

# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, December 20, 1962

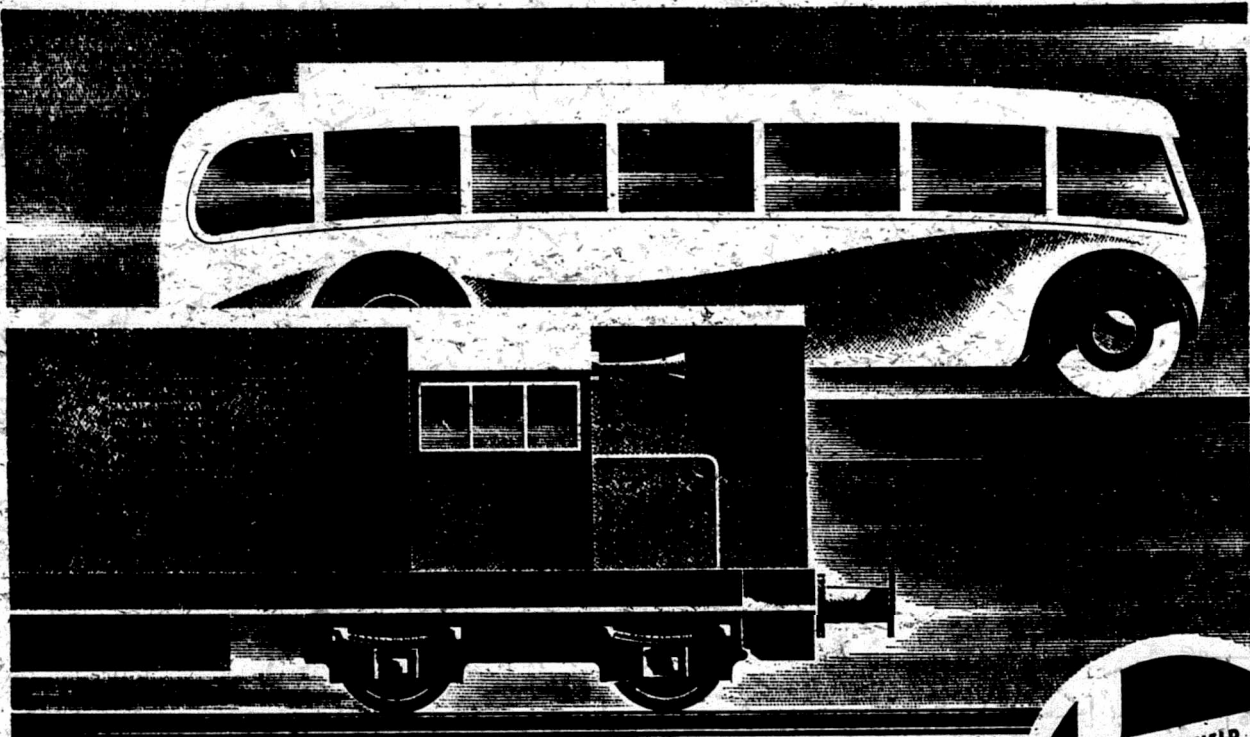
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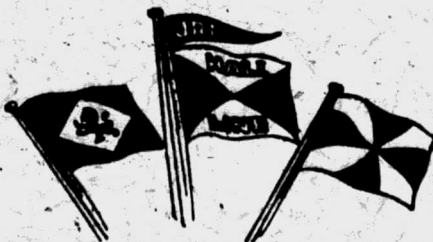
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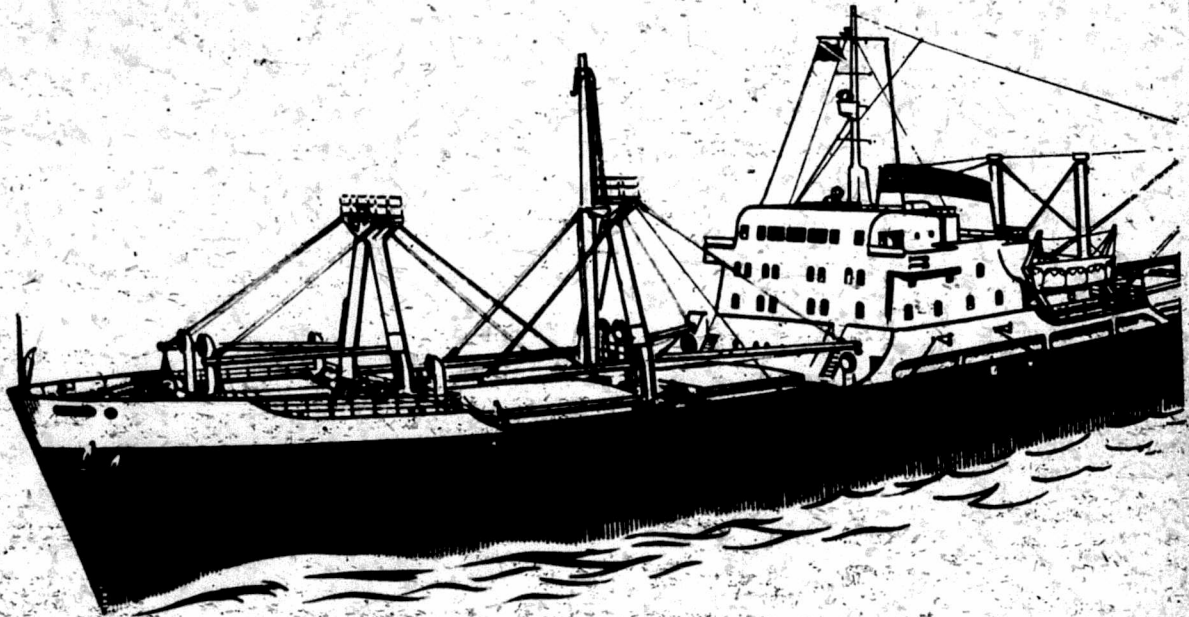
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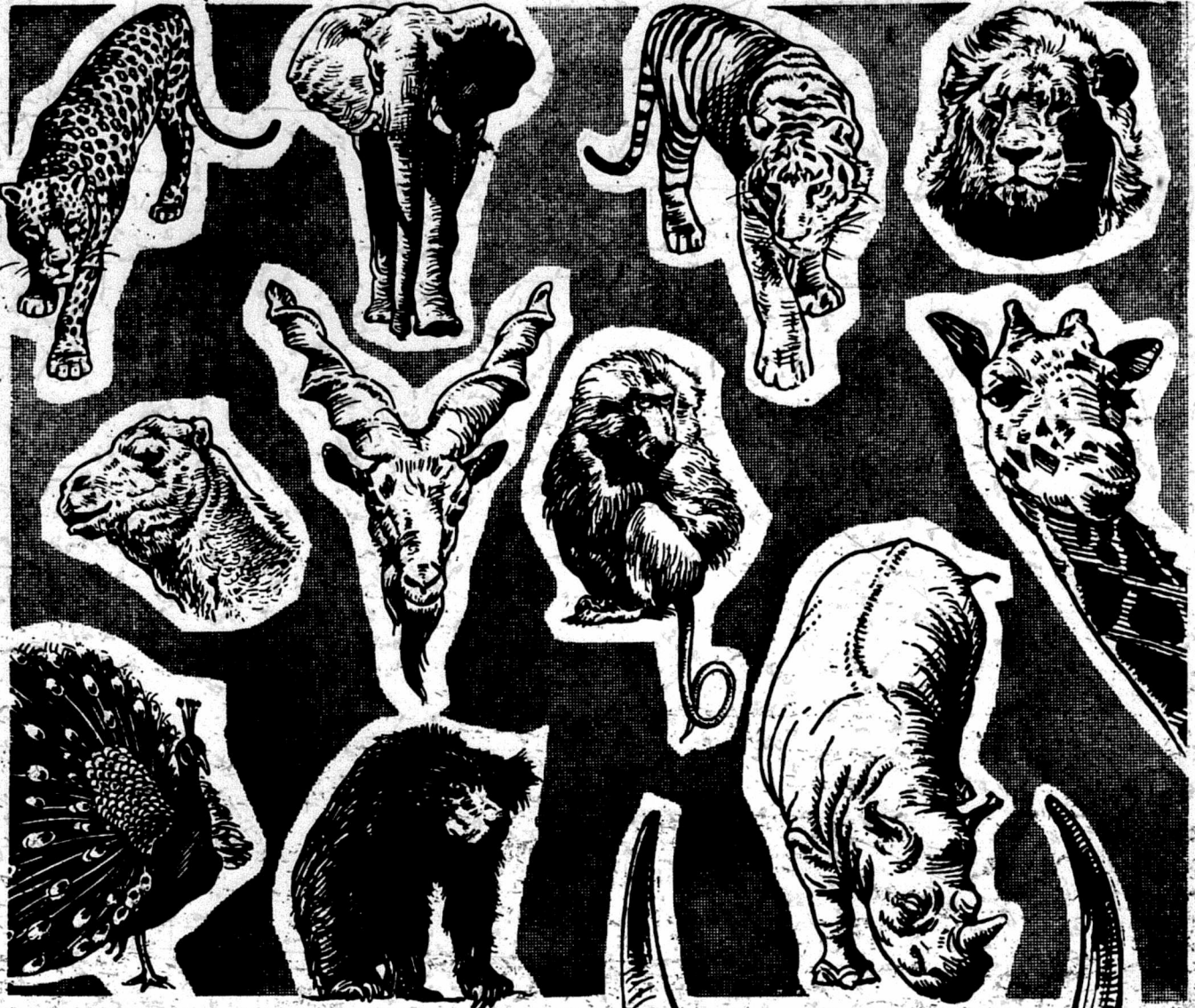
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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**MACMILLANISM** is the fundamental cause of the dismissal by the Southern Rhodesian electorate of the United Federal Party Government led by Sir Edgar Whitehead in favour

**Havoc of Macmillanism In Southern Rhodesia.** of a Rhodesian Front Administration under

Mr. Winston Field, among whose colleagues in the new House not one has had ministerial experience. The change strikingly demonstrates public determination that the Colony shall not be sacrificed to the United Kingdom Government's policy of scuttling from Africa at the earliest possible moment. Of course, responsible persons could not consider the U.F.P. defeatist in policy or practice or unwilling to resist pressure from London, for Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead, its Federal and Southern Rhodesian leaders, are staunch Rhodesians, and both have consistently refused to be browbeaten from Westminster. Rhodesians in the mass, including the U.F.P., have profoundly mistrusted British policy in Africa during the past three years in particular, within which period they have seen Kenya cynically wrecked and other unviable territories in East and Central Africa committed far too rapidly and recklessly to inexperienced African politicians simply because they organized clamour (backed by intimidation and violence) which scarcely anyone in either party in a deplorable House of Commons had the principle or the courage to withstand.

Double-think, double-talk, and double-dealing have been the hall-marks of British action in the Federation (as, equally clearly, in Kenya) during the period, as is evident from the fact that Lord Salisbury,

**Reaping the Whirlwind.** one of the most devoted, able and trusted men in the Conservative Party, found himself driven to use the word "un-

scrupulous" to epitomize the tactics in the Federal area of Mr. Iain Macleod, assuredly the most disastrous Secretary of State in living memory, but the chosen hatchet-man of a Prime Minister nescient about Africa and its needs but nevertheless bent on abandoning Britain's essential and honourable rôle in the continent. The first publication anywhere to predict that the wind of change of which Mr. Macmillan spoke languidly but ominously in Cape Town would be lashed to gale force in many countries by the implied invitation to African malcontents to whip up agitation was, we believe, **EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA**, and it was not long before that prophecy became so clearly justified that Lord Fisher, then Archbishop of Canterbury, was constrained to testify after one of his visits to the Federation that nowhere else had he ever known United Kingdom Ministers so generally distrusted. Since that time the nervelessness and puerility of Macmillanism have not abated, and it was against a deservedly despised United Kingdom policy in Africa in general, especially in the neighbouring territories of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, that Southern Rhodesian electors voted last Friday. The polling was not for the Rhodesian Front but against Britain.

There was a widespread fear that to the shameful series of betrayals by the United Kingdom Government in the recent past would be added further treachery to the Federation and deception of

**Wreckers at Westminster.** Southern Rhodesia. The ruling party, having an unprecedentedly liberal programme, was universally expected to lose seats in the conservative country districts, but not in the more sophisticated town constituencies. It has been shown, however, that feeling had been as sharply aroused in the urban as in the rural areas. What Rhodesians in offices and shops, no less than those on

farms and mines, have said is, in effect: "The wreckers at Westminster have capitulated to the Malawi-Congress Party in Nyasaland, and to please Dr. Banda are about to destroy the Federation, though that will involve another deliberate breach of British pledges. Despite an unequivocal Colonial Office promise that there would be no further constitutional change in Northern Rhodesia for a decade, they submitted to U.N.I.P. violence within two years, and so rigged a new Constitution that a coalition of two African parties has just come prematurely to office. In both countries the declared aim of the African activists is to eliminate the white man's political influence, and tolerate him merely as a convenient contributor to the economy. Territories under the Colonial Office have thus been cast away by Britain. Fortunately, we are self-governing and exempt from dictation by ignorant and distant theorists. We are not interested in their sophistries, and have no intention of being swept away. Here change will be gradual and in accordance with individual capability".

Those few sentences seem to us to summarize the sentiments which have brought defeat to the Whitehead Government, unhappily at a moment crucial for the Federation and the Colony. In the matter of timing also there were suspicions of Machiavellian scheming in London. Why, it was asked, was the Nyasaland Constitutional Conference held so soon? Why did Mr. Butler, Minister for Central African Affairs, promise Dr. Banda in London last month that his country would be allowed to secede from a Federation which had been established on the basic and duly recorded agreement that no constituent State might withdraw without the consent of all the Governments concerned? Having made his bargain on the untenable principle that H.M. Government had the right to act unilaterally, a principle in conflict with the repeated assurances of earlier spokesmen for that same Government, why, instead of playing for time, did Mr. Butler promise to make it public before Parliament rose for the Christmas recess? Why was the eagerness of Dr. Banda allowed to override Sir Roy Welensky's reasonable insistence on time and opportunity for further consultation? Why had the Macleod Constitution for Northern Rhodesia—described in the House of Commons by the Opposition spokesman as a "dog's breakfast"—been devised to make probable a premature African majority? The idiocy of the "slide-rule" concept of fifteen so-called

"national" constituencies having been proved at a general election, why were the by-elections for ten of them fixed to be held four days before Southern Rhodesia went to the polls?—with the consequence that on their election day Southern Rhodesians heard of the installation in Northern Rhodesia of an African coalition (whose members had been murdering one another not many weeks previously, and fiercely denouncing each other throughout the by-election campaigns.) Bearing in mind the shocking story of the past three years, it is scarcely surprising that Southern Rhodesians should have asked themselves such questions, and, finding nothing but damning answers, have decided to make the most robust reply within their power.

Defeatism being in their view, and ours, the distinguishing characteristic of the present Government of the United Kingdom—and of the House of Commons, large and influential sections of the Press, and of all too many television and radio speakers—so stalwart a community as the whites of Southern Rhodesia inevitably tended to the view that the hazards of a new policy, even if embryonic, were preferable to rising risks on their borders, to which a dangerous pan-Africanism had been brought by political faint-hearts in London who were engaged in abandoning the national trusteeship for scores of millions of Africans who still need protection from the pressures and incompetence of the tiny minority of political manoeuvrers of their race whose ostensible support is based on intimidation, often involving witchcraft, and all kinds of violence; yet the political beneficiaries of that violence, who are not infrequently its organizers, parade the world as dedicated disciples of non-violence, and are so received in Europe and America. Not even the foul Mau Mau movement was deemed by the Macmillan Cabinet to be too outrageous for its convicted leader to be released and restored to a position of authority.

Kenyatta, though twice publicly denounced by the Governor of Kenya, with the consent of the Secretary of State, Mr. Macleod, as "the African leader to darkness and death", was shortly afterwards liberated by that same Governor, admitted to the Legislative Council (the law being changed for that ignoble purpose), and soon afterwards entrusted with a portfolio as one of the Queen's Ministers. Such trafficking with the most evil movement in

**Insult to  
The Queen.**

all British African history, crowned by the dastardly insult to Her Majesty, had an immense effect throughout Central Africa, and quite certainly contributed to persuade Southern Rhodesians to indicate last week that the sedition and atrocity which Britain nowadays accepts with equanimity will not be tolerated by them. All their Prime Ministers, including Mr. Garfield Todd and Sir Edgar Whitehead, have dealt sternly with serious breaches of law and order, but both were thought by many people in the Colony—but in neither case by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA—to be moving too liberally too quickly.

\* The chief factors in the destruction of the Whitehead Government have unquestionably been the mistrust of politicians and policies in the United Kingdom, a general resolution to close the ranks against pan-African aggression and interference from the United Nations and the United States, and a feeling that, if the country was about to be driven to defend itself from internal and external enemies, the operation would be well entrusted to those who rejected the idea of quick compromises with the Rhodesian way of life, and would insist on gradualism as the basic condition of change, and on the maintenance of discipline, primarily for the sake of Africans in the mass, who have suffered most from the outrages committed under the auspices of the now proscribed Zimbabwe African Peoples Union and its forerunners. Many Conservatives in Britain, being disgusted with the Government, have protested by voting Liberal in by-elections. Similarly, many electors whose real preference is not for the Rhodesian Front must have voted for its candidates by way of demurrer. Doubtless many of them did not expect the U.F.P. to be dislodged, especially as the referendum on the Constitution not many months ago had shown a large volume of support for its policies. Meantime, however, unfair attacks on Southern Rhodesia and the Federation from British politicians and newspapers, from the United Nations, and from the Bandas, Kaundas, and Nkomos had become almost daily occurrences, with the result that public patience was substituted by a craving for a show of pride and even bravura.

The New Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Field, is a moderate, as are some other members of the Cabinet, but in his entourage are

extremists who, if not firmly checked, could quickly do great damage to race relations, and consequently to internal and external confidence, and therefore to the economy now and in the future. The label "*apartheid*", which has been commonly applied to the Rhodesian Front, is rejected by Mr. Field, who insists that its plan of "separate development" means neither enforced separation nor compulsory integration, but freedom for members of the different races to associate as much or as little as they may wish (apart from multi-racial areas in the larger towns). Even the most liberal interpretation of such intentions must involve reversal of present tendencies and disappointment of the hopes raised by Sir Edgar Whitehead, Mr. Abrahamson and Mr. Quinton in particular, for the Cabinet in which they served was pledged to rid the country of the last vestiges of racial discrimination in legislation, to apply in every aspect of activity the principle that merit must be the sole criterion for advancement, and to rescind the Land Apportionment Act. The Build-A-Nation campaign carried knowledge of the main features of the proposals to every part of the country, and large numbers of Africans, not understanding the political quarrels of white men, but believing what they have been told by them, will feel betrayed if the promises made to them are not fulfilled.

That is one serious matter for immediate consideration by the new Cabinet. Others will crowd upon it, and the responsibilities of office must within a few weeks substantially modify the outlook of the most thoughtful Ministers. Their freedom to make substantial concessions which conflict with the party manifesto, vague as it was, will be checked by the thought that the party has a majority of only five. But strains are bound to be caused by the impact of practical needs upon a policy statement which was agreed, not without difficulty, as the condition for a merger of all the parties opposed to the U.F.P. It is by no means impossible, it seems to us, that within the next year or two a split in the Front may have to be faced because the extremists will demand action on South African lines which the moderates will not be prepared to accept. In that event Mr. Field would have the alternatives of an appeal to the country (which might well reverse the decision of last week) or of seeking to form a Government of National Unity in coalition with the U.F.P.

in which in such circumstances there would be men patriotic enough to accept portfolios under a Front leader if he were prepared to give office to some of their African colleagues. It would be ironical, but nonetheless gratifying, if the first Africans so promoted in Southern Rhodesia were to owe recognition of their fitness for such responsibility to the Prime Minister of a party which lays great emphasis on the virtue of self-reliance and of advancement by right of achievement.

No aspect of an election which has surprised the victors as much as the vanquished is graver than its effect upon the Federation. Whereas the U.F.P. is wholly committed to

**Sir Roy Will Denounce British Ministers' Duplicity.**

(with some changes which time has shown to be desirable), the Rhodesian Front contains elements which, most unwisely, would prefer to see Southern Rhodesia "go it alone". Perhaps to forestall their pressure, Mr. Field has already said that his Government will take no initiative in that direction (thus inferentially rebuffing the well advertised assumption of Mr. Kaunda, newly a Minister in Northern Rhodesia, that that country could join with its southerly neighbour in destroying the Federation). However discreet and co-operative the Front leaders may prove, the disappearance from power in Southern Rhodesia of his own party must aggravate the anxieties of Sir Roy Welensky, with whom there will be widespread sympathy, the more so because this metamorphosis in Southern Rhodesia coincides with the installation of the first African Government in Northern Rhodesia and a new clash with H.M. Government over its submissive attitude to Nyasaland's claim to secede. Only last week three of Sir Roy's Ministers spent days in London stressing their Government's refusal to accept a *Diktat* which would involve unilateral breach by the United Kingdom of an undertaking to which four other Governments were parties. Before the last of them had flown back the base of the Federation had been weakened by the operations of an over-vaunted system of parliamentary democracy. While these words are being printed the Federal Prime Minister will address an emergency session of his Parliament. That he will be very blunt in his denunciation of the duplicity of British Ministers can be taken for granted.

On the same day there is to be a debate in the House of Lords on Central Africa and

Mr. Butler and Dr. Banda are to make statements about Nyasaland's secession. Neither is likely to face all the facts which Sir Roy will present with his characteristic clarity and vigour. Some peers who are well informed about Central Africa will certainly comment caustically. We hope that one of them will remind Mr. Butler of his exhortation to a London audience in July: "Put your money into the Federation and we will be behind you". Lord Malvern has flown to England for the special purpose of speaking in the Upper House, and we shall not be at all surprised if he makes disclosures which H.M. Government will find it impossible to refute and will certainly not relish. Moreover, Ministers who gave pledges on behalf of the Cabinet in which they then sat have in the past few days told friends of ours that they contemplate speeches in which they would recall their assurances to those with whom they were negotiating and their resentment that obligations which they entered upon as spokesmen for H.M. Government have been so inexcusably broken. It would not be fair to mention names in case unforeseen circumstances should prevent one or other of the ex-Ministers from doing what he has intended. Today's Lords *Hansard* will reveal to what extent intentions have been translated into revelations. It could be a sensational issue, and is quite likely to relate a course of conduct by some present members of the Cabinet which in days of honourable politics would have entailed their withdrawal from public life.

**Statements Worth Noting**

"When a Karamojong says 'yes', he means 'no'." — Mr. Balima Makaa, former Minister of Agriculture in Uganda.

"Members continually refer to the Minsja beanda deposits. But the world is producing 1½m. tons of aluminium surplus to its requirements". — Mr. L. A. Litta, addressing the Nyasaland Legislature.

"If canned fish is to be popularised among Africans it should be canned with the heads on. Africans don't like to eat fish which has no head". — Dr. Nyumba, speaking about the experimental canning of fish from Lake Tanganyika.

"Dr. Banda invited experts on economics from all over the world to Nyasaland to advise him. At the conclusion of the gathering he said: 'I have noted from the various speakers that you want Nyasaland to remain in the Federation for the simple reason of economics'. That should prove to him that Nyasaland cannot stand alone if he gets out of the Federation from which he is getting all the benefits". — Sir E. W. M. Platt, a Nyasaland African member of the Federal Parliament.



# Rhodesia Front Gains Five-Seat Majority in S. Rhodesia

## Apartheid Allegations "Nonsense": Mr. Field says that Partnership Has Failed

SOUTHERN RHODESIA'S general elections under the new Constitution, held last Friday, resulted in an unexpected victory for the Rhodesia Front, which won 35 seats, against 29 for the United Federal Party and one seat for an Independent.

Of 9,814 Africans who had registered, from 60,000-odd eligible, only 2,923 actually voted. Leaflets were pushed under doors in the African townships in Salisbury and Bindura, and perhaps elsewhere with the blunt warning: "If you vote you will be killed". Mr. Joshua Nkomo, the now restricted former leader of the banned Z.A.P.U., and the national chairman in Dar es Salaam, the Rev. N. Sithole, issued appeals to Africans to boycott the elections, as did other African nationalist party leaders.

### Intimidation

The police, who had withheld information about intimidation before the elections, stated afterwards that there had been an average of 15 petrol bomb incidents every day. A building close to a polling station was damaged by three explosions on polling day in Bulawayo, and on Sunday a clothing factory there was gutted by fire. In Salisbury an African woman died and an African man was seriously injured after a petrol bomb attack on the home of the cousin of an African M.P.

No Central Africa Party candidates were successful, and their president, Mr. R. D. Palmer, polled no votes at all, as did his Rhodesian Front opponent, Mr. P. J. Geoffrey, in the same "B" roll constituency, Highfield.

Former members of the old Southern Rhodesian Legislative Assembly who were defeated included two Ministers: Mr. C. J. Hatty and Mr. H. J. Quinton, and Mr. S. E. Aitken-Cade (Independent), Dr. J. D. Burrows and Dr. M. I. Hirsch.

The only successful Independent, Dr. Ahm Palley, member for Greendale in the old House, was elected by a four-vote majority over his African U.F.P. opponent, Mr. G. A. Chaza, for the "B" roll seat in Highfield.

Fourteen of the U.F.P. members elected are Africans, and one is Coloured.

In a 69.5% poll, the R.F. received 38,282 votes and the U.F.P. 30,943 on the "A" roll, out of a registered electorate of 90,389 Europeans, and 2,923 African votes from 9,814 registered. In the "B" roll, it has not yet been possible to estimate the voting by race.

The new Cabinet was sworn in on Monday. There are eight Ministers, although the Constitution allows for 11.

### Development to Benefit All

In a broadcast on Sunday evening Mr. Field said "It may be necessary to call on you for sacrifices in the interests of the country, and I know you will not shrink, nor, I hope, grumble.

"The world knows that we in Southern Rhodesia are a moderate people who want a period of peace and quiet during which we can get on with the task of developing our country for the benefit of all. There must be no arrogance on the part of those who won and no bitterness on the part of those who lost".

He added that he had been encouraged by approaches from members of the previous Government, "who with a real sense of what public service means have offered their personal co-operation".

At a Press conference after presenting the names of his Cabinet to the Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, Mr. Field declared that it was "nonsense" to describe his party's policy as apartheid. "That is a policy by law. Ours is one of individual freedom. As to segregation, we do not deliberately

set out to encourage it or discourage it. That is up to everybody to do as he wishes. It is true our ideas are more conservative. But we leave the choice to individuals.

"The present system of partnership with Africans has been a failure. We shall see that they have a say in matters, and we shall employ every possible way to get together with them. We do not like the word 'partnership'. The fact is that all people have got to co-operate in Southern Rhodesia".

The Prime Minister said that he did not intend to withdraw the Colony from the Federation and go to London to obtain independence.

"We shall not be the people who are going to break up the Federation. But it is obviously going to be extremely difficult to maintain the present Federation. I believe we should take the initiative on this whole subject, and I have already made certain contacts on the subject of economic association between Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland." He thought that Dr. Banda and Mr. Kaunda would go a long way in such a direction.

Prime Minister and Minister of the Service: MR. WINSTON J. FIELD.

Minister of the Treasury and Leader of the House: MR. I. D. SMITH.

Minister of Justice, Law and Order: MR. C. W. DUPONT.

Minister of Mines and Industrial Development: MR. JOHN GAUNT.

Minister of Agriculture, Lands and Natural Resources: LORD GRAHAM.

Minister of Irrigation, Roads and Road Traffic: MR. J. W. HARPER.

Minister of Internal Affairs, Local Government and African Education: MR. J. H. HOWMAN.

Minister of Labour and Social Welfare: MR. I. F. MCLEAN.

Dr. Banda said in Blantyre that he would like to see Mr. Field as soon as possible, preferably in Nyasaland. "He is a gentleman and an honest politician", he added.

In Lusaka, Mr. Kaunda said that the result could not be better, and that the two new Governments could work together to break up the Federation.

### A Shock

Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, admitted that the Rhodesia Front victory had "surprised and shocked" him. The new Government had to be given every opportunity to carry out the task it had shouldered, and he hoped that the electorate, having made its decision, would realize that the new Constitution must be made to work. His own responsibilities as Federal Prime Minister had been made immeasurably more difficult.

Sir Roy was due to address the Federal Assembly yesterday afternoon at a specially convened session.

In the list of results hereunder, asterisks denote members of the old House. U.F.P. stands for United Federal Party, R.F. for Rhodesia Front, C.A.P. for Central Africa Party, and Ind. for Independents.

"A" ROLL results were:—

Arundel: B. V. Bwing\* (U.F.P.), 930; Dr. Olive Robertson (R.F.), 613. U.F.P. majority, 317.

Avondale: A. R. W. Stumbles\* (U.F.P.), 815; I. R. Selmer (R.F.), 632. U.F.P. majority, 183.

Bellevue: R. H. Patterson (R.F.), 866; J. G. H. Gason (U.F.P.), 675. R.F. majority, 191.

Belvedere: G. F. Thomas (U.F.P.), 744; D. Divaris (R.F.), 659. U.F.P. majority, 85.

Borrowdale: P. H. Grey\* (U.F.P.), 986; T. I. F. Sandeman (R.F.), 533. U.F.P. majority, 453.

Braeside: M. E. Currie\* (U.F.P.), 536; H. D. Tanner (R.F.), 394. U.F.P. majority, 142.

Bulawayo Central: P. Goldstein\* (U.F.P.), 650; N. M. Campbell (R.F.), 630. U.F.P. majority, 20.

Bulawayo District: A. Gale-Langford (R.F.), 702; B. R. Thompson (U.F.P.), 575; B. Baron (C.A.P.), 104. R.F. majority, 127.

Bulawayo East: A. E. Abrahamson\* (U.F.P.), 1,064; A. McCarter (R.F.), 448. U.F.P. majority, 616.

Bulawayo North: J. J. Wrathall (R.F.), 731; C. J. Hatty\* (U.F.P.), 664. R.F. majority, 67.

Bulawayo South: J. W. Phillips (R.F.), 709; R. G. Hoole (U.F.P.), 564. R.F. majority 145.

**Central:** W. J. J. Cary\* (R.F.) 884; A. J. A. Peck (U.F.P.) 417. R.F., majority, 373.  
**Charter:** C. W. Dupont (R.F.), 832; F. S. B. Willoughby (U.F.P.), 459. R.F. majority, 373.  
**Eastern:** A. J. Macleod (R.F.), 786; C. F. C. V. Cadiz (U.F.P.), 661. R.F. majority, 125.  
**Gatooma:** W. J. Harper\* (R.F.), 789; R. N. Wells (U.F.P.), 305. R.F. majority, 484.  
**Greendale:** M. H. H. Partridge (R.F.), 782; H. J. Quinton\* (U.F.P.), 627. R.F. majority, 155.  
**Greenwood:** W. V. Brelford (U.F.P.), 716; W. J. Jarvis (R.F.), 532; I. Pitch (Ind.), 92. U.F.P. majority, 184.  
**Gwebi:** Lord James Graham (R.F.), 1,008; J. D. Crozier (U.F.P.), 557. R.F. majority, 451.  
**Gwelo:** D. W. Lardner-Burke (R.F.), 774. Mrs. E. Doyle (U.F.P.), 439. R.F. majority, 335.  
**Gwelo Rural:** C. F. S. Clark\* (R.F.), 942; J. Douglas-Downs (U.F.P.), 417. R.F. majority, 525.  
**Hartley:** P. K. F. van der Byl (R.F.), 821; G. S. Courtney (U.F.P.), 476. R.F. majority, 345.  
**Hatfield:** J. Gaunt (R.F.), 995; S. E. Aitken-Cade\* (Ind.), 481. R.F. majority, 514.  
**Highlands North:** G. Eilman-Brown (U.F.P.), 856; W. R. Rumbold (R.F.), 577. U.F.P. majority, 279.  
**Highlands South:** A. D. Butler (U.F.P.), 677; G. O. Lister (R.F.), 648. U.F.P. majority, 29.  
**Hillcrest:** J. A. Newington (R.F.), 880; M. L. Ayl (U.F.P.), 648. R.F. majority, 232.

#### Woman Member Re-elected

**Hillside:** Mrs. Maureen Watson\* (U.F.P.), 822; W. R. Kinleyside (R.F.), 653. U.F.P. majority, 169.  
**Jamson:** J. H. Howman (R.F.), 866; J. D. Carter (U.F.P.), 494; W. A. Porter (Ind.), 38. R.F. majority, 372.  
**Lomagundi:** L. B. Smith (R.F.), 1,003; R. G. Hoskins-Davies (U.F.P.), 622. R.F. majority, 381.  
**Mabelreign:** P. Palmer-Owen (R.F.), 885; W. D. Gale (U.F.P.), 594. R.F. majority, 291.  
**Marandellas:** W. J. Field (R.F.), 755; J. P. Danckwerts (U.F.P.), 608. R.F. majority, 147.  
**Mariborough:** H. Reedman (R.F.), 938; J. D. Burrows\* (U.F.P.), 536. R.F. majority, 402.  
**Matobo:** H. Roberts\* (R.F.), 670; E. W. Kirby (U.F.P.), 636. R.F. majority, 34.  
**Mazoe:** G. R. Hayman (R.F.), 972; N. P. Hammond (U.F.P.), 771. R.F. majority, 201.  
**Milton Park:** W. A. E. Winterton (U.F.P.), 873; Mrs. D. P. Cooper (R.F.), 592. U.F.P. majority, 281.  
**Mtoko:** G. R. J. Hackwill (U.F.P.), 653; R. W. Rankine (R.F.), 628. U.F.P. majority, 25.  
**Queens Park:** I. F. McLean\* (R.F.), 1,157; L. Ayers (U.F.P.), 576. R.F. majority, 801.  
**Que Que:** A. Dunlop (R.F.), 723; Dr. M. I. Hirsch\* (U.F.P.), 606. R.F. majority, 117.  
**Raydon:** T. A. Pinchen\* (R.F.), 852; P. Lennon (U.F.P.), 586. R.F. majority, 266.  
**Ruape:** P. van Heerden\* (R.F.), 981; P. J. Power (U.F.P.), 437. R.F. majority, 544.

#### Salisbury Seats

**Salisbury Central:** J. R. Ryan (R.F.), 625; E. J. Whitaker (U.F.P.), 586. R.F. majority, 39.  
**Salisbury City:** J. R. Nicholson (U.F.P.), 631; J. A. Plagis (R.F.), 501. U.F.P. majority, 130.  
**Salisbury North:** Sir Edgar Whitehead\* (U.F.P.), 902; N. Cambitzis (R.F.), 614. U.F.P. majority, 288.  
**Shabani:** I. B. Dillon\* (R.F.), 767; G. E. Moorcroft (U.F.P.), 356; R. J. H. Auret (Ind.), 23. R.F. majority, 411.  
**Umstall East:** B. H. Mussett (R.F.), 811; L. H. Morris (U.F.P.), 530. R.F. majority, 281.  
**Umstall West:** J. Christie (R.F.), 744; H. O. Trouncer (U.F.P.), 539. R.F. majority, 205.  
**Umzingwane:** I. D. Smith (R.F.), 803; R. E. Sagar (U.F.P.), 546. R.F. majority, 257.  
**Victoria:** G. H. Hartley (R.F.), 745; A. Zographos (U.F.P.), 603. R.F. majority, 142.  
**Wankie:** G. W. Rudland (R.F.), 786; B. H. G. Sparrow (U.F.P.), 689. R.F. majority, 177.  
**Wassafalla:** A. P. Smith (R.F.), 1,046; E. P. Gardner (U.F.P.), 441; A. J. Lawson (Ind.), 35. R.F. majority, 605.  
**Willowvale:** G. J. Raftopoulos (U.F.P.), 566; V. P. Odenaal (R.F.), 464; G. T. Thornicroft (Ind.), 164. U.F.P. majority, 102.

"B" ROLL results were:—

**Bellagwe:** J. S. Hove (U.F.P.), 113; S. J. Mazibisa (C.A.P.), 33; G. Masindo (R.F.), 31. U.F.P. majority, 80.  
**Bhambani:** P. H. J. Chanessa (U.F.P.), 194; A. T. Chinyani (R.F.), 39; J. W. Horn (C.A.P.), 32. U.F.P. majority, 155.  
**Gokwe:** P. E. Chigogo (U.F.P.), 154; H. J. Thompson (C.A.P.), 57; J. M. Kumalo (R.F.), 34. U.F.P. majority, 97.  
**Highland:** A. Palley (Ind.), 50; G. A. Chaza (U.F.P.), 46; P. J. Geoffrey (R.F.), 0; R. D. Palmer (C.A.P.), 0. Ind. majority, 4.

**Hunyani:** L. Kandengwa (U.F.P.), 99; M. Kwenda (R.F.), 47; A. W. Hodges (C.A.P.), 34. U.F.P. majority, 52.  
**Inyazura:** A. C. Majongwe (U.F.P.), 187; T. Ndoro (R.F.), 54; J. C. Matsika (C.A.P.), 22. U.F.P. majority, 133.  
**Magondi:** W. Kawara (U.F.P.), 174; E. Mambo (R.F.), 48; E. Gwanzura (C.A.P.), 41. U.F.P. majority, 126.  
**Makabusi:** P. J. Rubatika (U.F.P.), 116; M. G. Edwards (R.F.), 39; M. A. Redder (C.A.P.), 31. U.F.P. majority, 77.  
**Mangwendi:** T. J. Hlazo (U.F.P.), 99; S. Z. Bwanya (R.F.), 68; R. Chikosi (C.A.P.), 30. U.F.P. majority, 31.  
**Manicaland:** W. D. Chaweta (R.F.), 49; R. D. Deuchand (C.A.P.), 41; P. H. Mkudu (U.F.P.), 136. U.F.P. majority, 87.  
**Matabeleland North:** J. M. Behane (U.F.P.), 202; A. Mapisa (R.F.), 79. U.F.P. majority, 123.  
**Matabeleland South:** J. Masola (U.F.P.), 133; P. Zekare (R.F.), 28. U.F.P. majority, 105.  
**Mpopoma:** C. Hlabangana (U.F.P.), 134; P. P. J. Kadzutu (C.A.P.), 23; D. A. Masunda (R.F.), 23. U.F.P. majority, 111.  
**Narira:** R. C. Makaya (U.F.P.), 89; I. H. Samuriwo (R.F.), 36; D. J. R. Masawi (C.A.P.), 18. U.F.P. majority, 53.  
**Ndanga:** J. M. Gondo (U.F.P.), 240; L. Dembetembe (R.F.), 59; D. A. Tinago (C.A.P.), 25. U.F.P. majority, 181.

### Where Mr. Nkomo Now Lives

MR. DAVID HUTTON-WILLIAMS, Director of Information to the Government of Southern Rhodesia, has written to the *London Observer* :—

"May I put into perspective the unbalanced report from your Southern Rhodesia correspondent headed 'a 24-hour guard put on Nkomo'?"

"A small detachment of police has been encamped 50 yards from Sihle Kraal in the Semokwe Reserve since October 26. Mr. Sihle is the farmer cousin of Mr. Joshua Nkomo, and his kraal consists of four pole-and-dagga buildings with thatched roofs. This type of building has been used by Africans in Africa since time immemorial and is the type Mr. Nkomo occupied himself before he entered politics. A lean-to shelter has been erected at the kraal since Mr. Nkomo's arrival to accommodate any overnight guests.

"Your correspondent stated that Mr. Nkomo 'is followed on every step he takes within his three-mile restriction radius'. The police detachment was placed near the kraal as the nearest police station is 28 miles away. The function of the detachment is to see that Mr. Nkomo complies with the restriction order and to keep a check on visitors to Mr. Nkomo, the leader of a banned party whose members were responsible for hundreds of cases of malicious damage and injury to property and persons during July, August and September of this year.

#### "Pilgrimage"

"Your correspondent went on to say that Mr. Nkomo is nevertheless in good spirits, and that 'Over 1,000 visitors have made what is rapidly becoming a pilgrimage to his hut'. Mr. Nkomo is indeed in good spirits in every sense of the word, and he is most affable to the police detachment. To say he has had 1,000 visitors is reminiscent of the figure his banned party used to give out for attendances at their meeting. In fact, about 50 vehicles have visited Sihle Kraal since Mr. Nkomo was restricted there, bringing Press reporters, photographers, traders, relatives and friends.

"Your correspondent also stated that, 'contrary to Ministerial statements', Mr. Nkomo is not at his birthplace. Mr. Nkomo was born in the Semokwe Reserve on June 7, 1917, and the graves of his father and mother are within one mile of Sihle Kraal.

"May I also point out that the only farm in the area which has changed hands between Africans and Europeans is Prospect Ranch, purchased by the Government some years back from a European and made available to Africans as a purchase area."

### Insurance Investments

A CONTRIBUTOR to the *Economic and Statistical Review* issued by the East African Common Services Organization has estimated that nearly £31m. had been invested in East Africa by insurance companies by the end of 1960. Mortgages on and loans in respect of private houses, land, machinery, stock and buildings are put at about £8m.; mortgages and loans on factories, hotels, shops and blocks of offices at £2m.; investments in harbour facilities, communications, earth and water works, hospitals, schools, and the like at £12m.; and stocks and shares at £2½m. At the date mentioned nearly 1,300 East Africans were employed locally by insurance companies, which had a known salary and wages bill in 1960 of £794,706.

# U.N.I.P.—A.N.C. Coalition Government for Northern Rhodesia

## African Demands for New Constitution and Disbandment of the Federation

**SIR EVELYN HONE**, Governor of Northern Rhodesia; on Friday last announced the formation of a Coalition Government of United National Independence Party and African National Congress members, who hold 14 and seven seats respectively in the Legislative Council.

Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, the U.N.I.P. leader, has been appointed Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare. The A.N.C. president, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, is the new Minister of African Education.

Other ministerial appointments are:—

Mr. C. E. Cousins (A.N.C.), Land and Natural Resources; Mr. F. Stubbs (A.N.C.), Transport and Works; Mr. R. Kamanga (U.N.I.P.), Labour and Mines; Mr. S. Kapwepwe (U.N.I.P.), African Agriculture.

The four *ex-officio* Ministers, who formed a "caretaker" Government after the Liberal Party Ministers resigned when their party disbanded after a wholesale defeat in the general elections, have been re-appointed under the new Constitution to the same portfolios. They are: Mr. R. E. Luyt, Chief Secretary; Mr. T. C. Gardner, Finance; Mr. F. M. Thomas, Native Affairs; and Mr. B. A. Doyle, Minister for Legal Affairs and Attorney-General.

### Federal Dissolution

Mr. Kaunda has said that among the first motions to be laid before the new Legislature will be one for a new Constitution, which he expected would be obtained by the middle of next year. Another early motion will demand dissolution of the Federation.

The Parliamentary Secretaries are: Mr. A. G. Zulu (U.N.I.P.), Local Government and Social Welfare; Mr. C. J. A. Banda (A.N.C.), African Education; Mr. F. P. Chembe (A.N.C.), Transport and Works; Mr. J. E. M. Michello (A.N.C.), Lands and Natural Resources; Mr. E. H. K. Mudenda (U.N.I.P.), African Agriculture; Mr. J. M. Mwanakatwe (U.N.I.P.), Labour and Mines; and Mr. A. N. L. Wina (U.N.I.P.), Finance.

In the by-elections on the previous Monday the United Federal Party won the Livingstone upper roll seat, bringing their over-all total to 16 seats, when Mr. James Macmillan polled 1,584 votes against his U.N.I.P. opponent's 417, and 176 for the A.N.C. candidate.

In the 10 frustrated open national seats, results were obtained only in the Luapula and Zambezi constituencies, and then for only one seat each of the two contested in each constituency, leaving eight national seats still unfilled.

Mr. Francis Nigel Stubbs (A.N.C.) succeeded in Luapula, with percentages of 21.9 (upper), 12.6 (lower), 13.4 (African) and 26.9 (European). In Zambezi, Mr. Job Mallambo Mayanda (A.N.C.) gained percentages of 36.8 (upper), 60.6 (lower), 57.9 (African) and 34.7 (European).

The final state of the three parties in the Legislature is: U.F.P., 16; U.N.I.P., 14; A.N.C., seven.

### Potted Biographies of M.L.Cs.

**Chiwala John Andrew Banda** (Southern, A.N.C.). Born in Fort Jameson district. Educated at Tegwani Training Institute, Plumtree, Southern Rhodesia, and Tiger Kloof High School in Cape Province. After holding various teaching posts in the Rhodesias, joined the N.R. Government teaching service in 1956. Was provincial secretary in the Eastern Province of N.R. African Teachers' Association and chairman of its fund-raising committee. Also a journalist, radio technician, and a trade unionist. Married.

**Ocell Denniston Burney** (Luanshya-Kansenji, U.F.P.). Born London, 1923. Educated Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, where gained tripos honours degree. During the last war was a radar officer in the R.N.V.R. on North Atlantic and Russian

convoys. Joined Nchanga Mines underground staff in 1948. Left in 1951 to start Northern Motors, Ltd. President of N.R. Motor Traders' Association, 1956-59. Director of Century Building and Mutual Credit Protection societies. Formerly M.L.C. for Ndola. Married, with two sons.

**Alfred Ebdem Carlisle** (Eastern Rural, U.F.P.). Educated in South Africa, where he was born in 1909 in Muizenberg, Cape Province. Arrived N.R. in 1949 after serving with the S.A. Air Force as a captain in Egypt and Italy. Farms near Lusaka. A former secretary of the Northern Rhodesia Farmers' Union. Elected to Legislature in 1957 for South-West. In the next year was appointed Minister for Land and Natural Resources. Married, with two children.

**Francis Bruno Chembe** (Lower Kafue, A.N.C.). Born at Mkushi, 1914. At school in Southern Rhodesia at Kutama. After gaining a social work diploma from the Jan Hofmeyr School, Johannesburg, was a teacher, social worker, and probation officer. Member of the African Representative Council, 1953-58. Entered Federal Assembly in 1958. Married.

**John Chisata** (Copperbelt East, U.N.I.P.). Born in Luanshya, 1930. Educated at Mufulira Mine School. Joined N.R. African Mineworkers' Union in 1950, and became vice-chairman six years later and president last year. Then visited Austria for a course sponsored by the Miners' International Federation, New York for an African studies conference, Boston for a U.N.E.S.C.O. labour conference, and Washington for a leader grant course given by the U.S. Labour Department. Married, with four children.

**Charles Edward Cousins** (Luangwa, A.N.C.). Born in Wales, 1905. Educated at Swansea Grammar School and Swansea Technical College. Went to India for a British firm as an engineer, returning in 1936 as Government inspector of factories. During the war was a regional inspector of labour in Palestine, of which he became deputy labour director in 1947. In following year transferred to N.R. as Commissioner for Labour and Mines; made secretary to the Ministry in 1960 and Minister in 1961. Retired to contest election. Married, with two children.

**Jack Benjamin Eaton** (Lower Kafue, U.F.P.). Born in Elisabethville, in the Katanga, in 1919. After matriculation from St. Joseph's College in Cape Province, served his apprenticeship as a builder and then joined the S.A.A.F. as a pilot. In 1946 was appointed township foreman of Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd. Chairman of Broken Hill Recreation Club and Rugby Football Club. Married; one daughter.

**Simon Mwanas Kapwepwe** (Northern, U.N.I.P.). Born in Chinsali district in 1922. After attending Lubwa mission school, trained as a teacher and held a number of teaching posts on the Copperbelt, where in 1951 he was appointed education officer in a mine welfare section. Spent four years in India for further studies, gaining a diploma in leather goods and footwear manufacture from the Department of Technical Education of Bombay State. Recently returned to N.R. from a year's study in the U.S.A. on a leadership grant. Married; has three children.

### Party Leader

**Kenneth David Kaunda** (Bangweulu, U.N.I.P.). Born at Lubwa, near Chinsali, in the Northern Province in 1924, the son of a Nyasa mission teacher who was one of the first African priests to be ordained in the Protectorate; his mother was the first African woman teacher in the country. Educated at Lubwa mission and Munsali, he returned as a teacher to Lubwa in 1943. On moving to the Copperbelt, he joined the African Congress under Mr. Godwin Lewanika and was sent back to the Northern Province to organize party branches in 1953, where he established 100 of them; he was appointed secretary-general under Mr. Nkumbula. Visits to India, West Africa and Britain followed. Policy differences with Mr. Nkumbula led to his forming the breakaway Zambia Congress Party, which was banned for violence a few days before the general elections of March, 1959; he was exiled to Northern Province, where he held an illegal political meeting and was jailed for nine months in Lusaka and Salisbury. Zambia was replaced on his release early in 1960 by U.N.I.P., of which he became president; in December the same year, he represented his party in London at the Federal Review and Northern Rhodesian Constitutional conferences.

**Thomas Percival Victor Lawler** (Ndola East, U.F.P.). A Londoner, born 1922. Educated at St. Ignatius's College. Entered Royal Navy in 1940, and remained in service until 1953, when he left with the rank of lieutenant-commander.

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# PERSONALIA

DR. WILFRED SARRAZIN is expected in Uganda shortly as the first German Ambassador.

MR. DONALD C. BROOK has returned to London from his visits to East Africa and Nyasaland.

MR. W. M. CODRINGTON, for many years chairman of Nyasaland Railways, was 70 on Sunday.

DR. NYERERE, President of Tanganyika, has been made a freeman of the City of Dar es Salaam.

MR. P. N. DALTON, Attorney-General in Zanzibar since 1957, has been appointed a puisne judge in Kenya.

MR. PETER M. TOWE, deputy director-general of the External Aid Office of Canada, has been visiting Uganda.

SIR BASIL SPENCE, the architect, who has visited Kenya, has been appointed treasurer of the Royal Academy.

SIR PATRICK RENISON, the retiring Governor of Kenya, and LADY RENISON are due to leave Nairobi two days after Christmas.

SIR WALTER COUTTS, Governor-General of Uganda, has been promoted a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

MR. KIBWE, Vice-President and Finance Minister of Katanga, spent several days in Lusaka last week while on his way to Salisbury to see SIR ROY WELENSKY.

MR. T. BAZARRABUSA, High Commissioner for Uganda, opened an African market held in Chelsea last week under the auspices of the Africa Bureau.

SIR EVELYN HONE, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, left Lusaka yesterday for England for a holiday. MR. RICHARD LUYT, the Chief Secretary, is Acting Governor.

MR. KENNETH MEADOWS, assistant editor of the *East African Standard* since 1957, will in March take up an appointment as public relations officer for Kenya in London.

THE MWAMI OF BURUNDI paid an official visit to the POPE on Sunday. He was the first Head of State to call since His Holiness was taken ill. They were together for 25 minutes.

MR. SHERMAN WONG, deputy general manager of the Central Trust of China, is visiting East Africa on an exploratory trade mission for the Republic of China (Formosa).

SIR HUGH FOOT and MR. KENNETH KAUNDA flew in the same aircraft from London to Dar es Salaam to attend the Republic Day celebrations in the Tanganyika capital. Owing to heavy fog the beginning of the flight was considerably delayed, and they were quartered in the same hotel in Worthing.

DR. BERNHARD GRZIMEK, director of the Frankfurt Zoo, arrived in Nairobi last week with £200,000 which he had collected for expenditure on game preservation in East Africa. Most of the money will be spent in Tanganyika, where his son was killed while flying an aircraft over the Serengeti. DR. GRZIMEK was with him at the time.

SIR JOHN FLETCHER-COOKE, lately Deputy Governor of Tanganyika, is the prospective Conservative candidate for Luton. The present member, DR. CHARLES HILL, does not wish to remain in the House of Commons. SIR JOHN is a brother of MR. CHARLES FLETCHER-COOKE, Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the Home Office.

MR. VICTOR MATTHEWS, a former Finance Minister in Kenya, is to report on the future structure of the Colony's maize industry, including the introduction of new varieties, the possible need for a quota check on production, and the advisability of retaining organized marketing.

MR. P. R. F. BRITWELL has arrived in Nyasaland on contract as chief factories inspector.

MR. J. B. EDEN, Conservative M.P. for Bournemouth West, has joined the board of Aberdare Holdings, Ltd., a group with a Rhodesian subsidiary.

MR. RICHARD O'BRIEN WILSON has been appointed chairman of the Board of Agriculture (Scheduled Areas) in Kenya, in succession to MR. J. F. LIPSCOMB.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and for the Colonies, is to make a Caribbean tour during the Christmas Parliamentary recess.

MR. J. O. CORBIN, lately consulting surgeon at King George VI Hospital, Nairobi, arrived in Seychelles a few days ago to take up duty as surgeon in the Medical Service of the Colony.

SIR JACK HOBBS, who scored 197 centuries in first-class cricket, in which he had an average of 50.63 runs per innings, celebrated his 80th birthday on Sunday. He has a son living in Southern Rhodesia, which he has visited.

MR. TAITA TOWETT, Minister for Lands, Surveys and Town Planning in Kenya, has tendered his resignation so that he may concentrate on co-operative farming schemes in the Kipsigis area and prepare Africans for taking over European farms, because he wants to start a newspaper, and because he wishes to devote more time to party matters as political adviser of K.A.D.U.

DR. ADRIANO MOREIRA, Portuguese Minister for Overseas Provinces, who had been considered a possible successor to DR. SALAZAR as Prime Minister, has lost his post in a Cabinet reshuffle, in which the Under-Secretary of State for Overseas Administration, DR. JOAQUIM SILVA CUNHA, was also dismissed. The new Minister for Overseas Provinces is COMMANDER ANTONIO PEIXOTO CORREIA.

GENERAL SIR GEOFFREY BOURNE has been appointed chairman of the Kenya Land Board and will take up his duties early in the New Year. He visited East Africa when Commandant of the Imperial Defence College in 1958-59. Previously he had been Commander-in-Chief of the Middle East Land Forces. During the last war he was on duty in the U.S.A., South East Asia, Italy, Java, Burma, Germany, and Malaya. He lost an arm in a bobsleigh accident some 30 years ago.

MR. HAROLD WATKINSON, M.P., who recently joined the board of Schweppes, Ltd., a group with subsidiaries in East Africa and the Federation, is to become a managing director on January 1, with the intention of gradually taking over the duties of SIR FREDERICK HOOPER, who intends to retire a year hence. SIR FREDERICK was adviser on recruiting to the Ministry of Defence in 1960, when MR. WATKINSON was the Minister. He remained so until the Government reshuffle last July. SIR FREDERICK is 70 and MR. WATKINSON 52. Last year the seven directors of the Schweppes group drew £210,452 between them in fees and other remuneration.

## Obituary

### Sir Charles Arden-Clarke

SIR CHARLES ARDEN-CLARKE, G.C.M.G., who died on Sunday, aged 64, was chairman of the Royal African Society, the Royal Commonwealth Society for the Blind, and the National Council for the Supply of Teachers Overseas. As Governor of the Gold Coast, now Ghana, he helped Nkrumah to power, but did not foresee its development into a dictatorship which he greatly regretted. Sir Charles, who was a member of the Monckton Commission of 1960, had been Residential Commissioner of Bechuanaland earlier in his career.

# Z.A.P.U. Chairman Expects Increasing Violence in S. Rhodesia

**"Africans Ready for Independence Now" Says the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole**

**VIOLENT EXPLOSIONS** in Southern Rhodesia if the United Kingdom Government does not quickly intervene were forecast when he talked to journalists in London a few days ago by Mr. Ndabaningi Sithole, chairman of the now proscribed Zimbabwe African Peoples Union.

"We will not recognize the new Constitution; we will not be a party to it", he declared. "We leaders have been trying to hold back the people, but the policy of peaceful persuasion has failed. There is no alternative but violence, though we have been counselling non-violence."

"In 1959 the African National Congress of Southern Rhodesia was banned. The people did not react. They believed what the Government said. The National Democratic Party, which rose from the ashes of the A.N.C., was banned in 1961. Again the people did not react and there was no question of violence. Now that Z.A.P.U. has been banned the people say that as peaceful negotiations have produced no results, they must be allowed to carry on with more violent methods."

## Optimist Becomes A Jeremiah

"Three separate congresses of the N.D.P. rejected the new Constitution unequivocally. So did a referendum which we held. Even then the Southern Rhodesian and United Kingdom Governments were not impressed. So Mr. Nkomo took the matter to the United Nations, which supported us."

"Many Africans in Southern Rhodesia do not want the ban on Z.A.P.U. lifted, because they think that the party leaders would curb their activities. I, usually an optimist, am being made a Jeremiah. I imagine that violence will be intensified as people become more frustrated."

"We are not interested in Sir Edgar Whitehead's suggestion of African control of Parliament in 15 years. We do not believe a single word of that statement."

"We Africans in Southern Rhodesia are ready for a majority in the Government now. Tanganyika, which has become an independent republic, has not so many highly trained and educated Africans as we have in Southern Rhodesia. Nor has Nyasaland. We are more than ready for independence now."

When it was suggested that in those two territories Africans had had Parliamentary experience, and some as Ministers, before independence, whereas no Africans in Southern Rhodesia had had such experience, Mr. Sithole remarked that the Africans in the Legislatures had not been a factor in the achievement of independence.

To the queries "What about Dr. Nyerere?" and "How about Dr. Banda?" there was no reply.

## When Mr. Nkomo Expressed Delight

When Mr. Sithole asserted that the determination of the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia was to deny Africans political expression and power, it was pointed out that a narrow majority in the general election two days later was generally expected, and that if Z.A.P.U. had not ordered African voters to boycott the election the 15 or more seats which Africans would have won would have given them a position of great strength.

The reply was that nothing would persuade Z.A.P.U. to accept the present Constitution.

The editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA asked Mr. Sithole to explain his party's attitude to the fact—and it was a fact—that in the concluding stages of the Constitutional Conference when it had been agreed to changes which would give Africans at least 15, and perhaps 17, seats in the House, Mr. Nkomo had made no secret of his delight with a solution which from his standpoint was far better than anything he had dared to expect.

Mr. Sithole: "Mr. Nkomo never said that"

Mr. Joelson: "He most certainly did. He told more than one friend of mine that he was delighted".

Mr. Sithole: "Anyhow, there was great pressure against acceptance. I do not think more than a few hundred Africans will vote on Friday. Z.A.P.U. will intensify the programme of non-co-operation. We shall refuse discussions with the Government of Southern Rhodesia until the ban on the party is removed".

Reminded of Sir Edgar Whitehead's pledge to abolish all racial discrimination and the Land Apportionment Act, Mr. Sithole said: "Sir Edgar painted a picture of himself in Britain as a fairly liberal man. We are not interested in social or educational reforms at this stage, but only in considerable constitutional advance. H.M. Government want to support the Whitehead policy of converting Southern Rhodesia into a Police State. Otherwise they would not have granted a £2½m. loan for the police and police houses".

His present plan, Mr. Sithole said, was to spend another eight days in London, but not to ask for an appointment with Mr. Butler, to whom he had written three letters. There had been no reply for two months, and then only formal acknowledgement.

The main purpose of his visit was to tell the British public that any violence in Southern Rhodesia would be the result of the refusal of H.M. Government to intervene. He would see politicians of all parties.

The Zimbabwe Liberation Army, the strength of which he could not guess, had sprung from the feeling that peaceful negotiations had been a waste of time and that violent methods must be tried.

Asked about the source of Z.A.P.U. funds, he said that the Tanganyika Government had provided headquarters in Dar es Salaam and given financial help, which was also received from the United Kingdom and all African countries. None came from behind the Iron Curtain, "but the British people are driving Africans to go behind the Iron Curtain".

Mr. Sithole had recently sent to Southern Rhodesia five Africans to investigate the present situation. One was a woman social worker, one a businessman, one a teacher who had been trained in South Africa, and two were lawyers trained in London. All were Southern Rhodesians.

## "No White Man Feels Safe"

A typed statement over Mr. Sithole's signature which was distributed to Press representatives said:—

"When Sir Edgar Whitehead banned Z.A.P.U. on September 20 he hoped that the African people would accept the ban, as they had done in the cases of the banning of the A.N.C. in 1959 and the N.D.P. in 1961. This was a fatal miscalculation."

"Since the banning of Z.A.P.U. sabotage, arson, and political tension have increased, and no white man today feels safe anywhere in Southern Rhodesia. The banning of Z.A.P.U. has cost the country £11½m. Whites are leaving the country at the rate of 511 a month, and many more would have left if there were no stringent financial restrictions. Only one European immigrant has come to Southern Rhodesia since the banning of Z.A.P.U. Banning Z.A.P.U. has united the African people against the present white regime."

"The results of the next minority elections will not solve anything, but rather aggravate the problem, which only majority elections can solve. Neither the U.F.P. nor the Rhodesian Front can guarantee the future of the white man—not even the British Government. That can be done only by the African majority. How can white foreigners guarantee the future of other foreigners in a country that is 90% African? The African in Southern Rhodesia is no longer interested in working with the white man, but rather in the white man working with him."

"I have been reliably informed that the British Government is toying with the extremely dangerous idea of granting Southern Rhodesia independence under white minority rule. If the British Government carries out this idea, the picture for Southern Rhodesia will be one of continued economic stagnation ending in a blood-bath. The African people are now ready for the worst."

"It does not require any stretch of imagination to see that the planned creation of another South Africa in Central Africa to accommodate the white settlers and those whites in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia who want living under a black Government will be resisted with our very lives, just as we are resisting the ban. The day Mr. Butler grants independence to Southern Rhodesia before the establishment of a fully representative Government based on free majority elections, we shall also declare ours, and support this claim with our very lives."

# Restoration of Confidence Might Yet Save Kenya

## African Leaders' Personal Feuds: Europeans Feel Abandoned and Betrayed

THE EARL OF LYTTON, who revisited Kenya last year, said in the recent debate on Kenya in the House of Lords that wanting the latest news and views, he had addressed a letter to 50 persons, many of whom he did not know, by selecting names from the Kenya telephone directory. To his surprise all had replied.

Only one letter completely confirmed hatred of the Government.

A rancher of 50,000 acres, a remarkable man who had put in 67 miles of water pipeline, 10 water boreholes (none of which failed) and 16 dams and pumping stations, all of which worked until they were swept away by the floods last winter, had replied. He holds a beast to 10 acres—that is, 5,000 beasts; and by crossing with Red Polls and Boran humped cattle raises the value of the beasts he markets to £35 each, as compared with Africans' £10. He wrote:—

"I keep busy here with my farming—350 Africans plus two Europeans, including myself. This is 50 more employees than before the Macleod Constitution. The 50 are all Turkana stock-guards, Meru being no good at that work. Stock thieving is a very serious menace these days, and like everything else the only satisfactory method is to do the guarding yourself."

### K.A.R. a Possible Sheet-Anchor

Lord Lytton continued:—

"He spends between £1,000 and £2,000 on guarding his stock against Samburu robbers. He is an exponent of the high wage doctrine. His older and better employees earn between £15 and £25 a month, plus food and housing.

"I had a good letter from the brigadier commanding the 70th Brigade, a friend of mine, saying: 'We have made tremendous progress, and will have over 80 African officers in Kenya alone by early summer 1963. These are, broadly speaking, ex-offendis or Mono-trained. One cannot be over-optimistic, but I do feel the K.A.R. may be the sheet-anchor for Kenya, as the Indian Army was for India and Pakistan. We are detribalized compared with the Kenya Police, but not completely so'.

"They are enthusiastic for the Africanization of the King's African Rifles. A number of the Africans have experienced up to 20 years, many with active service. About 30% Kamba are recruited into the K.A.R., but when it comes to the selection of officers the proportion is well over 80%. Therefore you have a corps of officers who are predominantly Kamba. This rather unsettled tribe has only one political leader of note, Mr. Paul Ngai, who has had what I hope is a temporary dispute with the rest of K.A.N.U. It would be deplorable if there were a schism between the ballot-box, which is the Kikuyu and the Luo, and the military, which is the Kamba.

### Smiling Africans or Gloomy Communists?

"In Mombasa I want to see the secretary of the dock-workers' union, Daniel Akumu, a Luo, in the same tribe as Mr. Mboya. His tribe are not always popular with other Africans, who sometimes find them bullies.

"Mr. Akumu took pride in having had no strike during the five years he was in office. His superior, the deputy port superintendent, Mr. Williams, assured me that he was an excellent man. He was a negotiator. Half of his wage contract was suspended—that is, they were above the legal minimum, and the minimum is too low. Mr. Akumu takes the minimum wage figure, buys what he can get with it, puts his hands on the conference table, and says: 'Gentlemen, which of you can live on that?' Then an enormous laugh, down to the ground. Communists do not laugh. If these smiling Africans are not supported, if employment is not improved, they will be replaced by gloomy Communists.

"Spreading up the districts is the constant theme of all reports of all men. After 10 centuries of sloth, Africa has woken up, so that every day counts.

"The president of the Indian Chamber of Commerce writes: 'Finance is applied by the political parties for an end which is not clear. As a result disconcerting has started. Hectic government, more taxes and a loss of confidence in the Government. Political disconcerting is bound to damage the economy in Kenya, which is on a low ebb. Kenya is a country in a state of emergency. This is publicly announced by Kenya Ministers'.

"An old Etonian, a big man in a grocery business, who signs as Government Whip of the K.A.N.U. Parliamentary Group, writes: 'There are complaints that Kenya's independence is being unduly delayed by the British Government, but I do not think there is much ground for this suspicion. We are waiting for the reports on the Northern Province Commission, and the Constituency and Regional Boundaries Commission, and the Fiscal and Economy Commission. Then we have to await the completion of the draft Constitution, and thereafter, around towards the end of February, we hope to be in a position to announce nomination day for our general elections and polling day three weeks later. If this timetable is adhered to, the new Government will take over in April. I should say we should get our independence the year after that'.

### Many Leaving Hastily

"Mr. Joseph Shikuku, secretary-general of K.A.D.U., Ngala's Regional Party, wrote extremely courteously, and Mr. Mboya wrote: 'The problem we now face is that the whole country is very unsettled due to the people's anxiety to have the general election as soon as possible'.

"Mr. Jack Block, who was educated in England, served in the British Army, and left with the rank of major, wrote:—

"On leaving the Army I went into business with my family, who at that time owned the Norfolk Hotel, Nairobi. We acquired the New Stanley Hotel in 1948, and have spent £1m. in developing this hotel in the last 12 years. I am chairman of the company and a director of our estates company, which has 50,000 acres of ranching land and approximately 7,000 head of cattle. The ranches were derelict until I took over at the end of the war. I am also chairman of the firm of Ker and Downey Safaris, Ltd., the largest big game safari operators in East Africa. In addition, I am chairman of the Kenya European Hospital Association.

"He hopes that the assurances which Government after Government gave to the settlers apply not only to farmers but to the whole economic set-up which has developed as a result of the settlement which they encouraged. He talks about most civil servants being adequately secured, and old farmers being paid compensation, and goes on:—

### Colour Bar

"I know a European clerk without qualifications who was born and educated in this country and who has had approximately 22 years' Government service. This individual has contributed absolutely nothing to the development or welfare of this country in his 22 years of service. He leaves Government at the end of this year with a pension of £900 plus a golden handshake of approximately £14,000. No wonder many of these people are hastily leaving the country'.

"He said in another letter: 'I am a Jew and until this year I have been debarred from three of the major clubs in Nairobi'. Recently people have invited him to join but he has refused. He says: 'It is all a matter of pride, and it is not easy to forget their attitude in the past. At one time I was an extremely keen cricketer and although serving on the executive of the Kenya Kongonis Association (which is equal to the M.C.C. at home) I was not welcome in the club, which was the headquarters of the association'.

"I asked if in his hotels he was scrupulous about avoiding any colour bar. He got an African to write a reference. It was from Mr. Mboya, and read: 'Dear Jack, Reference your letter, I am myself in correspondence with the Earl of Lytton and can confirm to him that in fact no colour bar today exists in the Block Hotels in Kenya. Yours sincerely, Tom'.

"A journalist friend wrote: 'As to secession of the N.F.P., Shell-BP have spent some £8m. in the area prospecting for oil. Their calculations have brought them, in an ever-diminishing circle, to a point 20 miles north-east of Galole, to a place called Walu, which is 10 miles east of the Tana River and in the N.F.P. and just a mile or so outside the coastal district'.

"The point is equi-distant from Mombasa and Kismayu, the Somali port. He says there will be extreme bitterness if that oil is not available for Kenya's refinery at Mombasa, at least in part. The shaft is 8,000 feet down and has another 4,000 to 6,000 feet to go. Here is the well of contention; but, of course, it may be only soda water".

LORD MILVERTON said *inter alia*: —

"I am assuming, of course, that the British Government will at least refuse to make a final reckless surrender of its control to certain chaos. The somewhat devious path of its policy over these three years has given encouragement to those who take a pessimistic view. Mr. Macleod, with a masterly grasp of the obvious, said that you cannot solve the problems of a continent with blue-print. But when he also talked of a Kenya where all can play their part he was busy building a castle in the air for which the precariously unstable residents, the European farmers of Kenya, are now paying the rent.

### Ominous Outlook

"In a solution of Kenya land problems lies the only hope of stable government and the relief of the social tension. Owing to the loss of confidence internally and externally the economy is declining rapidly, with the consequent dangerous growth of unemployment.

"In general, the European community has a feeling of being abandoned and betrayed. African leadership is weakened by personal jealousies and feuds; and inter-racial feeling is exacerbated by reckless public mis-statements and accusations.

"In the interests of public order and for the relief of the economy it is no doubt desirable to hold elections as soon as possible, but some delay seems inevitable pending completion of reports of the five commissions now studying the background for the new Constitution.

"After all, the seven-and-a-half weeks at Lancaster House ended in a nebulous agreement, at the end of which the Secretary of State said: 'We have certainly not solved the problems of Kenya. We must not exaggerate what we have achieved; we must not minimize the difficulties and dangers ahead. Fears and suspicion still exist and must be exorcized. The economy of Kenya is in a very serious position'.

"The Kenya record in relation to Lancaster House is one of broken undertakings, agreements broken almost before the ink was dry on the signatures. Even this agreement, nebulous and obscure as it was, could have had satisfactory results if only *bona fides* and good will were present, but in the absence of these qualities the outlook is indeed ominous. Safeguards written into a Constitution do not deter an African Government bent on dictatorship.

### Personal Wrangling

"Among the problems left in the air are those of finance, security, citizenship, the coastal strip, the degree of autonomy of regions under the electoral system, the position of the civil service (not only the expatriates but especially the locally-recruited men), and the Somali question in the Northern Province. Very much depends on the vexed land question and the restoration of European confidence so that their essential help may be retained in order to avert otherwise certain ruin.

"In sober fact, something like five years is required before complete independence is granted. Otherwise there is bound to be perilous disillusion — perhaps civil war and chaos.

"Are the leading African politicians capable of putting the welfare of Kenya above all their personal wrangling? Unless an affirmative answer can be given, Kenya will almost certainly slide back to the conditions from which she has emerged over the last 60 years. Security, a sound economy, education, agriculture, a decent standard of living will all vanish. The weeks of dreary argument at Lancaster House, the final framework agreement, and the subsequent repudiation by leading signatories of much of its obvious meaning underline not only their irresponsibility but their inability to understand the two-party system or to free themselves of the authoritarian background which conditions their outlook on political power.

"I emphasize the very urgent need for the appointment of a chairman of the Central Land Board, a chairman whose independence and experience, ability and standing will command confidence in Kenya and abroad, and who will be able to take the scheme and all its problems out of the political arena; and also the need for the implemation of the settlement schemes, for guarantees of the personal safety and liberty of European farmers and their families, and, finally, the important question of citizenship—that the ability for those electing to remain in Kenya to choose dual citizenship should be insisted on and enshrined in legislation as a right.

"The Constitution to be decided on for Kenya may well indicate a democratic institution, but it may not endure for long. The greatest enemy of democracy is surely an ignorant electorate. After all, democracy is a set of values, and institutions are merely a way of safeguarding them. If the values are not there underneath, the institution is a mere facade with no permanence whatever.

"To absorb esurient politicians, living on slogans as the currency to purchase power, with all the tribal stresses of superstition and hostility, time is required, and in Africa today time is being denied.

"If the basic traditions of an embryo nation are undemocratic, how can you expect a sudden devotion to democratic forms from people struggling to be a nation at the behest of ambitious politicians? Without the basic patriotism that distinguishes a potential nation from a group of warring tribes it is impossible to expect any success in such an experiment'.

LORD COLYTON deplored the delay in appointing the chairman of the Central Land Board and the change of Government at a crucial moment.

"There is the utmost urgency in settling the boundaries of the regions so that regional elections may be held as early as possible. The Upper House is to be elected by the regions, and whether such election is to be direct or indirect, it seems essential that the regions should be functioning before the national elections are held. Regional assemblies are an innovation for Kenya, and if the system is to endure they should be well established before Britain withdraws. In fact, the date for independence must depend largely on the way in which the regional assemblies fulfil their functions.

### Orders from Moscow

"Will the Constitution provide that a specified number of Ministers, as in this country, should be selected from the Upper House? If, as I hope, non-voting members are to be included in the Upper House to represent minority interests, will they be eligible for appointment as Ministers?

"Whatever we may think of the programmes and policies of K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U., the present uncertainty is leading to rifts and dissensions which continually exacerbate the situation. Basically the question is whether men of moderate outlook, anxious to preserve the unity and prosperity of Kenya, are to prevail over the hard core of irreconcilables who take their money and orders from Moscow — what I thought Lord Ogmöre rather euphemistically described as the 'right wing' of K.A.N.U.

"Add to this the present lack of confidence and economic uncertainty, with the attendant unemployment and encouragement to violence, and there is a real risk of chaos even before we get to the elections.

"On November 25 it was reported that the General Officer Commanding in East Africa had stated that the British Army would not leave Kenya until next November and that the period of his command had been extended. I hope for an assurance that this was merely a matter of inaccurate reporting. I cannot imagine anything more calculated to give rise to a Congo situation than the withdrawal of British troops before independence. I most strongly hope that it will be possible to make some agreement with an independent Kenya for the continued presence of British troops, or at least for a carefully phased withdrawal until strong and balanced Kenya national forces can be built up, capable of defending the frontiers against all intruders.

### Catastrophic Collapse

"Without confidence, however skilfully drawn the Constitution, there may be no possibility of establishing a united and independent Kenya. Quite apart from the inter-tribal fears, the whole economy may founder unless faith in the future is re-established. I believe that, in spite of the recriminations and rifts among African political leaders, in spite of the activities of the Kenya Land Freedom Army, and in spite of the uncertainties caused by delays, there has been some slight improvement in confidence in Kenya.

"But Kenya is a poor country, ill-provided with natural resources. There is no prime mover, no oil except perhaps in the disputed Northern Frontier Province, no coal, no minerals except soda ash for export, and none of the essential requirements of heavy industry.

"If confidence were to recede again, and if European farmers were to leave *en masse*, there would be a wholesale collapse of the Kenya economy and a catastrophic fall in the present very low standards of living. This has been recognized by the Minister of Finance, Mr. Gichuru, in his Economic Survey for 1962, and no doubt other Kenya African leaders recognize it as well. Unfortunately, they are not prepared to say these things in public".

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, declared that there had been no avoidable delays in the Colonial Office.

"We have so far achieved only about one-third of the Constitution of Kenya, but its complexity is such that the one-third is about equivalent in length to the total length of a normal Colonial Constitution.

"There are many policy decisions still to be reached by the Government of Kenya. All concerned are determined that there is no departure whatsoever from the spirit of the Lancaster House agreement, so that in the Kenya of the future all the tribes and all the communities will feel that the system of government is one that will provide justice and security for all.

"Five Commissions have been sent to Kenya since the conference last April. The Economy Commission, though of great importance, has very little bearing on the constitutional arrangements. The other four commissions have a very important bearing on these matters: they are the commission to determine the boundaries of the new regions; the commission to determine the constituencies for the elections to the Lower House; the commission to work out the financial relationships between the centre and the regions; and, lastly, the commission to report on the state of public opinion within the six districts comprising the Northern Frontier District concerning the future of that area.

### Need for Fiscal Commission

"In the case of the Fiscal Commission the chairman had, in fact, been provisionally earmarked before the conference ended, because it was quite clear that, whatever happened, a financial commission would be necessary.

"The Regional Boundaries Commission is the key to much of the other work that has to be done in connexion with the Constitution. Until the regional boundaries are settled, it is obviously not possible for the Fiscal Commission to work out with any accuracy how the financing of the regions should be organized, and the Lower House constituencies cannot be completely determined until the regional boundaries are known.

"It therefore would have been a logical thing to suspend any action on the Lower House Constituencies Commission and on the Fiscal Commission until the Regional Boundaries Commission had completed its task. To save time we did not do this. The Lower House Constituency Commission and the Fiscal Commission went out in the summer in order that they should at least complete the major part of their task while the regional boundaries were being worked out.

### Delay by Council of Ministers

"Why did not the key Regional Boundaries Commission begin its work in Kenya until August? Part of the reason was the difficulty of getting the right men for the job. There is a further reason: it could not begin until its terms of reference were finally settled, and these were not settled by the Kenya Council of Ministers until mid-June. By July 6 we were able to announce the name of the chairman and the date, which was early August, by which we hoped, although we still had to be sure that the other members could fall in with this programme, that the commission would start work. The commission began work in Kenya on August 9.

"The Regional Boundaries Commission could not visit the Northern Frontier District before the N.F. District Commission had visited the area. We were advised that there would be a serious security risk if that happened. This involved a pause in the work of the Regional Boundaries Commission, and I understand from the chairman, Sir Stafford Foster-Sutton, that this may have delayed completion of his report by two or three weeks.

"The Economy Commission has nearly completed its report. The Regional Boundaries Commission submitted its report on November 23, and copies were sent at once to the Governor for consideration by the Kenya Council of Ministers. The report will be published later this month.

"The Fiscal Commission will have to visit Kenya again later this month to complete its work in the light of the decisions of the Regional Boundaries Commission. The commission dealing with the delimitation of the Lower House Constituencies returned to Kenya this week-end. The Northern Frontier District Commission are preparing their report which will be available later this month.

"I want to repeat that there was no difference of opinion between my rt. hon. friend and Sir Patrick Renison about the pace at which things needed to go. Both were agreed

that there should be no avoidable delay in the progress towards constitutional development.

"I was particularly interested to hear the suggestion of Lord Salisbury about the small holdings. He, if I may say so, has seemed to me all along to have been approaching the whole problem of Kenya in a constructive way. I have been privileged to have private conversations with him in the office, and I have seen all along that, like all of us, what he wishes is for a happy solution. I know that he does not entirely agree with all that we are doing, but I do know that he realizes that we are trying to do something very difficult in the way which we think best.

"His proposal for the bulking up of smaller holdings into large farming companies is something which should be considered. I should very much like to have an opportunity of discussing this matter further with him.

### "Suppose Things Went Wrong"

"There are, of course, a number of European farmers who through age or infirmity are no longer able to contribute to the economy of the country, and who also might constitute a security risk by reason of their inability, suppose things went wrong, to protect themselves; and also because of the remoteness of their farms. We agreed to provide funds to the Kenya Government to buy up 63 of such farms. These were the cases considered to be of the highest priority on the basis that the farms bought up should be used for settlement purposes.

"It has now been suggested that there are nearer 200 than 63 such cases. I discussed this with Sir Patrick Renison when he was here. He is looking carefully into the whole of this question so that we can see what can be done. We are aware of this problem and are trying to find its exact extent. It is not the nature of the British people to let British people down.

"Over the greater part of the country the security situation is good, but there are trouble spots in the Rift Valley and Nyanza Province. The main threat comes from the Kenya Land Freedom Army, but the Kenya Government has taken vigorous action against it, and a substantial number of cases have been brought to court and weapons recovered. The organization still represents a threat, but the Government has adequate forces and powers to deal with it. What is particularly encouraging is that activities of this organization have been roundly condemned by all responsible political leaders in Kenya.

### British Troops

"Other matters that bear on the security situation are feelings between tribes and, above all, unemployment. But the general picture is that the Kenya Government are supporting the drive to stamp out subversion wherever and in whatever form it may arise.

"This year 736 persons have been convicted in magistrates' courts of Land Freedom Army offences.

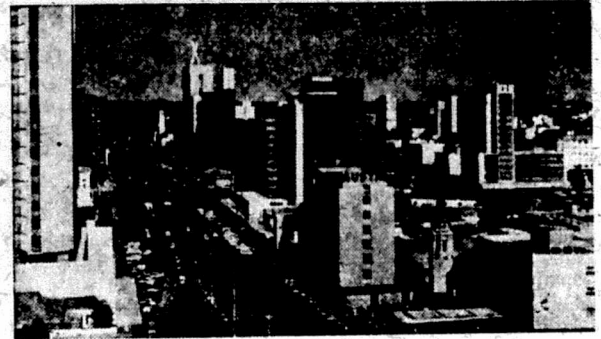
"Some Press reports appeared to imply there was an exact connexion between the relinquishment by the present commander of his command in Kenya next November and the date when the British troops would be withdrawn from Kenya. There is no connexion whatsoever. The question of the future of our troops in Kenya, what should happen after independence, and the sort of arrangements in the field of defence which we might enter into with the independent Kenya Government are matters which can be discussed only with the Government which will take Kenya into independence.

"Lord Salisbury suggests that there might be dual nationality. In the Constitution now being drafted we are not concerned with citizenship. The Kenya Independent Constitution will have to contain provisions for Kenya citizenship, and these provisions will be negotiated at the conference about the arrangements for independence. We understand the feelings of those of British birth or British origin now in Kenya, and of course we will bear them in mind. This is not the time to discuss usefully this problem."

In a brief reply LORD SALISBURY mentioned that Lord Listowel had said he thought that the debate had shown a general approval of Government policy.

"I thought that that was going too far. Indeed, I continue to believe that the Government by their past policies have been largely responsible for the situation that has arisen. But there was agreement this afternoon on a very important thing—the need to restore confidence. That, of course, is not a matter for H.M. Government alone; it is also a matter for the African leaders and everybody else concerned. If confidence could be restored, the situation in Kenya might yet be saved."



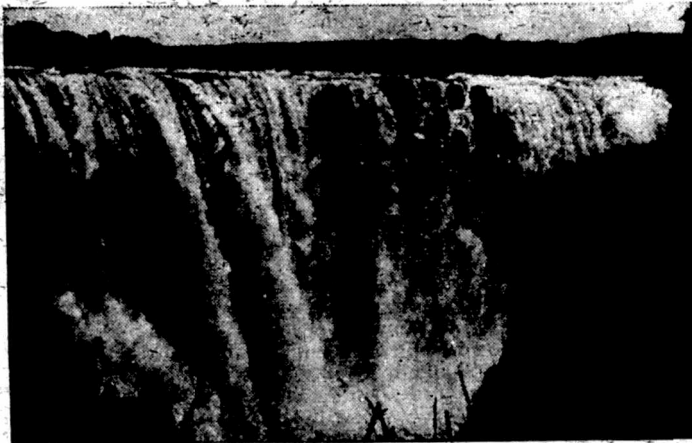


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# CAA and EAA

CENTRAL AFRICAN AIRWAYS EAST AFRICAN AIRWAYS

[5101 EAA]

## Northern Rhodesian M.L.Cs.

(Concluded from page 345)

Two years after joining an airline was posted to the Federation as its local director and general manager. Moved to Northern Rhodesia this year as a business manager. A director of a number of companies.

**Henderick Johannes Liebenberg** (Roan, U.F.P.). Born in Boksburg, Transvaal, 1910. Educated there and at Germiston. In 1938 he became a miner. Ten years later joined the Roan mine as a winding-engine driver; now a personnel officer. As a member of the Mine Workers' Union, became a shop steward in 1953, full-time secretary three years later, and chairman of the Roan branch in 1960 and a member of the Mining Joint Industrial Council. On Luanshya town council 1959-61. Married, with four children.

**Edward Mungoni Liso** (Lusaka Rural, A.N.C.). Born in Barotseland, 1927. Educated at St. Mark's College, Mapanza. After two years as a medical orderly, entered politics full-time in 1952. Married with four children.

**James Dawson Macmillan** (Livingstone, U.F.P.), was born in Scotland in 1913 and educated at George Heriot's School, Edinburgh. Served as a captain in the Royal Artillery and the Black Watch. Arrived in Southern Rhodesia in 1948, and went north to Livingstone in 1952, of which he is now deputy mayor, chairman of the school advisory council, and a member of the advisory council of the African Trades School. Married, with three children.

**Job Mafambo Mayanda** (Zambezi, A.N.C.), was born in 1923 at Keemba, Southern Province. After education at Rusangu Mission, he returned there as a teacher from 1944 to 1949. Married; has three children.

**Aaron Michael Milner** (Muchinga, U.N.I.P.). Born in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia, 1932. Educated at Embakwe Mission, Plumtree. Trained as a tailor and took courses in book-keeping and shorthand. Now manages a shop. Married; four children.

**Hugh Robert Emrys Mitchley** (Lusaka West, U.F.P.). Born in India, 1925. Educated at Malvern, and read law at Oriel College, Oxford, where he was an athletics half-blue and represented the university at boxing. After service in the Welsh Guards as a lieutenant in Normandy, Belgium, and Palestine, went to N.R. in 1952 to practise as a barrister.

### Tonga Author

**Elijah Hastokali Kalba Mudenda** (Midlands, U.N.I.P.). Born at Macha, Choma district. At local mission school and then studied at Munal, Makerere College in Uganda, Fort Hare in South Africa, and Cambridge. Joined Government service in 1955 as a plant breeding research officer. Last year attended the Arusha conference on wild life. This year was a delegate at the C.C.T.A./F.A.O. symposium in Dakar on savannah zone cereals. Author of two Tonga publications. Married; two daughters.

**Gabriel Milata Musumbulwa** (Lusaka East, U.F.P.). Born in Luwingu district in 1915. A founder member of the African Mineworkers' Union. In 1952 attended the conference on the formation of the Federation. Has served on the N.R. Central Relations Advisory and Conciliation Committee, and the committees appointed to inquire into discriminatory practices and African representation in local government councils. A former M.L.C. for the Copperbelt, he was at one time Minister of African Education. Married; three children.

**John Mwanaga Mwanakatwa** (Northern Rural, U.N.I.P.). Born in Chinsali in 1926. Educated at Munal and Adams College, South Africa, where he became the first Northern Rhodesian African to obtain a B.A. degree. From 1949 to 1957 he taught at Chalimbana Teacher Training College and at Munal, being in 1957 the first N.R. African to become principal of a secondary school, and the following year the first to be appointed an education officer. Recently spent a year in London working with the Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia. Married; four children.

### Rancher President

**Harry Mwanaga Nkumbala** (South-Western, A.N.C.). Born at Namwala in the Southern Province in 1916. Qualified as a teacher in 1934 at Kafue Methodist Training College. Taught in Methodist schools until 1944, when he accepted a Government scholarship to study at Makerere College, Uganda. Won British Council scholarship for a diploma of education course at London University Institute of Education. Then read political science and economics at London School of Economics, but left without taking a degree. Declining a Government post on his return to N.R., he spent 18 months visiting South Africa, Mozambique, and Mauritius before settling again in the Protectorate as a rancher. In 1951 assumed leadership of the African National Congress. Attended the 1958 All-Africa People's Congress in Accra. Elected to the Legislative Council

1959. Attended 1960-61 Federal Review Conference and the Northern Rhodesian Constitutional Conference in London.

**Wesley Pillsbury Nylrenda** (Eastern, U.N.I.P.). Born at Lundazi in Eastern Province, 1924. Educated at Munal School, Pholela College in Natal, and London University, where he obtained his B.A., a B.Sc. (Economics), and a diploma in education. Began teaching in 1955. Now principal of Monze Secondary School. Married; five children.

**Kashibhai Narshibhai Patel** (special national constituency, Ind., with U.N.I.P. support). Born in 1916 in the Indian State of Gujarat. Educated at Bombay University. After three years in East Africa, arrived in N.R. in 1941. Director of a merchandizing company. President of the Northern Rhodesia Asian Association and an ex-chairman of the Associated Indian Chamber of Commerce. Served on Broken Hill Municipal Council, 1955-61. Married; five children.

### Broken Hill Farmer

**Herbert John Roberts** (Broken Hill, U.F.P.). Born in Wolverhampton, 1919, but when very young travelled to South Africa with his parents, who moved north in 1928. After education at Milton School, Bulawayo, and Holy Trinity, Weymouth, England, enlisted when war broke out and served for six years in the infantry in Somalia, Ethiopia, and Burma. Trained on farms in Britain, South Africa, and Nyasaland before starting his own farm in the Broken Hill district in 1949. A former Minister of Labour and Mines, he is territorial leader of the United Federal Party. Married; three children.

**Hugh James Edward Stanley** (Kitwe West, U.F.P.). Son of a former Governor of Northern Rhodesia. Born in Livingstone, 1924. Educated at Eton. Returned to N.R. in 1951, and was elected to the Legislature for Kitwe East. Mayor of Kitwe, 1958. Married, with four children.

**Jerry James Steyn** (Kitwe East, U.F.P.). Born Johannesburg, 1918, and educated there. As a fighter pilot the S.A. Air Force was shot down in 1942 in the Middle East and interned until the end of the war. Went to N.R. in 1948. Now a ventilation officer. Vice-president 1953-57 of N.R. Mine Officials' Association. A former M.L.C. for Kitwe. Married, one son.

**Francis Nigel Stubbs** (Luapula, A.N.C.), born at Worksop, England, in 1919, and educated at the Abbey and Priory Boys' High School there. After service with the R.A.F. in Europe and the Middle East from 1938 to 1946, went to Northern Rhodesia in 1949, where he is now principal of Mufulira Mine induction school. Married, with three children.

**Arthur Ntuluti Lubinda Wina** (Barotseland East, U.N.I.P.). Born in Mongu, Barotseland, in 1929 the son of a former Ngambela. Educated at Sefula Mission, Munal, Makerere College, and the University of California. During 1955-59 worked for N.R. Government as a co-operative officer and on an exchange visitor grant, and also obtained a steel research foundation scholarship. Married. He is the elder brother of Sikota Wina, publicity secretary of U.N.I.P.

**Sikota Wina** (Copperbelt West, U.N.I.P.) born in Mongu in 1931. Educated at Kafue and Munal. After working in the Government Information Department, left to become editor of *Nchanga Drum*, Chingola.

**Pieter John Wulf** (Mufulira, U.F.P.). Born in Kimberley, South Africa, in 1915. Went to N.R. in 1936 as a surveyor on a copper mine. During the war served in East and North Africa with the South African Engineering Corps. A former M.L.C. for Mufulira. Married; one son.

**Philemon Chamberlain Zindana** (Luangwa, U.F.P.). Born in 1913 at Hartley, Southern Rhodesia. At school at Livingstonia and Waddilove Institute. During the war he was a sergeant in the Royal Rhodesian Air Force; served as a medical orderly. He has been a medical assistant and an education councillor with the Ngonj Native Authority. Married; five children.

**Alexander Grey Zulu** (Copperbelt Central, U.N.I.P.). Born in 1924 in Fort Jameson. Educated at Mafuta lower primary and Munal secondary schools. Worked for the Government for a time, and then became general manager of Kabwe African Co-operative Society, Broken Hill. Married; four children.

## Kenya Church Association

THE KENYA CHURCH ASSOCIATION, hitherto confined to adherents of the Anglican Church in England, is anxious to widen membership to Christians of all denominations, to provide a meeting-place and a new service in co-operation with the Christian Council of Kenya and the Kenya Church Information Board, and to offer opportunities of hearing the views of leading churchmen and others visiting London from Kenya. Anyone interested is invited to communicate with the honorary secretary at 6 Salisbury Square, London, E.C.4.

## Kenya Nationalization Too Costly Finance Minister on Economic Unrealism

KENYA COULD NOT AFFORD to nationalize its industries, the Finance Minister, Mr. J. S. Gichuru, told a meeting of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industries of Eastern Africa in Kisumu last week.

Some "responsible" politicians had referred to nationalization, he said, but they had expressed only their personal views. The Government as a whole had not considered the matter; having prepared plans for development, it could not find the money for nationalization.

A particular example was the East African Power and Lighting Co., Ltd., for the nationalization of which there was a provision in the Ordinance; "but it would involve us in buying the company and its assets, and we should be quite unable to find the money from any source.

### "We Are Broke"

"Everyone knows that we are broke. No country gets grants-in-aid from the British Treasury unless it is broke and has used up its reserves. But we are no more broke than when I gave a full account of our position in my budget speech some six months ago".

Then he had estimated expenditure at £36½m. and revenue at about £34m. Nearly half of the £2½m. deficit related to special expenditure on flood and famine relief and rehabilitation measures, so that dependence on grants-in-aid for normal recurrent expenditure would be about £600,000. The 1962-63 financial year, ending next June, could be expected to end roughly in balance.

"What I think had not been generally appreciated in the country is the change that will come over the financial picture when we become independent. As a preparatory step towards that change, the budget imposed additional taxation to

bring in an estimated £2.6m., which will reduce our dependence on outside aid for normal recurrent expenditure. No one—East or West—will give us money to meet our normal recurrent expenditure, and no one will lend us money for development unless they think that we shall be in a position to repay it.

"I am frequently asked why the Government does not find money for this project or that. I am told that Kenya is a rich country, and that particular classes of civil servants should get more pay. But the people who will have to pay are the taxpayers of Kenya, and when we become independent we cannot shift the burden—even to the extent that we are now doing—to the British Government.

"Next year we shall have to take on additional burdens. We shall have to cover from our own resources the basic deficit of £600,000. The increase in the public debt and the pensions vote—both of which are commitments—will amount to over £500,000. We shall have to meet during part of the year the cost of our own Army and the cost of diplomatic representation overseas. Some increase in expenditure on education will be inevitable. The expanded Legislative Council and the new Upper House will cost us an additional £150,000.

"It looks as if I shall face a prospective deficit of over £4m. next year, and that, with further burdens to fall on us in the following year, there will be an even greater gap to close in addition to the cost of operating the compensation scheme for designated officers.

### Taxation Already High

"At a time when the economy is not expanding, it will not be possible to cover more than part of this gap by increases in taxation. We are already taking more than one-third of the profits of companies, and our rates of individual taxation are high. If we put up indirect taxation any further there is always the danger that consumption will fall, and that no net increase in revenue will accrue to the Exchequer.

"It is against this background that the Government has to consider demands for new services and increased salaries. The people will expect independence to mean better services, and a better standard of living for everyone. It can mean this only if we begin by holding our expenditure to what we can afford, and ensuring that the efforts of the Government and the people are devoted to increasing production and so adding to the national income. It is only then that the Government, by its share in the growth of the national income, will be able to provide additional services.

"We are facing a difficult time, which will require sacrifices and effort from all of us. The resumption of the growth of the economy will depend not only on the Government's own efforts, but on the ability of the Government to promote an understanding of economic and financial problems throughout the country".

Referring to the Asian community, the Minister said that some of its members were already grasping their opportunities by purchasing land and farms in areas formerly reserved for European occupation, but that the major part of Asian enterprise would continue to be devoted to trade, commerce, and industry.

### No Discrimination

"In those spheres you should have no fear of discriminatory legislation, but you will wish also to earn and retain the good will of Africans in a country that will be run by an African Government. Africans will rightly take an increasing part in trade and commerce, and they will rightly expect fair treatment from those who are already established in these spheres. The steadily expanding incomes of African farmers will create opportunities for increased trade and industry, and it is from this growth in incomes that the best chance lies of an expansion of the economy.

"A number of large concerns run by members of your community employ Africans only in the unskilled jobs. You should begin to consider whether this policy is wise. Africans entering trade and commerce will want help, advice, and training.

"At this time, when businessmen and others are afraid to invest, there is scope for those with enterprise to get in on the ground floor. Those who take the long view are unlikely to regret a courageous decision now. New markets can be found—not only within Kenya, but in neighbouring territories and overseas.

"We wish to encourage the re-investment of profits in Kenya and the investment of money from overseas. In this connexion it may be of interest that the Kenya Treasury has since January accorded approved status to over £5m. of investment from countries outside the sterling area. The Government will do its utmost to encourage further investment, and hopes to be able to set up a development company which will have capital to assist in the establishment of new enterprises".



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BEST LIKED CIGARETTES**

## "Kenya Will Overcome Even Disasters"

### Governor's Challenge to Young Kenyans

"IT IS FASHIONABLE nowadays to decry colonialism, to apologize for having built an empire and brought peace and progress to diverse peoples in every corner of the globe. It is not a thing to be ashamed of, but to be very proud of; and the proudest effort is perhaps this most difficult one which no other race has ever attempted—the whole-hearted effort to turn our Empire into a Commonwealth of free people with links of friendship, understanding and co-operation under our Queen, the head of the Commonwealth.

"Go on being proud of what your parents and ancestors, the British people, have done in this country and in other countries which we have ruled and guided all over the world.

"I urge you not to be frightened of the future here in Kenya. There will be changes, but the Commonwealth was built on changes. Nobody wants to stand still. You can face changes. There will always be a place for people who want to help in the right way.

"There may be difficulties, even disasters, but Kenya will come through them. Carry on with what you are doing—teaching, learning, playing games—and take what comes cheerfully in the same spirit as was shown by the men and women who faced the unknown to build this country"—Sir Patrick Renison, Governor of Kenya, making at Kenton College, Nairobi, what he "hoped" would be his last public speech while in the Colonial Service.

## Coast Tourism Would Rescue Kenya

### Over-Emphasis Hitherto on Wild Life

EAST AFRICA will soon be recognized as one of the biggest nuclear shelters in the world, and may therefore confidently expect a large number of wealthy people to come to live there in order to escape the effects of fallout—and, incidentally, to strengthen our economy"—Mr. Arvind Jamidar, Kenya's Minister for Tourism, told the Mombasa Sea Angling Club recently.

He believed that the Coast could rescue Kenya economically. For some time the economy at the Coast had been running down quite considerably, with an alarming degree of unemployment and a general state of acute depression. That had to be countered to make the Coast the leader of tourism in Kenya. Existing facilities were capable of handling double the number of tourists.

"Kenya is an under-developed country. Dictatorship, lack of personal freedoms, bitterness, hatred of easily identifiable and comparatively wealthy minorities—these are the political concomitants of under-developed countries. To secure to ourselves political freedoms it is essential that our country develops rapidly and our economy expands and continues expanding at a quick rate.

"No other industry in Kenya can have the natural growth-drive that the tourist industry has. All that we need do is to give it further acceleration.

"We have over-emphasized our game attractions and underrated such other attractions as the beaches, the palm trees, the superlative scenic beauties which abound at the Coast, which now come to Kenya's rescue. All that is needed is a carefully planned and imaginative publicity campaign.

"The mysteriously veiled, jasmine-scented belles of the Coast, with their hypnotic eyes and some of the most shapely legs in the world, are capable of drawing and holding the attentions of men from any part of the globe. I must warn our potential tourists that the virtue of these ladies is such that the only relations possible with them are purely platonic. My sympathies!"

A casino in Mombasa might be opened once the "outdated" gambling laws had been amended.

The Minister criticized the poor response of coastal hoteliers to an inquiry from the East African Tourist Travel Association, which had received replies from only 10 of 27 hotels on their occupancy rates. In Uganda the association had had 95% co-operation.

## 400 Civil Servants Leaving Kenya

### Voluntary Retirements Already Numerous

PERMISSION TO RETIRE voluntarily under the limited compensation scheme has been granted to 405 of some 3,400 designated officers in Kenya. More than 200 of them have already left the Colony.

From the Central Government and provincial administrations, the figures include one deputy chief secretary, seven senior assistant and seven assistant secretaries, six senior D.Cs., 68 D.Os., and six senior district assistants.

Of 138 police officers, 13 are superintendents, 36 assistant superintendents, 35 chief inspectors, 49 inspectors, and five civilians. Seven prison superintendents, 20 assistant prison superintendents, four probation officers, and one approved school superintendent are leaving the Ministry of Social Services.

The Ministry of Education is losing 25 education officers. One assistant labour commissioner, four senior labour officers, 13 labour officers, and one assistant registrar are leaving the Ministry of Labour.

Others who are retiring include one deputy airport commandant, three community development officers, two provincial information officers, and 21 executive officers in the common cadres.

The scheme operates for officers whose posts can be filled by local candidates. A more general compensation scheme is to be introduced at the time of internal self-government.

## Kenya Threatens Somali Republic

SOMALIS ARE FREE to leave Kenya if they wish, "but they are not allowed to take part of Kenya with them", the Finance Minister, Mr. J. S. Gichuru, said in Nairobi at a week-end meeting of the Northern Province United Association. "There will be no changes in our boundaries. If Somalia wants war, we are ready for it, and Ethiopia is ready to back us if Somalia is aggressive". The Labour Minister, Mr. T. J. Mboya, said: "If an inch of Kenya is taken by Somalia, the people of this country will shed blood to get it back".

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Mombasa: Messrs. Mitchell Cotts & Co. (East Africa) Ltd. P.O. Box 141.

Tanga: Messrs. Wigglesworth & Co. (Africa) Ltd. P.O. Box 180.

Zanzibar: Messrs. Mitchell Cotts & Co. (East Africa) P.O. Box 315.

Dar-es-Salaam: Messrs. Agence Belge de l'Est Africain S.A. P.O. Box 9041.

Lindi: Messrs. Karimjee Jivanjee & Co. Ltd. P.O. Box 1001.

Mtwara: Messrs. Karimjee Jivanjee & Co. Ltd. P.O. Box 57.

Federation:

N'dola: Messrs. Leopold Walford (C.A.) Ltd. P.O. Box 1567.

Salisbury: Messrs. Miller Weedon & Carruthers (C.A.) (Pvt) P.O. Box 2791.

Bulawayo: Messrs. Miller Weedon & Carruthers (C.A.) (Pvt) Ltd. P.O. Box 939.

Beit Bridge: Messrs. Miller Weedon & Carruthers (C.A.) (Pvt) Ltd. P.O. Box Beit Bridge.

Mozambique:

Beira: Messrs. East African Shipping Agency, P.O. Box 72/82.

## U.N. Troops Alerted in Katanga Support for Central Government Boycott Request

SEVENTEEN COUNTRIES were last week asked by the Congolese Prime Minister, Mr. Adoula, to "refuse the importation into their territories of Katanga copper and cobalt the export of which is not authorized by the Central Government in Leopoldville" as phase III of the U Thant plan for reconciliation in the Congo. The countries approached were Britain, Belgium, the United States, South Africa, Portugal, Southern Rhodesia, Austria, Brazil, Denmark, France, Italy, India, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland and West Germany.

Next day, Thursday, the United Nations secretary-general, U Thant, sent letters to Britain, Belgium, Portugal and South Africa requesting their Governments to prevent the shipment of Katangese metals through their territories.

On the following day he wrote to the other States already approached by Mr. Adoula, seeking their co-operation in applying the third phase of his plan, and suggesting specific measures which each could take, ranging from refusing to accept Katangese stamps as valid postage to a boycott of the province's minerals.

### Will Hit Back

The secretary-general told his predominantly Afro-Asian 18-member Congo advisory committee that "we are now in a phase in which all of the pressures available to us will be exerted on the basis of careful selection and planning and with every effort made to avoid armed conflict.

"If, however, Mr. Tshombe should elect to order his gendarmerie to attack us, we will defend ourselves fully and hit back to the full extent of our capacity. The U.N. troops are alerted and are being prepared for such an eventuality".

He added that he had received a letter from the Katangese President which "on first look would appear to be an encouraging development, but in view of our past experiences with Mr. Tshombe we are not jumping to any hasty conclusion".

This was a reference to Mr. Tshombe's offer to share revenues from the Belgian mining company Union Minière du Haut-Katanga with the Central Government on condition that the province receive about half of the remainder left after the company has met its foreign currency needs from the estimated £90m. yearly revenues.

### "Very Powerful Rebel"

The Belgian Foreign Minister, M. Spaak, said in Brussels on Tuesday last week that another "war" in the Congo would be dangerous and useless, but that the U.N. was making a last attempt for reconciliation; if it failed, economic sanctions would be applied which might lead to military action. Mr. Tshombe, he said, was "no longer a statesman but merely a very powerful rebel", who had violated the *loi fondamentale* of the Congo when he declared Katanga's secession. Belgium, with 17,000 nationals in the Congo, had to support the Leopoldville Government.

Union Minière issued an "appeal to reason" to all parties in Katanga to negotiate a solution rather than imperil the lives of some 120,000 people dependent on the company, destruction of whose industrial establishments would be a "fatal blow" to the region's economy.

The U.N.O. chief of operations in the Congo, Mr. Robert Gardiner, of Ghana, told correspondents on Friday that "Tshombe will have to face the facts at last and put his promises to co-operate into effect, or be destroyed. If he hits me I'll hit back. I am not going to be party to another fiasco. We are building up our strength in Katanga to avoid the slightest chance of the U.N. being humiliated as happened before, when one tiny training aircraft flown by an amateur defeated the entire organization".

He said that the province would be forced to integrate with the rest of the country within 30 days if the 17 nations gave

their unlimited co-operation in applying sanctions. "If they do not, you may as well throw the U.N. on the scrap-heap". It was not going to make the mistake of the League of Nations in 1936, which had tried to apply sanctions to Italy's invasion of Ethiopia.

The Katangese Finance Minister, Mr. Jean-Baptiste Kibwe, had meetings last week with the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, and the African party leaders in the new Northern Rhodesian Government, Mr. Kaunda and Mr. Nkumbula. Asked before returning to Elisabethville whether he expected fresh fighting there, he said that the U.N. might occupy the towns, "but we will go into the bush. We are savages. We don't mind fighting. My grandfather was a warrior. We are well prepared".

### Guerilla War

Sir Roy warned that the U.N. would find itself with a full-scale guerilla war on its hands.

In the House of Lords the Minister of State at the Foreign Office, the Earl of Dundee, told Lord Colyton that the British permanent representative in New York had been assured by the U.N. Secretariat that "they will not take any military initiative in the Congo. This has been reiterated by Mr. Gardiner in his letter to Mr. Tshombe".

More than 80 Conservative M.Ps. have tabled a motion in the House of Commons "recognizing the desirability of all the Congo territories remaining united, but convinced that the principle of self-determination enshrined in the U.N. Charter must be upheld, requests H.M. Government to take an immediate initiative at the U.N. Security Council to prevent the imposition in any part of the Congo of a political solution by the use of force or economic coercion".

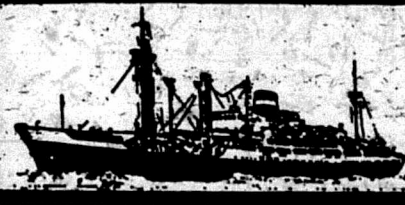
A counter motion proposed by Labour and Liberal M.Ps. regrets the continued separation of Katanga, condemns "outside pressure groups perpetuating the divisions in the Congo", and calls on the Government to support the U.N. measures.

Sudanese and Congolese troops have clashed in the Orientale Province around Adi and Aba, in the border area. The Sudanese were said to have burned several Congo villages. The Uganda Rifles has deployed a company along the north-west Uganda border.



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## Company Report

### East African Sisal Plantations

THE THIRTY-FOURTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF EAST AFRICAN SISAL PLANTATIONS, LIMITED, was held on December 12 in London.

MR. G. R. S. DOYLE, the chairman of the company, who presided, said:

"In my circulated statement the price of No. 1 sisal was given at £110 per ton c.i.f. It is now £123 per ton.

"Production on our estates in the first five months of the current year shows an increase of 25% over the same period last year. On the other hand, a recent wage award will add an estimated £8 per ton to the cost of production, and an export tax of 5% on f.o.b. value has been imposed.

"The current year to date is profitable, but it is early to judge the full effect of these recent measures. Subject to other conditions remaining favourable, we hope to recommend a dividend for the current year".

The report was adopted.

### Sharp Fall in "Tanks" Profit

TANGANYIKA CONCESSIONS, LTD., having received no dividends from its large holdings in Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, had a profit for the year ended July 31 of only £874,842, compared with £3,296,325, in the previous year. Then almost £2.5m. was distributed in dividends. Now a distribution of 9d. per stock unit will take £574,712, and £147,570 is required to pay the 8% preference dividend. The carry-forward is £1.2m.

The issued capital is just over £9.5m. Holdings in Union Minière stand in the books at almost £4.4m., but present market quotations give a value of £15.9m. Shares and debentures in the Benguela Railway Company appear at £5.5m., in Commonwealth Timber Industries, Ltd., Southern Rhodesia, at £1.6m., in Tanganyika Holdings, Ltd., at £793,400, and in other companies at £1.8m. The investments of a wholly-owned subsidiary total £1.4m., and current assets less current liabilities amount to about £1.6m.

Captain Charles Waterhouse is the chairman, Mr. T. P. M. Cochran the deputy chairman, and the other members of the board are Lord Clitheroe, the Earl of Selborne, Sir Ulick Alexander, Sir Robert Hudson, Sir Andrew Strachan, Sir Mark Turner, and Messrs. F. J. A. Guillaume, H. F. Oppenheimer, H. J. Robiliart, A. de Spirlet, E. P. Van Der Straeten, and Dr. Alexandre Pinto Basto. Mr. P. H. A. Brownrigg is an alternative director.

Sir Ulick Alexander, a director since 1926 and chairman from 1952 to 1957, has decided not to seek re-election, and Mr. Ary Guillaume, a director for the past 12 years, is to retire owing to ill health. Lord Clitheroe joined the board last October. During the year Lord Robins and Lieut-Colonel Francis Follett, a son-in-law of Sir Robert Williams, founder of the company, both died.

The annual meeting is to be held in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, on January 24.

## Commercial Brevities

More than 200 crane-drivers in the port of Mombasa suddenly struck work recently.

Seychelles Tea Co., Ltd., has begun experimental planting on Mahé Island. The sponsors are residents of Kenya.

Sales of Kenya pyrethrum during the year to June 30 totalled 7,201 tons, as against 8,382 tons in the previous year.

Owing to the Chinese threat to Northern Indian teas, the prices of East African and Nyassaland teas have risen sharply.

Charter Trust & Agency, Ltd., report net revenue after tax at £322,753 (£307,111). The dividend is raised from 15% to 17%.

London underwriters were left with 86.5% of the issue of £3m. of 6½% redeemable debenture stock 1985-95 in Dalgety and New Zealand Loan, Ltd.

A well-illustrated brochure on the Benguela Railway has been published by the London Committee. It is available from 95 Gresham Street, London, E.C.2.

The African Life Assurance Society has acquired the Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg, from African Caterers, Ltd., a group with large Rhodesian interests.

The Federal Broadcasting Corporation intends to spend more than £160,000 on capital equipment during the next three years. A revenue surplus of £116,457 for 1961-62 is announced.

Bushnick Mines, Ltd., Southern Rhodesia, reports a loss of £1,115 for the year to June 30 (£1,378). No dividend is to be paid. The debit balance forward is £6,087 (£4,972). Investments have a market value of £50,286 (£31,905).

De Beers Industrial Corporation, Ltd., estimates profit for the year to December 31, 1962, at £1,844,000 after providing £55,000 for preference dividends. The final dividend of 15 cents per share brings the total to 25 cents (22½ cents last year).

November Sisal Outputs: Bird & Co., (Africa), Ltd., 1,892 tons, making 9,185 tons for July-November; Central Line Sisal Estates, 383 tons, making 1,842 for five months; Dwa Plantations, 457 tons, making 1,597 for 11 months (1,585 tons in 1961).

International Computers and Tabulators, Ltd., a group with a Rhodesian subsidiary, report that in the year to September 26 group profit after tax amounted to £2.2m., about £70,000 less than in the previous year. A 2s. 3d. dividend is repeated. The carry-forward is increased from £766,000 to £1,149,000.

Allsopp (East Africa), Ltd., reports profit before tax for the past year at £302,010 (£196,130), sales having increased by some 16% and profit by 54%. Dividends of 30% have been paid on capital increased by a bonus issue a year ago. The offer of three East African Breweries shares for every two stock units in Allsopp has been accepted by more than 90% of the shareholders. The two companies will continue to trade separately.

Union Minière du Haut-Katanga announced on Friday that there would be no interim dividend. A year ago shareholders were told that there would be an interim distribution of 600 Belgian francs per share, and in April a final of 800 francs was declared. Neither payment has yet been made because the Katanga authorities have not permitted transfer of the necessary funds. Now the company states that the situation has been "aggravated notably by the slackening of copper and cobalt sales". Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., hold about 14% of the Union Minière capital.

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# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, December 27, 1962

Vol. 39

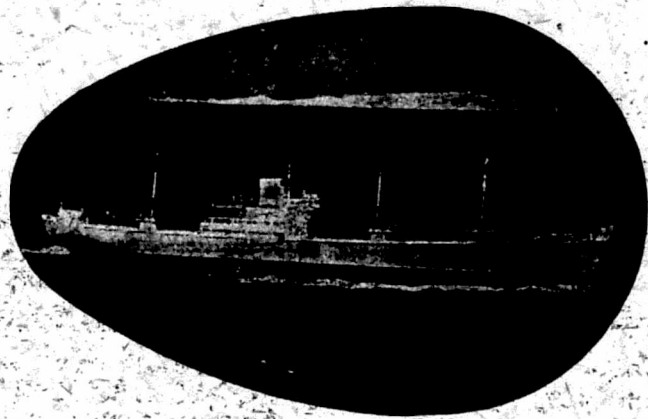
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**Federation Betrayed by Macmillan Government**

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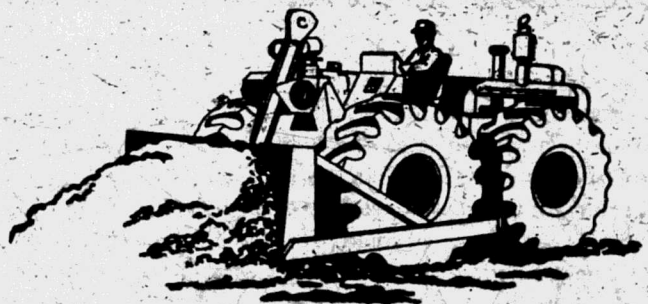
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## Principal Contents

In view of the importance of recording immediately the statements made last week in the Federal and United Kingdom Parliaments on the grant to Nyasaland of the right to secede from the Federation, almost the whole of this issue is devoted to that subject.

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1962

Vol. 39

No. 1994

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

### NO COMMONWEALTH PRIME

MINISTER can ever have made such scathing accusations against a United Kingdom Government as those which were expressed in the

#### Sir Roy Welensky's Dishonours List

Federal Parliament last week by Sir Roy Welensky and had the most damaging of them corroborated on the same day in the House of Lords by British Ministers who had given solemn pledges which after their departure from office were deliberately broken by the same Government and Prime Minister. The Federal Prime Minister's arraignment could scarcely have been graver, for he charged the United Kingdom Government with having "turned its back" on the Federation; with having "ratted on us" and "gone back on the most solemn undertakings"; with "an act of treachery" in wrecking the foundation upon which that Government had itself built the Federation; with having "deliberately misled Federal Ministers on many important issues"; with "not having observed the ordinary decencies of honest dealing"; with "breaking faith with their conscience and their responsibilities"; and with having embarked upon an ignoble policy so "gradually and insidiously" that it had been impossible to discern and check the intention in the initial stages. There was, he concluded, "little honour left in dealings with the British Government". For each item in this dishonours list *prima facie* evidence was provided.

That the Macmillan Government had in the past three years broken pledge after pledge to the Federal Government was widely known, but Sir Roy

Welensky had hitherto felt himself inhibited from publishing documentary proof in support of such allega-

tions. The gross breach of faith involved in H.M. Government's promise to Dr. Banda that Nyasaland may secede from the Federation, an act of appeasement which destroys the very foundation of the Federal State, has compelled him to reveal the duplicity committed in Britain's name by quoting from documents which had hitherto remained secret, and which establish beyond question that in capitulating to the Malawi Congress Party's demand for the right to withdraw from the Federation the United Kingdom Government has breached the basic condition on which the Federation was established, for, in particular, there were the most explicit assurances from the senior British negotiators that the Federation would be set up as a permanency and that there could be no material change in its Constitution at any time except with the unanimous consent of the five Governments concerned.

Lord Malvern, who had flown from Rhodesia to speak in the debate, declared that as Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia at the time of the discussions at which the

detailed plan was worked out, and as

Prime Minister designate of the Federation, he would have refused to sign the conference report if the British Ministers engaged in the negotiations had not given satisfactory pledges that there could be no question of secession by any constituent territory. His account of those undertakings was confirmed from their own personal knowledge by Lord Salisbury, Lord Chandos, Lord Colyton, and Lord Boyd of Merton. There could not possibly have been more impressive Conservative witnesses on the side of the Federation and against a Conservative Government which has acquired under Mr. Macmillan an African record which is a disgrace to itself and the country. Even that record has been made still more

despicable by the legalistic reply of the Lord Chancellor, who developed at great length the shocking argument that any pledges given at the negotiating table must be considered null and void unless they were enshrined in the Act of Parliament which subsequently created the Federation or confirmed in the Order in Council under the Act, and that a distinction had to be drawn between promises said to be recorded in documents still confidential and the text of the published papers. Lord Dilhorne naturally brought upon himself the rebuke that the issue was one of ethics and honourable dealing, not of legalism. He was unmoved; but the House was manifestly dissatisfied. No speaker made the point that if the basic condition of the indissolubility of the Federation was omitted from the instruments, the fault was primarily that of British Ministers, legal advisers, or other officials, and that it was therefore contemptible to seek years later to shelter behind such omissions, especially as the verbatim record shows that pledges were given in unequivocal terms.

That the Macmillan - Macleod attitude to the Federation had been "unscrupulous" was publicly stated some eighteen months ago by Lord Salisbury, a former Secretary of State. That

#### **Cleverest Conjuror In the Business**

unscrupulousness has resulted in the betrayal of British Central Africa by Ministers entrusted with the duties of trusteeship and by a Conservative Parliamentary Party which remained staggeringly complacent as its coldly calculating and cynical leaders added crime upon crime to the reprehensible tally. The latest infamy, that of the bargain with the extremists in Nyasaland, when confessed to the House of Commons after sedulous preparation by the now customary course of hints and newspaper leakages, caused scarcely a ripple among the torpid Tories. No wonder Mr. Butler, perhaps the cleverest conjuror in the business, feels assured that with such an audience he can work his tricks as he wishes. Of course, he can. But he should not assume that its acquiescence in dishonour is shared by responsible opinion elsewhere. We find ordinary people concerned that the Federation seems to have been callously tricked. A point not mentioned by Sir Roy Welensky or any speaker in the House of Lords is whether the promise to Dr. Banda, made in breach of the most solemn British pledges, was something new or the ratification of an engagement made some months ago with the Malawi leader by Mr. Duncan

Sandys. Apologists for the Minister for Central African Affairs suggest that the commitment was an inconvenient inheritance, but Mr. Butler has laid such stress on the impracticability of resisting Dr. Banda's demand that he is widely considered to be the author of an undertaking which ought never to have been made.

His emphatic statement that there had been full consultation with the Federal Government was unconvincing, for that same day Sir Roy had disclosed that the Federal Government had still no knowledge of the nature of the report of the four advisers sent to the Federation by Mr. Butler. Unless the Federal Cabinet knew the contents of that vital document, it could obviously not put its own case for or against various passages, and it must therefore be misleading to assert that there had been full consultation. Discussion of the intention to tell Parliament of the assurance given to Dr. Banda and of points arising from it falls very far short of the all-embracing consultation which should have preceded any possible acknowledgment of a demand from Nyasaland which was bound to produce an immediate appeal from the African extremists in Northern Rhodesia for similar treatment of their country. In both Houses the spokesmen went through the pantomime of emphasising that the grant to Nyasaland would not create a precedent for Northern Rhodesia. That nonsense was, very naturally, exploded within a few hours by Mr. Kaunda and Mr. Nkumbula. But by then M.Ps. were packing up for Christmas.

It is most unfortunate that revelation of the really dastardly treatment of the Federation by men in high places in this country should have been made just before Parliament went

#### **Machination to Minimize Publicity**

into recess for a month and when Press and public were preoccupied with the approach of the Christmas holidays. That was deliberately planned, as EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA alone forecast weeks ago. It is not the first time that so obvious a manoeuvre has been used, notably by Mr. Macleod in his Kenya transactions. An apathetic electorate neither knows nor cares about such machinations to minimize publicity and the effect upon an extremely short-memored people of the betrayal of Sir Roy Welensky, a man whom they admire because he has shown himself so stout a defender of the interests of his country and so candid and impressive a

personality in all his television appearances in England.

If only he had had three years ago the public support of Lord Chandos, Lord Boyd, and Lord Swinton, all speaking as ex-Ministers who had been intimately concerned with the establishment of the Federation, the Macmillan coterie could not have continued on the abject and indefensible course which has brought so deep a stigma upon this country and such grave and irreparable hurt to the Federation. Lord Chan-

### **Publish and Be Damned**

## **Sir Roy Welensky Denounces Macmillan Government\***

**"Dishonoured Positive Assurances" and "Deliberately Mised Federal Ministers"**

**T**HE BRITISH GOVERNMENT have turned their backs on us here in the Federation.

My mind goes back to the conference in 1952 and 1953 when the Federation was brought into being, and I remember the enthusiasm, the confidence, and the high resolve of those British Ministers who, in company with a number of us here in this House, determined that the only lasting and enduring solution for this part of Africa was a Federation of the three States. We had ideals in those days. We had an abiding faith. We believed that H.M. Government, through her Secretaries of State, meant what was said, and that nothing whatever would divert that Government or the Ministers from the noble purpose they had in mind and to which they solemnly subscribed their names.

The report by the conference on Federation held in London in January, 1953 (Cmd. Paper 8753) was signed by Lord Swinton, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton (now Lord Chandos), Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Salisbury, Lord President of the Council and Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations at the time of the 1952 Conference, Sir G. M. Huggins (now Lord Malvern), Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Sir G. M. Rennie, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, and Sir G. F. T. Colby, Governor of Nyasaland.

### **Solemn Undertaking to Create Lasting Federation**

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

There has never been the slightest doubt in my mind — or, I know, in the mind of Lord Malvern — that the contracting parties to the act of Federation took part in a solemn undertaking to create a lasting Federation, or at least to preserve it until the four Governments within the Federation, together with the British Government, agreed otherwise. Indeed, I have good reason to know that Lord Malvern would never have been a party to the agreement had it not been so.

I was present throughout the conferences which preceded Federation, and it was my privilege to be associated with those who signed the 1953 report in what

dos and Lord Boyd having now convincingly corroborated Lord Malvern and Sir Roy Welensky, the Cabinet's spokesmen, instead of admitting that great wrong has been done, seek to confuse the essential issue by pettifogging legalisms and silly insinuations that the documents, if published, might bear constructions contrary to those to which Sir Roy and Lords Malvern, Salisbury, Chandos, Boyd, and Colyton have all testified. "Publish and be damned" used to be the retort of a politician charged with unfair concealment. This Government fears to publish because it recognizes that it would thereby be damned.

was termed the steering committee for the conference. I can therefore testify personally to the attitudes and intentions of the British Ministers I have mentioned — Lord Salisbury, Lord Swinton, and Lord Chandos — as well as Lord Malvern and the two Governors of the territories. There was never a thought in their minds that Federation could end. It was something permanent and enduring, and it was designed accordingly for these high purposes.

### **In Defiance of Solemn Undertakings**

Moreover, it was clearly intended that no fundamental change would possibly take place for at least 10 years, and then only with the approval of the Governments concerned. The 1953 report stated: "To give the new Federal State time to establish itself, and to build up confidence in the Federation among all the peoples of the territories, provision has been made that, for a period of 10 years after the Constitution comes into force, there shall be no change in the division of powers between the Federation and the territories except with the consent of all three territorial Legislatures". We have not yet had 10 years of Federation, yet today, nine years after the Federation was established by the British Government, that same Government proposes unilaterally to act in defiance of the solemn undertakings of 1953.

Let me quote some extracts from the minutes of the 1953 Conference. During a discussion on whether or not provision should be made in the Constitution for a secession clause, Lord Swinton said:—

"I know no Federal Constitution within the Commonwealth, or indeed I think outside it, in which a secession clause is to be found, and there must be very good reason for that, particularly when one remembers that there have been both within the Commonwealth and outside it great jealousies of State and provincial rights when federation took place. Yet great as those sectional and provincial interests were territorially, never was such a clause inserted in the Constitution measures — except, which is delightful, Mr. Hopkinson (now Lord Colyton) reminds me, within the Soviet Union.

"It would be right to describe a claim to secede as a precursor of liquidation... One absolutely over-riding economic objection to this rules it out from the very start. The Federation has got to raise loans on Federal assets and Federal securities. Make no mistake about it — if you doubt my words, ask anybody in the City of London — the Federation could never raise a penny by loan if it were not known whether Federation was to continue. Therefore, whatever views you take about what I call the moral side of the thing, there is an economic argument to which there can be no possible answer..."

Item 3 in the minutes of the meeting held on January 19, 1953, headed "Review of the Constitution", reads: "The general view expressed by delegates was that... any proposal to terminate the Constitution could be put into effect only with the concurrence of the Federal Government, and of the three territorial Governments, and of H.M. Government in the United Kingdom..."

To underline this understanding, which we all had at the time, and which was fundamental to our thinking and to our conception and belief that we were creating something of a lasting and permanent nature, I refer hon. Members to

\*The speech from which these passages are taken was made in the Federal Parliament on December 19.

extracts from the verbatim report of this meeting. They underline my conviction that no amendment to the Federal concept is possible without the consent of my Government and the other contracting Governments.

I quote extracts from this verbatim report of statements by Lord Chandos and Lord Swinton.

Lord Chandos said: "We must have an assurance from the lawyers that anything that is put in this thing does not abrogate what I consider to be the present position, which is I think that without the unanimous consent of the four Governments in fact the Constitution could not be liquidated".

Lord Swinton went on to say: "That is a risk you always run in a sense, that it would be possible I suppose for H.M. Government, if they could persuade Parliament to do it, to pass an Act of Parliament tomorrow morning to take away the whole of responsible government from Southern Rhodesia and the whole of the functions which would be given to the Federation. You cannot legislate against the United Kingdom Parliament going off its head".

Lord Chandos followed with this statement: "In this case there would have to be four people to do it". Finally he said: "Nothing can liquidate the Constitution unless all four are agreed on it".

### Part of the Contract

The understandings reflected in these statements were taken as part of a contract by all who attended the conference. There was no dissentient voice. Those who took part in the conference sincerely believed they were creating something permanent and purposeful, and I hope hon. Members will now appreciate why I have consistently demanded that the concurrence of all four Governments is necessary before any agreement, even in principle, to Nyasaland's secession could be approved.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies said in the House of Commons on March 24, 1953, on a motion that the House approve the establishment of the Federation: "I believe that without political federation, economic developments are bound to be wasteful. We have witnessed in Europe more than once since the war the difficulties which attend even partial economic integration without political federation. Page 5 of the report of the conference says: 'No one of these territories can be expected to subordinate its own interests to those of another territory for which it has no responsibility and with which it is not politically associated'".

"The view was widely held that there should be another conference of the three territorial Governments, the Federal Government, and H.M. Government in the United Kingdom to review the working of the Constitution not earlier than the seventh or later than the 10th year from when it comes into force. We have incorporated these ideas in the scheme. I emphasize that this conference is not to decide whether federation has succeeded or failed, or whether it should be abolished or continued. Nothing of the sort: it is a conference to make such alterations in the detailed working of the Constitution as experience of its work has shown to be necessary during the first decade in its life".

### "British Government Have Ratted on Us"

By their action today [in unilaterally conceding to Nyasaland the right to secede] the British Government have ratted on us. They have gone back on the most solemn understandings and intentions. They have wrecked the foundation upon which they themselves built the Federation and on which they were determined at that time to construct a lasting edifice. They have been guilty of an act of treachery.

A joint declaration made by the British and Federal Governments in April, 1957, following a visit I made to London, states that "H.M. Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland take this opportunity of reaffirming that they are opposed to any proposal either for the amalgamation into a unitary State of the territories now composing the Federation or for the secession of any of those territories from the Federation".

Mr. Harold Macmillan himself said to the National Affairs Association in Salisbury on January 19, 1960: "The function of the Monckton Commission is not to destroy the Federation. Far from it. It is to advise us how the Federation can best go forward... On July 22 I said in Parliament in connexion with the Monckton Commission: 'If we are to announce our intention now to disband the Federation or form a new one, or to divide it into different units without waiting either for the commission or for the 1960 Review, if we were to tear up without further thought an experiment which is only seven years old and which started with a good deal of good will on all sides, an experiment which has made very considerable progress, we should be guilty of an act of treachery towards the high ideals and purposes which we set ourselves. I stand by these words—all of them—and I do not wish to add to them'. That was a declaration of British policy, made as recently as January, 1960. But it is difficult to reconcile Mr. Macmillan's sentiments with other

contemporaneous happenings. I have, for instance, very good reason to know that in their determination to set up the Monckton Commission the British Government were influenced at least in part by domestic politics. They were afraid of the issue the Labour Party could make of the forthcoming review of the Federal Constitution during the October 1960 general election in Britain.

On February 21, 1960, during a visit to Salisbury by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, concern was expressed by Federal Ministers about the Monckton Commission's interpretation of its terms of reference, particularly in view of recent statements by Lord Monckton and Mr. W. M. Chirwa, a member of the commission. The Federal Government argued that evidence dealing with the possibility of secession should not even be admissible, in view of the Commission's terms of reference.

Mr. Macmillan was fully aware of these anxieties from our exchange of messages. He had told me that his Government had no intention of making an extension of the terms of reference of the Monckton Commission to include secession, and that every member of the commission had accepted office on that basis.

The final outcome is public knowledge. There were the customary inspired leaks to selected London newspaper correspondents and after this artillery barrage the attack was launched. The commission's report was published containing recommendations which were clearly in conflict with the unequivocal assurances given by Mr. Macmillan and in breach of the undertakings reached between the two Governments.

To come back to the assurances given that the integrity of the Federation would be preserved, Lord Home, (Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations at the time), told a Press conference in Salisbury on February 26, 1960: "I have been asked many times in the last 10 days what is the British Government's attitude to Federation. I will recall, if I may, the 1957 declaration which said that H.M. Government and the Government of the Federation 'reaffirm that they are opposed to any proposal either for the amalgamation into a unitary State of the territories now composing the Federation or for the secession of any one of those territories from the Federation'. We believe in Federation, and we want to see how it can best be made to work for the benefit of all its peoples. That is our intention. I hope there will be no doubt about that".

### Positive Assurances Dishonoured

These were positive assurances, and I am profoundly shocked that the British Government have seen fit to dishonour them and to break faith with their conscience and their responsibilities.

It is extremely difficult to account for the obvious change which has taken place in the British Government's attitude to the Federation, and to say just when this change took place. The change has been gradual and insidious, and this has made it all the more difficult to detect and combat.

Although the same political party is in power in Britain now as in 1953, the composition of the British Government has undergone many changes, and in the Federal Government's experience the personal views of individual British Ministers have been permitted to influence quite disproportionately the policy of that Government on issues of vital concern to the Federation.

The British Government had survived a crisis over Suez, but British prestige suffered a severe reverse. There is little doubt that the United Kingdom was dismayed at the rapidity of the rank growth of militant nationalism in Africa generally. The numerical strength and voting influence of the extremist Afro-Asian countries at the United Nations was increasing year by year, and it was abundantly clear that the approach of the majority of those countries towards the problems of Africa was conditioned by emotion rather than reason. It also became clear that the British Government did not wish to risk a clash with this new force.

The Government's position was made no easier by Her Majesty's Opposition, which chose to regard the Federation's problems as a narrow party issue and extracted every ounce of political advantage from its difficulties. The British Labour Party contains in its ranks some good friends, but also many hostile critics of the Federation, who have consistently harassed and even deliberately sabotaged this great undertaking in their determination to give comfort and support to those whose aim it is to subvert the association between the Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

There is little doubt that these and other events had a profound effect on British Government thinking, and this was made manifest by Mr. Macmillan early in 1960 when, after he had visited the Federation, he made his "winds of change" speech in Cape Town.

It may be that all these causes added together make reason enough in the minds of some to go back on solemn under-

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"The Rhodesian Front stands for white supremacy, but it also represents a revolt against Whitehall, against British Colonial policy. White Rhodesians feel they have been let down by H.M. Government. That is one of the reasons why they voted as they did. The new Government will press more urgently than its predecessor for independence.

"We shall continue to have to answer for Southern Rhodesia at the United Nations if there is any deterioration in race relations, and, indeed, if there is not any distinct improvement. That is as awkward for us as for Southern Rhodesia; because we get blamed for a policy which is repugnant to the majority of members of the United Nations, and to most of world opinion, although we cannot control this policy. I think we should show the Southern Rhodesian Government that we are willing to help, especially with the economy of their country, which has run into serious difficulties, but that they must be willing to meet us half-way on matters which are our concern as well as theirs."

LORD OGMORE welcomed H.M. Government's decision on Nyasaland, which means that Northern Rhodesia could not be denied the right to secede.

"To-day's statement is the death-knell of the Federation. Those who wrap themselves in a comfortable illusion are now left naked to the winds of change.

"What replaces the Federation from an economic point of view is of the utmost urgency and importance. We must strive to create a common services organization, as in East Africa, to take over the economic commitments of the Federation.

### All Not Lost in Rhodesia

"Mr. Kaunda has already threatened to impose a barrier between Northern and Southern Rhodesia to stop imports of many goods unless Mr. Nkomo is released by Mr. Winston Field. All sorts of problems of that kind can arise. It is our duty to bring statesmanship to bear in order that there shall be consultation and co-operation with Rhodesians in all sections of the community in Southern Rhodesia, especially with the leaders of the overwhelming majority of the African people, some of whom are now in detention.

"I do not think that all is lost in Southern Rhodesia. We must ensure that the people have just as much right to exercise their political judgment as others. That will mean an African Government in Southern Rhodesia. That is what H.M. Government will strive to bring about. The British Government must not be deflected by the interests of a small minority, however important economically.

"There are wild rumours that the Rhodesian Front is likely to resort to open defiance of the British Government's Colonial policy and to retain white supremacy at all costs. I doubt that. In the last resort, the Government of Southern Rhodesia is entirely dependent upon British power to support its measures. The British Government could insist on implementation by the Southern Rhodesian Government of the human rights legislation which is in the Constitution, repeal of the Land Apportionment Act, and on doing away with the surviving vestiges of racial discrimination.

"I thank Sir Edgar Whitehead for what he has done in those fields. He has never had a great deal of credit, and he did not perhaps go as far as many of us would like, but he did go some way; and it is because he did so that he was rejected.

"We should insist on reform of the franchises in Northern and Southern Rhodesia, so as to do away with their fancy, loaded systems. If the British Government do not do these things we shall be regarded by world opinion as living in Central Africa not under the Southern Cross but under the double cross."

### Lord Salisbury's Strictures

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY deplored the unilateral decision of H.M. Government that Nyasaland might secede, for the Conservative Government pledged itself in 1953 that changes, if made, could be effected only by consent of all the Governments concerned.

"This has been plainly stated by the Federal Government, and will I am sure be confirmed this afternoon by the noble viscount Lord Malvern, who was the main delegate of the Rhodesias at the conference, and, as we all know, is a statesman most highly respected in the whole Commonwealth, with his stalwart sincerity and integrity.

"My lords, I too, can confirm what was said at that conference, for I was a representative of H.M. Government at it. I have been at pains to refresh my memory as to what

happened there, and I can assure your lordships that there can be no doubt at all that British Ministers at the conference gave most explicit assurances that the Constitution of the new Federation would not be liquidated without the free assent of all the Governments concerned; and that included the Federal Government. Yet that is just what has been done by to-day's statement.

"Not only must it be obvious that the action of H.M. Government, in cutting out from the body politic of the Federation one of its main members, must strike a severe blow at the existence of the whole institution, but, even more important, it may, whatever the Government statement says, by creating a precedent open the door to similar action in the case of Northern Rhodesia. If Northern Rhodesia were excised the Federation would automatically cease to exist.

### Our Word Has Been Our Bond

"Nor in my view is there validity in the argument that legally and constitutionally it is within the competence of any Parliament in this country to undo what has been done by preceding Parliaments. From the strictly legalistic point of view that is perfectly correct; but it does not, I suggest, provide ground on which any self-respecting country could stand in practice, for if generally applied it would deal a death blow to the whole principle of the sanctity of treaties and other international engagements, the main base on which peace and civilization rest. Our moral position in the world has always rested on the fact that our word was our bond.

"Why have the Government done a thing so contrary to our whole traditions? One can only conclude that it is because they have more recently involved themselves in some conflicting obligations with Dr. Banda. They are, in fact, in the unhappy position of having to break their word to somebody, and they find it less embarrassing to break their word to their own kith and kin than to him.

"Even if that be the case, could they not have asked him to wait for just one month before claiming his pound of flesh? It may well be that when assurances were given to Dr. Banda Ministers had forgotten how binding were the pledges given in 1953. Now that they do know about them, surely they could have asked him to wait those few weeks, for in less than a month Mr. Butler is to visit the Federation, and the whole position could then have been discussed with all the Governments concerned. Who knows whether some new relationship between the constituent States could not have been worked out which would have commanded general assent?

"Things having reached this pass, changes are now necessary. There would at any rate have been a fair chance of negotiating what is now called a package deal which might have secured the assent of all concerned. All such prospects have been gravely prejudiced if one of the main elements of a bargain has been given away before the negotiations begin. H.M. Government ought to have known that.

"Perhaps Dr. Banda was asked to wait and refused. Where our good faith was involved, could we not have insisted? Surely that would have been the proper thing to do. If the talks in January failed, we should at any rate have honoured the obligations we undertook in 1953.

### Government's Policy Has Failed Disastrously

"It is of course possible that the Government regarded the Federation as dead anyway. Mr. Field, in his first speech, said that he would not take the initiative in breaking up the Federation. Yet, in the light of what has happened in Southern Rhodesia over the week-end, no one can now rule out the end of the Federation. It could happen, for it must be clear to everyone — and this is almost the only point on which I agree with Lord Listowel — that the Government's policy in Central Africa has failed disastrously.

"With all the shifts and shuffles, with all the chopping and changing, what has it achieved? — the establishment in two States of the Federation of Governments wedded to the domination of the black man and in the third of a Government wedded to the domination of the white man. The only political leaders who seem in a fair way to being driven into the political wilderness, at any rate for the time being, are Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead — the two men who have stood throughout unflinchingly for that true non-racialism which I have always understood to be the official policy of Mr. Macmillan's Government. No wonder Rhodesians feel disillusioned.

"The vote in the Southern Rhodesian elections must be regarded not as a vote against Sir Roy Welensky or against Sir Edgar Whitehead. It was a vote against outside interference in the country's internal affairs, against all the meddling and muddling to which they have been subjected in the last few years.

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# PERSONALIA

CAPTAIN O. N. BAILEY has joined the board of Inchcape & Co., Ltd.

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD is to leave London on April 3 to take up duty as Governor of Kenya.

MRS. ARTHUR FAWCUS will leave London Airport on January 3 for a visit to Kenya of between three and four months.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and for the Colonies, hopes to visit Kenya in February.

MR. T. P. H. LEECH, acting executive officer of the Kenya export promotion council, will next month visit Beirut and towns along the Arabian Gulf.

MR. K. W. COTTON and MR. J. C. R. GORNALL, representatives of the meat-canning firm of Liebig's, have toured the Eastern Region of Uganda to inspect possible sites for a factory.

MR. CHU KUANG, vice-chairman of Communist China's overseas commission for cultural relations, is leading a six-man "cultural and goodwill" delegation to African countries which has just visited Tanganyika and Uganda.

SIR WAVELL WAKEFIELD, Conservative M.P. for Marylebone, who had decided not to fight the seat at the next election, has accepted strong representations from the constituency party not to retire from Parliament. He has visited East and Central Africa.

MR. R. J. MUKASA, deputy chairman of the Uganda coffee marketing board, has returned from attending the annual assembly of the Inter-African Coffee Organization in Cameroon.

Visitors to the United Kingdom from Northern Rhodesia include Messrs. W. HASLAM, G. R. BRASTED, P. O. WALLIS, E. D. M. LLOYD, F. G. PALIN, H. P. HAILE, C. M. N. WHITE, and G. V. R. MARAIS, from Lusaka; R. W. G. PRENTICE and C. T. SWAN, from Livingstone; and W. R. WADDINGTON, from Kasama.

SIR RONALD PRAIN is to relinquish the office of president of the Rhodesian Selection Trust group at the end of March, but will remain chairman and chief executive officer. MR. F. E. BUCH, executive vice-president, is to become president. SIR RONALD has been managing director for about 20 years, chairman since 1950, and president for several years.

MR. J. S. NICOLL has resigned the managing directorship of Steel Brothers & Co., Ltd., but retains his seat on the board, from which MR. A. MCGILVRAY has retired. MR. K. LOCKLEY and MR. W. F. G. SALKELD have been appointed managing directors. MR. C. H. ELLIOTT has become a managing director, and MR. G. W. ROYDS and MR. J. H. GAUNT have been appointed director managers.

SIR RICHARD TURNBULL arrived at London Airport last week from Tanganyika, at the end of 32 years in the Colonial Service in East Africa. He told newspaper representatives that, having a tremendous affection for Africa and its peoples, he hoped to return to a job in Africa when the political scene had become more settled. SIR RICHARD and LADY TURNBULL are living in Henley-on-Thames.

MR. JOSEPH ODUHO, a former member of the Sudan Parliament, and after it was closed down in 1958 headmaster of an intermediate school in the South, has arrived in England. Warned that he was about to be arrested, he crossed into Uganda two years ago. Some months ago he went to Tanganyika and thence to the Congo. He is president of the Sudan African Closed District National Union.

MR. LIONEL FRASER, who has been deeply interested in African affairs for many years, will on January 31 resign from the boards of Schroders and J. Henry Schroder Wagg & Co., Ltd. He has been with Helbert Wagg, which recently amalgamated with J. Henry Schroder, for nearly half a century, and was chairman of Helbert Wagg from 1954 until the amalgamation. MR. FRASER is chairman of the Thomas Tilling group.

MR. J. MALTAS has been re-elected president of Salisbury Chamber of Commerce, Southern Rhodesia, of which MR. B. C. WARNER is vice-president. The other members of the executive committee are MESSRS. E. G. ATMORE, D. BARBOUR, R. BURNINGHAM, D. A. P. BUTT, A. G. CALDER, R. H. S. DICKINSON, G. C. DRAPER, J. C. FLETCHER, M. T. GRIFFITHS, D. L. HARTLEY, J. A. E. LANCASTER, G. C. MALTAS, G. J. SICHEL, and C. WRIGHT.

HERR KAI-UWE VON HASSEL, Premier of Schleswig-Holstein, aged 49, who has just become Defence Minister of West Germany, was born in Tanganyika (when it was German East Africa), the son of a Regular Army officer who had turned planter. The son served in the last war in the German Army and was captured by British troops. He is one of the four deputy chairmen in the Christian Democratic Party headed by Dr. ADENAUER.

The appointment of VISCOUNT BOYD OF MERTON as chairman of a committee to advise on the work of the Overseas Services Resettlement Bureau was reported last week. SIR COLVILLE DEVERELL, who was at one time in the Colonial Service in East Africa, is deputy chairman. Among the other members are Dr. A. H. MARSHALL, city treasurer of Coventry, who has reported on East African matters for the Colonial Office, and MR. PHILLIP ROGERS, who was formerly in charge of the East African Department of the Colonial Office and is now in the Department of Technical Co-operation.



**PLAYER'S**  
please

THE WORLD'S  
BEST LIKED CIGARETTES

## OBLIGATIONS ALTERABLE ONLY BY AGREEMENT

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takings; but we in the Federal Government do not accept that because circumstances have changed obligations no longer exist. Of course circumstances change and will always change, but if obligations are to be altered they must be altered by agreement. Furthermore, we do not accept that a change which is fundamentally a change for the worse must necessarily be forced upon the people of this country. I refer to the degeneration in standards which the coming of pan-Africanism has brought to so much of Africa.

We do not accept that principles and ideals which were found laudable as recently as 1953 can be undesirable only eight years later. Basic values—for these are what they are—do not change, although expediency might turn some people from them; and this is what has happened.

If Nyasaland had to be excised from the Federation, it should have been by agreement and in a way which would have seen the interests of the people of Nyasaland.

### Ordinary Decencies of Honest Consultation

Through no fault of their own, and in spite of their fine record of achievement, the Government of the Federation found that British Government support was being progressively withdrawn. Although assurances to the contrary continued to be given, British policy towards the affairs of the Federation and its constituent territories began to be compounded in the crucible of expediency rather than of principle.

There is ample evidence in this Government's possession to demonstrate that Federal Ministers were misled on many important issues. The frequency with which this occurred leads inescapably to the conclusion that it was done deliberately, and that in the discharge of their official duties towards the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland certain British Ministers have not scrupled to employ methods which are an antithesis of all that Britain used to stand for.

Even today British Ministers will not admit that there has been any change in their policy. They will say, if confronted, that their belief and their faith in the Federation still exists. I leave it to hon. Members to judge whether the present British Government have honoured their obligations to us; whether they have kept their faith, and whether they have observed the ordinary decencies of honest dealing and honest consultation. From this condemnation I exclude many honourable men who have held high office, and many others who have been true to their principles.

I make no apology for dealing at some length with moral considerations. They are fundamental and important, even more so than those which are strictly formal and legal; but there are these other considerations as well.

I do not intend to discuss the matter of the constitutional conventions which the Federal Government contends apply to our relationships with the British Government. The Minister of Law will demonstrate that these are binding conventions which ought to persuade the British Government if they are honourable men not to proceed to excise Nyasaland from the Federation without our consent. A White Paper has been prepared incorporating the statement the Minister will make on this most important issue.

### Concession to Violence

The stories of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland can be summed up in few words—concession to violence, and private pledges to African leaders taking pride of place, no matter what promises might be broken or what commitments they might supersede.

Mr. Macmillan specifically asked me to regard the 1961 Constitution for Northern Rhodesia as final. It was on this basis that I and others took part in the Southern Rhodesian referendum in July. Yet it was a matter of weeks later that, in the face of violence in Northern Rhodesia, the British Government capitulated and threw open the whole Constitution once more. I have little doubt that actions such as this had a material influence on the recent attitude of the Southern Rhodesian electorate.

We have endeavoured to build on the foundation of high ideals and purposes which were the keynote of the 1953 Conference and on a firm basis of assurance that we would be supported and encouraged. Yet the British Government have failed us and taken a decision regardless of the consequences on the lives and livelihood of all the people of this land.

Sole responsibility for the decision announced today by Mr. Butler lies on H.M. Government in Britain. They, and they alone, must bear the responsibility for the consequences of their decision—and the consequences will be serious and substantial.

My Government were informed only after the decision had been made by British Ministers. We were not consulted before the decision was reached. On Saturday, November 3, I was informed that the British Government had decided that an announcement would be made before the Nyasaland Conference, due to start on November 12, and that the British Government had agreed in principle to the secession of that territory from the Federation. At my request this decision was reported to Federal Ministers by the British High Commissioner on November 5.

The decision had been taken without any discussion with the Federal Government of the likely consequences which would follow. We were not asked what our attitude would be. We were not asked the terms upon which any secession could take place. We were given no undertaking that the heavy financial commitments of Nyasaland would be paid back or guaranteed. We were not consulted about the position of our Federal civil servants. Their future was apparently of little concern to the British Government.

We, as a Government, were completely ignored. But of course we were given the usual numerous assurances of full consultation and told once again that both Governments should work in a spirit of amity, understanding, and good will.

The British Government have vacillated for years on the question of the excision of Nyasaland. On May 8 last year Mr. Butler made this statement in the House of Commons: "We acknowledge that Dr. Banda and the Malawi Party, supported by a firm mandate at the last election, are not prepared for Nyasaland to remain within the present Federation". No one but a fool would have failed to see the sinister content of this statement. It was tantamount to acceptance in principle of the secession of Nyasaland. However, Mr. Butler did go on to say: "On the other hand H.M. Government think it right that before any final conclusions are reached there should be a full examination with particular reference to Nyasaland's financial needs and economic liability both of the consequences of the withdrawal of Nyasaland and also—this is the constructive part—of possible alternative and acceptable forms of association with the other two territories."

### No Proper Consultation

Mr. Butler appointed four advisers to himself. Liaison was maintained between these advisers and the Federal Government respectively. The Federal Government co-operated to the fullest possible extent and supplied the advisers with voluminous documentary information and evidence as to the effects of Nyasaland's secession on that country. In return for this we received formal thanks but nothing more.

I have not even been given a copy of the report Mr. Butler received or been given the slightest hint of what form it took, although Mr. Butler undertook to consult me fully on the advice he was given and undertook that he would do so before his Government came to any decision.

Let me quote from the record of a meeting which Mr. Butler had with Federal Ministers and myself on May 14. We were discussing the advisers and the report ultimately to be presented. "The Secretary of State affirmed that after he had received advice from his advisers he would consult the Federal Government before any decision was taken. He appreciated that it was only at that stage that the Federal Government could properly represent its views on the purely political aspects of the problems concerned."

The British Government have known for over a year that I would very reluctantly be prepared to accept the excision of Nyasaland from the Federation, but under certain clear conditions. I have always maintained that no change in the status of any part of the Federation could take place without the consent of the five Governments involved; but had the British Government been willing to give us reasonable undertakings in regard to the future of the two Rhodesias, and assurances as to certain other matters, including the affairs of the public services, the national debt, and fully adequate safeguards for the interests of those who do not support the Malawi Party, they could have had the consent of the Federal Government.

This I maintain is necessary by virtue of the constitutional convention which has obtained in the Commonwealth since the end of the last century that once a State has achieved responsible government, as we have done, the British Government have no right to interfere with it by legislation without its consent. It was against the background of this convention that the pledges were given in 1953. They were further reinforced by the 1957 declaration. Britain has departed

from this custom, which has been established for a long time.

I am bound to say that the course of action the British Government have chosen to follow is typical of the change in morality towards public life that has taken place in the last decade in the United Kingdom, where expediency and not principle has become the guiding factor.

I protested to the British Government in the strongest possible terms and asked them to reconsider their decision both in the interests of the people of Nyasaland and because the decision had been taken in isolation and was contrary to all understandings and assurances from 1953 onwards.

On November 7 I drew Mr. Butler's attention to his clear statement in the House of Commons in May that Nyasaland was only one aspect of a composite problem, and I made it clear that the only basis on which I could consider the secession of Nyasaland was as part of an overall settlement, the terms to be announced contemporaneously. Mr. Butler replied that the British Government adhered to their view, but agreed to postpone the announcement until just before the House of Commons rose for the Christmas recess.

### British Contention Totally Rejected

In my reply I left him in no doubt that the Federal Government totally rejected the British Government's contention that they had the right to act unilaterally in this way, and I did my best to persuade him to postpone any announcement until there had been an opportunity for personal discussions between us when he visited the Federation, as he had said he intended to do in January, 1963. If this were impossible, I told him that I would wish to send a team of Ministers to Britain. I had no formal reply to this message, and only after pressure by the Federal High Commissioner did Mr. Butler agree to invite my Ministers to London. I sent the Deputy Prime Minister, the Minister of Law, and the Minister of Finance on December 7.

The consequences of Nyasaland's withdrawing from the Federation are likely to be disastrous to that country, and I should fail in my duty to the people of that country if I were to withhold from them the assessment of those consequences which my Government have made. For this reason amongst others the White Paper entitled "The Issue of Nyasaland's Secession" has been prepared. The Government believe that the widest publicity should be given to this White Paper so that the advocates of the secession of Nyasaland, and the people of that country, should have a better appreciation of the step now contemplated by the British Government.

The concluding paragraph reads: "In the nine years since Federation the Federal Government has spent in or on behalf of Nyasaland almost £41m. more than the total income it has received from the territory. Health, education, communications, postal services, commerce and industry, agriculture and power have all had their share of this inflow, and the standard of living of the people of Nyasaland has risen steadily as a result."

### Questions Which Should Have Been Answered

"Cut off from the Federation, the people must face a most serious fall in living standards, and the rate of economic growth since Federation must surely be retarded considerably. Without a replacement for the regular flow of Federal finance and skills, a separate Nyasaland would face a depression in every sector. In these circumstances Nyasaland must look to Britain to close the gap; but—and here is the complete antithesis—it was for the very reason of wanting to offload the burden of Nyasaland that Britain insisted on the country being incorporated in the Federation."

The British announcement leaves in the air a number of fundamental questions to which the Federal Government believes answers should have been supplied. How long will the process of extricating Nyasaland take? What is the programme for this purpose? What possible forms of alternative association, if any, have been considered? What will be the fate of the Federal national debt? Will some of it, and if so how much, be offloaded on to Nyasaland? Will Britain guarantee the remainder of the lenders?

How are the present Federal services in Nyasaland to be maintained, having regard to the extraordinary difficulties likely to be encountered by the Nyasaland Government in retaining experienced civil servants dealing with limited territorial functions and the virtual certainty of being unable to recruit experienced civil servants to carry on the existing Federal services? How will Nyasaland's budgetary deficit be made good? What is to be the fate of the armed forces of the Federation in relation to Nyasaland on the one hand and the two Rhodesias on the other? What will be the arrangements relating to the pension rights of Federal civil servants and the employees of statutory bodies such as

Rhodesia Railways, and who will guarantee the payment of those pensions?

Who will bear the expense of the unscrambling of the Federation, brought about by the unilateral action of the British Government?

Surely commonsense, if nothing else, should have required the British Government to discuss with the Federal Government all these and many other problems before arbitrarily announcing a decision in principle which must have the effect of prejudicing the prospects of providing the best solution to these problems.

Nyasaland, I suppose, may in the years to come be able to eke out some kind of precarious existence by throwing herself upon international charity—although I should have thought that an unworthy ambition for any self-respecting country which wanted to be the master of its own destinies and the architect of its own salvation. Nor should I have thought that it provided a very solid and certain basis for the planning of future development. One might have thought that the international community itself would not have welcomed another dependant to support, when there are so many other calls on its resources and when the country is wilfully and needlessly depriving itself of much of its means of sustenance.

I have fought strongly and long, not because of any personal ambition, but because of my abiding faith in the high ideals we had at the birth of Federation and my determination to preserve those high ideals and purposes for the benefit of all the peoples of the three territories. I have fought on behalf of Nyasaland and for the benefit of the people there, because of my knowledge of the unfortunate future which lies ahead for them in a Nyasaland outside the Federation, without the financial and economic support of the two Rhodesias. I will go on fighting to alter a decision which I consider wrong in every way, and to minimize the disaster it could bring to our part of Africa. It is in this spirit that I face the future, and in this way that we must determine our course of action.

Extrication of Nyasaland will take a considerable time and be a most intricate operation, demanding the closest attention, supervision and liaison between the Federal Government, the Nyasaland Government, and the British Government. In the negotiations the Federal Government will do what we can to urge the British and Nyasaland Governments to compensate all Nyasaland residents who do not subscribe to the Malawi Party, and to enable them if they so wish to take up residence elsewhere.

### Sheerest Lunacy to Break Rhodesias Apart

The Rhodesias have grown together in a way that would make it an act of sheerest lunacy to break them apart. The practical problems which I have foreshadowed in regard to the detachment of Nyasaland from the Federation would be infinitely multiplied and the practical consequences for millions of people of all races would be catastrophic.

We spend some £9m. a year on defence, a burden far too great to be carried, even proportionately, by any territory on its own. Again the residual obligation of any disunion would amount to so much that I question whether any British Government, however far it may have slipped down the slippery slope of appeasement, could ever seriously contemplate asking the British taxpayer to foot the bill.

Moreover, any idea of an economic or customs union without a firm political union is a mirage. In short, the tragedy of a separated Nyasaland is insignificant to what would happen if the two Rhodesias were not kept together.

What role do the Federal Government and Parliament now play? Had the United Federal Party won the elections in Southern Rhodesia, it was my intention at this meeting to serve notice on the British Government that we have no intention of allowing them to weaken or break the ties which exist between the two Rhodesias, in any circumstances whatsoever.

Now the viewpoint of the Government of Southern Rhodesia has first to be clarified and their attitude towards the continuance of any link with Northern Rhodesia made known. Their view on any future association with Nyasaland has already been made abundantly clear.

To assist in clarifying this aspect of the situation, I hope that as soon as the new Government has settled down in Southern Rhodesia the First Secretary of State will come out for talks; but it would be only fair to give the new Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister and his Government an opportunity to appreciate the difficulties and problems that are being met.

We in this House have an obligation to thousands of Federal civil servants and members of the armed forces, as well as to the representatives, employees or staff of the many statutory bodies that have been developed as a result of Federation. We have an obligation to the people who have lent us millions of pounds. These obligations we have got to honour. I am determined to do what I can to see that the interests of these people are protected.

The Federal Government have taken note of the biased platitudes that have again surrounded the British Government's announcement of its intentions. We are not impressed with these, and the history of our dealings with the present British Government now makes the Federal Government believe that there is little, if any, honour left in dealings with the British Government. I say that Britain has lost the will to govern in Africa, and that Britain is utterly reckless of the fate of the inhabitants of the present Federation.

By contrast, we in the Federation have neither lost faith in ourselves nor in our will to govern decently and fairly. Nor have we lost our courage and our determination that, though others may have violated their duty and their pledges, at no time will it be possible to level that charge at us.

By nature I am not one of those inclined to sit down under what I consider to be an injustice. I am aware that the view has been expressed in public that it would be a good thing if I were to disappear from the political scene. I am quite happy to leave this entirely to a decision of this House. If the Federal Assembly feels that, in view of the circumstances which now exist, someone else is more capable of producing a better result, I should be only too happy to tender my resignation to the Governor-General. If on the other hand it is your wish that I carry on, I will do so.

[Editorial comment appears under Matters of Moment.]

**British Troops Ready to Move In**

Replying to the debate on his speech, Sir Roy explained his reference to "fighting it out if necessary" by saying that "at one stage in the early part of last year it looked as if H.M. Government in the United Kingdom did intend to use force against us in the Federation to carry out her will.

"I had to tell my Cabinet colleagues in February last year that although to me it was inconceivable that any British Government would use force against her own kith and kin in this country, we had undeniable evidence that the British Government were building up forces in Nairobi, and we had good reason to think that the build-up was directed against us.

"If this House decides that I should continue to lead in the Federal field, it must understand that I do not intend to take any other than the line I have followed up to now—that is to resist anything that I consider endangers the future prosperity of this country and the interests of its inhabitants.

"There is no intention on the part of the Federal Government to use force as far as the United Kingdom is concerned. But I want to make it clear that if any attempts are made to force the will of the British Government upon this country, then we reserve this right, as we did in February last year, to take what steps we consider necessary to prevent just that from happening.

"Mr. Butler has implied that the British Government's position is much stronger and the Federal Government's much weaker as a result of the Southern Rhodesian decision. Let me remind him that the defence forces of the Federation are under the direct control of the Federal Government and not of any of the territorial Governments.

"In answer to Mr. Butler, I must say that he also made it clear to me that the British Government had no intention of using force against us should things go wrong in this part of the world. I welcomed this assurance because it represented a change of attitude on the part of the British Government."

**No Resemblance of Consultation**

Sir Roy dismissed British Government claims that there had been "intense and continued consultation" between both Governments on Nyasaland's secession. "There is, of course, a vast difference between discussion of a problem and consultation over it. There has never been any consultation of consultation between our Governments."

He had had discussions with Mr. Butler during the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in September, at which time the Minister for Central Africa had not yet received the report of his advisers on the Federation. "I had no further conversations with Mr. Butler until November. I think the British High Commissioner informed me of the first decision by the British Government to announce the secession of Nyasaland in private.

"What attempt, however, was made to get me to agree to the secession? I thought I was consulted. I think and think on that a Secretary of State can quite well be consulted about it in Parliament. I was therefore challenged by the British Government to announce, with dispatch and with the consent of my own constituents."

The Federal Prime Minister also said the Lord Chancellor, Lord Hailsham, to ask for the records in the House of Lords

since "his sense of self-righteousness allows him to take me to task for revealing the contents of confidential documents. The Lord Chancellor is guilty of cant. It is nonsense to say that the existence of pledges, and indeed their very terms, cannot be mentioned when they are vital to true understanding of the issues in dispute.

"It is amazing that he apparently feels that there is no validity in the convention that the British Government does not interfere in the affairs of self-governing States simply because this is not written into the Constitution of the State. Can the Lord Chancellor cite one single British Constitution into which this convention has been written? We have always accepted the sovereignty of the British Parliament, though we insist on the sanctity of pledges and conventions.

"The Lord Chancellor's remarks imply only utter disregard for morality and honour, and willingness to condone breaching of the convention when expediency demands. He apparently sees it as worthier to break pledges given to the Federal Government than to break pledges given to the Malawi Congress Party."

Most Federal M.P.s. who spoke in the debate echoed Sir Roy's disgust over the decision to allow Nyasaland to secede.

A motion signed by all the Federal Ministers except Sir Roy Welensky called for condemnation of the "dishonourable action of the United Kingdom in violating its solemn pledges to the Federation", appealed to all Rhodesians "to stand resolutely behind this Parliament in its determination to resist further interference in our affairs", and expressed admiration for "the tireless efforts of the Prime Minister to preserve the Federation against attacks from within and without the Commonwealth".

This was opposed by Mr. Jasper Savanhu (Independent), who until he resigned recently was Parliamentary Secretary in the Home Affairs Ministry, the first African to hold such a post. He accused the Federal Government of "assiduously trying under the cloak of partnership to carry out a policy of white domination". To cries of "Nonsense" he claimed that people did not want the Federation, "this Government or this Prime Minister".

Lord Alport told a Press conference in Salisbury that "as a Minister in the British Government at that time, and subsequently as British High Commissioner in the Federation, I can deny Sir Roy Welensky's allegation from my own personal knowledge absolutely and categorically—it was not the intention of the British Government at any time to use force against the Federation". The build-up of troops in Kenya had long since been removed, nor was there a similar massing in Northern Rhodesia.

**Northern Rhodesia Wants Secession  
Economic Barriers Against South Considered**

NORTHERN RHODESIA is in a better position than Nyasaland to secede because of its economic resources, the U.N.I.P. leader and new Minister of Local Government, Mr. Kaunda, claimed in Lusaka when criticising "in the strongest terms" the omission from Mr. Butler's statement of any reference to Northern Rhodesia's "right" to secede.

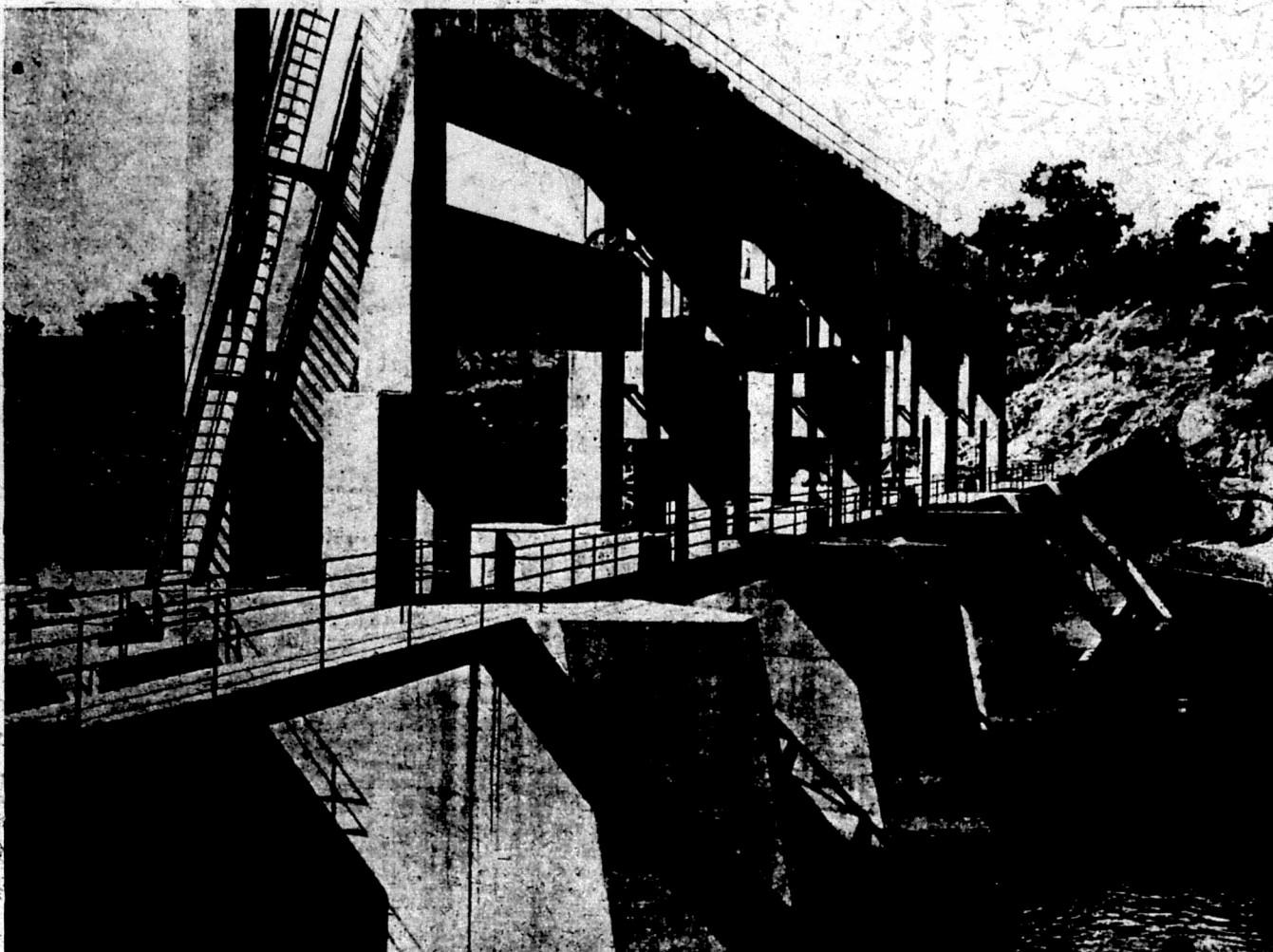
"Nothing can now tie Northern Rhodesia to the apron-strings of the Federation", he said, claiming that his party and the African National Congress had obtained a mandate from the electorate for secession. The A.N.C. leader and Minister of African Education, Mr. Nkomo, agreed.

Mr. Kaunda added that Sir Roy Welensky's offer to resign as Federal Prime Minister should be accepted so that somebody could be appointed in his place to preside over the dissolution of the Federation.

"I also demand that the Federal Service Conference to be held in January or February should in fact become a working committee to effect the break-up of the Federation. When Mr. Butler arrives here we demand a new Constitution. I am a very happy man today."

He said that U.N.I.P. had set up a committee to investigate economic barriers between Northern and Southern Rhodesia. He had earlier threatened to place a barrier on the Southern Strip to stop the import of Southern Rhodesian manufactures unless the new Southern Rhodesian Government allowed the continued ex-territorial status of Z.A.P.U. Mr. Kaunda stated there would be no economic agreement with the Colony until it had a democratic Government representing the majority of the people, a condition not fulfilled by the new regime.

Mr. Nkomo was reported to disagree about trade barriers.



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## Nyasaland's Right to Secede

(Continued from page 363)

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MR. BELLENGER: "Is the rt. hon. gentleman aware that Nyasaland has been receiving substantial subsidies from the Federation in order to keep its affairs going during the last few years? Although it may be welcome to hear that Nyasaland has accepted its responsibilities in relation to the Federal loan and other financial matters, how is it to be done? Is it to be done by asking the British taxpayer to pay?"

MR. BUTLER: "My discussions with Malawi Ministers who visited London for the constitutional conference revealed that they were ready to assume their share of future liabilities. They have made plans accordingly. This does not mean that Britain will be absolved of all responsibility. Indeed, I hope that we shall not be so absolved. At the same time, I think that we can feel that the responsibility will be shared."

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SIR G. NICHOLSON: "Will my rt. hon. friend take it from me, as one with many friends in Nyasaland, that the vast majority of the population there will rejoice in what he has said today, and that everyone whether agreeing with what he does in Central Africa or not, will pay full tribute to his courage, his industry, and his intellectual honesty?"

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Asked later by Mr. D. Healey (Lab.) to publish a full account of the confidential and hitherto unpublished exchanges of 1953 on the establishment of the Federation, the Minister for Central African Affairs replied that it was important to respect the confidential character of documents, and that the position of the other Governments concerned must be considered. He would not announce his decision until after the Christmas recess.

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MR. HEALEY: "If the allegations made by the Federal Prime Minister are true—and they were confirmed in the Lords by the three ex-Ministers concerned—then it is not only a heavy blow to Britain's reputation for honesty in world affairs, illustrating the deplorable collapse in standards of Government conduct in the last 10 years, but also raises a matter of direct concern to this House. Would it not appear that Ministers renounced the power of legislation, which two Lord Chancellors have stated is vested exclusively in the United Kingdom Parliament, without telling the British Parliament about it? Many of us will feel that the conduct of the noble lords who concealed these pledges from the British Parliament and people is as furtive and dishonourable as those who later broke the pledges."

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that, of course, they welcomed his visit to Rhodesia as he was the only man who could deal with the subject. There is something pretty odd about that attitude."

LORD CLITHEROE asked whether, apart from the question of publication, Lord Hailsham would make it clear that any pledge, whether given in secret or in confidence, was just as binding as any pledge made openly.

VISCOUNT HAILSHAM: "I have always tried to make my word my bond, whether what I said was in private or in public, and so does Mr. Butler. But sometimes one has to defend one's honour with one hand behind one's back against people who have broken your confidence."

LORD OGMORE said he agreed that the Government must have time to go into the matter fully. It was a delicate and important subject. The Government should repudiate Sir Roy Welensky's statement that they were utterly reckless of the fate of the inhabitants of the present Federation.

VISCOUNT HAILSHAM: "I repudiate quite categorically the statement attributed to Sir Roy Welensky. I think it would be better if his language was more temperate sometimes than it has been recently."

VISCOUNT ALEXANDER: "The whole reputation of the British Government is put at stake by the action of Sir Roy Welensky. It is a question of putting the thing right with the whole of the Commonwealth and the rest of the world. It is reasonable that Mr. Butler should have time to consider the matter still further. I agree with that, but this answer does not indicate that at all. I hope the Government will make a further statement at no long period."

VISCOUNT HAILSHAM: "This is a great Commonwealth issue. It is not simply a question that the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary are in the Bahamas. There are four Governments in Central Africa concerned, and I would have thought that there are several other Governments as well. One cannot be in a hurry in defending one's reputation even when these great issues are at stake."

## Kenya Regions and N.F.D. Reports

THE REPORTS of the Kenya Regional Boundaries and Northern Frontier District Commissions have been published (Cmd. 1899 and 1900). The Kenya Council of Ministers has accepted the regional boundaries demarcated by the commission, with three minor variations, and has recommended that they be included in the new Constitution. The implications of the N.F.D. report are being studied by H.M. Government.

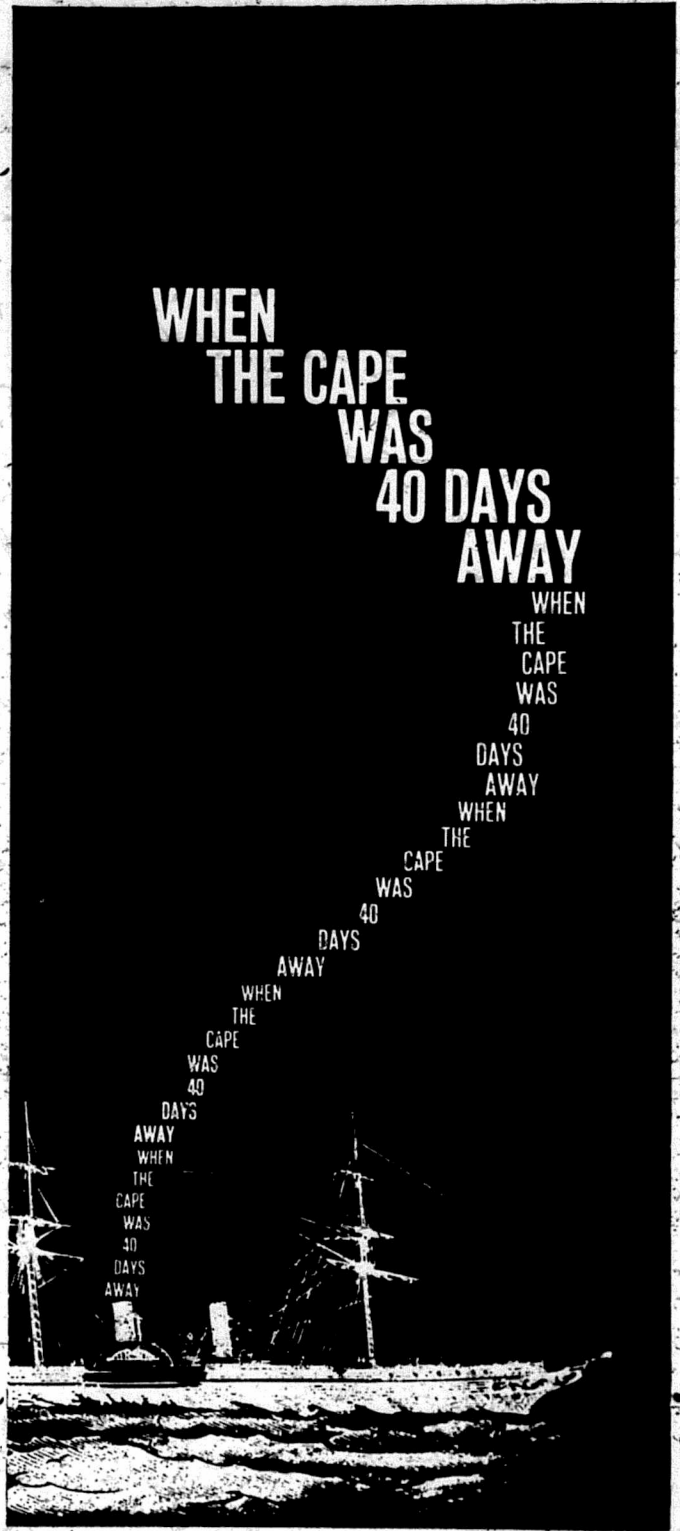
Six regions and a Nairobi Area have been delineated. They are: a Coast Region, consisting of the existing Coast Province, plus the three "Somali" districts along the frontier with the Somali Republic, plus the "Somali" half of Moyale district; an Eastern Region, including the Kamba districts from the existing Southern Province, plus the greater part of the Embu and Meru districts, and the remainder of the N.F.D.; a Central Region of the Kikuyu districts of Kiambu, Fort Hall, Nyeri and the greater part of Thika, plus the Kikuyu-inhabited parts of adjacent districts; a Rift Valley Region, comprising the remainder of the existing Southern Province (the two Masai districts), plus most of the Rift Valley Province, and the Turkana and Samburu districts to the north; a Nyanza Region, based on most of the existing Nyanza Provinces less the areas in the north inhabited by Abaluyha, and the area in the east inhabited by Kipsigis; and a Western Region, made up of the Abaluyha parts of the existing Nyanza Province, and the Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu districts.

The N.F.D. report states that opinion in the Eastern area is almost unanimously in favour of secession of the N.F.D. from Kenya when Kenya obtains its independence, with the object of ultimately joining the Somali Republic, but the people desire a period under British rule in which to build up the machinery of government so that the area can join the Republic as a self-governing unit; opinion elsewhere is either in favour of remaining in Kenya, or is divided, or is doubtful. These opinions follow religious differences, the Muslim Somalis and other Muslims supporting secession and non-Muslims favouring remaining in Kenya. Opinion in support of any form of secession with Ethiopia was negligible.

Nearly 1,000 British volunteers will be serving overseas in a new Peace Corps by the end of next year.

Seven ambulances have been presented to the Uganda Ministry of Health as Germany's independence gift.

The County of Devon Committee of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign is raising £54,000 for a farm institute at Urambo, Tanganyika. The Somerset Committee has undertaken to equip a similar institute at Hombolo, in the Central Region of Tanganyika.



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# LORD MALVERN ON BRITAIN'S REPUDIATION

(Continued from page 365)

"Those Rhodesians in the northern territories of the Federation have seen Constitution after Constitution scrapped almost before the ink on them was dry. They have seen something to which I am afraid Lord Listowel is wholly blind—Kenya dying economically before their eyes, facing an immense disaster, and possibly civil war. They feel that they themselves are on a very slippery slope, and they have decided to call a halt to this interference from outside. None of us yet knows what can be saved from this wreck of Government policy.

"I still hope that it may be possible to create some inter-relationship between the territories of Central Africa. Dr. Banda, Mr. Kaunda and Mr. Nkumbula may be brought to see the advantages of continued co-operation between States so interdependent as those of Central Africa. Mr. Winston Field, whom I know as a sincere and patriotic man, will, I am sure, do his best to induce counsels of moderation among the more extreme of his supporters.

### Champion of Moderation

"In addition, they will of course have the support of that great man Sir Roy Welensky, who, in spite of what is said about him in this country, has always been the champion of moderation in Central Africa.

"Mr. Butler, one can be sure, will do his best. I do not pretend that the good impression he had previously made during his visit to the Federation will not have been tarnished in the eyes of Rhodesians by his action this week in advising H.M. Government unilaterally to agree to the secession of Nyasaland. That conflicts with all the solemn undertakings on which they were relying and which were entered into between all the Governments concerned in 1953. He may have had this position wished on him by his predecessors, and it will not be regarded by him in particular as providing a precedent for similar action in the future. In that spirit, I think we can all bless his visit.

"The lesson which we must learn from these melancholy events if we are not to drift into yet further disaster, is the same as that which our country had to learn so painfully at the time of our troubles with our American Colonies 200 years ago—and I would say this in particular to Lord Ogmore. In dealing with remote places where conditions are so very different from our own, we must not always smugly assume that we who live many thousands of miles away know better than those who live on the spot what is the right way of tackling their policies and their problems; what is the right pace for them to advance. If we do not learn that lesson now I badly fear that all we stand for and have worked for in Africa will disappear into the limbo of the past, and the wind of change will end by blowing us all away."

### Blackmail by Constituent States

VICOUNT MALVERN said: "My Lords, I have come quite a long way just to say one thing. When I saw the motion on your Lordships' order paper I was reminded of the fact that there has been a very bad attack of amnesia over recent years in this country which has caused nearly all our troubles.

"There was considerable opposition in certain circles to the formation of a Federation: you get that in every Parliament. But what was always ignored was that this opposition all came from the African people. As a matter of fact, the number of Africans who opposed it was comparatively small, and the number of Europeans in Southern Rhodesia who opposed it—they are now in power—was also comparatively small.

"I have said that I have come over to say one thing, and it is this. As one of the principal delegates to the Federal Conference, and one whose signature was necessary to enable the Federation to be brought about, I wish to say that if I had known that all that had been decided in preparation was to be repudiated by the British Government, I would never have signed.

"The strange part of it is that I do not think there is any danger at all that they have done. I think it is that change of Government. For many years I had to carry on things with the country and its Government in Pretoria. I was Minister of Southern Rhodesia. I remember of that in the

beginning seemed to change fairly frequently, but one feature of stability was that the permanent staff stayed for quite a long time in the same office. That has all been changed.

"How did it come to pass that the Prime Minister of England allowed the Monckton Commission to inquire into the question of secession? The noble marquis has told you that we spent two or three days discussing the wording of the review clause to make perfectly certain that the question of secession could not be discussed when once the Federation had been brought about. After all, it was just common sense. You cannot possibly carry on a federal system if any one of the States can blackmail you. The thing was very ably put, as you would expect, by hon. Lord Chandos in his 'Memoirs', when he described how, at the Nigerian Federal Conference, he insisted that the question of secession, once federation had been brought about, could not be discussed again.

"In our discussions I do not think we ever thought that any of the States would try and blackmail the Federal Government and break it up. But we had another great anxiety; how were we going to make this new State credit-worthy? We all agreed—Lord Salisbury was for most of the time in the chair, and Lord Chandos and Lord Swinton assisted to their utmost—to ensure we got wording whereby no question of secession could possibly take place.

"Then why would the Prime Minister of England give the Monckton Commission permission to discuss secession? I believe him to be an honourable man; it simply means he was never informed. He went off on his own, but he has caused the great *impasse*. It all dates from then.

"And the situation has deteriorated almost weekly because these ambitious gentlemen who wanted to become kings of the castle or messiahs or something like that cottoned on to that, and the whole thing has gone on because of the fact that they have only to be a sufficient nuisance and they will have the right to get out of the Federation to which they belong.

### Merely Economic Body Inadequate

"We have heard that it would be a good idea to have again something like the Central African Council or the East African Commission. The Central African Council was unilaterally torpedoed by Southern Rhodesia. There is not much stability there. The only reason why the High Commission in East Africa has not been torpedoed is that they had until recently not had any sovereign, independent Government concerned in it. There was still an element of control from the United Kingdom.

"The noble earl who introduced this motion thought that there could be some arrangement other than federation by which the economic and administrative relationships could continue. Hoopla! You cannot have these things. They cannot work unless there is some constitutionally-formed body that has the power; and if they have the power the constituent parties could not be in a position to blackmail them and destroy them whenever they feel like it.

"I am disappointed at the United Kingdom trying to do in this way. There is a possibility, of course, that some of it was deliberate, because you have to remember that, at any rate since the beginning of the century, it has been the traditional policy of the United Kingdom to make certain that she is on friendly terms with the majority of other nations; and she has allowed nothing to stand in the way of achieving that end. I will not go through some of the incidents that have happened in the world in the last 15 years which show that policy is still the policy they have adopted.

"The unfortunate Southern Rhodesians, and others, have been accused from time to time in this country of racial prejudice. I should like to put the blame where it lies, because I know it is unnecessary now to say there is no racial prejudice here; it could not exist. Racial prejudice started in this country. It was rampant when I was a young man living in this country. I do not see why I should deny it, because I am quite convinced it is one of the terrible things which will be the very last to be eliminated on the earth before you can be perfected and all men become members of one nation. I believe it is almost a religion.

"In spite of that, we are overreacting and probably causing the people to drop it. For myself, I have no difficulty. As a medical student in London I worked with all sorts of races. I never had any prejudice against them. I simply regarded them as curious. There was no racial prejudice in it at all. It was part of the world, particularly in Western Rhodesia. It is not so much racial prejudice to-day as racial prejudice. Your knowledge might tell that work.

"The recent election in Southern Rhodesia was almost a natural reaction. We got them to accept the new Constitution. It was a great battle, but it was won two to one. It is very difficult to retire completely in our part of the world; and I took part in that campaign. We persuaded the people, largely European, to accept that Constitution. What did it contain? Apart from the Charter of Rights and so on, it contained a provision which would ultimately—and nobody could say when—hand over control of Southern Rhodesia to the African people. Nobody seems to remember that. It was a tremendous advance. How soon? Only a crystal-gazer could tell.

"I am inclined to think that the late Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia unnecessarily fixed a date. He said 15 years. I think that drove a nail in his coffin. It was not necessary to mention the period. It was accepted that as we could afford to spend more money on the education of the African people, they would be in the majority before very long.

"It was not a question of having African supremacy. The idea was that while more and more of them were qualifying we should get together, govern together, understand one another. Therefore when the time came for the African to be in the majority on the electoral roll they would no longer, neither the Europeans nor the Africans, vote on colour. It is very tragic that this has been upset.

### New Southern Rhodesian Government

"I am not particularly worried about the change in Southern Rhodesia. They had done the right thing at the referendum and I think they were asked to swallow rather too much in one gulp at the general election. A good deal of what has been said in this country was responsible for the result. After all, the people there can read. All the unpleasant remarks made about them just when they thought that they had been rather good, had their effect. You in this country are partly responsible for the result.

"However, the new Government are not much of a show. I do not think they will last very long. They will be lucky to last two years. Perhaps it is a good thing to have somebody else in power occasionally: it is part of the system.

"I was asked by a newspaper reporter before I left home what I thought of this. I replied: 'This is democracy in action. We are not supposed to have one party. We can have one party only when the Government is not sufficiently advanced to realize that there must be more than one'. All these African Governments have gone in for one party. They could not work any other system. It is not in their make-up. They do not understand it.

"I have noticed some of the things they do not understand at the University College at home, where we are educating Europeans and Africans together. It only highlights the problem. The Africans play soccer; the Europeans play rugby. The Europeans have 'rags' and the Africans think they are mad for not studying.

### Going to War for the Sake of Peace

"Everything is being rushed on the altar of keeping in with the majority of the other nations of the world. That, today means U.N.O.—phew!—a body that breaks its own rules as often as not, and goes to war in the Congo for the sake of peace! We have to have something to fall-back on, but it is not shaping very much better than its predecessor.

"Economically Federation has been a tremendous success—and socially and politically. If it had been allowed to simmer a bit longer that success would have lasted, and we should have had a wonderful State in what was only 70 years ago savage Africa.

"I should like to pay a testimonial to those Africans who stood by Whitehead in the last election: they practically took their lives in their hands. What is of extreme interest is that they all got in, except in one constituency, where we had a rather eccentric European, who I think had 46 votes and got in by four, while 630 other voters in the constituency, practically all Africans, did not vote at all.

"From time to time those Africans who are prepared to co-operate are called 'stooges'. I suppose that some of your listeners heard of one African police reservist who recently, on his way home from Salisbury, while cycling back to his place of work, was seized by four other Africans, thrown down, had petrol poured over him, and was burned to death. Some 'stooge' people who will stand up against that sort of thing! There is a very large friendly section of Africans who could have been brought on, as they are being brought on, and made the Federal scheme work.

"Lord Malvern has repudiated a signed Agreement by making this statement this afternoon. I have a copy of the minutes, but I am not quite sure if they are secret or not: it does not

matter. I do not expect some of the other noble lords who were there to get up and support me. We are far too near a general election in this country. And I have no particular feelings about either side; I worked officially for them both, and found them on both sides a mixed bag. You get good and bad Secretaries of State. You get knowledgeable ones and ignorant ones—just a cross-section of the people.

"Many of us have a tremendous admiration for the new First Secretary. We believe that he is a man of integrity, who has a tremendous experience and has displayed great ability. We hope that he is coming out in January, in spite of the statement made today, to see whether he can possibly get something out of this mess and get them together again.

"Of course, we all assume after hearing the statement that Dr. Banda will secede. I do not know. Some people, as soon as they get the right to do a thing, give it up; it ceases to be a hobby.

"The African scene today is quite weird. There is a messiah in the West; but then there is only one party there. Again we have Nyasaland led by a messiah. Is it quite fair in party politics to have one party led by a god? That is the sort of thing you have to put up with in Africa.

"I do not think it impossible, so long as they slow up a bit, to produce a reasonable settlement. But all the pressure from the commercial men is to get on with it. A couple of years wasted now in a standstill might solve the whole problem. What is needed is calm and deliberate consultation between all parties.

"If any party refuses to attend a conference, they should be ruled out. Over the last few years we have had this and that party going to London but not going into the conference. I call that playing a nursery game. Unfortunately the British Government rather encourage them: 'We cannot go on without all these people in'—and all these people decline again next time. They have every encouragement. Some of them think that they can get their way by abstaining.

LORD MALVERN concluded by saying that he now understood the French reference to "Perfidious Albion".

### Lord Chandos's Testimony

VISCOUNT CHANDOS said: "I intervened for only a few minutes because I was Secretary of State for the Colonies at the material time. An hour or two ago a copy of the speech delivered by Sir Roy Welensky came into my hands. I looked at the index to see how I come out.

"I have not had time to study the speech in detail, but I have had time to see where Sir Roy quoted me. He has quoted me quite widely and I think out of a document which I regard as confidential. I am rather sorry that he has done so, because I feel that the precedent may be unwise.

"My memory of 10 years ago may be blurred, and an old man forgets; but I think that on this occasion my memory is correct—for two main reasons. What I am talking about is the fact that the Constitution of the Federation cannot be brought to an end except with the consent of the four constituent Governments in Africa, acting in concert with H.M. Government. My memory accords exactly with that of the principal delegate from Africa, Lord Malvern, who spoke this afternoon and who made it quite clear that he would not have signed the federal instrument if the possibility of secession had ever been conceded by H.M. Government. That is the first reason why I think my memory is correct.

"The second reason is that it is my profound political belief that no federation or federal instrument can subsist if the right of secession is ever written into the Constitution. The centrifugal forces that are released will always render the Federal Government impotent if any of the constituent parties have the right of secession. It is for this reason that, if the documents are examined and they do not constitute a pledge, I should greatly regret it and should regard it as a failure on my part that it was not written in. But I think my memory is correct.

"The right way to deal with this situation, I believe, would have been to call a conference of all five Governments. I do not think they would have found any opposition to the secession of Nyasaland, and they would then have had a conference at which the future course of co-operation between these three territories could have been plotted in a sober atmosphere. But that has gone by.

"I wish the First Secretary of State every good wish in the difficult task that confronts him. He is a man of great integrity and adroitness; and he if anyone may be able to erect a new structure on the ruins of that which has been destroyed, largely, I think, because of the disregard of the pledges given in 1953".

**LORD BOYD OF MERTON:** "I warmly endorse all that Lord Chandos has said. I was Minister of State during the early days of his service with the Colonial Office, and at that time I was closely involved in the earlier talks preceding Federation. I was away in 1953 because I had been appointed to another Department, but during that period so great was my interest in federal development that I kept in close touch — and as Minister I was able to do so — with the developing story at the start of federation. In the following year I came back to the Colonial Office as Secretary of State and had some close associations with Central Africa for five years.

**Pledges**

"I of course, knew of the undertakings about secession that had been given during the course of the various discussions, and I realized that these undertakings were regarded as pledges — as we ourselves regarded them — by the people to whom they were addressed. It was in the confidence engendered by these pledges that federation was born, that investment was encouraged, and that plans for a liberal and progressive policy in Central Africa were laid down.

"This is, to many of us, a very melancholy occasion. But the future matters much more than the past, as the welcome voice of Lord Malvern has reminded us. Our thoughts will be with the First Secretary of State when he goes in a few weeks to Central Africa.

"I wish that his statement of policy today had not been a unilateral one, and that it had been found possible to delay the statement until he had reached Central Africa, where there would have been discussions on many other aspects of the Federal scene apart from the Nyasaland one — and when, let us pray, a wise solution for all the territories can be devised. I share with Lord Chandos the belief that, if this is possible, the First Secretary of State, perhaps more than anyone else alive, is qualified to bring this about.

"If so, it will be a solution in which the work of many devoted people, and not least that of Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead, to build up a strong, viable, multi-racial State in Central Africa, will not in the end be frustrated".

**LORD MILVERTON** considered that a major contribution to failure had been made outside the Federation by irresponsible speeches in this country and elsewhere; by the general encouragement given to the flamboyant claims of African leaders; by weakness and indecision in Westminster and Whitehall; and by the growing popularity of the doctrine inscribed in a famous place in Accra: "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all things will be added unto you".

"Does the noble earl who moved this motion want the whole idea of qualified co-operation jettisoned and to see in its stead a policy of government by right of unqualified numerical superiority — just that? Surely we have had enough examples in recent times of the difficulty of safeguarding the rights of minorities, however entrenched in constitutional provisions.

"The economic and administrative stability of the territory and its international credit are bound up in the Federation, and working out the economic and administrative partnership would have to precede any action on dissolution in order to avoid the inevitable chaos which attends on uncertainty.

**Siamese Twins**

"Apparently Nyasaland with its 2,840,000 Africans, 9,500 Europeans, and 13,200 of other races, is to be given the right to secede. In itself this is a breach of the Federation. Who will subsidize this new State, pay its debts or keep it solvent? The new African Government of Northern Rhodesia will claim an equal right to secede; and this is far more serious, because the affairs of Northern and Southern Rhodesia are so interlocked as to make the severance as dangerous to the health of the two units as a similar operation is on Siamese twins.

"The Federation we so lightly talk of dissolving comprises 485,000 square miles — a country larger than the whole of the British Isles, France, all Germany, and Holland. It is sad to think today of the great experiment of 1953 when we all, the British Government and the four Governments in Africa, put our hands to the plough in a high endeavour which is now ending in disaster.

"No amount of Constitution-making can alter the hard fact that educational, medical and health facilities, and agricultural progress, have to be paid for. The needs are immense and so

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**ISTANBUL GENEVA MARSEILLES**

must be the cost. It is also clear that a rapidly growing African population demanding a better life will remain an explosive element politically under any Government unless the economy of their country expands in such a way as to provide them with the things which their education and a longer expectation of life make necessary for them. One of the main objects of the Federation was to do just that; and its strength was able to attract the necessary development capital from outside.

"It was never, as Lord Malvern pointed out, intended to be a temporary arrangement or to rest on any optional suspension of a right to secede. The right was never there until it was recently very unwisely given.

"The practical problems involved in this dissolution are immense. Half of the capital in the Federation is owned by non-residents, and repatriation of capital and the drying up of fresh investment is likely to follow. The public debt is over £300m. A considerable amount of that is specifically guaranteed by the British Government.

"It seems that African leaders of today are prepared to pay for present power by mortgaging the future prosperity and progress of their people. The British Government have apparently decided to acquiesce in this and abandon any ideas of their responsibility for it. If, in addition, the British taxpayer is expected to foot the immense bill for this retreat, the consequences of this policy will, at long and miserable last, become clear to people in this country.

### Unrest Will Stalk the Land

"The problem of how to make Nyasaland into a viable State without cutting down present standards and eliminating hope of early future progress remains. I thought the noble earl passed rather lightly over this tremendously difficult administrative problem. Northern Rhodesia, now with an African Government, is making secession her first aim. Her internal resources place her in a more hopeful economic position, but again there remains the public debt of the Federation and the tremendous interlocked common services and trades with Southern Rhodesia.

"It is easy to talk of freedom and self-government; but you cannot be free as a nation or as an individual unless you are economically free, and the only hope for the members of the Federation is a collaboration in economic partnership which will inspire confidence abroad and at home and produce the capital investment without which the menace of unemployment, hunger-riots, and unrest will stalk the land. Unemployment has not been mentioned today as part of the likely legacy of secession, but it is a very grave and serious menace for the future.

"The British Government, while paying public tribute to the ideal of racial partnership, have in practice seemed to disregard the advice of those with long experience of the territory and to regard the loud claims of African nationalism as irresistible and the European community, which has built success, as expendable.

"Sir Edgar Whitehead has been defeated largely because Europeans have lost confidence in the British Government's good faith and have begun to feel that they could not rely on a proper appreciation by H.M. Government of their rôle in Southern Rhodesia. They voted against a premature surrender of Government to untrained hands rather than for any particular policy.

### Premature Surrender

"In 1953 we put our hands to the plough together to build in Central Africa a miracle of prosperity and multi-racial partnership in industry, agriculture, commerce and politics. Those in command in Whitehall and Westminster lost the vision, lost their faith in the mission of their own countrymen, and decided upon the premature surrender of political and administrative authority to the advancing demands and ambitions of loud-voiced, self-appointed African leaders, whose methods of violence and intimidation silenced the dissentient voices of their own people and misled ignorant majority.

"This debate has rather taken on the tone of 'I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him'. But I should like to conclude my contribution to the funeral oration by paying a tribute to the two men, Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead, who have so gallantly and single-heartedly tried to bring to fruition the dream of racial co-operation to which their political lives have been devoted. It is not their fault that this setback has occurred. It may be that in the more distant future the co-operation which they have tried so hard to establish will emerge perhaps under African leaders, who have learned by experience the secrets of successful administration.

"It was long ago that these proud lines were written:

We sailed wherever ships might sail;

We founded many a mighty State;

Pray God our greatness do not fail

Through craven fear of being great.

It has failed for precisely that reason, and the debate on this motion is in the form of a memorial service."

LORD WALTON said (in part).—

"Those of us who have welcomed the decision of H.M. Government cannot feel anything but unhappiness and shame when a statesman with the feeling towards this country and the experience of Lord Malvern can refer to this country as 'perfidious Albion'.

"Are the Africans in Southern Rhodesia less worthy of the vote than those in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia? If one really comes down to the point, what about some of our own voters at home? Some are always not clear what they are voting about. So you cannot justify the fact that there is no universal franchise in Southern Rhodesia on the ground of ignorance.

"We should abandon federation, but only for the moment. We must still make clear that we hope eventually federation will arise, but that none of the territories will be forced into federation against their will.

"We must insist on a speedy end to racial discrimination in every form in any territory for which we have any responsibility, and on an end to practices which curtail political freedom, and rapid extension of the franchise and a statement that no territory will become independent until it has a full franchise, so that we are quite certain the people have a voice in a Government which is going to demand independence rather than be the voice of a minority Government. We must ensure that the common services, so vital to the economic survival of the area, are kept in being.

"Africans cannot get on without the Europeans, or Europeans without the Asians and Africans. We want them all to work there, and to feel that what work they do gains for them a just reward. Our eventual hope must be that the area of federation should be re-established and enlarged, at least to embrace East Africa also."

[The Lord Chancellor and others peers will be reported next week.]

### Another £12.8m. for Kenya

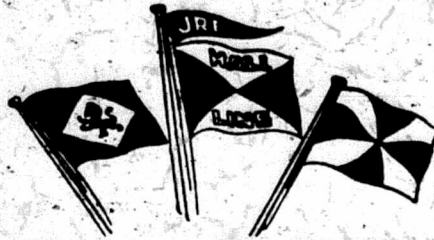
BRITAIN IS TO PROVIDE AN ADDITIONAL £12.8m. in grants and loans for the African settlement schemes on 1m. acres of European farmland in Kenya. This brings the total British contribution so far to some £19½m. of an estimated overall cost in the next five years of £27½m. The Kenya Government is to provide up to £200,000 yearly during the period to enable the Land Bank to facilitate transfers outside the settlement areas and to make premature repayments on them. This latter provision has been criticized as "completely inadequate" by the acting chairman of the Land Development and Settlement Board, Colonel J. N. Nimmo, on the ground that it will mean the virtual abandonment of the assisted owner scheme for land transactions outside the settlement areas, for which there had been a great demand. It could also hinder a prime object of the settlement operations—a peaceful transition to independence and integration of the Colony's farming. The matter is to be broached when the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Sandys, visits Kenya in February.

### Katanga "Scored Earth" Warning

AMERICAN AND RUSSIAN intentions in the Congo are basically the same—to create chaos, with the Americans hoping that by destroying Katanga they could step in and assume financial control, President Tshombe said last week in Kolwezi. He gave the warning that "we would destroy everything" if the Central Congolese Government and its military backers tried to force Katanga to federate with the rest of the country. An American military mission is in the Congo to see what help the United States can give the United Nations "in maintaining peace", and the dispatch of American troops may be considered. The U.S. Government is said to be concerned about Russian manoeuvres directed against Mr. Adoula, Prime Minister of the Leopoldville Government. Anti-American and pro-British and pro-French demonstrations were staged in Elisabethville last week before the respective consulate buildings. The American flag was torn down, many windows of the consulate were broken, and an outhouse was set on fire before police could disperse the crowd of Africans and Europeans.

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§ ROTHERWICK CASTLE	Jan. 9	—	Jan. 14	Jan. 22

\*If inducement †also PORT SUDAN and ADEN ‡also PORT SUDAN, ASSAB, DJIBOUTI and ADEN §also PORT SUDAN  
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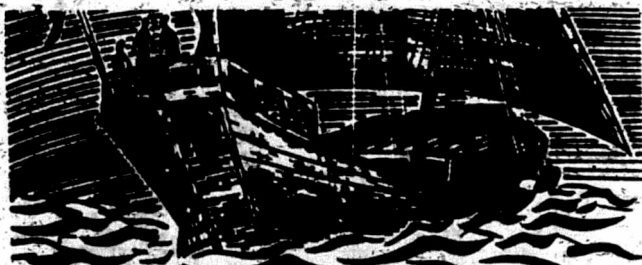
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