tanganyika and Uganda have stated in a letter to the British Prime Minister asking for an early meeting with him on the problem. Mr. Macmillan has replied that an exchange of views on the constitutional difficulties would be welcome, but previous engagements make it impossible for him to suggest a date before the New Year. Mr. Kawawa and Mr. Obote had offered to come to London immediately. The president of K.A.D.U., Mr. Ngala, has denounced the proposal as unconstitutional and "sly".

UGANDA'S "ALARMING" man-power shortage in the technical and professional grades of the civil service is a "national emergency", Mr. George Magezi, Minister of State, said last week when appealing to Ugandans to apply for training courses as prospective civil servants. The Government would give priority in awarding scholarships to such suitable applicants, who would have to undertake to serve the Government for five years after qualifying. By June next year 548 out of 1,150 expatriate civil servants will have left the country.

Kenya Will Bleed to Death Under Avid Power Seekers

Is the European Community to be Left to "Stew in Its Own Juice"?

A DEBATE ON KENYA, initiated by the Marquess of Salisbury, took place in the House of Lords last week.

LORD SALISBURY opened on the note that if matters were not properly handled there was a very real danger that Kenya would bleed to death, for the Europeans and to some extent the Asiatics were beginning to lose heart; and they had been the life-blood of Kenya.

"We are under a tremendous obligation to the white settlers, ex-Servicemen and others, who were encouraged and even begged by successive British Governments to go to Kenya, and who have invested not only their money but their lives. The ex-Servicemen who went out under the Government scheme after the last war were required to get rid of all their assets in other parts of the world. If, therefore, things go wrong in Kenya they will be utterly ruined, because of the condition which a British Government made.

"All other white settlers were encouraged to go to Kenya, and all were given every reason to suppose that they would have security of tenure. Until recently, mainly as a result of their effort, the country was prospering.

"The European population, the backbone of Kenya's prosperity, are rapidly losing heart and hope. They know they are likely to be handed over in one, two, or three years at most perhaps, to the tender mercies of men who are still only one generation removed from a savage state; men without any inherited understanding of the hard facts of economics, and without any of our traditions of tolerance; men still primitive, and many of them avid only for political power.

Primitive Excesses

"These settlers know to what excesses the primitive African can be only too easily excited. They know what has happened in the Congo; what happened in Kenya itself to some of the Europeans and even more of the loyal Kikuyu during the Mau Mau rebellion. They are told by one African leader that the British troops—their main protection—will not be permitted to stay after independence. They are told by another African leader that they will not be allowed to keep their allegiance to the Queen or their British nationality after independence.

"The British Government remain resolutely silent as to the future of their fellow countrymen and loyal Africans, who face so dark and dangerous a future.

Europeans in All Spheres Leaving

"The Government have pledged themselves to buy one million acres in the White Highlands for African settlement. It was probably very wise for them to do that. But that scheme was devised more for the benefit of the African than for the Europeans, and only a limited proportion of the mixed farmers of Kenya will benefit from it, for many do not live in the area and, as they see it, may be left to stew in their own juice. Of those who will benefit under the scheme many have grave doubts as to whether the plan will ever be fully implemented if independence comes before it is completed.

"Is it surprising that many feel that they had better move while they can, whatever the cost, and start a new life elsewhere? They are more encouraged to do this since they see other elements in the European community, who have played an essential part in making civilized life possible for them, moving out too. Doctors, schoolmasters, even civil servants are leaving and will do so far more as the stage of internal self-government is reached. With their departure the whole fabric of European society will be in imminent danger of disintegration.

"Of 3,600 registered mixed farmers over 500 have gone; and that very likely is only a beginning. A very few have simply abandoned their farms. Others are selling them for what they will fetch — which is often very little. Of the remainder — perhaps the most serious portent of all — nearly all have ceased to plough back money into their farms.

"This widespread deterioration in farming and loss of confidence in the future is leading to another evil result — unemployment among agricultural labourers. Some 8,000 Kikuyu families are likely to be unemployed in the very near future, and this may well increase to 30,000 families next year. Your lordships will not need me to tell you the dangers that might arise from large numbers of idle, hungry Africans roaming the countryside.

"The Government could decide just to let things rip and abandon the Europeans and loyal Africans to their fate if things go wrong. That would be very shaming. Alternatively, they could still try, even at this late hour, to do what is possible to re-create the confidence that has been so severely damaged.

Firm Decision Now

"If they have already written Kenya off as a dead loss, if it is indeed their policy for Africa as a whole to get rid of our responsibilities there as soon as we decently can, if that was the meaning of the wind of change speech, then we should know it — though the outlook for loyal Africans in particular, abandoned by those they have been brought up to trust, would not be one which one would like to think of.

"If that is not their decision, if it is still their intention when independence comes to the country not to abandon all our friends there, black and white, but to do what they can to ensure that a transition takes place which is peaceful and evolutionary, they should take steps here and now to restore confidence before it is too late.

"It should be made clear now that independence will not be granted and British troops will not leave the country until there is good reason to suppose that we are handing over the maintenance of law and order to responsible hands. A firm statement of that kind would do an immense amount to restore confidence, both in the loyal Africans and the Europeans. It is the more important that this should be done, for my information is that the police, who are now largely Africanized, are unlikely to stay on under their new masters. The danger of serious disorders, if troops are withdrawn prematurely, will be very great.

"The African political leaders never weary of saying that when independence comes it will be necessary for all white Kenyans of British birth to repudiate their British nationality and their allegiance to the Crown and accept Kenyan nationality alone. This idea is indignantly rejected by a large proportion of the white population.

"Bitter opponents though they are of recent policies of the Home Government, and raw though the deal they have had, they retain a passionate loyalty to the Crown and would rather suffer than give it up. Moreover, by surrendering British nationality they would surrender all claims to the protection of the British Crown.

Dual Nationality

"There are many examples of dual nationality. Why should not that solution be applied here? We shall be told: 'the African leaders would not agree to it'. Must we always give way to pressure of that kind? Whatever may be decided about the granting of independence — and even if it is made a condition by the new Kenyan Government that take office after independence that all residents of Kenya henceforth should have Kenyan nationality — could we not make it clear that we in this country shall continue to regard all those of British birth who so wish it as retaining in addition United Kingdom nationality, with all the rights and privileges pertaining thereto? That is surely not too much for our fellow countrymen to ask of us, who are asking so much of them.

"I must say a word about what have come to be known as compassionate cases, where for special reasons it seems desirable that certain white residents of Kenya should be bought out and enabled to leave the country at the earliest possible moment. Some have been put in the list for security reasons; some because they live in particularly dangerous areas and owing to their past records may be special targets for attack; or they may be people who, owing to age or infirmity, are unable to defend themselves from attack in the event of serious lawlessness.

"There is another category — old, poor people, whose livelihoods, owing to recent developments, are coming to an end; frail old ladies with small shops in Nairobi or elsewhere which owing to the changed circumstances of today have ceased to provide them with even a modest living; and other

people of that kind. Something should be done for these special cases as soon as possible.

"The Government of Kenya have compiled lists of cases which would have high priority. Out of upwards of 500 high-priority cases on these lists the British Treasury has provided money to deal with with only 63. The rest are left to face the perils of the future.

"The Government of Kenya have compiled lists of cases broad land position, which is the key to Kenya's problems? There seems to be serious delay implementing even the limited plans already announced. Why has no appointment yet been made to the chairmanship of the Central Land Board? It is eight months since it was announced that the board was to be set up, and we were given to understand that it was a matter of first urgency on which much of the Government's policy depended. I know how difficult it is to find exactly the right man for a job of this importance, but it would be better to have a man who is not quite the best than no man at all.

"Delay in appointing a chairman raises doubts whether the Government ever regarded the policy really seriously — especially because the scheme is administered by a Minister who is a member of the K.A.N.U. and, whatever other qualifications he has, cannot be regarded as ideal for the job.

"Three million acres in the former White Highlands have been developed as mixed farms, of which one million acres are to be purchased over the next five years for African occupants. Although no direct measures are to be taken to compel European landowners within these blocks to sell their farms, the exigencies of the situation will force most of them to do so. But some will not want to leave Kenya even though forced out of their homes and farms. It would be of great advantage to the country if their skill and knowledge could be retained.

"Among them are a number of farmers of proved ability who would be prepared, given reasonable inducement, to bulk up some of the smaller farms into large company holdings, which would employ a limited number of Europeans on expatriate terms — which would mean that they would not be obliged to give up their British nationality — and a large number of Africans, not only on normal farm work but also when suitable qualified men could be found in managerial posts and on their boards of directors.

Farming Companies

"The proposal is that a substantial capital fund should be set up from which suitable people of any race would be able to obtain loans on easy terms to acquire land and establish such farming companies. Bearing in mind the present political climate in Kenya and the possibility that a future African Government might impose exchange control, it is improbable that capital to the amount required would be forthcoming from ordinary commercial sources. It would therefore be incumbent on H.M. Government to provide the necessary capital.

"Large companies of this character do not attract the same enmity among nationalist Africans as properties owned privately by individual Europeans. A fund of this nature, for which the land itself could be security, could be an enduring investment for good in the long-term prosperity of Kenya, as well as a means of restoring a measure of confidence in the immediate future.

"A candidate at a recent by-election, in reply to a questioner who was worried by the pace at which the Colonial Empire was being liquidated, said, 'If you had your way the British Empire would remain a glorified slum for you to exploit'. I read those words with a sense of painful shock. Is that to be our epitaph, after the noble work done by British men and women in Kenya and other Colonies over the last half-century? Is it to go down in history that in our view all that they have created and are still trying to create, in conditions cruel enough to break the stoutest heart, is a Colonial slum? The peoples of Africa, white and black, have put their trust in us in the past. It is for us to see now that we do not let them down".

Have Been Let Down

LORD WALSTON suggested that the gravest danger to stability in Kenya lay in tribal conflict and rivalry, in tribal mistrust, rather than in mistrust of Europeans.

He hoped for swift steps towards an East African Federation, and supported the plea for ex-Servicemen particularly, but also for the other white settlers "who went out not simply to make a good living, which is fair enough, but also because they thought they were doing a worthwhile job. They had confidence in the Government. They have a justifiable cause for complaint against the people who in their opinion have let them down.

"It would be very unwise to offer full compensation now. I should be unhappy if they left Kenya. I hope they will be able to go on adding their ability, skill, and knowledge to the welfare of the country.

"Provision should be made for them if they wish to come back. I should like to see that they were not given anything like full market value for their land if they left today, but that they should be given a guarantee that, if ever they were either evicted from it by the new Kenya Government or if at the end of seven or eight years they felt that life was too insupportable for them, they would then receive something close to its full market value. At present if they do not wish to take the risk, they should get only a lower figure. There would not be an incentive to cut adrift from it all and set up somewhere else. There would be a real incentive to stay, with some security, that, if things went badly, they would not find themselves out of a home, out of all their life savings, and all the work they had put into it".

Too Gloomy

LORD OGMORE thought the preceding speeches too gloomy. He felt optimistic about Kenya's future and that the U.K. had done a great deal for Kenya in the last few years.

He did not think that dual nationality would be acceptable to the Africans who would govern Kenya.

He had the highest admiration for Mr. MacDonald; "he is a man of great ability, great charm, and abounding energy, and the finest host I have stayed with in my life. I believe he will play a great part in the future of Kenya.

"Good mixed farmers will be needed for some years to produce the exports which Kenya needs to balance its budget. So, too, in my view, business will expand in Kenya rapidly. After most dependent territories became independent the European population increased by leaps and bounds. In India and Ceylon it increased three times; in Nigeria it increased largely, and I am quite sure it will in Kenya.

"Do not think that the European has no future in Kenya. In a rather different sense he has a very fine future in Kenya if he will fit into the pattern that will be set. But, by and large, the future must lie with African farmers and African administration in commerce and industry. There is considerable need to ensure agricultural discipline, adequate areas of crops of good quality, soil conservation, and irrigation".

THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH, a permanent resident and farmer in Kenya, said (in part): —

"In Kenya the politicians spend the whole of the week-end, especially Sunday, on proving they are miserable sinners in public. On week-days they are much more hopeful people: they get to work and get together; their tribal differences are often sunk; their suspicions are welded in common action which very rarely gets into the Press and to the public, because moderate men working together very often do not like it to be known how well they are doing. For that reason I am something of an optimist, and much nearer to Lord Ogmore in this debate than to the pessimists.

"Land settlement on a small scale is not going to have any effect on unemployment, even where there are yeoman farmer schemes. What will help unemployment is to get a land bank to lend to the developing African farmers, not on new schemes but on developing their own farms — which sometimes badly need it.

A Kenya Stayer

"Development within African land units is far more important where you are dealing with unemployment agriculturally than land settlement schemes may be to ease tension politically.

"The real danger is not so much the politician, be he from north of the Channel or the politician on the Equator. Unemployment is the key to our dangers. It would be better to make an all-out effort for constructive, businesslike schemes to be put forward to ease the situation than to have a new emergency on our hands. We shall have to face one or the other unless we really make some imaginative effort to deal with this problem.

"I stand here as a Kenya farmer, and a Kenya stayer. I am staying because I have worked there for 15 years, years of great happiness and hard work; because I love the country; because I think it absolutely necessary, just for common reasons of bread and butter, that I make a go of it; but also because there is a challenge there that is really worth meeting, because I have great confidence that there are many more good men than bad men in Kenya, and that with help and friendship they will prevail".

(Further speeches will be reported next week)

Vast Fund of Good Will Among Races in Central Africa

Balance the Old Traditions of Rhodes with New African Aspirations, Says Mr. Butler

THE TWO MAIN SPEECHES in the Commons debate on Central Africa, those of Mr. Healey and Mr. Butler, were reported at length in last week's issue.

MR. DINGLE FOOT (Lab.) asked if the Government now recognized the right of Nyasaland or either of the Rhodesias to secede from the Federation, if it would agree to further constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia, and if it would withhold transfer of full sovereignty to Southern Rhodesia until that country had genuine representative government?

The Federation could not continue. If it was right to break up the West Indian Federation because Jamaica and Trinidad wished to leave, how could it be wrong to apply the same principle in Central Africa?

Z.A.P.U. was allegedly banned for prosecuting its ends by unlawful means. Of course there had been cases of intimidation. Intimidation was endemic in Africa.

A most dangerous situation was developing throughout Southern Africa. There was a build-up of arms in the Republic of South Africa and deadlock in Central Africa for which H.M. Government bore a very heavy responsibility. They had wanted to reconcile the irreconcilable and had always looked for some stratagem which would get them out of their difficulties. Their policy had never been based on any consistent principle. It had been, in Burke's phrase, "the accumulative patchwork of occasional accommodation".

Inimical to Racial Partnership

MR. R. H. TURTON (Cons.) thought it a most untimely moment for a debate on Central Africa. Two most irresponsible and dangerous speeches had been made by Mr. Healey and Mr. Dingle Foot. What would be the effect in Southern Rhodesia of the former, the Shadow First Secretary for Africa or the Shadow Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations? Every word uttered by the two Members would encourage the Rhodesian Front and stop the effort at racial partnership.

A responsible Opposition would not put down such a motion when there was a general election in Southern Rhodesia and by-elections in Northern Rhodesia.

The Southern Rhodesian Constitution was agreed by Mr. Nkomo who then withdrew from it because he was intimidated. In Central Africa there had not been a sound, stable policy, certainly not on the Opposition side, or on the Government side until the present Minister assumed office.

Many thousands of people, black as well as white, wanted a non-racial partnership, but that did not apply to the leading politicians. No wonder, when Socialist M.Ps. "ferment them into trying to break up the Federation all the time".

Sir Hugh Foot, brother of the Member for Ipswich, had wisely said: "The future is a prospect of perhaps 10 years of terrible bloodshed. On returning to this country I find no realization that we are on the edge of commotion, bloodshed and violence, not only in South Africa and the Congo, but in East and West Africa. Once violence starts and spreads you will find that you have no moderate leaders in Africa".

Mr. Dingle Foot asked why Z.A.P.U. was banned. He should know that some of its leaders had aided the burning of Africans with petrol bombs and the sending of arms from Communist sources into the townships. For that reason the Government, being responsible for law and order, banned Z.A.P.U.

Great Experiment

The Monckton Report said: "The immediate reaction to dissolution of the Federation, both inside and outside the area, would be that a great experiment in race relations had failed. This experiment is being watched with close interest throughout the world. If it could be made to succeed it could have a profound effect upon developments".

Especially in the rural communities there was anxiety to make the great experiment in non-racial approach work. It was a great pity that in the House party politics were being played in order to try to weaken the determination of Britain to make the experiment succeed. It was even more unfortunate that a similar attempt was being made at the United Nations.

Sir Hugh Foot said that he disagreed with the Government's policy. If that was correct, why was he allowed to go back to his work of representation at U.N.O.? It was most improper for the Government to allow him to continue at the United Nations.

MR. GEORGE THOMAS (Soc.) said that he had cousins in Southern Rhodesia, which he had not visited.

"I believe that they have left it too late to resist the tide of Africans demanding what surely as human beings they are entitled to demand—parity. One does not need an education to be able to cast a vote—or we should have to change our system in this country. There is no moral case for withholding from the Africans the prospect of majority rule in each of the Central African countries.

"Even a blind man should see that Europeans must be prepared to accept African leadership, and that when we meet with men of strength and ability and integrity it is foolish to undermine their position by refusing to co-operate. This is the tragedy of what is appearing in Central Africa today.

Private Agreement on Secession?

"The First Secretary ought to have told the House whether he has privately agreed with Dr. Banda on the question of secession. It is not a matter for private agreement. It is a matter about which all of us and Central Africa are entitled to know".

MR. HUMPHREY ATKINS (Cons.) who said that he had visited the Federation, admired an experiment which could not continue in its present form but ought not to be quickly dissolved.

Last year Dr. Banda had said that rather than have anything to do with the Federation he and his people would starve. Now he realizes that there are obvious advantages in some form of association. Similar modification of view might be expected in Northern Rhodesia. So it would be wise to delay as long as possible the final break-up of the Federation if that had to come. Not to have some association would be disastrous.

MR. ROY MASON (Soc.) said (in part):— "The speech of the First Secretary of State in tone and substance was much more in keeping with my thinking than was the speech of Mr. Healey. Indeed, if I had not previously decided not to vote on this issue, his speech would certainly have kept me out of the lobby.

"In 1956 six of us went as a delegation to the Gold Coast. Five of us addressed the House and voiced apprehensions about the future because of what we had observed—not from 4,000 miles away—that the Gold Coast was receiving independence prematurely, and we warned the House of the black dictatorship to follow. Much of what we said then has come to pass.

Black Dictatorship

"In Ghana a black dictatorial régime is suppressing many of the freedoms which its people enjoyed when they were under white rule. Hon. Members must not be blind to the fact that an educated, dictatorially-minded African leader will exploit the mass illiteracy of his people more than the white man has ever done.

"The first example which comes to mind is that of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Next I think of Kenyatta, the Kikuyu people, and Mau Mau. The example of Dr. Banda makes one fear that a similar situation could arise elsewhere. I have similar fears, though not to the same extent, of Kenneth Kaunda. A man who is educated, is dictatorially-minded, and has a mass illiterate people about him tends to go that way.

"I went to Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia at the invitation of Sir Roy Welensky. I was given the opportunity of learning a lot more about Central Africa from my visit than otherwise I could have done. Members who have been on these tours will say that they were able to see as much in all three territories as was humanly possible in 15 days. We were able to encounter all shades of opinion and meet anyone we requested to meet.

"Thirty-five of the 40 Members who have been to Central Africa have on their return spoken of their belief in a continued Federation, or, at least, in the continuation of a strong economic connection. If the whole House had been, I am sure that the majority would similarly have been in favour. I believe that the federation idea was good and that we ought to have done more to uphold it.

"Ghana is as different from Kenya as is the Congo from Nigeria. These countries have different histories, cultures and tribes. Tribal conflicts engender more hatred among black Africans than there has ever been towards white people. Time

and again we witnessed tribal feelings proving far stronger than party political loyalties. The Congo has had its tribal conflict and Kenya had it with Mau Mau.

"One saving grace in Central Africa is that tribal conflicts are not so strong and that there are more white people who are Africans—who in Southern Rhodesia are white. Africans of the second and third generation. Because of those factors there has not been the same tribal hate among the tribes in the Federation, and because there are more people who consider themselves white Africans, there is a chance to build up the Federation.

Inflammatory Irresponsibility

"The difficulty is that there are far too many inflammatory speeches by responsible people in this country about what is happening or might happen in Africa. Time and time again these speeches incite the Africans—speaking of 'Africa for the Africans', fanning the flames of Africanization most irresponsibly. It is almost like saying 'Britain for the British'. This is almost a Fascist outlook.

"We have recently had the classic example of signatures to demands in an advertisement on behalf of the Defence and Aid Fund. What a deplorable story this is. Led by a man who ought to place truth above all else, the statement was a complete distortion of the truth. Signatures were appended and moneys were raised from people who recognized the signatures. The money might well have been obtained by misrepresentation. Many people might have sent money immediately they saw this statement and the signatures appended to it in responsible journals. Has all the money been returned? Many people's names were used when they had not given consent. Is that honourable?

"Independence is round the corner for Nyasaland. Is it the intention that Nyasaland should carry on inside the Federation, or is it to secede? Secession without outside economic aid is economic suicide.

"Since federation Nyasaland has received from the Federal Government alone £34½m. and is receiving aid at the rate of £6m. a year. If Nyasaland secedes, it is possible that that aid will completely cease. If for a political reason Nyasaland is taken out of an economic alliance, will it successfully plead with H.M. Government to continue the £6m. a year? The Government must not sign a blank cheque to Nyasaland.

"Already 150,000 Nyasas work in Southern and Northern Rhodesia and send money back to their own country. If secession comes about they may have to return to their own country, which will be the poorer and have increased unemployment".

SIR GODFREY NICHOLSON (Cons.) said that one of the tragedies of Africa was that it gave Members of each party the opportunity to ride their hobby-horses. Mr. Healey's speech had been deplorable.

"We in this House tend to be over-alarmed and over-frightened by much that is said and written, whether by Sir Hugh Foot or anybody else. Anyone who has spent even a short time in Central Africa, as I have spent, knows that there is vast good will there, particularly in Southern Rhodesia. It is quite illusory to portray the ordinary European inhabitant of any part of the Federation as determined at all costs to maintain white supremacy, and to picture the ordinary African leader as inflammatory. In spite of blunders, blindnesses, and stupidities on both sides, the political leaders are full of good will and determined to do their duty.

"The faults committed in Central Africa are faults not of evil-mindedness or wickedness but lack of imagination—as we constantly show in our domestic politics in this country".

Nyasaland Secession

MR. JEREMY THORPE (Lib.), who once visited Central Africa, said that, knowing the pathological hatred which Dr. Banda had of federation, he could not believe that he would have agreed to talk about internal self-government for Nyasaland if he had not been given undertakings in regard to secession. The First Secretary should say so.

"If, as I believe is inevitable, Nyasaland opts to exercise the right of political secession, do not let us in the name of economic progress force them into some alternative economic association unless and until it has their political consent. The problem of Nyasaland is probably solved.

"Northern Rhodesia's second Constitution was not different from the first; it was merely touched up and refurbished slightly. It was a massive retreat, partly because the Government were in trouble over the release of Kenyatta, and partly because they had announced to a horrified party that they were applying to join the Common Market, and did not think they could fight three battles at the same time. Therefore Northern Rhodesia was thrown to the dogs.

"I suppose Mr. Nkomo's acceptance of the Premiership of Southern Rhodesia has been accelerated by five or 10 years as a result of his having been placed under a restriction order.

"We must say that there can be no independence for any of the three constituent territories until they have full internal self-government based on the majority of the population. We must say that any constituent territory may secede. If the territories are given their right some form of economic association may emerge. It may be possible to get co-operation in transport, communications, power, and currency. But the political issue must first be settled".

MR. VICTOR GOODHEW (Cons.) spoke of Communist funds going into Kenya and huge sums going into the Federation to disrupt British influence and cause the chaos favourable to Communism.

"When in the Federation two weeks ago I read reports in the British Press giving an entirely false impression of what was happening in Salisbury. We read in British newspapers that white people were walking the streets in terror of their lives. Outside my hotel white children were being looked after by African nannies, who in turn were being paid great attention by African friends.

"Reference has been made to the advertisements of the Defence and Aid Fund. It is astonishing that people of great responsibility in this country, including hon. Members opposite and the leader of the Liberal Party, should be trapped into signing a document which carries so many misrepresentations and can do so much damage.

"Sir Hugh Foot resigned with a rather flamboyant political gesture. One wondered why, if he had his doubts about British policy, he did not ask to go to the territory to see for himself.

Would Not Denounce Terrorism

"I saw Mr. Mugabi of Z.A.P.U. less than 24 hours before the banning of the party, and I pleaded with him to denounce the terrorism of his party. He was much too full of talk about the forces of resistance to the frightful Constitution to consider such a thing, and he made it clear that he was not prepared, nor was Mr. Nkomo, to denounce the terrorism being practised by some of his followers.

"About 170 people were put under restriction out of a population of 3½ million, and Z.A.P.U. was banned. Suddenly all was peace and quiet. When Sir Edgar Whitehead went to the African townships the African population turned out to cheer him, because they were so pleased that for the first week-end for months they could go to football and boxing matches, or take any other pleasure they liked, without being chivvied into going to a Z.A.P.U. political meeting by a band of thugs or beaten up, as was one man who died as a result of being beaten up because he went to a football or boxing match instead of to a Z.A.P.U. meeting.

"This was the position after the banning of Z.A.P.U. It gives the lie to those who suggest that because extreme nationalists make far-reaching demands, these must be granted at once, as if the whole country were in a ferment and ready to blow the lid off.

Ghana Model

"There is no excuse for hon. Members opposite not realizing that Mr. Nkomo has been leader of four different parties, each of which has had to be banned for indulging in violence and terrorism.

"I am not happy about conditions there—Nyasaland—as some hon. Members, even on this side of the House. In a one-party State Dr. Banda shows all the signs of basing his whole administration on the Ghana model. We also have the very unattractive feature of his being welcomed back with cries of 'Messiah', on similar lines to those in Ghana.

"In the past 12 months there have been disturbances. One difficulty is that the Attorney-General's Department earlier this year issued a directive to all police stations and police prosecutors throughout Nyasaland that all prosecutions for proposing violence at assemblies and intimidation or arson and the like offences shall be submitted to him for express direction before any action can be taken, and that as a general rule no criminal process could be started without his express authority.

"The federation has been a great and noble experiment. The main point was to secure a State in which all races should co-operate for the common good. The races need each other. This lesson was learned too late in the Congo, and it looks as if it may have been learned too late in Kenya, where the economy is running down as the Europeans leave.

"The First Secretary should not allow himself to be pressed into taking action until some new acceptable form of association has been found. The work of 70 years can be so easily destroyed overnight".

(*Concluded on page* 331)

PERSONALIA

LADY WELENSKY is making a good recovery from a slight heart attack.

DR. HEINZ WERSDORFER is German Chargé d'Affaires in Uganda.

MR. R. A. BUTLER, Minister for Central African Affairs, was 60 on Sunday.

MR. ROGER DUERR has arrived in Dar es Salaam as Ambassador for Switzerland in Tanganyika.

MR. F. R. BAVIN and MR. C. R. PAGE have been elected directors of Wilfrid Watson, Ltd., Northern Rhodesia.

MR. C. K. TUMBO, lately for a short while High Commissioner for Tanganyika in London, is now living in Kenya.

SIR RONALD PRAIN, chairman of the Rhodesian Selection group of companies, has returned to Rhodesia from London.

MR. HERBERT A. TULATZ, assistant general secretary, represented the I.C.F.T.U. at Tanganyika's Republic Day celebrations.

MR. VERNON SYMONS, formerly assistant underground services manager at Nchanga Mine, has been given charge of mining training.

CAPTAIN A. G. V. PATEY, the new commodore of the Union-Castle fleet, who is also master of the WINDSOR CASTLE, is making his first trip in that capacity.

MR. L. W. HENRY, a managing director of A. Baumann & Co. (East Africa), Ltd., has arrived on leave from Nairobi. He is staying in Richmond, Surrey.

MWAMI MWAMBUSTA IV, King of Burundi, spent a few days in London last week on an unofficial visit, during which he had talks with LORD HOME, the Foreign Secretary.

Animal husbandry in the Karamoja district of Uganda is being studied by two F.A.O. specialists on pasture and water resources, MR. J. M. RATTRAY and MR. F. O. BYRNE.

CHIEF SHUMBA CHEKAYI, from the Victoria district, was elected president of the Council of Chiefs of Southern Rhodesia at its first meeting in Salisbury. His deputy is CHIEF MZIMUNI, from Gwanda.

VISCOUNT BOYD OF MERTON has accepted the chairmanship of a committee set up by the Secretary for Technical Co-operation to advise him on the work of the Overseas Services Resettlement Bureau.

MAJOR-GENERAL G. R. D. FITZPATRICK, Director of Military Operations at the War Office, left Kenya on Tuesday after a week's inspection of Army, Air Force and Police units in the Colony and Zanzibar.

MR. J. R. VERJEE is arbitrator of the coffee tribunal which is hearing evidence this month on a trade dispute between the Sisal and Coffee Plantation Workers' Union and the Kenya Coffee Growers' Association.

LORD ROBINS, until his death president of the British South Africa (Chartered) Company, and chairman or director of numerous other companies, left estate in England valued at £39,899, on which duty of £12,688 has been paid.

MR. RASHIDI KAWAWA, Vice-President of Tanganyika, has cabled his country's overseas missions telling them that rumours of an association with Katanga and of the possibility of Katanga's joining P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A. are completely unfounded.

MR. J. GIBSON JARVIE, founder and chairman of United Dominions Trust, Ltd., which has subsidiaries in the Federation, has announced his resignation from the boards of the company and its subsidiaries from March 31 next. Mr. Jarvie, who is now 80, has served the company for 43 years. The new chairman will be MR. ALEXANDER ROSS.

MR. AMOS SEMPA, Finance Minister in Uganda, has rejected a suggestion made in the Central Legislative Assembly of E.A.C.S.O. that the Congo, Rwanda and Burundi should be invited to join the East African "common market".

MR. ERISA KIRONDE has been appointed chairman of the Uganda Electricity Board, in succession to MR. W. D. D. FENTON, who retired last August. MR. H. W. POVEY, formerly executive director, becomes a deputy chairman and managing director.

SIR ROBERT DE ZOUCHE HALL, who entered the Colonial Service in Tanganyika in 1926 and served there until his appointment as Governor of Sierra Leone in 1953, has been appointed economic adviser to the East African Common Services Organization.

MR. A. W. HUTCHINGS, managing director of the Central African subsidiary of the South African Marine Corporation, Ltd., has left Salisbury to manage the business in the Eastern Province, with headquarters in Port Elizabeth. He remains a director of Safmarine Central Africa, Ltd.

Seven British M.Ps. under SIR FRANK MARKHAM arrived in Kenya on Tuesday to inquire into the expenditure of Service funds voted by Parliament. The other members of the group are SIR RICHARD GLYN and MESSRS. H. DAVIES, R. EDWARDS, N. PANNELL, J. MORE and R. WOOF.

MR. ALEXANDER HORSMAN, a 28-year-old farmer in the Inyati district of Southern Rhodesia, has been fined £30 for drawing a pair of spectacles on a portrait in the Rhodesia National Gallery of LORD DALHOUSIE, Governor-General of the Federation. He said that he had done it "just for fun".

CHIEF ADAM SAPI MKWAWA, chief of the Hehe tribe in the Southern Highlands of Tanganyika, has been elected Speaker of the National Assembly on the resignation of MR. A. Y. A. KARIMJEE, Speaker for the past eight years. CHIEF ADAM SAPI was first nominated to the old Legislative Council in 1947.

When KENYATTA, leader of K.A.N.U. and a Minister in the Kenya Government, closed the Mau Mau exhibition staged in Nairobi by an Asian businessman, he said it had "displayed the faces of the true nationalists, who have most of them lost their lives in a struggle for the rights of the people".

MR. ZUBERI MTEMVU has announced the disbandment of his African National Congress in Tanganyika and has applied to re-join T.A.N.U. The party's former general secretary, MR. J. H. SALIENI, however, has stated that the A.N.C. will stay alive until the country has a purely African Government.

MR. EDWARD HOWEL GUERIN AUGERAUD, who had farmed near Thomson's Falls, Kenya, left estate in England valued at £25,053. He bequeathed £500 each to the East African Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the Kenya Wild Life Society, All Saints' Church, Thomson's Falls, and the Ndaragwa African Centre. The residue goes to the Kenya Society for the Blind.

LORD HOME, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was host at a Government luncheon in London last week in honour of DR. ABDIRASHID ALI SHERMARKE, Prime Minister of the Somali Republic. The other guests were the SOMALI AMBASSADOR, MR. ABDI NUR MOHAMED HUSSEIN, MR. MICHAEL MARIANO, DR. ABDI ADAN, MR. ALI SHEIKH MOHAMED, SIR DUNCAN CUMMING, THE EARL OF LYTTON, MR. CLIVE BOSSOM, M.P., MR. G. ELFED DAVIES, M.P., MR. PHILIP CARREL, SIR ALAN DUDLEY, MR. R. E. HEASMAN, MR. W. B. L. MONSON, SIR DENIS WRIGHT, MR. J. O. WRIGHT, and MR. R. S. SCRIVENER. That evening the EARL OF DUNDEE, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, was a guest at a dinner given for the SOMALI PRIME MINISTER by MR. MAHMOUD ABDI ARRALEH, Ambassador in London.

Obituary

Lieut-Colonel Sir Stewart Symes

Services to the Sudan and Tanganyika

LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR STEWART SYMES, G.B.E., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., who died in Folkestone last week in his 81st year, must have been one of the most modest men ever to become a Governor and then a Governor-General. He had an ingrained sense of service, absolutely no sense of self-importance, and deep religious convictions. Everything he did was stamped with sincerity.

The son of Lieut.-Colonel W. Alexander Symes, J.P., of the 71st The Highland Light Infantry, he was educated at Malvern and the Royal Military College and gazetted to the Hampshire Regiment in 1900. He saw active service in South Africa two years later, with the Aden Hinterland Expedition of 1903-4, and in Somaliland. He then joined the Egyptian Army, and was successively A.D.C. to the Sirdar and Governor-General of the Sudan, Sir Reginald Wingate, Assistant Director of Intelligence to the Sudan Government, and then private secretary to the Sirdar and Governor-General.

When Wingate was transferred to Egypt as High Commissioner, he took Symes with him as his senior staff officer. From 1920 to 1925 he was governor of the Northern District of Palestine and then Chief Secretary to the Government. From 1928 to 1931 he was Resident and Commander-in-Chief in Aden, whence he went to Tanganyika as Governor.

First Governor to Fly Regularly

He was the first East African Governor to use aircraft as his normal means of transport, and he certainly did much more travelling in the territory than any of his predecessors. Whether on tour or at headquarters, he was always accessible, always ready to listen sympathetically to the plans or difficulties of officials and non-officials alike, concerned to hear their candid comments or criticisms, and anxious to help when Government assistance could reasonably be given.

His experience of indirect rule in Tanganyika was soon to show its influence when he went back to the Sudan at the beginning of 1934 as Governor-General. Paternalism, which had done much for that country, was, he felt, outliving its usefulness, and his view that time was not on the side of custom made him unpopular in various quarters, not least among the "Bog Barons". But here again he was an inveterate traveller, seeing things for himself, discussing matters with those chiefly concerned, and explaining his policy in person. Lady Symes and he were most hospitable, but he was thought to be aloof in official matters : in Tanganyika there had been no such feeling.

Symes, who had a real affection for the Sudan, did all in his power to prepare the country for the Hitler-Mussolini war which he foresaw, but hoped to the last that it would be spared invasion by the Italians from Eritrea or Ethiopia. Like Sir Reginald Wingate, his greatly admired predecessor as Governor-General, he was to be similarly dismissed — in 1940 as a result of pressure from certain military quarters. He never complained or explained.

After the war he became a councillor of the Royal African Society and chairman of its General Purposes Committee, the first chairman of the Colonial Group of the Royal Empire Society, and a member of the advisory council of the Joint East and Central African Board. He was president of the East African Dinner Club in London in 1958 in which year the guest of honour was Sir Richard Turnbull, one of his successors as Governor of Tanganyika.

Symes suffered a heavy blow when his wife died in 1953. Their only son had been killed in action in 1945. The one daughter of the marriage is Mrs. Barbara Crighton-Stuart.

Mr. Ibrahim E. Nathoo

MR. IBRAHIM E. NATHOO, sometime Minister of Works in Kenya, and at one period the senior Muslim elected member of the Legislative Council, has died suddenly in Karachi at the age of 57. He entered the Legislature in 1946 and crossed the floor to take the portfolio of Works in 1954. He was one of Kenya's four representatives at the Coronation of the Queen.

He was made administrator of the Ismaili Community in Kenya in 1946 by the late Aga Khan, who appointed him Vizier six years later. His father had arrived in the country in 1880, his mother was born within it, and so was he. "I am as much a Kenyan as any African", he once said, adding : "I am more of a stranger in India or Pakistan that I am in England".

He was educated at schools in Nairobi and Bombay, at St. Xavier's College, Bombay, Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and Manchester University, and returned to East Africa in 1926 to engage in a wide range of business activities in Kenya and Uganda. In due course he became chairman of the Jubilee Insurance Co., Ltd., and a director of many other companies, including the Diamond Jubilee Investment Trust, Ltd., Kenya Busoga Cotton Co., Ltd., Eboo's Petrol Station, Ltd., Uganda Transport Co., Ltd., Eastern Province Bus Co., Ltd., and Shinyanga Commercial Co., Ltd.

A keen Freemason, Nathoo was at one time D.A.G.D.C. in the District Grand Lodge of East Africa and afterwards a member of the District Board of General Purposes.

Almost a decade ago he began advocating interracial schools as a means of improving race relations, but he repeatedly declared that for many years Kenya's leaders must be Europeans by reason of capacity, not colour. Emphatically a gradualist, he had friends in all communities.

He leaves a widow, a son and two daughters.

Lord Baden-Powell

LORD BADEN-POWELL, second baron, and son of the founder of the Boy Scout Movement, died on Sunday in a London hospital at the age of 49.

Educated at Charterhouse and the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, he served in Southern Rhodesia in the B.S.A.P. from 1934 to 1937 and then for eight years in the Native Affairs Department. In 1948 he spent about a year with the British South Africa Company in the Umtali district.

Returning to England, he held various office in the movement which his father had founded. He was the founder and president of the Commonwealth Students' Association, president of the Youth Hostels Association, and at one time chairman of the Baden Fairbridge Memorial College. Lord Baden-Powell was a director of several companies.

In 1935 he married Olave Grace Soames, of Johannesburg. There were two sons and a daughter of the marriage. The new peer is the Hon. Michael Francis Baden-Powell.

SIR HARRY DUNCAN, G.C.M.G., K.C., who has died in London at the age of 77, became an assistant legal adviser to the Dominions and Colonial Office in 1931, was promoted to head of the section in 1935 and retired two years later.

Sir Roy Welensky's "Stand Firm"

Prime Minister's Frank Broadcast

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation, said in a television broadcast from Salisbury last Thursday:—

"It is the clear intention of the Rhodesian Front that the Federation is to be broken up. Their statements on economic and industrial policy, health, education, immigration, and defence all indicate that they intend to take these subjects, which are Federal, into the Southern Rhodesian field, and show quite clearly that the Front's plan is to replace the Federation with some form of economic association in which Southern Rhodesia could continue to enjoy its predominant position as a manufacturing country, yet at the same time escape the attentions of pan-Africanists.

"But the Rhodesian Front are as wrong in their basic assumption that an economic association of the sort they have in mind could be made to work, as they are completely wrong in believing that the brand of *apartheid* by which they hope to insulate this country against extremist forces could ever be effective.

Appalling Disaster

"They tell you nothing of the appalling disaster which a break-up of the Federation would mean in terms of prosperity and security in Southern Rhodesia. Instead, they have withdrawn from the Federal field, given up the ideal of Federation, and left the United Federal Party to fight alone for this great concept.

"What would the chances be of securing a workable economic association? We should deceive ourselves if we believed that African-controlled Governments in the north, dominated by pan-African and anti-European thinking, as they would be if the Federation broke up, would have the slightest desire to co-operate with Southern Rhodesia under the control of a Rhodesian Front Government. The opposite would be the case.

Would Lose Northern Markets

"Yet today Southern Rhodesian industries find up to 30% of their markets in the north, and factory after factory would go out of business if these markets were lost. This the Rhodesian Front conveniently forget to tell you.

"They also fail to point out the lesson we have learnt from history — that there can be no effective economic ties without a degree, and a considerable one, of political control. This was the experience we had with the Central African Council, which was not called in being into being but such an economic association between Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia.

[illegible]

Misplaced Loyalty

[illegible]

the vast majority of responsible people will support me in standing up to this issue and in saying, as I do categorically, that any decision regarding Nyasaland — or about any single part of the Federation — is a matter for all the Governments of the Federation, and cannot be dealt with unilaterally — because the interests of us all would be affected.

"I firmly believe that I have the strongest backing in this country for a stand to be taken on an issue of this nature, and the stand I intend to take should the British Government embark on such a course. I repeat that any decision in regard to Nyasaland must be taken within the context of the future of the Federation as a whole.

"In addition, I want to make it quite clear to those who may think otherwise that, whatever the position may be with regard to Nyasaland, we in the Rhodesias are not inclined to see our standards fall or the future of the Rhodesias wrecked by the actions of those who haven't the courage to stand up to the pressures.

Plain Nonsense

"I give this to the British Government to ponder on, as I give it to the Rhodesian Front, who seem to have lost their nerve.

"We have our troubles and problems, which our political opponents are doing their best to exaggerate. But their stories of the horrors of social integration and the dire consequences of repealing the Land Apportionment Act are plain nonsense. Rhodesia has reason to be grateful that its electorate cannot so easily be bluffed or scared.

"The fact is that we live in one of the best countries in the world. We do not have to think, as the people of Europe do every day, of invasion by Russia or annihilation by the bomb. The only thing that can destroy us is lack of courage. I think that we should count our blessings".

Chairman for Kenya Board

GENERAL SIR GEOFFREY BOURNE, director of the General Aluminium Development Association, has been appointed by the Colonial Secretary chairman of the Kenya Land Board, and will take up his post early next year. As Commandant of the Imperial Defence College in 1958-59, he visited Uganda and Kenya to study the military and security situation.

Mr. Kaunda's Talks With Mr. Tshombe

U.N.I.P. Negotiations with A.N.C.

BEFORE HE LEFT LONDON last week Mr. Kaunda, president of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, gave the Fabian Commonwealth Bureau for circulation to the Press answers to questions about his recent discussions with Mr. Tshombe, President of Katanga, and with Mr. Nkumbula, president of the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia.

Asked to indicate the nature of his talks with Mr. Nkumbula with a view to the formation of a coalition between the two parties to govern Northern Rhodesia, Mr. Kaunda replied: —

"The leadership and peoples of both parties have had to be prepared to forget past differences in the interests of forming an anti-Federation Government. That is what is important. This is not the time for emphasizing slight differences in party policy.

"As for the conditions Mr. Nkumbula specified for joining with us in Government, that is a perfectly simple matter. He has asked that I publicly state that U.N.I.P. is not a Communist party, that I am opposed to violence, and that we are not racialists. We have never been any of these things, so a further public affirmation of this presents no problems for U.N.I.P."

Asked about his discussions with Mr. Tshombe, Mr. Kaunda said:—

"Mr. Tshombe is obviously concerned about the sort of Government that will emerge in Northern Rhodesia. He is afraid that the next Government of the territory will be hostile to him and that he will find himself attacked, so to speak, from the south as well as the north. He has been supported in the past by Sir Roy Welensky in the Rhodesias, and fears that he will find himself without friends if the United Federal Party is out of office.

"Reassurances" to Katanga

"Through my meeting with Mr. Tshombe I was able to reassure him that U.N.I.P. has no intention of attacking anyone. We are concerned to find a peaceful way to reconciliation in the Congo. I was able to tell Mr. Tshombe that U.N.I.P. is not hostile to him personally, and that we would use whatever good offices are available to us to help all the Congo leaders to come together. He need not rely on Sir Roy Welensky, who is not the true friend of anyone in the Congo".

"Mr. Kaunda, you are also chairman of P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A. What bearing do your talks with Mr. Tshombe have on your position as holder of that office?" asked the questioner, to be told:—

"Mr. Tshombe applied for membership of P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A. and I have explained to him the nature and constitution of the movement. P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A. makes provision for membership of nationalist parties where a country is still a dependency or for Governments where a country is independent. The Congo Central Government is a member of P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A. so it is not possible to admit to separate membership a political party of the Congo.

"Our hope would be that Katanga would be peacefully integrated into the Congo, so that Mr. Tshombe's Conakat Party would come into P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A. through the normal channels as part of the Congo Government's representation. I told him this as chairman of P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A. My talks with him as president of U.N.I.P. were of course quite separate".

The last question ran: "While you were in London in December you had talks with Mr. Bomboko, Foreign Minister of the Congolese Central Government. Why was that?"

"Of course I am constantly in touch with the Central Government of the Congo both as president of U.N.I.P. and as chairman of P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A.," said Mr. Kaunda. "We are very concerned about the continued conflict between the Katanga authorities and the Central Government. As African nationalists ourselves we may be able to offer to help in ending the conflict and in re-integrating the Congo. All Africans are worried about this problem. Obviously we in Northern Rhodesia would like to see a harmonious and united Government in an important country which is our neighbour. P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A. is also deeply involved in ending a serious conflict within one of its member States. If we can offer any help in that direction—and we are constantly trying to do this—we would be only too pleased.

"There is no truth whatever," he concluded, "in the story that I have been considering offering Mr. Tshombe separate membership of P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A. in return for his support for a coalition between U.N.I.P. and the A.N.C., which has had links in the past with Mr. Tshombe's Conakat Party".

A statement issued by Mr. Kaunda and Mr. Nkumbula after their talks with the Minister for Central African Affairs, Mr. R. A. Butler, read:

"We came to London to make it clear to H.M. Government that the Constitution has failed to work in that there are 10 national seats which have not been filled and which are likely to remain frustrated.

"We made it clear to Mr. Butler that we have a mandate from our people to demand: (*a*) a new Constitution which should express the feelings and voice the views of the majority of the people of Northern Rhodesia for self-government and independence without delay, taking into account the fact that there are minority groupings in our country which should be safeguarded by any Government that may be formed; and (*b*) the immediate dissolution of Welensky's so-called Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. We were very warmly received by Mr. Butler, and the talks were both useful and friendly".

Federation Cannot Last

Mr. Nkumbula said that there was dissatisfaction because no clear answers had been given by the Minister to their questions; "Mr. Butler did say something, but we were told not to tell the Press. What is required is for the British Government to say boldly that they have now realized that the Federation cannot continue", he added.

They would be willing to discuss the matter with the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky—provided Northern Rhodesia's secession was the only item on the agenda. They had no personal animosity towards the Prime Minister. "In fact, we have offered him a job as manager of the railways at Broken Hill", Mr. Kaunda remarked.

Asked whether Mr. Butler would win if a "battle" ensued with Sir Roy Welensky over the Federation's future, he replied: "I really don't think that Welensky stands a chance any more. He is on the wrong side of the battlefield. He stands for wrong things. He has fought his battles badly, and he cannot expect anything but to lose. Forces are in motion now which make it inevitable that he is about to lose the last battle. To maintain the Federation he would have to go the whole hog and use fire-power. Surely he is sane enough to realize that that course would not succeed? Even if we had another man in the place of Mr. Butler he would be the loser".

Mr. Nkumbula added that opinion in the United Federal Party itself held that the Federation was finished, and Sir Roy had recognized that.

Europeans May Leave

The U.F.P. territorial leader in the Protectorate, Mr. John Roberts, has given a warning that, though the Europeans are not afraid of working with the Africans, they fear an "all-powerful extremist Government that will exploit and run down Northern Rhodesia as part of some pan-Africanist group of countries that want to get their hands on our resources. I do not think it will come to that, and we are certainly not throwing up our hands.

"But if it should happen, we are not in the same position as the Europeans in Kenya, who are isolated. We are next door to Southern Rhodesia, and that is where most of us would go. There are 1,200 European farmers here, of whom I am one, and we produce to the value of £10m. a year, mostly for export. We could charter trains and load on our cattle and implements and everything movable down to the window frames and clear off to Southern Rhodesia. Europeans in other jobs and professions would do the same".

Incapable Without European Aid

American Senator Banned by "Affronted" States

SENATOR ALLEN ELLENDER, a 72-year-old Democrat member of the United States Senate and its appropriations Committee, who is touring American embassies and consulates-general in Africa, was last week declared a prohibited immigrant by Tanganyika and Uganda and forbidden to enter Ethiopia and the Somali Republic, because in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, he had stated that Africans were unable to rule without European help.

The U.S. Information Service in Salisbury has issued a transcript of a tape-recording made at a Press conference which he gave before leaving for Burundi, where he claimed that he had been misquoted. The recordings included these observations : —

"My own Government, of course, supports the United Nations effort to make as many of the countries of Africa independent as desire to be or happen to operate their own Governments. Personally, I would not have any quarrel with that if those who are to operate the Government were competent to do so, had the capability.

"But I have yet to come to any of them wherein that capability exists, and for that reason I stated that the time for this change to independence is a little too early, quite early. What I mean, simply, is that the average African is incapable of leadership except through the assistance of Europeans".

He was able to disembark at Nairobi, where he issued a statement "greatly regretting that some of the statements I made to the Press in Salisbury were taken out of context. I was pictured as implying that Africans are incapable of leadership. On the contrary, I have met many African leaders who impressed me as being of the highest calibre".

In Mogadishu, where it had not been intended to let him enter, the senator spent the night in the American Embassy under Somali Police surveillance. He was escorted back to the airport at dawn.

In Kenya, a *communiqué* complained that "the Kenya Government was deeply affronted at reading the words attributed to Senator Ellender in Salisbury. The Government is now informed that he has denied making the statement and is therefore taking no action".

K.A.N.U.'s general secretary secretary, Mr. Mboya, cabled President Kennedy to express his party's "strong disgust and disappointment at the deliberate provocation of the African people by Senator Ellender. His apparent sympathies for Sir Roy Welensky and *apartheid* will reflect on your country's position in the minds of many African people, and have done much harm to Afro-American relations". K.A.N.U. wanted the Senator to be declared a prohibited immigrant.

The chairman of the American Sub-Committee on Africa, Mr. O'Hara, told a special Press conference in Washington that Senator Ellender had been speaking for himself and not for Congress. His remarks had "hurt us very much in Africa".

Political Suppression in Buganda

ORDINARY BAGANDA are ignorant of the meaning of freedom of speech in Buganda, where "the common man cannot express himself freely unless the Kabaka or some other high authority has already said the same thing", Mr. Vincent Rwamwaro, Democratic Party member for Toro East, claimed during a recent debate in the Uganda National Assembly on disturbances in the kingdom in which two people were killed.

"The majority of the Baganda have been fed with deceit. The Kabaka Yekka movement was formed by people being told that the fight was between Benedicto Kiwanuka (president-general of the Democratic Party) and the Kabaka of Buganda", he declared.

He was supporting a motion introduced by the D.P. member for West Nile and Madi West, Mr. Gaspare Oda, "deploring the recent intimidation with violence and the eventual killing of law-abiding citizens in Buganda".

Mr. Oda denied that reports of "these barbarous acts by blood-thirsty brutes" had been exaggerated, or that they had been perpetrated by D.P. supporters. When elections to the Buganda Lukiko were held in February, people in Buganda who did not agree with the Kabaka Yekka had been "brutally persecuted". When, as the then Minister for Home Affairs, he had toured the areas concerned, he had found a reign of terror; people were living under banana trees after their houses had been burned down.

Chiefs' Opposition

He had declared some districts to be disturbed areas, and had been attacked by the Mengo administration for doing so. "We did all we could, but the chiefs in Buganda belonged to a certain movement and did not care about their responsibility to maintain law and order".

Mr. F. X. B. Mugeni (D.P., South Bukedi), said that the root of violence and intimidation was to be found in Buganda. "Educationally, socially, and economically, Buganda is far ahead of the rest of the country, but politically it is more backward than Karamoja. Buganda has not yet learnt what tolerance, freedom of speech, and respect for individual opinions are.

"The common Muganda thinks that whatever he does must be in support of the Kabaka—and the chiefs are utilizing this doctrine by saying that if a Muganda disagrees with them, he is against the Kabaka. Unless there is a check at Mengo and a change of policy so that personal opinions are respected intimidation and violence will not be removed from the country, and nothing good will ever come out of Mengo".

A Government member, Mr. J. M. Okae (Lango Central), said that suppression of political parties in Buganda was responsible for the unrest. But Toro was another trouble spot, and he blamed the D.P. for instigating intimidation there.

Tax Collectors Mistrusted

Dr. Eria Babumba, Kabaka Yekka member for Masaka North-West, suggested that the formation of a National Government would do away with the wave of violence. There was no reason for an Opposition, since there was common agreement on federal status and foreign policy. People still mistook efforts to collect taxes and to reduce thefts for threats and intimidation on the part of the kingdom and district administrations.

Mr. N. M. Patel, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, moved an amendment deploring all forms of intimidation and violence wherever they occurred. The police and the Uganda Rifles would, he said, be used to maintain law and order in every part of the country, and training of kingdom and district police units would be intensified to enable them to deal with any further outbreaks. The situation in Buganda had greatly improved since the U.P.C./K.Y. coalition had taken office.

An explanation of the riots at Kapeka in Bulemezi county in which two D.P. supporters were killed was given by the K.Y. member for Mengo Central, Mr. Y. K. Musitwa, who said that during the general election campaign, D.P. followers had laid wagers for cows, goats, houses and land on their party's success; when the results were known Kabaka Yekka supporters considered that they had a right to claim on the bets, and that had led to fighting.

Mr. S. K. E. Okurut (D.P., South Teso) described Kabaka Yekka as an organization of opportunists that had instigated violence against his party's followers. The U.P.C. had kept quiet because it wanted to see the D.P. wiped off the political map.

Mr. J. S. Mayanja-Nkanji, newly-appointed Minister without Portfolio, condemned the Opposition for talking in terms of tribalism and religion and accused it of using the House as a campaigning platform after its failure on the political battleground outside the chamber.

Several speakers asserted that people in Ankole were being intimidated to prevent their sporting K.Y. badges. Dr. F. G. Sembeguya, a specially selected member of that party, blamed the D.P. leader, Mr. Kiwanuka, for aggravating tribal differences because of his political failure in Buganda. The Minister of Justice, Mr. Grace Ibingira, accused the Opposition of supporting internal tribalism under the cover of an external nationalism.

U.N.O. Threatens Katanga Again

Leopoldville Troops Occupy Katangan Railhead

ACTIONS "OF VARIOUS KINDS" designed to impress on President Tshombe of Katanga and his colleagues "the advisability of abandoning your policy of secession and civil war" will be expected from United Nations members "in the period immediately ahead" at the behest of the Secretary-General, U Thant, the officer in charge of U.N. operations in the Congo, Mr. Robert Gardiner, has written to Mr. Tshombe in a letter delivered on Monday.

"There is a deep and widespread disappointment at the U.N.", it continues, "over the lack of any serious steps on the part of Katanga toward implementation of the plan for national reconciliation, despite your formal acceptance of it. It is widely believed, and the record sustains this belief, that the plan has been defeated thus far primarily because you, despite your protestations to the contrary on several occasions, have not given up your secessionist ambitions and efforts.

"In the absence of any positive response from you, it is now the intention of the Secretary-General to seek national reconciliation through the courses of action set forth in phases I through IV of the plan, and by such other steps as we approve necessary".

"Mercenaries"

The first phase would emphasise the right of free movement throughout the Congo for the U.N. force, which could therefore "be expected to intensify its efforts to eliminate all active mercenaries from Katanga, to prevent or put a halt to civil war, and to assist in maintaining law and order". Bombing in northern Katanga by Katangese aircraft "piloted by mercenaries" should be stopped. There should be an end to the "wanton destruction" of bridges and other communications in north Katanga by Katangese gendarmerie. The U.N. force would not initiate offensive military action, but "will use its arms vigorously whenever and wherever it may be attacked".

Rail Blockade

The second phase, which was supposed to have been put into motion during the 10 days following the presentation of the plan to both Mr. Tshombe and the Congolese Prime Minister, Mr. Adoula, in August, called for outside Governments, if so requested by Mr. Adoula, to prepare to take all available measures to comply with the Central Government's laws on the export of copper and cobalt from Katanga, should the province reject or delay the plan.

The Katangese authorities were to have been warned at the same time that if their secession continued, despite the possible boycott, more stringent measures would "inevitably" be applied, including the withdrawal of Belgian technicians, suspension of postal and telecommunications services, cessation of all air traffic in and out of Elisabethville, and a blockade of Katanga exports and imports by setting road blocks on the railway lines leading to Katanga.

The third phase would be the fulfilment of these threats. If they produced no result, the fourth phase would be for the U.N. to consult with member States on further measures to be taken in the light of existing circumstances.

Kongolo, an important railhead in northern Katanga, where a 1,500-strong Katangese garrison has been besieged for more than a month, fell to about 3,000 Central Government troops early last week. A bridge over the Lualaba River was blown up. The U.N. command denied an accusation by Mr. Tshombe that it had "interfered in an internal Congolese conflict" by using its aircraft to transport National Army troops to the area.

Anti-Belgian Outburst

In Elisabethville the previous night hundreds of Belgians pelted their consulate with stones and fruit in protest against a warning given by the Belgian Foreign Minister, M. Spaak, after talks in Washington with the United States Government, that "severe economic measures" would have to be taken against Katanga unless substantial progress towards reunification were made "very shortly". U.N. patrols in the vicinity were also subjected to a barrage of stones. Students clambered on the consulate roof to hoist the Katanga flag and led the cheering demonstrators in singing the Katangan anthem.

Signor Guido Natali, Italian Consul in the city, was expelled last Thursday by the Interior Minister, Mr. Munongo, for "displaying an insulting attitude" towards the Katangese Government — a reference to Italy's offer to the U.N. of four jet fighters. Resident Italians were reported to have been strongly critical of this gesture of support for the U.N. In Ndola, Northern Rhodesia, Signor Natali said that he would not have been expelled if Mr. Tshombe had been in Elisabethville at the time, and he understood him to be "extremely angry" about the incident.

In New York, the representative of the Katanga Information Service, Mr. Michel Struelens, has been denied permanent residence "consistent with U.S. support of the U.N. plan for reconciliation in the Congo". He will therefore have to leave the country soon.

Letter to the Editor

Subversive Activities in Kenya

Sir Michael Blundell's Disclaimer

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, 66, Great Russell Street.

SIR,—In your issue of October 4, which I have only just seen, you refer in Matters of Moment to my statement on the background of members of the Land Freedom Army. I said that many of them were hard-core Mau Mau whom we were told would not be released from detention as long as they were deemed irreconcilable. You go on to criticize this statement on the grounds that I was a member of the Council of Ministers at the time when these men were released from detention.

In the interests of accuracy I shall be grateful if you will record that I was not a member of the Council of Ministers when the decision was taken. This was made some time between October and December 1960, when I was not a Minister in the Government of Kenya. As soon as I knew of the releases I saw both the Governor and the Minister of Defence as I considered that there was considerable risk in the decision, but I found that the men concerned had already been given their freedom.

No doubt you will give as much prominence to the fact that I was not a Minister of Government as you did to the original and misleading statement in your Matters of Moment.

Nairobi,
Kenya.

Yours faithfully,
MICHAEL BLUNDELL.

[We much regret the date error, and apologize to Sir Michael Blundell.

The important points of our comment, however, were that it was the release from detention of the hard-core Mau Mau which led to the formation of the Land Freedom Army, the old subversive movement in a new guise, and that both were the natural consequence of the folly committed at the Lancaster House Conference on Kenya in January and February, 1960, by Mr. Macleod, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, in admitting Koinange, deemed by the Government of Kenya to be second only to Kenyatta in responsibility for Mau Mau, ostensibly as an adviser to the African delegates, who, as EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA wrote at the time, pressed for his admission as part of their endeavour to extenuate Mau Mau.

Though urged by members of his own group and other friends of Kenya to refuse to continue in the conference if the Secretary of State rescinded his own ruling and admitted Koinange, Mr. Blundell (as he then was) declined to co-operate with Group Captain Briggs, leader of the other European delegation, in resisting Mr. Macleod's dangerous act of appeasement, an act which was bound to strengthen the clamour for the release of Kenyatta. Though afterwards described by the present Governor, Sir Patrick Renison, with the explicit consent of Mr. Macleod, as "the African leader to darkness and death", Kenyatta was later set free, allowed to re-enter public life, and made a Minister (when Mr. Blundell was also a Minister).

Did he not endorse the return to public life of the man whom the courts had sentenced for managing Mau Mau? Did he not accept the support of K.A.N.U. (commonly called the Mau Mau party or the Kenyatta party) at the time of the last general election in Kenya? Did he not actively condone Kenyatta's admission to the Council of Ministers by continuing as a member himself? And was he so unrealistic as not to foresee the incalculable damage that these measures of exculpation would do to Kenya and to East and Central Africa in general?—Ed., E. A. & R.]

Central African Changes "Will Hurt"

(*Concluded from page* 323)

MR. CREECH JONES (Soc.) recalled that he had always opposed the idea of a Federation which he had deemed a conspiracy at the expense of Africans.

The new Northern Rhodesian Constitution was intolerable and incomprehensible.

"I have always been a firm believer in association of the three territories. That was why I grieved when the Central African Council was dissolved. It had been a great dream of the late Oliver Stanley when he created it. During my period of office I saw the excellent work that it was doing. It was a matter of profound regret when it was decided, by Southern Rhodesia in the main, that the Council should go. Something could have been built on that model, or perhaps on the model of the High Commission in East Africa".

MR. HUMPHRY BERKELEY (Cons.) said: —

"By saddling countries like Tanganyika and Nyasaland, the latter with an annual income per head of £18, with compensation payments for expatriate officers, particularly when we have to lend the money ourselves, and in lending it call it aid, we are in a situation which could have been thought up only by some extraordinarily cunning bookkeeper at the Treasury. I do not think that it is very dignified for a country of our wealth to place this burden on a very poor country like Nyasaland.

Disparaging the U.N.

"For Tanganyika we devised a scheme of generous compensation, as we thought, to keep expatriates in Tanganyika. A year after independence a quite alarmingly large number of expatriate civil servants will have gone. If they were to stay their compensation would be greater, but they can get a lump sum compensation and go almost at once. Would it not be possible for compensation to be frozen for two or three years after independence, thus ensuring that they would remain after independence unless their posts were Africanized?

"Hon. Members on this side have made disparaging remarks about the United Nations. I hope that we do not imagine that the U.N. is just a pack of Afro-Asian savages trying to stir up all the trouble they can throughout the Colonial Empire. A few weeks ago at the United Nations I found those who were most mortified and embarrassed by our policy in Southern Rhodesia were our friends— the New Zealanders, the Australians, the Canadians and the Americans, all of whom have been driven into a state where they genuinely feel that they can no longer support us. The only people who viewed our discomfiture at the U.N. with satisfaction were the South Africans and Portuguese, who have even greater problems.

Bombs Or the Ballot-Box

"It must be a prime object of our policy to persuade nationalists to work through the ballot-box rather than to throw bombs. If we remove any reasonable access to the ballot-box then, as President Nkrumah has discovered in Ghana, bombs are the alternative.

"When Sir Edgar Whitehead appealed to our Government for a £3½m. loan for development I said that we should have made that loan conditional on African political advance.

"Having been to Southern Rhodesia several times recently, I give them full credit for the steps they are taking to eliminate racial discrimination, to raise living standards, and to increase education, but the basic flaw is that they have no conception what they are up against—nationalism, the strongest of all human emotions.

Political Kingdom First

"Outside the Parliament building in Accra there is a statue of President Nkrumah the inscription on which is couched in Biblical language, which some people find offending, but it is the mode of address of many Africans. The inscription reads: 'Seek ye first the political kingdom and all things will be added unto you.' That is what the Africans want. They want political advance, and it is hopelessly unreal to think that we can deal with this on the basis of increasing living standards, abolishing racial discrimination, and providing higher education.

"Let the U.F.P. in Southern Rhodesia realize that they cannot always manipulate leaders for the Africans. In Northern Rhodesia a few months ago I was taken to meet an apparently representative moderate African, a member of the U.F.P., an M.P. and former Minister. He completely astonished me by saying, 'We Africans will not be ready for self-government for 50 years.' I am sure the House will understand why I could not regard him as being a wholly contemporary figure. The biggest error of all is to assume that African nationalist parties are led by a few irresponsible, seditious agitators who if locked up will be replaced by someone very much nicer, more moderate, and more sane".

MR. HENRY CLARK (Cons.) did not think the Federation could survive, but emphasized the need for an economic link.

In his service in Africa he had never met an African who particularly wanted the principle of one man, one vote. He had met thousands who wanted their own leaders, but the glamour of the ballot-box had been lost on virtually all the Africans he knew.

He expected an African majority in Southern Rhodesia long before the 15 years that was so often talked about.

Doubtful Lot

"Southern Rhodesia has not been blessed with the happiest of African political parties. Mr. Nkomo and his lads are a pretty doubtful lot of politicians—and I have met a fair number, and call many of them my friends. But any African political party which can as an article of faith say 'Our aim is to destroy the economy of Southern Rhodesia', and which proclaims that publicly to such an extent that the trade unions start saying, 'But where are our chaps going to work?', has little to recommend it".

MR. R. A. BUTLER said in the course of his reply: —

"It is quite impossible for me to consider or even decide to have conversations on a new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia before the present Constitution is even working; it is essential to give the present Constitution a chance of working.

"We shall undertake no solution to Barotseland that is inimical to is people, that is not acceptable to its people. We shall have to investigate this further in the course of our discussions. We have no intention of suspending the Southern Rhodesian Constitution. As to withholding independence, Southern Rhodesia is part of the Federation. No question of granting independence therefore arises in present circumstances.

"As to the loan granted to Southern Rhodesia, I have no regrets whatever. It was granted almost entirely to help African development, particularly education, the development of African agriculture, housing, and other matters.

Britain's Legislative Right

"I was asked whether our representatives at the United Nations could have experience of Central Africa. We are trying to arrange this. We realize the importance of the case being put with the utmost knowledge of Southern Rhodesia.

"I was asked whether we had studied all the economic effects of secession. Certainly. My advisers have brought me back a full report. One of its most comforting features is the agreement by the Malawi Ministers to undertake measures in the event of their parting from the Federation to put right some of the economic imbalance which will occur at the time of secession.

New Money for Nyasaland

"I have received from Dr. Banda and the late lamented Mr. Chisiza a full plan not only for imposition of taxation which would make him Members of this House applaud, if they like to impose them, but also proposals for raising new money. I believe these proposals realistic.

"The r. hon. and learned Member for Newport asked whether we have the legal power to legislate for the separation of a territory from the Federation. He quoted the Member for Chertsey (Mr. Lionel Heald) on this subject. I should like to draw attention to the views of the late Lord Chancellor, Lord Kilmuir. It is clear, in my opinion, that we have the right to legislate on this matter.

"Perhaps I can conclude by speaking to the House with some feelings on this matter after the months that I have been handling it. Anyone who believes Rhodesia's problems with the new aspirations of the rising African mass, which are so manifest at present, has to try to match the old tradition with these new aspirations. It is going to be an act of great statesmanship. People will find that changes have, but let us decide at the conclusion of this debate to be constructive. Let us therefore accept the Government amendment and go into the lobby to support it."

The Budget motion was lost by 31 votes (Ayes 109, Noes 140) and the Conservative amendment accepted by 141 votes to 139.

Company Report

Barclays Bank D.C.O.

Deposits and Profits Both Higher

MR. J. S. CROSSLEY'S WORLD-WIDE REVIEW

THE THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O. will be held on January 2, at 54, Lombard Street, London, E.C.

The following is the circulated statement of the Chairman, Mr. J. S. Crossley: —

Pace of Commonwealth Political Change

It is a measure of the pace of political change in these unstable times that a year which has seen the demise of the Caribbean Federation and the emergence of Tanganyika, Jamaica, Trinidad and Uganda as independent members of the Commonwealth should seem nothing out of the ordinary. Those parts of the world served by this bank have experienced in recent years the full forces of change. As might have been expected, the results have not followed a uniform pattern; some of the emergent States have got off to a good start, in others the results have been less encouraging. It would nevertheless be quite wrong, I believe, to be despondent about the latter. Certainly it would have been the height of optimism to have imagined that such far-reaching political changes could have been carried through without some set-backs, but, even where these occurred, much good work has been going on below the surface.

It is too early to comment on the progress of the four newly independent members of the Commonwealth. Their inauguration ceremonies, each of which was attended by a director of the bank, were orderly and impressive; their transition to independence has made a good start. With our substantial interests in all these territories it is of the first importance to the bank that these new countries should develop successfully.

On the political front, perhaps the main event was the dissolution of the Caribbean Federation. Whether this could have been avoided if other methods had been adopted is a matter which will be argued for years to come. It may be held that a great opportunity for constructive effort has been missed, but, even if this were so, I feel it would be wrong to become discouraged, because the Federation had never in fact become a fully effective organization. The difficulties of reconciling the views and interests of numerous small units which, until quite recently, had grown up in their separate ways largely isolated from each other, are formidable. Their individual problems remain.

Light and Shade on the Economic Front

On the economic front, a glance at the areas in which the bank operates reveals both light and shade. In South Africa the serious strains to which the economy of the country was subjected in 1961 have been successfully withstood and the country's reserves have risen from a low point of £71 million in June 1961 to £227 million on November 2, 1962, which is the highest figure for fifteen years. It can, I think, safely be said that there are comparatively few people outside South Africa, and perhaps not many within that country, who would have predicted such an outcome with any confidence. It represents by any standards a remarkable achievement.

Against the brighter economic situation in South Africa has to be set the gloomy prospect for many raw materials affecting the less industrialized countries of Africa and elsewhere which are still, in the main, producers of primary products. The fall in commodity prices threatens to inflict a catastrophic drop in their incomes, nullifying the scale of external aid at present available or in prospect.

When referring to this recently the Federal Prime Minister of Nigeria pointed out that the losses sustained by this country in the adverse trends of her trade far exceeded the aid received. This is the problem which continues to haunt these young countries, dependent as they are for their livelihood on the sale of raw commodities in the markets of the world; it will tax the ingenuity of the free world to find the solution.

Broadly speaking, the aftermath of the Korean war seems to have inaugurated the decline. That war gave a stimulus to prices which encouraged primary producers to strive for a greater productive capacity. But in spite of the recovery in the economy of the U.S.A. and the buoyant conditions in Western Europe the expected improvement in commodity prices did not materialize. The resultant deterioration in the terms of the trade of those countries which have to live mainly by the export of their raw products has led to a situation in which even those which had considerable accumulated reserves, such as India, have now largely exhausted them. Unless some means can be found of increasing commodity earnings, import restrictions in such countries are likely to follow and the cycle of progress to be thereby retarded. Although commodity agreements on a world-wide scale are now coming under serious discussion, it seems doubtful whether tangible results will materialize in the near future.

American Aid: The New Outlook

What is less doubtful, on the other hand, is the emergence of a more restricted outlook towards aid and kindred matters by the U.S.A.—a policy based on the belief that it is necessary to give some relief to the pressure on the dollar. To reduce the country's adverse balance of payments, Congress cut the appropriations for aid for 1962-63 by nearly $600 million; unfortunately, well over half this cut was on the economic side, military support escaping more lightly. Increasing emphasis was also given to tied aid designed to promote American exports — a method which hampers rather than promotes world trade and is often not in the best interests of the recipients.

It seems a strange piece of irony that the U.S.A. whose generous initiative under the Marshall Plan and in many other ways so greatly facilitated the recovery of Western Europe and helped to promote the development of many of the new countries, should now apparently be set upon a course that threatens to jeopardize much of this good work. To the extent that this shift in policy stems from a natural desire to see that other countries which are well able to do so should take their share of the burden, this action is reasonable enough. In so far as it arises from anxiety to protect

the dollar, it rests, I believe, on less sure ground, in spite of the immense burden of defence which the U.S.A. now has to carry for the sake of others as well as herself.

Gold, Sterling and The Dollar

Until recently the redistribution of the vast gold holdings of the U.S.A. was generally recognized as one of the prime objects of international monetary policy. The huge preponderance of the world's monetary gold stocks held by the U.S.A. appeared as a formidable obstacle preventing the healthy development of international trade. Now that this barrier has been lowered to some extent, it is perhaps pertinent to ask, "why all this alarm and despondency?" The dollar still has substantial backing—at the end of October the reserves were almost $16 billion—and is certainly not as vulnerable to world influences as the pound sterling, which has a disproportionately low gold backing. The U.S.A. still has 86 per cent. of her short-term foreign liabilities covered by gold; the U.K. has only 23 per cent. covered by gold and dollars. Another important factor is the immense total of foreign assets acquired by the U.S.A. during and since the war; these can be looked upon as a secondary line of defence.

There seems, therefore, no reason to doubt that, if it were felt necessary, the dollar could withstand further severe strains for a considerable time to come while still maintaining its present gold parity. Whether it should be required to do so and whether the intensification of the new "dollar protectionism" which might be involved would be worth the cost may be arguable, but it can scarcely be denied that such a policy would bear hardly upon the "have not" countries.

Although a better distribution of the world's monetary gold stock has long be desired, it could surely not have been contemplated that the gold price itself should remain unaltered after the convulsion caused by the war and the unprecedented scale of Government expenditure which it brought in its train. The effort to maintain the pre-war gold parity has thrown, and continues to throw, a heavy strain on the "reserve" currencies and has led to a situation in which periods of anxiety about sterling and, more recently, about the dollar, have become all too frequent occurrences.

Dollar Protectionism

If there were some agreement in principle as to the way in which this problem might be solved there would clearly be a case for continuing as at present pending its implementation in practice. Unfortunately it is now clear that there is no such harmony of view, and the British proposal for a mutual currency account with the International Monetary Fund, which might have been thought well suited to the dollar's need at the present time, hardly seems to have been given serious discussion at the meeting of the Fund. This would indicate that no real relief for the "reserve" currencies can be expected, and could mean that; in the U.K. economic policy will continue to be inhibited by the balance of payments problem and, in the U.S.A., by further bouts of "dollar protectionism". In both countries the requirements of the internal economy may be quite at variance with those dictated by external pressures.

Meanwhile, with every fresh crisis a strong demand for gold is revealed, and this feature seems likely to continue until such time as the principal trading nations of the world are prepared to hold each other's currencies virtually without limit. The regrettable fact remains that currencies are no longer generally regarded as a suitable store of value — and for good reasons. The practical alternative to gold for this purpose has yet to be devised. The gold price of $35 to the ounce has been maintained over a period during which the value of the dollar, in terms of purchasing power, has depreciated to about 44 cents. Devaluation, in the true sense of the word, of the dollar as to other currencies has, in fact, already taken place. The aim now is, therefore, not so much to protect the dollar as to protect the pre-war relationship of the dollar with gold. The point, excusably perhaps, seems to have been clouded over on that historic occasion in July during the first live transatlantic television broadcast to an audience of 200,000,000 viewers through the medium of a space satellite.

The Rich and Poor Countries—A Serious Problem

In my annual statement three years ago I referred to the contrast between the rich countries and the poor countries as providing potentially one of the most serious problems that has ever confronted the human race. Certainly for a bank which operates in many of the poorer countries it is a matter of particular concern at the present time. Even during the past three years their position has further deteriorated. Poverty and riches no doubt will continue to exist in this world side by side until the end of time, but a situation in which the rich nations are rapidly becoming richer and the poor relatively poorer presents the greatest challenge of our age.

More than a century ago, when the rise of the new capitalist society produced by the industrial revolution caused violent strife from one end of Europe to the other, the question at issue concerned differences in wealth between individuals. Today these differences emerge as between the nations themselves. But Communism can feed on the one as well as on the other. It is accordingly a matter of self-interest on the part of the free world to see to it that the poorer countries are enabled as far as possible to earn a good living.

Common Market "Unknowns"

It is against such a background that the possibility of the accession of the United Kingdom to the Common Market has to be viewed. Anyone claiming to know precisely what results would flow from this can safely be disbelieved. The equation contains too many "unknowns" and involves matters of such complexity that there is no man nor body of men in existence—and, be it said, no computer either—that could predict the consequences with any approach to accuracy. Even the flow of trade might well throw up some surprising results which would be unlikely to conform to any established formula.

One point can, however, safely be made: by joining the E.E.C. Britain would not automatically be assured of a large share in a rapidly expanding market. This is not to throw doubts upon the opportunities that might be open to British export trade within the Market, but to drive home the point that these would be subject to the ability first to put our own house in order. Otherwise the resultant trade balance would be strongly adverse.

Our Economic Policy: Need for New Look

It is here at home that we need the "wind of change" rather than in Africa or anywhere else, and this means, amongst other things, giving a new look to our economic policy. It is futile to complain that our performance is totally inadequate and to compare it unfavourably with the E.E.C. if this is the result of

policies which lead to stagnation. If you want growth you cut out unhealthy or dead wood and encourage the new shoots. In the economic field you cannot expect to achieve results by subsidizing inefficient industries and superimposing on the rest an ever-increasing scale of taxation on profits. It is no disparagement of the achievement of the Community to point out that if Britain had not placed herself under this handicap she would now compare much less unfavourably.

The success of the Six in transforming the economy of Western Europe and raising so substantially the living standards throughout the whole area is remarkable. All of them, over-run during the war and suffering enemy occupation, were under the compulsion of starting afresh with a clean slate. In the process they have done much uninhibited thinking. Britain, being under no such compulsion at the end of the war, carried on much as before. This very continuity is in part the reason for her slower rate of progress; it should not be assumed, however, that the countries of the E.E.C. will find themselves free of serious probelms in the future. They have never had it so good, but their successes are partly due to transient factors and are not shared equally. A period of economic recession might well set up strains within the Community itself.

Caution An Advantage

As a people the British are generally regarded as unduly conservative and slow to adopt new ideas. While there may be truth in this, it is a characteristic that can sometimes have its advantages. A question of such significance as joining the E.E.C., which involves nothing less than a major reorientation of policy, calls for more than ordinary caution. It seems hardly surprising that there should be some misgivings when a new political concept also is involved. There is no room for doubt that the ultimate aim of the Community is integration; to pretend oherwise would be disingenuous. It is therefore essential that this issue should be frankly faced now in order to prevent any possibility of "misunderstandings" arising at a later stage.

Britain's Responsibility for "Have Nots"

Most of the countries of the Commonwealth fall into the category of the "have nots", and towards them Britain must clearly feel a special responsibility. Some of them, particularly those in Africa, mistrust the idea of having any association with the E.E.C. They appear to feel that the members of the Community are neo-colonialists concerned merely with the safeguarding of their own interests and desirous of exploiting their industrial strength not only to force down the selling price of primary products for others but also to obstruct the very necessary process of their economic diversification. In justification of their fears these countries point to the sharp deterioration in their terms of trade.

But they do not, perhaps, give full weight to the fact that the industrialization which they so eagerly seek should not be affected by the status of an "associated territory". Under the Treaty of Rome, such associates would be specifically entitled to "levy customs duties which correspond to the needs of their development and to the requirements of their industrialization or which being of a fiscal nature have the object of contributing to their budget". The Rome Treaty also specifically recognizes the obligation of the advanced countries to contribute to the development of the poorer countries.

Nevertheless, such widespread hostility towards the E.E.C. is not easily dismissed. From the outset the agricultural policy of the Six has been starkly protectionist, a fact which faces the U.K. with a dilemma. To enter into an arrangement which would involve importing large quantities of food from E.E.C. countries in substitution for imports from Commonwealth countries would not make good sense in any context and would also clearly be contrary to the interests of those for whom—and this must never be forgotten—the U.K. market has a unique value. To follow this course would take us in precisely the opposite direction to that in which we ought to be going, accentuating the trend towards mounting inequalities instead of creating better markets for the poorer countries' products. There is no sense in providing aid in various forms while at the same time impoverishing the recipient.

Long-Term Interests Not in Conflict

The real heart of the matter lies in the need to gain general acceptance for the view that it is sometimes necessary to sacrifice immediate advantages for the sake of long-term gains and that the interests of the E.E.C. and the Commonwealth are in the long-run not in conflict. They are only parts of the much greater whole which unless united must succumb to Communist domination.

The degree of co-operation hitherto shown by the various parts of the free world has unfortunately been quite inadequate, and no one need suppose that the battle for the uncommitted areas can be won if present disunities continue. In devising means of preserving unity Britain could have a vital rôle in persuading the old world to play a greater part in easing the difficulties of the new. With her political maturity and her experience as a world centre of trade and finance her contribution could be immense; these were the seeds from which grew the Commonwealth itself. Britain, furthermore, provides all the machinery of the capital market which the Six so significantly lack. It is worth remembering that if the current negotiations are important for Britain they are no less so for the Six.

The difficulty of putting before the public, in plain language, all the complex issues that arise in Brussels is formidable. It could, I think, be said with much truth that seldom have so many grasped so little about so much—yet the idea of the Common Market has become so fashionable in some quarters that it is ardently advocated even by those who confess to knowing little or nothing about it.

The negotiations are by no means concluded, but progress—if that term is applicable—has recently been far from encouraging. It seems that the U.K. is not only required to accept the common agricultural policy but also to abolish the element of gradualness in introducing it. As this means encouraging high-cost production at the expense of low cost, it must be expected to cause British food prices to rise sharply; however, the extent to which this might affect the cost-of-living index would depend on compensating tax reductions (if any) elsewhere.

Dangers in Present E.E.C. Proposals

Furthermore, to deny to Commonwealth products the preferential access to the British market (which is in many cases vital to them) would be to jeopardize what remains of the preferential market for British goods within the Commonwealth countries themselves, and thereby strike an effective blow both at Commonwealth trade and at Britain. The consequent loss of freedom in economic affairs, moreover, is something not to be accepted lightly, any more than is the loss of political freedom which would follow later.

The dangers inherent in the proposals as they now

stand are evident. They not only threaten to undermine the existing trade relationship between Britain and the countries of the Commonwealth, but also to drive the new uncommitted nations into trading arrangements with Communist Powers, an outcome which would suit neither Britain nor the Community. Any arrangement which fails to take into account the true interests of all three is, in the long run, doomed to failure. While it is reasonable to ask some sacrifice from each in the interest of all, a durable compact should surely bring advantages for all — and which are clear for all to see.

Pause for Reflection

At present the prospective advantages would seem to be nebulous for Britain and either nil or negative for the Commonwealth. If to continue negotiations on existing lines is likely to lead to an impasse, there seems much to be said for a pause which would give an opportunity for all concerned to get away from detailed discussion and see the whole matter in perspective. Even a confirmed cynic, for whom all the intangible values which the Commonwealth holds for Britain have no meaning, might well see that terms so damaging could never be acceptable.

Within the Community there must be many who realize that the Commonwealth, which includes new nations in Asia and Africa, is a powerful force for peace and that any action which might endanger it would be unwise. If there is a genuine wish to achieve the closer association which is clearly desirable and to establish it on an enduring basis, care must be taken to avoid causing irreparable damage through trying to force the pace. Rigid views as to the precise form which this association should take must be avoided. What is needed is a willingness on the part of each to understand what are the real problems of the other. Such an outcome may take years to accomplish, but the issues at stake transcend in importance the popularity of any Government or the prestige of any individual.

Deposits up by £90 Million

On September 30, 1962, the date on which the bank's balance-sheet was drawn up, Bank rate was 4½ per cent. after five successive reductions from the figure of 7 per cent. at which it stood one year earlier. This reduction is largely a reflection of the improved position of sterling, and, taken together with the recent relaxation of credit restriction in the United Kingdom, represents a welcome change. Lower rates, when applied to loans and advances on the one hand, reduce the income from any given volume of lending, and this lower income starts to operate from the moment when rates are reduced. On the other hand, the interest paid out on fixed deposits continues to run at the old rates until each deposit matures. A period of falling rates, therefore, means that the bank will be working for a time on reduced margins.

But the lower interest rates now ruling have driven up the price of Government bonds. This has meant that the value of the bank's investments, for the first time for several years, now exceed their cost price. As the directors' report states, our profit is struck "after deducting transfers to inner reserves out of which reserves provision has been made for diminution in value of assets". I am glad to be able to say that, for this year, the pattern has changed and it has been possible to replenish our inner reserves by the amount which we had to provide for the depreciation of our investments in previous years.

It will be seen that our profits, at £1,721,805, are 7.78 per cent. higher than last year. They are better than might have been expected having regard to the reduction in margins referred to above.

The balance-sheet itself shows two major changes — on the one hand an increase of about £90 million in deposits, and, on the other, increases of about £41 million in investments, £24 million in advances and £23 million in cash, money at call and Treasury Bills; the overall liquidity ratio of the bank thus shows little change.

The principle increase in deposits took place in South Africa and is a reflection of the greatly improved financial position in that country. South African deposits were up by £42 million against a year ago, and there were useful increases in the United Kingdom, the West Indies, West Africa, the Mediterranean and the Sudan.

It will be seen that the main feature in the balance-sheet is the change in composition of our assets, the percentage decline in advances to customers (2.5 per cent.) having been offset by an increase (3.5 per cent.) in the percentage of investments held.

New Staff Training Centre

The number of our banking offices now open for business has increased by 45 during the year, there being 11 more full branches in operation, 15 more sub-branches, and 18 more agencies open daily for business. Numerous new building projects have been completed, none of them, I think, calling for mention on this occasion. A matter of special interest is the staff training centre which has been opened in a new building in the City near Liverpool Street Station. This provides excellent facilities which, I feel sure, will be much appreciated; it is yet further evidence of the value we attach to staff training at all levels.

Tribute to Staff

Once again in paying tribute to the work of the staff of this bank, both men and women, in all the countries we serve, I should like to emphasise the value we attach to seeing that they have the best opportunity we can provide for training. If only for the sake of the bank's efficiency in a highly competitive world this is becoming increasingly necessary. But it serves another purpose which also has its value. The wider knowledge of the bank's functions gained through training inevitably gives more meaning to the work itself and makes it more interesting.

I should also like to take this opportunity of mentioning the Staff Magazine which has grown to such a remarkable extent since we got it started immediately after the war. I do so now because Mr. L. A. Borer, who has been the editor almost since the beginning, is retiring this year, and I think that stockholders would like me to mention the very great debt that the bank and the staff as a whole owe to him.

Death of Lord Robins

It is with a feeling of deep regret which I know is shared by every member of your board that I have to refer to the death during the year of Lord Robins, who became a member of our Rhodesian Board in 1934 and of the Central Board in 1957, in which year he also became President of the British South Africa Company and took up his residence in London. His loss will be deeply felt, not only in the bank but by his many friends in London and Rhodesia.

I also have to report, with much regret, the death of Sir Charles Tachie Menson, who was the first Ghanaian to join our board in Accra.

The other loss sustained by our Central Board during the year arose from the resignation of Mr. John Thomson on his appointment as chairman of Barclays Bank, Limited. I am glad to feel that in his short time as a director he visited a great many of our branches in different territories overseas. I know that it was with very genuine feelings of sadness on our part, and I believe also on his part, that he felt obliged to make this decision.

Dr. A. L. Geyer retired from our South African Board at the end of September on account of advancing age and the long journeys involved for him in attending our board in Johannesburg, on which he served for over seven years. His delightful personality, well known to many people in London from the time when he was High Commissioner here, will be greatly missed by his colleagues. Mr. A. A. Penzhorn was appointed vice-chairman of the Cape Board in April. I deeply regret to have to record the death in May of Mr. C. D. Alcock, also a member of our Cape Board, formerly a general manager in South Africa, and, during the war, manager of our Circus Place office.

Rhodesian Board

The Rhodesian Board was augmented by the appointment of Sir Frederick Crawford, G.C.M.G., O.B.E., on the 1st December. He was formerly Governor of Uganda, and is now resident director of the British South Africa Company in Salisbury.

In the Sudan, Sayed Nasr El Hag Ali, formerly Vice-Chancellor of the University of Khartoum, was appointed to our Sudan Board on the 1st August, and, following the retirement of Mr. R. W. Harvey on the same date, Mr. G. H. Griffin has been appointed a member of that board, of which Mr. I. F. Anderson has been appointed chairman.

In Nigeria, Mr. J. B. Bailey retired from the board in May and has been succeeded as local director by Mr. W. Duncan, formerly Bahamas manager. Mr. J. R. Moon has been appointed regional manager at Kano.

In Ghana, Mr. F. R. Dolling has been appointed a local director, and, in Malta, Mr. Norman Hill has been appointed local director.

There have been numerous other changes amongst the senior staff. Mr. G. N. M. Law, C.B.E., retired from the position of general manager (staff) at the end of March and has been succeeded by Mr. F. A. [illegible]. Mr. A. W. Wilkinson, formerly director in the Caribbean area, has been appointed an assistant general manager. Mr. H. J. B. [illegible] and Mr. J. R. Thompson, assistant general managers in Pretoria and Cape Town respectively, retired during the year. Mr. E. [illegible] has been appointed an assistant general manager in Johannesburg, and Mr. P. A. H. van [illegible] an assistant general manager at the Cape.

Uganda

Mr. C. N. [illegible] has been appointed [illegible] manager in succession to Mr. H. G. [illegible], who has been appointed a local director in East Africa.

Mr. V. [illegible] has retired from the position of regional manager in Uganda and has been succeeded by Mr. J. V. [illegible].

In the Caribbean, Mr. N. J. [illegible] was appointed Trinidad manager during the year, Mr. L. C. [illegible] [illegible] manager, and Mr. A. G. [illegible] [illegible] manager. Mr. V. V. [illegible] has been appointed [illegible] manager at [illegible] in succession to Mr. V. [illegible]. Mr. K. H. [illegible] has been appointed [illegible] manager.

Commercial Brevities

Rhodesia Tea Estates, Ltd., have increased their capital from £500,000 to £1m.

Amin & Co., Ltd., Northern Rhodesia, have increased their capital from £4,000 to £50,000.

At a cost of about £40,000 a biscuit factory is being built in Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia.

Barotseland Sawmills, Ltd., recently registered in Northern Rhodesia, has a nominal capital of £100,000.

Falcon Mines, Ltd., Southern Rhodesia, produced 5,469 oz. of gold in November from 21,600 tons milled. The mine working profit was £26,752.

Electrical and Musical Industries, Ltd., are considering the manufacture of gramophone records in Rhodesia, which already has one record factory.

The annual session for 1963 of the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Eastern Africa is to be held in Dar es Salaam on February 11.

A team of Rhodesian businessmen is expected to visit Europe next May to put to industrialists the case for the establishment of factories in Rhodesia.

Satisfactory results for the first half of 1962 are reported by Richard Costain, Ltd., a group with large interests in the Federation. A 6% interim dividend is repeated.

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., Southern Rhodesia, sold 241,679 tons of coal and 11,649 of coke in November. The October figures were 261,654 and 10,967 tons respectively.

Pfizer International, Inc., one of the largest chemical and pharmaceutical groups in the world, has bought Africa Chemical Corporation (Pvt.), Ltd., of which the Rhodesia Chemical Corporation, Ltd. is a subsidiary.

Costing about £50,000, and catering exclusively for the African trade, Lion Stores has been opened in Lobengula Street, Bulawayo, by Mr. R. Dayalji Naik, a director of a number of local trading and investment companies.

United African Explorations, Ltd., is to change its business to that of an investment trust, for which purpose Romney Finance Co., Ltd., has been registered with an issued capital of £50,000 to take over U.A.E. investments.

Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., announce that they and a wholly-owned subsidiary now hold more than 4m. units, or 97% of the issued ordinary capital, of African and European Investment Co., Ltd.

Rand Selection Corporation, Ltd., which has large Rhodesian holdings, reports that in the year to September 30 consolidated group profit after tax amounted to £[illegible], compared with £4,773,614 in the previous year. Dividends totalling [illegible] take almost £[illegible].

Tea growing is to be started near [illegible] agricultural research sub-station in the [illegible] district of Tanganyika. It is hoped that some 1,200 Africans will each have an acre under tea at an early date, and that by 197[illegible] the output of made tea will reach the 1m. lb. mark.

Thirteen of the 18 applications received for the right to prospect for diamonds in Tanganyika have been approved by the Government. The persons concerned may prospect anywhere in the country outside the [illegible] already allocated to Williamson Diamonds, Ltd., and [illegible].

[illegible]

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