

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

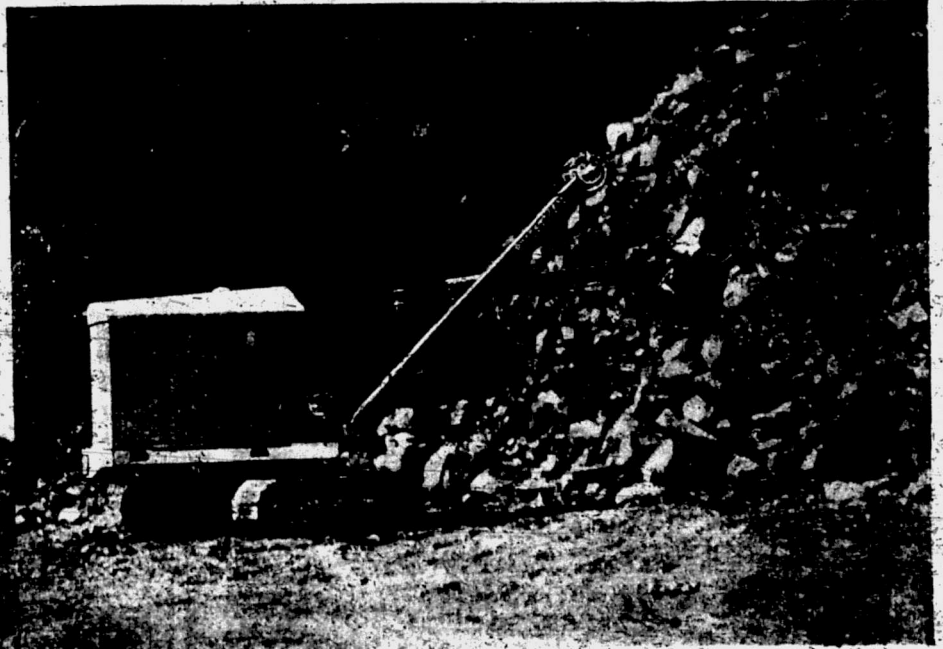
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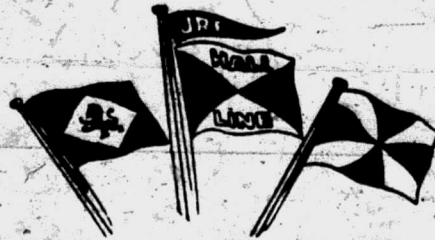
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Telephone: HOLburn 2224-5

Cables:
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

TOMORROW MR. R. A. BUTLER, Minister for Central African Affairs, and First Secretary of State, will leave London Airport for a fortnight's visit to the Federation for discussions with the Federal and three territorial Governments. Just before the House of Commons rose for the Christmas recess, when announcing his intention to resume personal discussions on the spot, he referred to the general desire for early decisions which would relieve the prevailing uncertainty and give a new impetus to development in Central Africa. Any non-political person who heard such words would assume them to imply unity in the pursuit of progress; politicians, however, employ such phraseology while engaged in processes of disintegration which must assuredly decelerate development, and probably destroy it in various areas—which is precisely what United Kingdom policy has done ever since the disastrous Mr. Macleod was made Secretary of State for the Colonies. Mr. Butler is, of course, much more astute and patient than that calamitous predecessor, but he also is devious in manoeuvre and implicated in the Macmillan Administration's disgracefully deceptive dealings with the Federal Government. The damning, and damnable, story was revealed in considerable detail by Sir Roy Welensky on the very day that Mr. Butler told Parliament that the Cabinet had in principle accepted Nyasaland's claim to secede from the Federation—which State was founded on explicit assurances from the same Conservative Government that only by the unanimous consent of all the Governments concerned would any member State be able to withdraw. A more cynical betrayal than the carefully calculated breach of that undertaking could scarcely be imagined. Though the House of Commons accepted it with discreditable unconcern, it will be astonishing if during the next fortnight Mr. Butler escapes

repeated and robust reminders of this despicable disregard of principle.

* * *

Among the witnesses who have publicly testified on Sir Roy Welensky's behalf have been three former Secretaries of State, Lord Salisbury, Lord Chandos, and Lord Boyd, each of them more widely trusted than most members of the present Government. They and Lord Colyton all told the House of Lords—in a debate which was most inadequately reported by the Press—that from their own participation in the negotiations for the establishment of the Federation they knew that the charges levied against the United Kingdom Government were justified. The Federal Prime Minister can obviously not be expected to act as if such weighty corroboration of his accusations had not been volunteered by leading Conservatives from a sense of equity. They have declared in the plainest terms that the Federal Government has been tricked. Why? Because it has suited the wind-of-change Prime Minister and a subservient Cabinet to go back on solemn assurances which had become inconvenient to men who were disposed to impose any sacrifice upon British Africa which might be demanded by vociferous pan-African agitators in quest of power and its perquisites. Mr. Butler is realist enough to know that he will hear some very blunt words on this subject, and that his customary suavity will not propitiate Rhodesians who still seethe with anger at the treachery of which they and their countries have been made the victims. They will expect the First Secretary of State to fulfil his recent undertaking to "seek in co-operation with the Governments concerned ways and means of achieving a practical and durable solution"—a solution, not a dissolution.

A few moments after describing his intention in those words Mr. Butler made the fatuous assertion that "there is no reason why the decision regarding Nyasaland need impair the basic economic strength of the rest of the area, which rests on its agricultural, mineral and other resources". That was, of course, a characteristic evasion. As anyone could have foretold—and as EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has insisted ever since Mr. Macleod began his insensate appeasement of Dr. Banda—surrender to the Malawi Party in Nyasaland was immediately exploited by the African political extremists in Northern Rhodesia who want to take their country out of the Federation, thereby further impairing Central Africa's basic economic strength—the chief component of which was not even

Saboteurs Will Be Resisted.

mentioned by Mr. Butler. That vital factor is confidence. Since confidence is precisely what the United Kingdom politicians of all parties have damaged so tragically, and seemingly irretrievably, it is not surprising that the word went unspoken by the Minister; and not even one of the other six hundred Members of the House of Commons used it by way of interjection. What they failed to say will now be said in Salisbury, and doubtless elsewhere, by interlocutors who will demand practical proposals for realistic development and will not be fobbed off with airy-fairy slogans. Mr. Butler must have an acute realization of the fact that he has still to deal with Sir Roy Welensky and Mr. Winston Field, fair-minded but firm-willed Rhodesians who make no secret either of their disgust with the Macmillan Government or of determination to resist such saboteurs of Britain's fine achievements in Rhodesia.

Notes By The Way

Mr. Kaunda Again

BRITISH POLITICIANS, journalists and broadcasters have for many months told the public that Mr. Kaunda, leader of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, is a moderate. Preferring actions to words as a criterion of judgment, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has pointed out that the courts have condemned thousands of the agents and members of U.N.I.P. and its predecessor (which was also under Mr. Kaunda's presidency) for crimes ranging from murder and attempted murder to petrol bomb attacks on homes and dormitories in which African and European children slept, the destruction of churches, hospitals, dispensaries and schools, the attempted derailment of trains, and various forms of assault and intimidation. The tally of acts subversive of law and order which have been brought home to activists in the Kaunda organization is long and hideous, but it is nevertheless accepted with equanimity, and as scarcely worthy of mention, by the commentators who are ready to accept at his own valuation almost any African politician who now and again slips the word "democracy" into his speeches. If he also refers to "my friends in the Labour Party in the United Kingdom", he is almost automatically exempt from criticism (except in so impious a journal as this).

Eject Britain from the Commonwealth

THIS SO-CALLED MODERATE said publicly the other day when condemning H.M. Government's attitude to the Tshombe régime in Katanga that if that policy did not change "those of us who owe allegiance to the Queen can force Britain to leave the Commonwealth in the same way as South Africa was expelled". That mention of "allegiance to the Queen" will have gone down well with the sob-sisters, and it will doubtless have been excused by the anti-colonialists because of the accompanying threat. The apathetic millions, still unconcerned about the dire dangers facing the Commonwealth, will not have given the insult a second thought. To regard it as just an outburst by an irate individual

would be folly indeed; Mr. Kaunda had presided only a few days earlier over a P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A. meeting in Leopoldville, where the idea was no doubt discussed, if not in formal conference, then privately among delegates. Though they may have congratulated themselves on the idea, they certainly did not originate it.

Result of A Macmillan Blunder

INDEED, when, under pressure from Afro-Asian and American sources, Mr. Macmillan as chairman of the last Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference but one so mis-handled matters that South Africa decided to withdraw from the Commonwealth in order to escape expulsion—although Mr. Macmillan had given assurances that he would not allow discussion of the domestic policy of the Union or any other member—some of the Prime Ministers commented privately to my knowledge: "Cannot the United Kingdom Government see that this invites attack on other white countries of the Commonwealth? Are U.K. Ministers blind to the possibility of trumped-up charges being made against other British States, even against the Mother Country itself? The basic rule that the internal affairs of any member are not to be discussed at Commonwealth Conferences having been so flagrantly broken, what confidence can there be that other white States will not be condemned by combinations of non-white members?" Mr. Kaunda has merely blurted out what serious Commonwealth statesmen considered at the time to be a likely consequence of the British Prime Minister's vacillation, weakness, and misjudgment.

E.A.R. — Marked

"AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN is not traditional African practice. It is one we have inherited from the Europeans. It smacks of pride, vanity, and sometimes stubbornness. A man standing before the public outlining his good qualities: this is a shameful thing".—Dr. Julius Nyerere, President of Tanganyika, explaining why he did not campaign actively for the presidency.

Congressman's Allegations Against U.S. and U.N. Policy

American and Swedish Combines Said to Have Schemed to Control Katanga Copper

CONGRESSMAN BRUCE, of Indiana, has suggested in the House of Representatives of the United States that American and Swedish mining and financial interests have worked closely with senior officials of the United States Government and of the United Nations in order to obtain control of the mineral wealth of Katanga.

The *Congressional Record*, though a sober, even dull, publication, nevertheless headed its long verbatim report "Is Katanga on the Auction Block?" The speech occupies 43 closely printed columns.

Congressman Bruce said, *inter alia*:—

"To its everlasting shame, the United States has backed to the hilt the policy of the United Nations that Dr. Albert Schweitzer deploras. He has said: 'It is a grave error to try and unite by force people so profoundly divided among themselves; if Katanga is unwilling to be reunited with the Congo, the U.N. should respect its wishes and not try to impose its own will at any cost'.

Congo Policy Incredible

"What is behind our incredible policy in the Congo? Bishop Fulton J. Sheen spelled out the background for this tragedy in the *Brooklyn Tablet* of April 15, 1961. He wrote:—

"Behind the minor political struggles in the Congo is the implacable war of the Communists against the Church. Russia plans to Sovietize Central Africa. For two years the Soviets gave Lumumba 400,000 dollars a month to buy followers and provide them with cars.

"Lumumba set up a Communist organization among his fellow tribesmen, making them believe he was the incarnation of his ancestors. During the elections Lumumba's troops destroyed most of the ballot-boxes of the other candidates. But only 23% of the population voted because of their opposition to him; in other regions 85% voted.

"The plans for the Communist revolution in the Congo were prepared in Prague, and in the first three months Lumumba carried out the first three points: (1) organize mutiny in the army; (2) blame the Belgians; (3) organize a terrorist regime. Soviet resentment against the death of Lumumba reveals their disappointment in not taking over the Congo. (The Soviets could astonish the world by telling their part in his death: remember Lumumba failed them.) But the Soviets have a substitute in Gizenga, the Communist dictator in Stanleyville who was educated in Moscow and Prague. The Communists have planted two advisers in Washington, both thrown out of Louvain University in the Congo for their Communist activities.

"There is the naked truth, presented by a highly respected clergyman whose lifework is to know the problems of the people in which the missionaries of his Church labour. There are the facts that helped decide Moise Tshombe to lead his province of Katanga out of chaos and into sanity as an independent country—yet establishing in the new Katangan Constitution the intention to join with a soundly constituted confederation of Congo provinces.

U.N. Restored Chaos

"That Constitution stated: 'Katanga is an independent, sovereign, and constitutional State. The State of Katanga adheres to the principle of association with the other regions of the former Belgian Congo provided they themselves are politically organized with respect to law and order. It shall open negotiations to constitute with the same a confederation based only upon the equality of its partners'.

"President Tshombe brought Katanga from disorder and horror to order and peace within days. Katanga would have remained that way—but we brought terror and chaos back to Katanga with the policy condemned by Dr. Albert Schweitzer. President John F. Kennedy, Secretary of State Rusk, Under-Secretary George Ball, officials down the line in this administration, have lauded that policy. Can any man in this Chamber prove that Katanga's Constitution required that that state had to be bullied and bombed by the United Nations to restore unity to the Congo? History will record us among

the world's great hypocrites unless we right the wrongs we have perpetrated.

"In August 1961 *Congo Africa* reported a director of the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga as saying: 'The American trusts, particularly the Chile Copper Company of the Anaconda group, are doing everything they can to supplant us in Katanga. If they succeed in evicting us they will become absolute masters of the world market for copper'.

"The *American National Review Bulletin* for December 9, 1961, reported from Brussels that Foreign Minister Spaak had told the Belgian Senate that Sture Linner, whom Dag Hammarskjöld appointed U.N. chief in the Congo, had long been associated with the Swedish Grangesberg A/B. This company, with Skanska Cement, Iforversken A/B, and Boliden, forms a syndicate with the U.S. firm International African-American Corporation. This syndicate, seeking copper and other mining concessions, has more or less openly pursued a pro-Lumumbist, anti-Tshombe line within the Congo.

Behind-Scenes Preparations

"Boliden's president, Sven Schwartz, has made several recent trips to Katanga under the auspices of U.N. officials and the Swedish Embassy. Spaak omitted from his Senate speech the allegation that European rumour finds juiciest: that Dag Hammarskjöld's brother, Gustav (Bo), is associated not only with Grangesberg A/B but with the U.S. copper corporation Anaconda Mining, and that the Grangeberg syndicate is also closely linked to major U.S. banking interests.

"The *Star Ledger*, of Newark, New Jersey, in a story entitled 'What Was Dag's Congo Motive?' said: 'Last June a group of private Swedish and American financiers formed a new combine for exploitation of Katanga's natural resources. As those resources are tightly held by Union Minière, it might seem that the combine's chances of success were exceedingly slight. But the private Swedish-American group apparently had advance information that led it to believe the mining monopoly soon would be broken. It considered this information so reliable that it promptly filed incorporation papers in Switzerland and deposited about \$100m. in Swiss banks in preparation for a Katanga take-over.

"According to highly reliable Swiss sources, the combine is headed by Bo Gustav Hammarskjöld, 70, a retired Swedish politician who once was governor of Södermanland Province. As the combine was formed three months ago, it seems likely that the United Nations war on Katanga was being planned in secret at that time or even earlier.

"As long as Katanga remains independent under pro-Western President Tshombe, Union Minière probably will retain control of the mining industry, including some of the world's largest and richest copper deposits. But if the Tshombe Government falls and Katanga again becomes part of the Congo Republic, the mineral monopoly will be broken. At this point, the new combine plans to move in.

"Katanga and Northern Rhodesia produce about one-fourth of the free world's copper supply. The three countries in Katanga and Northern Rhodesia co-operate closely in all phases of copper production and marketing. No outside firm stands a chance of cutting itself in as long as the present Governments of Katanga and Northern Rhodesia remain in power.

Communist Infiltration

"The Soviet Union, with its global network of agents and spies, must have been aware of the Swedish-American combine's formation and ambitious plans for Katanga. The U.S. Government also knew what was going on, for neither side in the cold war did anything about the behind-scenes preparations.

"The Central Government of the Congo recently named Egidio Bochet-Davidson, a Moscow-trained Communist agent, as chief administrator of Katanga. He was supposed to take over the provincial Government with the support of U.N. troops. A long-time lieutenant of Lumumba, Egidio Davidson became a henchman of Joseph Kasavubu, Congo's first president, after Lumumba was assassinated. If Davidson is in control of the upper hand in Katanga, he should naturally ally with the mining interests that have backed him. What the Swedish-American combine will do in such a situation is machinery, and money needed to keep the gears turning.

"Would it not be a shocking revelation if it were true that a private combine had obtained information of U.N. action against Katanga and plotted a plan to get control of the mineral resources of Katanga? How extensive are the machinations of the alleged plot outlined in these pages?

stories and some belief they may be true could explain the few outbursts of President Tshombe.

"Europe magazine for October 3, 1961, asked from Brussels why Mr. Kennedy's entourage had not modified its irrational policy in relation to the Congo and very bluntly answered the question: 'Because, under cover of U.N. operations in the Congo, American big business interests have launched into profitable business ventures in Leopoldville and elsewhere'.

"The writer concluded: 'It is to the definite interest of American big business to work toward unification of the Congo in order to better drain its riches and facilitate its negotiations by dealing with a single Government. Bringing Katanga back under the rule of the latter would give a tremendous boost and added scope to business ventures so brilliantly initiated. But this also means the definite elimination of those Belgian intruders who cling to the idea that Katanga was discovered by them, saved from Arab servitude by their officers, and had their land developed by their engineers and technicians'.

Key Characters

"In the highly respected *La Libre Belgique* of December 12, 1961, Count Charles Terlinden wrote: 'As early as August 1960, while sojourning in Stockholm on the occasion of a scientific congress, we were informed by a reliable source of the existence of a Swedish-American concern headed by a very high official of the Swedish Foreign Ministry and set up for the purpose of gaining control over the non-ferrous metals in the Congo. A relative of Mr. Hammarskjöld was the king-pin of this trust, the real aim of which was, by having control of Katanga copper production, to put it into a state of suspended animation so as to boost copper stocks, the control of which was in the hands of American high finance'.

"As I looked into the companies named in various charges, the possibility began to assume real proportions that selfish financial interests might underlie the vicious U.N. and U.S. policy towards Katanga. A financial and operating industrial complex has tied together in one enterprise a number of the key characters who have played major roles in the determination of policy in the Congo for the U.S. and for the U.N. I would go further and say that it is entirely possible that the characters in this drama themselves made the final determination of official U.S. and U.N. policy in the Congo.

"Lamco—the Liberian American Swedish Minerals Company—was formed by joining the International African-American Corporation and the Swedish syndicate of large companies called the Swedish Lead Company Syndicate, of which Sture Linner, who had directed the U.N. operations in the Congo, was an officer.

"He had been executive vice-president and general manager of the American-Swedish combine at a salary of \$30,000. He resigned on April 15, 1960, but a prospectus of May 19 announced that he would be manager consultant until July 15. Linner was appointed by Dag Hammarskjöld to be resident representative in charge of technical assistance in the Congo on the precise day on which that three-month period terminated, July 15, 1960.

Advance Information?

"Did Sture Linner leave before April 15, 1960, that he would get a job with the U.N. in the Congo? April 15, 1960 was two and a half months before Belgium gave independence to the Congo, and, of course, before the U.N. went into the Congo. It is interesting that some people know in advance that the U.N. would be in the Congo?

"Should this be the case, the information in the Congo job was advanced. There would be some agreement. He was proposed by Dag Hammarskjöld to be in charge of the U.N. Congo mission.

"The Swedish or Lamco trust set up the American trust of which Linner was president was the American Army and Air Force Supply Corps. This was the one to supply the United States of the U.S. Technical Cooperation Administration.

"The U.S. Technical Cooperation Administration... (The text in this section is extremely faint and largely illegible due to the quality of the scan.)

ment of State, as head of our entire foreign aid programme.

"The files of Lamco show that the major Swedish corporation in the Swedish Lamco Syndicate was none other than the one cited in several allegations in the foreign Press as having an interest in the Congo, the Grangesberg Company. A prospectus of LIO (Liberian Iron Ore), the holding company, dated November 15, 1961, listed Trafik A.B. Grangesberg-Oxelund as owning thirteen twenty-eights of the Swedish syndicate's stock in L.I.O.

"A report dated April 18, 1961 showed Bo Hammarskjöld of Stockholm, as a director. He is the brother of Dag Hammarskjöld, secretary-general of the United Nations through the period that included the first military assault on Katanga until his tragic death at Ndola on September 18, 1961.

"Another Swedish firm in the Lamco Syndicate is Skanska Cement A.B. One of the directors was the man who had the job of senior consultant on natural resources and industry for the U.N. operations in the Congo, Mr. Sven Schwartz.

"Now it was apparent that Sture Linner, who directed the operations in the Congo that saw two bloody assaults on Katanga and the Union-Minière installations, had had several bosses in Lamco who turned out to be in positions to make policy in the Congo. The top man in the U.N. was the brother of one of Linner's bosses, Bo Hammarskjöld. The man whom the U.N. Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, appointed to give the word on what would be done with the Congo's mineral and other natural resources just happened to be another boss of Linner's in Lamco, Sven Schwartz. As we have seen, another of Linner's former bosses, Fowler Hamilton, was now high in the U.S. State Department; Fowler Hamilton's law partner, Melvin Steen, now sat in the same director's seat that he held before he went into the State Department; and Hamilton's firm still represented the American partners in the Swedish-American combine, I.A.A.C.

Attempt to Mislead

"Mr. Sven Gustaf Schwartz turned out to be even more involved in the Lamco syndicate. He is a director of Ifoverken, another company in the Swedish syndicate.

"In the Lamco enterprise Sture Linner was alternate director to Erland Waldenström, a director of Lamco's holding company, Liberian Iron Ore, Ltd.; and since Waldenström has been president of Grangesberg since 1950, is it not most unlikely that his alternate on the board of L.I.O. would be someone who could not well represent Grangesberg's particular interests?

"Mr. Waldenström denied that Linner ever worked for the Grangesberg group. The U.N. biographical sketch on Linner said: 'In 1957-58 he was president of a mining company, directing its activities in Liberia, and from January, 1958, to May, 1960, he was executive vice-president and general manager of the Liberian American Swedish Minerals Co. (Lamco) in Monrovia. In May, 1960, he became director of an organization carrying out research in the field of mining finance and investment.' When I pressed my inquiry on the U.N. concerning this last-named organization, this information was received in writing: 'According to the records, the firm for which Mr. Sture Linner was working in May, 1960, was called Grangesberg-Oxelund'.

"This official U.N. information stands in direct contradiction to the statement given by the president of Grangesberg. Why was there any effort on the part of that company to cover up the fact that Linner was in their employ?

"The story about Mr. Sven Schwartz's activities in the Congo originated because of his early coming and going throughout the country. A man who flew into Katanga from Brussels in November, 1960, on the same plane as Mr. Linner, he is believed to be the official of Union Minière toward whom the Congo government wanted to hold the use of U.N. facilities and already had some friends to go there to stay.

Activities of Mr. Sven Schwartz

"It was on April 27, 1961, however, that the U.N. Secretary-General announced an appointment as general manager of the U.N. Congo mission. Mr. Linner had just returned to the U.S. after a period of absence in the Congo. It is interesting to note that the U.N. Secretary-General's appointment of Mr. Linner to the Congo job was announced on the same day that the U.N. Secretary-General announced the appointment of Mr. Sture Linner as resident representative in charge of technical assistance in the Congo. This was the one to supply the United States of the U.S. Technical Cooperation Administration.

in one of the syndicate companies, Svenska Entreprenad AB Sentab, a construction company, and, as noted, Mr. Schwartz is a director of two companies in the syndicate, Skanska Cement and Svenska Entreprenad AB Sentab.

"It is interesting to note, in view of Mr. Schwartz's personal mission in Katanga months before the U.N. took him on its staff, that the Boliden Gruv Company is a copper company. Its telegraph address is 'Coppermine, Skelleftea'. It is no wonder that copper-rich Katanga was highly suspicious of Mr. Schwartz, especially when after his surveys he turned up with the U.N. which was harassing the province.

"In December, 1961, Schwartz was in the Congo to make a four-month study of mining for the U.N. Consultative Group for National Resources and Industry. He was reported to have recommended nationalization of the Katanga mines. The U.N. and the U.S. Government told me that they had not been able to obtain copies of a report made to the Congo Government. Finally the U.N. Information Officer in Washington told me that the report did not exactly recommend nationalization but suggested it as an alternative to a mixed operation, part Government and part business, as at present.

"It was not Schwartz who had written the so-called Schwartz Report, but another Swedish national, Borj Hjortzberg-Nolund—who was an alternate director of Lamco and had for a number of years been associated with Grangesberg, having been a vice-president in charge of the planning and development of mines since 1956. The publication *Liberia Trade, Industry and Travel* wrote that Mr. Hjortzberg-Nolund was in 1960 requested by the U.N. to give technical advice to the Republic of the Congo, and that he afterwards resumed his earlier function as general adviser to the president of the Grangesberg Company.

Hypocrisy and Viciousness

"So still one more key official in the Swedish-American combine Lamco played a rôle in the Congo operations, the hypocrisy and viciousness of which have caused questions and doubts to be raised everywhere.

"Examination of Fowler Hamilton's law firm, Cleary, Gottlieb & Steen, brought to light the fact that the firm had two names for its two offices. In New York City it was known as Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton—Fowler Hamilton—while in Washington and Paris it was Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Ball. Ball turned out to be none other than George Wildman Ball, Under-Secretary of State in the Kennedy Administration.

"Hence the man who directly helped to establish our policy towards Katanga has been affiliated with the key figures already outlined in this little drama. He has been in the firm that represented the International African American Corporation and which has had two successive partners sit on the board of directors of Liberian Iron Ore, the holding company for Liberian American Swedish Minerals Company. And this somewhat-complex combine has as two key figures, Bo Hammarskjöld, brother of former U.N. Secretary-General, and Sven Schwartz, who made an important study in the Congo with interesting recommendations as to what should be done with Katanga mining operations. This combine was commanded in its operations by Sture Linner, who was to head the U.N. Congo operations. Two Americans out of the American-Swedish Corporation, Lamco, are very highly placed in the foreign policy-making agency of our Government, the Department of State.

Combine to State Department

"The question naturally arises as to possible conflict of interest on an international scale when we see an unbelievably bad policy in relation to an extremely rich little country, Katanga, possibly formulated for the U.S.A. in Washington, on the one hand, by Ball and his subordinate Fowler Hamilton, and for the U.N., on the other hand, in New York by Dag Hammarskjöld, and in the Congo by Sture Linner, Sven Schwartz, and Borj Hjortzberg-Nolund, all of whom, with Dag's exception, have been tied closely together in the one international combine deeply interested in Africa.

"The individual who may be the central figure in the international combine is Marc Wallenberg, senior, a Swedish banker. He is the chief officer of the entire complex. He is a director of at least two of the Swedish companies in the Swedish Lamco Syndicate, vice-chairman of Stockholms Enskilda Bank, which serves as financial adviser to the Lamco combine, and also chairman of Telefon AB L. M. Ericsson. This international giant manufactures telephone apparatus, tape-recorders, alarm systems, electric wire and cables, and so forth, and does business throughout Africa. Marc Wallenberg's huge corporation has agents in the Congo, British East Africa, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rhodesia, and Nyasaland. Marc Wallenberg is vice-chairman of another company in the Swedish Lamco syndicate, Atlas Copco, AB.

"Now we come to the amazing case of the 1,000lb. bombs sought by the U.N. for use against Katanga. The matter was thoroughly aired in a debate in the House of Commons on December 14, 1961, when the Prime Minister spoke of a restriction on their use which the British Government had stipulated and that the request for the bombs had just been withdrawn.

"Here, indeed, is an amazing revelation. We have it from the highest officials of the British Government that the Secretary-General of the U.N., U Thant, and I quote the Lord Privy Seal on December 11, 'gave specific assurances in writing that the bombs would be used only against Katangan military aircraft on the ground and against the airstrips used by them'. Yet after the British had made the bombs available for the U.N. to pick up, and despite the written assurances of U Thant, the U.N. refused to take the bombs with restrictions.

Blockbuster Bombs

"It could not be more obvious that the intentions were to destroy the huge installations of Katanga. We all know what these blockbusters did to France and Germany when our bombers and British bombers levelled the cities of those countries. This is clearly the intention the U.N. had for such weapons.

"One cannot but recall the report of Count Terlinden that the purpose of the Swedish-American combine he had been told of was to take control of the Katanga copper production—and put it into a state of suspended animation. I do not know the truth or falsity of his information. But would anything do a better job of it than twenty-four 1,000lb. blockbuster bombs?

"The U.N. request for the bombs was withdrawn on December 13. Reuters told of U.N. attacks on Union Minière installations by bombing and strafing by Swedish jets on December 10 or 11.

"On the day the U.N. repeated its request for the bombs, December 7, the *Washington Post* said our Ambassador to the U.N., Mr. Adlai Stevenson, gave full support yesterday to U Thant's plans concerning Katanga.

"The Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs said in the House of Representatives on December 12 that the U.N. had attacked industrial plants in Katanga and that in an air attack on Le Marinel 3,500 litres of fuel oil had spread as far as the high-tension-transformer station. He added: 'Brand-new hydro-electric plants were deliberately aimed at and seriously damaged, wiping out the product of many years of hard work by African and European specialists.'

"Why are the United Nations doing this? What do they hope to achieve? The explanations given by the Secretary-General do not seem to me to be very clear. In New York he began by justifying these military operations by the right of self-defence, adding that he was quite aware of the need for reconciliation and pacification. But are the methods employed truly those which should be employed so as to arrive at a reconciliation in the near future? There is no longer any question of self-defence. The methods employed are out of all proportion to the events which it was necessary to overcome.

Why? Why? Why?

"How can the U.N. logically resort to the use of military might to force Katanga, a State almost the size of France, to rejoin the Congo, when that same body cuts up an area about one-tenth the size of Katanga and creates two new nations; the Kingdom of Ruanda and the Republic of Burundi?—and, incredibly enough, during the same time period.

"If the U.N. policies were consistent it would have insisted that the peoples of heavily mineralized Gabon should continue to live in political association with those of the other three territories of French Equatorial Africa instead of giving them all independence in 1960.

"Why do the U.N. and the U.S. State Department continue to insist Katanga can support the economy of the Central Congo when that so-called Government is running up a deficit that staggers the imagination?

"Why is not the truth given the American people—that historically the province of Katanga gave the Belgian Congo régime in Leopoldville an annual share of income never much more than 40%—and approximately half of this came back to Katanga for use in its own area, so that approximately 20% of Katanga's money was shared with the rest of the Congo.

"Why would not the State Department allow President Tshombe to come to this country after Premier Adoula's visit, while saying Tshombe was the man the Congo needed most for stability?

"Why has the State Department followed an amazingly deceitful tack in its treatment of Tshombe's personal representative in the United States in cancelling his visa?"

Secession of Katanga Ended To Spare Further Suffering

Mr. Tshombe Promises "Loyal" Co-operation with U.N. and Asks for Amnesty Guarantee

KATANGA HAS ENDED her secession from the Congo. President Tshombe announced this from Kolwezi on Tuesday in these terms:—

"We are ready to declare to the world that Katangese secession is over. We are prepared to give the United Nations troops freedom of movement throughout Katanga. We are also prepared to return to Elisabethville to settle the modalities of the application of the U Thant plan.

"It is our request that the President of the Congo Republic and the Prime Minister should, when this statement is issued, put into force the amnesty provided for in the U Thant plan in order to guarantee the security and liberty of the President and Government of Katanga, all their officials and agents and all the people who have worked under them.

"We have decided to co-operate loyally with the U.N. in execution of their mandate and are asking that the date and time for a meeting should be fixed in order to spare the population from suffering. We hope that our proposition can be executed very shortly."

U Thant, U.N. secretary-general, welcomed the statement, and a U.N. spokesman said later that assurances had been given by President Kasavubu and Mr. Adoula that they would uphold the amnesty provisions of the Thant reunification plan.

Sole Aim

When he returned to Elisabethville last week from Kolwezi, where, he confirmed, every major Union Minière installation had been mined for demolition should the U.N. attack the town, Mr. Tshombe averred that full acceptance of the U Thant reconciliation plan was his principal concern. It had, however, to be applied "simultaneously by Leopoldville and by me. I am ready to consider all its applications.

"I have returned to Elisabethville with the sole aim of restoring as soon as possible calm and peace to Katanga and all its people. This consists essentially of rapidly applying the Thant plan without new spilling of blood and without useless destruction. It is evident that in these circumstances I shall abstain from any declaration against the U.N."

Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, welcomed the President's return to his capital and his statement as showing both courage and statesmanship, adding:—

"It is my sincere hope that there is going to be constructive response from the other side. In the broader Congolese and international interest it is absolutely essential that this new situation should develop into proper and lasting understanding based on mutual consent, and in that connexion President Tshombe's reaffirmation of support for the U Thant plan is particularly encouraging. I hope that this move will not be wasted, although no doubt in the first flush of victory there will be people who will be determined to crush the Tshombe régime, with all that that entails.

Peace Only Through Conciliation

"There will be no peaceful solution to the Katanga problem unless it is by agreement. The whole world is aware of the desire of the U.N. to get out of the Congo mire and it is appreciated, but failure to seize the present opportunity to negotiate a peaceful settlement with the provincial Government of Katanga, headed by Mr. Tshombe, will force the U.N. to remain entrenched for years in Katanga. In addition to having to play the rôle of conquerors they will then also have to play the part of administrators, with all that this entails. I hope those nations of the West that have influence with the U.N. and the United States Government will do their best to bring home the need for a settlement by conciliation—even at this late hour."

On Thursday Mr. Tshombe drove the 110 miles to Mokambo on the border with Northern Rhodesia, stopping *en route* to tell his troops not to offer resistance to the Ethiopian and Indian contingents of the U.N. in his wake, "because I do not want the people to be massacred."

After a meeting there with his Minister of the Interior, Mr. Munongo, who later returned to Kolwezi *via* Mufulira in Northern Rhodesia, and other Katangan leaders, including Mr. Odilon Mwenda, his Minister in Brussels, the President said that he wanted "to stop bloodshed and prove my good in-

teptions; what I have done proves that I am carrying out the Thant plan and giving free movement to U.N. personnel".

He then returned to Elisabethville, where U.N. headquarters in New York had thought him to be under house arrest. Such detention had been announced the previous evening after the U.N. Secretary-general had issued a statement calling for "practical proof" of the President's good will and saying that the responsibility would be his alone if his "scorched earth" threats were carried out in Kolwezi, with "all the tragic consequences of such acts of criminal sabotage.

"A categorical statement is required from Mr. Tshombe", the *communiqué* continued. "Specifically, he must himself make immediate practical arrangements, including orders to any elements which he may still control, for the immediate peaceful entry by the U.N. Congo force into the Kolwezi area for the protection of the population and installations, a protection which they are earnestly requesting.

Minimum Assurances Sought

"In view of the interminable prevarications and contradictions of Mr. Tshombe in the past, the only practical test of such undertakings is the actual peaceful entry of the U.N. into Kolwezi. Mr. Tshombe's most recent statements to the Press make it more urgent than ever for him to prove that his undertakings have some practical validity. Unless such proof is given there can no more be any question of contact with him on other matters. Therefore the U.N. Command has been instructed to restrain him from further irresponsible acts.

"The secretary-general has made repeated efforts in the past three days to obtain from Mr. Tshombe the necessary assurances on these four basic points—a categorical renunciation of the scorched earth and sabotage policy frequently announced by him; renunciation of his often-repeated intention to fight to the last man; immediate practical steps for the implementation of the unity plan which he publicly accepted many months ago; and the assurance of immediate recognition of the right of the U.N. to freedom of movement throughout Katanga. Unfortunately, Mr. Tshombe's most recent statements appear to have made it fruitless to pursue these efforts to obtain these basic minimum assurances."

Later on Thursday a U.N. spokesman in New York admitted an error in announcing the President's house arrest, saying that a qualification had been omitted to the effect that he would be confined if he continued "irresponsible acts". He was otherwise free to move about, subject to a general night curfew, and had not been placed under house arrest, though the same spokesman said he had been "released" for showing "complete willingness to co-operate" with the U.N. The U.N. rescinded the order at about the time Mr. Tshombe arrived in Mokambo.

For the secretary-general it was said that talks on technical matters might soon be arranged between the U.N., the Central Congolese Government and Mr. Tshombe, in view of the latter's "change of heart".

Leopoldville Demands Consuls' Recall

On the same day the Central Government's Foreign Minister, Mr. Justin Bomboko, informed the British and Belgian Ambassadors in Leopoldville that their Consuls in Katanga (Mr. Derek Dodson and Mr. Frederic Vandewalle), should be recalled within 24 hours because of the "political positions" which they had adopted, "which infringe the sovereignty and basic interests of the Congo". The demand was resisted strongly by the two Governments concerned, with support from the U.N. and the U.S.A., because both officials had ready access to Mr. Tshombe. Both men are still in Elisabethville.

U Thant has affirmed that Mr. Tshombe is legitimately President of Katanga. That statement was made in reply to President Nkrumah of Ghana, who had complained that it was improper for the U.N. to deal with Mr. Tshombe, who, with his "accomplices", should be put on trial for the murder of Lumumba.

At the week-end Mr. Tshombe suddenly arrived in Ndola, Northern Rhodesia, for a meeting with some of his Ministers, and then went to Kolwezi to join Mr. Munongo.

U.N. troops, who have now re-opened the railway to Sakania through Mokambo, and have taken the Katanga military arsenal at Shinkolobwe, on the way to Kolwezi from Jadotville, were reported on Monday to be giving Mr. Tshombe a "few days" in which to decide whether to allow them to enter Kolwezi without fighting.

Mr. Dodson stated on the same day that Mr. Tshombe would henceforth be prevented from crossing into Northern Rhodesia at will, though if he asked for political asylum there it would be granted.

President Tshombe's Own Statement of His Case

Flexible Federalism the Only Sound Form of Unity

PRESIDENT TSHOMBE had thus stated his position in a letter to *Congo-Africa* written on Boxing Day (that is, just before the United Nations launched its full-scale attack on Katanga):—

"The fundamental problem is one of self-determination, which has been refused, without right, and for the first time in the history of the world, to a new State which has governed itself in an orderly manner for two and a half years. In spite of all our efforts, reason cannot prevail until the Leopoldville Government, the United Nations, and the United States abandon the authoritarian myths which inspire their action and replace them by recognition of our right to self-determination.

"By virtue of this right we have tried for two years to reconstruct the Congo on a genuinely federal basis. There is no other basis on which it can now stand. The Congo is as large as that part of Europe which lies between Bordeaux and Leipzig, and between London and Venice and Barcelona. Can one imagine a Danish Minister attempting to govern such an area from Bordeaux? It is still more impracticable in Africa, where the differences between populations are greater, ranging from the relatively advanced to the most-primitive, such as the pygmies.

"Because of this extreme diversity, the only possible and desirable kind of unity is a decentralized and flexible federalism. But this appears more and more improbable, with the Leopoldville Government, egged on by the United Nations and the United States, refusing to renounce the Colonial heritage of a *Gouvernement-Général*, transmitted to it by a bad law enacted by the Belgian Parliament. In this atmosphere, the attempts at national reconciliation can never succeed.

Mr. Adoula's Animosity

"The animosity of M. Adoula, fanned by the United States, makes any agreement most improbable.

"For example, the offer I made on December 13 had not even been conveyed to M. Adoula on the 21st, and as far as I know has not been conveyed to him yet. No reply was made to this offer or to our request for a guarantee from the United States, Great Britain and Belgium. But if one is not prepared to guarantee the carrying out of measures for a just solution, by what right are pressures applied to us? By exercising these pressures and refusing us guarantees the Governments concerned become the accomplices of those who would have us surrender unconditionally.

"Mr. Mennen Williams declared in October, 1961, that 'Secession, not self-determination, is the issue'. More recently Mr. Adlai Stevenson, in a letter to a Richmond (Virginia) newspaper, claimed that the inhabitants of Katanga had no more right to self-determination than the various States of the United States. But the American Constitution was adopted by the unanimous wish of the States, which thereby exercised their right to self-determination.

"The question of self-determination evidently embarrasses these gentlemen. They know we are not secessionists but federalists. But our right to self-determination must be recognized as giving us the right to exercise it in a federal sense; and it is that which is refused by the Government in Leopoldville, backed by the United States.

"As for legality, there has never been an example in history of a people exerting its right to self-determination without breaking to some extent with the established order, or rejecting a legality which it opposes in the name of a right not yet recognized which it is determined to assert. One could

mention, among innumerable others, the cases of Belgium in 1830, of the revolt of the American Colonies in 1787, and of the Spanish Colonies in South America. Our own rights are as good as theirs.

"The attacks made on us by the United States are particularly significant in connexion with the Communist danger. They accuse us of importing the cold war into Africa. All that is a tissue of contradictions, a smoke-screen behind which America seeks to conceal its intention to sacrifice the small nations to the interest of the great, and to bring about our reintegration by force. It is not we who are responsible for the cold war. We are fighting for our existence. It is the United States who have imported the cold war through their ignorance and self-interest. The Americans want to substitute their own order for ours.

"The result has been to favour Communist penetration, notably at Albertville, where since November, 1961, several notorious Communists have joined the Government. An American counsellor, Mr. Harris, is assistant to M. Sandwe, and another, Mr. Sherry, fanatically hostile to us, has recently arrived in Elisabethville to assist M. Mathu.

"All these acts are committed by the United States under the hypocritical cover of 'legality' represented by a Belgian Act of Parliament passed in May, 1960, which is rejected by us. Moreover, this very 'legality' has been frequently violated, as by the creation of a State of North Katanga; and these violations are defended by all those who support M. Adoula."

"Problem Child" of the Congo

Control Slipping from Mr. Adoula's Grasp

MR. CYRILLE ADOULA, Prime Minister of the Central Congolese Government, who has had the strong backing of the United Nations and the United States, has been described as "Leopoldville's problem child" by Mr. Pieter Lessing, special correspondent in the Congo of the *Sunday Telegraph*.

Mr. Adoula's authority had, he says, never extended far beyond Leopoldville, and recently it has been further diminished by the opposition of Mr. Victor Nendaka, the "powerful and feared" head of the National Sûreté and governor of the Leopoldville district, where he "rules without reference to the Adoula Government and has successfully transformed the city and the surrounding area into a police State. Members of the Government are as fearful of his Sûreté as the ordinary people.

"A further setback is a suspected alliance between President Kasavubu, who has lost confidence in Mr. Adoula, and a formerly loyal Adoula supporter, Mr. Cleophas Kamitatu, Minister of the Interior, who is critical of Adoula's personal rejection, by-passing his Cabinet, of the latest Katangan overtures for reconciliation, which Mr. Kamitatu favoured.

"Only Mr. Justin Bomboko, the Foreign Minister, still opposes intervention by Mr. Kasavubu to reform the Government under a different Prime Minister. He has convinced the Americans that Mr. Nendaka has strong Communist leanings and that continued rule by Mr. Adoula is needed to safeguard the country from the Communist bloc. But Parliament has had to be given three months' leave, as most deputies are now openly hostile to Mr. Adoula, accusing him of selling out to America in exchange for keeping him in power.

"Support for Mr. Bomboko's argument comes from Colonel Mobutu, who controls the more remote parts of the Congo with his National Army, though he is not subject to effective control by the Central Government. But the Army and the Sûreté are mutually hostile, and Colonel Mobutu and Mr. Nendaka are personal enemies.

"Whatever his political leanings, Mr. Nendaka is a 'strong man' who would certainly try to place the Army under his own control. The result is a grim struggle between the Army and the Sûreté, with Army chiefs helping to maintain Adoula in power because they fear that if he falls Nendaka will attempt to seize power. Adoula has no part in this struggle. He is treated as no more than an interested onlooker.

"Kasavubu's problem is how to persuade the U.N. to allow him to dismiss Adoula without enabling Nendaka to seize power."

PERSONALIA

CANON C. A. L. WOOLLEY left England last week to return to the Diocese of South West Tanganyika.

Two medical officers in Kenya, DR. F. P. BROWN and DR. J. G. GROUNDS, are in this country on long leave.

REAR-ADMIRAL R. DICK, Commissioner-in-Chief of the St. John Ambulance Brigade, is visiting Uganda.

MR. V. A. BELLMAN, president of the Mobil Petroleum Co., Inc., of New York, has just visited the Federation.

MR. J. M. SULLIVAN, Deputy Commissioner of Police in Nyasaland, is on leave in this country until early next month.

MR. D. S. MCKINNELL, managing director of Export Advertising Service, Ltd., has recently revisited East Africa.

LORD RENNELL has been elected deputy chairman of Sun Insurance Office in succession to the late LORD DYNEVOR.

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, Kenya's new Governor, is to receive the honorary degree of D.C.L. of Durham University.

SIR ALBERT ROBINSON, Federal High Commissioner in London, left at the week-end for a week's visit to the Federation.

On Friday the AGA KHAN won the downhill section of the Lowlanders individual ski-ing championships at Val d'Isère.

MRS. MABEL M. SMYTHE, of the American advisory commission on educational and cultural exchange, has been visiting Uganda.

MR. P. I. PATEL is now Mayor of Kampala. The deputy mayor is MR. P. KAVUMA, a former Katikiro (Prime Minister) of Buganda.

MR. G. S. HIGHCOCK and MR. P. A. RANKIN have joined the board of Hunting Surveys, Ltd., from which MR. F. L. WILLS has retired.

CHIEF SIMON SIGOLA and MR. NGALANE are the first two Africans to be appointed to the Natural Resources Board of Southern Rhodesia.

MR. OLCOTT H. DEMING, who has been appointed the first American Ambassador in Uganda, was at one time consul-general in Kampala.

GENERAL SIR GEOFFREY BOURNE, chairman designate of the Central Land Board of Kenya, arrived in the Colony last Friday for a week's visit.

MR. JOHN BENEDICTO MUGOGO MWAKANGALE, M.P. for Rungwe, is now Junior Minister in the Ministry of Local Government in Tanganyika.

LADY EVELYN MALCOLM, of Funchal, Madeira, widow of Sir Dougal Malcolm, left estate in England valued at £35,310, on which duty of £2,175 has been paid.

SIR DONALD PERROTT, who was connected with the Tanganyika groundnut scheme, has joined the board of British Federal Welder and Machine Co., Ltd.

THE REV. H. J. LAWRENCE, general superintendent of the Methodist Church in Southern Rhodesia, has publicly criticized the proscription of African political parties.

MR. KENNETH BRADLEY is to speak on "The New Commonwealth Institute" to the Royal Society of Arts at 5 p.m. on January 22. SIR JAMES ROBERTSON will preside.

MR. K. N. BRINTON, chairman of Liebig's Central African Corporation, Ltd., and MRS. BRINTON are homeward-bound in the WINDSOR CASTLE, which is due in England tomorrow.

DR. BANDA said when opening Nyasaland's first law school a few days ago that he doubted the legality of European titles to land, for the chiefs who had sold it had no right to do so.

LORD MCCORQUODALE OF NEWTON has been elected chairman of the National Discount Co., Ltd.

SIR DONALD WOLFIT and LADY WOLFIT (MISS ROSALIND IDEN), who are touring South Africa with a programme of scenes from Shakespeare, will later visit Bulawayo and Salisbury.

MR. PAUL NGEI's new political party, called the African People's Party, has now been registered in Kenya. Its vice-president is MR. OMOLO AGAR. Both were formerly members of K.A.N.U.

MR. R. H. PRINGLE, for many years a farmer in Kenya, left London Airport on Tuesday afternoon to revisit the Colony and Uganda. For a number of years he has paid an annual visit in the winter.

MR. J. ODERO JOWI having retired from the post of principal of the I.C.F.T.U. Labour College in Kampala to enter politics in Kenya, MR. REUBEN MWILU, another Kenyan, has been appointed acting principal.

MR. W. M. ROBSON, a director of the Standard Bank and of Campbell Booker Carter, Ltd., will revisit East Africa and the Federation, Portuguese East Africa and South Africa between January 22 and March 7.

SIR ALASTAIR FORBES, vice-president of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa, has accepted an appointment as a Federal judge in Rhodesia and Nyasaland, in succession to SIR FRANCIS BRIGGS, who has retired.

The Beit Prize of Oxford University has been awarded to MR. B. A. KNOX, Magdalen College, for his book "Colonial Influence on Imperial Policy, 1858 to 1866: Victoria and the Colonial Naval Defence Act, 1865".

SIR CHARLES PONSONBY, chairman of Bird & Co. (Africa), Ltd., and the HON. LADY PONSONBY left London Airport at the week-end to revisit East and Central Africa. They are due back at the beginning of April.

SIR DUNCAN ANDERSON, chairman of the Commission for the New Towns, and lately chairman of the Federal Power Board, has entered the King Edward VII Hospital for Officers, London, for treatment for a duodenal ulcer.

MR. R. G. ADAMSON, secretary of W. F. Malcolm and Co., Ltd., has joined the board, from which MR. R. H. WRAY, a director for 14 years, and a member of the staff for 47 years, has retired on account of ill-health.

THE MOST REV. OLIVER GREEN-WILKINSON, Archbishop of Central Africa, who arrived in England in November, will return to his diocese at the end of next month. In August he is due to attend a conference in Toronto.

MR. N. C. WHITE has been appointed managing director of Ore Sales and Services, Ltd., and of African Chrome Mines, Ltd., Rhodesia Chrome Mines, Ltd., Minerals Research Syndicate, Ltd., and other companies in the group.

MR. TAITA TOWETT, Kenya's Minister for Lands and Housing, has suggested publicly that the Government's only cure for stealing—and which could, he said, lead to tribal battles—might be to shoot thieves and robbers at public meetings.

MR. JAROSLAV KOHOUT, Czechoslovakian Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, and MR. BEDRICH HRUSKA, a deputy director in the Foreign Affairs Ministry, were among members of a seven-man trade delegation which has just visited Tanganyika.

Two African officers of the 3rd K.A.R., CAPTAIN JOSEPH MZIOKA and LIEUT. JOHN C. K. TUMBO, are to act as A.D.C.s to the Governor of Kenya at some functions at Government House. Later they will be relieved by other African officers.

MR. ALICK NKATA, an African radio announcer who last year resigned a £1,000-a-year appointment with the Federal Broadcasting Corporation in order to work for U.N.I.P., is to join the Washington staff of the Voice of America broadcasting service.

CHIEF HUMBI ZIOTA, Regional Commissioner for the Eastern Region of Tanganyika, has sworn in MR. ABDALLAH KASIM UGAMA as Area Commissioner for Rufiji. He is 32 years of age, and has been a branch secretary of T.A.N.U. for the past five years.

MR. J. K. MICHIE has resigned from the boards of the Royal Insurance Company and of the Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company. MR. P. G. G. SALKELD, his successor as chairman of Steel Bros. & Co. Ltd., has been appointed in his stead.

Among passengers for Mombasa in the KENYA, which sailed from London on Monday *via* the Mediterranean, are MR. E. F. ADAMS, a former general manager of the Westminster Bank, and MRS. ADAMS, and MR. J. HOBSON, managing director of Kenya Casements, Ltd.

MR. RAMCHANDRA DATTATRAYA SATHE, since 1961 Indian Consul-General in Frankfurt, West Germany, has been appointed Indian High Commissioner in Tanganyika. His predecessor, MR. MULLATH A. BALLODI, has been transferred to a post at the United Nations.

When a schoolboy suggested at a London gathering that conditions in under-developed territories were attributable to bad British administration and white settlers, SIR ANDREW COHEN commented: "If you believe that you will believe anything. If it came from a history book, throw it away"

THE RT. REV. DR. NEVILLE DAVIDSON, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, who is accompanied by MRS. DAVIDSON, left London on Tuesday for a five-day visit to Army and R.A.F. units in East Africa Command. His main purpose is to meet Servicemen from Scotland.

SIR ERIC ASBY, Master of Clare College, Cambridge, who has visited East and Central Africa, has been appointed a member of the Standing Advisory Committee on Salaries of the Higher Civil Service. LORD COLERAINE, who is greatly interested in Central African Affairs, resigned the chairmanship last year.

SIR ROGER STEVENS, Deputy Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, is to be the next Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University. For several years he has had charge of the African Section of the Foreign Office. He led the group of four advisers who toured the Federation on MR. BUTLER'S behalf in the latter part of last year.

THE EARL OF SCARBROUGH, having resigned the chairmanship of the Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in the United Kingdom, the EARL OF KILMUIR has been appointed his successor by MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies. LORD KILMUIR has visited East and Central Africa.

DR. TERENCE RANGER, since 1956 a history lecturer at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, who was restricted last year by the Southern Rhodesian Government as a member of the banned Z.A.P.U., was last week declared a prohibited immigrant by the Federal Government and given a fortnight in which to quit the Federation.

MR. W. F. STURBS, who was recently appointed Minister of Transport and Works in Northern Rhodesia, has received 30 pieces of silver from members of a Copperbelt club. At the time of the election he promised that he would have no part in any coalition between the African National Congress and U.N.I.P. He has said: "I expected and accept this criticism"

THE EARL OF HOME is to receive the freedom of Selkirk in June on the 450th anniversary of the Battle of Flodden, at which the third Lord Home led the Scots—who beheaded him three years later because he had switched to the side of the victorious English. The present peer—who has been a staunch friend of the Federation—is the first of his line to receive the freedom of Selkirk.

MR. A. MILTON OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, and MR. RASHIDI KAWAWA, Vice-President of Tanganyika, will have talks in London next Wednesday with the Prime Minister, MR. MACMILLAN, and the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, about alleged difficulties of conducting the East African Common Services Organization while Kenya remains a Colony. The meeting is at the African leaders' request.

MR. KENNETH de COURCY, editor of *Intelligence Digest*, had bail of £10,000 fixed when he was charged in London on Saturday under the Prevention of Fraud (Investments) Act with having issued statements which he knew to be misleading, false and deceptive. He had been arrested on the previous day at his home in North Cerney, Gloucestershire. His counsel said that he was innocent of the charges. MR. de COURCY has been concerned with property development schemes in Southern Rhodesia.

Obituary

MRS. ANNE SAGAR died suddenly in Nairobi last week.

MR. GERALD HAROLD OSWALD DALTON, lately warden of National Parks in Kenya, died recently in Natal, aged 58.

SID EDWARD PEASE, third baronet, who has died at the age of 82, was in the Sudan Civil Service from 1903 to 1911. He afterwards travelled widely in East and Central Africa.

CAPTAIN DAVID EVANS, sometime chief accountant of Rhodesia Railways, who went to live in New Zealand after his retirement from Southern Rhodesia, has died in South Wales in his 84th year.

MR. F. H. N. ("JABBY") TRENT, who has died suddenly in England, had farmed in Kenya from 1924, first with his parents and since 1936 on his own account in the Thomson's Falls district, where he developed an exceptionally fine estate. He served throughout the last war with the K.A.R. and on the staff of Kenya and Ethiopia, and again during the Mau Mau rebellion.

SIR GEORGE GATER, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.S.O., who died on Monday at the age of 76, had been Clerk to the London County Council for six years when in 1939 he was made Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. So exceptional an appointment naturally came under criticism. War broke out before he could enter on his duties, and he was switched first to the Ministry of Home Security and later, after a few months in the Colonial Office, to the Ministry of Supply. He was at the C.O. from 1942 to 1947.

SIR PATRICK HANNON, who died in London last week, aged 88, was for 29 years Unionist M.P. for the Moseley Division of Birmingham. As a young man he spent several years in South Africa, and was thereafter keenly interested in all African and other Commonwealth matters. He was editor of the *Navy* for seven years and then director of the British Commonwealth Union. Later he became president of the Institute of Export, a vice-president of the Federation of British Industries and of the Empire Industries Association, and was for more than 20 years chairman of the Constitution Club. He had held numerous other public offices and served on the boards of several leading companies. "Paddy" Hannon was popular in political, business, journalistic, and sporting circles (for 35 years he was president of Aston Villa Football Club). An Empire man through and through, he was sharply critical of the anti-colonialists. Britain's entry into the Common Market, he recently declared, would be irreparably disastrous.

Mr. Winston Field on Problems Facing Southern Rhodesia

Need for Mutually Beneficial Associations with Northern Neighbours

MR. WINSTON FIELD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said when addressing Salisbury Rotary Club last week that it was high time for the uncertainties about the constitutional future, especially of the Federation, to be dispersed.

Once a lasting solution to the problem of the Federation had been found, the final answer to the Southern Rhodesian constitutional issue should follow automatically and immediately.

"We must face the realities and think realistically in our approach", said Mr. Field. "I said some years ago: 'It is obvious that so long as Nyasaland or any of the territories comprising the Federation as it is today is governed or controlled by an overseas Parliament which may change its approach at any time as a result of party politics, there will be trouble'. How true, alas, that has proved to be; and to party politics we can now add outside pressures."

No useful purpose would be served by attempting to apportion the blame as to why things had not gone right with the Federation. The first need was to examine whether any useful purpose could be served by any continued association of any sort of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, or whether to let the whole thing drop.

"There are people—quite a lot—who would take the latter course, but I think without really calculating what the cost would be". The Prime Minister said that he was not one of those. He hoped, and had always hoped, that it would be possible to have mutually beneficial associations with the northern territories, either one or both.

Enormous Benefits of Federation

In the case of Nyasaland much stress had always been laid on the enormous benefits that had accrued to that country as a result of Federation. That was undeniably so, but what had not been so much publicized was the fact that association with Nyasaland had also been of great benefit to Southern Rhodesia, and still was; and that every effort should be made to retain all that could be retained now that it was publicly known that Nyasaland was about to secede.

"I have been making that effort for years in case the current situation arose. I believe it is only right to make plans for what might happen if there is any possibility of such, rather than just sit back and say it won't. If it doesn't happen, then no harm is done. If it does, then we shall be ready for it in so far as we are able. To that end my Minister of Justice and I went to Nyasaland a few days ago."

Southern Rhodesia was now feeling the impact of the demand for political revolution instead of political evolution far outstripping the pace at which it could be absorbed. As yet it had not been brought home to those in Southern Rhodesia, and he hoped it never would, as it had been in the Congo and possibly would be in other parts of Africa.

Coupled with the desire for political advancement for its own sake was the demand for education for education's sake, without really examining what it was all for and what use should be made of such learning.

"Of what use is it merely to be able to noise it abroad that we in Southern Rhodesia are doing this or that to educate all our people unless at the same time we can say that there will be employment for them and that their education is designed to fit them for various work careers that are offering? Nothing can be more calculated to cause discontent than to indulge in a large-scale education programme and then throw the young people concerned into the sea of unem-

ployment on completing their education. This is not peculiar to Rhodesia; it applies anywhere in the world.

"So this country's primary task must be development—development of our primary industries, which is the cheapest form of development and employs the most people in the cheapest way, and then automatically creates a quickening in our secondary industries and more employment there too."

The Prime Minister could not yet say whence the money would come, but he emphasized that people in Southern Rhodesia had to show their own willingness to spend on productive schemes in their own country before they could expect others to do so.

"Are we doing this? I should say 'No, we are not'. All too often we hear people say: 'Well, we could expand or embark on this or that new enterprise, but as we are not too happy about the situation we shall wait a bit'. And we go on waiting. This is sheer suicide. If we go on like this there will be little to wait for except more unemployment, less wealth, and more political unrest."

Was it not more important for the people of Southern Rhodesia to subscribe freely to productive development schemes and so prove their faith in Rhodesia's future? It should not be too difficult to get guarantees from patriotic citizens for projects that would provide employment for the unemployed, land for the landless, and production of things which the country now imported and which in due course would enable it to export in fair competition with the rest of the world on an ever-increasing market. The Prime Minister suggested that such guarantees could be staggered over, say, 10 years.

"I am aware that our affairs are in a bit of a tangle at the moment. We do not know with what functions we may have to deal in the near future. But we should be failing in our duty if we did not plan for all eventualities. I would say that was a business-like approach."

Interference by United Nations

"Unfortunately, we have not been left alone to solve our internal problems in our own and fair way and with the knowledge we possess and the wisdom that comes from that knowledge. We are experiencing attempts by the United Nations at interference in our domestic affairs."

"Apart from a just and natural pride which cannot tolerate interference, we have seen what United Nations intervention in the domestic affairs of a country can do. It is true that they were invited into the Congo, but I am sure that no one regrets their intervention more than the Congolese and Katangese themselves—apart perhaps from the United Nations."

"Instead of the economic expansion which they so erroneously thought 'freedom' would bring, they have become involved in a new sort of slavery; and it may take years for recovery to be achieved and progress made from there. I hope that some world will realize what outside interference can mean and the damage that has resulted, and will take care that it never occurs again. No one can be proud of what has happened in the Congo."

The Prime Minister said that Africa could not afford such upheavals either economically or politically. Populations were expanding at a tremendous rate and such calamities as the Congo were no answer.

"The problems which face us all here in Africa—and in Rhodesia we are no exception—are immense, and it is only with complete co-operation of genuine people that we can hope to succeed in finding a solution."

In an interview a few days later with Mr. Pieter Lessing, special correspondent of the *Sunday Telegraph*, Mr. Field admitted that there were complications in providing separate amenities for the different races, as promised in his party's electoral campaign, because of the existence of the new Constitutional Committee which has power to ensure that no fresh discriminatory legislation is passed and is to examine existing discriminatory measures. "We were elected under a Con-

stitution which we accepted, and I am determined to make that Constitution work", he said.

"There is an impression in Britain", he added, "that if the Federation collapses we would look towards South Africa. I want to say categorically that that is absolutely out of the question".

The Minister of Local Government, Mr. J. Howman, has announced that legislation will be introduced when Parliament meets on February 14 to ensure that "as far as swimming-baths are concerned, those in European areas will be for Europeans only and those in African communities will be for the exclusive use of Africans". That was not racial discrimination, he maintained, but "part of our community development policy of ensuring that each community regardless of its colour can enjoy its own amenities without interference".

He explained that the application on the previous day by Bellevue Town Management Board that its swimming-pool should be kept exclusively for Europeans had been rejected because the law had not yet been changed, and the Government had to administer the law as it still stood.

Ban on Public Meetings Extended

The ban imposed by the last Government on public meetings in the Colony on Sundays and public holidays (excluding religious and sports gatherings) has been extended until April 7 and is to be incorporated permanently in legislation, because the public has benefited greatly under it, being able to pursue normal leisure time activities without the disturbances previously engendered by other, mainly political, meetings, a Government spokesman has stated.

When he returned recently to Salisbury on being de-restriated, the former leader of the banned Z.A.P.U., Mr. Joshua Nkomo, said that meetings would be held at week-ends despite the ban. He had no intention of meeting the new Prime Minister, nor would he see the Minister for Central African Affairs, Mr. Butler, unless the ban on his party was removed "in accordance with the demands of my 4m. followers and indeed the whole world."

"You can be sure that there will be no new party as far as we are concerned. We cannot be expected to go on forming parties which can be banned the following day. We have lost about £80,900 through the banning of the N.D.P. and well over £40,000 through the banning of Z.A.P.U."

Saying that Mr. Field had inherited his predecessor's long-standing dispute over the country's Constitution, he continued: "We maintain as strongly as ever that Southern Rhodesia is a dependent territory of Britain and that Britain has the power, and indeed the responsibility, to legislate for the territory. To avert the disaster now impending over our country Britain must act immediately by legislating for majority rule."

MR. A. C. WELLS, of Morningside, Bulawayo, has written to the *Observer* (which has not published his letter):—

"I took the opportunity of visiting Mr. Nkomo some days ago whilst on a business trip in his area, and, having read various reports in your newspaper in the past few weeks on aspects of his living conditions, I was pleased to meet a civilized and cultured person who is in restriction 97 miles from Bulawayo. It appears that your correspondent took a round route by air and road to accumulate 180 miles.

"Mr. Nkomo was most amicable, and although he is residing in a pole and dagga hut—with his wife—he is well looked after and has a minimum of discomfort. I was the 16th Euro-

pean to call on him (excluding Press and television correspondents), but he has had a far larger number of Africans to his temporary home.

"It must be said in fairness that Mr. Hutton-Williams's reply to your correspondent was an honest one and could not be attacked. The London representative for Z.A.P.U. should not have been horrified, as Mr. Nkomo agreed that it was far preferable to be in restriction that suffer what might have happened in many other countries to political detainees.

"His accommodation has not been affected by torrential rains, and a feeling of tranquility existed in one of the most attractive parts of the country".

One-Party State

STATUTORY RECOGNITION of a one-party system has been proposed to the annual conference of the Tanganyika African National Union by the party president and President of the Republic of Tanganyika, Dr. Julius Nyerere, who said that "in as much as the people recognize overwhelmingly only one party, the laws of the country must also recognize only one party". A special committee would recommend the necessary constitutional amendments. T.A.N.U. would become a national movement for all races in which more than one member could contest the same seat in elections, and M.P.s. would be free to support or oppose the Government according to individual conscience and not under instructions from a party whip. The "artificial" distinction between politicians and civil servants would disappear.

Contradiction

PETER SIMPLE, the *Daily Telegraph* diarist, wrote a few days ago:—

"Why should Nyasaland be allowed to secede from the Central African Federation and Katanga not be allowed to secede from the Congolese Republic? Here is an old riddle which tactless people have been asking so long and so persistently that even supporters of the United Nations have begun to try to think of an answer.

"The *Observer*, after diving into its subconscious, has come up with the following: To allow Nyasaland to go its own way has removed a source of tension; to allow Katanga to cut itself off from the Congo would be to perpetuate a source of tension."

"But why has tension been removed in the Central African Federation? Because, the Government of the Federation, lacking outside support, has allowed tension to disappear by tacitly agreeing to Nyasaland's secession.

"Why would tension persist in the Congo? Because the Central Congolese Government, backed by the armed moral might of the anti-European world, would have kept up the tension by not agreeing to Katanga's secession.

"To ask why it is right for the black Congolese Government to stand on its own self-interest but wrong for the white Government of the Central African Federation to do so is merely to restate the riddle in another form. It still awaits an answer".


The 13-day strike of 4,500 African miners at Nchanga, and the 11-day Chibuluma strike involving 1,400 workers, ended in Northern Rhodesia yesterday.

After serving two years of a three-year sentence for sedition, Mr. Harry Chipembere, leader of the Malawi Congress Party Youth League in Nyasaland, has been released "on the Governor's orders".

Because of disagreement on the wording, the nationalist African coalition Government which met in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council for the first time on Tuesday was unable to table a motion demanding secession from the Federation.

The Portuguese Consul-General in Salisbury has denied a statement in Nairobi by the Commissioner for India that more than 2,000 Indian nationals under notice to quit Mozambique within a month would be imprisoned if they did not leave within the time specified.

Four Africans and a Greek trader in Burundi, re-tried twice by the independent Government after receiving prison sentences under the Belgian administration, were hanged at Kitega on Tuesday for alleged complicity in the assassination in 1961 of Prince Louis Rwagasore, the country's first Prime Minister. Their execution in pouring rain was watched by some 20,000 people, including the new Prime Minister and other officials.

NORTHERN

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Archbishop of Central Africa Christianity in the Federation

THE MOST REV. OLIVER GREEN-WILKINSON, Archbishop of Central Africa and Bishop of Northern Rhodesia, spoke on "Christianity in Africa" to a joint meeting in London last Thursday of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies.

Mr. Patrick McDonagh, who presided, said that he had first met the speaker when he was a subaltern in 1940; they then travelled to the Middle East in the same ship. With an honours degree from Oxford behind him, Mr. Green-Wilkinson had already spent a year farming in Northern Rhodesia and had then returned to the United Kingdom to study for ordination.

Immediately on the outbreak of war he enlisted, and he had an exciting and distinguished war record, being adjutant of his unit and a staff captain in a higher formation; he was in the advance party for the Salerno landing and went to Normandy on D-Day.

He took holy orders after the war, was a curate in Southampton for four years, and then returned to Africa to a curacy in Pretoria, whence he was translated overnight in 1951 to Lusaka as Bishop. A few months ago he became the third Archbishop of Central Africa.

The Archbishop said that when the Fisher family established a mission for the Plymouth Brethren at Mwinilungu, the delightful district in which the Zambezi, Congo, and Kafue rivers all took their rise within a few miles, an old African said in welcome that the newcomers had fulfilled a tribal prophecy that another white man would come one day to start his work at the top of the hill they had chosen. It had been impossible to discover what European had been there previously and when; probably it was a Portuguese Jesuit, perhaps centuries earlier. Christianity's complete disappearance in that area in the interim showed that it could not be taken for granted that it was firmly established for ever.

Inter-Racial Partnership

As recently as the Lambeth Conference of 1958 there were still misunderstandings even between bishops of the Anglican Communion. All the bishops from Africa then met in Canterbury for two days before the conference opened; from that most valuable gathering real unity had arisen. The five Anglican archbishops in Africa, who now meet from time to time, would foregather again this year.

At a conference in Kampala in April almost all Christian bodies would be represented—including, he hoped, the Roman Catholic Church.

Conditions in different areas differed immensely. Whereas Dr. Howell, the Anglican Bishop of Lagos, an African, was the son and the grandson of a bishop; in Northern Rhodesia, by contrast, the first African priests had not been ordained until 1933.

The ideal of inter-racial partnership implicit in the creation of the Federation had gone awry in many ways, perhaps largely through misunderstandings. The two nationalisms, white and black, were in the main friendly to Christianity, and the African nationalists usually arranged their meetings not to clash with church services. The great evil was materialism, and the urgent need was a proper sense of values for the guidance of people of all races.

When the Rev. John Taylor wrote "Christianity on the Copperbelt" he recognized that there were arguments for separate worship by Africans and Europeans, but he rejected the idea that Africans should have more opportunities of sturdy independence by worshipping alone because it could not be right in the sight of God to impoverish the Church by such separation. For reasons of language and geography, however, there were in the towns churches in which the services were usually in English hands and others in which they were in African hands. Few African women spoke English, and they wanted services in their own languages. But there were opportunities for white and black to worship together, and nowhere in the Federation was there a church, except of the Dutch Reformed Mission, in which Africans were not welcome.

Another difficulty which had to be remembered was that Africans tended to worship not at advertised times but when

they felt ready. An African archdeacon on the Copperbelt had said that he would welcome Europeans to services but hoped they would be prepared to wait, for Africans were not in a hurry and had all Sunday before them. They did not think punctuality important in the sight of God.

There were good relations between the Anglican and Free Churches, and increasingly good relations with the Roman Catholics. Reunion was being discussed in the Christian Council, but many African priests did not favour the idea; different missions had worked among different tribes, and for that historical reason there were difficulties as well as opportunities.

Expressing Africanism in Worship

The Anglican Province of Central Africa was greater in extent than the Federation, for it included Bechuanaland (in the Diocese of Matabeleland) and Katanga. Whatever happened in the political field, the Anglican Province would, the Archbishop believed, continue.

New sects, of which there were and would be many, were not likely to have great effect, for they did not attract educated Africans and they lacked disciplined leadership. In Northern Rhodesia the Watch Tower movement had a large following. Paganism existed but was not likely to become resurgent. In some parts of Africa Islam was strong.

A real need was to give Africans more opportunities and responsibility for making contributions to worship—for instance, by using drums instead of bells, by African words and tunes in the hymns, by the use of African painting and even of dancing. African responsibility could also be expressed by bearing a greater share in financing the work, which must meantime continue to rely largely on money from Great Britain.

Bishop Seeks Funds in U.S.A.

Confidence in Future of Nyasaland

THE RT. REV. DONALD ARDEN, Bishop of Nyasaland, told journalists last week, as he passed through London with Mrs. Arden on his way to the United States for a campaign of about four months to raise funds for the work of his diocese, that it was so short of money that he, the diocesan secretary and the education secretary had no telephones, and that until two months ago there was no transport for his vicar-general, who had to thumb lifts from place to place.

Stipends of his helpers were the lowest in all Africa, he thought. No European or African priest was paid more than £10 a month. Free accommodation was provided, but most of the houses were in an appalling condition and some in danger of collapse. For the past seven years the income of £24,000 had been overspent by £6,000 annually.

So grave was their financial crisis that the Anglican Province of Central Africa had agreed to give priority to Nyasaland's needs, and the U.M.C.A., which had always supported the mission, was to launch a special appeal. Because Britain was already heavily committed to Christian mission work in Africa, he hoped to raise funds in the U.S.A., which had not such large overseas commitments.

Dr. Banda and his Government, said the Bishop, had not been given the sympathetic treatment that they might have received from the British Press. The bishop thought that the political future of Nyasaland was probably as secure as that of any other country in Africa.

"We can discount all the stories about the new Government being anti-Christian. In fact, every member is a nominal Christian, one or two are lay leaders in their own churches, and some others go to church. I had hoped that the son of one of my archdeacons would be a Cabinet Minister, but he is still in gaol."

Because not many British newspapers had staff correspondents in Nyasaland, most of the news came from people who were quite out of sympathy with the Banda régime.

U.N. Experts in Tanganyika

TANGANYIKA has now 39 experts sent by the United Nations to work as economists, technicians, on veterinary research, or on irrigation and flood control. Another 12 servants of the U.N. based in Tanganyika serve East Africa in general.

Tory Government's Confidence Tricks "Prime Minister Cheated Sir Roy Welensky"

ONE CONFIDENCE TRICK TOO MANY was the heading given by the *Daily Herald* to a slashing attack on the Macmillan Government by Mr. Michael Foot, who wrote, *inter alia*:—

"High on the agenda when Parliament meet again will be the simple question of whether anybody can believe what the Government say—for one of Mr. Macmillan's achievements is to give new meaning to the term 'confidence trick'.

"No Premier of modern times—except during war when genuine 'security' requirements were involved—has more frequently resorted to the device of claiming that he could not reveal what he had said to somebody or other because the talks were 'confidential'. Usually when he has made the remark he has switched off the jaunty grimace of the political salesman and switched on the grave aspect of the statesman. His back-benchers are impressed. Awkward questions are stilled. Who would dare question his word? Who but an incorrigible mischief-maker would wish to delve further into these delicate mysteries?

"There are occasions when Ministers must claim the shield of confidence. Diplomatic negotiation is impossible without it. But the weapon should be wielded sparingly and most scrupulously. And frequently Macmillan's assurances have come unstuck.

Monstrous Deception

"When Parliament meets again M.Ps. will have to deal with the most serious 'confidence trick' in the history of the Macmillan administration, if not the most serious of the century. Even *The Times* makes the charge that the issue is 'the value to set on the word of British Ministers'. In short, have they been guilty of the most monstrous deception?

"The evidence looks indisputable. Nine years ago the British Government (Macmillan was a member) established a Federal Government to rule Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland. As recently as January 19, 1960, Macmillan made a speech in Southern Rhodesia saying that it would be 'an act of treachery' for his Government to try to break up this Federation.

"Sir Roy Welensky had his own especially good reasons for thinking that the British Premier meant what he said, for in 1952 and 1953, when the whole enterprise was started, he received from a series of British Ministers—Lord Swinton, Lord Boyd and Lord Chandos—a number of confidential additions to the public guarantees he was given.

"Sir Roy Welensky was told time and again 'in confi-

dence' that secession would be permitted only if all the Governments concerned—that is, including Welensky's—agreed to the proposition. Now, by force of circumstances, the British Government have been compelled to agree to the secession of Nyasaland. Mr. Butler has made the announcement officially in the House of Commons.

"And Welensky, not unnaturally, has retaliated by spilling the biggest basinful of beans in British Colonial history. He has told the world what the British Ministers told him in 1953. All that the British Government have been able to do so far is to lament that Welensky has been guilty of a breach of confidence. But that excuse won't wash. The fact is that confidential agreements on such a high matter should never have been made.

Britain's Reputation at Stake

"This is the most grievous aspect of the whole affair. Here was a matter which was being widely debated both in Britain and throughout Africa. To give guarantees behind the back of Parliament and the world at large on the principal issue in dispute was an unpardonable abuse of confidential talks. Moreover, in recent years—and this is where Macmillan enters the act as the chief villain—the debate about the Federation has grown persistently hotter. Precisely this matter of secession has become the dominant question.

"The only honest course for Macmillan long since, if he wished to palliate the original offence, was to have sought leave of all the others who participated in the confidential talks to reveal what had happened. Instead, he just waited, hoping that the deception would never be uncovered.

"Now the charge stands—that Macmillan cheated Welensky in 1962 as surely as his predecessors cheated Parliament and the Africans in 1953. There could hardly be a more serious charge. The reputation of our country across a whole continent is at stake. Macmillan has attempted a confidence trick once too often."

U.N. "Colonialist" Motion

ALL ADMINISTERING AUTHORITIES have been called on to prepare for the "immediate independence" of all their non-self-governing territories and to cease "all armed action and repressive measures, particularly against political leaders", by the United Nations General Assembly in voting on a number of resolutions presented by its special committee on colonialism. Britain is urged "to promote harmony and unity in Kenya and to ensure the Colony's independence at the earliest possible date"; to grant Zanzibar independence "as soon as possible, once the islanders have achieved national unity"; and after abrogating the present constitutional provisions to convene a constitutional conference to set dates for the independence of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, with one-man-one-vote elections. Portugal's "colonial war" in Angola was condemned. A resolution demanding a fixed date for the complete application of the 1961 declaration on colonialism was defeated.

Sudan Government Reshuffle

SUDANESE CABINET CHANGES include the appointment of three new Ministers—Major-General Mohammed Nasr Osman, Deputy Chief of Staff, as Minister of Information and Labour, Dr. Ahmed Ali Zaki as Health Minister, and Mr. Suleiman Hussein, a director of Posts and Telegraphs, as Minister of Communications. Other appointments include: Major-General Mohammed Talaat Farid, from Information to Education; Major-General Ahmed Rida Farid, from Works to Agriculture; Major-General Ahmed Magdoub el Bahari, from Communications to Local Government; Major-General Mohammed Ahmed Irwa, from Commerce and Supply to the Ministry of the Interior; Brigadier Makhoul el Amin el Hadj, from Interior to Commerce and Supply; and Mr. Ziada Arbab, from Education to Works. The Foreign Minister, Mr. Ahmed Kheir, is now also responsible for Mineral Resources.

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an affiliate of NATIONAL PROVINCIAL BANK, LIMITED. FOUNDED IN 1865, the Isle of Man Bank, Ltd., was the first limited liability company to be registered in the Isle of Man.

Kenya's Population Now 8,676,000

Likely to Double in About 25 Years

KENYA'S POPULATION is now 8,676,000, according to the first provisional figures, just issued, of last year's census. The total is more than a million above the previous official estimate, this discrepancy being attributable partly to an abnormal rate of population growth and partly to the fact that the 1962 census was much more complete in particular areas, such as the Northern Province, than the last census of 1948.

The provisional estimates show that there are approximately three million people in Nyanza Province, two million in the Central Province, one million each in the Rift Valley and Southern Provinces, 700,000 in the Coast Province, 600,000 in the Northern Province, and more than 300,000 in the Nairobi extra-provincial district.

The populations of the regions are more evenly balanced than those of the present provinces, and are: Coast, 1,020,000; Eastern, 1,560,000; Central, 1,334,000; Rift Valley, 1,776,000; Nyanza, 1,638,000; Western, 1,010,000; and Nairobi, 334,000.

The population living in towns of over 2,000 inhabitants now amounts to some 660,000, as against 285,000 in 1948. The 10 largest towns are Nairobi City, 266,700; Mombasa, 178,400; Nakuru, 37,900; Kisumu, 23,200; Eldoret, 19,600; Thika, 13,400; Nanyuki, 10,500; Kitale, 8,500; Kericho, 7,600; and Nyeri, 7,400.

It is thought that the rate of population growth at present is not much less than 3% per annum. At that rate the population would double in about 25 years.

No analyses by race, tribe, or age-group are yet available.

East Africa Dinner Club

SIR CHARLES PONSONBY, hon. treasurer of the East Africa Dinner Club, presided at a general meeting in London last week owing to the unavoidable absence of the president, Lord Boyd of Merton. Messrs. F. S. Joelson and J. H. S. Tranter, the two members of the committee due to retire, were re-elected, and Messrs. D. C. Brook and R. A. M. Knox were elected as new members. The other members of the committee are Lord Tweedsmuir, Sir John Hall, Sir Arthur Kirby, and Mr. Henry Izard. Miss V. C. Young is the hon. secretary. The report and accounts and amended rules were adopted.

Sudan Expels Clerics

PRIESTS AND NUNS are being imprisoned for trivial reasons under a policy of religious and racial suppression in the Sudan, where an "explosion" is likely, Fr. William Dowds, one of four Catholic priests expelled just after Christmas after 19 years in the country, has stated in Nairobi. He said that 55 priests, monks and nuns had been ordered to leave, 36 of them in the past two months, as well as a number of Protestant missionaries, as part of the anti-Christian movement which was initiated when the Government took over mission schools in 1957. "The north is almost entirely populated by Arab Muslims, and they are trying to impress their religion on the black peoples of the south and dominate them. The whole place is run by the police, and C.I.D. spies and armed soldiers are everywhere."

Union-Castle Guides

THE 1963 EDITIONS of the "Year Book and Guide to East Africa" and the "Year Book and Guide to Southern Africa" bring up to date these excellent annual volumes, which cost respectively 10s. 9d. and 14s. 3d. post free. In a foreword to the East African volume Sir Nicholas Cayzer recalls that it is just 90 years since the Union Line began its service from the Cape to Zanzibar; the first call at Mombasa was in 1875. The Guide covers the Sudan, Ethiopia, the Somali Republic, the Congo, Seychelles, Madagascar, Reunion and Mauritius as well as the East African mainland territories. The larger book, covering all Southern Africa, has 800 pages of text, with 21 inset maps in colour and two larger folding maps; the smaller, 370 pages of text, a 16-page atlas, and two folding maps. There are no comparable manuals.

Common Market Mission

A MINISTERIAL MISSION from the East African Common Services Organization is due in London on Monday for talks with the chief British negotiator on the Common Market, the Lord Privy Seal, Mr. Heath, and the Colonial and Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Sandys. The group will then visit Brussels to meet Professor Hallstein, president of the E.E.C. Commission. Tanganyika is represented by the Minister for Commerce and Industry, Mr. C. G. Kahama, who is accompanied by his Permanent Secretary, Mr. E. Halwenge, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. J. D. Namfua, and his deputy, Mr. D. J. Mahony. The Uganda Minister without Portfolio, Mr. J. S. Maysanja-Nkangi, is accompanied by Mr. H. E. Abdulla-Anyuru, M.N.A., the deputy chairman of the Coffee Marketing Board, Mr. R. J. Mukasa, and an Under-Secretary from the Finance Ministry, Mr. A. J. P. M. Seontongo. Kenya's Finance Minister, Mr. J. S. Gichuru, and the Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, Mr. W. B. Havlock, are accompanied by the Deputy Secretary for Commerce and Industry, Mr. J. H. Martin. Zanzibar's Minister of Agriculture, Sheikh Juma Aloy el-Abravy, will attend as an observer.



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Federal Benefits for Nyasaland £40m. in Eight Years

"NYASALAND'S FINANCIAL benefit as part of the Federation can only be described as tremendous. From being a poor, backward country, the territory began to catch up its two richer and more powerful partners—at a cost of many millions of pounds being poured in by the Federal Government.

"The minimal contribution made by Nyasaland to Federal finances may be judged from the fact that of the ordinary current revenue of £423m. received over the eight years from 1954 to 1962, Southern Rhodesia contributed £244m., Northern Rhodesia £173m., and Nyasaland only £6m.

"Since 1954 the Federal Government has spent in or on behalf of Nyasaland almost £41m. more than the total income it has received from the territory during the same period. This life-blood, being pumped in at the rate of more than £5m. a year, has spread right through the body politic, and its beneficial effects are visible in every aspect of Nyasaland's economy.

"Health, education, communications (rail, road and air), postal services, commerce and industry, power, agriculture and prisons have all had their share, and the standard of living of the people of Nyasaland has risen steadily as a result. Cut off from the Federation, the Nyasas would face a most serious fall in living standards. The level of Government services provided would drop, and lower wages and even unemployment for the majority of the population would be the order of the day.

"It needs little imagination to see how the cessation of the flow of Federal subsidies would multiply in its adverse effects. The reduction in wages and salaries paid by Government departments would be coupled with fewer outside contracts being placed. The contractors would then find their turnovers and profits down and would retrench in salaries and staff.

Vicious Circle

"With wages and profits declining throughout the country, the markets for foodstuffs and consumer goods would start to contract. Apart from causing more unemployment, this would also mean that the State would be unable to collect the same yield from taxation. But the country's services would still have to function, and any breakaway Government would perforce have to increase income tax to obtain the same amount of money as before.

"Higher taxation would discourage both development finance from outside Nyasaland and the recruitment of individuals with special skill and knowledge—the latter being needed to replace Federal staff transferred out of the territory.

"This situation is a classic example of the vicious circle, yet only half the story has been told. So far, only direct taxation has been considered, but with less money in circulation leading to higher taxation, and then higher taxation reducing still further the money in circulation, an independent Nyasaland would have to turn to indirect taxation to try to recoup its financial position.

"This, indeed, was the situation of the territory's economy before Federation, and there seems little doubt that secession for Nyasaland would bring with it the reversion to the pre-Federation practice of raising the bulk of Government revenue from customs duties. The immediate result of such a move would be to increase costs sharply for everyone in the country.

"Before Federation Nyasaland also imposed export duties, and this impost might be resumed as well. However, reinstating the previous duty on tea, for example, could well price this commodity out of its existing markets, which are more competitive than ever, leading to unemployment in one of Nyasaland's most important industries.

"Another important factor arising from secession is the possible return to Nyasaland of all its labour at present working—and earning—in the rest of the Federation.

"The census of population held in September, 1961, recorded 137,000 Nyasaland Africans in employment in the Rhodesias. At the same time there were 127,000 Nyasaland Africans in employment in Nyasaland.

"Because of unemployment among Rhodesian Africans, Nyasaland's secession would create pressures to reduce the employment of Nyasaland Africans in the Rhodesias: as a

result, the numbers in such employment may well be reduced by about 70,000.

"The limitation of employment opportunities for Nyasaland Africans would reduce their earning capacity; for example, the average income of an African in non-agricultural employment in Southern Rhodesia is about £120 per annum as compared with an income of only £11 per caput in the subsistence economy of Nyasaland. In addition, unemployment in Nyasaland would tend to rise or the pressure on the soil in the subsistence economy to increase. Remittances from abroad by migrant workers would decline because of the fall in their numbers, with the result that domestic demand in Nyasaland would fall.

"Many of the non-Africans at present employed in Nyasaland are likely to leave in the event of its secession. In particular, employees of Federal Government departments and of statutory bodies such as the Cold Storage Commission, Central African Airways and the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland would leave. As a result, there would be a loss of skilled and professional knowledge in fields such as health, non-African education, civil aviation, postal and telecommunications services, the marketing of livestock and livestock products, customs and income tax collection.

Gloomy Picture

"These losses of skilled man-power might be made good by attracting employees with comparable skill and knowledge from other countries, but the cost of such replacements would undoubtedly be higher, while it would take time for them to adapt themselves to conditions in Nyasaland.

"In the field of private employment there would be some loss of skilled and professional man-power, although on a smaller scale. For example, the banks in Nyasaland would undoubtedly contract.

"It is indeed a gloomy picture for businesses and individuals alike. The former would find turnovers and profits falling and capital difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. The population would have reduced chances for employment, higher prices to pay for goods, and greater taxation to meet.

"One of the most grievous consequences of leaving the Federation, and one which would cause the greatest difficulty to Nyasaland, would be the magnitude of the balance of payments deficit to be bridged. In 1961, this deficit was estimated to have been £13m., or about 48% of the net domestic product.

"Nyasaland's weak trading position also makes the large current deficit difficult to close. Its exports consist almost entirely of agricultural products which face fierce competition in world markets. Furthermore, many of the territory's competitors in the tobacco, tea and cotton markets are large countries, such as the U.S.A. and India, which offer access to much larger domestic markets in return for concessions on exports.

"In such circumstances Nyasaland would face severe difficulties in expanding the volume of its exports and might be able to do so only by reducing prices and accepting the consequences of a considerable worsening of its terms of trade.

£25m. Debt

"Up till now in this summary, only the results of the ending of Federal subsidies have been considered. Even more crucial is the problem any secessionist Government would have to face in settling the Federal bill. Plainly, Nyasaland could hardly expect to acquire without payment the assets created in that country by the Federal Government, and that bill (including the territory's share of Federal loans) would be likely to amount to £25m., and may well prove, in the ultimate, to be considerably more than that.

"So, from having a steady subsidy of £5m. a year, plus all the advantages of the Federation's market and stability, the territory would be faced with the loss of that amount and the substitution of a demand for a sum of the order of £25m.

"Plainly, any separate Nyasaland would try to seek a replacement for the regular flow of Federal finance and initially would probably look to Britain to close the gap. But it was for the very reason of wanting to offload the burden of Nyasaland that Britain insisted the country be incorporated in the Federation!

"The weakness of Nyasaland's economy would make open market loans out of the question, and the best the territory could hope for would be some form of international technical assistance and grants. Apart from the fact that these are designed for specific services or projects—and not for supporting the complete economic life of a nation—it is extremely unlikely that any foreign country would be prepared to put more than £40m. in eight years into Nyasaland, as has the Federal Government.

"The story of the Federal Health services in Nyasaland is

These extracts conclude our report of January 3 on a Federal White Paper based on information given to Mr. Butler's advisers.

one of significant expansion achieved under increasingly great difficulties. In the year prior to Federation Nyasaland spent only £310,395 on its health services. In 1961 the Federal Government spent over £1,220,000—four times as much.

"Behind these figures lies the human drama of the most undeveloped and backward part of the Federation being lifted in less than a decade to a parity in health services with its more highly industrialized and sophisticated partners.

"In 1953 there were 19 hospitals and 102 rural dispensaries in Nyasaland. Last year there were 30 hospitals and 94 rural health centres. The number of beds comparably increased by 50% and admissions rose from 36,000 to 83,000. Perhaps the most spectacular rise was that in outpatient attendances, which soared from 1,142,000 in 1953 to almost 6,200,000 in 1961.

"All this called for staff expansion, the numbers of Health personnel in Nyasaland rising from 1,567 in 1954 to 2,013 in 1961.

Amazing Antics

"Apart from Government institutions, the Federal Government has gone much further than any of the three territorial Governments did while they were responsible for health in supporting medical missionary efforts generously from Government funds, particularly so in Nyasaland. No records were kept in the territory prior to Federation in respect of medical missions, but since 1954 the number of missions has increased by almost 50%, the number of beds approved for grant purposes has increased from 1,100 to 1,600, the total number of patients admitted has risen from 38,000 to nearly 65,000, and outpatient attendances have gone up from 1,000,000 to more than 1,600,000.

"This happy picture was sadly marred some 18 months ago when a campaign of disturbance and intimidation was started against the Federal Health Service. The Federal Ministry of Health is unable to exercise its function in the field of public health without the close and sympathetic co-operation of the territorial Governments, and it is an amazing situation when the governing political party in Nyasaland wantonly and flagrantly puts the lives of hundreds of thousands of its people into jeopardy in order to make political scoring points.

"The efforts of Ministry of Health teams to vaccinate the people of Nyasaland against smallpox and other diseases were largely frustrated by leading officials of this political party, who, while taking great care to obtain their own vaccinations, travelled round the country urging villagers and school children to boycott the vaccinations.

"Throughout the world it is standard practice to protect the vitally important group of children at primary schools by conducting medical examinations of children in the schools themselves and administering preventive inoculations there. Nyasaland's Minister of Education refused to allow the staff of the Federal Ministry of Health to visit African schools for that purpose, and in some areas smallpox epidemics broke out amongst school children and many of them died as a result.

"More recently a Federal scheme for oral vaccination against polio was launched and warmly accepted by both Northern and Southern Rhodesia. The campaign provides for the free vaccination of all children from three months to nine years living in the larger population centres.

Exposing Children to Polio

"The Nyasaland Government has refused to answer all communications from the Federal Government on this vital matter, and thus takes the responsibility of exposing its children to another dreaded infection. The Ministry of Education, Nyasaland, has in fact issued instructions to its staff not to provide facilities for oral vaccination of African children in schools.

"Leprosy is a most serious disease in the Northern Province of Nyasaland. The administrators of a trust fund proposed building a £170,000 leprosarium there, and the Federal Government undertook to provide the professional and nursing staff and the whole cost of operating the institution. The Nyasaland Government refused to allow the chosen site to be assigned for the purpose, so the hospital could not be built.

"Similarly, when one of the largest and most respected medical missions in Nyasaland wanted to build another hospital at the instigation of the local people, the Federal Government agreed to provide the usual 50% building grant and to support the work thereafter. Once again use of the land was refused by the local branch of the ruling political party because 'the money with which you were going to build the hospital is Federal money'.

"The strenuous efforts of Malawi Congress Party politicians to intimidate and to sow the seeds of suspicion have only served to strengthen the individual relationship between the patient and his Ministry of Health medical officer.

"At the Federal takeover no secondary school for European children existed. For children of mixed blood (Coloured children) there was only one Government school, with an enrolment of 133. For Asians there was no Government school at all, but a few private primary schools were operating in poor premises with an even poorer standard of teaching. Only eight Africans throughout the whole of Nyasaland were receiving higher education.

"The Federal Ministry of Education decided its priority was to put Asian and Coloured primary education on a sound and proper footing. New schools were built to replace unsatisfactory ones run privately by Indian school committees, and additional schools were opened in a number of other centres.

"In the first six years of Federation the number of Government Asian and Coloured primary schools increased from only one in 1954 to 27 in 1960, while in the same period enrolments soared from 133 to 3,430—an increase of nearly 200%. Of the total of over £800,000 expended by the Federal Government on school buildings in Nyasaland over £500,000 has been used for Asian and Coloured education.

"Whereas in 1953 the Nyasaland Government voted £56,000 for recurrent expenditure on non-African children, in 1962 the Federal Ministry of Education will spend £500,000—nearly ten times as much.

University Students Intimidated

"In the field of higher education the Federal Government has always accepted the principle of equal opportunity for all, irrespective of race. The basic concept in the African sphere has therefore been that no student should be denied the opportunity for advancement, provided that he has the necessary ability and shows promise of being able to complete his proposed course successfully.

"The Federal Government took over eight scholarships for Africans in Nyasaland. Since then a further 49 students have received assistance from the Federal Ministry for university education, 26 of whom received all-in scholarships averaging £320 a year.

"The Federal Government also aids African higher education through its generous financial assistance to the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Since its inauguration and to cover the period up to 1965 the college has received grants from the Federal Government totalling £2,700,000.

"Since the last general election in Nyasaland there has increasingly been overt intimidation of Africans wishing to accept Federal aid for university training, so much so that, as far as the governing political party is concerned, the complete boycott of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is now the order of the day.

"Many Nyasaland students have been intimidated into leaving the college, and the Malawi policy has been completely effective in this respect in so far as the 1962 generation is concerned. If the Malawi Government persists in its present attempt it is most unlikely that there will be any new entrants in 1963."

Fort Hall African District Council has changed its title to Murang'a A.D.C., Murang'a being the old Kikuyu name for the area.

February 3 is to be Nyasaland's "official national day of rejoicing" for the attainment of self-rule—which has not yet been attained.

Land Freedom Army members in Kenya have confessed to taking oaths to kill Europeans, rape European women, and steal guns from Europeans.

African workers' ticket contracts in Tanganyika have been converted to monthly contracts in order to reduce absenteeism and consequent production losses.

No persons remain under restriction or in detention in Southern Rhodesia except those who have been sentenced by the courts, the Ministry of Law and Order stated on Monday when announcing the de-restriction of those who had been affected by the ban on Z.A.P.U. and of six Africans restricted at Gokwe.

Officers of the Federal Army are to receive substantial pay increases. Major-generals and air vice marshals will receive £4,000 (£2,995), brigadiers and air commodores £2,872 (£2,520), colonels and group captains £2,422 as a maximum (£2,258), and lieutenant-colonels and wing commanders a minimum of £1,935 (£1,890) and a maximum after five years of £2,144 (£1,993).

Salisbury African families are being provided with fully serviced sites on which to build 5,000 houses for £500,000 in a self-help scheme allowing them to erect any kind of house they wish, "even a mud hut", Southern Rhodesia's Minister for Local Government has announced. He added: "Paternalism is finished as far as the Rhodesia Front is concerned. The African must be encouraged to take the initiative and help himself".

Company Report

Liebig's Extract of Meat Company, Limited

Record Results Achieved

MR. K. R. M. CARLISLE'S STATEMENT

THE NINETY-EIGHTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF LIEBIG'S EXTRACT OF MEAT COMPANY, LIMITED, will be held on February 7 in London.

The following is an extract from the circulated statement of the chairman, Mr. K. R. M. Carlisle:—

The record results now presented reflect substantially improved profits in the United Kingdom and Africa and a smaller overall loss in South America, against which profits earned on the Continent of Europe as a whole showed a further decline.

Having commented on the general effects on the accounts of the devaluation of the Argentine peso, the chairman continued:—

At £3,010,000 group profit before taxation showed an increase of £951,000, or 46 per cent., over the previous year. After United Kingdom and overseas taxation, and after deducting profits attributable to outside shareholders, the net profit attributable to the parent company was £1,111,000, an increase of £240,000, or 28 per cent. over 1960-61.

Your directors recommend the payment of a total ordinary dividend of 17½ per cent., less income tax.

Oxo Limited

Sales of the Oxo Cube again made new records. As a result of new packaging techniques, evolved after extensive research, the Cubes are now packed in cartons of sizes more suited to the needs of the consumer.

Sales of products under the Fray Bentos label also were greater than ever before. Fray Bentos corned beef continues to be the clear brand leader in the consumer-size market, and Fray Bentos stewed steak has gained a significant share of the market for this latter product.

The new Fray Bentos steak and kidney pie has been a marked success, and sales of Fray Bentos steak and kidney puddings are encouraging.

Our companies in the Common Market countries and Switzerland continue to face extremely keen competition, and pressure on margins is unabated. To meet these conditions, cost reduction is being energetically pursued.

Sales and profits on the Continent as a whole so far this year have reached the targets set and are in advance of the same period last year.

River Plate

Our fortunes in the River Plate countries took no predictable course.

In Argentina the Government granted further reliefs to the meat industry in respect of exchange retentions and export taxes. These measures, followed as they were by depreciation of the peso, made operations profitable again for the time being.

In Paraguay our situation is becoming increasingly difficult. Although the number of head of cattle processed at Zeballos Cue factory was the highest for many years, and daily output was raised as a result of recent improvements to the plant, the outcome was adversely affected by lower yields, lower prices for products, and increased taxation.

Africa

I have already mentioned the greatly improved results for 1961 included in the accounts under review and no further comment is necessary in this respect.

EAST AFRICA.

In 1962 operations in Kenya at the Athi River factory of the Kenya Meat Commission ran smoothly throughout the year, and supplies of meat were adequate for full production of corned beef to meet our sales requirements.

In Tanganyika both plants of Tanganyika Packers, Limited, operated to near capacity.

Following the attaining of independence and the declaration of the Republic of Tanganyika, Mr. W. R. Kapinga, Mr. J. A. Namata, and Mr. A. F. Malale have been welcomed as the three Government-appointed members of the board of directors of the company in place of Mr. R. E. T. Hobbs, Mr. J. E. R. Roe, O.B.E., and Mr. A. Collings, who retired with the best thanks of the company for their past services.

Prospects for the two factories in Tanganyika appear fairly bright. It was, however, with some dismay that I learned that the 1961 profits of Tanganyika Packers, Limited, had been subjected to a tax imposed retrospectively, and I should be sorry to see this method of imposing taxation becoming a common event in this part of the world.

CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION AND REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA.

West Nicholson factory was again in 1962 supplied with beef by the Rhodesian Cold Storage Commission, and I should like to record our appreciation of the co-operation which we always receive from the Commissioners and all members of their staff.

Sales in both the Republic of South Africa and in the Federation are becoming considerably affected by the tariff barriers between the two countries. It is now virtually impossible to send canned meats from Rhodesia to the Republic, whilst conversely our fruit and vegetable business at Umtali has benefited from the protection afforded by these tariffs.

I was invited to open the Bulawayo Agricultural Show in August. It was an honour which I much appreciated, and it enabled me at the same time to have interesting and fruitful talks with many of the senior and influential people of the country.

As a result of conversations with the Rhodesian Cold Storage Commission we have decided to erect a cold storage plant at West Nicholson to facilitate the reception and handling of meat.

I am pleased to report that the ranch operated profitably during the year, and that the introduction of the Zebu strain of cattle from the United States has shown such promise that we have made our second importation of stud bulls from Texas.

Mr. G. Brinton, the chairman of Liebig's (Rhodesia), Limited, retired in March 1962 after 47 years in the service of the Liebig group of companies in Rhodesia. He was virtually one of the pioneers in the country and played an important part in the development of

the company's interests throughout Africa. We wish Mr. Brinton a long and happy retirement.

Outlook

Profits from Africa for the calendar year 1962 should—subject to final adjustments—be comparable with those for 1961 included in the accounts under review.

Company Report

Mitchell Cotts Group, Limited

Trading Profits Substantially Increased

THE FORTY-THIRD ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING of Mitchell Cotts Group, Limited, was held on January 11, in London.

MR. H. C. DRAYTON, the chairman, presided and, in the course of his speech, said:—

The gross trading profit for the year was £1,371,000, an increase over the previous year of £312,000, a rise of about 30%. After deducting depreciation, expenses and interest on the unsecured loan stock, we are left with a net profit for the year applicable to this company of £905,000, as compared with £595,000 last year. This increase of some £310,000 in our net profit is equivalent to 50% over the previous year.

After taxation of £497,000, which is more than half our profit, we are left with a net amount of £407,000, plus miscellaneous receipts of £14,600, making the consolidated net profit £421,800.

Your directors are recommending a final dividend of 9% on the ordinary shares, making 15% for the year, as against a dividend of 12½% in the previous year.

You will observe that your increased dividend of 15% is now covered one and a half times, or rather more if we disregarded our losses on your late ship-owning operations.

One thing sticks out like a sore thumb, and that is taxation, which is approximately 55% of our earnings, and in peace time there is only one word to describe that taxation—and that is "penal".

Your board and myself have tried to think of some way in which to convey to our shareholders the size of our business. Turnover would be misleading, but perhaps it would give you some idea of the scale of the Group's operations if I told you that our total wage and salary bill for employees at all levels is currently running at an annual rate of £4,750,00.

In South Africa in the year under review there has been a marked improvement in our profitability, which is due to better trade conditions there and the fact that two of our smaller businesses have started to grow as we anticipated.

The currency reserves for the Republic of South Africa are standing at an encouragingly high level, and business has accordingly recovered confidence and seems to be on a basis in which a lasting improvement is discernible.

Taking South Africa altogether, we certainly ought not to do any worse in the current year, and I am hopeful that we shall do better.

Trading conditions in East Africa have been bedevilled by appalling weather conditions. We have also had to contend with the change in political conditions in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika which had the effect for the time being of slowing down trade.

For the future, much depends on political developments in the territories concerned. Sales in the United Kingdom and on the Continent of Europe are satisfactory, but I can make no reliable estimate of results from South America. Again, therefore, I am loth to make any forecast of group profits for the current financial year, but I see no reason to expect profits lower than those now presented.

Uganda and Tanganyika had a smooth transition to complete independence, and one must hope that the outcome in Kenya will be such as to allow the three territories to develop together as an economic unit.

Our results there last year were satisfactory, but I do not think we shall do as well this year. This will be due almost entirely to economic conditions in Kenya.

Mr. Drayton then commented on the Group's operations in the Sudan and Ethiopia, Canada, Iraq, Libya, and, referring to the U.K., he said:—

In the United Kingdom our trade and merchanting companies have been expanding, although the profit arising therefrom was about the same as in the previous year. However, owing to a reorganization, the subsidiary companies overseas benefited considerably, particularly in produce dealing, which continues to show expansion, so that what the parent lost the children have gained.

I feel that for the year ending June 1963 we can look forward to an improvement, but whether we can reach the magical figure of £1,000,000 I would not like to say; but if we do it would be comparable with £905,000 for the year under review.

The report was adopted.

Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., had an output of 15,404 long tons of lead and 36,181 of zinc in 1962. In 1961 the comparable figures were 15,167 and 29,860 tons.

For the first 10 months of 1962 the Federation had a favourable trade balance of £65,380,000, which was already well above the previous record for a whole year (£58,860,000 in 1961). Exports for January-October totalled £185½m. and imports were over £120m.

Millers in Tanganyika have agreed to import all their requirements through a Dar es Salaam appointed agent in order to ensure the importation and subsequent sale of maize from Kenya or Uganda at a fair price, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry has announced.

A National Joint Council for the Sisal Industry is to be established immediately in Tanganyika, with seven representatives each of employers and trade unions. There have been many strikes in the industry during the past two years, and recently all estates were brought to a standstill.

Nationalization within the next year of the four stevedoring licences in East Africa—the African Wharfage Co., the E.A. Lighterage and Stevedoring Co., the Tanganyika Boating Co., and Associated African Dock Enterprises—is intended. This course was recently recommended by the port manager of Haifa, Israel, Mr. Amos Landman, who was invited to report on the question.

Recognition has been withdrawn from the Tanganyika Plantation Workers' Union in the Tanga Region by the Minister of Labour, who has postulated that union officials must be accompanied on visits to estates either by himself or a Federation of Labour representative. Illegal strikes involving some 11,000 to 15,000 workers on tea and sisal estates throughout the country the week-end before last ended with a mass return to work after an appeal from the Vice-President of Tanganyika, Mr. Kawawa.



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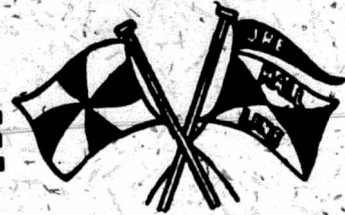
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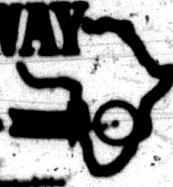
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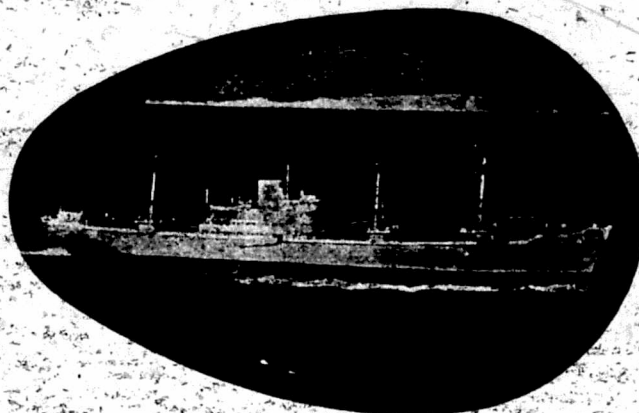
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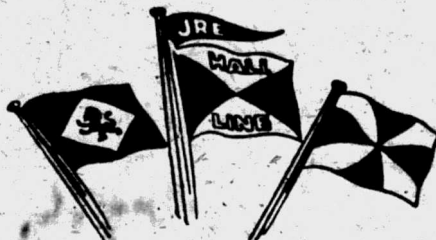
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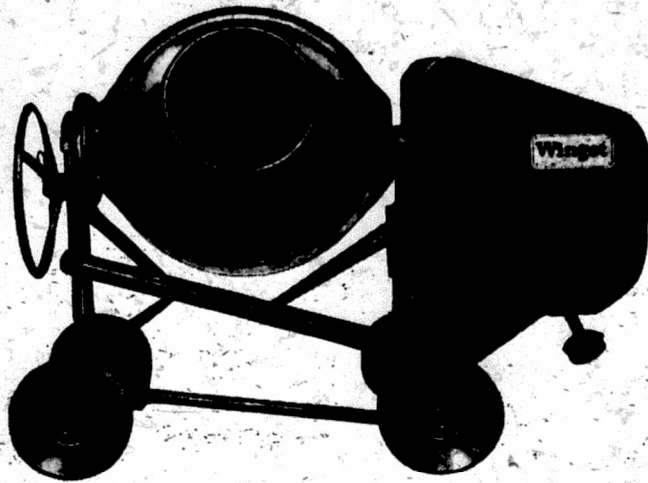
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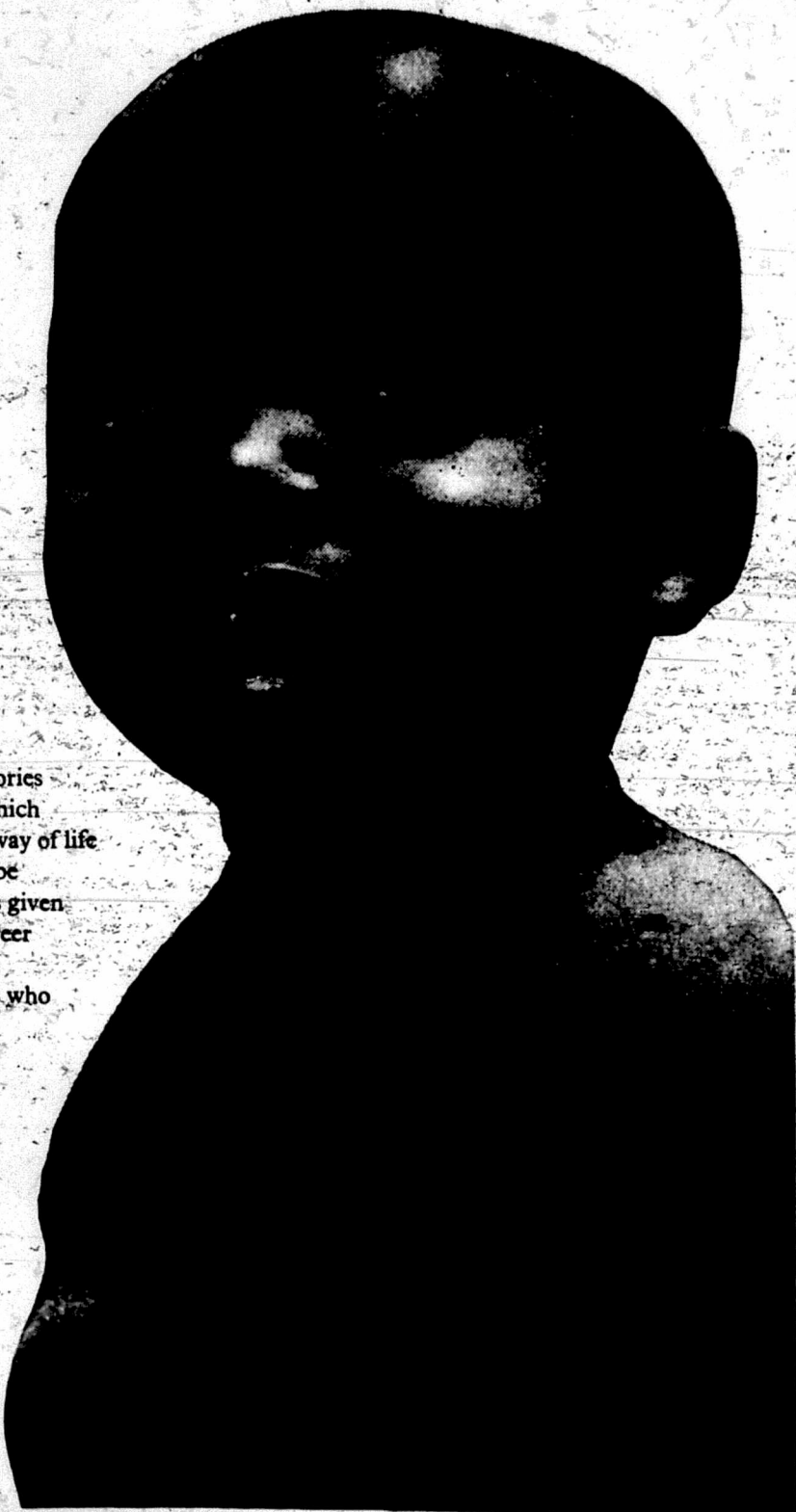
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE OUTSTANDING AFRICAN

MODERATE in the Congo, President Tshombe, has been beaten into surrender by the military pressure of the United Nations,

Katanga Beaten Into Surrender.

the trickery of its political agents, the enmity of the pan-Africanists (black, brown and white), and, above all, by the determination of the Kennedy Administration that Katanga must be denied that right of self-determination which has been used by the United States over a long period as its chief weapon in the destruction of the Colonial Empires of Holland, France, Belgium, and Britain. Insignificant areas of Africa without hope of developing a viable economy, and sometimes with a population of only a few hundred thousand souls, have, with the eager encouragement of America, been granted independence and a seat at the United Nations; but Katanga, one of the richest regions in all Africa, with a highly developed industrial economy and an ample budgetary surplus has been denied, largely at United States insistence, the respite required to work out a satisfactory federal relationship with the Central Congolese Government, one which has shown far less competence than the Tshombe régime and would have collapsed in chaos long ago had it not been shored up by a few competent non-Africans in Leopoldville and tens of millions of pounds from the United Nations. While law, order, and complete safety of the individual were maintained in Elisabethville, all kinds of thuggery, including murder, have been daily occurrences in Leopoldville. Asked why they tolerated and subsidized such conditions, spokesmen in that city for the United Nations have argued that the organization must on no account interfere in the domestic affairs of the Congo. Yet a thousand miles away in Katanga that same organization was openly preparing to make war on a legally elected President whose

offence was a determination not to surrender his country's autonomy and perhaps half its revenue until satisfactory arrangements had been made for the creation of a federal authority.

* * *

That point had been almost reached at Christmas, but the United Nations, bankrupted by its Congo operations and not knowing where to turn for further funds, nevertheless rushed into military action,

Aggression by United Nations.

ostensibly because some of its troops had been attacked by the Katanga gendarmerie. It is, of course, quite possible that men thinking themselves threatened by the movements of enemy troops—or hilarious from celebrations at the holiday season—may have fired a few shots, but nobody knowing the facts can believe that the military action taken at that time by the United Nations was an inevitable, or even reasonable, consequence of any such trivial incidents. Had Mr. Tshombe intended to take the offensive, that would obviously have been done while the opposing forces were weak. Instead of acting then, he made no attempt to resist their rapid and substantial reinforcement. Indeed, in his anxiety to prevent accidental clashes, he moved all his European "mercenaries" and many of his African units out of Elisabethville. Though that was well known to the representatives of the United Nations in his capital, the world was told that he was the aggressor and that the Indians and Ethiopians serving the United Nations fired in self-defence and most reluctantly. Had that been true, they would have been concerned merely to protect themselves; but, as everyone now knows, their motorized columns, already organized for an advance, moved quickly northwards from point to point, meeting scarcely any resistance, until they were halted by the fear that if they tried to invest Kolwezi, the great mining centre and second

largest town in Katanga, its hydro-electrical and mining installations would be destroyed. So far as can be judged, it was Sir Roy Welensky who was chiefly instrumental in persuading Mr. Tshombe to abandon his intention to adopt a "scorched earth" policy.

Despite this third armed attack on Katanga by the United Nations, its Secretary-General has declared with ineffable effrontery in a communication to President Nkrumah that "neither in Katanga nor elsewhere in the Congo is the United Nations intervening in internal political affairs; we are not putting officials in office or taking them out of office; we are not supporting or opposing any official". The complaint of the Dictator of Ghana was not that there had been the interference which he has repeatedly demanded, but that it had not been sufficiently violent to crush the Katanga President, against whom he has conducted a vendetta for two and a half years. Nkrumah will certainly not believe that the United Nations has abstained from intervention in the political affairs of the Congo, and it is surprising that U Thant should have imagined that anyone else would consider his statement credible. Was not the December decision to apply sanctions against Katanga an undeniable intervention in its political affairs? Even if one accepts the suggestion—which has been vehemently denied in Elisabethville—that the first shots fired in that city on Christmas Eve came from Katangese troops, the northward advance and occupation of the Jadotville, Kamina and other areas, and the further push towards Kolwezi by United Nations columns, can certainly not be explained away as anything but intervention by force of arms for the political purpose of intimidating the Tshombe Government into compliance with the demands of the United Nations and the Central Congolese Government under Mr. Adoula. Moreover, according to a United Nations spokesman in New York, it was on direct instructions from U Thant that the United Nations Command in Elisabethville put Mr. Tshombe under house arrest when he returned to his capital to negotiate. If confinement of the legally chosen President of Katanga does not constitute an intervention in political affairs, then words have no meaning. The message to Nkrumah incidentally admitted Mr. Tshombe to be "the legally chosen President of Katanga". Why had that simple and obvious fact been denied so often in the past? This badly belated emphasis on legality by an organization which has so often disregarded legality, truth, and even common decency has, so far as we are aware,

not been a subject of comment in even one daily or weekly newspaper in the United Kingdom.

In this crisis the Macmillan Government has followed its usual course of abandoning principle in order to appease America. Again and again the Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, had called the attention of the United Nations and the United States to the Cabinet's objection to the use of force to impose a political settlement in the Congo. His words of caution were disliked across the Atlantic and were pointedly ignored. That was the signal for another prompt British submission to the American and Afro-Asian politicians who now call the tune at the United Nations; and, if the political correspondents of some of the leading newspapers are to be believed, the movement in Cabinet circles against Lord Home and his upholding of honourable principle was led by Mr. Macleod, the destroyer of Kenya, the arch-enemy of the Federation, but nevertheless the chairman of what was accustomed in pre-Macmillan days to call itself the party of Empire. Having encouraged Mr. Tshombe to rely on its support for the principle of free negotiation not under the duress of force, the present deplorable United Kingdom Government has betrayed him at the crucial moment—as it had previously betrayed Kenya and the Federation. England's name is thus again dishonoured, and, of course, with scarcely a protest from Press or Parliamentarian.

Statements Worth Noting

"Women in Tanganyika should look to the day when they will buy only locally produced articles which are more relevant to their society than fancy foreign finery carrying a sense of values alien to our national life"—Miss Lucy Lameck, Junior Minister of Co-operative and Community Development, opening a women's handicraft co-operative society in Dar es Salaam.

"Mr. Macmillan wagered that African countries would become obedient democracies overnight and remain happy members of the Commonwealth. Much has accrued from that policy but little that was intended. South Africa goes its lone way outside the Commonwealth; the Federation lies in ruins; and as Kenya teeters towards tribal chaos the terrible result of the Prime Minister's policy becomes daily more serious"—Lord Lambton, M.P.

"The activities of the Land Freedom Army have been encouraged by many of the people residing in the forests. There are indications that those forest squatters who stupidly joined the Land Freedom Army have now begun to see the error of their ways. In this area people are ridding themselves of the evil secrets of the Land Freedom Army by confession, and I urge you to eradicate completely the menace of this evil society so that the forests round Elburgon and elsewhere will become safe and a good place to stay and work in"—Mr. T. Towett, Minister for Lands in Kenya.

Notes By The Way

Sir Albert Robinson to Retire

SIR ALBERT ROBINSON, High Commissioner in London for the Federation, who was appointed in April 1961 for a period of two years, will retire in July in order to resume his business affairs in Salisbury. At the request of the Federal Prime Minister his period of office was extended for a few months because of the present phase of constitutional discussions, but he does not wish that extension to continue beyond the end of July. His period of duty as High Commissioner has coincided with intense and often tense negotiations between the Federal and United Kingdom Governments, and he has consequently had closer and more frequent personal contact with senior members of the Cabinet than any of his predecessors. When he was selected by Sir Roy Welensky to succeed Sir Gilbert Rennie, it was generally assumed that one of his chief responsibilities would be to enlist the interest of United Kingdom financiers and industrialists in investment prospects in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland; and the selection for that purpose of an outstanding Rhodesian business leader was cordially approved. Macmillanism having done so much to undermine confidence in the Federation, the high expectations of developments in the industrial field have inevitably been disappointed.

Will He Return to Politics?

SIR ALBERT, who was knighted last June, had been a member of the Monckton Commission, chairman of Central African Airways, resident director of Nyasaland Railways, a member of the Rhodesian board of the Standard Bank, deputy chairman of the Founders and First Permanent Building Societies, and a director of numerous other enterprises in the Federation, including Rhodesian Acceptances, New Rhodesia Investments, and Rhodesia Oxygen, and of the local subsidiaries of Tube Investments, Costain Holdings, and Royal Exchange Assurance. This was an exceptionally wide spread of business interests, which gave him close contacts with the Government and with financial, industrial, trading and political leaders. It is not therefore surprising that Rhodesians should already suggest that he may soon re-enter the political field. At one time he was a member of the South African Parliament.

When Kenya Polls

IT HAS BEEN DECIDED that Kenya's new Lower House shall have 117 elected members. When that was announced in Nairobi last week Mr. Ngala, leader of the Kenya African Democratic Union, said exuberantly that he saw no reason why his party should not win 80 seats. For K.A.N.U., of which Kenyatta is president, the secretary-general, Mr. Mboya, also professed to be certain of a sweeping victory. The validity of their contradictory expectations is, it appears, likely to be revealed by a general election in June, when neither of these bitterly antagonistic parties may obtain a clear majority, for Mr. Paul Ngei, the Kamba leader whose quarrel with Kenyatta has grown sharper, may secure considerable support for his recently formed African People's Party. According to some Kenya estimates, it could win ten or eleven seats and hold the balance in the House. In that event its founder and dominant figure could stipulate a high price for supporting K.A.D.U. Mr. Nkumbula, a minority leader in Northern Rhodesia, has even been able to exact an equal division of portfolios between his African National Congress and the much stronger United National Independence Party. Strong backing

for the Ngei party in Kenya would be a bitter blow for Kenyatta and his cronies and another demonstration of Kamba distrust of the neighbouring Kikuyu.

Hippo for Mormons

A RADIO ANNOUNCER in Salt Lake City, Utah, having read that Uganda wanted markets for hippopotamus meat as part of a programme to diversify exports, suggested "a nice leg of hippo" as a Christmas present for "the man who has everything". So many inquiries were received from a susceptible public that the Uganda Mission at the United Nations was approached, and arrangements have been made in the capital of Mormonism for a luncheon with hippo meat as the main dish. I hope that American chefs may have discovered better means of dealing with it than those known to the African cooks who exercised their wiles upon it when for a period during the "German East" campaign of the 1914-18 war I had either to eat hippo or go without meat. The fat of the animal can be rendered down to make an excellent substitute for butter, but my experience did not suggest that "a nice leg of hippo" exists except in imagination. Cuts from that part of the beast which I perforce ate were far from "nice", however cooked. I have known men who have shot large numbers of hippo, but not one who, having taken what fat was required for his camp, grudged the rest of the animal to the Africans who were more than eager to devour it. For some years the annual East African Dinner in London has had tilapia as the fish course. I should be surprised to find poultry, beef or mutton substituted by hippo.

Rise of T.A.N.U.

MR. BASIL DAVIDSON, who recently toured Tanganyika, has given in the *New Statesman* a sympathetic report of the achievements of the Government formed by the Tanganyika African National Union. This one-party State, may, he says, have seen "some nasty abuses of power", but even the European critics told him that most of them had been corrected. Perhaps the most interesting statement in the article is the affirmation that in each area which he visited the pages in the official district diary which might have been expected to throw light on T.A.N.U. activities in the middle 'fifties had been removed. That must have been by direction from a central source, assuredly T.A.N.U. itself. Why? Presumably because the leadership has a bad conscience about a period during which its agents systematically intimidated Africans, and later Asians, and in some areas organized encroachment and squatting on European estates. Many such cases must have been recorded in the district books. The pages torn from them, if brought together and analyzed, would for the first time have provided the public with something like a reliable account of the extent of the intimidation which gave T.A.N.U. its strength.

Mwalimu

DR. NYERERE, President of Tanganyika, has apparently decided to be addressed as "Mwalimu". At least, that seems a reasonable deduction from an official statement by the Tanganyika Government giving the text of his reply to a message from the Queen. The *communiqué* began "The President, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere . . ." The definition of the honorific given in Madan's Swahili Dictionary is "teacher, learned man".

More Katangan Towns Occupied By U.N. and Congo Troops

Mr. Tshombe's "Last Chance": Congo Minister to Supervise Re-Integration

INDIAN TROOPS of the United Nations on Monday entered Kolwezi peacefully, escorted by the Katangan district commissioner, police and military officers, and senior officials of the Union Minière. A beaming President Tshombe and four of his Ministers met the U.N. military and civilian representatives in the town and posed with them for photographs.

Demolition charges were removed from the Union Minière dams, power stations and other installations, and mining operations have already been resumed.

U.N. troops have also occupied Baudouinville on Lake Tanganyika (where Congolese Army group exchanged fire with Katangese gendarmes), Kamina in central Katanga (where local tribal leaders offered their co-operation), and Sandoa, Mr. Tshombe's home town, in the west. Katangan soldiers surrendered in the Kongolo area. Congo Army contingents have taken Kapona and Kiambi, on the Baudouinville-Albertville road and near Manono, respectively.

The Central Government Prime Minister, Mr. Adoula, in what he described as a "last chance" for Mr. Tshombe, has assured him of a general amnesty, as requested, and has appointed a former Congolese Prime Minister (Lumumba's successor), Mr. Joseph Ileo, to be resident Minister in Elisabethville "to maintain the necessary contacts with the provincial institutions, political and administrative, of Southern Katanga, and to facilitate the reintegration of this province into the Republic". Mr. Ileo was at one time Information Minister under Mr. Adoula.

About 300 Central Government civil servants have been posted to various departments in the Katanga capital under Mr. M. E. Kalala, head of the Congo civil service.

Out of Touch

Dr. Ralph Bunche, U.N. Under-Secretary, has reported on the "serious breakdown in effective communication and co-ordination" which occurred when U.N. troops took Jadotville contrary to instructions from the New York Secretariat and assurances given to Britain and Belgium. He found that U.N. officials in New York and Leopoldville had been completely out of touch with the advancing forces in Katanga for many hours at the time of the probe on January 3, though the operation *per se* had been "entirely sound". Reporting procedures were seriously at fault, with a time-lag of as much as six hours for even highest priority messages.

As the official responsible for the supervision and conduct of the Congo operation, Dr. Bunche said that he accepted full responsibility for the "serious lapses" that had occurred.

"The machinery is simply not adequate and not geared to cope with serious and unexpected combat situations. It is clear that the entire system needs a thorough review and overhaul. There must be a more acute awareness on the military side, in Leopoldville as well as in the field, of the imperative necessity of reporting fully and promptly to U.N. headquarters, while the Secretariat must reckon with the fact that once fighting has developed, push-button efforts to regulate the details of military moves and tactics by political levers at headquarters may put many men's lives in jeopardy."

He had been assured by the G.O.C. in Katanga, Major-General Prem Chand, that a patrol from Elisabethville would do no more than probe along the Jadotville road and would not go to the Lufira River. But, encountering less opposition than expected, the detachment had been able to cross the river and establish a bridgehead. Only then was General Chand's order received calling for a halt to the advance and forbidding a crossing; but, as night had fallen, withdrawal would have been risky, and the troops "wisely" moved on to overcome the last remaining pocket of resistance.

"The final move from the river bridgehead over the few miles remaining into Jadotville does frankly present a rather disconcerting picture with regard to communications to and from the field. It is a picture of delays and uncertainties, of difficulties of interpretation and understanding in a situation wherein a field commander, whose troops were under fire at the Lufira River, would have to seek a review and clarification of instructions. He had no choice but to deal with the military situation before him, and the town was taken without firing a shot". [Two Belgian women were shot dead by Indian troops just outside the town.—Ed.]

"There is no basis that I could find", concluded Dr. Bunche, "that the deficiencies in communication and co-ordination were other than unintentional, resulting from a serious malfunctioning of the machinery of inter-communication, and from at least one important misunderstanding".

Dr. Bunche has ordered that "mature" reporting officers shall be assigned to each U.N. military unit in order to keep higher officials fully informed.

[The U.N. has its own rapid communications system linking New York and Leopoldville, with a relay line to Elisabethville, and troops in the field have modern communication equipment.—Ed.]

The Cost

For the past six months the U.N. has financed its Congo operations from \$120m. worth of bonds floated last year. Expenditure from that source, expected to last until April or May next, has been at a rate of some \$10m. (just over £3½m.) a month.

The world organization started this year with member States owing it about £43m., of which some £27m. were outstanding for Congo costs. The Soviet Union is the largest of the 67 defaulting nations on Congo monies at £11,400,000.

The U.N.O. budgetary committee recently accepted the advisory ruling of the International Court of Justice, given last June, that the cost of the Congo operation constitutes expenses of the organization within the meaning of the Charter. This was opposed by the Communist countries, South Africa and France. Abstainers included Belgium, Ethiopia, and the Sudan; 75 countries voted in favour.

Latest figures for military and administrative personnel serving with the U.N. in the Congo stand at 18,918, drawn from a score or so of countries, including: Argentina, 52; Austria, 44; Canada, 310; Congo (Leopoldville), 617; Denmark, 100; Ethiopia, 2,992; Ghana, 706; India, 5,626; Indonesia, 1,627; Eire, 867; Italy, 52; Liberia, 242; Malaya, 752; Nigeria, 1,852; Norway, 146; Pakistan, 687; Sierra Leone, 122; Sweden, 1,044; and Tunisia, 1,042.

Ghana and Denmark have since agreed to send reinforcements, and the Philippines has provided six jet fighters and 114 men.

The Indian contingent will be withdrawn at the end of March.

The U.N. estimates that its casualties have been 127 men killed and 133 wounded since its operation began in July, 1960.

Weathercock

Mr. Peter Youngusband, correspondent of the *Daily Mail* in the Congo, estimates that in the past two and a half years about 1,000 people have been killed and nearly 3,000 wounded in "three vicious battles in Katanga" as a result of action by the U.N. "which has emerged from a succession of blunders with a tarnished reputation and a bank overdraft; more than £100m. has been poured into this huge country to maintain the fighting units and administration of the world peace organization."

"The United States stepped in to preserve the Congo's anti-Communist status, and Britain and Belgium to protect national interests in the Union Minière combine. Sir Roy Welensky strove to maintain Katanga as a buffer between his Federation and African extremism. The Afro-Asian bloc intervened on the side of pan-Africanism. The United Nations spun like a weathercock out of control until U.S. influence forced the issue."

LORD SALISBURY has said in the course of a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*:

"In Katanga we appear to have been the witnesses of a carefully prepared political *coup* by the Secretariat of the

(Concluded on page 451)

No Solution by Force, Says Mr. Butler Dr. Banda About to Become Prime Minister

DR. HASTINGS BANDA will become Prime Minister of Nyasaland "within a week or two", Mr. R. A. Butler, Minister for Central African Affairs, said in Salisbury on Monday. The first part of Nyasaland's new Constitution would become operative next month, and self-government would follow a month later.

Secession—which had been considered by Britain to be inevitable as long ago as last May—would not take place until towards the end of this year. Then the Nyasaland Government would become responsible for the "extremely hard" task of balancing the country's budget; it would have to become more dependent on the country's natural resources.

In his talks with the Federal Government, which began on Tuesday, Mr. Butler said that he would discuss the appointment of the Federal debt, the allocation of the Nyasaland public services, and the future of the services provided by the Federal Government, "but no clear and final decisions on these complex matters can be reached for some time. I hope we will all be generous."

"We Do Care"

"H.M. Government neither wishes to, nor can it, avoid its responsibilities. Some people say, 'Oh, you don't care'. But we do care very much, and we are deeply proud of the achievements created in Central Africa over the past years, especially in the economic sphere.

"We wish to see combined in any plan we might make the aspirations and hopes for the future of the people of all races in the three territories, together with the advantages which association has undoubtedly brought. The British Government clearly cannot do everything or be blamed for everything.

"I must look to the initiative of the Governments concerned and to any other constructive ideas which may be put before me. I hope that all will work for a constructive solution to the problem of future association between the territories, and I shall be discussing that with the new Governments of Northern and Southern Rhodesia. We seek a solution that will command the maximum of good will. There cannot be a solution imposed by force."

Final decisions could not be taken during the "very short time" of his visit either on the future of the Federation or on the practical details of Nyasaland's eventual secession.

Talks Begin

Mr. Butler had preliminary meetings on Monday with Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, and with Mr. Winston Field, the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister.

Asked about his relations with Sir Roy, Mr. Butler said that he had great admiration for him as a man and as a Prime Minister. He did not think that their personal relations had worsened unduly because of their defence of their respective views in Salisbury and in London.

The Minister had arrived in the Federation on Saturday, accompanied by Mrs. Butler. They spent the week-end privately on the farm near Umfolozi of Sir Stephen and Lady Cusfield.

The officials accompanying Mr. Butler are the Secretary of the Central African Office, Mr. M. D. Tennant; the assistant secretary, Mr. N. D. Watson; and a private secretary, Mr. A. Lord.

Mr. Butler was accompanied at Tuesday's talks by the British High Commissioner, Lord Alport, and his deputy, Mr. D. A. Scott. Sir Roy Welensky was accompanied by the deputy Prime Minister, Sir Malcolm Burnet, the Minister of Law, Mr. J. M. Greenfield, the Finance Minister, Mr. J. M. Colclough, and the Home Affairs Secretary, Sir Alfred Evans.

Lord Dufferin, Governor-General of the Federation, left London yesterday for Salisbury.

The Minister is due in London today for talks with the new Northern Rhodesian coalition Government.

The U.N.I.P. leader and Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, said last week that he had received a letter from Mr. Field suggesting a meeting. "I have not made up my mind whether I am going to see him. Mr. Field is known for his frankness. We are also frank here. I do not trust his politics, but he is quite a good man. What he does politically horrifies me. I would find it difficult and very embarrassing to co-operate with the present Southern Rhodesian Government."

On Tuesday Mr. Kaunda threatened a boycott of the *Central African Post* because its "prostitutes of Pressmen" had reported the defection of 45 Lozi party members to the rival A.N.C.

The former leader in Southern Rhodesia of the banned Z.A.P.U., Mr. Joshua Nkomo, who was recently de-restricted, accepted an invitation to meet Mr. Butler yesterday, though he had previously declared that he would not do so. He has refused to meet Mr. Field on a personal basis "because we are not friends". Last week he had talks with Dr. Banda in Blantyre, where he was introduced to a Press conference as "the rightful Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, elected by the majority of the people".

Sir Albert Robinson's Views Formula for Future Can be Found

SIR ALBERT ROBINSON, Federal High Commissioner in London, said in Salisbury last Friday before leaving for Johannesburg and London, that a negotiated settlement of the questions outstanding in Central Africa was imperative and urgent. He believed that a formula for the future could be found, though it would involve hard bargaining. The essential need was to entrench the rights and interests of the various communities.

"Kafanga lies in ruins, and the Congo as a whole presents an example of the chaos that flows when political leaders find it impossible to make concessions and secure broad national purposes."

The United Kingdom and Federal Governments had it in their power to avoid similar errors and tragedies, but it was very hard to judge whether H.M. Government had agreed on the fundamentals of the future policy for Central Africa or whether they were "playing it somewhat off the cuff".

If Nyasaland were to secede the two Rhodesias should certainly remain constitutionally united, for they had so many common purposes and common factors that it would be quite wrong for them to take separate ways.

The present Government in the United Kingdom did not, he considered, represent the opinions of the broad mass of the British people. Ordinary British folk were unquestionably genuinely concerned about the future of the Federation.

"Shabby Treatment"

As to the European Common Market, the attitude of the French delegation in Brussels had been consistently uncompromising. The struggle was for leadership in Europe, and it was based on President De Gaulle's fear that Britain might oust France as leader of the E.E.C. The Federal Government had supported Britain's entry into Europe on reasonable terms in the conviction that it would ensure wider prosperity and serve the wider political purpose.

On arrival a week earlier the High Commissioner had said that the operations in the Congo suggested that the United Nations was developing "a new impartialism", and that M.P.s. on both sides of the House of Commons had told him that they thought Sir Roy Welensky had been "shabbily treated" by the United Kingdom Government.

The driver and steerman were killed instantly when a girth train from Mombasa was derailed and caught fire 24 miles from Kampala. Six of the tankers in the train carried 175,000 gallons of aviation spirit, petrol and diesel. The fire was blotted for 10 hours.

PERSONALIA

MR. N. J. GUEST is now Commissioner for Mines and Geology in Kenya.

Nyasaland has now an agricultural public relations officer, MR. D. J. BRADFIELD.

MR. SYBRAND BOTES has joined the Farmers' Debt Adjustment Board in Northern Rhodesia.

SIR ALFRED SAVAGE, Crown Agent for Overseas Governments, has just spent a few days in Northern Rhodesia.

MR. EMMANUEL YALAN, an Israeli expert on village settlement, is visiting Tanganyika at the invitation of the Government.

MR. KENNETH TOWSEY is acting as Secretary in the Federal Prime Minister's Office while MR. FRANK PARRY is on leave.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD, who has long been interested in African affairs, has resigned the chairmanship of the National Bank.

MR. GORDON APPS is acting as Postmaster-General in the Federation while LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES DICKENSON is on leave.

MAJOR-GENERAL P. GLEADELL, Director of Infantry, and BRIGADIER C. G. BUTTENSCHAW, Provost Marshal, are visiting Kenya this week.

MR. J. W. SHILLING has become chairman of African and European Investments Co., Ltd., following the retirement of MR. T. COULTER.

SIR EDWIN LEATHER, since 1950 Conservative M.P. for North Somerset, who has often spoken on African affairs, will not seek re-election.

MR. CHARLES NJONJO, one of the first African barristers to become a Crown counsel in Kenya, has been appointed Deputy Public Prosecutor.

MR. GUY CLUTTON-BROCK has been appointed honorary director of training for community development in Nyasaland. He will take up his duties shortly.

SIR HENRY CLAYDEN, Chief Justice of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is one of nine Commonwealth judges who have been made Privy Counsellors.

SIR ANTHONY HURD, M.P. for Newbury, and chairman of the Conservative Party's Agriculture and Food Committee, is spending a 10-day holiday in the Federation.

MR. STEPHEN HASTINGS, M.P., chairman of the Conservative Party's Foreign Affairs Committee in the House of Commons, arrived in the Federation last week on his way to the Congo.

MR. W. H. CRUICK, a resident magistrate in Kenya since 1948, has been appointed a puisne judge in Aden. During the war he won the M.C. while serving with the Somerset Light Infantry.

MR. T. J. P. GAVAGHAN, from the Governor's Office in Kenya, has been seconded for a year to the United Nations to be chairman of the establishment commission of the Somali Republic.

MR. JENNINGS KARASWALA, Minister for Co-operative and Community Development in Tanganyika, and MR. C. D. MURVA, of his Ministry, left Dar es Salaam on Sunday for a short visit to India.

THE MOST REV. MARSHALL, Archbishop in Jerusalem, is due to consecrate in July today as Assistant Bishop in the Sudan the VEN. ELMANA J. NGALANU and the REV. YERUWAYA K. DUTIBA.

MR. ARTHUR JONES, Minister for Communications, Power and Works, is the first non-African to become a full member of the Tanganyika African National Union. He was born in Dar es Salaam in 1922.

When MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, Kenya's new Governor, and Mrs. MacDONALD visited Nakuru on Sunday, they were received by ALDERMAN and Mrs. S. L. GUSLA. A civil reception was held later.

MR. BRUCE MCKENZIE, Minister for Land Settlement in Kenya, announced last week that between 500 and 600 Africans a month were moving onto their new holdings under the £27½m. settlement scheme.

MR. ANTONY ACTON, a member of the board of the Standard Bank, who will be accompanied by MRS. ACTON, is to visit East, Central and South Africa on behalf of the bank between January 27 and March 12.

MRS. GOLDA MEIR, Foreign Minister of Israel, this week began a tour of Uganda and Tanganyika, and is expected to meet African party leaders in Kenya. She is accompanied by MR. EHUD AVRIEL, a senior official in her Ministry.

THE EARL OF INCHCAPE, whose family seat is at Glenapp, Ballantrae, Ayrshire, has bought the 14,000-acre Tulchan estate at Glenisla, Angus. It includes one of the best-known deer forests in Scotland and a number of sheep farms.

Seven West African community development officers will spend the next month in Uganda and Tanganyika, led by MISS JEAN STECKLE, an F.A.O. economist based in Sierra Leone. They are to study village development programmes for women's groups.

SIR GILBERT LAITHWAITE, a former Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, has been appointed vice-chairman of the board of governors of the Commonwealth Institute. SIR COLVILLE DEVERELL has become a member of the board.

MR. OLCOTT H. DEMING, Chargé d'Affaires in the United States Embassy in Kampala, and previously Consul-General, is to be the first American Ambassador to Uganda. He is a former director of the Office of Eastern and South African Affairs in Washington.

MR. H. DESCHAMPSNEUFS, manager of the overseas department of Pritchard Wood & Partners, who has visited East and Central Africa, has resigned in order to start his own business as an advertising and marketing consultant, especially in connexion with export.

SIR HUGH FOOT, who recently resigned as Britain's representative on Colonial affairs at the United Nations because he disagreed with H.M. Government's policy on Southern Rhodesia, has accepted an appointment as adviser on technical assistance in Africa to the U.N. Special Fund.

MR. A. S. KABONGO, Area Commissioner for Newala, Tanganyika, who was suspended some weeks ago pending the hearing of charges made against him, has been reinstated, the charges having been withdrawn. Newala is described as having led in nation-building projects during the past year.

MR. GUNNAR SANDBORG, Norwegian Consul in Nairobi, last week flew to Kismayu in the Somali Republic to inquire into the death from a heart attack of the captain of a Norwegian vessel outward-bound from Lamu on which the Chinese crew were reported to have attacked their officers.

MR. H. G. GRAHAM JOLLY, a senior administrative officer, MR. I. G. MCCULLOCH, Deputy Commissioner for Labour, MR. I. T. NANCE, a senior administrative officer, and MR. W. G. WATSON, Commissioner for Co-operative Development, have all been appointed Under-Secretaries in Nyasaland.

SIR JOHN DUNCANSON, a director of the Lancashire Steel Corporation, Ltd., who has paid several visits to the Federation, where that company has large interests, is chairman of Oil and Associated Investment Trust, Ltd., which last week made an issue of 2.1m. ordinary shares of 5s. each at 5s. 6d. per share.

Visitors to London from Northern Rhodesia include MR. R. B. CLAY, from Livingstone; Messrs. D. J. ARCHER, D. K. FORD, I. MACDONALD, and W. E. LESTER, from LUSAKA; Messrs. J. P. BLACKMORE and A. McDONALD, from Fort Rosebery; MR. C. B. JENNINGS, from Petauke; MR. A. B. TUCKER, from Broken Hill; and MR. D. V. BURFORD, from Luanshya.

Mr. J. K. HAVERS, a Crown counsel in Kenya, where he has served since 1954, is due in London early in February for short leave before going to British Honduras as Solicitor-General.

THE RT. REV. C. W. ALDERSON, Bishop of Mashonaland, writes in the current issue of his diocesan magazine: "The citizens of a State which claims to be civilized ought not to allow to exist a legal power to declare a person a prohibited immigrant without accusation, trial, or the cause being given".

MR. SHAFIQ ARAIN, a U.P.C. specially elected member, was the first speaker in the new National Assembly of Uganda after independence. He moved that the House approve the Prime Minister's address of thanks to the Queen's speech delivered by the DUKE OF KENT when he opened the first session of the Uganda Parliament.

MR. JOSIAH MALULEKA, general secretary of the African Trade Union Congress in Southern Rhodesia, has accused an American consul, MR. JAMES BRIGGS, of spreading "malicious rumours" that a split in the country's labour movement was imminent, and has taken him to task for trying to persuade union leaders to join the I.C.F.T.U.

Among passengers in the UGANDA which docked on Tuesday from East Africa was Mr. Kenneth Meadows, lately assistant editor of the *East African Standard*, Nairobi, who is to succeed MR. MALCOLM ARCHER as Kenya public relations officer in London. MR. A. P. S. FORBES, Permanent Secretary to the Tanganyika Ministry of Agriculture, was a fellow passenger.

MR. JOHN NESS, chairman of the Nyasaland Settlers' and Residents' Association, has countered DR. BANDA'S recent doubts on the legality of European land titles by recalling that deeds of ownership were not issued in 1898 until the then Governor, SIR HARRY JOHNSTON, had asked the chiefs concerned whether they wished to reject any claims. They did not object and arranged purchase prices "with great delight".

MR. AUGUSTINE KAMYA, leader of the Uganda National Farmers' and Traders' Movement, has told African farmers not to sell any of their crops to non-African buyers, and has asked the African public generally to boycott European and Asian shops. He instigated a similar campaign some years ago, received a prison sentence, was subsequently restricted, but was released two years ago.

The board of Sir J. L. Hulett & Sons, Ltd., a group with large sugar growing interests in the Federation, has been reconstituted as follows. Residential in Natal: MESSRS. R. S. ARMSTRONG (chairman); G. V. CROOKES, F. S. V. GILLATT, C. J. SAUNDERS, H. BRUNSKILL, J. M. TAYLOR (managing director); J. N. HULETT (alternate for Lord Lyle); F. R. FOSTER (alt. for D. A. DONELAN), and G. D. L. HAYSON (alt. for COLONEL W. NASH). Alternates for directors in Natal: MESSRS. A. D. HANKINSON, F. R. JONES and J. C. MCGOUGH. Resident in the U.K.: LORD LYLE, MR. DONELAN, and COLONEL W. NASH. Alternate director, MR. R. J. B. STEWART.

By an error which we greatly regret, the recently appointed Minister of Transport and Works in Northern Rhodesia was named last week as MR. W. F. STUBBS, whereas it should, of course, have been MR. F. N. STUBBS. It was he, MR. F. N. STUBBS, who received 30 pieces of silver from members of a Copperbelt club because he had accepted a portfolio although he had promised during the election that he would have no part in any coalition between the African National Congress and the United National Independence Party. MR. W. F. STUBBS—to whom an apology is due for the slip—was Labour Commissioner from 1944 to 1949 and then Secretary for Native Affairs in Northern Rhodesia. Since retirement he has lived in England.

MR. A. J. RAYMENT, chairman and managing director of Car-Mart, Ltd., which has subsidiaries in the Rhodesias, has joined the board of Kennings, Ltd., which recently acquired the capital of Car Mart, the board of which has been joined by MR. GEORGE KENNING, chairman and joint managing director of Kennings, and MR. DAVID B. KENNING, joint managing director.

National Opinion Polls recently asked a cross-section of the population to disregard their party connexions and state which of 11 prominent M.P.s. they thought most likely to make the best Prime Minister. MR. GAITSKELL came first, with 23.8% of the votes, followed by MR. MACMILLAN with 17.2% and MR. BUTLER with 11.4%. MR. IAIN MACLEOD scored only 4.7%.

MR. H. M. KAJURA has been appointed an Under-Secretary in the secretary-general's office of the East African Common Services Organization. A B.A. of Makerere, he took a course for administrative officers at Oxford University, returned to Uganda, the country of his birth, three years ago, and became A.D.C. in the West Nile district. Last December he was transferred to the Prime Minister's office in Entebbe.

To "avoid embarrassment or any racial friction", three Uganda M.P.s.—MRS. SUGRA VISRAM, DR. F. G. SEMBEGUYA, and MR. SHAFIQ ARAIN—cancelled their tour of the Rhodesias at the invitation of the Federal branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. The decision followed denunciation of their visit by the Malawi Congress Party of Nyasaland as an "insult to pan-Africanism" and a "political blunder unworthy of Uganda".

For his talks in London this week MR. MILTON OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, is accompanied by MR. A. K. SEMPA, Minister of Finance, MR. P. MUYAGWA-NSIBIRWA, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, and MR. B. K. KIRYA, Minister without Portfolio and Leader of the National Assembly. The HIGH COMMISSIONER for Uganda and MRS. T. B. BAZARRABUSA are holding a reception this evening for the PRIME MINISTER.

CANON MAX WARREN, since 1942 general secretary of the Church Missionary Society, will resign at the end of August in order to make way for a younger man. He is himself only 58, but feels that "21 years in the one job" is enough. Dr. Warren, the son of C.M.S. missionaries in India, was a missionary in Northern Nigeria after leaving Jesus College and Ridley Hall, Cambridge. He has travelled widely in all parts of Africa and Asia in which the C.M.S. is at work. He is a prolific writer, and is believed to have declined two offers of Bishopsrics.

MR. KENNETH KAUNDA, the U.N.I.P. leader in Northern Rhodesia, and MR. JOSHUA NKOMO, former leader of the proscribed Zimbabwe African Peoples Union of Southern Rhodesia, said in a joint statement issued in Lusaka last week: "Nothing will alter our determination to get the Federation dismantled. H.M. Government must be told again that SIR ROY WELENSKY'S hope of saving anything from this wreck will never be realized. MR. BUTLER'S task is to break up this Federation and leave the respective and democratically-elected Governments to negotiate for any association of their own liking".

Unless the people of Kenya were ready to cut themselves off from the rest of the world in educational development, English had to remain the medium of instruction, MR. LAWRENCE SAGINI, the Education Minister, stated in a recent lengthy and heated debate in the Legislative Council on the motion from MR. J. SERONEY that Swahili be made compulsory in all Government-aided schools and calling for the establishment of a Swahili Academy. The Minister successfully moved an amendment making Swahili a compulsory subject in primary schools under regional authorities and urging greater proficiency in that tongue among civil servants.

European "Enemies of the African" Fear to Remain in Kenya

"Colonial Office Waste-Paper Baskets Full of Torn-Up Undertakings"

EUROPEANS FEAR that they are not wanted in the emerging Kenya, Mr. C. Oates, the chairman, told the annual meeting in Nairobi of the Convention of Associations.

"Recently there have been far too many speeches made by the African leaders of one party which have been outright attacks on the European community and in which we have been referred to as the enemies of the African", he continued. "Such speeches made to large crowds can only cause harm. It is true these are pre-election speeches, and some people would like to explain them away by comparing them with election speeches in the United Kingdom and elsewhere. There, however, such speeches may be made about the 'haves' by the 'have-nots', which is anyway a steadily diminishing distinction; they are not made about a small minority of landowners who cannot any longer hope to influence the course of events.

Doubts and Unenthusiasm

"I therefore ask that if there is no place for small European enterprise in emerging Kenya we should be told so. The rate at which people are leaving this country is such as to have a disturbing influence on those who remain, while the run-down of facilities in the smaller towns together with the departure of professional people is an added worry to those who would like to stay but are doubtful of the treatment they may receive if they do so.

"We stand today on the threshold of independence. The great majority of the Europeans who have made their homes in Kenya, particularly the small farmer and businessman—view the future, to quote the chairman of a big local organization, 'without enthusiasm'. This lack of enthusiasm has not been of our own creating, for we fear that we are not wanted in the emerging Kenya.

"I earnestly ask that there shall be no split between those people who wish to leave Kenya and can do so and those who intend to stay. A larger group would like to leave but are not in a position to do so. The conditions of life after independence will be largely out of our control, and while we hope and pray that they may be such as to encourage everyone to stay and play their part in the Kenya of the future, it is not easy to blame those who have their doubts as to whether these conditions will obtain.

"Our new Governor, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, will most likely be the last holder of that post. The great experience he has gained around the world he will need in full measure. When, 28 years after being Secretary of State, he takes up a Colonial governorship, he can hardly be accused of being ambitious. Incidentally, while he was Secretary of State for the Colonies the Highlands Order-in-Council was passed, so he now sees the wheel turn full circle. It is difficult to see how the departure of Sir Patrick Renison at this juncture can help matters, as it means swapping someone who has been here during all the moves of H.M. Government to get rid of Kenya for someone who has no African experience at all.

Disastrous British Policy

"It would be idle to pretend that the policy Sir Patrick has been called upon to carry out has not been disastrous for European interests in Kenya. It is therefore all the more remarkable that he has been able to retain a considerable measure of personal popularity with that community. The fact that he has not incurred the obloquy of his masters may be a contributory factor to his dismissal. His popularity cannot, for instance, be pleasing to Mr. Iain Macleod who has earned the undying hatred of so many of us. We shall not forgive him for being, as Lord Salisbury said, too clever by half.

"The fact that only 63 of the original list of 240 compassionate cases recommended for early treatment have been dealt with is a matter for grave concern. At my last inter-

view with the Governor I gained the impression that he thought something would be done but that it might take a long time. As I said earlier, it appears that H.M. Government will act only when it is shamed into doing so, and will use every unworthy trick to avoid having discussion on subjects it does not wish mentioned—for instance, when it deliberately prolonged a debate on December 7 in the House of Lords on the subject of ways of killing animals in order to delay Lord Salisbury from opening his debate on Kenya until there were only a few members left present in the Chamber. I have written to thank Lord Salisbury for his efforts on our behalf to secure the realization by H.M. Government of its responsibility to Kenya as a whole.

Settlement Scheme Inadequate

"During the past year one of our main efforts did bring a much enlarged settlement scheme, but this is less than half the suggested scheme presented by the joint team at Lancaster House, and it has taken H.M. Treasury many months to produce the money. It has also only been after many months of pressure from many sides that H.M. Government has appointed a chairman of the Central Land Board. This has not been entirely their fault, as it has not been easy to find men of the capacity needed for the job to take on work in Africa during the gale of change.

"We were also able to get the admission from Mr. Maudling that while H.M. Government would not admit that it had any legal obligations to us after it ceases to have responsibility for Kenya, it had never taken the view that its obligations were limited to legal ones. Mr. Maudling then quoted various safeguards, such as the Bill of Rights and provisions in the new Constitution. We all know that constitutional safeguards have in some countries in Africa not been worth the paper they are written on, but we shall not let H.M. Government forget its admitted liabilities."

MR. H. B. W. MACALLAN, the vice-chairman, said that there had been a most unfortunate tendency to equate Britain's moral obligations to the Europeans with the maintenance of political rights. "Nobody has ever said 'You shall govern the country in perpetuity' or 'You shall always have a fixed representation in the Legislature'." Indeed, the Devonshire Declaration of 1922 made it quite clear that Kenya was in the eyes of the British Government primarily an African State in which the immigrant communities had interests which required protection. It would be indefensible to suggest that a minority of 1% of the population could hold a privileged political position for ever.

Confusion Over Europeans' Position

"When the original Colonists' Association made representations to the Secretary of State, all they asked for was some representations on an entirely official legislature so that they could voice their opinions primarily on such matters as economics and security. Ideas such as white dominance, non-official majorities, and 'parity' were very much later political developments.

"We are concerned about human rights—the right of a man to retain the citizenship or nationality of his origin; to cultivate his farm or pursue his business or profession in peace; to reap a reasonable reward for his labours and to be protected against discrimination. In this field every possible assurance and encouragement has been given by the British Government to European immigrants. They have been encouraged to sell up their assets at home in order to invest their money in the development of Kenya.

"It would be tedious to repeat the many sonorous declarations that British politicians have made in the past regarding the future security of the European immigrants. The waste-paper baskets of the Colonial Office and Lancaster House are full of torn-up undertakings.

"The paradox is that the policy of European settlement in Kenya was in a sense part of a policy of British Colonial disengagement. Britain did not want to become responsible for boosting the current revenue of a territory which on first acquaintance seemed a howling economic wilderness. The answer? Encourage settlement; let Europeans develop farms, stimulate trade and swell the revenue. The result was that not only did Kenya become virtually self-supporting on current revenue accounts, but she enjoyed a higher revenue and standard of services than the two adjacent territories without many of their natural resources.

"Now comes the second act of Colonial disengagement—the handing over of political power. During the period which elapsed between the Devonshire Declaration of 1922 and the first Lancaster House Conference, Britain had encouraged a tremendous build-up of European effort in Kenya. She shut her eyes, as did many in Kenya to the eventual political implications because she believed that she had at least a century to fashion events here. When the last war inevitably brought about an acceleration of African nationalist feeling, she faced that fact because it suited her to face it, because colonization was unpopular with the United States and with the Labour Party, and because there were richer plums to be had from the European Economic Community.

Ignored Full Implications

"Britain's decision to decolonize was probably right. But like so many of the decisions of the present Tory administration, no one was prepared to face the actual implications of the policy. On the West Coast, in Uganda, Tanganyika, and the Caribbean, the policy has proceeded remarkably smoothly taking into account the hurried manner in which it was implemented. But in Kenya Britain was faced with a European economic and social edifice which was largely of her own creation and which was quite incompatible with the creation of an independent African State.

"If Mr. Macleod, instead of tilting at the windmills of European political power, had said to the Europeans quite openly: 'We must get out of Kenya: this will mean changes which may hit some of you hard, but we shall do everything possible to mitigate the effect of these changes', he might have struck anger and incredulity at first but ultimately he would have struck a response. Instead, he merely created a feeling of angry bewilderment which has led to the break-up of that very economy which he hoped the Europeans would maintain.

"Two Secretaries of State have held office since and the British Government still refuses to acknowledge facts. True, the rosy mists of multi-racialism have evaporated and the Land Freedom Army has appeared but the Government still adopts the policies of Ethelred the Unready, attempting to buy off its problems with inadequate instalments of Danegeld in the hopes that something will turn up which will resolve them altogether. 'Are there old people on farms whose lives are in danger? Very well. Let us give a few thousand pounds to buy them out. It is too bad if the number of old people exceeds the funds available. Perhaps they will emigrate or die in their beds and cease to trouble us. Is there an urgent need for re-settlement? Let us give a few million pounds. It is too bad if it is not enough. Perhaps the European farmers will emigrate anyway and abandon their farms.'

Callous Treatment

"Seldom in history has a civilized government been so callous in the treatment of its own citizens. Everywhere one goes in Britain there is an immense personal sympathy for the position of the Kenya European, but this is not reflected by the Government which the people have elected. Despite all their protestations about solicitude for the welfare of Kenya's peoples, their one hope is that they will be quit of this problem and be home and dry in the Common Market before the next election. It would be deplorable if a number of European heads were to be cut off in Kenya before the election as this would mean that Tory heads would roll at the hustings. Therefore, muddle along, giving away as little as you can, and bearing in mind that the welfare of the peoples of Kenya is of no consequence compared to an electoral victory.

"We do not ask the British Government to fulfil its moral obligations in terms of compensation; we merely ask it to take the lid off this cauldron which is Kenya and look fairly and squarely at what is cooking inside, and then to take proper and effective steps to steer Kenya through this dangerous period of transition. Instead she is peeping over the edge of the cauldron like an anxious housewife who knows something has gone wrong with her cooking and hopes to save it by throwing in handfuls of herbs and bicarbonate of soda.

"The tragedy is that in shirking her responsibilities towards her own people Britain is shirking her responsibilities to Kenya as a whole. A European-created and fostered economy must be largely transferred to African hands, but this cannot be done overnight; and meantime someone must produce the necessary foodstuffs, someone must fill the vital technical posts, and someone must pay the taxes to meet Kenya's recurrent revenue demands.

"As a result of this pettifogging policy Kenya is now becoming divided in the vital field of agriculture into settlement areas and depressed areas, the depressed areas being those outside the scope of the settlement schemes in which the farmers are denied a market for land. But these depressed areas are those upon which the Government of Kenya is depending to provide the country's essential foodstuffs.

"If the British Government is to emerge from the Kenya question with any credit at all it must first do three things.

"It must stop measuring compassion by the length of a Treasury official's foot. We are told that 'the quality of mercy is not strained', but the sort of mercy which the British Government dishes out has been filtered through a dirty Army blanket. Let it remove this standing reproach that the number of cases must be pruned to fit the money available.

Depressed Land Market

"It must, in conjunction with the Kenya Government, take every possible step to restore a land market in the depressed areas. The aim should be that those who remain to carry out the vital task of farming should do willingly and not as prisoners of circumstances.

"It should make it quite clear that those of its own nationals who stay and accept the risks of the future do so with its support and approval, and will be the objects of its special solicitude in the future and of its practical help if things go wrong. It should help to clear the decks of the economic casualties who fall outside the scope of the 'compassionate' list by aiding in their rehabilitation at home or in other Commonwealth countries.

Conscience Money

"If the British Government would only undertake these steps, not only would it clear itself of its moral obligations, but it would stimulate the economy of Kenya at a time when it is threatened with complete breakdown. It would create a class of European who would be both willing and able to work side by side with the African for the economic regeneration of Kenya without constantly having to look over his shoulder to see if his neighbour has abandoned his farm overnight, or if the old lady living down the road has been hacked to pieces during the hours of darkness.

"The Government must surely have learned that one does not get both cheaply and honourably out of a commitment of this sort, and that what a nation forbears to spend today will be spent ten times over in salving its conscience tomorrow."

The meeting passed these unanimous resolutions:—

"That Convention deplores H.M. Government's utterly callous disregard for the fate of many of those farmers and other settlers on the compassionate list who find themselves in dire straits due to the changed situation in Kenya. This disregard is shown by H.M. Government's failure to provide adequate funds to ensure a reasonable life and future for these people. This Convention will use every endeavour through every channel to impress on H.M. Government the imperative need to provide the necessary funds without delay, including the launching of a public appeal for funds in the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth to help Europeans who through age, sickness, insolvency and the security situation in Kenya are being left to their various fates.

"That Convention fully supports the work being done by the Urquhart Committee regarding elderly and distressed Europeans in Kenya and draws the attention of H.M. Government and the Kenya Government to the position of many such individuals who due to age, financial circumstances and ill-health no longer wish to make their homes in Kenya but are unable to leave as they cannot realize their assets. It also draws attention to the situation of destitute Europeans whose sole income is derived from grants paid by the Kenya Government and charitable societies.

Obligations Not Just Legalities

"That while H.M. Government has through Secretaries of State for the Colonies on numerous occasions stated it has 'never taken the view that its obligations are limited to legal obligations', it has done very little to meet its commitments to the European community in Kenya, whose presence in that country is due to the policy of successive British Governments over 60 years.

"That Convention calls the attention of Government to the fact that the security situation has deteriorated considerably in many parts of the country over the last few months, particularly with regard to stock and other thefts, and expresses surprise and disappointment that the Ministry of Defence was unable to send a representative to the meeting to answer questions and to listen to the views of delegates from all parts of the country on this urgent and important subject.

"That the sum of £200,000 allotted by H.M. Government to the Land Bank is hopelessly inadequate to restore a market in land in the areas not covered by the settlement scheme. This Conference welcomes the fact that an increasing number of African farmers are coming forward to buy land in these areas, and considers it imperative that H.M. Government provides them with the necessary financial assistance to do so through the Land Bank. Further, that money should also be made available to provide loans for farmers who intend to carry on farming in Kenya and who require finance on a long-term or short-term basis."

Nyasaland's Secession Would Be Bad For All Concerned

Views of Mr. Peter Staub, A Member of the Federal Parliament

THE COST of Nyasaland's possible secession from the Federation falls under three headings—the cost to Nyasaland, to Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia, and to Great Britain—and from each standpoint it would be a thoroughly bad business for all concerned.

Nyasaland is a comparatively poor country. Although its annual income has risen at the fastest rate of any of the three territories since Federation, by 80% in fact since 1953, Nyasaland has never been able to cover its Government expenditure by its own revenue. Since 1953, the Nyasaland Government has received £41m. more from Federal revenue and loan funds than it has contributed from its own resources, and at present she receives £5m. to £6m. annually from the Federal Treasury to help pay for the services which the Nyasaland people receive from Government.

Taking the multiplier effect into consideration, this Federal aid creates purchasing power to the Nyasaland people of about £10m. a year—or one-third of their national income in the cash economy. That would be lost to the people of Nyasaland if the Federation's subsidy were not replaced from another source, such as perhaps the British taxpayer.

The territory's deficit on its external balance of payments is equally serious, as the following figures for 1960 illustrate:—

Gross national product in the money economy £28,250,000.
Domestic expenditure on consumption and investment £37,430,000.
Consumption and investment as a percentage of gross national product in the money economy 133%.
External deficit on balance of payments £9,200,000.

Balance of Payments Deficit

The deficit on the balance of payments is now in the region of £13m. annually.

When the above figure of £9.2m. was struck, about £6m. represented deficits with the rest of the Federation and the balance with external countries. So long as Nyasaland is a region of the Federation, its "external" deficit has a significance different from what it would assume if Nyasaland were on her own.

The £6m. deficit of 1960 with the Rhodesias was not in foreign currency: it was met by compensating movements of short-term funds through the commercial banks or other financial houses for the private sector of Nyasaland's economy, or by re-lending to the Nyasaland Government moneys received from Federal Treasury Bill issues in Salisbury.

Furthermore, Nyasaland draws on the external reserves of the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to meet requirements of foreign currencies.

If Nyasaland were to leave the Federation the finance available from the Rhodesias would end, and all external currencies would have to be found from Nyasaland's own resources—if that were feasible. Any possible British or foreign aid programmes which Nyasaland may receive are unlikely to replace the total volume, rising level, and continuity of the present flow of funds from within the Federation.

Only 45% of Nyasaland's annual budget is met from internal Nyasaland sources. The rest comes mainly from the Federation, with British Government grants reaching a maximum of only £600,000 a year. The Federation's willingness to provide Nyasaland with funds to run its Government and to bridge the wide gap in its adverse payments balance has enabled it to consume and invest every year 33% more than its national product.

If separated from the Federation, Nyasaland would want her own currency. £2m. worth of Federal currency now circulate in Nyasaland, the Government of which also hold about £500,000 of British securities, which are unencumbered. On secession Nyasaland would call on the Federation to exchange the Federal currency for sterling funds, an operation which, though inconvenient to the Federal authorities, could be undertaken. That would give Nyasaland a total of £2½m. in sterling to cover her own currency.

Even if Nyasaland could drastically cut her imports by

severely curtailing purchases of consumer goods and restricting imports of capital goods, it is unlikely that her annual payments deficit could be brought below £6m. Even at that greatly reduced figure her currency reserves would last only for five months to cover the deficit unless a fairy godmother came to her aid with substantial and sustained gifts.

To avoid bankruptcy an independent Nyasaland would thus have to increase exports greatly—very difficult in view of her main reliance on agricultural products—and apply the most stringent import controls on all but essential goods and strict exchange control to block all non-essential outward flows of currency. The result would be a sharp reduction in the taxable capacity and further consequent reduction in most aspects of Government activity, thus depressing business activity, reducing employment, and increasing the cost of exports. It would also encourage smuggling and a black market in goods and currency.

Constricting the Economy

Apart from direct payments received from the Federal Treasury (some £41m.), Nyasaland is responsible for her share of the external loans raised by the Federal Government, the loans taken over at the time of Federation, and various capital investments in Nyasaland. These are as follows: Nyasaland's share of external loans raised by the Federation, £4.9m.; taken over by Federal Government at time of Federation, £6m.; Federal loan expenditure on various Nyasaland projects, 1954-62, £3m.; Federal Government's provision for Nyasaland Railways, £2.2m., a total of £16.1m.

With the withdrawal of Federal aid there would be severe reductions in taxable incomes, and the present capacity of income tax in Nyasaland would diminish sharply. In addition, lower efficiency of tax collection would further reduce the actual tax yields obtained, consequently the Nyasaland Government would have to impose much higher rates of income taxes and a much wider spread—into the lower income groups. In addition, there would have to be greater reliance on import duties—not protective, but revenue producing duties—and export taxes on tea and tobacco. All such measures would further constrict the economy.

The main effects upon the business community would be lower turnovers, higher costs, lower taxable incomes, and yet further increased taxation. Businesses would therefore find it increasingly difficult to obtain capital, either long-term for the acquisition of fixed assets, or short-term for current operations. Furthermore, the higher level of direct taxation would limit the possibility of using profits for re-investment.

Need to Find £10m. Annually

Unless Nyasaland can find some £10m. annually in cash over the next five years at least, the effects of Nyasaland leaving the Federation would probably be:

- (1) Sharp contraction in Government and private income and expenditure;
- (2) Marked fall in the level and quality of Government services;
- (3) Higher direct and indirect taxes, excise and custom duties, and export levies;
- (4) Reduced short-term and long-term investments;
- (5) Rising consumer prices;
- (6) Less employment; coupled with reduced capacity to generate employment;
- (7) Continuous and large deficits of balance of payments;
- (8) Insufficient backing for her own currency;
- (9) Assumption of her proportion of the Federal public debt and repayment of Federal subsidies and investments;
- (10) Nyasaland Railways' position would be jeopardized through shrinking imports.

What would be the effects of Nyasaland's secession on the other territories of the Federation? Estimated sales to Nyasaland of goods manufactured in the two Rhodesias were £9m. in 1961. Spinning and weaving supplied £2m., clothing and footwear another £2m., foodstuffs and metal products £1m. each, and chemicals £800,000. The rise in Nyasaland's purchases from the two Rhodesias since 1953 is indicative of the markedly upward trend of Nyasaland's purchasing power since Federation.

The rest of the Federation took £1.5m. worth of exports, mainly rice and other agricultural products, from Nyasaland. In 1962 the figure rose to over £2m. In the case of secession, largely because of the inevitable shrinking of Nyasaland's economy, Rhodesian sales to Nyasaland would drop by perhaps £4m. to £5m. a year.

Because of its inherent poverty Nyasaland exports labour, some 137,000 Nyasas working at present in Southern and

Northern Rhodesia. They remit about £700,000 a year to their families. With secession, a large proportion of these people might be sent back to swell the ranks of Nyasaland's many unemployed and also reducing their remittances, thus further lowering Nyasaland's purchasing power.

The position of H.M. Government towards Nyasaland's secession is obscure. The British Government assented to the Federal Loans Act which provides that any loans by the Federation are raised on the security of the assets of the Federation. If Nyasaland were to secede without Great Britain guaranteeing her loans and other indebtedness to the Federation, and without providing Nyasaland with substantial funds to carry on her economic life and shouldering her financial responsibility, the value of an important part of the Federal assets would be seriously impaired.

Britain's Responsibility

In other words, as the Crown is indivisible, Britain, by allowing Nyasaland to secede, would in fact depreciate the security of the assets used as collateral for loans raised by the Federation. This would be done by Britain unilaterally and in breach of an established convention, as has been brilliantly outlined in the Federal Parliament by Mr. Greenfield, the Minister for Law.

As the credit of the Crown would be involved by debasing the collateral of Federal loans through unilateral action, the British Government, by taking such action, would automatically make itself morally responsible for the entire loan indebtedness and for all other liabilities of the Federation.

From whatever economic angle we look at Britain's decision to allow Nyasaland to secede, it is thoroughly bad business for all concerned. Britain is putting Nyasaland into a position in which her economy must shrink dangerously. At the same time—and as emphasized by Mr. R. A. Butler, Minister for Central African Affairs,—Nyasaland must shoulder extra financial burdens which are now being carried by the rest of the Federation. There will also be a considerable loss of trade for the two Rhodesias.

It is quite obvious that Nyasaland cannot assume such financial burdens without the assistance of many millions of pounds provided by the British taxpayer—and provided not only once but over a considerable number of years. Is the British taxpayer willing to shoulder this constant subsidy?

It is to be hoped that reason will yet prevail and that a way will be found to permit Nyasaland's continued economic and political association with Northern and Southern Rhodesia.

**Mr. Field Discounts "Zambezi Line"
"I Have Always Supported Federal Principle"**

AS CLOSE AN ASSOCIATION as possible with the northern territories will be pursued "optimistically" by the new Southern Rhodesian Government, the Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Field, stated last week when interviewed on his farm by Mr. Nigel Ryan for Independent Television of London.

The Prime Minister said that it was very difficult in the broadest sense to say what the future of the Colony would be, bound up as it was to a very large extent with the future of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, whose own future would be uncertain until the results were known of the visit of Mr. R. A. Butler, Minister for Central African Affairs (who arrived there last week-end).

MR. RYAN: "You used to be opposed to the Federation, what are your views about the future of Federation as of now?"

Close Association Needed

MR. FIELD: "No, I have never opposed Federation as such. The principle of federation I have always supported, it was the terms that I didn't like at the time. It gives me no pleasure to be able to say, 'I told you so'. I've worked as hard as anyone possibly can to make it succeed—but it has not succeeded and we have to face up to this fact. My attitude is, of course, to have as close an association with the northern territories as we possibly can.

* This is possible because already we can have discussion

with Nyasaland. We know that Nyasaland is on its way out—Northern Rhodesia is a different case of course, and we shall not again know until after Mr. Butler has been, nor have any idea what is going to happen there."

N.R.: "But Northern Rhodesian leaders—African leaders—have made it pretty clear that they're not interested in very close ties with Southern Rhodesia."

W.F.: "Yes, but you know African leaders say various things from time to time without really studying what they might mean, and I don't think that we must pay too much attention to that. I certainly hope that we can have as close ties as possible."

N.R.: "Sir Roy Welensky has indicated that he's ready to fight to keep the Federation going. Would you be prepared to go as far as that?"

W.F.: "I don't accept that Sir Roy meant physical fighting. Though of course I don't know—but knowing him as I do I don't think he meant it quite that way."

N.R.: "In the event of the closest ties not being successful—do you believe that Southern Rhodesia could go it alone?"

W.F.: "I would hate to see it, because I think that we should have these ties with them. We've got an awful lot in common with the two northern territories—as much really with Nyasaland as we have with Northern Rhodesia. But I sincerely hope that we don't have to. If we have to—then we have no option, have we? We've got to, in which case we shall."

N.R.: "Do you envisage closer links with South Africa?"

W.F.: "From a political point of view, no, no, no. The question doesn't arise. I would like to have as close trade links with South Africa as we possibly can, particularly from an external bargaining point of view. And I think that might come about, but again we have to wait until these functions are ours. Things like defence and economic ties are not the function of my Government at the moment."

N.R.: "But some of your critics have said that the very fact you who are somewhat to the right have been elected has prejudiced the chances of the Federation surviving at all. Do you agree with that?"

W.F.: "It has no connexion whatsoever. It is the two northern territories that are going to decide the future of Federation. And their chief resentment is of course that they were never asked in the first place whether they wished to join the Federation with us at all."

Paternalism

N.R.: "Your critics have said that you are a benevolent paternalist—that you treat Africans well—but that you treat them like children and that this isn't good enough."

W.F.: "No, that certainly isn't true. Where people are backward then I suppose one does develop a certain paternalistic attitude towards them—but that's not peculiar to us. You will find missionaries and other people adopting that attitude throughout Africa. But as soon as anyone of any colour, race or creed, I think is the term usually used, is of a similar stage of advancement as anyone else, then none of us in my Government would feel paternalistic towards them in any way whatsoever. It is quite untrue."

N.R.: "You don't feel that it's the paternalism of the past that has produced the rather hostile type of African nationalism of the present?"

W.F.: "There is a difference between being patronizing and paternalistic and I should say that it's the patronizing of the past that has helped to achieve what you've just spoken about."

N.R.: "Other critics of yours have called you the spoils of white supremacy."

W.F.: "No, it is not true, they have no grounds for saying such a thing at all. It has been part of the party political struggle in this country to project us as such—but it isn't true."

N.R.: "One talks these days of the Zambezi line politics with the African Government in charge to the north and the European Government, Southern Rhodesia, the Portuguese and South Africa, in charge to the south of it. Do you see Africa in these terms?"

W.F.: "No, if such a line is created it won't be created by us. I think that depends to a large extent on the answer to what our relations are going to be, if any, with the two northern territories. As I said to you it is repeat again, that we want things to be as close as possible. That should eliminate any Zambezi line, if we can achieve that."

N.R.: "And are you optimistic about achieving it?"

W.F.: "Yes, I am. I think we will be able to do something of the sort. I wouldn't try otherwise. I can assure you."

The interview was pressed by a statement that Mr. Butler was being into a "potentially explosive situation" with Nyasaland already on the way out of the Federation, Northern Rhodesia wishing to follow, and a new Government in Southern Rhodesia determined to maintain white supremacy in the face of increasing pressure from African nationalists.

N. Rhodesia's House of Chiefs

"Of Great Importance", Says Acting Governor

THE ACTING GOVERNOR of Northern Rhodesia, Mr. R. E. Luyt, said when addressing the inaugural meeting of the House of Chiefs in the Legislative Council Chamber in Lusaka:—

"The chosen chiefs of our land meet for the first time in formal assembly as of right provided by the Constitution in order that the advice of chiefs may play a part in law and policy-making. It is the policy of the Government to recognize the special customary status of the chiefs as traditional leaders who are chosen by the people of diverse tribes and whose customary jurisdiction extends over wide areas of Northern Rhodesia.

"Your tribal societies are living institutions capable under wise leadership of adjustment to meet the changing social demands of your people. Social change, a continuous process which permeates to all levels, promotes new constitutional developments in accordance with the needs of our country as a whole.

"The 22 members of this House here assembled were chosen by your 228 fellow chiefs to be their spokesmen. You are able to maintain close contact with your electors through provincial meetings of chiefs which together form an electoral college for this House.

"I have not yet been advised by the Litunga in Council of the Barotseland Protectorate whether he intends to appoint four additional members of this House from that Protectorate. I am sure you would welcome the additional knowledge and experience which the Barotse members can bring to your deliberations if they take their seats.

"The average age of the members present today is 37 years. They have enjoyed an impressive range of education. Members may, however, speak in their own language or in English according to their preference.

"It is your duty to examine all draft legislation laid before you by the Governor. Such proposals would normally be in the form of a Bill approved by the Governor with the advice

of the Executive Council. I hope that this House will record its comments in agreed resolutions on each Bill in a form suitable for submission to the next meeting of the Legislative Council.

"The Governor is also empowered to refer to this House for advice matters of public importance other than Bills. You in turn may refer matters of public importance to me with a request that they be included in the agenda to be considered by this House. I ask that you direct your submissions to specific subjects of public importance and avoid generalization. This House may seek information from the Government by applying in writing to the Minister responsible.

"It is laid down that the House should normally meet in private in order that you may discuss matters freely in accordance with customary procedure. Meetings of chiefs recommend the adoption of this method of business.

"Great importance will be placed on the advice tendered by this House, and your recommendations will at all times be accorded most careful and weighty consideration. Your advice will be all the more valuable if it has regard to the interests of the territory as a whole, and I ask you to keep in mind the need to consider the various items of your agenda in their territorial as well as their local importance and try to avoid an unduly parochial viewpoint.

"Although the future may confront us with many difficulties, the decisions you record will assist the Government to meet all challenges, secure in the knowledge that common difficulties are appreciated by the chiefs and people of this country."

The members chose Chief Mapanza of the Southern Province to be their first president. He will hold office for a year. Election was by secret ballot. There were three candidates.

After consultation with the president, the Acting Governor appointed Chief Chikwanda of the Bemba tribe to be vice-president of the House.

During this ceremonial opening of the inaugural meeting of the House of Chiefs there was a noisy demonstration outside by supporters of U.N.I.P., whose president, Mr. Kaunda, later apologized.

Mr. Kaunda's Apology to House of Chiefs

"Shameful" Demonstration Against Chief Mwase

THE PRESIDENT of the House of Chiefs in Northern Rhodesia has received from Mr. Kaunda, Minister for Local Government and Social Welfare, and president of U.N.I.P., a letter apologizing for a demonstration staged in Lusaka on January 3 on the day of the official opening of the House of Chiefs. The letter said:—

"My attention has been drawn to a Press report concerning the demonstration which was staged yesterday against a member of your honourable council, Chief Mwase of Lundazi.

"I do hereby wish to proffer my sincere regrets that this shameful incident ever took place at a critical time, when all those striving to set the Government of Northern Rhodesia on its proper footing should be seeking co-operation with our national rulers and helping them in the difficult task that lies ahead.

"I wish to assure you, sir, and all the members of your honourable council, that our attitude to the chiefs has always remained the same, namely, that we regard your institution as being above the normal rough and tumble of party politics, that should we have any complaints against one national ruler these complaints shall always be brought up in the normal and accepted traditional manner.

"Secondly, I wish on behalf of my party colleagues in Government and my party to assure you of our fullest co-operation with the House of Chiefs in your most difficult task of guiding this young country on to its ultimate destiny.

"I would be grateful if the contents of this letter were brought to the notice of your honourable members and my apologies for yesterday's incident conveyed to Chief Mwase, as indeed to all our chiefs.

"Your humble subject, Kenneth D. Kaunda, Minister."

"Abandoned" farms in Kenya which the Minister for Agriculture deems to be without management or supervision, or to be receiving such inadequate care that they are deteriorating, may now be occupied and managed by him to the exclusion of the owner, who may appeal against such a management order to the agricultural appeals tribunal after one year.



PLAYER'S

please

THE WORLD'S

BEST LIKED CIGARETTES

Military Force for Political End

(Concluded from page 442)

United Nations, designed to bring to its knees against the will of its inhabitants a State that was until the United Nations intervention peaceful and prosperous.

"No prior recourse seems to have been had to the procedure laid down under the Charter for cases of this kind. Neither the Security Council nor the Assembly was consulted.

"The Secretariat may have been sheltering behind the Assembly's resolution of February 2, 1961; but, as the British delegate, Sir Patrick Dean, made clear in the Assembly on the same day when supporting that resolution, the use of force, if necessary in the last resort, could only properly be interpreted to mean that force would only be used by the United Nations to prevent a clash between hostile Congolese troops: there could be no question of empowering the United Nations to use its force to impose a political settlement.

"Yet that is just what has happened. U.N. officials on the spot have made no secret of the fact that it has been for a purely political purpose—to finish Tshombé once and for all—that the present operation has been undertaken.

"Power in the U.N., which had already shifted from the Security Council to the Assembly as a result of the persistent use of the veto by Russia, has now shifted once more from the Assembly to the Secretariat; and the Secretariat is conducting a policy of its own, without reference to those bodies, the Security Council and the Assembly, of which it was intended only to be the servant.

"Just to accept supinely the *fait accompli* would surely not be in accordance with our honour or our prestige as a great nation. We should demand a meeting of the Security Council as soon as possible, and when it has met we should put forward the proposal that the Security Council should itself send out a committee of inquiry, one representative to be appointed by each member of the Council. That would restore the Security Council to its proper place in the centre of the picture.

"It is of course possible that the Security Council would refuse even to appoint such a committee. In that event is it too much to hope that the British Government would take their courage in both hands and make it clear that they could not any longer support financially a policy with which, in its practical interpretation, they have already stated that they fundamentally disagree? Our share of the cost of the operation would then henceforth have to be defrayed by those member States which do support the policy."

Ruthless Intervention Defies Charter

"Senseless" American Support for U.N.O.

NEWSPAPERS in the United States have published the text of a petition to Congress from the American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters.

It describes the United Nations attack on Katanga as "barbarous aggression" directly contrary to the United Nations Charter and the Security Council resolution authorizing operations in the Congo.

Signed by Dr. Max Yergan, chairman of the committee, the statement reads:—

"Once again the mercenary armies of the United Nations have launched a barbarous aggression against the people of Katanga in an attempt to compel their unconditional submission to U Thant's plan for a centralized Congolese Government.

"This ruthless U.N. intervention into a nation's internal affairs is directly counter to the U.N. Charter as well as to the laws of civilized mankind. The people of Katanga, who have proved their ability to maintain a functioning economy, law and order, have the right to decide themselves in peace what relation they shall have to the other provinces of the former Belgian Congo.

"The intervention is also illegal from the standpoint of the February 1961 Security Council resolution, on the basis of which the U.N. Congo operations are ostensibly conducted.

"The U.N. aggression does grievous injury to the interests of the West and the national interest of the United States. Katanga, under Moïse Tshombé's régime, has been the most staunchly pro-Western and anti-Communist part of the former Belgian Congo.

"From the beginning of Congolese independence the

policy of the Soviet Union has been to press for the destruction of the Tshombé Government and the submission of Katanga to a centralized régime in Leopoldville.

"The U.N. aggression has been possible only because of aid and support from the United States. Misled by the wish to conciliate an irresponsible U.N. majority made up of neutralist and uncommitted States and pseudo-States, plus the Communist bloc, our Government violates the fundamental interests and security of our country. Without United States money, supplies, transport and political backing, the U.N. aggression could not continue.

"You, the Congress of the United States, are the sole appropriating power under our Constitution. It was the 87th Congress that voted the money now being used to smash Katanga. The ultimate responsibility for future developments belongs to you, the 88th Congress. Under our system of government the President is the servant of the laws, not their master. You are the law-makers.

Brave People of Katanga

"Under the foreign aid programme you have for many years provided arms for dozens of nations, in order, you believed, to help them preserve their freedom and independence.

"Do the brave people of Katanga, fighting against enormous odds, deserve arms less than the Indonesians—or the Yugoslavs?

"What the people of Katanga need now is not talk or resolutions, but arms to defend themselves, their wives and children and homes and places of work. Past experience proves how urgently they need adequate arms even if the fighting again dies down temporarily.

"Vote, promptly and generously, the funds to supply the weapons they need, and to set up an emergency agency instructed by law to get the weapons into Katangan hands forthwith."

Full-page advertisements quoting the full text stated that the cost of the publicity had been borne by United States citizens who have no financial investment in Katanga or elsewhere in the Congo and do not act in the U.S.A. for any foreign Government, corporation, firm or person. "We are publishing this advertisement because we believe we are acting in the best interests of the security of the United States and freedom throughout the world."

Among the signatories were members of the Senate and of Congress, four generals, two admirals, 19 professors, and many other well-known persons.

The advertisement recalled that Dr. Albert Schweitzer had declared two months earlier:—

"The policy of the U.N. in the former Belgian Congo causes me great anxiety because it proceeds from a total ignorance of the country's problems. It is a grave error to try and unite by force people so profoundly divided among themselves. If Katanga is unwilling to be reunited with the Congo, the U.N. should respect its wishes and not try to impose its own will at any cost."

Extremist War Faction

Senator Thomas J. Dodd is quoted as having said on December 31:—

"It is an unspeakable tragedy that the world organization which was set up to prevent war and preserve peace should now be starting wars and massacring innocent civilians at the behest of an extremist war faction within the U.N., which has apparently achieved control over the policy and actions of the world organization.

"The attack on Katanga is a flagrant, inhuman act of aggression by the new U.N. imperialism which now appears to be raising its head in the Congo. Nor can I think of any more senseless or more inglorious war to which the United States has ever lent the prestige of its support.

"I challenge the concept that the United Nations, as a peace organization, has the right to intervene by military force in any country to bring about reunification or to compel the acceptance of a Constitution. In taking this action in the Congo the U.N. is establishing an extremely dangerous precedent—a precedent that may very well culminate in moral and political disaster."

Senator Barry Goldwater said on the same day:—

"The bitterness generated by the unjust United Nations war against the only full-fledged pro-Western leader in the Congo will last for a long time and make effective unification of the area a total impossibility. It is difficult to understand what the Administration expects to gain from the African-Asian bloc in the United Nations in return for supporting a policy of armed aggression against an independent State."

Company Report

Bird & Co. (Africa). Limited

Sir Charles Ponsonby's Statement

THE FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF BIRD & CO. (AFRICA), LIMITED, will be held on February 16 at Tanga, Tanganyika.

The following are extracts from the circulated statement of the chairman, Sir Charles Ponsonby, BT., T.D., D.L.:

The net profit of the group for the year ended June 30, 1962, was £45,884, compared with £210,496 for the previous year. These disappointing results were due to a period of depressed sisal prices combined with adverse weather conditions which materially affected production.

Shareholders will realize how abhorrent it is to a board to have to break with the tradition of a regular dividend and the disappointment to shareholders is fully appreciated.

The chairman outlined the reasons for passing the dividend, and continued:—

Current Year Off to Good Start

Sisal: Last year I warned shareholders that it would be optimistic to expect production to recover fully in 1962 after such a severe drought, although it could be hoped that the rain that followed would in time benefit production. In the event the monthly production figures did not return to normal until May this year, and the total for the year to June 1962 was 16,981 tons, compared with 18,105 tons the previous year.

The current year is off to a good start, and, provided the recent levels of production and price are maintained, a more reasonable margin of profit can be expected this year.

Tea: The programme of development is taking longer than envisaged five years ago, and it cannot now be expected that the tea expansion will assist profits to any substantial extent for several years. In 1961-62 the production of tea was 297,538 lb., against an original estimate of 450,000 lb. In spite of the lower rate of progress than originally hoped for, the tea estates are now going ahead well.

Chairman's Retirement

Sir Charles referred to his pending retirement, and concluded: I am sorry that I leave after an exceptional year when we have done badly, but I am glad to feel that the tide has turned and that the future of the company again looks brighter.

Bird & Company Passes the Dividend

Sir Charles Ponsonby Retires

BIRD & CO. (AFRICA), LTD., report that depressed sisal prices and adverse weather during the year ended June 30, 1962, caused a drop in net profit from £210,305 to £45,884. No dividend is to be paid on the issued capital of £1,129,500.

The output of sisal was 16,981 tons, against 18,105 in the previous year. In the current year both production and price have been better, but wages have risen and a 5% export tax has been imposed on the fibre.

Tea development, which is taking longer than was expected, is not likely to contribute substantially to profits for several years. Whereas the original estimate for 1961-62 was 450,000 lb. of tea, production was in fact only 297,538 lb. The estates are now progressing well and the quality of the tea has been encouraging.

Sisal estates stand in the balance-sheet at £2,946,404, tea estates at £1,070,920, and current assets less current liabilities

at £121,191. There are three subsidiary companies, Zilia Tea Estate, Ltd., which appears in the books at £127,191. Ndola Tea Co., Ltd., at £63,055; and General Contracting Co., Ltd., at £2,405. The general reserve is £1m., there is a taxation equalization reserve of £265,000, and a contingency and staff fund reserve of £150,000. Outstanding debentures total £618,802. The carry-forward is £657,294.

Sir Charles Ponsonby, chairman of the group, concludes his annual survey with the words:—

"And now I bow myself off the sisal stage. I was one of the founders of Sisal Estates, Ltd., in 1936 and chairman till 1952 when the company moved to East Africa as Bird & Co. (Africa), Ltd. My dynamic friend Sir Eldred Hitchcock was chairman and managing director till his sudden death in April 1959, when I came back as chairman. Thus for 27 years Bird & Co. and sisal have been part of my life. I have known all the ups and downs of the industry, and I look back with satisfaction that on the whole the shareholders have profited from our work, and with pleasure on the friendships I made with the directors and the very loyal members of the staff. I much appreciated a presentation which they made to me last summer on the occasion of my golden wedding.

"I am sorry that I leave after an exceptional year when we have done badly, but I am glad to feel that the tide has turned and the future of the company again looks brighter".

The other directors are Messrs. J. F. Lloyd (managing director), B. J. J. Stubbings (deputy managing director), R. Gray, C. L. Woolveridge, P. M. Wise, E. J. Mitton, and V. S. Makame. The secretary is Mr. B. A. Williams.

Trans-Nzoia Protest

MR. MUSINDE MULIRO, deputy leader of the Kenya African Democratic Union, led a deputation last week to Government House, Nairobi, from the Abahūya and Teso tribes to protest against the intended inclusion in the Rift Valley Region of parts of the Trans-Nzoia, which, including Kitale, ought, they urged, to become part of the new Western Region. A petition, which asked for alteration of the boundaries "so that our area of Kenya will not be torn by strife and bitterness in future", asserted that the Boundaries Commission had been misled by evidence based on political motives.

Alex. Lawrie & Co., Ltd., are to pay an interim 5% (the same) for the year to June 30 next.

Mazoe Consolidated, Ltd., Southern Rhodesia, had a profit in December of £3,106 (November £2,971).

At its Arcturus mine in Southern Rhodesia Coronation Syndicate, Ltd., made a profit in December of £5,397. At the Muriel mine there was a profit of £6,961.

Ind. Coope Tetley Ansell, Ltd., the largest brewing group in the U.K., which has an East African subsidiary, reports profit before tax to September 29 at £12.8m. (£11.9m.). Tax takes £7m. (£6.3m.). The 12% dividend is repeated.

Chicago-Galka Development, Ltd., a subsidiary of Wilmoughby's (Investment) Ewell, Ltd., reports estimated net profit after tax to September 30 at £12,324 (£15,674). A dividend of 10% for the nine months is to be paid, compared with 10% plus 5% bonus for the previous year.

Whitehead Iron & Steel, Ltd., which has substantial interests in the Federation, reports profit before tax for the year to September 29 at £856,459 (£1,053,624). The dividend is 10% (15%). Fixed assets exceed £1.6m., current assets £7m., and current liabilities £2.5m. Stewart & Lloyds, Ltd., have stated that they would be interested in bidding for control.

Sisal outputs for December—Bird & Co. (Africa), 1,517 tons, making 10,702 for July/December; Central Line Sisal Estates, 343 tons, making 2,185 for six months (2,053); East African Sisal Plantations, 240 tons, making 1,306 for six months (930); Dwa Plantations, 149 tons, making 1,746 for the year (1,782); Kilifi Plantations, 930 tons for 1962 (770 tons).

The chairman of the Consolidated Gold Fields group, Sir George Harvie-Watt, said in Melbourne last week that £A.24m. will be spent within the next two years on the iron ore deposits at Mount Galsworthy, Western Australia, by Gold Fields, two U.S. partners, and Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation. Gold Fields and Rio Tinto have substantial interests in the Federation.

F. W. Woolworth & Co., Ltd., the great stores group, which has a Rhodesia subsidiary, reports consolidated net profit after tax for the year to December 31 at £16,157,384, against £14,984,734. The general reserve is increased by £3.5m. There was an interim dividend of 6½d. per 5s. stock unit and a final of 1s. 4d., costing £7.7m., is proposed. The carry-forward will be over £9½m.



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