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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1964

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE SURPRISE of the visit to London of

Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, is not that he should have demonstrated so clearly his determination to persist in negotiations even

Mr. Ian Smith's when there seemed scarcely any prospect of a successful outcome,

Triumphant Visit. but that he should have volunteered to prove to the British Government that a majority of both Africans and Europeans in his country want independence under the present Constitution and franchise. Nobody here had expected such an offer, and none but a few very close confidants in Rhodesia can have foreseen so dramatic a development. United Kingdom representatives have confessed their astonishment at being told that their visitor was prepared to prove his contention that Southern Rhodesian Africans in general are so weary of the ceaseless outrages perpetrated by the African nationalist parties that they would prefer independence under an overwhelmingly white Government to the possibility of early rule by a black-dominated Government, with all the risks entailed in that revolutionary step. If Mr. Smith can establish justification for his conviction in that respect, he will deliver the worst blow ever suffered by pan-Africanism, and make it impossible for any British Cabinet to refuse the demand for independence without showing that it puts appeasement of Afro-Asian extremists everywhere before the will of the Africans of Southern Rhodesia; and if any British Government were to do that it could not complain if Rhodesians decided to seize independence.

* * *

When accepting Sir Alec Douglas-Home's invitation to visit him, Mr. Smith said that "we must proceed to firm conclusions". The

two leaders have certainly done that, and both can regard with satisfaction the outcome of their frank, friendly and constructive discussions. We wrote a fortnight ago that their talks must inevitably be influenced by electoral considerations. Each has cause to be pleased from that standpoint. While the Conservative leader is relieved from the fear that next month's general election might be adversely affected by the problem of Southern Rhodesia, one capable of arousing high emotion, Mr. Smith has the even greater gain that his agreement with the United Kingdom completely cuts the ground from under the feet of his Opposition, and, in particular, of Sir Roy Welensky, who agreed to fight the Arundel by-election for the sole purpose of preventing a unilateral declaration of independence. That risk has now disappeared, at any rate for the immediate future. All responsible Rhodesians want a negotiated independence under the present Constitution. On that basic issue the Government and Opposition are not at variance. Their unity in this matter needs to be made unequivocally evident, for influential commentators in Britain are already casting doubt on the honesty of the method by which African consent will be demonstrated. If Mr. Smith is right in his belief that the majority of Africans would rather trust the white man than the small minority of African politicians — and none who has spoken to him can doubt the sincerity of his conviction — it would be deplorable for disunity to continue within the white community. While measures are being urgently taken to test African opinion there should be a cessation of party wrangling on minor matters. In present circumstances all men of good will in Rhodesia should concern themselves with the immediate promotion of a spirit of reconciliation.

Unfortunately, two by-election campaigns in Salisbury constituencies have just been launched. Until a few days ago they appeared very necessary; Now their purpose — certainly in the short term — is irrelevant. Is there a legal loophole for postponement of these appeals to the electorate? If so, it should surely be used by consent of both parties. If postponement be not possible by that method, might Sir Roy Welensky not withdraw his candidature on condition that, if independence be not attained by negotiation, as Mr. Smith now considers certain, the Rhodesian Front will not oppose him at a later by-election? Since the R.F. candidate in Arundel is Mr. Dupont, the Deputy Prime Minister, his party could scarcely allow him to withdraw. Sir Roy, however, could do so with dignity, and, indeed, with the likelihood of general acclaim. He stands for the unity of Rhodesians in defence of their country, and could have no heart in a contest which would foster disunity while independence hung in the balance. Neither he nor the Prime Minister could have foreseen the present predicament on nomination day. If there is to be white unity, its main architects must be Mr. Smith, Sir Roy, and Mr. Dupont. All three must therefore want to escape political disputation until the Southern Rhodesian Government demonstrates, or fails to demonstrate, the necessary confidence on the part of Africans. No Rhodesian can be more anxious than Sir Roy for that proof to be provided, and none can be less willing than he to contribute to a fundamental cleavage among white Rhodesians when there is a prospect of gaining complete independence.

* * *

His help would be invaluable in preparing that approach to a National Government which EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has steadfastly advocated and which the agreement

National Concensus

More Needed Than Ever.

made in London last week makes an urgent necessity. Having achieved in his exchange with Sir Alec Douglas-Home a basis which nobody expected, Mr. Smith must be more ready than ever before to co-operate closely with men, white and black, who are not of his party but join with it in wanting independence for their country. He also needs that support for external reasons, for the apologists in the West for every act of appeasement of African nationalist extremism are already seeking to undermine his plan by arguing that the views of the chiefs mean nothing because they are salaried officials of the Government. The

same writers and speakers did not advance that contention when, under the grossest intimidation from the Malawi Congress Party, the chiefs in Nyasaland declared themselves for Dr. Banda, or when those in Tanganyika, under similar but less violent pressures, supported Dr. Nyerere. Aspersions were not then cast on the right of chiefs to speak for their people. Mr. Smith will need to recall these precedents when emphasizing the truth that responsible African opinion has always been voiced through the elders and chiefs, who are the traditional spokesmen for the nearly four million Africans in Southern Rhodesia who still live in the tribal state and have no understanding of politics — beyond their painful experience of coercion by petty political bosses, nearly all of them townees, most of them men of no consequence in African eyes, and many of them ne'er-do-wells or thugs. If allowed a free expression of opinion, most adult Africans would prefer the impartial justice and progressive advancement in living standards guaranteed by the continuance of responsible rule to the dictatorship of African racialists whose power stems from violence and increasingly from funds provided by Communist and other ill-wishers to Africa. The task is to elicit that opinion in a manner which fair-minded men cannot impugn. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference was told by Sir Alec that the British Government wanted Southern Rhodesia to attain full sovereignty as soon as her governmental institutions were sufficiently representative. If Mr. Smith can now prove a really representative desire among Africans for independence under the present Constitution and franchise, he will give a country with a fine past a wonderful chance of a splendid future.

** * *

MANY QUESTIONS are prompted by last week's happenings in Malawi. When deciding to dismiss three Ministers, did Dr. Banda expect the other five to remain loyal to him? If he had any doubt, the natural course would have been to see each man separately and dismiss those who did not pledge their support. Did he fail to take that precaution and then find himself faced with unexpected resignations? Why did he act while Mr. Chipembere, the most likely rival for the leadership, was out of the country? Did he believe that in his absence all the Ministers except Messrs. Chiume, Chirwa, and Bwanaisi would stand by him, and that on his return Mr. Chipembere would consider it imprudent to risk open association with only

three dissidents, especially as Parliament is packed with yes-men hand-picked by the Prime Minister? Did Dr. Banda overlook the probability that news of the situation would be telegraphed to Mr. Chipembere in Canada and that he would hurry home and almost certainly join the rebels? Did Mr. Msonthi resign, think better of his impulsive action, apologize, and receive permission to carry on as though nothing had happened? Is that the explanation of his reappearance on the Government bench after publication of the report that he too had resigned? What pressures were put upon the three dismissed Ministers and the three who resigned to persuade them to vote for the motion of confidence in a Government in which their lack of confidence had been so clearly demonstrated only a few hours earlier? These questions go to the root of the collapse of the Government which Dr. Banda has praised so extravagantly, but so far as we can discover not one of them has been asked in any other publication in the United Kingdom. Nor has any British newspaper made the obvious point that the occurrences in Malawi demonstrate the recklessness of the United Kingdom Government in granting independence so prematurely to a country which is desperately short of Africans qualified for responsible office.

* * *

In the Ngwazi's own words, the four corner-stones of the State have fallen — unity, loyalty, discipline, and obedience. Yet those were the alleged characteristics of the Malawi leadership.

Corner-Stones Have Fallen. Indeed, there was scarcely a sitting of the Assembly, or any other public gathering,

at which there were not boasts about unity, protestations of loyalty, demonstrations of discipline, and an oozing of obsequious obedience. The trumpery charade was repeatedly criticized in these columns — but scarcely anywhere else. Now it has been exposed in all its hollowness and ugliness by the great Kamuzu himself, who has accused Ministers whom he chose and groomed not merely of avarice and stirring up the people against him, but even of contemplating his murder. Until last week the "Lion of Malawi" had persistently (but of course absurdly) declared that his "boys" were as good as any Ministers anywhere; but with that fantastic exaggeration were coupled egotistical assertions that none of them dare do anything without his express consent. By his own testimony, he had no conception of Cabinet responsibility. Nkrumah, an old friend, has been his model — but not in everything. Whereas Ghana's dictator has

worked closely with the Communists, Dr. Banda has deeply distrusted both Soviet Russia and Communist China. Both would obviously delight in his fall, but he was too vain to conceive that anyone in Malawi would plot against him. Fortunately for Central Africa, he struck before his enemies were ready. That the challenge to his absolutism will be renewed is, however, certain. To what extent the intrigue was inspired and helped by the Chinese cannot be judged. The Opposition may henceforth be increasingly local. Had Mr. Chipembere sided with him, Dr. Banda would have had little cause for immediate anxiety. Since that stalwart nationalist has a great public following, his open opposition represents a real threat.

Statements Worth Noting

"A Prime Minister, like a general, has to have luck". — Sir Roy Welensky.

"The Commonwealth is not just a subdivision of the United Nations". — Sir Robert Menzies.

"Only the voice of the Christian Church can drown the timidities and vacillations of diplomacy". — The Bishop of Masasi, Tanganyika.

"If some of the finance that goes to Oxfam were spent on education on birth control it would do more good". — Viscount Massereene and Ferrard.

"Measures to impose flogging on stock thieves and for crimes of violence are well in hand". — Mr. Bruce McKenzie, Minister for Agriculture in Kenya.

"If the women of Kenya saved the money they spend on buying their headgear in any one year, the country could afford to build a university". — Mzee Kenyatta, Prime Minister of Kenya.

"Tradition is a hard task-master. It is gratifying to see on this course that management is not represented solely by Europeans nor the trade union movement by Africans". — Mr. M. J. Chimba, Northern Rhodesian Minister of Labour.

"You social science workers cannot knead the public dough. You have to be the leaven in the lump, the yeast which produces growth from within". — Mr. R. Kamanga, Minister of Transport and Communications in Northern Rhodesia.

"Even at the present restricted rate of entry into the United Kingdom under the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, there is a prospect of some three million people of African and Asian descent in this country by 1980". — Mr. N. A. Annan, M.P.

"Britain is willing to apply to family planning exactly the same principles as govern her aid generally. She will respond to requests for technical assistance by overseas Governments". — Lord Dundee, Minister of State at the Foreign Office.

"If the world is to live at peace we must not mind what is the colour of a man's skin—black, brown or yellow; or what his religion is; or what tribe he belongs to—English, Scots or Welsh". — Dr. Kaunda, Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia.

"Politicians who consider themselves capable of doing the job of a civil or local government servant as well as doing their own job of attending meetings and framing policy go around issuing instructions and directions in their own name or in the name of the body they represent. I want you to help me stop it". — Mr. S. O. Ayodo, Minister for Local Government, addressing Nyanza Regional Assembly.

Mr. Smith's Dramatic Plan for Independence by Negotiation

Offer to Prove Majority Support of Rhodesians, Black and White

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, volunteered during his visit to London to abandon, at least temporarily, all possibility that his Government might make a unilateral declaration of independence, and to prove to the United Kingdom Government that there is a majority among Rhodesians, black as well as white, in favour of independence under the present Constitution and franchise.

Before flying back to Salisbury at the week-end he emphasized his conviction that that proof could be provided sufficiently quickly and clearly to enable H.M. Government to grant independence before the end of this year.

He had, he said, not disclosed the plan in earlier correspondence with British Ministers, but he had had it in mind for several years and had often discussed it with people in the rural areas; he had found almost unanimous endorsement for the idea among Rhodesians who spoke an African language, lived close to Africans, and really knew them. Since he became Prime Minister the plan had crystallized, and the more he had thought about it the greater grew the conviction that it was the right way forward for Southern Rhodesia, which required progress by evolution, not by revolutionary measures.

Trouble Over the Communiqué

Shortly before Mr. Smith spoke to a large gathering of journalists, a joint communiqué about the talks between the two Prime Ministers had been issued.

Their discussions had begun on Monday of last week and continued on Tuesday, when the Commonwealth Relations Office stated that a communiqué would be released that afternoon, the talks having ended.

Mr. Smith, however, said publicly that they were not over, that he expected further meetings with Sir Alec Douglas-Home, and that he knew nothing about a communiqué, no draft of which had been submitted to him. Thereupon the C.R.O. explained that there had been a slight hitch, but that the statement would be available next morning. It was not.

On the Tuesday evening Sir Alec and Mr. Smith were among the guests of the High Commissioner at dinner, after which they conferred for about an hour. On Wednesday Mr. Smith visited the air show at Farnborough. He had two further talks with Sir Alec on Thursday, and that evening it was announced that the text of the statement had been agreed. It was issued at 10 a.m. on Friday, in the following terms:—

"There was a full discussion of all aspects of the problem of independence for Southern Rhodesia. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia expounded his case for the grant of independence on the basis of the present Constitution and franchise. The British Prime Minister re-stated and explained the position of the British Government, as already stated in Parliament.

"The British Prime Minister conveyed to the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia the views expressed at the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in July as set out in their final communiqué. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia for his part made it clear that he did not feel bound by any of the statements made at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting, to which he had not been invited.

"The British Prime Minister told the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia that the British Government looked forward to the day when Southern Rhodesia would take her place as an independent Sovereign State within the Commonwealth. For their part they were anxious that this should come about as soon as practicable.

"The British Prime Minister said that the British Government must be satisfied that any basis on which it was proposed that independence should be granted was acceptable to the people of the country as a whole.

"The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia accepted that independence must be based on general consent, and stated that he was convinced that the majority of the population supported his request for independence on the basis of the present constitution and franchise. The British Prime Minister present took note of this statement, but said that the British Government had as yet no evidence that this was the case. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia recognized that the British Government were entitled to be satisfied about this, and said that he would consider how best it could be demonstrated, so that independence could be granted.

"The British Prime Minister said that the British Government would take account of any views which might be freely expressed by the population on the issues involved; but he must make it plain that the British Government reserved their position."

Essential to End Indecision

Simultaneously Mr. Smith issued the following statement:—

"I emphasized to Sir Alec Douglas-Home that it was imperative, if confidence were to be restored in Southern Rhodesia, subversion eliminated, and the country enabled to progress in the interests of all its people, that the present state of indecision about the constitutional future of Southern Rhodesia should be ended as soon as possible, and that she should be given her independence as a sovereign independent State within the Commonwealth.

"Sovereign independence is Southern Rhodesia's right and just due after more than 40 years of progressive self-government and an unmatched record of loyalty to the Sovereign and the Commonwealth.

"I would like to point out that I have always stood for independence for Southern Rhodesia on the basis of the present Constitution and franchise. I am pleased to say that this is the precise wording of the communiqué. This is, of course, dependent on my obtaining the support of the majority of the population.

"I have often stated publicly that the majority of the population support independence on the present Constitution and franchise. I believe this to be overwhelmingly so today as a result of the irresponsible and evil behaviour of the African nationalist politicians in Southern Rhodesia, and I am therefore very confident that I shall now obtain this mandate and with it independence for Southern Rhodesia.

"I think it correct to say that this is a victory for moderate, responsible opinion and that it will go down in history, to the credit of both the British and Southern Rhodesian Governments, that they have provided a means of solving this most difficult problem, which so many believed was in fact insoluble."

Testing African Opinion

In the course of replying to many questions at a Press conference lasting an hour Mr. Smith said:—

"The crux of the question is the mandate for my plan: It will not be difficult to get the views of Europeans and educated Africans, but we shall have to think out the best method of getting the opinions of the mass of Africans. That is vital, especially the support of the older people, who are not qualified for the franchise because there were no schools when they were young.

"I have had preliminary discussions with officials of the Native Affairs Department, who are the best advisers on such a subject. It will not be easy, but we must produce the best system which we can devise.

"I must satisfy myself and the people of Rhodesia that we can establish an accurate reflection of public opinion. What is needed is not just something on paper, but a really practical procedure. It should not take more than a couple of months.

"An important fact is that because the African nationalist extremists cannot now practise intimidation we can expect the real opinion of the people to be made known.

"Nobody wanted to restrict African nationalist politicians, but they have engaged in systematic murder, arson, and other kinds of violence, and intimidation. They have been told that they will not be kept under restriction if they give satisfactory guarantees of good conduct under the Constitution and the laws; but we will not allow them to burn down the houses of people who will not subscribe to their political views. No Government can permit men to abuse democracy in order to take freedom away from other people.

"In 1961 Southern Rhodesia made a contract with Britain. Then we voted by referendum for a Constitution. We were promised independence when the Federation came to an end. That was the contract. We ask for fulfilment of it.

"H.M. Government were surprised when I told them that I would prove majority support for independence under that Constitution. Europeans in Southern Rhodesia have always wanted independence. African nationalist politicians have shown their opposition by such methods that the mass of Africans have reached the stage of saying that they do not want African-nationalism if it means murder, rape, the burning of homes, and ceaseless threats.

"The dramatic change in the situation is that I shall prove majority support. Then H.M. Government must accept the position. That is a complete change, due to re-thought.

"We do not believe in the one-man-one-vote system and government by Africans tomorrow, for that would mean revolution. Look at the Congo, Zanzibar, and other parts of Africa for the results of that system. We have to be practical, not theoretical.

"You ask whether we would accept observers. Anybody can come and see what we are doing. I should welcome observers. We have had elections and more than one referendum in the past without any suggestion of supervision, however.

"There will be no question of some bogus formula. We do not want to mislead anybody. The test must be genuine. I am satisfied that we can provide it and that the British Government will accept it.

"I have ideas but no final plan for the testing of opinion among three million or more Africans out in the country areas. They must not be under the pressure of rampant racialism—and do not forget that even in Europe there are countries which have shown that they cannot work the democratic system. Democracy does not last long in Africa.

Mr. Smith's Own Plan

"I volunteered to prove that the general consensus favours independence. It was not the suggestion of any British Minister. Now we shall not have to face any unilateral declaration of independence.

"You ask what I consider a majority. Well, how do you define it here? Half the number plus one. That is your own political system.

"We call our party the Rhodesian Front because we wanted to create a united front in the country; and remember that perhaps half of the people who support us now previously supported the United Federal Party under Sir Roy Welensky. I would welcome a coming together with him. There are not the differences which newspapers have suggested. I was sorry that he did not approach me before announcing that he would contest a by-election; and I was surprised, for in general he supports our policy, as many of his statements have shown. We should welcome unity in the country. We need it.

"Now there is common ground with the British Government—the common ground that it will grant us independence under our Constitution and present franchise if I can prove majority support. We are working towards negotiated independence and away from any question of a unilateral declaration of independence. That is a tremendous change in the situation.

"Tomorrow I shall see Mr. Harold Wilson, who will presumably wish to discuss the *communiqué*. I want the British opinion in general to support this plan, which needs to be treated on a national basis, not from the standpoint of party politics."

"As the guest at luncheon of the Commonwealth Correspondents' Association and the Foreign Press Association in London on the previous day, Mr. Smith had said that Southern Rhodesia could not continue to live without independence, which was necessary for the investment to maintain development. He hoped desperately that it could be achieved by negotiation.

Interference Must Cease

People were leaving Southern Rhodesia because they feared that it might go the same way as countries to the north. Moreover, the only way to stop Africans asking for British interference in Southern Rhodesia's internal affairs was by independence.

"British Ministers say that they have no intention of interfering—and that I accept—but from a strictly constitutional viewpoint they have the right. The only way to stop extreme nationalists coming to London is to cut the ties. Then they will have to sit down with others in Southern Rhodesia, so that we can iron out our own problems."

On B.B.C. Television on Friday Mr. Smith said: "If the decision on independence goes against us the country will not be thrown into chaos or made a dictatorship. It will just stay as it is. For the time being a unilateral decision is out of

the picture. If the votes go against us I think we will accept it.

"To test African opinion is a very complicated business. One would have to take into account the views of people like anthropologists who have lived and worked with the Africans for many years. This way we will get the best way of sound-ing public opinion.

"In the past whenever we have gone through an exercise like this we have consulted the people on the electoral register, not the political parties. Political parties do not come into this."

On arrival in Salisbury on Sunday the Prime Minister expressed the belief that "we have set aside the question of a unilateral declaration for all time". Sir Alec had told him that if he could prove his case H.M. Government would have to concede independence.

Never Such A Welcome

"About 2,500 Europeans had gone to the airport to greet him. Cars stretched along the road for more than a mile towards the city. Correspondents agreed that no Rhodesian leader had ever had such a welcome.

M.P.s had thumped their desks on Friday when the *communiqué* was read to Parliament.

Sir Roy Welensky said that night: "The Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister has replaced the threat of a unilateral declaration by something that is tantamount to majority rule." He had "surprisingly introduced" British authority into Southern Rhodesian affairs.

"The method with which he is going to sound general opinion conveys the impression to me that he does not know what is involved. He has not only to sound tribal opinion, but that of urban and industrialized Africans. The opinion of the electorate can be sounded out fairly easily, but to seek the opinion of the masses in two months strikes me as an unprecedented and Herculean task. I am doubtful of its performance."

African Foreign Ministers meeting in Addis Ababa appealed to Britain to convene a conference of all political groups in Southern Rhodesia to draft a new Constitution on the basis of one-man-one-vote.

On behalf of Z.A.N.U., now a proscribed organization, Mr. N. M. Shumuyarira said in London that Mr. Smith could not win if all voted in a referendum on a one-man-one-vote basis after removal of the ban on African political parties and rural meetings. Africans would show 99% support for their nationalist leaders.

Z.A.P.U. Threats

Mr. Jason Moyo, treasurer-general of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, had issued a statement to journalists in London which said (in part):—

"The visit of the Prime Minister of the Southern Rhodesian Fascist-like and settler Government in transit must be seen in the light of two major developments: the tension throughout Southern Rhodesia and the state of emergency in Highfield African township, and, second, his dramatic secret talks with Salazar of Portugal.

"Any independence granted to Southern Rhodesia by Britain under the present Constitution or seized by Smith will be unalterably opposed by the African people and will be regarded as an act of aggression. Further, Britain's connivance or Smith's illegal seizure will be in direct conflict with international opinion.

"The British Government must call a constitutional conference and implement its policy of majority rule. If Ian Smith declares independence unilaterally, as he intends, Britain has the responsibility to restrain him, not by economic sanctions alone but by force of arms.

"Britain has given an understanding to the Southern Rhodesian Government that it will not intervene militarily in the event of a unilateral declaration. This attitude stems from the fact that the Southern Rhodesian whites are Britain's kith and kin. Britain must not condone a criminal act directed against H.M. Government and four million Africans on grounds of race. If Britain adopts this racial policy on Southern Rhodesia, in essence it condemns the concept of a Commonwealth comprising white and black nations.

"The rule of terror which manifests itself in bannings, mass imprisonments, mass restrictions, and inhuman atrocities meted out to the oppressed African population by Ian Smith's Government does not solve the country's basic problems. These measures to stifle African freedom of speech and self-determination have made Southern Rhodesia virtually a reign of terror analogous to the barbarities of the Nazi era.

"There is a secret pact between Portugal and Southern Rhodesia for a Portuguese military build-up in Mozambique that will be at Ian Smith's disposal, and Salazar has accepted

(Continued on page 53)

Malawi's Four Corner-Stones Have Fallen, Says Dr. Banda

Ministers Accused of Disloyalty, Avarice, and Stirring Up the People

DR. KAMUZU BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, said last week after dismissing two of his Ministers and receiving within 15 minutes the resignations of three others that the four cornerstones of Malawi had fallen—unity, loyalty, discipline, and obedience.

Later he told Parliament that the Ministers who had been dismissed or resigned "would have murdered me in cold blood if they could have got away with it".

He accused Mr. Kanyama Chiume, who had been Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Onton Chirwa (Justice), Mr. Augustine Bwanausi (Development, Housing and Works), and Mr. Yatuta Chisiza (Home Affairs) of "avarice and ambition". Guided by the Chinese Ambassador in Dar es Salaam they had, he said, tried to stir up the people against the Prime Minister, having been told by the Ambassador that Communist China would pay Malawi £18m. if the country recognized the Peking régime.

Prime Minister "Viciously Attacked"

At a Cabinet meeting on October 26, said Dr. Banda, he had been "viciously, violently, and disrespectfully attacked". He had asked for the complaints to be put in writing. The "indictment", delivered by Mr. Chirwa, concerned over-slow Africanization of the civil service; the appointment of too many Europeans and too few Africans to the Bank of Malawi, the Malawi Development Corporation, and Air Malawi; his three-penny health charge at hospitals; and his attitude to Southern Rhodesia and Portugal, with which trade agreements had been made.

Those, however, were not the real reasons. Chiume, Chirwa, Chisiza, and Bwanausi had buried their former differences and conspired against him because they "wanted to introduce bribery and corruption into Ministerial posts, as has happened in other African countries".

On returning from their visit to Dar es Salaam in August they had told him that he must no longer run the country as though it were his own private estate. Asked to surrender his powers but not resign, he had replied that he would not be talked to by ambitious, avaricious, irresponsible political puppets. [Several London newspapers reported the last word as "puppies".] "I will not surrender my powers to Chiume", Dr. Banda continued. "We do not want this place to be another Congo."

"Would Have Murdered Me"

"The Ministers wanted to get rid of me. If they could have murdered me and got away with it, and the people had accepted it, they would have murdered me in cold blood. If they could have forced me to resign and got away with it, they would have done it—but they know the people would me."

They had asked for severance of relations with Portugal and Formosa, immediate reorganization of domestic policy, swifter Africanization, abolition of hospital charges, and disregard of the Skinner Report (which had suggested reductions in civil service salaries).

In meetings over three days he had been told that he was unpopular.

Towards the end of the speech Dr. Banda said: "I am a marked man, but I am not afraid because I am protected by you."

Except the rebels, the House rose and sang "Kamuzu is the Lion of Malawi".

Mr. Chisiza and Mr. Chiume replied briefly, reaffirming

loyalty to the Prime Minister. Mrs. Chibambo, the only woman M.P., and a Parliamentary Secretary, who had also been dismissed, denied conspiring against Dr. Banda. All three were frequently interrupted.

Mr. Chipembere, Minister of Education and Local Government, who had arrived back in Malawi from the U.S.A. and U.K. after the dismissals, took his seat on a back bench in Parliament, being loudly applauded from the public gallery as he did so. When he spoke in the afternoon he said that as he had done so and reminded him of the need for courage to do so and reminded him of the need for consultations before action. He would work under Dr. Banda in any capacity, and hoped that cessation of violent speeches and accusations would lead to reconciliations.

Mr. Chirwa also said that he would work under Dr. Banda. Mr. Bwanausi suggested that the Government had gone too far in its relations with Mozambique.

Unanimous Vote of Confidence

After an 11-hour debate Dr. Banda received a unanimous vote for the motion of confidence in his Government which he had moved. At that time the Government consisted only of Dr. Banda himself, Mr. John Tembo, Finance Minister, and Mr. John Msonthi, Minister of Transport and Communications, who was at first reported to have resigned, but next day took his seat on the Government bench of the House.

Mr. Chiume agreed that the Chinese Ambassador in Dar es Salaam had offered an £18m. loan to Malawi, but not in exchange for Malawi recognition of Peking; the offer had been made to help Malawi's economy. When Dr. Banda had asked him to lead a high-powered delegation to Peking he had said that he did not care where Malawi got money for development. He (Mr. Chiume) said emphatically that he was not a Communist supporter.

Mr. Bwanausi suggested that when the Ministers had refused Dr. Banda's offer to resign they had proved that they were not power-hungry. They had merely done their constitutional duty in putting certain matters before the Prime Minister.

Towards the end of his speech, Dr. Banda said that he bore no ill will to the rebel Ministers. He apologized to the Speaker for causing him to miss lunch, tea and dinner—for he had moved that the debate should be pursued without any breaks for meals.

Guards had been placed at the radio station, and military patrols were known to have been sent to the northern areas of the country.

According to the Zomba correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, popular support outside Parliament is heavily on the side of the six Ministers and one Parliamentary Secretary who have left Dr. Banda's fold.

Big Lie, Says Chinese Embassy

Three days after Dr. Banda had made his accusation against the Chinese Ambassador in Dar es Salaam, the embassy in that city described the allegation as "a big lie". A spokesman said that Dr. Banda's reference to a conspiracy involving some of his Ministers and an offer of a loan of £18m. if Malawi recognized the Peking régime was "a fantastic fabrication and complete nonsense".

On Friday Dr. Banda told journalists in Zomba that no one should take the events of the last fortnight as indicating that Malawi was "going to be another Congo".

He continued: "That will happen only over my dead body. I know that the people in Dar es Salaam and China will organize against me, but I am not worried, I know how they work. I was not at the University of Chicago for nothing."

"The trouble with me is that I have a head of my own. Whatever other Prime Ministers do under pressure from soldier-politicians and civil servants, I am not a jellyfish kind of Prime Minister. I have a spine. I am determined to establish a clean, strong, stable Government and a clean, efficient, educated civil service."

Referring to a crowd which had cheered the rebel Ministers

outside Parliament, he said: "Don't be deceived by those people. They were put there to frighten me into giving way. I will not be frightened by kids. Either I am Prime Minister or I am nothing. I have not the temperament of a cypher or puppet."

He had to have advisers, but he did not depend on them all the time; he could decide a position on its merits. He was leaving vacant the portfolios of the Ministers who had resigned because he was certain that some of them would come back.

China, he asserted, was engaged in a second scramble for Africa. The first scramble had been for the body of Africa; this was for Africa's soul.

On Sunday he would start a tour of the main centres. "I want to face stones if any dare throw them"; but he had given strict instructions that there should be no trouble, not even for defecting Ministers.

At Palombe he referred to "smouldering embers of ambition and the avarice of Ministers who wanted power", having been guided by "a steering hand in Dar es Salaam". He would recognize Peking in his own time.

At the week-end the Malawi Ambassadors in Addis Ababa and Bonn and the High Commissioners in London and Accra were ordered to return to Malawi for "routine consultations".

Dr. Banda's Leadership Rejected

In Salisbury Mr. Y. M. L. Chirwa, leader in exile of the Malawi (Opposition) Mbadwa Party, said that the split in the Cabinet meant outright rejection of Dr. Banda's leadership and especially of his foreign policy. Ministers had shown themselves tired of his "Fascist and dictatorial powers".

An open challenge to Dr. Banda was made in his Fort Johnston constituency on Sunday by Mr. Chipembere, who said that he had refused an offer to re-enter the Cabinet. A few days previously he had told Parliament that he would serve Dr. Banda again in any capacity.

He began by saying that there was now no *kwacha* in Malawi. All decisions and laws were made by one man, who then ordered his Ministers to explain them to the people. He had told Dr. Banda that if he did not change his attitude Malawi would become another Congo. The reply was always that "Kamuzu knows best".

Africanization had been an election promise, but Europeans still held high office in Zomba, Blantyre, Lilongwe and elsewhere.

"Our Malawi Government is worse than Welensky's Government", he said in reference to the small health charge; free medical services had been provided by the Federal Government.

Mr. Chipembere criticized Dr. Banda's policy towards Southern Rhodesia and Portugal. Because they had feared him Ministers had attended cocktail parties for visitors from Portuguese East Africa.

"Now that fear is no longer on us".

This was the first public criticism of Dr. Banda since he became Prime Minister 18 months ago.

Three other former Ministers, Messrs. Chieme, Chirwa and Chisiza, spoke in Mzuzu. No points from their speeches have yet been reported.

Minister Attacked by Thugs

Mr. Chakuamba, the new Minister for Community Development and Social Services, was attacked at the week-end by unknown assailants.

The Salisbury correspondent of the *Financial Times* telegraphed (in part):

"For years there have been rumours that Mr. Chipembere, who has now deserted Dr. Banda, was a claimant for the Malawi throne. He has immense popular support among the people, especially in the north.

"He and Mr. Chieme have always been linked as the spearhead of the Malawi extremists. It is ironic that Dr. Banda, who was for years regarded by Sir Roy Welensky and others as an arch-extremist, has now been rejected by his favourite lieutenants — his 'boys' — because of his conservatism and alignment with the West.

"Dr. Banda has never hidden his dislike of Communism. He is probably the least 'non-aligned' of all the leaders of independent Africa. He has strong personal leanings towards Britain, the United States, Portugal, West Germany, and Israel. These are some of his crimes in the eyes of the Cabinet rebels, who are very much more influenced than he by the Organization of African Unity.

"He has formed close economic liaison with Portuguese Mozambique, one of the three major targets of the O.A.U. Malawi has no option but to retain its economic links with Mozambique. It is utterly dependent on the port of Beira."

"Perhaps his worst crime was to speak up at the recent

Dr. Banda's New Ministers

SIX NEW MINISTERS were appointed by Dr. Banda last Thursday. He added the External Affairs portfolio to the many which he already held, but gave up responsibility for Natural Resources, Trade and Industry, and Information.

Mr. Brian Roberts, the Solicitor-General, became Attorney-General and a member of the Cabinet, in which he is the only non-African.

Mr. A. M. Nyasulu, the Speaker, was made Minister of Natural Resources; Mr. M. Q. Y. Chibambo succeeded Mr. Bwanausi as Minister of Works, Development and Housing; Mr. R. B. Chidzanza became Minister of Trade and Industry; Mr. G. C. Chakuamba, Minister of Community and Social Development, and Mr. A. W. Muwalo, administrative secretary of the Malawi Congress Party, Minister of Information.

Mr. John Tembo remains Finance Minister, and Mr. J. Msorathi Minister of Transport and Communications.

The announcement made no reference to the portfolios of Justice, Home Affairs, Education, and Labour, which were held respectively by Messrs. Chirwa, Chisiza, Chipembere, and Chokani.

O.A.U. meeting in defence of his vital trade and other links with Southern Rhodesia and South Africa when other African leaders were talking boycotts and subversion.

Resisted Pressure For Republic

"Dr. Banda's Cabinet wanted Malawi to become a republic on Independence, but he stood out for retaining the link with the British Crown. He maintained friendly relations with Southern Rhodesia in defiance of the O.A.U., has maintained a warm friendship with Mr. Winston Field, former Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, and invited Mr. Field's successor, Mr. Ian Smith, to the Independence celebrations."

Political Murders in N. Rhodesia

Ten Death Sentences Imposed

MR. JUSTICE WHELAN said in Fort Jameson, Northern Rhodesia, when sentencing a number of Africans for murder and arson: "A wave of lawlessness is manifesting itself in acts of killing, arson, and riots. It is my duty to impose deterrent sentences."

Evidence was given that about 50 U.N.I.P. supporters had attacked four villages occupied by African National Congress supporters, and set 36 houses alight, and that two children, aged 10 and 11, had been burnt to death. Thirteen men charged were jailed for ten years, and a juvenile associate was sentenced to 12 strokes of the cane.

Seven Africans were sentenced to death for the murder in March of Mr. McDonald Lushinga, A.N.C. provincial president in the Eastern Province. He and four other party officials on their way to Fort Jameson were stoned by from 10 to 15 U.N.I.P. supporters, who chased them for about two miles and then beat Lushinga to death.

Another two U.N.I.P. supporters were sentenced to death for killing a man in the Lundazi district. The court was told that about 50 party adherents had attacked some Lenishina members, and that two had died.

A member of the A.N.C. was convicted and sentenced to death for the murder of a U.N.I.P. member in Fort Jameson.

PERSONALIA

A sister of DR. OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, is a nun.

MR. J. MUSABYIMANA is now Rwanda Ambassador in Uganda.

SIR RICHARD LUYT arrived in London on Sunday for consultations.

MR. JUSTICE M. W. DENNISON is in England from Northern Rhodesia.

MAJOR R. H. COOPER is in London from Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia.

MR. and MRS. LEGUM are joint authors of "South Africa: Crisis for the West".

SIR HENRY PHILLIPS, lately Finance Minister in Nyasaland, has arrived in England.

SIR-DEREK ERSKINE, of Nairobi, has joined the board of Securicor, Ltd., a London company.

MR. N. GAKUO has succeeded MR. G. MACKAY as general manager of East African Railways and Harbours.

MR. W. H. HEALEY, managing director of Dwa Plantations, Ltd., has just returned from a short visit to Kenya.

MR. KINFE TESFAGABRE, who teaches at a commercial school in Addis Ababa, has compiled an Amharic shorthand manual.

MR. F. M. BENNETT, M.P., has been made an honorary member of the Sirmoor Club, the regimental association of the Gurkhas.

THE REV. K. WHITFIELD, an area secretary in this country for the U.M.C.A., has been appointed Vicar of St. Margaret's, Leeds.

MR. ARTHUR GAITSKELL is to speak on "The Needs of the Developing Nations" at an Oxfam Conference in Oxford on September 22.

MR. A. S. F. SHOOT, a passenger for Dar es Salaam in the RHODESIA CASTLE, was formerly diplomatic correspondent of the *Daily Mail*.

MRS. CHIRWA, wife of the dismissed Minister of Justice in Malawi, is now reading law with a view to being called to the British Bar.

MISS LESLIE GREENE, organizing secretary of the League of Empire Loyalists, is to contest East Fife as an Independent Loyalist candidate.

MR. I. O. STEPHENSON is now in charge of the Danish Consulate-General in Salisbury. It exercises jurisdiction in Northern Rhodesia also.

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE is to pay a State visit to Hungary from September 20 to 22. He is now in Iran, whence he will fly to Poland.

THE REV. P. R. HARDY, curate of All Saints' Church, Southend, is to be Anglican chaplain to the University College of Tanganyika, Dar es Salaam.

CANON E. O. ODIIT, who is in this country from Uganda on a British Council bursary, will spend the next few weeks visiting parishes in Yorkshire.

MR. DANIEL CHERUIYOT CHEPKWONY, who has a 60-acre mixed farm near Kericho, has been elected a director of Kenya Co-operative Creameries, Ltd.

MR. LARRY ROBERTS, now an announcer for Rhodesia Television, was at one time a game ranger in Kenya. He took part in operations against the Mau Mau.

THE REV. FILEMON MATAKA was consecrated Bishop Suffragan of Northern Rhodesia on September 13 by the MOST REV. OLIVER GREEN-WILKINSON, Archbishop of Central Africa.

MR. K. D. DUBE, First Secretary in the office of the Minister for Southern Rhodesian Affairs in Washington, is being seconded to the Information Section of the United Nations in New York.

MR. H. A. FOSBROOKE, conservator for the Ngorongoro Conservation Area in Tanganyika, is spending a month in the United States under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation.

MR. JOHN POLLARD, president of the Kenya National Farmers' Union, has applied for Kenya citizenship. After selling his mixed farm near Nakuru to the Government he bought a coffee plantation near Nairobi.

MR. M. L. S. B. RUKUBA, Deputy Chief Conservator of Forests in Uganda, and MR. R. A. FLUMPTRE of that department are attending a conference in West Germany on the development of forestry in tropical countries.

MR. F. B. CANNING-COOKE (Northern Rhodesia), and MR. JAMES WALKER (Uganda) have been elected to the African Advisory Committee of the International Labour Organization as representatives of employers in Africa.

SIR CHARLES MORRIS, chairman of the Inter-Universities Council for Higher Education Overseas, as chairman of a commission appointed by the Government of Southern Rhodesia to advise on the future of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury.

When HERR GUNTHER FRITSCH, East German Ambassador in Zanzibar, asked SHEIKH ABEID KARUME to lay the foundation-stone of 150 flats as a gift from his country, he described him as "PRESIDENT KARUME", a title ostensibly surrendered when Zanzibar merged with Tanganyika.

SIR MAURICE DORMAN, who entered the Colonial Service in 1935 as an administrative cadet in Tanganyika and served in that country for 10 years, and has been Governor of Malta since 1962, is expected to remain as Governor-General when that island becomes independent on September 21.

SIR EDWARD WAKEFIELD, who is to be British High Commissioner in Malta after independence on September 21, will at the end of the year be succeeded in that office by SIR JOHN MARTIN, a Deputy Under-Secretary of State in the Colonial Office, who has been much concerned with East and Central African affairs in recent years.

When MRS. IAN SMITH, wife of the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, was in London last week, a supper party in her honour was arranged by MRS. EVAN CAMPBELL. The other guests were LADY DOUGLAS-HOME, MRS. CAREL DE WET, COUNTESS DE LA WARR, MRS. DUNCAN SANDYS, MR. N. R. HEATHCOTE, and MISS JANE PAGET.

THE RT. REV. C. E. STUART, a former Bishop of Uganda, will preside at a meeting of the Uganda Church Association at Holy Trinity Church, Brompton Road, London, S.W.7, at 6 p.m. on Wednesday, September 23. The RT. REV. LUCIEN USHER-WILSON, the RT. REV. P. J. BRAZIER, and the RT. REV. J. KEITH RUSSELL have been invited to speak.

Passengers for Mombasa in the RHODESIA CASTLE include COL. & MRS. E. BARRY-JOHNSTON, MR. & MRS. R. H. BATCHELOR, MR. & MRS. A. F. BEAKBANE, MR. & MRS. I. L. D. CAMPBELL, DR. K. EVANS, MR. D. T. GAYMER, MR. & MRS. C. P. GLENNIE, PROF. & MRS. C. A. JUDSON, MR. & MRS. T. P. MCBRIERLEY, MAJOR & MRS. A. MEDICKS, THE REV. & MRS. J. W. PRICE, MR. F. STOVOLD, and MR. R. L. WIGGLESWORTH.

MR. WILLIAM DOUGLAS, who first went to Kenya almost exactly half a century ago, is on his way to this country by sea on retirement. He served in the East African Mounted Rifles in the 1914-18 war, and was then for nearly 20 years in partnership with a brother in a business in Eldoret. MR. "WILLIE" DOUGLAS also served through the second world war. For the past decade he has been on the Nakuru staff of the K.F.A. MRS. DOUGLAS has been keenly interested in Girl Guide work.

Zambia's Warning to Foreign Missions

Dr. Kaunda Cautions Friends and Foes

DR. KAUNDA, Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia (which will become the Republic of Zambia a month hence) told the annual conference of the United National Independence Party in Lusaka at the weekend that the "axe of discipline would fall on any follower, whether Cabinet Minister or ordinary citizen, who allowed himself to be used by any agent of evil influence", and that "any diplomatic mission which tried to split the new Republic would be expelled within 24 hours."

"In extending the hand of friendship to all, and welcoming those foreign missions that want to establish themselves, I ask them not to attempt to split the country by interfering with the central committee, my party, my Cabinet, trade union movements, co-operative movements, the armed forces, the civil service, and so on."

His party members should beware of "political pundits who come to you in brilliant and well-treated sheep skins and yet you do not have to go very far to discover that they are deadly wolves".

Party members should report to the nearest police station the presence of any suspicious stranger.

Entitled nationalist parties should stop fighting one another and not allow themselves to be used by enemies of African freedom in order to disrupt Zambia.

So far 27 States and the United Nations have accepted invitations to the Independence celebrations.

On October 24 there will be an Independence issue of stamps in three denominations (3d., 6d., and 1s. 3d.) and a definitive issue of 14 denominations, ranging from 1d. to 20s.

The Anglo American Corporation and Rhodesian Selection Trust mining groups will each give £50,000 towards the establishment and equipment of the mathematics, chemistry, and physics departments of the science faculty of the new University of Zambia.

Obituary

MR. BENJAMIN L. A. ZULU, M.P. for Petauke, has died in Northern Rhodesia.

MR. JOHN SECKER BROUGH MALTBY, who has died in Canterbury, farmed for some years in Kenya.

MISS PRISCILLA LOUISA GAILEY, a sister of the late J. H. GAILEY, of Kenya, has died in London in her 100th year.

MR. JOHN MACNAB HUMPHRY, M.C., has died suddenly in Norwich, was formerly in the Sudan Political Service.

CAPTAIN ALAN S. BECK, a British pilot employed by Ethiopian Airlines, has died in a crash while flying in the Lake Tana area.

LADY OPPENHEIM, who died on Monday, was the wife of SIR DUNCAN OPPENHEIM and the daughter of BRIGADIER-GENERAL E. B. MACNAGHTEN.

MR. LESLIE W. BERRILL, who has died from a heart attack in his London office, was until 1962 chairman of Gordon & Gotch, Ltd., a group with large Southern African interests.

MR. NILS AXEL FJASTAD, who has died while on holiday in Stockholm, was the oldest member of the Swedish community in Kenya, in which he had been a coffee planter for about 45 years.

GENERAL ESERCITO SESSA, director of the new European Common Market Hospital in Mogadishu, Somalia, was found dead in his bedroom a few days ago. He had served in Somalia under the Italian Government.

MR. JULIUS MASOLA, M.P. for Matabele South, who has died in Southern Rhodesia at the age of 46, had left hospital only a few days earlier after a brain operation necessitated by an attack upon him by African nationalist thugs. He had prominent business interests in Plumtree.

U.N.I.P. Official Threatens Whites

"No Room in Zambia for Deceitful People"

MR. MARTIN JANGULO, regional publicity secretary for the United National Independence Party (which provides the Government of Northern Rhodesia), recently issued a circular which is reproduced in full hereunder.

Bearing the heading "U.N.I.P.'s Appeal of Building One Nation in Zambia Ignored by Whites in Choma District", it declared that the country could do without Europeans, and that some whites who had bought U.N.I.P. cards were "not party members at heart".

The statement read:—

"It has been found that some of our white brothers in Choma district are not co-operative towards the ruling party which is the United National Independence Party. The party has tried to bring the two races together and make a strong nation but always the whites are against this idea. These same white brothers do not even realize which party is the Government. They still treat the Africans just like what they used to do during the day of Welensky. They will never attend to what the ruling party wants them to do.

"The party is appealing to the Government to look into this matter very seriously before things go astray in this district. These brothers have shown us by their actions that they are not ready to stay in this country. And this office asks both the Government and the party's annual conference to look into this matter if we are to build a strong nation here in Zambia.

"The Europeans especially in Choma have refused the party entirely, but if they do not want to join forces with us (the Africans) why don't they leave this country? We can do without them. We will not tolerate here in Zambia to have people who are not ready to work hand in hand with the other race. Some of them buy our cards when we know they are not members at heart.

"This office would like the Minister of Home Affairs to be very tough and really tough so that the whites in Choma district can realize their mistakes.

"Some farmers go to the extent of refusing our organizers to visit their members on their farms. And if one of the farm-labourers is found to be an organizer of a party, especially U.N.I.P., he loses his job. This sort of thing has angered most of our organizers.

"We have given our brothers (the whites) time to see the wind of change, and we feel the Government has got to do something to make them realize that U.N.I.P. is the Government.

"The earlier our white brothers around Choma district change their attitude towards our black Government under our beloved son of the soil Dr. Kenneth Kaunda otherwise time runs short for them. There is no room in Zambia for deceitful people."

Missionary View of Lumpa Teaching

THE REV. F. B. WELBURN, lately of Makerere University College, Kampala, has written in *Venture*, the monthly journal of the Fabian Society:—

"Alice Lenshina's message, because it was a religion which created community, was necessarily political.

"We know no Government; we know no chief; we know only Lenshina" is as thoroughly political as any deliberate subversion. It was the Lumpa form of *Kabaka Yekka* ('the Kabaka alone') in Uganda, of the Uganda Roman Catholics' struggle to maintain control of the schools, or of *majimbo* (regionalism) in Kenya.

"Religion in Africa must still be political, because the Western dichotomy makes sense only to the very few who have achieved Western sophistication—and most of them have exchanged 'religion' for the 'African personality'.

"Lumpa was bound, precisely because of its religious vitality, to conflict with the totalitarian religio-political demands of a nationalism which must base its strength on social unity. The question in Zambia—as elsewhere in Africa—is whether that unity is to be institutional, enforced by law, or whether there can emerge a new mythology (of Africanism?)—of humanity?—of the Jesus who was not a European?—adequate to the needs of a modern, large-scale political society."

Socialists and the Commonwealth

Points from the Election Manifesto

LABOUR'S ELECTION MANIFESTO contains the following passages:—

"The Tories have reacted churlishly to the rise of the new nations in Asia and Africa.

"When World War II unleashed the demand throughout Asia and Africa for the end of colonialism, Britain's first response was an act of creative statesmanship. The Labour Government, headed by Clem Attlee, granted full and complete independence to India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, and thereby began the process of transforming a white Colonial Empire into a multi-racial Commonwealth. No nobler transformation is recorded in the story of the human race.

"So long as they were in Opposition the Conservatives denounced this policy as Socialist scuttles. Faced with responsibility in 1951, they were compelled very largely to accept it.

"But the leadership they should have given was vitiated by the Suez fiasco and the equivocal attitude to African demands for independence, and the promises which they made—and have been forced to break—to the settlers.

First Responsibility to the Commonwealth

"How little they were able to transfer their faith and enthusiasm from the old Empire to the new Commonwealth was shown when Harold Macmillan and Alec Douglas-Home both declared there was no future for Britain outside the Common Market and expressed themselves ready to accept terms of entry to the Common Market that would have excluded our Commonwealth partners, broken our special trade links with them, and forced us to treat them as third-class nations.

"Though we shall seek to achieve closer links with our European neighbours, the Labour Party is convinced that the first responsibility of a British Government is still to the Commonwealth.

"The Commonwealth has a major part to play in grappling with the terrible inequalities that separate the developed and underdeveloped nations and the white and coloured races.

"That is why a Labour Government will legislate against racial discriminations and implement in public places and give special help to local authorities in areas where immigrants have settled. Labour accepts that the number of immigrants entering the United Kingdom must be limited. Until a satisfactory agreement covering this can be negotiated with the Commonwealth a Labour Government will retain immigration control.

"Under the Tories the Commonwealth share of our trade has been allowed to fall from 44% to 30% and the defeatist view that it will decline still further has gained ground.

"Worse still, the Commonwealth came near to disintegration at the time of the Common Market negotiations. The recent Commonwealth Conference showed its sturdy resilience, but what is lacking is any coherent policy at the centre.

"We shall:

"(1) Promote more efficient and frequent consultations

between Commonwealth leaders, for example by the establishment of a Commonwealth Consultative Assembly.

"(2) Make a new drive for exports through a Commonwealth Exports Council.

"(3) Build a firmer base for expanding trade by entering into long-term contracts and commodity agreements providing guaranteed markets for Commonwealth primary produce at stable prices.

"(4) Ensure that development and capital investment programmes are geared to Commonwealth needs.

"(5) Promote wider educational, cultural, scientific and technical contacts, a more imaginative system of links between British communities and towns and villages in the Commonwealth, and more opportunities for overseas voluntary service.

"(6) Encourage joint Commonwealth activity on developments required throughout the Commonwealth, such as a communications satellite and passenger aircraft designed for Commonwealth routes.

"(7) Work towards the creation of a pensionable career service for experts working in the Commonwealth".

Industrialization in Young Countries

Summer Conference in Cambridge

A CONFERENCE on "The Role of Industrialization in Developing Countries", primarily for policy-makers from developing countries, is being held at King's College, Cambridge, from September 6 to 19.

Among those who are expected to attend are Mr. K. Baldwin, Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister of Malawi; Mr. D. R. Bitegeko, of the Ministry of Industry and Mineral Resources in Tanganyika and Zanzibar; Sir Jock Campbell; Mr. J. H. Chimba, M.P., a Minister in Northern Rhodesia; Mr. J. Cummins, manager of Barclays Overseas Development Corporation.

Mr. J. H. Dommen, general manager of the Northern Rhodesia Industrial Development Corporation; Mr. D. O. Downes, an administrative officer in Northern Rhodesia; Mr. G. Foggon, Labour Adviser to the Department of Technical Co-operation; Mr. H. R. Finn, of the R.S.T. group; Mr. Guy Hunter; Mr. J. Ilett, development planning economist in Uganda; Mr. D. Kamana, a technical assistant in N. Rhodesia; Mr. A. T. Killick, lecturer in the department of economics of the University of Ghana; Mr. J. A. K. Makumbi, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Uganda; Mr. P. K. Mulalia, understudy to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, N. Rhodesia; Mr. U. G. Mwila, M.P., Permanent Secretary to Ministry of Finance, N. Rhodesia.

Mr. R. S. P. Pinguet, sales executive of R.S.T.; Mr. D. H. Quinlan, of the Ministry of Community Development and National Culture, Tanganyika and Zanzibar; Mr. W. M. Rideout, liaison officer, Agency for International Development, U.S.A.; Dr. A. Rivkin, Economic Adviser, Department of Operations—Africa, International Bank; Mr. P. Selwyn, Chief Economic Adviser, Colonial Office; Dr. T. Soper, Overseas Development Institute; and Mr. H. T. Weeks, assistant controller of C.D.C.

Officers Arrested in Tanganyika

OFFICERS, other ranks of the army of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, and a number of civil servants were arrested on Friday, when the following official announcement was made in Dar es Salaam.

"In active pursuance of its duty to maintain the integrity and safety of the United Republic, the Government yesterday found it necessary to arrest and detain a small number of servants of the Republic. This number included officers and other ranks of the United Republic Army who were of doubtful loyalty and guilty of insubordination by default.

"In spite of its continued reluctance to use its powers of detention, the Government has no doubt of the people's support for this when it is necessary to eliminate any possibility of danger to the nation".

The Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. Job Lusinde, said that a very small number of men had been involved and that no further detentions were envisaged. "The whole affair is now cleared up".

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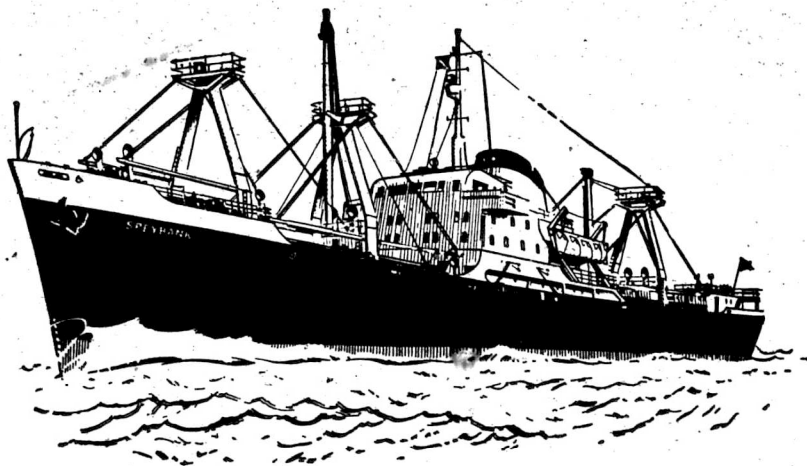
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Kenyatta to Lead Congo Commission

Mr. Tshombe at Addis Ababa

MZEE KENYATTA, Prime Minister of Kenya, is to lead a 10-member commission to the Congo on behalf of the Organization of African Unity.

Ethiopia, Cameroun, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Nigeria, Somalia, Tunisia, Upper Volta, and the United Arab Republic will each nominate a member to the commission, which will also visit the former French Congo (Brazzaville) and Burundi.

When the emergency conference of O.A.U. States ended in Addis Ababa last Thursday, Mr. Tshombe expressed his satisfaction, but emphasizes that the commission must work "in the light of our sovereignty, our territorial integrity, and our inalienable right to national independence".

His demand for a clause in the resolution that African countries should be authorized to provide troops for the Congo was narrowly defeated.

Mr. Tshombe told journalists that whereas O.A.U. had declined to accept him a month ago at its conference in Cairo, "today the legitimacy of our Government is plainly accepted".

Gadarene Plunge to Savagery

A permanent force of white volunteers will be needed for many years in the Congo "if it is not to continue its Gadarene plunge to savagery", Mr. John Bullock has reported to the *Daily Telegraph* in a dispatch which said, *inter alia*—

"The spear-carrying warriors of Pierre Mulele and Gaston Soumialot are rebels without any cause but that of the witch-doctors who work them up to battle pitch. Witch-doctors are finding it easy to get recruits for the 'army of liberation', mainly because of the Native's fear of what will happen if he does not join the rebels.

"This war is something like Mau Mau because of the initiation ceremonies and the way the rebels fight. Recruits are branded on the forehead with a cross in travesty of Christian baptism. By receiving 'medicine' they bind themselves to their cause, and in return receive power to make themselves invisible and turn bullets to water. Rebels will stand in the middle of the road or in open bush projecting their eyes and their magic at advancing Congolese soldiers; and by doing no more than that they will make the troops turn and run. Mercenaries mow them down.

"If it were no more than putting down a local revolt the Belgians would wash their hands of the affair, but they know of the vast sums of money being sent across the border from the Chinese embassy in Burundi, of moonlight trips across the lake by Chinese 'advisers', of propaganda pouring into the Congo from Brazzaville, of support for the rebels from Ghana, of the training in Mali.

"It was the action of Major Mike Hoare and his group of 25 men in storming Albertville which inspired the Congo Army to fight there. The 30 former French and Belgian paratroopers took Manono after Congolese soldiers had sat helplessly in front of it for months".

A broadcast from Bujumbura has quoted the text of a message from the "Revolutionary Government in Stanleyville" saying that it will not accept a cease-fire until all the mercenaries leave the Congo, "this being followed by the removal from the political scene of President Kasavubu and Mr. Tshombe".

Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Downes and Miss M. Flett, Plymouth Brethren missionaries in the Luluabourg area, were ordered by rebels who had sacked the mission station to kneel down to be shot. They knelt, one shot was fired, and a Congolese pastor beside them lay dead. Then the rebels decided not to kill them.

Kenya Warned Against Communists

Voice of Kenya Doctors the News

MR. T. J. MBOYA, Minister for Justice in Kenya, told the House of Representatives on Friday that the country must beware of taking up "the phrases and slogans of the Eastern Powers, which were no more disinterested than the Western Powers".

While Kenya must not be committed to the West by the institutions and economic structure which she had inherited, she must also "beware of falling victim to the other extreme of thinking that the only alternative is Eastern Communism. Make no mistake about it: the Communist Powers are here to fulfil their own foreign policies and objectives".

Earlier speakers had criticized the Government-controlled wireless, the Voice of Kenya, for not faithfully broadcasting Dr. Banda's denunciation of the Chinese for intrigue in his country; the Voice of Kenya had referred only to a "foreign Power".

Another speaker complained that the Congo rebels had been described in Kenya broadcasts as "nationalists". Mr. Ronald Ngala, Leader of the Opposition, deplored the expulsion of British police officers and the impression which the Government was giving that "Kenya is going the Communist way". He alleged that "a big section" of the Government was going Communistic.

On his return a few days earlier from a fortnight in Australia, Mr. Mboya had sharply criticized the Australian policy towards the aborigines. He said that representatives of those people and from New Guinea and Papua would be invited to Kenya's Republic Day celebrations in December.

Expel Chinese

MR. MARTIN SHIKUKU, M.P., general secretary of the Kenya African Democratic Union, said in Nairobi last week that the Chinese Embassy in Kenya should be closed and its staff expelled. He criticized a statement made on the previous day by the embassy about the "American-Tshombe ~~change~~" in the Congo, saying that that criticism was fraudulent because the Chinese were supporting the Congo rebels. "If the Chinese can interfere in the Congo, they can interfere in Kenya also". Kenya's internal security was, he considered, threatened by the Chinese.



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Agents at ports of call in East and South Africa:

Southern Rhodesian Independence

(Continued from page 45)

an immediate recognition of Ian Smith's illegally declared Government.

"Britain must suspend the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia and convene a constitutional conference to transfer political power to the majority before the end of 1964. Joshua Nkomo and all restrictees must be released immediately. Any discussions and negotiations on the question of Southern Rhodesia which exclude the African people's chosen leader, Joshua Nkomo, will not be acceptable to the African people.

"The white-man-to-white-man discussions between Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Mr. Smith are a travesty of political justice and democratic principles.

"Faced by the most wicked, blind, and monstrous white settler determination to enslave our people indefinitely, now is not the time for us to hide our meaning and intentions.

"We shall not accept any contracts reached between the British Government and Mr. Smith. It is an open secret that the British Government has been sold to the Whitehead proposals — that Britain should make funds available for an extended educational programme which would have the effect of speeding up the qualification of many more Africans to vote. We regard this as mere humbug and an insult to the African people. This has never happened anywhere in British Colonial history. Why in Southern Rhodesia?

Z.A.P.U. "Will Fight"

"Such funds, although given on the pretext of advancing the African people, will be used not only to entrench the economic interests of the white settlers but also for buying more guns and bullets to suppress the Africans, as is happening now.

"In any case, we are not convinced that Mr. Smith has abandoned his determination to get independence by hook or by crook, so long as it ensures him perpetual white supremacy. He is embarking on this suicidal course because he underrates the strength and hates and fears the African people, and because he believes that he can hold the position of the white settlers through the use of the army and the air force which were given to him at the dissolution of the Federation for the specific purpose of suppressing the African people of Southern Rhodesia and are being supplied with modern arms by the British Government. He is also assured of help from Dr. Verwoerd and Dr. Salazar.

"As soon as Mr. Smith declares himself independent or is given independence by the British Government under the present or any other Constitution which falls short of one man one vote, Z.A.P.U., which represents the majority of the people of Zimbabwe, will form a legitimate people's government which will function within and without Southern Rhodesia. The function of that government will be to fight with all means at our disposal for the freedom of our people. We have no doubt that other African States will come to our assistance. We will also appeal for similar assistance from non-Fascist countries".

Opposition Supports Prime Minister

In a statement issued on Monday evening for his new Rhodesia Party, Sir Roy Welensky said:—

"We believe Rhodesians, white and black, had become deeply concerned about the possibility of unilateral action and we think the Prime Minister was wise to drop it. This has had the immediate effect of lessening tension in the country. The first objective of the Rhodesia Party has therefore been attained.

"The party deplores the fact that in the end the British Government still reserved its position, which means that even if Rhodesians unite in their desire for independence, as we hope they will, there is no firm guarantee that the British Government will grant it".

The party strongly supports the Prime Minister in his desire for independence by consent.

Mr. Nkomo, the detained P.C.C. leader, wrote from Gonakudzingwa to the U.K. High Commissioner in Salisbury asking him to tell Sir Alec Douglas-Home that Africans "totally reject the Constitution and will not in any circumstances accept independence under it". The claim that Africans favoured white minority rule was a produce of Mr. Smith's imagination. African political leaders had been detained because of the massive support they commanded. H.M. Government should call a constitutional conference and send observers to "restrain Mr. Smith from using his privileged legal position to crush African aspirations".

Mr. Antony Hawkins reported to the *Statist* from Salisbury:—

"If the Rhodesian Front Government can stop Sir Roy at Arundel it will have destroyed the effective white opposition — probably for all time.

"Arundel has just over 2,000 A-roll voters (almost entirely European) and a mere 16 B-roll voters (Africans). It is a very prosperous Salisbury suburb which at the 1962 general election returned an Opposition candidate for the United Federal Party led by Sir Edgar Whitehead with a comfortable 300-vote majority. But since then the Federation has been broken up and events in Africa have done nothing to encourage the remaining white minority Governments that there is any real virtue in handing over to African dictatorship. The mood has hardened against moderation".

The Rev. N. Sithole Jailed

THE REV. NDABANINGI SITHOLE, president of the Zimbabwe African National Union until it was recently banned, has been sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment with hard labour on a charge which a magistrate in Salisbury, Mr. J. O. M. Jackson, described as "tantamount to fostering a private army". He suspended half of the sentence conditionally for three years. Mr. Sithole, who gave notice of appeal, was not released on bail. He has been in custody since June 22.

The accused was found guilty of subversion in calling upon Africans in a pamphlet to "have axes, bows and arrows, and other instruments ready to oppose physically unilateral independence".

The magistrate, who had ruled on another count that the unilateral declaration by the Southern Rhodesian Government would be unlawful in relation to the Constitution, said that "in this case there is no indication that a unilateral declaration of independence will lead to a situation where it will be necessary for people to take up arms and defend themselves. In spite of this Mr. Sithole exhorts all and sundry to have weapons handy and arm themselves against a contingency which may never occur; and if it does the effect cannot be foreseen".

The statements made were tantamount to fostering a private army. "This sort of conduct might well lead to a situation which could become completely out of your control and everyone else's. I cannot deal with it lightly because it would create a rather dangerous precedent and be an invitation for everyone to go around telling people to arm themselves".

Control of Diplomatic Missions

DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS in Northern Rhodesia, when that country becomes independent as the Republic of Zambia next month, will not be permitted an embassy cadre of more than 15 persons (excluding locally engaged staff) in the case of Commonwealth countries and of 12 in other cases, irrespective of whether such staff are employed in the embassy, consulate, or such ancillary branches as information, passport, defence, and other sections. In making the announcement on Monday, the Government said that there might be some special exemption. Since the U.K. and the U.S.A. have already fairly large staffs in Lusaka, it is thought that they may be allowed to exceed the stipulated numbers.

Southern Rhodesia's P.R. Consultants

MR. P. K. F. V. VAN DER BYL, Parliamentary Secretary for Information in Southern Rhodesia, has told Parliament that the Government has appointed public relations consultants in London at an annual fee of £12,000, this being "a joint exercise between the Information and Tourist Departments". Sir Edgar Whitehead had referred to rumours of such an appointment at an annual cost of £16,000.

Mr. Nkomo Sentenced for Subversion

MR. JUSTICE DENDY YOUNG, sitting in the Appellate Division of the High Court of Southern Rhodesia on Monday, upheld the conviction of Mr. Joshua Nkomo on a charge of subversion and the sentence of nine months' imprisonment with hard labour (of which term seven and a half months has been suspended).

News Items in Brief

The Government of Southern Rhodesia is to start a newspaper for literate Africans.

A bomb pushed through a letter-box did extensive damage in Bulawayo's main post office.

Kampala's new £2m. hotel is to have 10 storeys, 300 bedrooms, and a roof-top night club.

The number of Africans detained at Wha Wha under restriction orders in Southern Rhodesia has risen to 884.

In the first seven months of this year twice as many tourists visited Southern Rhodesia as in the same period of 1963.

Zanzibar Government Hospital has been renamed Lenin Hospital. One of the girls' schools is now "the Castro".

Several ground floor rooms in a private hotel in Bulawayo, Queen's Court, were wrecked by a bomb last Friday. No one was hurt.

The annual reports for 1962 — repeat 1962 — of the Forest Department and Mines Department of Uganda have just reached London.

A state of emergency and the introduction of military law were declared last week in two provinces of Burundi, those of Bubanza and Ngozi, which border Rwanda.

A Chinese colonel, six other Chinese Army instructors, and four interpreters have arrived in Dar es Salaam to train Tanganyika-Zanzibar forces in the use of Chinese weapons.

University library problems in Africa are being discussed at a conference in Salisbury attended by representatives from 23 universities in English and French-speaking African territories.

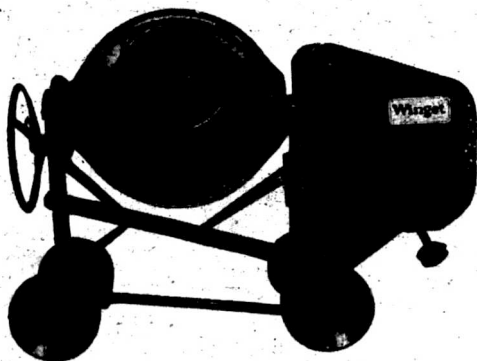
"Modern" classes for pupils not fitted for grammar courses have been dropped in Kenya. The Education Minister hoped parents would "find something useful" for their children to do instead.

Thirty-one Russian military instructors, with wives and children, recently arrived in Zanzibar by air from Moscow. There were already thought to be about 40 Soviet military instructors on the island.

Motions calling for reductions in the salaries of the Parliamentary Secretary for Information and the information adviser to the Government have been rejected by the Southern Rhodesian Parliament.

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Five Africans who tried to recruit in the Muchenjika area of Southern Rhodesia for the recently banned People's Caretaker Council were beaten up, allegedly because they had tried to intimidate the villagers.

Five Southern Rhodesian Africans, four men and a woman, who were arrested in London last week during demonstrations during the visit of Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, have been remanded on bail until September 29.

About 1,000 Congolese refugees from Albertville are now known to have crossed Lake Tanganyika and landed in the Kigoma area. They have been moved to Urambo, where the Tanganyika Government can more easily accommodate and feed them.

Problems in Highfield African township, Salisbury, are now the concern of a committee set up to help restore confidence and encourage Africans to assist in running local affairs. Housing, unemployment, education, schooling, and recreation are among the subjects entrusted to the committee.

Resettlement of 60,000 Rwanda refugees at a cost of about £400,000 is planned by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, which would move 10,000 from Burundi to Tanganyika, resettle 7,000 in Uganda in areas further north, and consolidate the position of the 40,000 in Kivu and east Burundi.

Splendid Tour

The visiting Mashonaland Country Districts XI made 222 runs for 3 (Lees scoring a century) when they played the Standard Bank, who replied with 208 for 6 wickets. Of the 27 matches played during their tour the Rhodesian cricketers won 15 and lost only two. They beat the Hampshire and Sussex second XIs and drew with Gloucestershire's reserves.

Under the state of emergency, Highfield African township, near Salisbury, has been completely relieved of the thuggery which made the life of thousands of Africans a constant misery. Expressions of thanks are reaching the authorities in ever-increasing numbers. Some women have ceremoniously burned the membership cards of the Nkomo party which they had been forced to buy.

The financial qualifications for the vote in Southern Rhodesia were raised last week by 10% because of the decrease in the purchasing value of the currency. The monetary qualification for the A roll has been raised from £750 to £792 or ownership of removable property worth £1,650 (previously £1,500). For B roll electors the income figure is now £264 (£240) and the property figure £495 (£450).

Observers sent to Addis Ababa by the Government of Southern Rhodesia for the third regional conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the U.N. were asked to withdraw. It was the first occasion on which a Southern Rhodesian delegation had been excluded from an international conference. The leader of the four-member party was Mr. Gumede, an African official of the Minister of External Affairs.

Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of Nyasaland, has issued another general warning that no one may use the Malawi Congress Party colours of black, red and green, the black cock, or his portrait without previously obtaining his personal permission. Some traders have been illegally importing goods bearing the Malawi Party colours or the portrait of the Ngwazi. They have been warned not to sell such articles on pain of heavy penalties.

Caning of European Set Aside

The caning sentence on Mr. Graham Watts, a 20-year-old white bank clerk, for throwing stones at a portrait of Dr. Banda, has been set aside by the High Court of Malawi. A magistrate in Lilongwe had imposed a £20 fine and six strokes of the cane and had recommended deportation. The fine stands. The Chief Justice ruled that caning could not be imposed under the law for that type of offence and that the magistrate had no power to recommend deportation.

A Ghanaian now in Malawi, who is alleged to have conspired to kill President Nkrumah, was remanded in custody in Zomba on Monday. The Ghana Government has asked for his extradition. The point at issue is whether the Fugitive Offenders Act applies to Ghana; it is applicable to the Queen's dominions, but Ghana is a republic. A Ghana aircraft with a Russian crew and a large party of security guards was reported to have arrived in Nyasaland to take the man back.

Of 2,054 Tanganyika students at overseas universities and the University of East Africa, Britain has 771; United States, 281; Uganda, 202; Russia, 150; Kenya, 105; and West Germany 91. Only 35 are in Tanganyika itself. Courses taken include: engineering (all types), 350; arts, 190; medicine, 189; nursing, 185; economics, 156; education, 135; agriculture, 121; science, 93; law, 74; commerce and business administration, 56; accountancy, 49; social studies, 38; religious studies, 34; pharmacy, 33; veterinary science, 30; domestic science, 29; co-operatives, 26; and trade unionism, 20.

Royalty Rights Said To Be Invalid

MR. ARTHUR WINA, Finance Minister of Northern Rhodesia, who was due in London on Monday for consultations with British Ministers, postponed his visit for a week or so at the request of H.M. Government.

A statement issued in Lusaka on Friday said:—
"The Government's view and that of all sections of the population of Northern Rhodesia has always been that it was wrongful of the British Government in 1923 to appear to vest in a private commercial company the entire mineral wealth of the country.

"The view has now been reinforced by historical studies which show that the original concessions and treaties upon which the British South Africa Company based its mineral claims, even if all such treaties were valid, could not have covered the present area of the Copperbelt.

"The Government has therefore asked the British Government—which, as the protecting Power, was responsible for any valid claim the company might have—to accept the responsibility of extinguishing such claims before Zambia's Independence Day on October 24."

Counsel's opinion from London supported the contention that the company had been receiving royalties to which it was not legally entitled.

In the view of the Government the Independence Constitution cannot be agreed upon until the problem of the mineral rights has been settled."

DR. KAUNDA, Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia, made known in Lusaka a few days ago that he had written to Sir Alec Douglas-Home asking him to take a personal interest in the solution of the problem of the mineral royalty rights of the Chartered Company, saying that the problem ought to be solved before the country becomes independent on October 24.

R.S.T. Profits Sharply Increased

RHODESIAN SELECTION TRUST, LTD., and its main subsidiaries estimate profit before tax for the year to June 30 at £12,637,000, against £9,961,000 in the previous year. Copper sales were up from 223,431 to 255,922 long tons, Mufulira contributing 154,095 (111,775), Roan Antelope 92,536 (76,504) and Chibuluma 23,575 (20,019) tons. R.S.T. has a 64.67% holding in Mufulira and 64.98% in Chibuluma.

The average profit per ton of copper sold rose from £57.2 to £65.1.

Output for the June quarter was 74,575 tons, against 68,096 for January-March. The average profit was up from £61.4 to £69.9 per ton, and the estimated profit before tax for the quarter was just over £4m., against £3,183,000 for January-March.

Last year output was reduced by 15% of capacity. On January 1 of this year the cutback was eased to 10%, and a fortnight later restriction was removed. The two Northern Rhodesian copper groups then sold copper to their usual contract customers at £236 per ton. The price was raised to £244 in March and recently to £260—figures very far below the London Metal Exchange quotations.

London's Metal Exchange price for copper rose more than £32 a ton in the middle of last week to £405, the highest price since March, 1956; in that month the record of £437 was reached.

Tobacco Control in S. Rhodesia

THE RHODESIA TOBACCO ASSOCIATION proposes to limit production of flue-cured tobacco next season by a voluntary control system which will limit each grower to a quota based on his highest sales in any of the past three years less a percentage which will equate the total crop with market requirements. A minimum of 40,000 lb. per grower is proposed. The sole purpose of the plan is to avoid the heavy over-production which has occurred this year.

Growers of burley tobacco, however, who have just produced a crop more than twice as large as that of last year, have been urged by Mr. J. C. Graylin, chairman of the Tobacco Export Promotion Council, to double the output. Rather more than 2½m. lb. of burley leaf have been sold this season, and the suggested target for 1965 is between 5½m. and 6m. lb. This year's average price of 28.87d. per lb. is nearly 3d. above the 1963 figure.

In the 25th week of the auction sales, of flue-cured leaf in Salisbury just over 1¼m. lb. were sold at an average price of 23.84d. To August 27 sales had nearly reached 250m. lb., the value slightly exceeding £29m., or an average of 27.92d. per lb.

A branch office of the Standard Bank has been opened in Kitui, Kenya.

The British South Africa Company has declared an interim dividend of 2s. per unit, less tax.

Razorblade (Kenya), Ltd., formed by Mr. V. K. Bhutt, is to establish a razor blade factory in Nairobi.

Barclays Bank D.C.O. has opened a second branch in New York. There are now 1,400 offices of the bank in 41 countries.

Nchanga Consolidated Mines, Ltd., now hold all but 430,360 shares, or 98.2%, of the 25m. stock units in issue by Bancroft Mines, Ltd.

An East German ship has discharged in Zanzibar 2,300 tons of building materials, 500 tons of sugar, 145 tons of salt, and two motor launches.

The Kariba transmission system is to be extended. Contractors may obtain details from the Central African Power Corporation, Salisbury.

The Federal Republic of Germany has promised Kenya a £2½m. loan for a sugar factory in Nyanza, where about 1,200 acres will be put under cane.

Sixty-four tank wagons surplus to the requirements of Mozambique Railways have been sold to Rhodesia Railways, which will hire a further 23 wagons.

Tanganyika exports to China in the last three months of last year were valued at about £2m. Imports from China in the period are estimated at about £36,000.

A.N.I.C.S.P.A., one of the largest manufacturers of nitrogenous and other fertilizers in Europe, is now represented in East Africa by Wigglesworth & Co. (Africa), Ltd.

Turner & Newall, Ltd., have increased the capital to £80m. and decided to apply nearly £16m. in the issue to shareholders of one stock unit of £1 for every three held on July 24.

Wankle Colliery sold 188,175 tons of coal and 10,262 of coke in August, compared with 285,670 and 13,652 tons in July. In August transport was interrupted by the railway strike.


Three Africans representing the Ministry of Commerce of Tanganyika-Zanzibar and the president of the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union are attending a trade fair in Yugoslavia.

Northern Rhodesia's £2.5m. three-year Development Loan has been fully subscribed by the commercial banks, building societies, finance houses, other large businesses, statutory boards, and pensions funds.

The two largest cigarette manufacturers in Southern Rhodesia are understood to have decided to cease their local television advertising, on which they have spent about £90,000 a year, or more than last year's profits after tax of Rhodesia Television.

Phoenix Prince Gold Mining Co., Ltd., which is on a care-and-maintenance basis, shows a loss at the mine of £950 for the year to March 31 and receipts of £5,660 from sale of fixed assets. The debit balance is £2,019. Issued capital is £200,000. Fixed assets stand at £210,246, and current assets less current liabilities at £63,091.

Enormous business with China was possible, Dr. Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry, said in Nairobi on Monday in connexion with the departure for Peking of a six-member delegation under Mr. Jan Muhammad, Parliamentary Secretary to his Ministry. Its purpose was to hold "high-level preliminary trade negotiations". It would also visit Pakistan to seek technical aid.

NORTHERN

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Company Report**Trans-Zambesia Railway Company, Limited****MR. VIVIAN L. OURY'S STATEMENT**

THE FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF TRANS-ZAMBESIA RAILWAY COMPANY, LIMITED, was held on September 9 in London.

The chairman and managing director, Mr. Vivian L. Oury, presided.

The following is an extract from his statement which was circulated with the report and accounts for year ended December 31, 1963:—

As part of the arrangements for the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, responsibility for Railways and Shipping in Nyasaland was transferred from the Federal Government to the Nyasaland Government with effect from October 1, 1963. From that date, therefore, the Government of Nyasaland succeeded the Government of the Federation in all matters relating to this Company.

On July 6, 1964, Nyasaland became the independent State of Malawi, and I take this opportunity of expressing this Company's good wishes for the happiness, success and prosperity of its people and their leaders, coupled with the hope that we shall be able to make some contribution to the early achievement of their economic objectives.

Reorganization Proceeding Smoothly

Towards the end of 1963 the board engaged a firm of business consultants to examine and report upon the Company's organization and methods of operation in Africa, and they were subsequently retained for the purpose of implementing their recommendations. The reorganization is proceeding smoothly, and it is hoped that greater efficiency and substantial savings will result.

Last year I told you that the tonnage of goods traffic handled during the early months in 1963 was slightly less than in the corresponding period of the previous year. The falling off in traffic continued throughout the year under review, the decline in the later months being particularly marked. In fact, the tonnage of goods carried decreased from 873,483 tons in 1962 to 734,562 tons in 1963, a reduction of 138,921 tons (15.9 per cent.), and the receipts from this source fell from £1,213,643 to £1,074,710, a reduction of £138,933 (11.45 per cent.).

The number of passengers diminished from 198,610 to 191,800, and this resulted in a reduction in receipts from this source from £120,779 to £114,805, a reduction of £5,974 (4.95 per cent.).

Financial Results

Our total traffic receipts fell from £1,358,523 in 1962, to £1,216,394 in 1963, a fall of £142,129 (10.46 per cent.).

In spite of this, expenditure continued its upward trend and, including provision for renewals, exceeded that of the previous year by £2,725, the ratio of expenditure to receipts being 87.49 per cent. in 1963, compared with 78.13 per cent. in 1962. The amount set aside for the renewal of fixed assets was £106,040, as compared with £92,968 in 1962, the increase being largely due to the need to provide for the renewal of our diesel locomotives received during 1963.

The overall result was that net receipts fell from £297,059 in 1962 to £152,205 in 1963, a decrease of £144,854 (48.76 per cent.).

Traffic with Nyasaland

The main decline in traffic was in that to and from Nyasaland, where climatic conditions resulted in a lower agricultural production and consequently in a smaller tonnage available for export. This, in turn, had its impact on import traffic, since the reduced spending power affected consumer demand. Political uncertainty and increased credit restrictions depressed imports still further. Moreover, during the year, the trend was for Nyasaland to import from Northern and Southern Rhodesia, at the expense of imports from overseas, and traffic from the Rhodesias is more vulnerable to road competition than that coming from Beira.

The balance remaining from the year's operations fell short by £1,374 of the amount required to cover our liabilities for taxation, fixed interest and redemption.

Fortunately, the provision made in prior years for Mocambique taxation exceeded the actual assessments by £11,484, and out of this we were able to make good the deficit of £1,374, and also to transfer the sum of £1,243 to provision for accidents, to replace expenditure charged to that account during the year. This left only £8,867 available for transfer to the reserve for increased cost of replacement of fixed assets against the expenditure of £29,356 which had to be made out of that reserve during the year.

Replacement of Fixed Assets

In this connexion, I remind you that the provision for renewal of fixed assets, which appears in the first section of the revenue account, is calculated on the basis of original cost. In the case of track, particularly, the current cost of replacement is very much higher than the original cost of the line, and since, during the next ten to fifteen years, we shall be faced with the renewal of the greater part of our track, it is essential that we should provide for the shortfall by building up our reserve for increased cost of replacement of fixed assets.

It has again proved impossible for us to make any payment on the 5 per cent. Income Debenture Stock.

During the first four months of 1964 there has been a further decrease in total tonnage carried and a corresponding fall in receipts. Unfortunately we cannot foresee any substantial change in the position in the near future.

High-protein pasta is to be made in Kenya next year by the Italian Buitoni organization, which will invest about £100,000 in a factory.

Rhodesia's gross domestic product rose £11m. to £306m. last year, a wages and salaries increase of £6m. contributing to the 3.8% rise.

American Government contributions of £407,000 will finance the Kenya national youth service in establishing work projects for some 7,000 young men.

Diesel Electric Trading Agency, Ltd., has been formed in East Africa by the Marshalls group to supply motor parts. Mr. Michael B. Pearson is managing director.

Northern Rhodesia's 228,000 Africans in employment earned more than £35m. last year, compared with £18.8m. in 1954. The 36,600 non-Africans employed earned £51.4m. (£30.7m.). Average African income was £160, for non-Africans £1,585, a year in 1963.

The Financial Year Book of Southern Africa, published at R15 by R. Beerman Publishers, Johannesburg, has a Rhodesian and Nyasaland section of 125 pages in its 1964 edition. Information is given about 92 companies. In addition many of the enterprises listed in the South African section have substantial Rhodesian interests.

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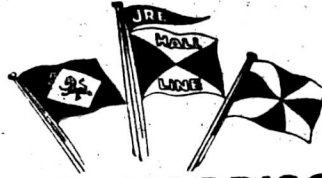
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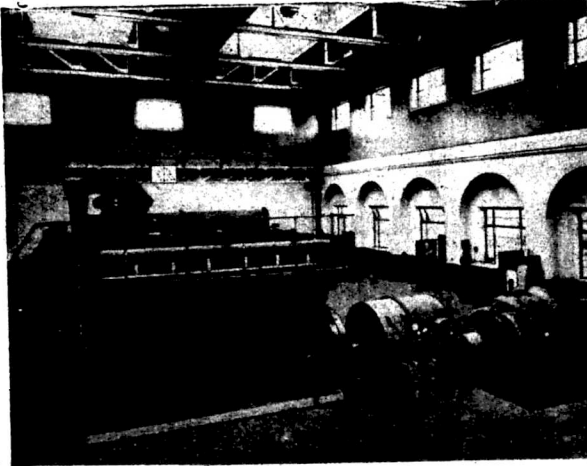
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

ON THE FLIMSIEST PRETEXT almost any pan-Africanist will rhapsodize about "African unity in action", while the more rational observer, black or white, recognizes that disunity dominates the scene. That excellent reason against the Macmillan-Macleod-Blundell dash to disaster was, of course, ignored by those gravely culpable politicians and their foolish followers, who cared not what misery their recklessness inflicted upon scores of millions of tribal Africans so long as they could appease the exceedingly noisy but tiny minority of discontented town-dwellers who had learnt the slogans and tricks of trade unionism, street-corner agitation, and other modern means of achieving notoriety and often relative wealth while avoiding real work. These rootless, and often ruthless, men were easy prey for abler plotters, local and distant, who exaggerated outrageously the importance of their stooges and found to their great surprise that their flights of fancy were accepted in the Western world by party leaders whose answer to any challenge was to funk it, whatever the consequences to the mass of the people. Anyone who doubts the exactitude of that generalization need but take at random almost any major problem of Africa or Europe and ask himself whether it could not have been settled in its early stages by faithful adherence to the principles which would have been applied in the days of our grandfathers. It is because those well-tried precepts have been so shamefully spurned in the past half-century that the world, and by no means least Africa, is in such a sorry state.

* * *

Principle having been abandoned for convenience, truth must be masked by slogans. So there is daily prating about African free-

dom and unity — when the freedom established by civilized government has disappeared over vast areas, in which the only unity is that falsely professed before tyrants. Not even the egregious Organization of African Unity can pretend that there is freedom or unity in the Congo: Mr. Tshombe, the one African who might restore some semblance of law and order, is bitterly opposed by nearly all African nationalist leaders outside his country for the simple reason that he openly admits that for the foreseeable future independent African States must rely largely upon the knowledge, energy, training, and aid of the advanced nations, even if their inhabitants have white skins. Eight months after its revolution Zanzibar is still at the mercy of gunmen. Tanganyika—which is very free with advice to other Commonwealth countries—has suffered a mutiny and a half since the beginning of this year, and still keeps in jail or detention every trade unionist of even trivial influence, lest criticism from such sources should cause the collapse of a Government which is threatened by dissensions in high places, some inspired and encouraged by Communism, especially of the Chinese variety. Neighbouring Northern Rhodesia, recognizing similar risks, has wisely decided to limit Communist (and other) embassy staffs, and its Prime Minister has publicly declared that any diplomat found to be acting subversively will be expelled at a moment's notice.

* * *

In Malawi, which borders both Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia, the African hierarchy, split from top to bottom, proclaims the denial of freedom in that one-party State and the uncivilized intentions and behaviour of men who should be setting the example of enlightenment. Ministers who were suddenly sacked by Dr. Banda

One-Party States.

declare him to be a dictator (which is undoubtedly true), and he denounces them for disloyalty, disunity, indiscipline, and avarice, for trying to get rid of him by the use of witchcraft, and even for contemplating his murder. Such, according to its leaders, is the condition of the country upon which the Malawi Congress Party has imposed its terrorism. Upon such men did the Macmillan Government thrust premature and absolute power. In Kenya the Inspector-General of Police is to be replaced in three months by an African—not because there is an African of comparable character, independence, experience and ability, but because some members of the Kenyatta Cabinet insist on the disappearance of Sir Richard Catling, partly because they resent his unflinching loyalty to his associates,

and partly because they want the police to be made the tools of their dictatorial party. In no former British territory in East Africa is there such disunity as in Kenya. K.A.D.U. deeply distrusts K.A.N.U., the party in power, which, caring nothing for true freedom, plans a pretence of unity to a one-party State in which the K.A.D.U. leaders could continue to be critical only at grave personal risk. Does anyone imagine that the European farmers still left in the country will not have their anxieties increased when at the end of this year the last of the British troops will have left and the police will have lost their best leaders (two of the assistant commissioners having been expelled in recent weeks at twenty-four hours' notice)? These facts, and a hundred like them, are the answers to boasts about "African unity in action".

Notes By The Way

Self-Praise

AFRICAN POLITICIANS are prolific praisers of African politicians, who can confidently count on flattery from African Governments. The External Affairs Branch of the Office of the Prime Minister of Kenya, for instance, has said in a long written comment on a trivial inaccuracy in a Nairobi newspaper: "African leaders are men of reason, vision and integrity, on whose shoulders history has placed the enormous burden of shaping the future of this continent. These leaders always endeavour to find solutions to grave and immediate problems. They are men who have distinguished themselves for their devoted services to the cause of African freedom and who have now pledged their great talent to the building of a better Africa".

Contradiction

A FEW DAYS LATER Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi (Nyasaland), dismissed three of his most senior Ministers, describing them as irresponsible political puppets, ambitious, avaricious, wanting to introduce bribery and corruption, and even disposed to murder him. That picture of African leaders scarcely shows them as "men of reason, vision and integrity". Probably no other Prime Minister in East or Central Africa would use Dr. Banda's phraseology, but I doubt whether one of them would endorse Mzee Kenyatta's extravagantly optimistic and general eulogy. Does he really believe that all the prominent politicians in his own country, or even his own party, are "men of reason, vision, and integrity"? I know responsible Africans in Kenya who have most serious reservations about some of the men who are prominent in the Kenyatta party.

Cause and Effect

AFRICANIZATION is officially admitted to have caused swift deterioration in the postal services of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. A statement issued by the East African Posts and Telecommunications Administration records that 75% of the graded staff are now Africans, that over 50% of all supervisory grade posts have been Africanized, and that the Africanization programme is proceeding "satisfactorily". What the three Ministers responsible for Communications con-

sider satisfactory is not defined, but two paragraphs later appear the words: "The Communications Ministerial Committee agreed that in all three territories complaints from Members of Parliament and public alike were on the increase. The complaints range from incivility to inefficiency, and this reflected seriously on the staff themselves. It was apparent that the good officers were suffering in being classed with the rude and inefficient, and a very serious view of the present situation was being taken by all Ministers". If they take "a very serious view of the situation", how can they be satisfied with the Africanization which has caused such grave deterioration in the postal and telecommunication services?

Mr. Macleod

READERS of this journal have almost a vested interest in Mr. Iain Macleod, who as Secretary of State for the Colonies did so much to wreck British East and Central Africa. Mr. R. H. S. Crossman has written of him in the *New Statesman*: "Whenever Mr. Macleod appears on the Tory election platform there will be a few passionate supporters to applaud him, but most of the audience will listen with dislike and suspicion to the ambitious politician who shattered the picture of Tory unity and staked his political existence on the defeat of his own side. Anyone who worked with Aneurin Bevan after 1951 knows the horrible predicament under our two-party system of a man who walks out of a Government because he conscientiously feels that it has taken the wrong turning. It was because he considered Sir Alec a sheer anachronism whose presence in Downing Street would make nonsense of all plans for modernizing Conservatism that Mr. Macleod refused to serve under him. His future therefore depends on Sir Alec's leadership proving as disastrous as he predicted. What he needs in fact is a crushing Labour victory".

D.C.O.

TO READERS connected with East and Central Africa, D.C.O. is short for Barclays Bank D.C.O. (those letters standing for the former Dominions, Colonial and Overseas sub-title). To New Yorkers they are alleged to mean "Don't come and overdraw"!

Chartered Company Rights Impugned By N. Rhodesia

Successive British Governments Accused of Connivance in Maintaining Invalid Claims

MORE THAN £70,000,000, after tax, has been received by the British South Africa Company (Chartered) under a series of agreements, which, if continued, would add from £7m. to £12m. annually over the next 22 years.

In a 33-page White Paper published in Lusaka on Monday the Government of Northern Rhodesia argues that the company's rights under agreements made with African chiefs have never entitled it to royalties from the Copperbelt, that United Kingdom Governments have repeatedly prevented the position being tested in the courts, and that any claim of the company must be against the United Kingdom Government, not that of Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. Arthur Wina, Finance Minister in Northern Rhodesia, arrived in London at the week-end to press this view upon the Government and the public. His Government insists that United Kingdom responsibility should be admitted before Northern Rhodesia becomes independent on October 24.

The White Paper states, *inter alia*—

"The company is not itself directly concerned with the mineral production from which its income derives. Its functions are confined to the issue of permits which allow others to engage in mining operations. The Northern Rhodesia Government contends that this anomaly must be corrected before independence, and that the British Government has a duty in its capacity as protecting Power—as well as for contractual reasons—to confirm the people of Northern Rhodesia in the ownership of the territory's mineral wealth at the time of Zambia's independence.

"The company's title in law to the royalties is highly questionable.

Rights in Perpetuity

"In 1923 the British Government took over from the company the administration of Southern and Northern Rhodesia. The settlement in Northern Rhodesia was essentially financial: the company dropped its claim against the British Government for reimbursement of a £1.6m. administrative deficit; in return the British Government pledged to the company half the revenue from certain future land sales and recognized—or appeared to recognize—the company as the owner of Northern Rhodesia's mineral rights in perpetuity.

"This bargain was criticized at the time by African and European inhabitants. It has been repeatedly criticized ever since. In his younger, fighting days, Sir Roy Welensky said of it: 'I find it difficult to express in decent English my views of the actions of a Government of that nature, that they should sell, give, barter—or whatever you care to call it—the mineral wealth of a country, for which they were trustees, to a private company—without even consulting the people'.

"For the last 40 years the British Government has recognized the company as owner of all the mineral ores under the ground all over Northern Rhodesia, and anybody mining those ores has been compelled to pay royalties to the company.

"It has been asserted—and never been denied—that in 1923 the British Government could have bought out all of these rights which it was later to recognize for £250,000. But, to use a phrase dolefully familiar, H.M. Government could not see its way to make the money available for such a purchase at that time. Instead, the British Government chose to avoid meeting the company's claim for its administrative deficit by appearing to recognize the company as owner of the mineral rights in perpetuity.

"Since then the company has collected some £135m. in royalty receipts; and the British Government, from income tax levied on those receipts, has benefited to the extent of about £12m. For each ton of copper presently mined the company's receipts have been mounting in September this year to over £40. Last year the company's share of royalty receipts, after payment of tax, came to over £6m.—which was about twice the Northern Rhodesian budget for African education. This year its net receipt will be higher.

"The obligations that the company incurs in exchange for these receipts are insignificant: The work of extracting the ores and refining them is done by the mining companies.

Northern Rhodesia and its inhabitants suffer the depletion of their natural resources. The royalties are collected by a foreign company.

"By far the largest part of the net royalty income each year leaves the country, and either is distributed to shareholders or goes to build up the company's portfolio of investments, already worth some £75m. It has been claimed that the company has also done much through re-investment in Northern Rhodesia to develop the country's economy. In fact, the value of local investments held by the company amounts to only about 10% of its total gross royalty receipts, and to less than one-fifth of its investment portfolio.

Significance of Subtle Wording

"The 1923 agreement is subtle and careful. Clause 3 (g) states: 'The company shall retain and the Crown shall recognize the company as the owner of the mineral rights acquired by the company in virtue of the concessions obtained from Lewanika in North-Western Rhodesia and concessions in North-Eastern Rhodesia covered by the aforesaid certificates of claim'.

"The significance of this wording is tremendous, for investigation has shown that all the concessions referred to, even if they were considered legally valid—and most of them were not—could not conceivably have vested in the company ownership of minerals throughout Northern Rhodesia. The officers of the company knew this; and the officers of the Crown knew this. Secret memoranda which the company's secretary prepared for his directors show it. The Colonial Office files show it. All the concessions and treaties, even if valid, could not have conveyed mineral rights in the area of today's Copperbelt; and it is from the Copperbelt that most of the royalties have come.

"The president of the company has claimed recently that the legality of his company's rights has been repeatedly confirmed by the British Government. In one sense, this is true. But it is only part of the story. Let us have recourse to the Colonial Office files to learn the other part. 'If action had been taken at the right time there is little doubt that the company would not have established mineral rights in these areas', wrote a senior official. 'The point made in the law officers' opinion was that the recognition in practice of the company's rights by the Colonial Office over a long period of years, coupled with the specific recognition of those rights in the preamble to the 1912 Mining Proclamation, debarred H.M.G. from challenging the company's rights. Nonetheless there is little doubt that the Natives of the areas in question could do so if they had the knowledge and the means'.

No Obligation upon Northern Rhodesia

"It is not the business of the Northern Rhodesia Government to suggest ways in which existing difficulties might be resolved. History shows that the present situation is the joint work of H.M. Government and the company, and the obligation for resolving it thus rests with them. The present Northern Rhodesia Government has had no part in it. Consequently it has no sort of obligation to find a way out. What concerns it is that on independence the ownership of these natural resources must revert to the ownership of the people of Zambia.

"But H.M.'s Government and the company are not only jointly responsible for the existing situation in a general way. Specifically they, and only they, are responsible for the fact that the validity of the company's claims have never been tested in a court of law. On more than one occasion the people of Northern Rhodesia have pressed that the royalties issue be referred to the Privy Council. On each occasion, for reasons best known to themselves, the British Government and the company have decided against it.

"Unless it should so choose, the Northern Rhodesia Government will not be legally bound, after Zambia becomes independent on October 24, to allow the present royalty payments to continue indefinitely. Nor has it any moral obligation in this regard.

"The matter basically is one for settlement between the two parties involved in its history, the British Government and the company, whose relationship was illuminatingly described by a former Colonial Secretary as a 'peculiar one'.

"But though it has no obligations in the matter the Northern Rhodesia Government recognizes the position of people who may have bought shares in the company in the genuine belief that the present royalty payments were validly founded. It follows from this recognition that the Northern Rhodesia Government is ready to assist in reaching an equitable and honourable settlement. But it must equally and emphatically reaffirm that this equitable and honourable settlement must

be sought not from its doorstep but from that of the British Government.

"In a confidential letter to the Colonial Secretary in 1948, a high official of the Colonial Office discussed a proposal to set up a commission of inquiry into the mineral royalty claims. Such a commission, he wrote: 'might (and I believe would) establish that the company should be paid something less than the commercial value of their mineral rights... in view of doubts about their title in certain areas. It would almost certainly establish that the responsibility for the present situation rests entirely on H.M.G., and it might therefore recommend that H.M.G. should bear part of the purchase price'.

"It is not only that there are 'doubts about the company's title in certain areas'. The doubts—and they are very much more now than doubts—apply to all the areas on the Copperbelt and elsewhere from which the company's actual mineral revenues derive. It seems to follow from this that the company, at the absolute outside should be paid something very much less than the commercial value of the rights'. It is very questionable whether they should be paid anything at all.

"It may well be rather that those who have been paying the royalty over the years have a valid claim for compensation against the company.

"With unimportant exceptions the only validity which the present claims could conceivably enjoy derives from the legislative and administrative acts and omissions of the British Government. The original grants and concessions could not possibly have covered the area of the Copperbelt in which Northern Rhodesia's minerals are now mainly produced.

No Title to Copperbelt Royalties

"Thus even assuming (which is highly improbable) that the original grants and concessions, having been tested in a court of law, had been upheld as a legal transfer of the rights in question, they could not provide the company with a proper title to the royalty payments which it receives today. In fact, of course, they have never been tested in this way. And it is one of the chief counts against the British Government that despite the repeated requests of the local population no legal investigation has ever been instituted.

"Although the main section concentrates on the historical and legal aspects, the moral and political arguments should not be allowed to go by default. These arguments amount to a grave moral charge against the British Government in its capacity as protecting Power. For the case is that British Government, in supporting the company's claims over the years—and in protecting them systematically from any proper investigation—has failed in its duties to the people of Northern Rhodesia. The case is all the more serious in view of the irrefutable evidence—and even, in the case of the Colonial Office letter already quoted, direct admissions—that the British Government has been aware for many years of the highly dubious legality of the company's claims.

"A series of bargains or agreements, culminating in 1950, have appeared both to confirm the company's privileges and to provide a new and [generally] less challengeable basis for them. For each successive agreement has been treated as fully superseding its predecessor, and thus, at least by implication, as disposing of any doubts which might have attached to it. In the process the original foundations of the privileges are often lost sight of and are quite frequently even dismissed as irrelevant. This explains, for example, the fact that the company has managed to avoid ever committing itself publicly about the precise original basis from which its present rights and privileges in respect of the Copperbelt area derive. It has avoided doing so partly because it has never been challenged to do so in a court of law.

Origin of the Agreements

"Counsel has lately given the opinion that the subsequent agreements—and notably those in 1923 and 1950—only confirm the company's rights and privileges to the extent that they were originally valid. Their origin thus becomes of decisive importance.

"Originating in Barotseland and covering an area larger than its present boundaries—but with ill-defined and disputed geographical limits—are a series of concessions dated between 1890 and 1910. Originating in the North-Eastern part of the territory and covering an area which is again in dispute are a group of concessions or treaties negotiated in 1890 and 1891 with local chiefs by Mr. Joseph Thomson and Mr. Alfred Sharpe, two company representatives. The company has never made it clear from which of these two sets of origins its claimed rights and privileges with respect to the Copperbelt area derive. Historical research suggests that, even ignoring questions of validity, the Copperbelt area, or parts of it, cannot in fact be covered by either.

"The Bill setting up the British South Africa Company under Royal Charter was signed by Queen Victoria on October 29, 1889.

"There was a confusion when company representatives came to negotiate concessions or treaties about their relationship with the British Crown and the 'Great White Queen'. In many of the Thomson treaties the protection of the 'Great White Queen' is extended in return for the 'concessions granted by the chiefs, and the treaties have generally been drafted as if Thomson was primarily a representative of the Crown rather than the company. Of course, Thomson had no authority to offer British protection and no official diplomatic position. Again, in the first concession signed by Lewanika, the wording appears to be studiously ambiguous about the relationship between the company and the British Crown. This confusion, which was apparently exploited by the company's representatives, was clearly an important factor in winning the two main sets of concessions or treaties.

Lewanika-Lochner Concession

"The first target in the concession hunt was Lewanika, Paramount Chief of Barotseland. He was anxious to secure British protection as a safeguard against incursions from the warlike Matabele to the south; he had had a letter written to the British High Commissioner in Cape Town inquiring about the possibility of protection in February, 1889. For these reasons, and because among his closest advisers was an Anglophile French missionary, François Coillard, Lewanika clearly provided the company with a promising opportunity.

"Frank Lochner, a captain in the Bechuanaland Police Force, was dispatched as the company's representative to negotiate with Lewanika. The concession signed in June 1890 between Lochner and Lewanika is not the one from which the company's present privileges have ever been conceded to derive. Because no administrative rights were conferred, it was never sanctioned by the United Kingdom Government. It was superseded by new concessions, most notably one signed by Lewanika and the company on October 17, 1900 and duly sanctioned by the British Colonial Secretary on November 23, 1901. The point here is that though Lochner's was not the final version of the Lewanika concession it was the direct ancestor of what followed. More important, it established the company's presence in Barotseland and gave it tremendous bargaining leverage in the later negotiations with Lewanika.

"The Lochner concession granted the company the 'absolute exclusive and perpetual right to search for, dig, win, and keep diamonds, gold, coal, oil and all other precious stones minerals or substances'; and these rights covered the 'whole of the territory of the said (Barotse) nation or any future extension thereof including all subject and dependent territory'. The concession, it was stipulated, should 'be considered in the light of a treaty between the Barotse nation and Queen Victoria'. In return the company agreed to finance education and assist in the process of 'civilization' by the establishment of schools and industrial undertakings; it also agreed to appoint and maintain a British Resident 'with a suitable suite and escort' and to pay the Paramount Chief £2,000 per annum.

Deception Alleged

"It was under Coillard's roof that Lochner convalesced in early 1890 after the rigours of an exceptionally arduous journey to Barotseland. It was through Coillard's good offices that he secured his first interview with Lewanika, and it is clear that the missionary's influence was of decisive importance in getting Lewanika's eventual agreement to the concession. But it seems clear that Coillard was under the false impression that Lochner's primary rôle was to pave the way for a treaty of British protection and that his commercial interest was secondary, for later, when the nature of what had happened was rather clearer, the missionary wrote to the company and declared that 'if the British protectorate had been used simply as a blind he emphatically protested against it and regretted that he had been unwittingly a dupe and an accomplice in such transactions'.

"The same point was made with greater emphasis by Lewanika. As early as October 1890 he arranged for Mr. George Middleton, an English resident in Barotseland, to write a letter of protest. The ground was that he (Lewanika) had been induced to sign the concession by the erroneous suggestion that it placed him under the protection of Queen Victoria. Subsequently he wrote to the Queen: 'In June last there came a gentleman, a Mr. F. E. Lochner, sent by the British South Africa Chartered Company. I was told that the said company was known to the Queen and her Government and had received such powers that any treaty or alliance I made with it was made in the light of and was as good as a treaty or an alliance made with Your Majesty's Government. On the strength of this I had no hesitation in conceding to them the whole of my country. What I wanted was not money but protection; not the protection of a mining and mercantile company, but the protection of Your Majesty and Your Government, nothing else'.

"Many years later this apparent deception was mentioned in an affidavit sworn by the Rev. Adolphe Jalla, a missionary in Barotseland at the time. 'Generally speaking', affirmed Jalla, 'the Paramount Chief, Lewanika, . . . meant that whatever rights (he) gave to the British South Africa Company (he) gave them believing the company to be acting for the Crown and not as a commercial concern'.

"All this misrepresentation on Lochner's part—and it is difficult not to see it as deliberate misrepresentation—seems the more unattractive in the light of Lewanika's well-attested qualities of kindness and enlightenment. Dr. James Johnston, who was in Barotseland in 1891, gives a most attractive picture of the Barotse Paramount Chief in his book *Reality versus Romance in South Central Africa*.

"Johnston also gives us the full account of Lewanika's famous presentation tusks. As a mark of his esteem for the Great White Queen, Lewanika had selected a pair of the finest tusks of ivory in his possession and handed them over to the representative of the company (Lochner) as a present to the Queen'. Later he learnt—from a book by E. P. Mathers entitled *Zambia* and published in the company's interests in 1891—that the 'two fine tusks of ivory, each weighing considerably over 100 lb. and over six feet long, new ornament the boardroom of the British South Africa Company in their palatial office in St. Swithins Lane'.

"Lochner glossed over the ambiguities in the relationship between Crown and the company, thus exploiting the confusion. He is known to have used the argument—as if it was relevant to his own or the company's position—that the company's president, the Duke of Abercorn, was a member of the Royal Household and that another of its directors, the Duke of Fife, was related by marriage to the Queen.

Official Concession

"Because of various objectionable features in it, the Lochner concession was never ratified by the British Government. However, Major Coryndon, the company's first resident representative in Barotseland, was instructed to try to secure a new concession which would meet the Government's objections, and he took up the matter soon after his appointment in 1897. The eventual upshot was the signing on October 17, 1900, of the revised concession. The company was given administrative rights to deal with and adjudicate upon all cases between whitemen and between whitemen and natives, it being clearly understood that all cases between natives shall be left to the King to deal with and dispose of. This revised version was sanctioned by the British Government in the following year.

"Both Thomson and Sharpe's treaties have come in for serious criticism from various quarters. Sir Percy Anderson, a high official in the British Foreign Service, wrote of them: 'They contain certain engagements which it was beyond the power of the company to contract on behalf of H.M. Government, and which H.M. Government are not at present prepared to accept. . . . As regards the Thomson treaties, if the British Protectorate, which is the consideration of the mineral concessions, is not granted it is questionable whether the concessions can, in justice to the chiefs, be maintained'.

"Major Codrington, an employee of the B.S.A. Company, went very much further than Sir Percy when he wrote of them (in a letter to Mr. Wilson Fox, the company secretary): 'There is a lot of humbug about the original agreements'. Codrington made the damaging admission that it would be difficult to trace to whom any royalties payable under the Sharpe and Thomson treaties should be made over. In consequence the payments to which the company was committed by the treaties were never in fact made. They were later commuted under an agreement between the British Government and the company, without any reference at all to the chiefs themselves.

"There is also evidence to-day that the treaties were obtained, by Thomson at least, through deliberate misrepresentation.

"The treaties purport to grant various monopolistic rights. Where these were exclusive mineral rights they would be difficult to exercise without rights of ownership over the land or of sovereignty—neither of which was conceded in any of the treaties. Where they were exclusive commercial rights, they were incompatible with the company's charter.

Geographical Case Examined

"The standard geographical case put forward on the company's behalf is that the Lewanika concessions and the certified Thomson-Sharpe treaties, taken together, validly transferred to the company the exclusive mineral rights throughout the whole of what is now Northern Rhodesia—with the first accounting for territory west of the Kafue River and the second for territory to the east. The company would also, of course, claim that its title today rests on agreement subsequent upon—and independent of the validity or otherwise of the original treaties and concessions. However, this latter assertion, as already noted, has just been seriously challenged by counsel's opinion. On close inspection, it appears that neither the Lewanika concession nor the Thomson-Sharpe treaties—as-

suming their validity—extend in fact to cover the Copperbelt area.

"In the middle 1890's 'the territory of the said (Barotse) nation . . . including all subject and dependent territory' did not extend to the Copperbelt; it did not extend to the west bank of the Kafue River in the Copperbelt region; and, with the reservation in the case of the Bashukulombe, it never crossed the Kafue. At a later date attempts were made to imply that the company's mineral rights not only on the western but even on the eastern bank of the Kafue River in the Copperbelt area could be based on the Lewanika concession.

"Neither Thomson nor Sharpe ever reached the Copperbelt. Sharpe moved mainly if not exclusively far to the east and north of the Copperbelt. Thomson's route, even when it approaches most closely to the Copperbelt, is still nearly 80 miles from the nearest mine.

"It is astonishing that the 1909 concession was sanctioned by the British Government, as it was, shortly after it had been signed. For to sanction the agreement was in some sense to imply that the 1905 frontier change [between North Western and North Eastern Rhodesia] had in fact validly extended the Barotse king's domains. And yet the British Government, which promulgated that change, had never stated that by so doing it had extended Barotse territory. The British High Commissioner in South Africa wrote: 'I think that Lewanika and his council have made up their minds for some time that the eastern part of North Western Rhodesia is nothing to them; they exercise no control, almost no influence outside the Barotse Valley'.

"At first sight the Mining Proclamation issued in 1912 by the British High Commissioner for South Africa might appear to have put the company's mineral claims in Northern Rhodesia on a new and much firmer footing. The preamble to the proclamation reads: 'Whereas the right of searching and mining for and disposing of all minerals and mineral oils in Northern Rhodesia is vested in the British South Africa Company'. But first appearances are deceptive. In a memorandum circulated some time after the proclamation's issue Mr. Wilson Fox, the company's secretary concedes that 'its (the company's) mineral concessions . . . do not quite cover the whole territory'. They did not in fact validly cover more than a small (and from the mineral point of view unimportant) proportion of the territory.

"From the end of the 1914-18 war criticism of the whole set of arrangements began to build up strongly.

Reference to the Privy Council

"In June 1920 a resolution was passed by Northern Rhodesia's Advisory Council (elected by the local European community) advising that 'the whole question of ownership of the land and mineral rights in Northern Rhodesia be submitted without delay to the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council'. This was followed in December by a petition to the King. It mentioned the company's claim to own 'all the land and minerals in the country as a commercial asset' but went on 'the people claim that both these belong to the Crown and say the country will be greatly impoverished if the greatest part of its wealth is thus taken from the Crown as custodian for the people of this territory'. Some aspects of the problems relating to the company's position had already been referred to the British Government's law officers.

"The upshot was the appointment by the Colonial Secretary—then Mr. Winston Churchill—of an advisory committee under Lord Buxton to look into a wide range of matters in Southern and Northern Rhodesia. In Northern Rhodesia its most important task was to advise 'whether the question of the British South Africa Company's claim to the land and minerals and to administrative deficits should be referred to the Privy Council for settlement'. The Buxton Committee recommended that the reference should be made because of the number of interests involved, and the 'obscurity and complexity of the position'. Mr. Churchill was no less unequivocal in his acceptance of this recommendation. In the month that the report was published, August 1921, he informed the company that arrangements were in hand for the reference to proceed. In the following January, the company was sent a draft of the questions which it was proposed to submit for Privy Council ruling. Throughout this period the company persistently opposed any move in the direction of the Privy Council.

"It seems likely that, had Churchill remained long enough at the Colonial Office, the matter would have gone to the Privy Council and thus been permanently settled. But the 1922 election intervened. It had always been clear the company's preference was for a settlement to be agreed between itself and the Crown without reference to the courts. And it was an agreement of this kind—which had been rejected on such convincing grounds by the Buxton Commission—that the company succeeded in negotiating with the successor British Government in the following year.

(Continued on page 66)

PERSONALIA

MR. F. A. NEWTON has been re-elected mayor of Que Que.

MR. INGE REIDARSSON RINDALL has taken up his duties as Norwegian Ambassador in Uganda.

PROFESSOR A. MILTON, of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is in London from Salisbury.

MR. A. DYER-MELVILLE is managing director of Holman Bros. (East Africa), Ltd., in succession to MR. P. H. V. WELLS.

SIR N. P. F. BONNETARD, Chief Justice in the Seychelles, and LADY BONNETARD are returning by sea from a visit to the United Kingdom.

MR. A. N. OLOO, mayor of Eldoret, has arrived in London from Kenya to spend three months studying the work of local authorities.

MR. H. REEDMAN, Minister of Immigration, expects Southern Rhodesian emigration and immigration figures to "break even" by Christmas.

MR. P. A. LOGAN, assistant general manager of the Magadi Soda Company, and MRS. LOGAN are returning to Kenya in the S.S. UGANDA.

MR. PETER CEJE, lately executive director of the Industrial Development Corporation of Kenya, has been appointed finance officer of University College, Nairobi.

MR. JAMES S. BROWN, lately general manager of the Farmers' Co-operative (Salisbury), has joined the Southern Rhodesian board of Fisons Fertilizers, Ltd.

MR. H. G. CURRIE, assistant general manager of the Cold Storage Commission of Southern Rhodesia, and MRS. CURRIE have arrived in the United Kingdom from Bulawayo.

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE is due to visit Bulgaria towards the end of the month and then to go to Cairo to lead the Ethiopian delegation at a conference of non-aligned nations.

MR. C. LILLYCROP, who has been appointed manager in New York for Central African Airways, will also represent the Southern Rhodesia Tourist Board and the Northern Rhodesia Tourist Bureau.

At this week's Malta Independence celebrations Southern Rhodesia has been represented by the High Commissioner in London, MR. EVAN CAMPBELL and MRS. CAMPBELL. They are due back today.

THE RT. REV. J. L. JOBIDON, Bishop of Mzuzu, has flown from Malawi to Rome to attend the World Ecumenical Council of Catholic Bishops. During his absence THE REV. J. OLEARY is Acting Bishop.

MR. PAUL A. R. SOZIGWA has been appointed Acting Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Information and Tourism in Tanganyika. CHIEF MICHAEL LUKUMBUZYA is Acting Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of External Affairs.

MR. P. P. BANDA, a graduate of Makerere University College, Uganda, who has been a master at Chiwala Secondary School, Ndola, has been appointed Education Attaché in the Office of the High Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia in London.

DR. KAUNDA, Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia, said in a broadcast last week that "unpalatable action" would be taken against people who intended to leave the country and were casting doubts into the minds of those who were staying.

DR. OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda said when he was visited by VICE-PRESIDENT SAFRONOV of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee that Uganda would always support the Soviet committee as members of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement.

MR. J. P. MURRAY, Commissioner in London for Northern Rhodesia, will speak on "Zambia and the Future" at a joint lunch-time meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies on Thursday, October 1. SIR GILBERT RENNIE will preside.

MR. DAVID RUBADIRI, Malawi Ambassador in the U.S.A., took part in a Voice of America panel discussion on "Problems of Nation Building".

SIR PERCIVALE LIESCHING will retire at the end of the month from the board of Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation, Ltd. MR. J. R. ROBINSON will fill the vacancy.

PRINCE BERNHARD of the NETHERLANDS, who has a farm in Tanganyika and has visited East Africa on a number of occasions, has been appointed an honorary Air Marshal of the Royal Air Force.

MR. HERMAN ODUOR, general secretary of the Plantation and Agricultural Workers' Union of Kenya, has returned to Nakuru from a three weeks' visit to Russia. During his absence he was "deposed" by members with grievances.

MR. CLIFFORD DUPONT has resigned his seat as M.P. for Charter in order to oppose SIR ROY WELENSKY in the Arundel by-election. Rhodesian Front supporters are so confident that they are offering odds of seven to one against SIR ROY winning the seat.

COLONEL S. O. OPOLOTO, who was appointed to command the Uganda Army after the mutiny in January, has been promoted Brigadier. The deputy commander is COLONEL I. AMIN, who for the past eight months has commanded the first battalion The Uganda Rifles. The new commander of the battalion is LIEUT.-COLONEL J. MUSA.

MR. DAVID ATTENBOROUGH, who has led a B.B.C. photographic expedition along the Zambezi, said in Salisbury that they had covered some 10,000 miles in the two Rhodesias, Mozambique and Angola. The most exciting moment in the four months was the sudden appearance of about 200 elephants when they were filming a waterhole in the Wankie Game Reserve.

Four Tanganyika journalists who are in England for a month as guests of the C.R.O. are Messrs. CONSTANTINE KUMULIJA, a *Nationalist* reporter; MR. BERNARD A. MAGANGA, a sub-editor with *Mwafrika*; MR. ROBERT J. RWEYEMAMU, a *Tanganyika Standard* reporter; and MR. DAVID G. WAKATI, programme director of the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation.

The proposal of the Coast Regional Assembly of Kenya to erect a bust of MR. RONALD NGALA, its president, who is also leader of the Kenya African Democratic Union, was immediately criticized by MR. T. J. MBOYA, Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs, who described the decision as unconstitutional, and emphasized that the plan would involve misuse of regional funds.

Obituary

LORD KILLEARN, G.C.M.G., C.B., M.V.O., who has died at the age of 84, became High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan in 1934.

MR. W. D. C. L. PURVES, C.B.E., who has died in this country, aged 76, joined the Sudan Political Service in 1913 after a short period of teaching at Eton, and between 1930 and 1938 was governor of four of the provinces. He was in Kenya when war broke out in the following year, and until 1941 served as deputy censor. Then he went back to the Sudan as principal of the School of Administration. He retired in 1944.

E.A.W.L. Party

THE ENGLAND BRANCH of the East Africa Women's League will hold a sundowner party at the Royal Commonwealth Society headquarters in London from 6 to 9 p.m. on Wednesday next, September 30. Tickets (10s.) may be obtained from Mrs. Swynerton, 35 Lower Road, Fetcham, Leatherhead, Surrey. Payment may be made at the door. Anyone from or connected with East Africa will be welcome.

Next Steps in Southern Rhodesia

Consulting the Chiefs and Headmen

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, told Parliament last week that the decision about Southern Rhodesia's independence would be made by a referendum of all registered voters and consultation with Africans within the tribal structure. The Leader of the Opposition, Sir Edgar Whitehead, had agreed to co-operate in the effort to find the best means of carrying out "this vast exercise".

By resorting to intimidation and violence, including murder and arson, extreme African nationalists had deliberately tried to undermine the tribal structure, but by overplaying their hand they had forfeited the little sympathy which Africans in the mass had had for them. The great bulk of the people retained their affiliation with the tribal trust areas. Among them were the more mature Africans, who were good citizens. Their opinion could be obtained only within the framework of the tribal system through the chiefs and headmen. There would be no question of one man one vote for tribal Africans.

Party differences should be set aside on this great national issue of independence. "Let our united aim be independence by Christmas".

Sir Roy Welensky's Misgivings

Sir Roy Welensky said when opening his by-election campaign in the Arundel constituency that Mr. Smith was taking a considerable gamble in committing the country to secure approval for independence from the mass of Africans. He did not agree that consent should be required from persons without a vote.

"A right-wing Government has now said that it recognizes that illiterate masses are going to have a say in the settlement of one of the most serious problems Rhodesia has faced. Where does this consultation end? If the African is capable of expressing an opinion on a matter as serious and complex as this, should he then be told that he cannot express his preference for a member of Parliament?"

The scheme put to the chiefs and headmen must be genuine. Anything less would hold Rhodesia up to derision. One of the Government's problems was that there was no African on its benches in the House.

On Friday the Prime Minister told Parliament that a committee containing Government and Opposition M.P.s was already investigating the best way of testing African opinion. Sir Edgar Whitehead, saying that he was convinced of the Prime Minister's sincerity in the matter, promised Opposition help in the production of a workable scheme.

Mr. Paul Chanetza, an African Independent M.P., suggested that the consultation of African opinion should be supervised by a Cabinet Minister from Britain or an official from Tanganyika or the United Nations.

Mr. Smith said on Monday that Africans under restriction orders would not be allowed to express their views on independence, but the nationalists not under restriction could express their opinions if they acted within the law and without intimidation and thuggery. Restrictive orders on the B roll would be entitled to vote in the referendum.

British observers would be welcome, but there could be no question of independent jurors conducting the test.

Mr. S. E. Morris, Secretary for Internal Affairs, is touring the country to consult district commissioners about the testing of African opinion.

Commonwealth Comments

It became known in London at the week-end that some Commonwealth Prime Ministers, having received the *communiqué* issued after the talks between Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Mr. Smith, had expressed fears that what the Southern Rhodesian Government intended would be no more than "bogus soundings" among tribal chiefs in Government pay. A number of Governments, including those of Uganda and Tanganyika, had said that African opinion could not be satisfactorily tested unless the ban on the nationalist parties was removed and their leaders set free.

Mzee Kenyatta, Prime Minister of Kenya, telegraphed to the British Prime Minister (with copies to all other Commonwealth Prime Ministers):—

"The Prime Minister of Kenya presents his compliments to

the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and has the honour to refer to a statement made by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia on the nature of the referendum to determine the support enjoyed by his Government. The statement states that the referendum would be confined to registered voters excluding the majority of the population.

It is dishonest to believe that African opinion can best be ascertained through consultation with paid chiefs and headmen who are the civil servants of the Southern Rhodesia Government. So far no mention is made of the release of African political leaders. I do not believe that Britain could be a party to this disguised plot to deceive the people and the world. Nor should Britain recognize the proposals as a basis for granting of independence based on the spirit of the talks at our recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

"Attempt to Fool the World"

"My Government and I reject and condemn completely this attempt to fool the world, and believe that any referendum must be based on one-man-one-vote franchise for the entire population. Kenya would be prepared to loan suitable officers to supervise such a referendum if help is needed".

On behalf of the Kenya African National Union, the general secretary, Mr. T. J. Mboya, said on the same day:— "K.A.N.U. is appalled at the blatant dishonesty of the white minority Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Ian Smith, in attempting to go back on his promises over the Constitution. He agreed in London that the country will not move to independence under the present Constitution without the support of the African people. Now, instead of a referendum, he announces that there will be what he calls 'consultations within the tribal structure' for the Africans. From our own Colonial experience and from what is happening in South Africa we know what this means: the Government will parade a few paid stooges and claim that they represent the people.

"We repeat what the nationalist leaders of Zimbabwe have declared: nothing less than a referendum of all adult inhabitants of the country under conditions of political freedom will be accepted as valid.

"Kenya has hundreds of officials of all races who are experienced in the conduct of registration and polling among non-literate voters. In spite of our urgent needs, our Government would be prepared to lend some of them to advise and assist in the mounting of a simple 'Yes-No' referendum among all the people of Southern Rhodesia.

"No British Government could countenance the fraud which the white minority proposes to launch, since this would be a breach of what was agreed at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. It is necessary that the British Government issue a statement clarifying whether they agreed in London to the plan now announced by Mr. Smith. Without such clarification the people in Southern Rhodesia may be led to believe that this plan is backed by the British Government".

Arms Training for Children

MR. ABED KARUME, First Vice-President of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, who was previously President of Zanzibar, said a few days ago at an athletics meeting of primary school children in the Mao Tse Tung Stadium in Zanzibar that the time had come for children to take their part in protecting their country. They must learn to protect their own lives, and that could be done only by using arms. Instruction would be given by their teachers with the help of members of the police. Zanzibar aims at an army of about 2,600 men. Equipment has been received from Russia and China, and there are known to be about 70 military instructors from Soviet Russia on the island.

On A Razor's Edge

"NORTHERN RHODESIA is on a razor's edge. We must train local staff quickly. Yet also we cannot afford to lose efficiency, and to this end we must ensure that the normal competition of individuals to do a better job in order to succeed in their careers is continued. Truly a razor's edge, for the accelerated promotion of local personnel is a most delicate study in human relationships, and a tremendous responsibility rests on those who are concerned".—Dr. Kaunda, Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia, speaking to the Rhodesia Institute of Management.

Sir Richard Catling to Leave Kenya African To Be Chief of Police

SIR RICHARD CATLING, Inspector-General of Police in Kenya, is to be replaced by an African at the end of the year — months earlier than had been expected. The announcement was made by the Prime Minister, Mzee Kenyatta, who said: —

"The Government, after careful consultation with the chairman of the Police Service Commission and Sir Richard Catling, have decided that Sir Richard's place as Inspector-General of Police will be taken by an African officer on January 1, 1965. On that date Sir Richard will leave Kenya on earned leave prior to retirement. His retirement is no reflection on the admirable service he has rendered to the Government of Kenya prior to and after independence.

"The decision is in accord with the policy of Government for the Africanization of the public service.

"I am glad of this opportunity to say again that the work being done by expatriate officers still in the service is valuable and appreciated. On this occasion I refer particularly to those in the police. Also to assure them that until such time as they can be replaced by Africans their services will continue to be required and they need fear no victimization.

"In the case of the police it is, of course, the function of the Police Service Commission, advised by the Inspector-General, to decide when the services of an expatriate officer is no longer required and he can be given notice of Africanization with full benefits in the terms of the scheme for retirement benefits attached to Personnel Circular No. 10 of May 1, 1963."

When Kenya became independent nine months ago the title of Commissioner of Police was changed to that of Inspector-General. Sir Richard was knighted in January last. He had been transferred from Malaya to Kenya as Deputy Commissioner in 1954 at the time of the Mau Mau Rebellion and had quickly won the confidence of the country.

Several Ministers and more M.P.s in Kenya have pressed for his removal, especially since he went to the airport to bid farewell to Assistant Commissioner Leslie Pridgeon when he was recently expelled at 24 hours' notice, and a little later when Mr. Ian Henderson, another Assistant Commissioner, and a Kenyan by birth, was similarly deported.

It had been understood that the post of Inspector-General was not to be Africanized until about the middle of next year. Sir Richard had expected to hand over to an African at that time.

The £1m. factory of Kenya Rayon Mills, Ltd., in Mombasa will shortly increase its labour staff from 250 to 400.

Seventeen new businesses financed from the U.S.A. have been established in Kenya since January, the American Ambassador has stated.

New public and private companies incorporated in Kenya last year numbered 360. At the end of the year there were 288 public and 4,717 private companies on the register.

India is to provide millions of pounds for the establishment of textile mills and a sugar factory in Kenya. She has also promised technical assistance in the Tana River hydro-electric project.

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200 Strikes in Kenya This Year Minister Again Warns Trade Union

MR. E. N. MWENDWA, Minister for Labour and Social Services in Kenya, has issued a statement which says (in part): —

"Despite several statements by myself over the past few months drawing attention to the provisions of the tripartite agreement which prohibits strike or lockout action, strikes and go-slow actions continue to be frequent. Strikes have now exceeded 200 this year.

"The Prime Minister has made a similar reference to the violation of the terms of the tripartite agreement.

"It has been decided that as a first step towards protection of the agreement, the Ministry of Labour will not intervene or provide conciliation machinery in any strikes until there is an immediate and complete resumption of work. Trade unions are still under the impression that dismissals cannot be carried out under the provisions of the Agreement. That is incorrect: management retains the right of dismissal for disciplinary reasons, but such dismissals may be the subject of appeal.

"Government expects the agreement to be honoured. I remind all parties of clause (c) (iv) which states: 'Government undertakes that if the terms of this agreement are not respected by the trade unions or the employers it will introduce emergency legislation to ensure compliance with the agreement'."

A "Commonwealth in Books Exhibition" is being held at Marlborough House, London, until October 15.

All members of the Zanzibar Government were last week given authority to sign property confiscation orders.

The number of Southern Rhodesian Africans detained, restricted, or in jail for political offences is now rather more than 2,000.

The Kenya Olympic Association is sending six athletes (including Seraphino Antao) and 18 hockey players to the Tokyo games.

An African police reservist was beaten and stabbed to death in Harare African township, near Salisbury, last week while off duty.

A V.C. 10 of British United Airways reached Entebbe from London last week in 7 hours 36 minutes, carrying 84 passengers and five tons of cargo.

A new secondary school with a technical bias to be opened in the capital of Northern Rhodesia is to be called the "David Kaunda Secondary School", after the Prime Minister's father.

The Soviet Minister for Education visited Mogadishu for the opening of a school provided by Russia, which is also building a radio station, hospital, milk, meat and fish factories, and a harbour at Berbera.

New East African currency notes to be issued on October 12 will not carry the Queen's head. It will be substituted by a picture of Lake Victoria, symbolizing the meeting-place of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika.

Nine community development assistants are spending three months in the Philippines on fellowships awarded by A.I.D. After leaving Manila the seven men will go to India for a month and the two women to Taiwan for two months.

An African member of Nairobi City Council having been disqualified for non-payment of debts due to the council, the Minister for Local Government ordered an immediate investigation as to whether other councillors had acted similarly.

When Templar Barracks, near Nairobi, are vacated by the British Forces in December, they are to be used by the Government of Kenya for a large secondary school, a teacher training college, and a double-stream primary school for about 700 pupils.

A Foreign Service seminar sponsored by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation of Sweden is being held in Lusaka. Fifteen Northern Rhodesians, five persons from Malawi, four each from Kenya and Uganda, and two from Tanganyika-Zanzibar are attending.

The Commonwealth Development Corporation has agreed to invest £460,000 in two tea estates in Uganda by lending £360,000 to Mwenge Tea Co., Ltd., and £100,000 to Bugambe Plantation Co., Ltd., both of them subsidiaries of the Uganda Development Corporation.

The Congress National Union, an African political party recently formed in Southern Rhodesia, telegraphed to the Organization for African Unity meeting in Addis Ababa disclaiming representation of Southern Rhodesian Africans by Mr. Shamyarira, and declaring that Z.A.N.U. and P.C.C. have been banned "because of thuggery hooliganism among Africans".

Rebel Ministers Criticize Dr. Banda

Suspended by Malawi Congress Party

THE THREE MINISTERS in Malawi whom Dr. Banda Bwanausi — held a midnight meeting in a school hall in Blantyre and told a packed audience why they had been dissatisfied with Dr. Banda's policies. They received a standing ovation, and enough money was dismissed and the three who thereupon resigned have been suspended from membership of the Malawi Congress Party on the ground that statements attributed to them "are at odds with their pledges of loyalty to the party". They are to remain suspended until a full inquiry has been made and are prohibited from attending meetings.

Four days after the announcement was made four of the six — Messrs. Chipembere, Chisiza, Chokani, and collected to send more than 100 telegrams to the Prime Minister demanding the re-admission to the Cabinet of those who had been dismissed or had resigned.

The telegram read: "Completely support our Ministers. Request our Prime Minister to take these loyal and courageous men back into Cabinet in interests of peace, unity, and prosperity of Malawi. Request members to go back to Cabinet. Believe that return of Ministers will help return of confidence internally and externally".

Officials of the party are stated to have attended the meeting.

Mr. Chipembere Will Not Be Muzzled

Mr. Chipembere said that he had told Dr. Banda that he had no intention of obeying the orders of the central executive committee of the party that he must not address meetings. He had been a politician before Dr. Banda's arrival, and he intended to speak and face the consequences. Since Dr. Banda had at his command Radio Malawi and all the Government publications, which gave only one side of the picture, he (Mr. Chipembere) would not be muzzled.

Mr. Bwanausi criticized Dr. Banda for having supported the nationalist party in Southern Rhodesia led by Mr. Sithole against the other party led by Mr. Nkomo. The consequence, he said, was that Africans from Malawi had been beaten up in Southern Rhodesia.

The four ex-Ministers said that they had no plan to form an opposition party or to oust the Prime Minister. They would, however, not return to Zomba until Dr. Banda had a change of heart on some important matters of policy. There must be Africanization of senior posts in the civil service, up to permanent secretary level, a review of policy towards Southern Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa, abolition of the 3d. health charge in hospitals, and abandonment of the Skinner Report by which wages of Africans in the civil service were reduced.

On Monday four of the ex-Ministers issued a joint statement that Sir Glyn Jones, the Governor-General, had invited them to meet the Prime Minister with a view to reconciliation, but that Dr. Banda had changed his mind and refused to see them after hearing reports about the Blantyre meeting. The Ministers had been willing to reach an understanding with the Prime Minister and co-operate with him, but his attitude "made an early settlement of the dispute impossible".

Recourse to Witch-Doctors

Speaking at Ngabu, 70 miles south of Blantyre, Dr. Banda had said on Sunday that Ministers whom he had dismissed had sent women to a witch-doctor in a village near Blantyre to get medicine to kill him. They had told the witch-doctor: "We want medicine so that when we shake hands with Kamuzu (Dr. Banda) he will die". The man, and three others who had also been approached, had refused. "I am too busy to die; neither will I retire", said Dr. Banda.

The rift between himself and "avaricious" ex-Ministers was, he declared, due to their jealousy of him. He would, he insisted, not promote an African just because he was an African, but when there were Africans of experience, responsibility, and integrity, he would gladly make them permanent secretaries and under-secretaries in Government departments. But he would not do it now just to please Mr. Chiume, Mr. Chirwa, Mr. Chipembere, and Mr. Bwanausi.

"The era of colonialism is almost over, but the frontiers which arose from European competition and domination will long remain a curse to the people of Africa". — Sir Hugh Foot.

Chinese Warning to Dr. Banda

"Most Unfriendly Act" Denounced

THE CHINESE EMBASSY in Dar es Salaam has issued a statement warning Dr. Banda to change his "unfriendly attitude" towards Communist China in order to avoid becoming more and more isolated. His statements that the embassy had instigated opposition by Malawi Ministers and offered £18m. in exchange for Malawi recognition of Peking were described as "groundless fabrications and lies".

Friendship between the Chinese and African peoples was developing daily, and that was causing alarm to American, British, and other imperialists, who made all sorts of shameful slanders against China.

"In these circumstances it is regrettable that Dr. Banda should also viciously slander this embassy. This cannot but be considered a most unfriendly act towards the Chinese people, who are ready to develop relations of friendship and co-operation with the Malawian people in the cause of opposing imperialism, safeguarding national independence, and developing the national economy".

Ghana Request Rejected

A ZOMBA COURT on Monday rejected an application on behalf of the Ghana Government for the extradition of a Ghanaian, Daniel Amihya, former head of the Ghana security forces and president of the African Democratic Congress, a political party formed in London in opposition to Dr. Nkrumah. He had arrived in Malawi in mid-August as sales representative for a British company. The magistrate ruled that the Fugitive Offenders Act of 1881 did not apply because Ghana was a republic. The charge against Amihya was of conspiring to overthrow the Ghana Government and murder Nkrumah, who had sent a personal request to Dr. Banda in connexion with the application of extradition. A London barrister had flown to Malawi to defend the accused, who left by air for London immediately after the case had been dismissed.

Three Killed in Mosque

MR. KARUME, first Vice-President of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, has ordered an inquiry into a shooting incident in a mosque in Zanzibar in which two men and a boy were killed and a number of others injured, allegedly by a member of the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council. A man and a friend entered the mosque, accused the congregation of about 70 of holding a political meeting and plotting against the Government, and opened fire. A person arrested was later released. The Revolutionary Council numbers 32. A *Daily Telegraph* dispatch from Nairobi said: "It is known to contain a number of armed thugs who have committed robbery and violence against Asians".

Congo Commission

THE CONGO CONCILIATION COMMISSION appointed by the Organization of African Unity met in Nairobi on Friday. Mr. Tshombe said that he hoped it would not attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the Congo, but that he would facilitate contacts with Congolese rebel leaders. The commission is to visit Leopoldville, Brazzaville, and Burundi. Before leaving Nairobi on Monday for Elisabethville, where many thousands gathered to greet him, Mr. Tshombe said that he would not sit down with the rebel leaders. He interpreted the Addis Ababa resolution as meaning that the rebels, not the Government forces, were being asked to lay down their arms.

Northern Rhodesian Royalty Rights

(Continued from page 61)

"L. H. Gann, the author of Northern Rhodesia's official history, sees the influence of Ormsby-Gore, who had been appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies in the new Conservative Administration, as an important factor leading up to the subsequent Devonshire Agreement between the British Government and the company. 'Ormsby-Gore', he writes, 'was a personal friend as well as a connexion by marriage of Malcolm's (the B.S.A. Company managing director). He was convinced that the treatment received by the company in the past had not been very generous and that the Colonial Office should now deal frankly with London Wall especially since the company had influential friends in Parliament'. Later, in the 1930's, Ormsby-Gore was to become Colonial Secretary. In that capacity he once again showed himself as an important company ally, writing in a dispatch to the Northern Rhodesia Governor in January 1938 that he was 'not prepared to re-open the question of the title of the B.S.A. Company to the ownership of minerals throughout Northern Rhodesia'.

"There was no Northern Rhodesia signatory to the Devonshire Agreement of September 1923. Nor is any information available in Northern Rhodesia—or publicly elsewhere—about the negotiations between the British Government and about the company which preceded it, or the reasons which led to the reversing of Mr. Churchill's earlier decision that the matter should go to the Privy Council. What emerged may best be described as a complex bargain between the Crown and the company covering matters in Southern as well as Northern Rhodesia, in which claims on one side were broadly speaking traded against claims on the other.

Cautious Phraseology

"The bargain in Northern Rhodesia essentially was that the company gave up its claim to be reimbursed for the administrative deficits (then amounting to about £1.6m.) in return for a form of acknowledgement by the Crown of its claimed mineral and other rights in the territory.

"But the form of words used in the acknowledgement was very carefully chosen. Clause 3 reads: 'The company shall retain and the Crown shall recognize the company as the owner of the mineral rights acquired by the company in virtue of the concessions obtained from Lewanika in North-Western Rhodesia and concessions in North-Eastern Rhodesia covered by the aforesaid certificates of claim issued by Sir H. Johnston'.

"This choice of words is all the more pointed when it is compared with those in the corresponding clause of the agreement which deals with the company's claims in Southern Rhodesia. In this latter case (clause 2 (d)) 'The Crown recognizes the company as the owner of the mineral rights throughout the territory'.

"In insisting on this reference to the 'concessions' and 'certificates of claim' and declining to use an expression like 'throughout the territory' the Crown was leaving open two possibilities: that there were areas of Northern Rhodesia where the company's claims might not be covered by either the concessions or by the treaties covered by the certificates of claim, and, at least by implication, it was asserting that its own recognition of the company's claim in areas which might be covered in one or other of the two specified ways was dependent on the prior validity of the concessions and treaties. Thus the 1923 agreement left the company's position almost as challengeable in law as it had been before. But successive British Governments in the years that followed prevented a legal challenge from ever being mounted.

"From Northern Rhodesia criticism of the company's position continued to be heard. Even before the agreement in July 1923, Yeta III, Paramount Chief of Barotseland, had addressed a long petition to the Privy Council challenging the company's position on a wide range of grounds.

Sir Hubert Young's Doubts

"A bold and illuminating—if unsuccessful—attempts to re-open the whole issue was made in 1937 by the then Governor, Sir Hubert Young. Mounting criticism of the royalty arrangement (under which in 1937 the company drew the already appreciable gross income of £301,000) and the continuing uncertainty about the validity of its origins persuaded Governor Young to undertake a careful new investigation of the whole affair. The results were summarized in a dispatch to the Colonial Office together with a long memorandum and accompanying map. One of the curious features of the present situation is that Governor Young's dispatch is not available to the Government of Northern Rhodesia to-day. Still, from the memorandum, from the map, and from two dispatches sent from the Colonial Office by way of reply, the main outline of Governor Young's argument is clear enough.

"His contentions were finally rejected by the then Colonial Secretary, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Sir Hubert appears to have challenged the applicability of the Lewanika concession to the Copperbelt areas on either side of the Kafue.

"In an earlier dispatch on the same subject in the same year, Mr. W. Ormsby-Gore had stated flatly that he wished to make it clear in the most explicit manner that I am not prepared to re-open the question of the title of the British South Africa Company to the ownership of the minerals throughout Northern Rhodesia'.

"But the MacDonald dispatch failed to silence the critics. In 1940 the matter was raised in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council. In 1944, and each subsequent year up to 1949, it was raised and pressed with increasing vigour by non-official European members of the Legislative Council, particularly by Mr. (as he then was) Roy Welensky. This pressure eventually led to the new agreement in 1950. Its build-up was obviously accelerated by the tremendous increase in the company's royalty income in the early post-war years. From £416,000 in 1946, gross royalty income jumped to £1,257m. in 1947, to £2,238m. in 1948, and to £2,628m. in 1949.

"Against this background it is not the Welensky pressure which is surprising. What is astonishing is the time it took to produce any results. Welensky had first re-opened the matter in 1944. He continued to raise it with increasing vigour and more and more outspoken language year by year in the period after the war. Welensky rarely pulled his punches. About the original concessions he questioned 'whether any African chief, whether he was the King of the Barotsé or any other African chief, knew what he was disposing of in parting with the mineral rights'. About the Devonshire Agreement his criticisms were, if anything, still more cogent: 'The point I want to make', as he once put it in a reference to the Devonshire Agreement in a Legislative Council speech, 'which is most important and to my mind thoroughly immoral is that the people of this country, black and white, were completely ignored. I find it difficult to express in decent English my views of the actions of a Government of that nature—that they should sell, give, barter, whatever you care to call it, the mineral wealth of a country for which they were trustees to a private company—without even consulting the people'. This speech came in 1948 after Welensky had been hammering away at the issue for nearly five years. It was not until 1946, two years after he had first raised the matter, that it came up for serious consideration at the Colonial Office. It was a further two years before those who were responsible for the pressure, the non-official European members of the Legislative Council, were first asked to send representatives to a meeting at the Colonial Office in July 1948.

Sir Andrew Cohen's Summary

"The Colonial Office representatives described how the possibility of buying out the company had been studied in a joint exercise with the Treasury starting in 1946. (Characteristically, the exercise had taken so long that, with royalty income rising fast, the only acceptable buying-out price was regarded as impossibly high when the exercise was complete). But the most interesting point about the meeting is that it broke up after there had been general agreement with a proposal of Sir Andrew Cohen, the top Colonial official present, that the matter should be referred to a commission of inquiry. This conclusion was confirmed at a second meeting held early in August over which the Colonial Secretary presided.

"The results of the first of these two meetings were summarized in an important letter written by Sir Andrew Cohen and circulated for his information to the Colonial Secretary. The letter goes a long way towards admitting the validity of the Northern Rhodesian case on the royalties issue—and certainly very much further than any other official British statement which is available to the Northern Rhodesian Government to-day. After referring to the 'serious doubts' expressed about the company's title by Sir Hubert Young and to the fact that Northern Rhodesians had never accepted the subsequent MacDonald dispatch as the last word on the matter, Sir Andrew went on: 'It is impossible not to have great sympathy with the Northern Rhodesia point of view. There are certainly areas of Northern Rhodesia... where the authority of the Paramount Chief of Barotseland, on which the mineral rights in the western part of the territory are based, never ran. If action had been taken at the right time there is little doubt that the company would not have established mineral rights in these areas. They include the Nkana and Nchanga mines, representing not far short of half the copper production of the territory. The point made in the law officers' opinion (on which the 1938 MacDonald dispatch was based) was that the recognition in practice of the company's rights by the Colonial Office over a long period of years, coupled with the specific recognition of these rights in the preamble to the 1912 Mining Proclamation, debarred H.M.G. from challenging the company's rights. Nonetheless there is little doubt that the natives of the areas in question could do so if they had the knowledge and the means'.

"The Cohen letter went on to outline the proposal to set up a commission of inquiry. 'Its results', he argued, 'would be twofold: in the first place it might (and I believe would) establish that the company should be paid something less than the commercial value of their mineral rights when the purchase took place in view of doubts about their title in certain areas. In the second place it would almost certainly establish that the responsibility for the present situation rests entirely on H.M.G. and it might therefore recommend that H.M.G. should bear part of the purchase price'.

"One would have supposed that the stage had at last been set for a thorough investigation into the validity of the company's title. But no. Nothing more was ever heard of the proposal. It was evidently dropped in the same mysterious way that Churchill's early decision to refer the matter to the Privy Council was subsequently reversed. In neither case has the present Northern Rhodesian Government got access to the documents which give an account of these changes of plan. But it would be naive not to assume that on both occasions there were important contacts between the British Government and the company before the plans were changed.

"On both occasions, of course, the company had an obvious financial interest in preventing a thorough-going investigation of its title. And in 1948, at any rate, the narrow financial interests of the British Government pointed in the same direction. For, as the Cohen letter had pointed out, a commission of inquiry might well find that 'responsibility for the present situation rests entirely on H.M.G. and it might therefore recommend that H.M.G. should bear part of the purchase price'. The upshot was that instead of an investigation there was a bargain.

Sir Roy Welensky's Intervention

"The royalties question had been raised again by Welensky in the Legislative Council in November 1948, and this time he threatened to move at the following session a motion asking permission to tax the royalties. This threat represented perhaps the high-water mark of Welensky's campaign against the royalties. For one reason or another it was not put into effect at the subsequent March session.

"Then, in May 1949, Welensky had a meeting with Sir Dougal Malcolm, president of the B.S.A. Company, in Bulawayo. At this Bulawayo meeting a reconciliation began between Welensky, representing the European settlers, and the company. Welensky agreed that his threat to propose a royalty tax would be dropped. The company conceded that it would be ready to negotiate with the British Government if invited to do so by the Colonial Secretary. It also emerged that the subsequent bargaining would almost certainly centre round the question of how long the company's enjoyment of the mineral rights should continue.

"By the 1950 agreement which ensued the company was to 'continue in undisturbed enjoyment, as now, of the mineral rights owned by the company in Northern Rhodesia until October, 1986'. But meanwhile, the company agreed to assign to the Northern Rhodesian Government from October 1, 1949, 20% of its gross royalty income (the sums so assigned to be treated as a cost for income tax purposes). In Clause 11 (b) the British Government insured itself against the possibility that Northern Rhodesia might cease to be a dependent territory before the terminal date in 1986. It undertook, in that event 'so far as it is possible to do so, to secure' that the successor Government in Northern Rhodesia would be bound by the agreement. But, with this proviso, it was stipulated in the agreement that if British sovereignty over Northern Rhodesia should in fact pass before October 1, 1986, the British Government's liability under the agreement would pass with it.

Government's "Questionable Morality"

"It is hard to reconcile this agreement and the British Government's rôle in it with the sentiments expressed earlier in the Cohen letter. And it is almost impossible to imagine that such an agreement could have come about had the Cohen letter's commission of inquiry actually been set up. For, if Cohen was right, the commission's recommendations would at the very least have reflected the well-known doubts about the validity of the company's title. And it would also have held that the 'responsibility' for the situation rested 'entirely' with H.M.G. An agreement which at least purported to leave the company with the guaranteed enjoyment for more than a generation of more than 80% of its previous post-tax royalty income could scarcely have been squared with such findings. Nor could an agreement which at least appeared to involve the British Government in no financial obligation at all.

"What is clear is that once Welensky and the other representatives of Northern Rhodesia's European community came around, in those negotiations in July 1949, to an agreed settlement with the company, the British Government felt no need to extract more realistic terms. Neither in the light of its greater knowledge of the facts—its familiarity with Sir Hubert Young's criticisms of the company's title (which were not, of

course, available to Welensky)—nor in view of its duties as the protecting Power of the territory's African population, did the British Government feel constrained to insist on a better bargain. Indeed, as earlier in the history of these royalties, the British Government behaved as if its obligations as a protecting Power were altogether subordinate to its own narrow financial interests.

"On this occasion it even went so far as attempting to ensure that its own obligations under the agreement would eventually lapse and that the burden of continuing to honour it—or the odium of appearing to break it—would fall on those whose interests it was morally and constitutionally bound to protect. If it is recalled that the great mass of the protected African population was totally unrepresented in the negotiations which led up to the agreement—and that the situation was one for which the British Government was 'entirely responsible'—the morality of the whole operation looks thoroughly questionable".

Title Unavailable, Says Chartered President

MR. P. V. EMRYS EVANS, president of the Chartered Company, issued a statement last week which said *inter alia* :—

"Our title to the mineral rights has been repeatedly confirmed by British Governments of all parties, no doubt on the highest legal advice, and we are satisfied on the advice of leading counsel that our title is legally unassailable. Northern Rhodesian legislation is founded on this basis.

"We are very proud of the company's record in Northern Rhodesia. When we assumed responsibility for the administration of that country at the turn of the century the company's resources were entirely devoted to economic and social development. We ended the slave trade which was ravaging the North-Eastern and North-Western parts of the country; we brought peace and an end to tribal warfare; we built the railways and the roads, established health services, and set up the general administration of the country.

"We paid no dividend for 35 years. The company encouraged and partly financed the prospecting which led to the discovery of the Copperbelt. In association with the two great copper groups we have played a major part in financing the development of the copper mines, and much of this expenditure was incurred in the days before the profitability of the mines was established. We are still fully participating in new developments and have a very large investment in the mining industry.

"Since the 1950 agreement the Northern Rhodesia Government has received and is still receiving 20% of the mineral royalties, and, in addition, a large proportion of the remainder by way of tax. In fact, in recent years the Northern Rhodesia Government has been receiving a larger proportion of the royalties than the company.

"We recognize that the Zambia Government will desire to acquire our mineral rights on independence and we do not wish to stand in their way. We do, however, ask for justice and fair compensation in accordance with fundamental rights which are internationally recognized".

Representatives of the British and Northern Rhodesian Governments discussed the royalties issue in London on Monday. In the absence of the Malta independence celebrations of the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, the U.K. delegation was led by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Dilhorne. The British view is that compensation is a matter for settlement between Northern Rhodesia and the Chartered Company.

NORTHERN

RHODESIA

For Information
APPLY TO

The Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia
ESTATE HOUSE, HAYMARKET,
LONDON, S.W.1.

Telegrams: "NORHODCOM LESQUARE LONDON"
Telephone: WHITEHALL 5858 Cables: "NORHODCOM LONDON"

Company Report

Nyasaland Railways Limited

MR. A. H. BALL'S STATEMENT

THE THIRTY-THIRD ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF NYASALAND RAILWAYS LIMITED was held on September 17 in London, and was followed by an extraordinary general meeting at which resolutions were passed changing the name of the Company to MALAWI RAILWAYS LTD., and effecting certain alterations to the Articles of Association.

The following is an extract from the annual statement by the chairman, Mr. A. H. BALL:—

The major re-organization of the Railway, which I dealt with last year, resulted in a considerable reduction in the number of staff employed. It is unfortunate that the drive for economy should be the cause of unemployment, but the retrenchment of staff was a necessary correction of unrealistic increases in preceding years when the number of additional staff employed had been out of all proportion to the annual rates of traffic. The retrenchment programme was effected with the full co-operation of both Government and the employees' organization, and those members of the staff whose services were dispensed with received generous compensation.

Unfortunately, the problems which were surmounted during the course of the re-organization programme were accompanied by a serious fall in the tonnage carried. The financial results for 1963 are, to say the least, very disappointing, and this is due in no small degree to the serious effect of road competition. There is not the slightest doubt that an increasing quantity of consumer goods which are being manufactured in Southern Rhodesia are reaching Malawi by road transport on the direct road from Salisbury to Blantyre. This is a matter which has been brought to the notice of Government, and it is to be hoped that steps will be taken to encourage the return of traffic to rail.

Improved Services

Let it not be thought that we are standing still in the provision of improved services to the public and in investigating possible future developments. Express goods services are now being operated six days per week from Bulawayo and Salisbury to Limbe, Blantyre and Salima, and emphasis is being placed on the fact that these faster freight services operate regularly and efficiently all the year round even when roads are impassable during the rains.

Furthermore, in order to be in a position to offer thoroughly efficient and competitive road-rail and road-lake facilities from the rail-head at Salima to the central and northern regions of Malawi and the Fort Jameson district of Northern Rhodesia, we acquired, during the year, a substantial interest in a transport company long established at Lilongwe, the name of which has recently been changed to Road Motor Services Limited.

The Lake service continues to be a severe burden on the Company's finances, and, during the year 1963, suffered a working loss in excess of £70,000. The service is, however, indispensable to communications throughout a large part of the country, and it is to be hoped that, with revised schedules and the possible use of certain vessels for bulk oil carrying, the annual operating loss may be considerably reduced.

For the reasons which I have just given, operations over the whole system showed a profit of only £157,000 as against £406,000 in 1962. This shortfall has a serious effect on the Company's revenue and not only has it been impossible to pay a dividend to ordinary share-

holders, but we have also been unable to provide for the payment of interest on the 3½ per cent. Consolidated Income Debenture Stock.

We have cut down very severely expenditure on civil engineering work generally, but replacement of track will nevertheless involve considerable expenditure in the coming years despite the fact that the railway workshops at Limbe are working miracles in rehabilitating sleepers and other secondhand material. In order to maintain efficiency we must, of course, continue to incur capital expenditure on essential items, and some £144,000 had to be spent in 1963 in addition to the expenditure on the new diesel electric locomotives.

Success of Training Scheme

We are doing our utmost to train the local staff for more responsible positions on the railway and to this end a revised and extended curriculum has been introduced for traffic and certain other staff attending our training centre at Limbe. This programme is already achieving good results. As a further aid to the training of more senior employees who live on the line, we have completed a new hostel for forty-eight students adjacent to the training centre, and this facility is now being brought into use. At this stage, it is not possible to run the railway system without a nucleus of railway-trained qualified and experienced expatriates in key posts. The numbers of staff in this category have been reduced to a minimum and can be further reduced only as Malawians gain the required experience and qualifications to take over the key positions.

The economies introduced have made life more difficult and more challenging for all members of the staff over the length of the system from Itungi in Tanganyika to Sena on the Zambezi. To all employees, in whatever category they may serve, I would like to express the thanks and appreciation of the board for all their hard-working efforts in the interests of the Company.

A treaty of commerce is being negotiated between Malawi and Portugal.

Alex Lawrie & Co., Ltd., report group net profits after tax to June 30 at £134,136 (£104,667). Shareholders receive 15% (12½%).

Staplegreen Insurance Holdings, Ltd., owners of all the preferred ordinary shares in Hogg Robinson and Capel-Cure, Ltd., and that company are to merge.

Prospects for African primary commodities, especially coffee, cocoa, cotton and timber, have been discussed at a three-day seminar in Edinburgh which ended yesterday.

The chairman of Buchwa Co., Ltd., Southern Rhodesia, said at the week-end that two million tons of iron ore from the Ingesia area could be produced by 1966, and that the industry would soon be earning millions of pounds annually in foreign exchange. A branch railway to the area has just been opened.

Zanzibar and East Germany signed a trade agreement on Monday under which Zanzibar will receive £860,000 worth of machinery for light industry and food production. East Germany is to set up a £180,000 brick factory and supply 16 fishing vessels within the next three years and help in the creation of a State building enterprise.

A drink-more-coffee campaign is to be started by the International Coffee Organization. Coffee producing member countries will pay a levy of 15 United States cents per 60 kilo bag for 75% of each member's authorized export quota for the year ending on September 30, 1964. Contributions are due March 31. The estimate is that 5.3m. dollars will thus be raised.

HALL LINE HARRISON LINE

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LOBITO, CAPETOWN, *MOSEL BAY, PORT ELIZABETH, EAST LONDON, DURBAN, AND MAURITUS (also Walvis and Luderitz Bay with transhipment).

| | | | |
|----------------|---------|----------|------------|
| Vessel | Glasgow | S. Wales | Birkenhead |
| CITY OF OXFORD | 8 Oct. | 12 Oct. | 120 Oct. |

† If Inducement. * With or without transhipment. † Closing 19 Oct. for Mauritius

DURBAN, LOURENÇO MARQUES and BEIRA A (also Inhambane, Chinde and Quelimane with transhipment).

| | | |
|---------------|---------|------------|
| Vessel | Glasgow | Birkenhead |
| DALHEM (HALL) | 28 Oct. | 25 Sept. |
| CUSTODIAN | | 6 Nov. |

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MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY Climbing to a record-level of output this year.

RAILWAYS
Setting new freight traffic records.

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Rising production of beef, citrus, and sugar. Vast irrigation projects expanding in Sabi-Limpopo lowveld.

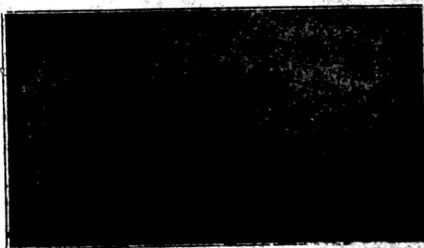
THERE ARE MANY OPPORTUNITIES FOR SAFE INVESTMENT IN RHODESIA

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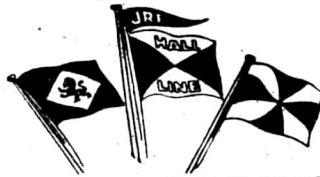
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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1964

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

A PRIME MINISTER who tells his Parliament that members of the Cabinet are "crooks", disgruntled because his supervision has denied them quick wealth from bribes, and so anxious to be rid of him that he is in danger of assassination, exposes himself as well as those whom he denounces. Yet there is no hint of recognition of that self-evident fact in the speech of Dr. Banda which is recorded in this issue. His accusations against men whom he alone selected for high office are worse than was indicated in the reports telegraphed when the speech was made; but the indictment (too long for textual reproduction) would not be accepted by any court in a free country as proving the charges made by the Ngwazi, who admitted, frankly or naïvely, that he had been alerted and influenced by anonymous letters. Documentary proof against the alleged conspirators was not to be expected, but if he could not substantiate his case much more convincingly the head of the Government would have been wise to say much less. Having lost one third of his Cabinet by dismissals and another third by sympathetic resignations, he had to give the country some explanation. It could and should have been more judicious, and less like a tirade composed to rouse a rally. Two of the ex-Ministers, Mr. Chipembere and Mr. Bwanausi, were more adroit.

The Ngwazi's ranting was supplemented, according to custom, by obedient obeisance from the party yes-men. Taking no chances that a few might sit silent, the Chief Whip openly ordered all of them to testify their loyalty. The result was a dreary succession of largely worthless utterances, some scarcely intelligible, and most mere repetitions of the canonical asser-

tions — some carried into blasphemy — that the Messiah, the Saviour, the Lion of Malawi, the Founder of the Nation, was its only hope, its soul, its life. All that the compliant exercise did was to demonstrate once more the appalling quality of many of the men who have been thrust into Parliamentary prominence by the will of Dr. Banda and perversion of an electoral process borrowed from Britain — primarily to bamboozle British politicians, certainly not to obtain free and fair expression of the views of Africans. Mr. Chipembere and Mr. Bwanausi made moderate and seemingly sincere speeches. They spoke with courtesy, restraint and dignity, arguing that they had not acted disloyally, insisting that they had merely fulfilled their duty to be candid in Cabinet, professing continued confidence in Dr. Banda as the country's only possible leader, and offering to co-operate with their successors in office, the party, and the Government. There was no hint of resentment in their replies, which contrasted creditably with the abuse heaped upon them by their vain and volatile leader. He must know that the proceedings of the two days destroyed the pretence that nobody matters in Malawi except the great Kamuzu, and that, despite the sychophantic paeans of praise from those whom he had made Members of Parliament (without even one of them having to contest an election), he can never again command unquestioned authority.

His future depends upon a complete change of tactics (not necessarily of major policy) and a basis of accommodation, and preferably of co-operation, with those whom he has so extravagantly praised in the past and now lost, especially with Mr. Chipembere, who has a greater public following than anyone in the country except the Prime Minister

Long Continued Humiliation.

himself. From his standpoint the worst aspect of the situation is Mr. Chipembere's insistence on leaving the Government to stand with his friends — friends who have long suffered in silence from the humiliations insensitively inflicted upon them by a Prime Minister who regularly described them in Parliament and from public platforms as "my boys" and treated them as such. This persistent denial of the prestige which is so important in African eyes inevitably offended the holders of portfolios under a leader so dictatorial and self-centred that he has been unable to forgo the pleasure of boasting that he is the source of all initiative and the arbiter of all decisions. Such an attitude would make a sense of unity impossible in any society. It was especially imprudent in Africa, where the tradition throughout the ages has been to discuss matters without regard to time, and, when all aspects have been patiently heard, to accept the judgment of the elders and act accordingly. Dr. Banda, who had been out of Africa for forty years, committed the elementary blunder on his return of offending against those principles. His Ministers were expected to be so subservient that when at long last they plucked up courage to speak out in Cabinet — where, he says, not one of them sided with him — he judged them to be conspirators, saboteurs, and subversionists.

Whether or not some of them have fallen to the blandishments, and perhaps substantial bribes, of Communist agents, as Dr. Banda has declared, we cannot know. That such temptations have been put in their way is highly likely; and it is common knowledge that

Two Kinds of Conspiracy.

Ministers in many other African countries have eagerly accepted large sums of money and expensive gifts in kind. The Malawi dictator would presumably not have used the term "crooks" unless he felt that the evidence in his possession was damning. That kind of conspiracy would be unforgivable. The innocent type of conspiracy, that of acting in concert by pre-arrangement, is, however, understandable, since those who had belatedly decided to speak frankly would naturally want the assurance of mutual support, well knowing that their irascible chief would regard even mildly phrased suggestions as personal affronts. Because of Dr. Banda's touchiness, tactlessness, and excitability his Ministers had good reason for private discussions before they broke their habit of obsequious acquiescence. Their resolve to be outspoken in the privacy of the Cabinet was legitimate if, as they affirm, they were uninfluenced by mercenary or other unworthy motives.

Notes By The Way

Two By-Elections

TWO BY-ELECTIONS in Salisbury constituencies, Arundel and Avondale, will be decided today. Interest has, of course, been concentrated on the former contest, in which Sir Roy Welensky, lately Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is opposed by Mr. Clifford Dupont, Deputy Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, whose prospects must have been substantially improved by the results of Mr. Ian Smith's visit to London. Though neither Mr. Dupont nor Sir Roy could have foreseen the outcome of the recent talks between the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and Southern Rhodesia, Sir Roy, who had been most reluctant to re-enter the political fray, had recognized from the outset that he faced the fight of his life, for the Rhodesian Front Government was certain to throw all its weight against him. It had obviously to try to prevent the entry into Parliament of the ablest and most experienced politician in all Central Africa, whose emergence from retirement would constitute a threat to Mr. Smith's Administration.

U.D.I.

WHILE GOVERNMENT PROPAGANDA continued to suggest the likelihood of a unilateral declaration of independence, a course which Sir Roy and very many other Rhodesians deemed disastrous, he could count on the votes of electors who shared his anxieties, but when

Mr. Smith declared after his London talks that no question of seizing independence could henceforth arise, he appeared to dislodge the chief plank in the Rhodesia Party platform. I write "appeared to dislodge" because there can be little doubt that U.D.I. (to use the current Rhodesian abbreviation) will re-emerge as a probability if the United Kingdom should dismiss the test of African opinion about independence which Mr. Smith has undertaken to make; and it would be ingenuous to assume that it will be considered satisfactory by whatever Government Britain may have after October 15.

Unhappy Confrontation

IT IS NOT widely understood in Southern Rhodesia, however, that the *detente* achieved by Mr. Smith's astute attitude in London may last only a few weeks longer; and the realization may be on too narrow a front in Arundel to inconvenience Mr. Dupont and substantially assist Sir Roy. The confrontation of these two protagonists is tragic, for neither can be spared from the public life of the country without hurt to its health. For the Government the defeat of Mr. Dupont would be a hard blow (even if he were soon returned to the House as the successful candidate in the by-election in the Charter constituency caused by his resignation), and incomparably the best chance of strengthening the Opposition—and that would be for the good of the country in general—would be Sir Roy's election. Those

who can take a non-party view can therefore not be happy about the result of today's polling, whatever it may be. If the Federation's late leader should lose, he would be tempted to decide on permanent retirement from politics. That would be understandable, but it would be gravely detrimental to Rhodesia.

A Novel to Keep

FEW NOVELS ABOUT East Africa have been good enough to claim shelf room. Of the hundreds which I have read over the years the vast majority have been poor, bad, or worse, leaving either no memory, or as in all too many cases, one of slush, sadism, or both. These books have done unquestionable harm, especially to Kenya, for so many of them have contributed to the warped idea that booze and sex come first in the estimation of the settler community. That was, of course, true in some cases (as it is in any country), but it was a grossly libellous generalization, and the more dangerous because it provided ammunition for those whose delight was to snipe at white rule and white enterprise, both of which they frequently wounded. Undeserved insistence, even in fiction, on the poor standards of white men and women made them and their ventures vulnerable. Their assailants, few of whom had anything like equivalent character or courage, may now contemplate the wreckage which they helped politicians to prepare.

"Burning Spear"

SIR ROGER CHANCE has now written a novel of which he has a right to be proud. It deals with Kenya as it is. His characters, white and black, are real; the setting is accurate; the narrative is brisk; the conversation is good. For instance, a settler says: "Same old Kenyatta. 'Burning Spear'; but he doesn't hold the spear. It's boys of the old guard. Baragulu makes a tough speech—you know, all the land is ours; we'll take it—and Jomo keeps mum. Then he has his own meeting the other side of the Rift, talks turkey, plays everything down, makes riddles. And if he lets out a few nasty cracks he denies the Press reports". Does that not reflect faithfully what thousands of Britons in Kenya have been saying for years?—not least experienced officials who had either to give administrative effect to the disasters of MacBlundellism or resign (which scarcely any were prepared to do).

Fact and Fiction

HE CAN'T RULE his kingdom with a fly-whisk, comments another character in "Be Absolute for Death". There are references to "tribes at cross-purposes led by politicians hungry for power"; to the struggle for power in Kenya being basically tribal passion; and to "talking chameleons who took colour from the audience, meaning every word they said to it, and then with no less meaning said the opposite to the next one". Those few samples indicate the accuracy of Sir Roger Chance's portrayal of the political aspects of his story, which, being about Kenya today, cannot avoid politics. It loses nothing of its appeal on that account; but it is not predominantly political. Kenyatta is the only Kenyan named. The narrator is a shrewd, sensible Scot, formerly of the Indian Forestry Service, who, invited to report on Kenya's forests, has dealings with a husband-and-wife settler team, a game ranger bereft by the death of his wife of everything that matters except his animals and his books, a missionary, and a number of Africans, including Mau Mau zealots and those who

loathe the bestial cult. Fact and fiction have been happily harmonized. The result is a novel about Kenya which I shall keep.

Curtailling A Scandal

ONE FEATURE of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London was the extravagance of many of the visitors, especially those from Africa. Most of them insisted on staying at the Mark I luxury hotels, where they wanted whole suites of rooms at the cost of their British hosts; and only the most expensive cars were good enough. The Ghana delegation demanded nine. So flagrant was the ostentation that something had to be done to check the squandermania on future occasions in order to limit the liability of the British taxpayer. It is he who always meets the bills, for, despite occasional references to the desirability of conferences in other capitals, nearly all the Commonwealth Ministers prefer the amenities of London—where too many of them linger too long. It has now been decided that Britain shall in future entertain visiting Prime Ministers and their wives, a private secretary, and one other Minister, and provide office accommodation and two cars for each delegation. Any country which considers that its chief spokesman requires a larger entourage and more transport will have to meet the additional cost. So few, if any, of them will henceforth send anything like so many representatives and hangers-on.

Twelve Thousand Killed

FRIENDS FROM ZANZIBAR have now given me 12,000 as the best estimate of the number of murders in the island during the revolution in January. That figure has reached me twice from different sources recently, having first been suggested by a man with exceptional sources of information. Soon after the rising, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA reported that the number of deaths was certainly not under 5,000 and might be double that number; and at that time daily papers in this country were telling their readers that there had been a few hundred casualties. Ministers from Tanganyika and Zanzibar who came to London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference told all and sundry that conditions in Zanzibar were perfectly normal and that there was no cause for anxiety—that, indeed, everything was so satisfactory that there was no news at all. I asked one Minister who made that nonsensical claim if he did not realize that there were now in the country quite a number of people recently back from Zanzibar who could testify that his statements were ridiculous. His only reply was that he would telephone so that we might make a mutually convenient appointment to talk about the matter. Needless to say, he did not keep his promise.

Strange Title

THERE WAS A CASE, no doubt, to change the name of the Rhodesian Section of the London Chamber of Commerce, but it is surprising to learn that the title of Rhodesia and Malawi Section has been preferred to the shorter and better alternative of Central African Section. The Chamber has had an East African Section for many years, and to the best of my knowledge nobody in or connected with Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika or Zanzibar, all now independent, has voiced the slightest objection to the maintenance of the old title. If East African Section is satisfactory to those States, why should Central African Section be unsatisfactory to the two Rhodesias and Malawi? Are we to expect another change when Northern Rhodesia become independent in October? Will someone then press for a Rhodesia, Malawi and Zambia Section? That prospect could have been averted by taking the Central African title now.

Malawi Ministers Denounced As "Crooks" — by Dr. Banda

Prime Minister's Account of the Conspiracy Against Him

THE HANSARD RECORD of the speech in which Dr. Kamuzu Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, told Parliament of the plot against him has now reached London.

As it shows him to have been more outspoken in his denunciations than was suggested by the reports telegraphed to U.K. newspapers, the following extensive passages are taken from the verbatim record, which runs to some 8,000 words.

"Unity, loyalty, discipline and obedience are the four cornerstones of the Malawi Congress Party, the Malawi Government, and the Malawi State. Once these four cornerstones are broken away there is no Malawi Congress Party, no Malawi Government, no State of Malawi. What do we get? Another Congo? Is that what anyone in this country wants?"

"What makes this country different from any other country in East and Central Africa are these four cornerstones on which we built first the old Nyasaland African Congress Party and then the Malawi Congress Party.

"I would rather see those benches empty and myself in the bush dead than see these four cornerstones destroyed. Once there is no unity, no loyalty, no discipline, no obedience, we are finished — just as the Congo.

"There is no unity in Cabinet, no loyalty in Cabinet, no discipline in Cabinet, no obedience in the Cabinet. Instead, disunity, disloyalty, indiscipline, disobedience; and that disunity, disloyalty, indiscipline and disobedience has even touched the central executive of the party.

Smouldering Embers of Disunity

"At the Cabinet meeting on August 26 there were a number of papers to be discussed — among them a paper on education. In the absence of the Minister for Education in Ottawa, I presented that paper — a draft Bill to establish the University of Malawi. That draft Bill sparked off the smouldering embers of disunity, disloyalty, indiscipline, disobedience, which I had noticed on my return from Cairo.

"My Ministers began to attack me. They all attacked me: I was shocked, because there I was, the Prime Minister, isolated, deserted by every one of my Ministers. Not one of them tried to defend me. They all attacked — viciously, violently, and most disrespectfully. Although the paper was on education, my Ministers turned it into a general discussion on my policies since we became self-governing.

"On the domestic scene they attacked me on hospital charges, Africanization, the Skinner Report. On the external scene, they attacked my policy in relation to Southern Rhodesia, Portugal, Peking China, and Formosa China. They told me that there was unrest, resentment, and bitterness among the people all over the country because I was charging tickies when people go to hospital. I have not Africanized the civil service and public boards such as the Reserve Bank of Malawi, the Malawi Development Corporation, Malawi Airways. They told me that there was trouble everywhere; if this trouble was to be avoided I had to scrap the Skinner Report, Africanize immediately, and drop the ticky charges.

"On the external scene they were even more furious with me. Why was I having any diplomatic relations with Portugal? Why did I have a man in Mozambique representing us? Why did I have my Airways going to Beira? Why did I have talks with the Portuguese on trade? On Peking and Formosa China, they demanded to know why I had not recognized Peking China. There was only one China, they said — Peking China. Formosa China only existed, they said, because Americans keep it there. 'We want recognition of Peking China, now, now, now, now. You must not have anything to do with Formosa, from today'.

"I could not believe it was my Ministers speaking to Kamuzu. I just couldn't believe it. Youens was there and the Clerk to the Cabinet. I tried my best to be sweet, to be calm. They talked, talked, talked, talked, I butting in and answering.

"I said: 'You say I am wrong in charging tickies in hospitals, doing the wrong thing by not Africanizing immediately, by not making every Permanent Secretary an African, by not having all the directors in the Reserve Bank of Malawi African. It means I have failed as Prime Minister. The only sensible and honourable thing for a Prime Minister, who is a failure is to resign.' So I said 'I resign now. I am going to Government House to advise His Excellency the Governor-General to send for you, Kanyama. If you cannot go to Government House to send for you, Kanyama, I will advise His Excellency to send for Ching'oli Chirwa. If you, Ching'oli Chirwa, cannot form a new Government, then Bwanausi or Yatuta Chisiza and on down along the list'. To my surprise, they said 'No; we didn't mean that'.

Ready to Resign

"I said to my Ministers: 'My job is done. Welensky is finished in Salisbury and you have your independence. The Union Jack has come down and you have your own flag. Why should I hang on to power when my job is done and when people have no confidence in me? I came here by the will of the people, and if the people do not want me in Zomba, then I am going back where I came from'.

"I told them that I was ready to go back to Ghana, Britain, or the United States, I do not want Kanyama Chiume, Ching'oli Chirwa, Yatuta Chisiza, Augustine Bwanausi or anyone who became Prime Minister to fear my political ghost. That is why I wanted to go away. I can live in Ghana, Britain, or the United States. I have friends in all these places. I am a professional man, a doctor of medicine. It is not politics that gave me names, Mr. Speaker. I had my name long before I even thought of politics, and I am not going to have irresponsible, ambitious, and malicious political puppets talk like that to me. So to these men I said: 'No, I am resigning'.

"Talk, talk, talk. We adjourned to resume next day. They repeated what they had said the day before. I repeated what I told them. I said: 'Put everything on paper. I will consider your complaints'. But I made it clear that I would consider concessions, compromises, accommodation only if I could do so with a clear conscience and the fullest sense of self-respect. Otherwise, I preferred to resign. They did not want me to resign.

"On Friday Mr. Chirwa came to my house and gave me a copy of part of their bill of indictment against me. In it my Ministers repeated what they had said on Thursday and Wednesday, but they added much more. They accused me of running the Government as if it were my personal estate, of nepotism, favouritism, and they demanded equal and even distribution of Ministries. I was staggered. I, Kamuzu, practising nepotism, favouritism!

Incitement by Ministers

"By Friday news that there was serious disagreement between me and my Ministers began to circulate. I began to receive anonymous letters saying: 'Please, sir, do not listen to what your Ministers are saying. It is not true that there is unrest, resentment, and bitterness against the Government because of the ticky. It is not true that there is unrest among civil servants because you are not Africanizing. It is not true that there is unrest among the civil servants because you have accepted the Skinner Report. What is true is that your Ministers are inciting the people deliberately — your own Ministers, Kanyama Chiume, Ching'oli Chirwa, Yatuta Chisiza, Augustine Bwanausi, Rose Chibambo, and other people, women like Violet Chavura, Vera Chirwa, and Hudson Banda.

"By Saturday people began to come and see me, pleading with me in tears: 'Don't go; don't let them make you leave this country. We need you here. These men want to do with us as they like. They want to get rid of you because you are not allowing them to promote their own brothers, their nephews. You are not allowing them to make their personal friends Permanent Secretaries, Under-Secretaries, and you are not allowing them to use Ministries as a source of huge income for bribes'.

"Until that time, although I had received rumours about conspiracy by my own Ministers against me, I refused to believe them. I had been told more than once that Kanyama Chiume, Ching'oli Chirwa, Yatuta Chisiza were jostling for position to take my place once I was gone either by death or ill-health. They did not know which of them would be accepted by the people, Kanyama Chiume and Yatuta Chisiza do not get on; and Kanyama Chiume and Bwanausi certainly did not get on in 1961, 1962, but they made a pact when they

went to Nyika. It was Kanyama Chiume who said: 'Yatu, you and I have not been working together. We must come together now and Bwanausi; we must all join. When we go back we will ask all others to join us; we must get rid of him'.

"I made up my mind to face my Ministers in this House and outside. Kanyama, I was ready to meet him in Rumpi; his constituency. Ching'oli Chirwa, I was ready to meet him in his constituency, Nkata Bay, Kanyama Chiume is not wanted in Rumpi. I had to force him on the people in Rumpi. As for Ching'oli Chirwa, people have never forgotten his association with the Nyasaland African People's Association. What did he do in 1953 when he came to London and promised me that he was a supporter of Congress? When he came back here he deserted Congress.

"I met my Ministers last Wednesday. I told them I had not made a decision. 'You must decide today', they said 'The ticky must go; Skinner must go; you must Africanize; you must have nothing to do with Portugal, Mozambique and Formosa, but Peking China must be recognized immediately'. I told them no. 'You must recognize Peking now, now, now. The Skinner Report must go, now, now, now. Tickers must go, now, now, now. Africanization now, now, now'. I looked at them like this. 'All right, shoot me, shoot me now, Yatu, if you can'.

"As Kanyama and Yatu began to argue I rang the bell for Youens, my Permanent Secretary. As Youens opened the door I said: 'Youens, I have finished with these gentlemen'. I told them: 'I would rather be shot dead, as Sylvanus Olympio in Togoland was shot dead, than Africanize just to please anyone who wants Africanization'.

Ministers Forced on Electors

"In brief, Kanyama Chiume, Ching'oli Chirwa, Yatu Chisiza, Augustine Bwanausi, Rose Chibambo—She was not even wanted in Mzimba; I had to force the people in Mzimba to have her. Kanyama Chiume, Ching'oli Chirwa, Yatu Chisiza, and Augustine Bwanausi sent Rose Chibambo to organize a campaign against me and the Government in the North. They sent some of their stooges to Mwanza, Cholo, and Chikwawa, and Port Herald. I got to know because people in Mianje first wrote to me about this conspiracy against me, and another from Port Herald, and still another from Chikwawa.

"They say I am not for the African because I have not promoted Africans to high posts. There are no African Permanent Secretaries, no African Under Secretaries, and no Africans, except one, on the board of the Reserve Bank of Malawi, on the board of the Malawi Development Corporation, and Malawi Airways. Those are their complaints.

"Kanyama says that as a result of my policy, my relationship with Portugal, I no longer count as a leader among African States; that my prestige has dropped down, that Kamuzu's badge is no longer a badge of honour. He said in Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, Ethiopia, Cairo, that anyone with Kamuzu's badge is nothing. He says that we must welcome Peking because all other African States do. Now I have had people from Dar es Salaam recently—Katengeza, for instance. After Kanyama had said all those things in the Cabinet to me, Katengeza said: 'Do not let Kanyama deceive you; it is not true that you are no longer respected. I have come from a conference in Nairobi; the minute everybody saw this badge I had difficulty keeping it. They wanted me to give it to them. Everybody at that conference was speaking very, very highly of you'.

Inflamed by Chinese

"Why then all this fuss by Kanyama, Ching'oli Chirwa, Yatu Chisiza, and Rose Chibambo? Ambition? Yes. Avarice? Yes. Ambition, avarice, I grant. Kanyama Chiume, Ching'oli Chirwa, Yatu Chisiza, Augustine Bwanausi are men, and most men are ambitious, are avaricious. Chiume knows he and Chirwa do not get on. Chiume knows that he and Yatu Chisiza do not get on; but not only does Kanyama Chiume not get on with these two gentlemen, but also he knows that he is not popular in the country. Therefore he capitalizes on his popularity in Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, Addis Ababa, and Cairo. He tries to damage my reputation so that he can pose as the great African leader of Malawi, and let me picture in the eyes of the African statesman as a seller, a traitor, a betrayer of the African code. If he simply starts to do that for foreign policy it wouldn't carry weight. So he ties up himself and Yatu Chisiza, Ching'oli Chirwa and tries for his own skin, ticky for the hospital, Africanization, Skinner. They organize my women wrongly. But the majority of my women are not fools.

"Earlier this year I said that once we are independent people from different kinds of economic and political systems or Governments will come here and put up their embassies. In some of these embassies, particularly from Communist

countries that call themselves Socialist countries, they will give big parties, promise scholarships, financial aid, all sorts of things. So watch. I didn't have very long to wait, did I? Even before any of these people set up their embassies I am in trouble.

"Why are Kanyama Chiume, Ching'oli Chirwa, Yatu Chisiza, Augustine Bwanausi inspired by ambition? Their smouldering embers of ambition have been fanned to inflame them from preparation by a stirring hand of a certain foreign Power with an embassy in Dar es Salaam. Kanyama Chiume, Yatu Chisiza, and Augustine Bwanausi were there recently. It was after they came back that they demanded immediate recognition of China. They said the Chinese Ambassador had promised them that if we recognized Peking China now, Peking China would give us £18m. Twice the Chinese Ambassador has been here to see me. Twice he has asked me to recognize his Government. Twice I have said neither no nor yes; I said I will study it. On my way back from Cairo I stopped in Dar es Salaam at State House. The Chinese Ambassador came to see me. He repeated his request that I recognize Peking China. He didn't say that he would give Malawi £18m. He said £6m. Do you blame me then if I associate this offer of £18m. and the intransigence, disunity, disloyalty, indiscipline in the Cabinet?

"Ministers Would Have Murdered Me"

"The Ministers wanted to get rid of me, and if they could have murdered me and got away with it and the people accepted them as leaders, they would have murdered me in cold blood without flinching; and if they knew that they could force me to resign and get away with it by people accepting them, they would have done it. But they knew they could not get rid of me and get away with it; that they could not murder me and get away with it; they could not force me to resign and get away with it—because the people want me.

"So they decided to blackmail me into surrendering my power as life president of the Malawi Congress Party, as head of the Government. Why do I say they wanted to blackmail me? They accused me of nepotism, and to prove their case said I was favouring the Tembo family and the Kadzamura family; that I had made Tembo the Minister of Finance, another Tembo public relations officer in the Farmers' Marketing Board, and still another Tembo, Ivy Tembo, was in my office. They said not only was I favouring the Tembo family, but I was showering gifts on them. Why was Ivy Tembo getting more salary than others? They knew these were lies. I don't even know what Ivy Tembo's salary is. I had nothing to do with it.

"John Tembo is Minister of Finance, his brother is in the Farmers' Marketing Board, and Ivy is in my office. It is also true that until yesterday I had Bwanausi as my Minister of Works, and another Bwanausi as senior medical superintendent, and still another Bwanausi, Diana, is in the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation.

"Of all the people in that group who know me, Yatu Chisiza knows me best. He knows I am not afraid of death, but that I value my reputation, my honour, my integrity. So, if we say nepotism, he will surrender right away; so let's put this in here. But my conscience is clear. Therefore I was ready to come here and let you judge me and them.

"They Are Crooks, That Bunch"

"They are crooks, that bunch. They say we must distribute Ministries, not because I mismanaged those Ministries, but because they haven't had a chance to practise bribery and corruption.

"I came here experienced from another country. I know what is happening in other countries in Ministries. Therefore I run this State as if it were my own property. I don't let Ministers do what they like in their Ministries. When you let Ministers do what they like they make their Ministries a source of fabulous sum by bribery and corruption. It is my duty to establish here a clean, stable Government—clean, honest, efficient and dedicated civil service.

"I am not going to give up my power. They wanted me to give up all my powers so that they could use my powers themselves to do what they like—enrich themselves.

"When the people in the villages say they do not want me to be here, I will go. But I will not surrender my powers to Kanyama Chiume, Yatu Chisiza, Augustine Bwanausi, Rose Chibambo, Violet Chavula, Vera Chirwa, or Hudson Banda. I repeat, I would rather be shot dead, as Olympio was shot dead in Togoland, than surrender to blackmail.

"I know I am a marked man. I have been for the past two or three years a marked man. They do not like me: I speak too bluntly, but that is my stuff. I have said that I am a marked man; that we are a marked people. Well, I am not afraid, because I am protected by you, my people'.

PERSONALIA

LORD HOWICK OF GLENDALE was 61 on Tuesday.

MR. C. G. PRICE, a chartered accountant in Bulawayo, has arrived in London.

SIR JOCK CAMPBELL is paying an extended visit to Canada and the United States.

MR. ANGUS OGILVY arrived in Southern Rhodesia last week on behalf of Lonrho, Ltd., of which he is a director.

SIR CHARLES WESTLAKE is to succeed Mr. S. R. HOGG as chairman of Williams & Williams, Ltd., the metal window manufacturers.

MR. J. S. GICHURU, Kenya's Minister for Finance and Economic Planning, has returned to Nairobi after visits to Malaysia and Japan.

LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR H. V. B. DE SATGE, former ceremonial secretary to the Colonial Office, left £154,444, on which duty of £86,571 has been paid.

DR. OTTO SCHMIDT and HERR WALTER SEUFFERT, members of the Bundestag, are visiting East Africa as an official delegation from the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Northern Rhodesia Air Force's first African officer cadet, MR. JOSHUA MATAA, has arrived at the R.A.F. cadet training unit at Feltwell, Norfolk, for a three months' course.

DR. Z. K. MATTHEWS, Africa Secretary for the World Council of Churches, is accompanying SIR HUGH FOOT on his present tour of Africa for talks with Church and national leaders.

SIR HARRY JEPHCOCK has revisited Kenya for the opening in Nairobi of a £100,000 factory in which his Glaxo group will manufacture baby foods and pharmaceutical products.

MR. L. G. SAGINI, Minister for Natural Resources in Kenya, and MR. MWAI KIBAKI, Junior Minister for Finance, have just spent a fortnight in West Germany as guests of the Government.

Company directors in London from Southern Rhodesia include MR. D. J. MCKERACHER, COMMANDER M. MOSELEY, MR. J. PLAGIS, MR. F. RAYMOND, MR. A. TAITZ, and MR. G. E. P. WILSON.

MR. ARTHUR DOLD, an architect in Bulawayo for the past 20 years, is now mayor of the city. The deputy mayor is MR. A. MENASHE, who was born in Salisbury and has lived in Bulawayo since 1948.

ALDERMAN CHARLES RUBIA, Mayor of Nairobi since 1962, has resigned from his office and the City Council on the ground of interference in his work by the Ministry of Local Government, which has denied the accusation. His deputy, ALDERMAN ISAAC LUGONZO, will act as mayor until election to that office falls due in November.

SIR DAVID HUNT, British High Commissioner in Uganda, and LADY HUNT flew back to Kampala last Thursday after leave in Britain.

MR. S. WINA, Health Minister in Northern Rhodesia, has flown back to Lusaka after spending a few days in London discussing prospects of attracting more medical practitioners to serve under his Ministry.

Four M.P.s. from Malawi — Messrs. A. B. J. CHIWANDA, M. MKANDAWIRE, T. MALOYA, and A. J. K. SENDEZA — flew back at the week-end after a month's visit to Britain as guests of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

MR. CHARLES DODD, resident director in Malawi of a cement company, who managed the Rhodesian team at the Olympic Games in Rome four years ago, will be in control of Rhodesia's representatives at this month's Games in Tokyo.

CAPTAIN EDWARD GEORGE SPENCER-CHURCHILL, a cousin of SIR WINSTON, left £1,872,713, on which duty of £383,061 has been paid. Among many bequests was one of pictures to MAJOR FREDERICK WARD, who farms in the Nakuru district of Kenya.

MR. G. F. E. JOSELIN, who has succeeded Mr. C. H. B. ROSE as manager in London of Central African Airways, is also to act in the United Kingdom for the Southern Rhodesia Tourist Board and the Northern Rhodesia Tourist Bureau. He is a Londoner by birth.

MR. JACK HALPERN, a journalist who was expelled from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland about a year ago, has been appointed secretary general of Amnesty, an organization concerned with the defence of persons considered to be persecuted for their political or religious beliefs.

MR. A. OJERA, Minister of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, said when he returned to Uganda from the Malta independence celebrations that the gifts which he had taken to that new State were a drum made from a zebra skin, an elephant foot made into a coffee table, and the mounted head of an Uganda cob.

When MR. F. A. LAKER, managing director of British United Airways, Ltd., arrived in Uganda in a VC 10 which had made a record flight from London, he said his company would willingly provide a two-year scholarship for an Uganda African to train as an aircraft ground engineer at the School of Airways Services in Perth, Scotland.

LADY WINDHAM, wife of the Chief Justice of Tanganyika, was struck in the face by an African while she was walking back to her car with her young daughter after a beach picnic near Dar es Salaam. While the assailant snatched her handbag, a second African took a beach wrap. Though barefoot, LADY WINDHAM chased the men into a sisal plantation. They made off, leaving the bag behind.

Obituary

MR. J. C. T. EARLL, who has died in hospital in Eastbourne at the age of 73, joined the Territorial Force as a young man and served in the Royal Engineers throughout the 1914-18 war, being demobilized as a company sergeant major. He had been mentioned in dispatches and awarded the Meritorious Service Medal. Early in 1921 he went to Tanganyika as an inspector of works on the railways, and in 1932 was made M.B.E. for his services. A keen Freemason, he was a founder member of several lodges in East Africa, and was one of the founders and the first junior warden of the East and Central Africa Lodge in London, in the chair of which his son was installed in July.

PROFESSOR IVAN POTEKHIN, who has died in Moscow, was the best-known Russian adviser on African affairs. He had been largely responsible for Communist policy concerning Africa in recent years.

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Chartered Company's Royalty Rights Hard Bargaining About Compensation

THE QUESTION OF COMPENSATING the Chartered Company for the surrender of its claim to royalties on all minerals mined in Northern Rhodesia has been discussed in London during the past 10 days in numerous meetings of representatives of the British and Northern Rhodesian Governments and the company, Lord Dillhome, the Lord Chancellor, having taken the leading part for the British Government and Mr. Arthur Wina, the Finance Minister, for Northern Rhodesia, who is expected to have left for Lusaka before this report appears in print.

It was widely believed at the beginning of the week that the Chartered board had reduced its demand to £18m. (sums ranging from £30m. to £50m. having been mentioned previously).

The presence at Monday's talks of the Chief Secretary to the Treasury suggested that H.M. Government had decided in principle to make a contribution, and Northern Rhodesia was believed to have agreed to pay £2m. There were strong hints, however, that the Treasury would find nothing like £16m., and Lord Dillhome was believed to have told the company's negotiators that it must accept a much smaller sum if there was to be a settlement.

London Press Comment

London Press comment has not been very sympathetic to the Chartered Company.

The *Economist* wrote:—

"Only a few months ago their idea of the scale of compensation that could possibly be accorded by any newly independent African Government seemed quite unrealistic. At that time the thing might have been settled without serious acrimony if Chartered had faced the fact that a token payment of some millions of pounds was all it could expect to get, in view of the bitter resentment Dr. Kaunda would have aroused among his own supporters if he had conceded anything more.

"Now his Government has been driven to carry out what it describes as the first really searching inquiry into Chartered's whole title to the royalties; and after the publication of their White Paper it must seem inconceivable that the Zambians could agree to pay anything substantial. The White Paper not only argues that it is 'highly questionable' whether the original agreements constituted a legal transfer of the mineral rights to the company, but affirms flatly that the geographical area of the concessions could not have covered the Copperbelt.

"Suppose that the validity of the documents signed 70 years ago by the Barotse paramount chief and an assortment of lesser potentates was unchallengeable and unchallenged, and that they had got their geography right, too, the essential political question would be what it clearly is today. Which is the course of greater wisdom now (with so much time for constructive thought and talk wasted) for the British Government and all the financial interests concerned?

"To concentrate on ensuring an amicable British relationship with the demonstrably intelligent and reasonable present leadership of a new-born State on whose soil British enterprises are now massively and profitably active? Or to fight to the last bitter moment in the hope of obtaining agreement for the payment of a sum which, while too small to make any significant difference to the future of the directly interested concern, could be quite large enough to set off a disruptive chain-reaction both in Zambia's relations with Britain and in its domestic affairs? There can be only one answer."

The *Investors Chronicle* considered "the fat in the fire" and that Chartered shareholders "look like getting the frying."

It gave the actuarial value of the net royalties as between £40m. and £50m., according to one's guess about the cost of copper prices, and suggested that the commonsensical way would be for the United Kingdom Government, the Northern Rhodesian Government, and the company to agree to submit the validity of the company's title to legal decision. The article continued:—

"Zambia will not wish to cut itself off from the London market by a simple act of default (even though it would not admit that it was default). Still less will Zambia wish to cut itself off from international fairy godmothers such as the World Bank. On the other hand, Dr. Kaunda has no hope of selling to his own people a settlement based on 22 years' purchase of the present royalties. It is feared that Zambian ideas today are based on less than one year's purchase of the royalty, and only then if the U.K. Government will share the cost.

"A payment on that scale would be neither one thing nor the other. If Zambia can clearly establish its legal case, then it should pay nothing, for no one would expect a quibotic *ex gratia* payment from a newly independent African country. If that claim is not established, then a payment of the order of one year's purchase would be regarded as inexcusable default, not only by the shareholders but even by those who look upon Chartered company as one of the less happy reminders of British colonialism and who have no particular sympathy for the ethical side—if that is the word—of Chartered company's claims."

"Prevent Parties from Going to Law"

The harshest comment has appeared in the *New Statesman*, whose contributor wrote:—

"Chartered is one of the worst surviving jokes against British colonialism, and it is not surprising—the Stock Exchange anticipated the event long ago—that Zambia wishes to annul all Chartered's claims when it becomes independent. According to a study carried out for Zambia by a British consultant, Chartered has no legal right over the copper districts at all, though its claims have been backed in the past by British Governments who ought to have known better.

"The chief need now is to prevent the parties from going to law, since an absolute award for either would have intolerable results—Chartered, for example, might be required to repay all it has drawn from copper in the past. Zambia and Britain together will have to pay an agreed small sum in compensation."

According to the *Financial Times*, the Stock Exchange does not expect the company to receive more than £5m., or about 25% of its minimum demand. The paper speculates that Chartered may have to halve its dividend rate, and notes that at the present price the shares yield 14.6%.

On Monday the *Daily Telegraph* said editorially that the Northern Rhodesian Government would forfeit much sympathy by persisting in its last-minute shock tactics, which, if accepted, would invite all developing countries to repudiate their obligations.

"Britain can fairly be called upon to make a sizeable contribution in the customary independence handshake. The Company, sure of its legal rights, is willing to negotiate 'amicably'—which in these circumstances must mean generously. But Northern Rhodesia must also show willing in substantial form."

Talks Break Down

The talks broke down just before this issue went to press. Mr. Wina said that his Government would appropriate the royalty rights.

NORTHERN  RHODESIA

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Independent Zambia's Government All Present Ministers to Retain Office

DR. KAUNDA, Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia, who will be President of the country when it becomes the Republic of Zambia on October 24, has announced the names of those who will hold portfolios in its first Government.

Mr. Reuben Kamanga will be Vice-President and will sit in Parliament with responsibility similar to those of a Prime Minister.

Dr. Kaunda and Mr. Kamanga will be members of the Cabinet.

Its other members will be Messrs. Simon Kapwepwe (Foreign Affairs), Mainza Chona (Home Affairs), Arthur Wina (Finance), James Skinner (Justice), Sikota Wina (Local Government), Alexander Grey Zulu (Transport and Works), Solomon Kalulu (Lands and Natural Resources), Elijah Mudenda (Agriculture), John Mwanakatwe (Education), Justin Chimba (Labour and Mines), Nalumino Mundia (Commerce and Industry), Hyden Banda (Housing and Social Development), Munukayumbwa Sipalo (Health), and Peter Matoka (Information and Posts).

Two Ministers of State who will work under Dr. Kaunda will be Mr. Aaron Malner (Cabinet and Civil Service) and Mr. Lewis Changufu (Defence and Security).

The only European in the Administration will be Mr. Skinner. The only African new to office will be Mr. Matoka. Mr. Skinner, a lawyer born in Ireland, is now Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice.

Mr. Kapwepwe exchanges Home Affairs for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Chona leaves the Ministry of Justice for that of Home Affairs.

Two By-Elections in S. Rhodesia Intolerant Demonstrations Against Sir Roy

TWO BY-ELECTIONS are to be held today in Southern Rhodesia, both in Salisbury constituencies which at the last election returned supporters of Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Opposition leader.

The Government (Rhodesian Front) has nevertheless felt confident of gaining both seats. For one, Arundel, the Deputy Prime Minister has resigned the seat which he previously held in order to oppose Sir Roy Welensky. In the other, Mr. J. W. Pithy is the R.F. candidate against Mr. Sydney Sawyer, a former Parliamentary Secretary in the Federal Government.

Until the last few days there had been a widespread expectation that the Government candidates would win. During the past week, however, hope has strengthened in Opposition circles, especially for the success of Sir Roy Welensky, at some of whose meetings there have been demonstrations amounting to hooliganism. Anti-semiticism has also played a part, almost certainly to the advantage of Sir Roy and Mr. Sawyer, for there are many Jews in the constituencies.

Vicious Attacks on Sir Roy

Mr. Ian Smith, the Prime Minister, is reported to have said that he was told in London that Sir Roy Welensky had shown himself a very weak negotiator, while he (Mr. Smith) was one of the most forthright and tenacious. Sir Roy's reply was that he had scarcely ever heard a more conceited statement. He has repeatedly expressed the view that the Prime Minister wanted the public to hear no opinions but his own.

Sir Edgar Whitehead has voiced resentment at "continuous and vicious attacks" on Sir Roy, and appealed for the traditional tolerance hitherto shown by Rhodesians in discussing their difficulties.

Mr. Smith admitted that there had been personal attacks on political leaders and expressed deep concern that race and religion should have been dragged into the campaigns. He was satisfied that the Rhodesian Front was not responsible.

Sir Albert Robinson, who until last year was High Commissioner in London for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, said in Johannesburg that the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia would find himself bitterly disappointed if he relied on British good faith and sense of fair play, for "Britain no longer conducts its affairs on this high moral basis. Rhodesians will in the near future be faced again — with the issue that has dominated the country's affairs — whether to support an illegal unilateral act of independence or to insist that independence shall be achieved constitutionally, no matter how long this may take".

Plan to Eradicate Leprosy Malawi Selected for Pilot Scheme

A PLAN to eliminate leprosy from the Southern Province of Malawi, where there are more than 10,000 sufferers from the disease, was announced in London last week by Sir George Seel, chairman of the executive committee of the British Leprosy Relief Association.

The experiment will be under the direction of Dr. Gordon Currie, leprologist to the Government of Malawi, which has authorized erection of the necessary buildings in the grounds of Queen Elizabeth Hospital, Blantyre, "thus putting leprosy at the centre of the country's medical services, instead of in the background in the usual way", said Sir George.

According to the World Health Organization, there are probably still some 20 million victims of leprosy in the world, perhaps five million of them in Africa. Though sulphone drugs can now cure the disease, the results have been disappointing because so many people have hidden their infection or avoided continued treatment. Recent advances in research and carefully controlled trials have, however, convinced Lepra that it can eradicate the disease from a given area within a decade, and perhaps within seven years, if funds are made available.

Capital costs are put at £100,000 for buildings, equipment, and vehicles; and the Brown Memorial Fund in Malawi has promised £70,000. Recurrent costs, including staff salaries, will amount to about £50,000 a year. Lepra, which has earmarked £25,000 for the project, appeals to foundations, companies, and individuals to subscribe the balance. Donations should be sent to 8 Portman Street, London, W.1.

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Congo Resents Kenyatta Action

U.S.A. Also Protests to O.A.U.

THE CONGO is now at open variance with the Organization of African Unity.

President Kasavubu telegraphed last week to Mr. Diallo Telli, secretary-general of O.A.U. : —

"The Congo Democratic Republic signed the O.A.U. Charter as a sovereign State, on an equal footing with other African countries, and agreed that its differences with its neighbours should be examined and a solution found in a purely African context. This attitude is based on respect for the obligations which the Congo freely accepted when signing the O.A.U. Charter. We have confirmed it on many occasions and shown it by our conciliatory attitude.

"We must, however, stress that the Congo's accession to O.A.U. does not in any way constitute surrender of its national sovereignty. The manifest interference of this organization in the purely internal affairs of our country is an unprecedented step that surprises us. O.A.U. is even presuming to question the Congo's independent status by trying to prevent the implemation of agreements which the Congo, as a sovereign country and in conformity with international laws, has signed with friendly countries.

"It is our duty to protest solemnly and unequivocally against this attitude, which runs counter to the fundamental principles of O.A.U., and to point out the danger which it presents to the very existence of O.A.U.

"Moreover, in face of this flagrant and deliberate violation of the O.A.U. Charter, it is no longer possible for the Congo, as a sovereign State, to go on complying with the decisions of the organization."

Mr. Tshombe Indignant

Mr. Tshombe telegraphed on the same day to Mzee Kenyatta, chairman of the O.A.U. Commission on the Congo : —

"We learn with indignation that *ad hoc* commission intends sending delegation to U.S. Government concerning aid furnished to Congo's legal Government. Energetically protesting against this decision. Remind you such step is contrary to letter and spirit of O.A.U. Charter and Council of Ministers' resolutions. We insist that commission restricts itself to its mandate defined in paragraph 5 (a) and (b) of the Addis Ababa resolution. Commission must support and encourage only efforts of legal Government of Democratic Republic of Congo. We hope that commission will continue to work in Addis Ababa and Nairobi spirit."

Mr. Bahizi, Congolese Ambassador in Nigeria, was reported from Kampala — where he has gone on a special mission for his Government — to have protested against the O.A.U. decision to send a mission to the U.S.A. Whereas his Government had agreed to withdraw mercenaries, some of whom had already left, mercenaries were working with the rebels, some of them from "certain African countries". He complained that Congolese rebels were receiving training in Algeria.

The United States Government has declined to engage in discussions with the reconciliation commission of O.A.U. unless representatives of the Congolese Government are also present.

State Department officials have said that the one-sided approach from O.A.U. was objectionable; if there was to be an appeal to the United States to withhold military aid, there should have been the same simultaneous request to Communist China. Aid was being provided by the United States in the belief that Chinese subversion would otherwise quickly spread across and beyond the Congo. The American action therefore served the best interests of Africa in general.

Ethiopia, Liberia, and Senegal, whose delegates had all spoken in Addis Ababa in favour of accepting Mr. Tshombe's request for African troops, are believed to have urged that China should be approached at the same time as America.

Mzee Kenyatta had announced that Mr. Joseph Murumbi would lead a delegation of Ministers from Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea and the United Arab Republic.

More Political Deaths in Malawi

Dr. Banda's Ban on Meetings Defied

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, issued on Saturday an order banning all meetings in the southern region of the country, but next day there were large gatherings in Soche, near Blantyre, and in neighbouring Limbe.

There two Africans were reported killed and some 20 injured. There were numerous arrests. The police riot squad and mobile force had to be called to disperse the Soche crowd. At least six Africans were taken to hospital.

The Prime Minister had allowed it to become known that he had hoped that some of the ex-Ministers would apologize and rejoin the Cabinet, but that he had been told that none would re-enter the Government unless he reinstated the three whom he had dismissed and the three who had thereupon resigned in sympathy. He is understood to be resolved not to take back Mr. Chiume and Mr. Chirwa, the former Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Justice. Support for the ex-Ministers comes mainly from the African civil servants, numbering some 10,000.

Despite the political crisis, Dr. Banda announced his decision to make a 17-day tour of the Central and Northern Provinces.

He is due in London in November for discussions about United Kingdom aid for Malawi in 1965.

Malawi Flags Burnt and Minister Stoned

Serious violence occurred on Monday, when Mr. G. C. Chakuamba, the recently appointed Minister for Community and Social Development, was stoned and chased for about 300 yards in Zomba. Near the hospital he managed to slip into a neighbouring house, the door of which was broken down. Then he was beaten unconscious. He is in Blantyre Hospital suffering from serious injuries.

Three cars, one belonging to Mr. Chirwa, the ex-Minister of Justice, had previously been set alight on the Blantyre-Zomba road. Mr. Chirwa is said to have escaped into the bush.

Mr. "Paddy" Adair, a European police superintendent, was stoned and slightly hurt as he got into his car.

The Zomba headquarters of the Malawi Congress Party were burnt out on Monday, when Malawi flags were torn down and set alight outside Government offices in the capital, where shops remained closed.

Mobs carrying clubs, bicycle-chains, and broken bottles roamed the streets for hours, and steel-helmeted police riot squads in motor trucks patrolled Zomba, Blantyre and Limbe.

The national broadcasting corporation made no mention of the disturbance in its news bulletins, and Government departments and the police declined to answer inquiries from Press correspondents.

Mr. Muwalo, Minister of Information, and administrative secretary of the Malawi Congress Party, left in the afternoon to report to Dr. Banda in Kaungu, some 300 miles away.

The Prime Minister had said in Lilongwe on Sunday that not all Europeans were against African advancement. "The European who dislikes African government does so from fear. We who have the opportunity to be free must dispel his fears and suspicions by establishing a stable Government which will be for all the people, black and white.

"Many people think they help their fellow Africans by shouting. Not me. This question of liberating Africa has two sides to it. The liberation of Africa is not a shouting match."

Two companies of the Malawi Rifles were moved to Fort Johnston on Tuesday, on which day another African was killed during political violence in Zomba.

Pioneers

MRS. MAY CRIPPS, aged 92, who arrived in Salisbury in 1893, and Mrs. Grace Bertram, 79, whose husband had arrived with the 1890 Column, were present at the Pioneer Day hoisting-of-the-flag ceremony in Salisbury. "No men pioneers are now left; we have outlived them all", said Mrs. Cripps.

Masai Urged to Abandon Their Customs Create Individual Farms, Says Minister

THE MASAI have been urged by the Minister for Lands and Settlement in Kenya, Mr. J. H. Angaine, to abandon their age-old habits and methods and emulate the agricultural practices among other tribes.

When presenting title deeds in Ngong to the first Masai to enclose their plots, Mr. Angaine said that only 68 had so far been enclosed and registered in the whole vast tribal land unit.

He continued:—

"The methods used by the Masai for generations are not the methods which will result in progress and prosperity for the Masai today; and progress for the Masai means progress for Kenya as a whole. Poverty and backwardness for the Masai means that Kenya cannot progress and the benefits of *uhuru* will be dissipated.

"I say this because the Masai people occupy a huge area of land, which stretches almost from the shores of Lake Victoria to within 100 miles of the ocean and from the Tanganyika border to the outskirts of Nairobi. In this great area there is every variety of climate, from the cold high forests of the Mau to the dry hot deserts of Magadi.

Precepts and Promises

"Whatever can be produced in Kenya can be produced in Masailand. But are all the crops grown in other parts of Kenya grown in Masai? No. If the Masai want to develop their land, as they say they do, and if they want the Government to help, they must change their custom. They must mark out plots of land and live each family on its own plot. They must restrict the grazing of their cattle to their own plots. They must cultivate land suitable for cultivation. In return, the Government will provide expert surveyors to mark the boundaries of the plots, will register the titles of the plots, and will make money available to develop the plots.

"When all this is done, and the Masai have settled down to become cattle ranchers and small mixed farmers, if there should ever be another year like 1961—when there was the worst drought that man could remember, followed by the worst floods—instead of having vast herds of cattle starving all over the plains and drowning in the valleys as they were too weak to move, we would have individual ranchers finding themselves short of grazing and selling some of their cattle to provide money to buy food and water for the others. We would see ranchers able to borrow money to dig wells, so that they would not be short of water. We would see better quality cattle and more of them, as controlled grazing in paddocks, dips, and piped water supplies could eradicate all the cattle diseases in a quite a short time.

"For those Masai who do not have ranching land there will be agricultural land.

"All this prosperity is available if you follow the advice of the experts of my Ministry."

"The exodus of Afrikaners from the Eldoret district of Kenya last year was a shocking example of tribalism at its worst. It left Eldoret facing a crisis"—Mr. A. N. O. Okoo, mayor of Eldoret.

Okello Back in Nairobi

THE SELF-STYLED Field Marshal John Okello, leader of the Zanzibar revolution in January, is back in Nairobi; though he was ordered to leave Kenya months ago. Senator Lubembe said last week that he had met Okello in Solidarity Building, the headquarters of the Kenya Federation of Labour, and as general secretary of that body asked for a Government statement about Mr. Okello's presence in the country. The official reply was that Okello, like any other African from Uganda or the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, could not be described as a prohibited immigrant in Kenya.

Uganda Diplomatic Appointments

THREE FURTHER AMBASSADORS and two High Commissioners have been nominated by the Uganda Government. Mr. Yokosafati Engur becomes ambassador in Soviet Russia; Dr. Solomon Asea, an Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, goes to the U.S.A.; and Mr. Leonard Basudde, a former Omulamuzi in the Kabaka's Government, is appointed to the Federal Republic of Germany. The High Commissioners in India and Ghana respectively are Mr. George Kamba and Mr. Aloysius Obone. As deputy head of the Uganda mission to the United Nations Mr. Otema Afimadi has been selected.

Africans Might Expel Britain

DR. NJOROG MUNGAI, Minister for Health and Housing in Kenya, told the National Assembly last week that the African States in the Commonwealth might expel Britain if she did not change her attitude towards South Africa. It was regrettable that some Commonwealth States persisted in treating South Africa as if she were a civilized country, despite the fact that she had been expelled from the Commonwealth because of her racial attitude. He added: "I would like to warn our friends in Britain that if they continue to supply arms to South Africa we African members may decide to expel her from the Commonwealth."

Kenya's Enemies

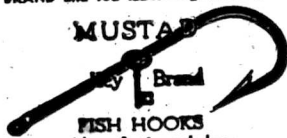
PLEDGING HIMSELF to take firm action against "the country's enemies", and claiming that the Government had already acted strongly "against those who seek to retard the development of the African mentality", Mr. Oginga Odinga, Minister for Home Affairs in Kenya, told the House of Representatives last week that the confidence of the immigrant races had been gained and that confidence had been "instilled into civil servants. The Government, however, had no option but to remove those of its officers who could not accommodate themselves to the changed situation.

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Betrayed Minority in Kenya Appeal for "Urgent Rescue Operation"

AN APPEAL for the "remnants of the betrayed and helpless British minority in Kenya" has been made by Mr. John Connell in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*. He wrote:—

"Their plight is bad enough already to merit emergency measures; in December, after the departure of British troops and the replacement of Sir Richard Catling by an African chief of police, it will be completely desperate.

"News from Kenya is censored—any journalist who attempts to give a true picture is in danger of instant expulsion—and private correspondence, as I have reason to know, is suppressed.

"However, one letter which reached me last month is worth quoting. It was from a widow over 70, totally dependent on her farm, who has been on the list for being bought out on compassionate grounds for over two years. She is crippled and almost blind. Her doctor has twice recommended her removal. She has been told by the chairman of the Central Agricultural Board that there are no funds available to buy her farm; a private sale in her district—subject to squatting, stock-raiding and maiming—is impossible. She wrote:—

"I pray that you can do something to help me to sell our farm, and others like me. We are all desperate, and the old and the sick surely have some right to end their days where they wish. H.M. Government did, after all, ask us to come and live here and develop the country, and gave us an agreement with the Crown on our land titles."

"I urge, even in the hurly-burly of a general election, that real, practical consideration be given to the planning of an immediate rescue operation for every member of the minority in Kenya who wants to leave, and that all the preparations be made before it is too late. Honour and trust apart, compassion surely demands this at least."

Nairobi's Spongers and Loiterers To be Forced to Till the Land

IN A TELEVISION PROGRAMME the Prime Minister of Kenya said:—

"Many able-bodied people come to town and spend many months living on relatives and friends and being generally a nuisance. Such people distort the purchasing power of their relatives and friends, make them poorer and miserable, and interfere with the social plans and provisions for the genuine residents of the towns. This is a clear waste of man-power and a definite obstacle to proper farming for the future.

"Any able-bodied man who exploits his relatives and friends in this manner is a disgrace to his manhood and our society. Their friends and relatives must get rid of these people and stop feeding them.

"We believe in African socialism, but not in loitering and laziness. We believe in co-operatives, but not in promoting a state of affairs in which some people try to live on the sweat of others.

"I propose the following measures to be taken at once:—
"All able-bodied people now residing in towns without jobs but who have personal or family holdings in their locations to be returned home to till the land.

"Government special teams to be set up to speed up consolidation and registration of land titles.

"Extension services to help farmers to plan and introduce new methods of farming in all areas to be increased.

"Special powers to be introduced where necessary to ensure that able-bodied people actually work on their land."

Aid Claimed as a Right

MR. RASHIDI KAWAWA, Second Vice-President of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, told a conference on foreign aid in Dar es Salaam a few days ago that there must be pressure for world-wide acceptance of a basic principle of African society — "that when a man is willing to work he has a right to receive assistance from those more fortunate, and they have a corresponding duty to help him to help himself."

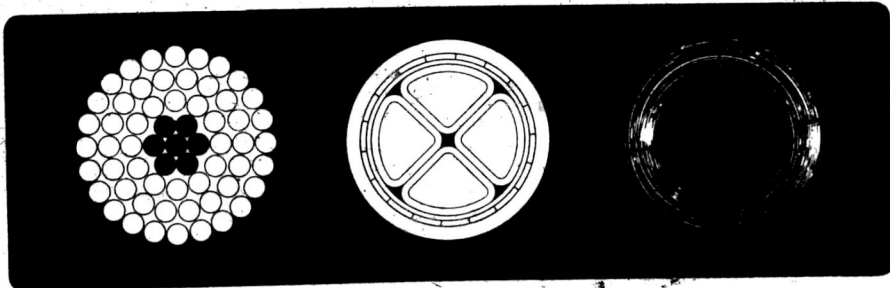
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News Items in Brief

An East German trade mission has been visiting the East African territories.

Lombh, Ltd., has declared an interim dividend of 4d. per 5s. share (6½%), less tax.

An African is shortly to be recruited to understudy the present Commissioner of Income Tax in East Africa.

The Cotton Textile Export Promotion Council of India has sent a three-member delegation to Northern Rhodesia.

Anglo American Investment Trust, Ltd., is paying an interim dividend of 3s. 6d. and a bonus of 1s. 6d. per 10s. share.

The battalion of the Nigerian Army which has been in Tanganyika since the mutiny in January has now returned home.

Twenty Africans killed in Uganda in 1885-87 are to be canonized as the first African saints of the Roman Catholic Church.

The former Royal Naval Armament Depot at Mombasa is to be partly used as a coast camp for the National Youth Service of Kenya.

East African Power and Lighting Co., Ltd., has awarded three-year bursaries to two Kenya Africans to study electrical engineering in Britain.

The Congress of African Historians, which was to have been held in Dar es Salaam in September, has been postponed until August next year.

The National Insurance Corporation of Uganda, financed by the Government, has been established under the chairmanship of Mr. R. A. Haines.

Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., now supplies its contractual customers with zinc at £110 per ton. Since August 13 the price had been £125.

Anglo American Corporation shareholders are to receive an interim dividend of 40 cents per share (the same) in respect of the year to December 31.

Following labour unrest, the Seychelles Government has forbidden all political meetings for a month, "to give time for conditions to return to normal".

An external broadcasting service is to be established in Kenya under the development plan. The initial intention is to broadcast in English, Swahili, French, and Arabic.

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Tanganyika's National Relief Fund has passed the two million shilling mark with a gift of rather more than £125 from the staff of the High Commission in London.

The Agency for International Development of the U.S.A. has given the National Youth Service of Kenya four six-ton lorries, kitchen and mess equipment, and more than 1,000 tons of foodstuffs.

Net profit after tax of Rosehaugh Co., Ltd., a company with tea growing interests in Nyasaland, amounted to £18,536 for the year to June 30 (£17,562). The 17½% dividend is repeated.

Next season's flue-cured tobacco crop of Southern and Northern Rhodesia is to be limited to about 240m. lb. Each grower will be allotted a quota. Excess tobacco is to be destroyed.

An African on the staff of the External Affairs Ministry in Malawi has been dismissed for "political activities in Rumpi", the constituency of Mr. Chiume, the dismissed Minister of External Affairs.

Three special stamp issues in East Africa will commemorate the Olympic Games in Tokyo, seek to promote African art, and encourage international interest in the East African Safari, the annual motoring event.

A dam on a sugar estate in the coastal area of Kenya was breached by African squatters who oppose irrigation schemes and some 200 acres of cane were destroyed. Charges are to be made against 119 tribesmen.

Three Africans and a European in Northern Rhodesia have been selected for training for the Northern Rhodesia Air Force. If they pass local tests they will take the full 20-months' training course in Britain for R.A.F. pilots.

The Commonwealth Development Corporation is to lend £14m. to Central African Airways Corporation towards the cost of two aircraft and a further £125,000 to Nairobi City Council for re-development of Kariakor housing estate.

Thirty-four Embassies in Nairobi

The Government of Kenya has decided that if certain countries continue to impose travel restrictions on Kenya's ambassadors, their envoys will be similarly prevented from moving freely. There are now 34 embassies in Nairobi.

Courses in information work and photography are being provided by H.M. Government for four Africans in the Information Department of Tanganyika. Another Tanganyika African is to take a year's course in journalism at the Polytechnic College, London.

Barclays Bank D.C.O. has reported from Nairobi that registrations of heavy lorries in Kenya during the first four months of this year were 20% below the 1963 figures, and that April sales of 387 motor-cars were the lowest in recent years, comparing with 558 in April, 1963.

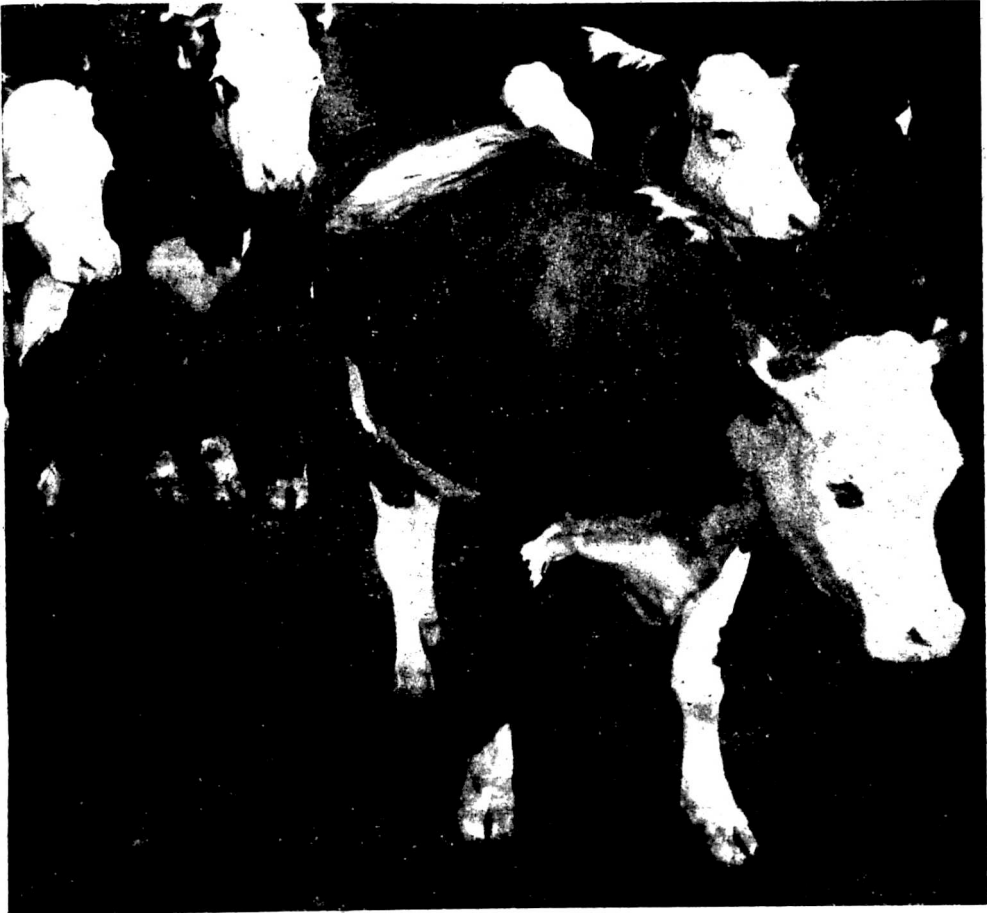
The Appeal Court of Southern Rhodesia has rejected an application by African Newspapers, Ltd., to set aside a Governor's order banning the *Daily News*, a Thomson group newspaper published in Salisbury for Africans. The court rejected contentions that the ban contravened the Constitution.

The former general managers of East African Railways and Harbours and East African Airways have been asked to remain in an advisory capacity now that Africans have been appointed to their posts. The former Postmaster-General is about to retire. His appointment has also been Africanized.

Two Africans from Tanganyika, Mr. Shauri Ndege, aged 60, and Mr. Daniel Sembe, 57, flew back to East Africa last week after their blindness, caused by onchocerciasis (river blindness), had been cured in the Hospital for Tropical Diseases. Before the operations Mr. Ndege had been completely blind and Mr. Sembe had only very slight vision in one eye.

Broadcasting Political Matter

THREE SENIOR MEMBERS of the news staff of the Southern Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation were ready to resign at the week-end in protest against a ruling of the chairman, Mr. John Helliwell, not to broadcast a statement by Professor J. C. Mitchell, head of the anthropological department of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, that all Africans should be allowed to vote on the independence issue. The decision that that news item should not be broadcast was made on the ground that "a national broadcasting corporation has responsibility for ensuring that it is not used as a medium for exerting pressures, and I consider that in broadcasting this statement to an unsophisticated audience at this juncture the Broadcasting Corporation would lend its services to an undesirable exercise in political tactics".



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PHILLIPS REPORT 1962.

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Thursday, October 8, 1964

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No. 2087

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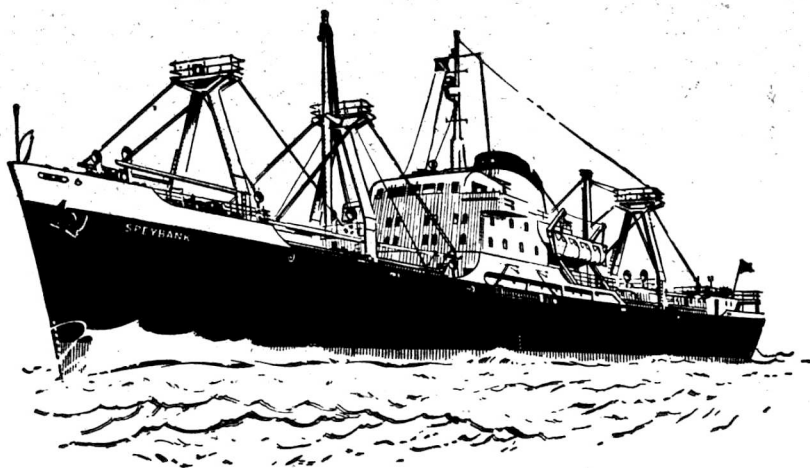
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

BOLDNESS has brought quick and handsome profits to Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, who can take personal credit for the capture from the

Sir Roy's Defeat.

Opposition of the two Salisbury constituencies in which by-elections were held last Thursday. His party could certainly not have gained both seats, and would probably have won neither, if his astute conduct of the recent negotiations in London with Sir Alec Douglas-Home had not cut the ground from under the feet of Sir Roy Welensky and his Rhodesia Party colleague Mr. Sawyer by withdrawing the threat of a unilateral declaration of independence. That threat, and that threat alone, had persuaded the former Federal Prime Minister to agree to contest Arundel. Indeed, Sir Roy was most reluctant to submit to the persuasions of his admirers, for he felt — as did EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA — that his re-entry into political life would be better postponed for some months; but he was so afraid of the early seizure of independence by the Rhodesian Front Government that he deemed it his duty to disregard his misgivings and his preference for continued abstention from day-to-day politics. If anyone had to meet a challenge which many responsible Rhodesians considered desperately dangerous for the country, Sir Roy was that man. No Rhodesian is a better patriot. None had a political record comparable with his.

He was convinced, however, that he ought to resist the pressures for a resumption of Parliamentary life until the call came, not merely from political friends and some business leaders, but from electors in general; and before Mr. Smith's visit to London it appeared highly likely that that call would be made within a

few months. In anticipating that compulsive movement, Sir Roy recognized the risk. At no time did he take victory for granted. He did not hide from his friends his assessment that he might lose. Though conscious of that possibility, he became a candidate for the single reason that he believed that a unilateral declaration of independence would be calamitous for the country. Firm opposition to any such intention was the one important plank in his platform. It did not occur to him or anyone else that Mr. Smith would suddenly dislodge that plank by an eleventh-hour surprise in London, one which astonished British Ministers, his own party, and Rhodesians in general. By his adroitness Mr. Smith took the sting out of the negotiations with Britain and the only real meaning out of the by-elections. Thereafter the struggle was anticlimatic.

So momentous had it seemed to the Government two or three weeks earlier that Mr. Dupont, the Deputy Prime Minister, resigned the Charter seat to stand in Arundel. At that stage

An Opportunity Unwisely Lost.

both sides were moderately confident of success. Immediately the London agreement was made, we suggested that it would be in the interests of Rhodesia for Sir Roy to withdraw (as he might have done with dignity) on an undertaking from Mr. Smith that, if the issue of a unilateral declaration of independence were later resuscitated, his candidature at a by-election would not be opposed. We still consider that that arrangement would have been to Rhodesia's advantage. Unfortunately, only half of the proposal was taken up by the Rhodesian Front: as its spokesman, Mr. Lardner-Burke argued that Sir Roy should withdraw, but he said nothing about the *quid pro quo* without which there could be no prospect of an unopposed return for the

Deputy Prime Minister. Both candidates should be in the Rhodesian Parliament, which would obviously be the weaker for the exclusion of either. That the defeat of one of them was not avoided by the honourable means suggested in these columns is deplorable.

* * *

Their heavy defeats last week leave the Opposition in disarray, and tempt the Government to seek an early general election in the hope of ousting its opponents

Will There Be A General Election?

from numerous constituencies in which their majorities are lower than those in Arundel and Avondale. The Rhodesian Front majority in Parliament has been raised from five to seven, and the margin might well be substantially increased by an appeal to the electorate in its present mood for a demonstration of unity in a critical phase of Rhodesian history. A general election must consequently be considered a distinct possibility. At the R.F. congress due to be held this week an inevitable sense of euphoria is likely to be coupled with demands for an outright

attack on the Opposition while it is reeling under the worst blow which it could have suffered. The Prime Minister's decision will presumably depend upon his judgment as to whether or not an almost immediate dissolution would make it easier to obtain from the United Kingdom Government that independence which both Government and Opposition rightly regard as Rhodesia's due. He knows that the country's basic need is unity, and that it would be tragic for that absolutely indispensable requirement to be endangered by intolerant exuberance on the part of a section of his supporters. Some of them behaved disgracefully during the by-elections, resorting to methods unprecedented in the political life of Rhodesia. They were publicly rebuked by Mr. Smith, who would do well to ask the party congress to condemn formally the hooliganism with which Sir Roy's moderation was answered. Whether in or out of Parliament — and we hope and believe that he will yet sit in the Southern Rhodesian House — Sir Roy Welensky has still a moderating rôle to play in a country beset with such difficulties and dangers that his incomparable experience and innate qualities cannot wisely be disregarded.

Notes By The Way

Chaos and Communism

While DAR ES SALAAM protests that the ostensible union with Zanzibar is operating smoothly, Zanzibar still takes little or no notice. The *Official Gazette* and Radio Zanzibar continue to refer to ex-President Karume as President, though he was supposed to drop that title months ago when he was made First Vice-President of the United Republic. Former Ministers in Zanzibar who lost that title and their departments under the merger are also called Ministers in broadcast talks and in reports of departmental activities — though that may not be the right word for a country not notable for activity! A friend who arrived in London a few days ago from Dar es Salaam, and who has regularly visited Zanzibar, said when I asked for his impressions: "There is chaos everywhere except where Communists from East Germany, Russia and China exercise authority. They have a tight grip in their own spheres, which are expanding. Many of the Communists are outside the town, giving military and agricultural instruction, but they are also numerous in Zanzibar itself. It is no exaggeration to say that the island is Communist-controlled—a truth which, if stated in public in Dar es Salaam, would cause the speaker to be deported immediately. In Government departments not yet under Communist direction there is general confusion. What one man orders is ignored or contradicted by the next. What a politician wants he takes—but may have it taken from him by a tougher revolutionary; for insistence on revolutionary status is a password when pilfering or engaging in robbery on a more ambitious scale".

Mheshimiwe

MR. T. J. MBOYA, Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs in Kenya, who for a long time has been at great pains to ingratiate himself with the Prime Minister, is, so far as I am aware, the first member of the K.A.N.U. hierarchy to give Mzee Kenyatta the title "Mheshimiwe" — the approximate Swahili equivalent of "Honourable". Perhaps he felt that Dr. Nyerere's preference for "Mwalimu" as an official mode of address, and Dr. Banda's eager acceptance of "Ngwazi", made it desirable for Kenya's leader to have a distinctive appellation. I can think of some very pro-African politicians in Britain whose pronunciation of "Mheshimiwe" will be more enthusiastic than accurate.

Uhuru

FREE-DOM, in the Malawi sense of the term, has been demonstrated in the past week by the flight from the country of four Ministers, physical attacks upon two others, and restriction upon the movements of a seventh — Mr. Chipembere, Dr. Banda's most serious rival for popularity and power. Such was the instability of the régime to which the disastrous Macmillan-Macleod team promised independence. That status was formally conferred upon the country less than three months ago. Not one United Kingdom newspaper has even hinted that the folly of British politicians in granting independence so prematurely is responsible for Malawi's tragedy.

Sir Roy Welensky Defeated in By-Election

Arundel and Avondale Seats Captured by Rhodesian Front Candidates

SIR ROY WELENSKY lost the by-election in the Arundel constituency of Salisbury last Thursday to Mr. Clifford Dupont, the Deputy Prime Minister, who polled 1,079 votes against Sir Roy's 633. The Government majority of 446 was much higher than had been generally expected, for at the last general election there had been a majority against the Rhodesian Front of 317.

In the neighbouring constituency of Avondale, Mr. J. W. Pithey (Rhodesian Front) had a majority of 626 against Mr. Sydney S. Sawyer (Rhodesia Party), the respective totals being 1,042 and 416 votes. That seat had also been won on the last occasion by the United Federal Party led by Sir Edgar Whitehead.

In both constituencies the majorities for the Government were considerably larger than anyone had predicted.

Mr. Dupont had staked his political future on the contest, for shortly before polling he announced that if he were beaten he would not seek re-election to Parliament through another by-election. Until then it had been assumed that he was a potential candidate for the by-election in Charter caused by his resignation of that seat to oppose Sir Roy Welensky.

"A New Rhodesia Has Been Born"

Mr. Ian Smith, the Prime Minister, described the double victory in constituencies previously held by the Opposition as "fantastic". Saying that "a new Rhodesia has been born tonight", he expressed gratification that so many young Rhodesians were taking an active interest in the affairs of that country.

Mr. Dupont told a cheering crowd: "This complete reversal in Arundel clearly shows the country to be behind the Prime Minister and the Government in its policies".

Sir Roy, having congratulated Mr. Dupont, said: "This is the beginning, not the end". Later he declared that he hoped to return to the political arena to play a moderating and he thought vital part in opposing an inexperienced and dangerously extreme Government.

Mr. Dupont and Mr. Pithey took their seats in Parliament on Friday.

The Rhodesian Front has increased its Parliamentary representation from 35 to 37. The Opposition has now 25 seats. There are three Independents in the House, two of them Africans.

On the day after the polling the Prime Minister called on all Rhodesians to stand together in a united effort to obtain full nationhood.

Sir Roy Will Lead from Outside Parliament

Sir Roy Welensky said on Monday that he would fight on. "The Arundel result showed that at least 30% of the electorate are opposed to a unilateral declaration of independence by the Government. That is enough for us to work on. I would go along with the Government in all endeavours to get independence through negotiations, but would always stop short of an illegal declaration. I plan to reorganize my party and make it a more efficient machine than that of the Government party". He would, he said, not fight the Charter by-election, but would lead the party from outside Parliament.

While Sir Edgar Whitehead voiced his confidence that the Rhodesia Party caucus and leadership outside the House would hold together, the *Rhodesia Herald*

considered that Sir Roy's defeat "would continue the separation of party leadership and caucus and strain cohesion of the organization when it needed unity more than ever before".

Government Could Eliminate Effective Opposition

The Rhodesian correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* cabled:—

"If the trend shown in the two by-elections continued throughout the country, about the only opposition M.P.s. who could be sure of being returned would be 12 African members of the Rhodesia Party, all of whom were elected by a handful of African B roll voters, and three independents, two of whom are Africans. Mr. Smith could be fairly certain of winning more than two-thirds of the seats in the Assembly of 65 members.

"With such a majority he would be in a strong position to seek to amend the Constitution with or without the approval of the British Government. The aim would be to ensure that the European community remained supreme".

The Salisbury correspondent of the *Observer* telegraphed:—

"The steam-roller victories of the Rhodesian Front have left the way open for an almost total elimination of an effective Opposition in Southern Rhodesia's Parliament. By a general election Mr. Smith's Government could come near to sweeping the board.

"Thursday's vote was for independence. It was in effect a rejection of the aspirations of most of Southern Rhodesia's non-tribal Africans and a gesture of affluent white defiance in the face of African nationalism.

"The Front's electoral theme was successful because it was simple. 'Think straight', its posters declared. Black nationalism was the spearhead of Communism, its speakers insisted; support for the Government was a national duty; the Government needed the free hand that only independence could provide.

"Outnumbered 17 to one by an African population, Mr. Smith's promise to maintain European standards proved irresistible to an electorate clutching desperately at all the benefits of a European welfare State. Events in the Congo, Zanzibar, and elsewhere have led to a desperate anxiety".

Danger Not Banished

The Opposition is leaderless, wrote *The Times*:—

"Mr. Smith is triumphant. He is however, no nearer to persuading the British Government that he has black support. To his electorate he has delivered nothing but Sir Roy's head on a charger. Worse, he may have misled them into thinking that he has somehow committed Britain to accept whatever form of consultation he devises. The British Government is in no way committed. The danger which Sir Roy set out to combat—an unconstitutional act in default of real African support—is not banished. It is a melancholy day for a man of Sir Roy's achievements and foresight".

In a leaderette the *Daily Telegraph* wrote:—

Sir Roy Welensky, courageously attempting to return to politics to prevent any unilateral declaration of Southern Rhodesia's independence, has humiliatingly lost a 'safe' Opposition seat in a crucial by-election. When he flung down his challenge, Mr. Smith immediately asked the Deputy Prime Minister to resign his seat and take on Sir Roy in single combat. It looked as if Mr. Smith, by meeting his critics on their own ground, was being reckless.

"He then came to London for a meeting with the British Prime Minister on independence that seemed certain to fail. The general assumption was that Mr. Smith was going through the motions of getting a flat 'No' from Britain so that he could choose his date for a unilateral declaration. On the contrary, he agreed with the British proviso that independence must be acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole, and undertook to prove that it was. This he proposes to do, in the case of the great mass of the voteless Africans, by some unexplained form of opinion test.

"Skating over the difficulties of this highly controversial exercise, and over the British Government's careful reservation of its position, Mr. Smith returned in triumph as the man who had practically got independence by the end of the year without the unilateral declaration. This completely pulled the rug from under Sir Roy. The hard truth, however, is that Mr. Smith's arrangements do not seem likely to satisfy Britain's pledge to the Commonwealth to insist on

'sufficiently representative institutions'. Rhodesia will remain, as grave as ever, another problem for the new British Government'.

The *Scotsman* commented:—

"In the 1962 general election the Opposition—which Sir Roy was hoping to lead in Parliament—had a majority of 317 in a poll of 1,543. On Thursday this was turned into a Government majority of 446 in a higher total poll of 1,712. The electorate may be diminutive but the swing was massive—more than 20%—roughly the same as that in the Orpington by-election of 1962. The voters of Arundel and the neighbouring constituency of Avondale have indicated their massive support of Mr. Ian Smith's Government.

"Sir Roy, of course, pleases neither reactionaries nor liberals, whereas the Government's policy of repressing the Africans and keeping Rhodesia under white rule for ever is at least clear cut. Events in Malawi came at a bad time for Sir Roy.

Beaten by Whitehall

"Worst of all, he had planned his campaign mainly on the issue of unilateral independence, pointing out the disasters inherent in such a course. But this issue was apparently removed by Mr. Smith's meeting with Sir Alec Douglas-Home last month. But the policy of unilateral independence is likely to come into view once again when Mr. Smith's opinion-sounding operations among the population, African and European, have been completed. His proposed methods are unlikely to satisfy any British Government.

"If he fails to negotiate independence—and his declared policies make failure inevitable—the only alternative is to

seize it. The entry of Sir Roy into Parliament would have made this more difficult, but the results in Arundel and Avondale show that the vast majority of the white population are naive enough to follow Mr. Smith loyally. The minority who oppose him will no doubt decrease faster than ever—by emigration."

The *Yorkshire Post* interpreted the result as proof that Southern Rhodesian whites were in no mood to support the experiment in non-racial meritocracy pioneered by Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead.

"They no longer trust 'liberalism'. They have lost all faith in the British Government, and probably in the British people. Sir Roy's defeat makes it certain that the British Government, whatever its complexion, will have to deal with people who are not prepared to concede an African majority this side of 1980, no matter what political and economic pressures are put upon them.

"Mr. Smith holds the whip hand now; and it serves Britain right. The multi-racial experiment in Africa failed not because the Europeans were right-wing die-hards but because Conservative and Socialist 'progressives' in Britain killed it.

"Britain, careless of the interests of Europeans and primitive Africans alike, has worked to create 'comfortable' black dictatorships throughout former British Africa. Southern Rhodesia will be the toughest nut to crack. It is a pity that the more moderate policies of Welensky and Whitehead have been rejected at Arundel.

"Sir Roy was not defeated by Mr. Dupont. He was defeated by Whitehall."

Zambia Prepares to Expropriate Royalty Rights

No Compromise with Chartered Claim, Says Dr. Kaunda

NO COMPROMISE over the Chartered Company's claim was possible, DR. KAUNDA, Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia, said last Thursday after the return to Lusaka from London of Mr. Arthur Wina, his Finance Minister. "We will fight tooth and nail for what rightfully belongs to us", the Prime Minister emphasized.

The mining companies and holders of land and other property, however, had nothing to fear.

Of the mining companies he said: "My Government cannot slaughter the very ducks which give us the golden eggs."

Mr. Wina commented on his visit to London that "the Chartered Company was perhaps unrealistic and H.M. Government unco-operative". He believed that there was widespread understanding of the problem in the City.

Bill to Amend Independence Constitution

Mr. Richard Sampson, director of the Association of Northern Rhodesian Industries, said on the same day in Lusaka that his visit to London did not lead him to think that Zambia's credit would suffer from termination of the royalty rights. He had feared that the differences on the subject might interfere with a deal which he had been negotiating, but had not found that to be so and had obtained substantial investment for Zambia.

A Bill to amend the new Independence Constitution has already been introduced into the Assembly to prepare the way for a referendum on the royalty rights. Mr. John Roberts, leader of the National Progress Party, and Mr. Nkumbula, president of the African National Congress, support the Government in this matter.

When the talks broke down on Wednesday of last week the British Government issued a *communiqué* which strongly repudiated the allegation of the Northern Rhodesian Government that former Governments in the U.K. had failed to protect properly the interests of the people of the territory.

The statement also said that Zambia's international reputation and credit would be damaged by expropriation of the royalty rights without adequate compensation.

It read:—

"Discussions have been taking place between Lord Dilhorne, the Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Hornby, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, representing the British Government, and Mr. A. N. L. Wina, Minister of Finance for Northern Rhodesia, and Mr. Mwila, Parliamentary Secretary representing the Government of Northern Rhodesia, with regard to mineral royalties in the territory.

"Mr. Wina made it clear that his Government proposed to secure that the right to mineral royalties should be vested in the State. In the view of his Government the British South Africa Company's title to mineral royalties was of doubtful validity. His Government felt that the company's title should have been challenged years ago by the British Government and that, in so far as the company's title depended on recognition of it by past British Governments, the British Government had failed adequately to protect the interests of the people of the territory by giving such recognition.

"The purpose of his visit was to ascertain whether in these circumstances the British Government were prepared to accept responsibility for the discharge of any claim by the company for compensation for the loss of their mineral royalties.

Britain Urges Reference to Privy Council

"The British Government strongly repudiated the allegation of misconduct on the part of former British Governments, and rejected the suggestion that it was their responsibility to provide compensation for the company. It was made clear to Mr. Wina that while the British Government were willing to use their good offices to bring about an agreement between the Northern Rhodesian Government and the company, the question of payment of compensation to the company was primarily a matter for them and the company.

"The British Ministers pointed out that the company had stated that it had been advised that its title was unassailable, and also pointed out that the Zambia Government would succeed to the rights and obligations of the Northern Rhodesian Government, which included the obligation to comply with the terms of an agreement made in 1950 between the Northern Rhodesian Government, the British Government, and the company, whereby, among other things, the Northern Rhodesian Government secured the right to payment of 20% of the royalties and the termination of the company's title (which is claimed to be a title in perpetuity) in 1986.

"They urged that if the Zambia Government believed the

company's title to be of doubtful validity, it should be agreed to submit the question, as the company had stated they were prepared to do, to a judicial tribunal such as the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Mr. Wina said that his Government were not prepared to agree to any litigation with regard to that.

"The British Ministers expressed their willingness to help to secure an agreement with the company for the transfer of mineral royalties before Independence Day, and to that end it was agreed, without prejudice to the respective contentions of the two Governments, to find out the British South Africa Company's price for the sale of their rights. The British Government regret that it has not been possible to secure an agreement as to the price.

"Mr. Wina agreed that further talks would serve no useful purpose, and repeated that his Government were not prepared to agree to test the company's claim to the mineral rights before any judicial tribunal.

"The British Government hope that on further consideration the Government of Zambia will decide not to damage the international reputation and credit of Zambia by engaging in expropriation without payment of adequate compensation. The British Government continue to be ready to use their good offices to assist in the arrangement of any further discussions which may be desired by either the Northern Rhodesian Government or the British South Africa Company."

Mr. Wina's Statement

Mr. Wina told a Press conference: —

"My talks with the British Government on the ownership of Northern Rhodesia's mineral rights have ended without agreement. I came to ask Her Majesty's Government to accept what we believed to be her clear responsibility to extinguish the B.S.A. Company's claims to ownership of our mineral rights before independence.

"The company claims to own virtually all the minerals and most of the sand, gravel, clay, and even trees. This is to our mind an anomalous and intolerable position for any country approaching independence. Therefore we asked H.M. Government to correct it. H.M. Government had a special responsibility to do this, since it has been the protecting Power for the last 70 years, and since any legal validity to ownership of our natural resources springs almost entirely from the past actions of the British Government.

"No African chief did give, or should have given, all our natural resources to the company. Successive British Governments did so. We have been asking that the present British Government should ensure that the country's natural resources are returned to their rightful owners, the people of Zambia, before independence.

"The company has already received about £80m. from the enjoyment of rights of doubtful legal validity. The British Government has benefited by about £12m. from tax collected from this royalty income.

"The British Government denied any responsibility for extinguishing the company's claims. Indeed, they appeared to deny also any responsibility for having allowed the company to establish its claims, or for having allowed them to be enjoyed on the basis of a doubtful legal validity for 40 years.

"Britain Ducking Its Responsibilities"

"Nevertheless, the Lord Chancellor has approached the company to find out what compensation it would require for voluntarily relinquishing its claimed rights. My Government had authorized me to offer to the British Government a small sum as a token of our good will and in exchange for various surveys, maps, and geological reports that we required from the company. I do not know what was the lowest figure that the company asked. However, the Lord Chancellor made it clear to us that the gap between our token offer and the sum which the company was asking was very much larger than anything the British Government could consider contributing towards a settlement.

"The breakdown of these talks will be a matter of the greatest regret to Dr. Kaunda. Inevitably it will harm to some extent the good relations between our two Governments, since the draft Constitution which the British Government is asking us to accept enshrines — and strengthens — the company's claims to ownership of our minerals in a way which is contrary to our understanding of what was agreed at the May constitutional conference.

"The future Government of Zambia intends to honour all the obligations which it accepts. It follows that when there is an obligation which we cannot accept we must say so openly in advance. That is the position with respect to the mineral rights. We want it to be known in advance that we will refuse to be saddled by this obligation wrongfully created by past British Governments.

"We believe that the present British Government is duck-

ing its proper responsibilities by attempting to force this obligation upon us. This attempt seems to us a clear dereliction of the duties of a protecting Power, and cannot be conducive to good Anglo-Zambian relations."

Mr. Wina said in the course of a letter to Chartered Company shareholders: —

"It is the view of my Government that the claims of your company should be extinguished by H.M. Government before it hands over the reins to an independent Zambia. To help the negotiations my Government had declared its willingness to make a small *ex gratia* contribution, but as we feel the entire responsibility for the royalty situation rests squarely on the British Government, since the Northern Rhodesian administration has at all material times been under the ultimate control of Britain, it would be politically impossible for this to be more than nominal.

"My country is not unaware of the contribution to its development which your company made in the early years, and recognizes that in administering the territory it made a loss of £14m. But since 1923 your company has received some £80m. after tax, and since that date it has made very little contribution to our welfare, reinvesting most of its profits in other parts of the world. It has acted as an absentee landlord, and the overwhelming opinion in my country is that your company has already received more than enough to recompense it for its initial losses and any services which it rendered. There is no case in justice for continuing to pay this absentee landlord £7m. a year after tax for the next 23 years.

"It appears that the case in law is weak; but in so far as it does bear inspection it rests on agreements imposed on the country by the British Government. Public opinion about such matters has moved on, and a degree of exploitation which may have seemed reasonable years ago now appears an anachronistic relic of colonialism. Because of this my Government would find it impossible to justify to our people, many of whom are very poor, the continued payment of royalties.

"The £7m. in royalties paid each year is equivalent to about £2 per head of our population — and the annual income of many of them is not much more than about £10. And for these royalties your company, unlike manufacturing and mining companies which operate in my country, contributes little or nothing.

"Company Will Probably Receive Nothing"

"My hope was that H.M. Government would accept the responsibility to settle the royalties, that the board of your company would accept a moderate sum to relinquish any rights it may be enjoying, and that an amicable settlement could be reached. Unfortunately, the sum demanded by your company was, we understand — for we have naturally left the negotiations to H.M. Government, who are responsible — in excess of what H.M. Government thought the British taxpayer was justified in paying.

"The consequence of this lack of realism is that my Government has no alternative but to proceed to expropriate the mineral royalties, and that instead of getting a sum which is quite substantial in relation to the figure at which the royalties are carried in your company's books or to the figure at which your shares now stand, you will in all probability receive nothing.

"You have our sympathy, and we ask for yours: for the action which we are compelled to take is hurtful and unpleasant. We hope that it will not result in permanent harm to the relations between Zambia and Britain."

In the course of a long comment the *Financial Times* said: —

"The breakdown of the talks bodes ill for the future of British interests in Africa. Dr. Kaunda's Government has been hailed as one of the more promising experiments in decolonization, and much is expected of the Republic of Zambia. Relations between Britain and Zambia seem bound to deteriorate, for a time at least, but the strong feeling in Northern Rhodesia on this issue may at least have the beneficial effect of strengthening Dr. Kaunda's political position, which has sometimes appeared to be threatened by extremist elements within his party.

"Chartered must be expected to press for a bigger offer. But the copper mining companies, in which Chartered holds shares, will be the first to suffer if fuel is added to the flames. It now looks likely that Dr. Kaunda will replace Chartered's mineral rights by Zambia Government shareholdings in the mining companies; and his Government may come under pressure to increase its tax take from the companies.

"The dispute is unique in its juridical complexity and historical obscurity. Dr. Kaunda's Government has rather special political objections to a company which it regards as an 'absentee landlord'.

(Continued on page 88)

PERSONALIA

Mr. and Mrs. R. MURRAY-HUGHES are in London for a short stay.

MRS. GEORGINA BATTISCOMBE is to write a biography of QUEEN ALEXANDRA.

MR. A. L. POTEZ has been appointed secretary of Schweppes (Overseas), Ltd.

SAYED ABDEL MAGID AHMED has joined the Sudan board of Barclays Bank D.C.O.

MR. G. ELLMAN-BROWN has proposed the introduction of daylight saving in Southern Rhodesia.

MR. TIMON S. MANGWAZU has presented his credentials as Malawi Ambassador to West Germany.

SIR LIONEL BIGGS, a former Lord Mayor of Manchester, is spending a month in Southern Rhodesia.

MR. MERVYN DYMALLY, a member of the Assembly of the State of California, has been touring East Africa.

SIR WALTER COUTTS, lately Governor-General of Uganda, has joined the board of Assam and African Investments, Ltd.

SIR DAVID HUNT, U.K. High Commissioner in Uganda, and LADY HUNT are returning in the S.S. BRAEMAR CASTLE.

The Zanzibar revolutionary leader "FIELD MARSHAL" OKELLO was arrested in Mwanza last week for "security reasons".

MR. R. F. BOWKER DOUGLASS, manager of the Lake Manyara Hotel, Tanganyika, has been appointed Director-General of Tourism and Wild Life in Ethiopia.

A former publicity secretary of the proscribed Zimbabwe African National Union in Southern Rhodesia, MR. EDISON SITHOLE, has been served with a restriction order.

MR. IAN HUNTER, director-general of the Commonwealth Arts Festival Society, left London on Friday to visit all the Commonwealth States in East, Central and West Africa.

MR. A. N. WILSON, chief public relations officer in Rhodesia of the Anglo-American Corporation, and MRS. WILSON will sail tomorrow for the Cape in the R.M.S. WINDSOR CASTLE.

BARON CHRISTIAN OPPENHEIM, a Spanish financier and industrialist, has just spent a fortnight in Southern Rhodesia investigating increased trade prospects between the two countries.

MR. HAROLD HEAD, former editor of *Contact*, the South African Liberal Party magazine, arrived in Dar es Salaam last week. He was said to be seeking asylum and employment in Tanganyika.

MALCOLM X, the American Negro leader, is visiting East Africa. He said in Addis Ababa on Monday before leaving for Nairobi that "America is morally incapable of solving the Negro problem".

MR. E. N. MWENDWA, Minister for Labour and Social Services, has accompanied the Kenya Olympic team to Tokyo.

MR. A. M. ROBERTS, minister of the Apostolic Faith Church in Southern Rhodesia, his wife and daughter were all injured by flying glass when their car was heavily stoned by Africans eight miles from Salisbury.

MR. TREVOR WRIGHT, general manager of Rhodesia Railways, has returned to Bulawayo after spending three months in the United Kingdom studying modern management techniques at the Universities of Edinburgh and Leeds.

SIR JOHN FLETCHER-COOKE has resigned as adviser on East African affairs to the Ottoman Bank because of increasing political commitments. He is Conservative candidate for the Test division of Southampton in the general election.

MR. G. HAYNES, vice-president of the National Cash Register Company, of Dayton, Ohio, said during a brief visit to Southern Rhodesia that he felt such confidence in its future that his company would increase its interests in the country.

MR. J. P. MURRAY, Commissioner in London for Northern Rhodesia, addressed a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies in London a few days ago on "Zambia: The Future". SIR GILBERT RENNIE presided.

DR. TEODORICO SACADURA BOTTE, MR. HERBERT ENTWHISTLE, CAPTAIN ANTONIO DOS SANTOS FIGUEIREDO, and MR. HERBERT PHILIP STEVENS have been appointed members of the new local board in Mozambique of Barclays Bank D.C.O.

THE RT. REV. P. J. BRAZIER, lately Bishop of Rwanda and Burundi, has told the Uganda Church Association in London that he had to have two diocesan councils because his province covered a kingdom with Chinese leanings and a republic taking aid from other sources.

At the autumn meeting of the Standard Bank Golfing Society MR. H. H. LAMPRECHT and MR. L. P. HEWETT each had 36 points in the Shillito Cup competition. The Jeans Foursomes Cup was won by Messrs. B. E. MISKIN and J. WIGHT (43) against B. L. J. RICHARDS and J. A. STEPHENSON (39).


SIR EDGAR UNSWORTH, lately Chief Justice in Nyasaland, is director of studies for a five months' course just opened in London for Government legal officers from 12 overseas territories, among them MR. J. M. N. KOKOOZA from Uganda, MR. C. M. MWANANSHIKU from Northern Rhodesia, and SHEIKH ELDA SULIMAN from the Sudan.

MR. J. M. MACOUN, who retired at the beginning of the month after five years' service in the Uganda Police, first as Commissioner, then as the first Inspector-General, and latterly as Police Adviser, first went to East Africa in 1939 as a cadet in the Tanganyika Police, of which he was Deputy Commissioner before his promotion to Uganda in 1958.

CHIEF SALAMBA KAJALA, CHIEF EDWARD MBARNOTI, M.P., MRS. K. T. MTENGA, MRS. E. MALECELA, and MR. A. Y. A. KARIMJEE have been appointed to the board of trustees of Tanganyika National Parks, of which DR. FAIRFIELD OSBORN, president of the New York Zoological Society, and JUDGE RUSSELL E. TRAIN, president of the African Wildlife Leadership Foundation, have been nominated honorary trustees.

MR. WILLIAM LOCKHART-SMITH, formerly of the Colonial Legal Service, who practises in Dar es Salaam as a barrister, was fined 15 guineas on Monday for contempt of court. He is to appeal. He was alleged to have shown disrespect to a Nigerian magistrate, telling him: "I have been at the bar since before you were born and know court procedure better than you". He has been Attorney-General in Nyasaland and Gibraltar and a judge in Tanganyika.

NORTHERN RHODESIA



For Information
APPLY TO

The Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia
ESTATE HOUSE, HAYMARKET,
LONDON, S.W.1.

Telegrams: "NORHODCOM LESQUARE LONDON"
Telephone: WHitchell 5858 Cables: "NORHODCOM LONDON"

MRS. BETTY KAUNDA, wife of the Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia, has denied the statement of a Johannesburg dress designer that she had ordered for the independence celebrations a gold lamé gown and coat costing £120.

MR. S. ODAKA, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, told the National Assembly of Uganda a few days ago that there had been several cases of interference in the country's affairs by diplomatic missions. Representations had been made to their Governments.

SIR GILBERT LAITHWAITE has resigned the appointment of a deputy chairman of Inchcape & Co., Ltd., but remains on the board. SIR HUGH TALLACK is now a managing director, and MR. NEIL A. CAMPBELL and MR. JOHN C. GOODMAN have been elected directors.

EMPEROR HAILLE SELASSIE, who has been making a tour of Eastern Europe, flew to London last week to visit his son-in-law, RAS ANDARG, who is in hospital recovering from injuries received in a car crash. His daughter, PRINCESS TENAGNE, is also in London. THE EMPEROR was here for only six hours.

MR. PAUL RUPIA has been appointed Chargé d'Affaires in Ethiopia for the United Republic of Tankanyika and Zanzibar, and MR. WILLIAM MBAGO, Chargé d'Affaires in the Soviet Union. They were Assistant Secretaries in the Ministry of External Affairs in Dar es Salaam.

Visitors to London from Northern Rhodesia include COLONEL P. J. E. ROWELL, MR. & MRS. A. M. N. REYNOLDS, and MR. & MRS. R. W. DEAN from Lusaka; MAJOR & MRS. C. ST. J. WALLIS and MR. & MRS. D. S. CROSE from Ndola; and MR. & MRS. D. E. S. MILLARD from Kalulushi.

MR. ARTHUR CARR, a founder member of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, has resigned from the Labour Party, for which he had twice been a Parliamentary candidate, to work for the Conservatives. His resignation was, he said, a protest against Labour Party "expediency and political dishonesty".

When MR. MASINDE MULIRO, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, proposed a motion of no confidence in the Prime Minister in the House of Representatives in Kenya last week there were shouts of "Shame" from the Government benches. MR. ODINGA, Minister for Home Affairs, said that the country could not "play with the dynamic, trustworthy, mature leadership of MR. KENYATTA".

Arrivals in London from Southern Rhodesia include DR. N. M. BAKER, MAJOR A. R. BEATTIE, MR. & MRS. T. E. S. FRANCIS, MR. M. A. GALLIE, DR. & MRS. D. GOOLD, MR. M. P. GRANT, MR. & MRS. D. S. JACK, DR. I. McDONALD, MR. JUSTICE & MRS. H. N. MACDONALD, PROFESSOR J. C. MITCHELL, MR. J. D. SLAVEN, MR. & MRS. T. L. WARTH, DR. M. H. WEBSTER, MR. B. K. WINDLER, and MR. G. N. WRIGHT.

THE HON. ANGUS OGILVY, with MR. A. DEMBENOTIS, of Federal Ventures, Ltd., Dar es Salaam, discussed industrial questions, with specific reference to mining and sisal production, in the Tanganyika capital last week with MR. A. K. HANGA, Minister for Industries, Mineral Resources and Power. Before leaving for Kenya MR. OGILVY paid a short visit to one of the plantations of Central Line Sisal Estates, Ltd.

Obituary

MRS. ELIZABETH WIGGLESWORTH, who had died suddenly at the age of 87, had been chairman of Wigglesworth & Co., Ltd., since the death of her husband, Alfred Wigglesworth, at the age of 85. Until the day of her death she had taken an active interest in the affairs of the company, which has had only two chairmen since its establishment, 69 years ago.

Policy of New Somali Government Unification of All Somali Territories

PRIME MINISTER ABDIRIZAK of the Somali Republic has told the National Assembly that the government's first concern is unification of all Somali territories, for which it will campaign now and henceforth.

He described the defence agreement between Ethiopia and Kenya as aimed at intimidating either Somalia or Somali people living in those two countries and wanting their freedom. They should not keep silent about their rights, and the Somali Government, because of its obligation to fight for their right of self-determination, would not abandon them. It was deplorable that such an agreement should have been signed when there had been an understanding for talks between the three territories.

The Somali Government would fight against tribalism, work to promote moral decency and good manners, attack corruption and other practices harmful to morality, and improve the living, social, cultural, economic, and working conditions of Somali citizens.

The absence from the United Nations of China, with a quarter of the world population, was unjust and unrealistic and the cause of tension in many parts of the world.

Concentration on Farming

WHEN HE OPENED the Kenya Agricultural Show in Mitchell Park, Nairobi, the Prime Minister said last week that the coffee trees already planted should produce an annual crop of 70,000 tons six years hence, by which time another 14,000 acres would have been put under tea. The six-year development plan included expenditure of £28m. on agriculture, £12m. for credit, more than £7m. for irrigation schemes, and £2m. for the livestock industry. Much of Kenya was ideal for sheep, and wool production was to be significantly expanded. There would be no attempt to find work in towns for people who could be more usefully employed in agriculture. A man would do more for the country as a hard-working farmer than as a third-class clerk.

From Kenya to Russia

IN THE LAST FEW DAYS 199 Kenya African students have been flown from Nairobi to the Soviet Union by Russian jet aircraft. A number of them are to be trained in publicity techniques, including journalism, publishing, radio technology, and teleprinter operation. Some Africans thus trained in Communist countries have recently been appointed to the staff of the "Voice of Kenya" radio and to the State-controlled Kenya News Agency under Mr. Oneko, the Information Minister, who recently revisited Moscow.

Zambia's High Commissioner

MR. SIMON KATILUNGU, who for several years has been education secretary of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, is to be Zambia's first High Commissioner in London. For eight years he was senior research assistant with the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, which deals with social and other problems. He holds a diploma in social work. Mr. Katilungu is 40 years of age.

INDEPENDENCE OF ZAMBIA.—A Service of Thanksgiving and Dedication will be held in Westminster Abbey on Saturday, October 24, 1964, at 11.30 a.m. Those wishing to attend are asked to apply for tickets to the Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia, Estate House, Haymarket, London, S.W.1, not later than October 21, 1964.

Press Comment on Royalties

(Continued from page 85)

"Zambia will be anxious about its international credit. But investors would do well to judge it by its attitude to foreign companies other than Chartered. Dr. Kaunda should be given a chance to prove that he intends to be fair, since his country has ambitious plans which depend on attracting foreign capital.

"The next British Government may be faced with an awkward dilemma as to whether it should acquiesce in Zambia's expropriation with a protest for the record or take the vigorous action that Chartered appears to expect, with some justification, and thus make relations with Zambia still worse. It might have been cheaper in the long run for Chartered here and now, by finding a few more millions for Chartered here and now.

"Whatever the rights and wrongs of investors even more doubtful of putting their money either into developing countries or those on the verge of independence."

The *Daily Telegraph* considered that Dr. Banda's "derisory" offer of £2m. would do his country's credit no good, and continued:—

"The dispute has been left to a late and dangerous hour in the history of emergent Zambia. Chartered is perilously close to getting nothing. There has been starchiness in the outlook of the company and excitement dominating the Northern Rhodesian Government.

"Britain cannot afford to underwrite vast bills for nationalization at home or abroad. That would simply encourage others to the same form of plunder. Her proper rôle is to convert Mr. Kaunda and the company to gentler methods. Zambia will not be able to solve this question outright except by repudiating the charter, but over a short number of years it could buy out the company's concession, with some British Government help, on terms which the company ought to find acceptable."

May Get No Compensation

Similar views were expressed by the *Scotsman*:—

"It will be an unhappy start for the new country if it has to make immediate changes in the Constitution which will be introduced by Order in Council and on which Britain and Northern Rhodesia have already agreed.

"Even if Chartered's case were unchallengeable, the Zambian Government would treat it as a political issue. A company which has drawn many millions in royalties is naturally unpopular with the African leaders, who regard this as a classic instance of exploitation. They argue that they should not be bound by the actions of chiefs who made concessions without being aware of the value of what they were conceding.

"Britain's parting gift for Kenya was a larger sum than would be necessary to satisfy Chartered's claim. Though a payment to a commercial company—whose critics in Northern Rhodesia are not confined to the Africans—might prove a political row here, it would be worth while in order to give Zambia a good send-off unclouded by friction."

By refusing to submit the case to the Privy Council, Northern Rhodesia has put itself in the wrong, the *Investors Chronicle* wrote, continuing:—

"The Government now appears anxious to expropriate and reluctant to test the validity of the rights that Chartered claims. But the basis of Zambia's case is opinion from leading counsel that the concession is invalid, and now, armed with that opinion Zambia refuses to face the court. Chartered, doubtless with the best advice, says that the Privy Council could decide by Christmas. The right solution would be a Privy Council judgment.

"Chartered claims that the British Government ought to support it if Dr. Kaunda should expropriate without compensation. The U.K. Government could put a case itself to the Privy Council, but it will be inhibited by its desire to keep Dr. Kaunda in the saddle.

"Chartered shareholders look as if they will receive no compensation; Zambia will start independence with a financial black mark; it runs the risk of cutting itself off not only from the London capital market but from international sources of finance as well; and the British Government is between two fires.

"It is suggested that the Northern Rhodesian Government will abolish the royalty paid by the copper companies, and instead of incorporating it in the tax structure—which might appear to be discriminatory—ask for shares in the copper companies themselves. In this way Northern Rhodesia would participate in their prosperity. It is a pity that such an arrangement was not made years ago by Chartered, which we believe had the opportunity."

Under the caption "The Price of Good Will", the *Statist* said:—

"Chartered has turned down the nominal amount offered by Mr. Wina as a gesture to ensure good relations after Zambia is independent; Mr. Wina has shrugged his shoulders, satisfied that Chartered's rights are not only out-shouldered, but are of very doubtful legality so far as the Copperbelt goes. If full payment—say, of more than £20m.—were to have been made, the Government would have had to counter fierce allegations from inside and outside the country of yielding to neo-colonialist pressures.

"On the economic rather than political level, Lusaka would have to be convinced that a sum of that size could not be spent a great deal better than by buying the very doubtful good will of the City; or that there were not better ways of obtaining that good will (which implies private investment) with the same money. If good will is giving the Northern Rhodesian Government cause to worry—rather than its obligations towards Chartered—it can hardly think that a contribution from the British Government towards Chartered's compensation would make much of a difference.

"On the other hand, if it is so clear in its mind about the legal justifications of expropriation, it should not have to fear a hearing before a judicial tribunal. Acceptance of this would ensure the good will that is required."

The City editor of the *Sunday Telegraph* wrote: "I put at £3½m. the upper limit of any compensation the company might receive."

U.K. Ministers Blamed

The Socialist *New Statesman* put most of the blame on the Lord Chancellor, saying:—

"Never has the sheer ineptitude of the Conservative Government been more devastatingly illustrated than in its handling of this affair. By refusing to acknowledge any responsibility for compensating B.S.A. shareholders for the inevitable discontinuance of their huge and parasitic Northern Rhodesian pickings, Sir Alec Home and Mr. Sandys have forced Dr. Kaunda into simply expropriating the company without compensation.

"They have also thrown wide open the hitherto submerged and highly explosive issue of the nationalization of the whole Northern Rhodesian copper industry, from which British investors annually receive a great deal more in dividends than the £3m. with which the Cabinet privately authorized Lord Dilhorne to bridge the £12m. gap between the Northern Rhodesian *ex gratia* offer and B.S.A.'s demands.

"The sorriest figure in this whole sordid affair is perhaps Lord Dilhorne. Standing in for the evasive Mr. Sandys in the interests of the election campaign, the Lord Chancellor had apparently failed, by the time that the negotiations broke down after a full week, to read either the N.R. White Paper or his own brief in full. The only words to describe the British *communiqué* on the talks are 'shoddy and sly'."

Mr. Duncan Sandys, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, was blamed by the *Economist* in a commentary entitled "Bitter Beginning":—

"The British *communiqué* gave the impression that the Government preferred to lose Dr. Kaunda's good will rather than that of the company. In effect it publicly warned the Zambians that they would incur their 'international reputation and credit' by an act of 'expropriation without payment of adequate compensation'. This implies that Zambia could redeem its financial good name only if it paid the company a sum proportionate to another 22 years' royalties at a rate of several million pounds a year—for the company still claims an 'unassailable' title to royalties payable until 1986. In practice, the Government knows that it is politically impossible for Dr. Kaunda to pay anything of the kind.

"Mr. Sandys has got into an unprecedented position. By Order in Council, he is about to saddle Zambia with a Constitution that implicitly reasserts the company's right to receive further payments, although the Zambian Government has announced that on its first day of independence it will proceed to amend the Constitution.

"Mr. Wina emphasized before leaving London that Zambia treasured its reputation and meant to honour every obligation it undertook; it was precisely for that reason that it must declare in advance that it rejected the B.S.A. claims.

"Even if Chartered's claims were undisputed they would still have the unique character of a demand that a sovereign State should pay a large part of its own normal revenues to a foreign company that makes no corresponding contribution to the State's economy. The distinction is vividly clear to African eyes. By persistently blurring it, Britain could destroy Zambian good will towards the mining companies too. It seems likely to find itself paying the Chartered Company a substantial sum provided by the British taxpayer."

Northern News, a Northern Rhodesian newspaper, wrote that the company, having received so much for so small an outlay, could not feel that it had had a raw deal.

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY

The following communication has been sent to all stockholders by the President of The British South Africa Company.

THE PRESIDENT'S ROOM

11 Old Jewry, London, E.C.2.

30th September, 1964.

To all Members.

Dear Member,

Mineral Rights in Northern Rhodesia

I am sending you a copy of a statement which the Company issued to the Press yesterday evening, 29th September, 1964, and of my letter published in *The Times* on the 18th September 1964.* In due course I shall be sending you a further communication about the company's mineral rights in Northern Rhodesia, and I shall hope to be able to tell you something of the discussions which the Company has had with Her Majesty's Government in recent days.

I should like to correct at once an impression that you may have gained from newspaper reports which have suggested that the Board turned down what it considered to be too small an offer of compensation. **I must tell you that this Board has received no offer whatsoever from any source.**

Meanwhile, I am particularly charged by the Board to assure you that I and my colleagues are resolved to take every step available to the Company to protect its rights. We are closely watching developments, and if there appears any opportunity of instituting negotiations which would bring about a reasonable settlement, we shall seize it and do our best to bring about a satisfactory solution of the problem.

At a Press conference yesterday the Northern Rhodesia Minister of Finance stated that he would be sending a circular to all members of the Company stating his Government's point of view. No doubt you will reserve judgment on this until you learn the facts from me.

Yours faithfully,

P. V. EMRYS-EVANS,

President.

* Not reproduced.

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY

Mineral Rights in Northern Rhodesia

Press Release

1. Since the Company was invited by H.M. Government to talks with the Lord Chancellor it has made no public statement, in order to avoid making the discussions more difficult. Now that the talks between H.M. Government and the Northern Rhodesia Government appear to have broken down, the Company feels bound to speak out to make the basic facts clear.

2. The Northern Rhodesia White Paper published on 20th September is no substitute for judicial inquiry to resolve the doubts which the Northern Rhodesia Government have sought to cast upon the Company's title to the mineral rights throughout Northern Rhodesia.

3. The White Paper is no more than a propaganda document designed to justify the bare-faced expropriation of the Company's mineral rights without compensation. The present Northern Rhodesia Constitution provides for the payment of adequate compensation when property is compulsorily acquired, and only in May of this year the Northern Rhodesia Government

agreed at the Constitutional Conference that the same provisions should re-appear in the Independence Constitution.

4. The legal advice which the Company has received is founded on investigations no less thorough and extensive than those made on behalf of the Northern Rhodesia Government and has been confirmed by counsel after a close study of the White Paper.

5. The White Paper concentrates upon the original concessions and nowhere makes a categorical statement that the Northern Rhodesia Government has been advised that the Company is without title to the mineral rights. It makes the point that the geographical areas covered by the original concessions are open to doubt. The Company is advised that its title is unassailable; the Company's title depends, not only on the original concessions, and the recognition of its title by the British Government but also on internal Northern Rhodesia legislation. The White Paper does not deal with the legal consequences of the recognition by the British Government; it ignores internal Northern Rhodesia legislation. In particular, it makes no mention of the Mining Ordinance of 1958 which provides by itself an independent basis for the Company's title to the mineral rights.

6. The Company declared publicly before the White Paper was issued that if the question of the validity of its title was likely to interfere with negotiations to arrive at fair compensation, it was prepared to submit the question of title to judicial decision by the Privy Council. The White Paper, amongst other inaccuracies, alleges that the Company has refused to submit the question of title to this test. The Company's offer has been repeated, and the Company is satisfied that arrangements could be made for the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to hear the case and deliver a judgment by Christmas, 1964. It is significant that, faced with this challenge, it is understood that the Northern Rhodesia Government has declined this offer.

7. The threatened expropriation of the Company's mineral rights will be no different from the seizure without proper compensation of any other British commercial or property interest in a foreign country.

8. Under the terms of the 1950 Agreement the Company obtained special protection for its rights. By this Agreement, to which the British Government, the Northern Rhodesia Government and the Company were parties, the Company agreed to transfer its mineral rights to the Northern Rhodesia Government free of compensation in 1986 and, meanwhile, to pay to that Government 20% of the mineral revenues. In return the Company was to continue in undisturbed enjoyment of its mineral rights in Northern Rhodesia until October, 1986. The agreement specifically provided that the parties intended that it should bind the Government for the time being of Northern Rhodesia, however such Government was constituted. Furthermore, it was provided that if the British Government decided to take steps (before 1986) to relinquish responsibility for the Government of Northern Rhodesia, the British Government would be under an obligation, so far as it was possible to do so, to secure that under the independence arrangements the independence Government would be bound to observe the provisions of the 1950 Agreement.

9. In addition to the special provisions of the 1950 Agreement, the Company is entitled to the same full and energetic support which other British interests have had in the past from Governments of all parties when foreign Governments threatened or seized British investments abroad.

10. It now appears that the Northern Rhodesia Government may have determined upon a course which would involve tearing up those provisions of the independence Constitution — at any rate so far as the Company is concerned — which establish for Zambia the fundamental rights which are recognized throughout the world. Any such action would be bound to impair the standing of any developing country which must look outside its borders for finance if it is to develop as it can and as it should.

11. The Directors in this difficult situation are resolved to take every step within their power to protect the Company's rights, and they expect Her Majesty's Government to use every effort to support them.

Ministers Flee from Malawi

Mr. Chipembere Under Restriction

MR. CHIPEMBERE, Minister of Education in the Malawi Government until he resigned in sympathy with three of his colleagues who were dismissed on September 7, has now been sent a restriction order which prohibits movement to a radius of four miles from his home in Fort Johnston.

Before Dr. Banda signed the restriction order in Kasungu he had sent a detachment of the Malawi Rifles to Fort Johnston "to restore confidence in the local population", to quote the official announcement. There are conflicting reports as to whether one or two companies of troops were dispatched to the area. Mr. Chipembere's constituency, in which he is believed to have solid sympathy.

Presumably because he had received prior warning of what was intended, Mr. Chipembere left his home in Malindi, a village on Lake Nyasa, some hours before the restriction order was delivered. He returned, it is believed, under police escort, three days later, having been in hiding elsewhere, possibly in Blantyre.

Asylum Sought in Northern Rhodesia

Two other ex-Ministers, Mr. Augustine Bwanausi, former Minister of Development and Works, and Mr. William Chokani, former Minister for Labour, fled to Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia. A Government announcement said that they would make no statement beyond an expression of a wish to be allowed to stay for the time being.

There was no news for days of Mr. Kayama Chiume, the dismissed Minister of External Affairs, but at the week-end it was learnt that he also had left Malawi. As he crossed into Northern Rhodesia through the border post at Fort Hill police had to protect him from an angry crowd.

Mr. Orton Chirwa, lately Minister of Justice and Attorney-General, was stopped at a road-block on the Blantyre-Zomba road by Malawi Youth Pioneers and his car was set alight. According to some reports, he escaped into the bush.

Mr. A. A. Muwalo, Minister of Information, had taken refuge in the hospital when chased through Zomba streets by a mob. He jumped into a bed and pretended to be a patient.

Mr. Chakuamba, Minister of Social Development, is still in hospital, suffering from serious injuries when he was manhandled by a mob in Zomba 10 days ago.

No Minister in Zomba

For four days last week there was no Minister in Zomba, some being with Dr. Banda on his tour and some being sent ahead to prepare the way for him. Mr. Peter Youens, the European Permanent Secretary to the Prime Minister, was apparently in charge.

Mr. Youens addressed a large open-air meeting of African civil servants, who resent the threat of reduced salaries and the loss of other privileges. To demonstrate their unity in opposition to Dr. Banda they are wearing pieces of cloth tied round the wrist.

A company of the Malawi Rifles patrolled the capital, Zomba, after anti-Banda demonstrations, staged mainly by African civil servants, nearly all of whom stayed away from their offices for one day last week. They burnt several Malawi flags (which had come into use with independence only 10 weeks previously) and roamed the streets armed with clubs and other weapons in search of Malawi Congress Party "intimidators", particularly youth wingers.

Dr. Banda has issued new regulations which must seriously interfere with the Press. Imprisonment up to five years, together with a fine up to £500, can now be the penalty for publishing anything which is deemed

likely to be prejudicial to public security or to undermine authority or public confidence in the Government or provoke ill-will or hostility between classes or races. New security regulations enable the Prime Minister to declare individuals "controlled persons" in the interest of public order and security.

In Kasungu Dr. Banda told a crowd of attempts to "sell Malawi to the Chinese in Dar es Salaam and Peking, just as before people tried to sell us to Europe and Welensky".

Rhodesian Front Party Congress

Demands for Early Independence

THE CONGRESS of the Rhodesian Front meets in Salisbury today. The first resolution on the agenda, from the Salisbury branch, reads:—

"That Congress, while acknowledging its loyalty to the person of Her Majesty the Queen, affirms that this loyalty is indissoluble to that owed to the country of Rhodesia, and further pledges its confidence in the Prime Minister and its support in whatever action he should take in order to gain independence for Southern Rhodesia within or without the Commonwealth."

Another resolution calls for the Government to obtain "sovereign independence without strings in the immediate future". Yet another records "profound faith in the Armed Forces and Civil Service" and calls for recognition that they will continue "in all circumstances" to do their duty for Southern Rhodesia.

A rural branch in Mashonaland wants the party to pledge its full support to the Prime Minister in his fight for independence "even to the extent of a unilateral declaration".

In other resolutions there are references to too much Africanization in certain key services; to the need for a "dynamic Young Rhodesian Front Organization"; to an investigation of instructors in Government training schools and colleges "who openly instruct pupils in anti-Government propaganda"; to compulsory military training in schools; to identity cards for all; to the desirability of political articles in newspapers bearing the signature of the writer; and to flogging for thuggery and malicious damage.

Majority Rule Independence Committee

A MAJORITY RULE INDEPENDENCE COMMITTEE has been formed in Salisbury by Africans and Europeans who supported Mr. Joshua Nkomo's People's Caretaker Council until it was proscribed. Among the members of the committee are Mr. Enoch Dubutshena, an advocate in the capital, Mr. Garfield Todd, a former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, and two lecturers at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Messrs John Reed and Mathew Wakatama.

According to reports from Salisbury, supporters of the Rev. N. Sithole's now banned Zimbabwe African National Union have not been allowed to join.

Mr. Dubutshena told journalists at the week-end that the only satisfactory test of African opinion about independence would be a referendum of all adults on a one-man-one-vote basis. The committee intended to speak to the Africans in general, including the chiefs.

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Kenya Committed to Socialism But Nationalization Not Intended

MZEE KENYATTA, Prime Minister of Kenya, said last week when addressing a meeting of businessmen in the City Hall, Nairobi:—

"My Government is fully committed to the ideal of African Socialism.

"We will resist pressure from any quarter which seeks to divert our energies into commitments of cold war policies. We will adopt ideas or schemes which fit our requirements irrespective of place of origin, being guided strictly by what is best for our country.

"When we choose some techniques from the East, it is not because we approve the conduct of their domestic or foreign policies; nor should we be accused of being pro-West if we adopt or perpetuate some Western ideas.

"We are African Socialists determined to develop Kenya as a democratic African Socialist country. Following these principles, we have established trade links with the Socialist countries of Europe and Asia. By trade agreements concluded with many of these countries we have increased the volume of our external trade considerably. At the same time we have maintained and increased our trade in our traditional markets.

"My Government appreciates the co-operation which private employers have given in our endeavour to find a solution to the very pressing unemployment problem.

Reduce Profit Margins

"I appeal to you to reduce wherever possible your profit margins in order to spread the benefits of development to those of low incomes.

"If the economy continues to expand as fast as it is doing, we shall run into a shortage of skilled personnel. We shall need these people not only to tighten nuts and bolts but also to make precision instruments. To fill this gap Government has placed in the six-year Development Plan a high priority on secondary school education, particularly in its technical and scientific fields.

"The private businessman is already playing a major rôle in the development of our nation, but I appeal to you to con-

sider all possible schemes for training your staff to enable us to meet our future needs for skilled man-power.

"Our aim is to establish a mixed economy. By that we mean that we shall work to a situation in which private enterprise and Government are complementary. Africans must be integrated in our commercial and industrial life, and we are instituting measures which will enable Africans to play an ever-increasing part in these fields.

"But we are determined that the development of African businesses and industries should be carried out without damaging the existing fabric of the economy. Transfer of a business from one man to another does not necessarily expand business or develop a country. We propose to set up additional organisations. I am thinking of the Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation and the Development Finance Company of Kenya through which Government will directly participate in industrial projects in partnership with private capital.

State-Owned Companies

"One of the greatest weaknesses in our commerce is that in the distributive trade it is not always easy for small retailers to get reliable services from wholesalers. In this sector we need the commercial equivalent of land consolidation. We consider that the most efficient way of achieving this commercial consolidation is to develop a State-owned company which will act as a focal point for reorganizing and expanding the distributive trades.

To derive maximum benefits from our agreements for mutual trade with the Socialist countries it is necessary to establish a single State-controlled agency. I must emphasize that it is not the intention to swamp the distributive trades by a monolithic Government organization. There must remain a very large section of the economy under private enterprise.

A similar approach will be adopted for industrial projects which the Government may find it necessary to initiate. Up to now industrial development has been sponsored by private enterprises, but we have reached a stage where certain enterprises can take place only if they are financially backed by Government.

"You must not interpret my remarks as implying nationalization. We consider that nationalization will not serve to advance the cause of African socialism.

"We have gone to greater pains to guarantee private investments than most countries. The Constitution provides safeguards for private property. Government has provided further safeguards in the proposed Foreign Investments (Protection) Bill. Our taxation system provides a further testimony of our determination to assist. I urge you to reassure your associates overseas that it is Government's intention not only to continue to work together with private enterprise but to promote conditions in which private enterprise can thrive. Government will continue the policy of tariff protection for pioneer and infant industries, including refunds of customs duty for imported raw materials.

"It is also an important aim of our policy to strengthen the East African Common Market. We realize that the larger the market the more attractive it is to investors.

Co-operative Movement to Have Major Rôle

"I have talked about our resolve to integrate Africans in the commercial and industrial life of the country. For this purpose the Government attaches the greatest importance to the development of the co-operative movement. Its ideals are in essence those of African Socialism. We expect that the co-operative movement will play a major rôle in the expansion of the whole economy. Co-operation and mutual help are an inherent African tradition and must form the cornerstone of our development.

Racial identities in business are not in keeping with the spirit of building one nation. You may have to adjust your organizations so that the newcomers to commerce and industry can be seen to be taking part in your activities. This may be difficult, but it has to be done. Opportunities in the business sphere must be open to all.

"Newcomers will not have sufficient resources and know-how, but some way must be found of getting everyone to pull together. It is probable that the effective way out would appear irrational and unique, but our circumstances are peculiar and you should not be afraid of new experiments. Whatever the method finally adopted, it must be acceptable to all of you and not allow any one group, still less any one person, to dominate the business field.

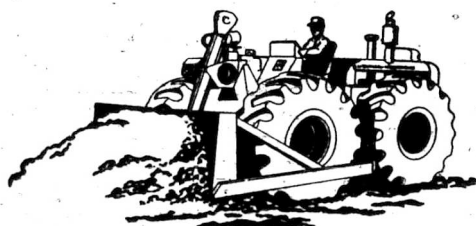
"If we have confidence in each other, if the business community understands Government's problems and the Government understands your problems, we can build up this country to become a real force in Africa and the world.

"We must all seek to see that justice and fairness are spread right through our society. We must widen and expand our economic and social relationships so that no man feels himself excluded, or anyone less a citizen of our country."

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News Items in Brief

A United Arab Republic trade delegation is due in Uganda later in the month.

A good will delegation of eight Indian industrialists has just visited Northern Rhodesia.

Pakistani engineers will be employed by Kenya on hydro-electric projects and dam construction.

The change of name by Nyasaland Railways to Malawi Railways became effective last Thursday.

A secretariat on trade union policy for Africa is being created by the Organization of African Unity.

A Russian trade mission to Kenya is led by Mr. Prikhodov, vice-president of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce.

Canada has bought almost half of the sugar shipped from Southern Rhodesia in its first year as a sugar exporter.

The first African country to pay its contribution of £16,000 to the African Liberation Committee of O.A.U. is Uganda.

A grant of more than £450,000 has been made by the Ford Foundation to the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

A direct telephone service between East Africa and Nigeria has been inaugurated. Calls cost 45s. for three minutes.

Police in Southern Rhodesia now have powers to stop and search any person or vehicle anywhere during the next six months.

Four teen-age Africans have been charged in Southern Rhodesia with trying to derail a train by putting boulders on the track.

All Kenya Meat Commission posts are to be Africanized as soon as practicable, according to a Government reply in the Senate.

Air conditioning contracts in Tanganyika worth £120,000 are nearing completion by Johnson & Fletcher, Ltd., a Rhodesian company.

New Name for Selous Reserve

The largest game reserve in East Africa, the Selous Reserve in Tanganyika, is to be given a local name. Suggestions are invited by the Government.

Five members of the executive of the now banned Zimbabwe African National Union were jailed last week for six months each on counts of printing subversive statements.

The first overseas trade fair organized by the export group of the Rhodesia Clothing Manufacturers' Association has been held in London during the past few days.

Just under £323m. had been realized to September 24 by the sale on the Salisbury auction floors of 288.4m. lb. of fire-cured tobacco, the average price being 27.03d. per lb.

A Commonwealth Telecommunications Board meeting in London this week is attended by 70 delegates. Kenya, Tanganyika, the two Rhodesias, and Malawi are represented.

Kampala City Council's new council chamber has cost £25,000, of which just over half was given by Mr. Nanji Kalidas Metha (now deceased) and £11,500 by H.M. Government.

Coronation Syndicate, Ltd., which in January became a subsidiary of Lonrho, Ltd., is now a subsidiary of Tweefontein United Collieries, Ltd., South Africa, as a result of recent share transactions.

Gallaher, Ltd., will capitalize £3.3m. from share premium account for a one-for-10 issue to shareholders. The directors hope to pay a final dividend at the rate of 12½ less tax on the higher capital.

Italian-made 105 mm. howitzers for use by the Zambia Artillery were flown a few days ago from Italy to Lusaka in an R.A.F. transport aircraft as part of Britain's contribution to the independence celebrations.

A Japanese has arrived in Kenya as principal of the Small Industries Research and Training Centre which is to be established in Nakuru to provide courses in leatherwork, carpentry, joinery and dressmaking.

Owing to an overtime ban in Southampton Docks, sailing of the R.M.S. WINDSOR CASTLE has been postponed from 4 p.m. today until the same time tomorrow. Her time of arrival at Cape Town will not be altered.

The Cold Storage Commission of Southern Rhodesia has promised to increase its beef deliveries to Northern Rhodesia by about 30% over the next three months in order to relieve a severe shortage, due in part to the railway strike.

Inchcape & Co., Ltd., a group with large East African interests, reports group profit at £777,077 (£743,431) after tax of £394,494 (£469,794). Shareholders receive 11½% on capital increased by a one-for-two scrip issue (10½%).

The People's Republic of China and Western Germany will be recognized by Zambia because they represent larger populations than the National Government of Taiwan and East Germany, Dr. Kaunda told journalists in Lusaka last week.

Dalgety and New Zealand Loan, Ltd., report net profits after tax at £2,270,000 (£1,661,000), the tax charge having risen from 41.4% (just under £1.2m.) to 48.3% (£2.1m.). The 10% tax-free dividend takes £1m. Last year's rate was 9%.

E. W. Tarry & Co., Ltd., are to close all but two of their Southern Rhodesian branches, their company's trade in that country having fallen 41% during the past year. In Northern Rhodesia the turnover rose 9%. The deficit is now about £180,000.

A national television service to be started in Ethiopia in November, initially for the Addis Ababa area, will be under the direction of the Ministry of Information, for which Thomson Television (International), Ltd., will act as managing agents.

W. & C. French, Ltd., contractors operating in East Africa, report group profits after tax to March 31 at £532,943 (£283,458). The dividend is 10% on capital increased by a two-for-five rights issue. Last year 7½% was paid on the lower capital.

A United Arab Republic Economic Trading Company is shortly to be established in the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar to handle business transactions between the two countries. U.A.R. expects to buy coffee, sisal, cattle, and wattle bark.

Copperbelt Dispute

The Mine Workers' Society of Northern Rhodesia having given notice of a trade dispute with the copper mining companies in regard to conditions of service offered to its expatriate members, the Minister of Labour and Mines has appointed a conciliator.

Seventy missionaries from the Eastern Congo, including Bishop Pierard of Beni, arrived in Kampala on Monday. Several had been beaten, imprisoned, and sentenced to death by the rebels. One who was left for dead after trying to protect the bishop is recovering from serious head injuries.

Lonrho, Ltd., has recently exercised its right to subscribe for another 600,000 shares in Henderson Transvaal Estates, Ltd., at 17s. 6d. per share. A year ago it bought 200,000 at 15s. Some of its subsidiaries have also large Henderson holdings, and that company has now become a Lonrho subsidiary.

A conference of Heads of State of non-aligned nations opened in Cairo on Monday. Strenuous efforts had been made to prevent attendance by Mr. Tshombe, Prime Minister of the Congo. Though he had an Egyptian visa, the aircraft in which he was travelling was ordered not to land and was diverted to Athens.

The People's Liberation Army of Zanzibar (i.e., the revolutionaries) is now incorporated in the army of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, whose commander, Brigadier M. S. H. Sarakikpa, said on Monday that if it was decided to form a Zanzibar battalion the appropriate ranks would be given to the officers.

The Central African Power Corporation has received from the World Bank a loan of 7.7m. dollars to meet half the cost of a 268-mile transmission line and expansion of sub-stations, mainly in Northern Rhodesia, served from Kariba. Of the estimated cost of \$15.4m. nearly \$10m. will be in foreign exchange. The loan is for 25 years at 5½%.

Take-Over Bid

A bid for all the issued capital of Rhodesia Tobacco Warehouse & Export Co., Ltd. and its subsidiary Tobacco Producers' Floor, Ltd., has been made by Mr. H. J. Wells, managing director of Montezuma Farm (Private), Ltd. He offers 29s. for each of the 25,000 R.T.W. 5s. ordinary shares and 60s. for the 32,000 5s. A shares of 5s. P.F.

Wankle Colliery Co., Ltd., has declared a final dividend of just over 1s. 2d. per share, less Southern Rhodesian tax of 7s. 3d., equivalent to 9d. net, making 1s. 3d. tax free for the year (the same). There was a profit after tax of just over £1m. (£976,000 in 1963). The general reserve is increased by £210,000 and fixed assets replacement reserve by £200,000. The carry-forward is £433,000.

After three delegates sent to the United States by the Organization of African Unity had emphasized that their mission was one of goodwill, without any intention of discussing matters affecting the sovereignty of the Congo, they were received last week at the State Department by Mr. Dean Rusk. Their purpose was to see President Johnson and ask that U.S. military assistance to the Congo should be discontinued.

Eighty-one students and a lecturer from the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland were acquitted in Salisbury on Monday on charges of failing to comply with a police dispersal order after they had demonstrated outside Parliament against the Government ban on the Daily News. The charge was dismissed because the police failed to identify the accused. The magistrate told them that they were lucky, not innocent.

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| † CITY OF PRETORIA | Oct. 14 | Oct. 19 | Oct. 19 | Oct. 27 |
| †† JOURNALIST | Oct. 28 | Nov. 2 | Nov. 2 | Nov. 10 |

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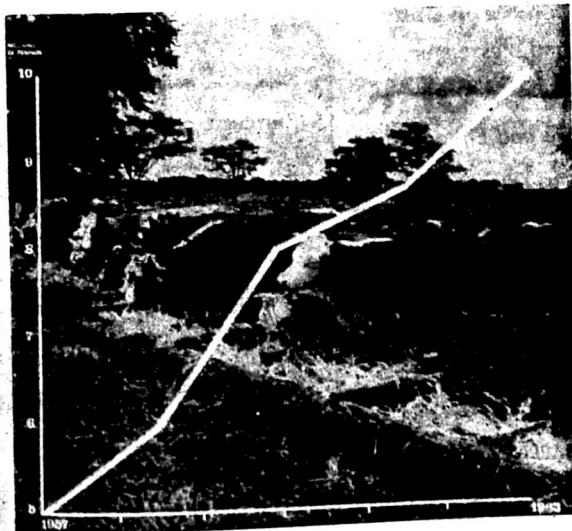
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