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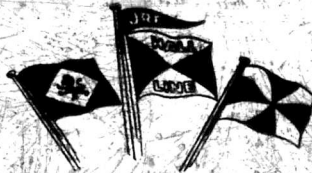
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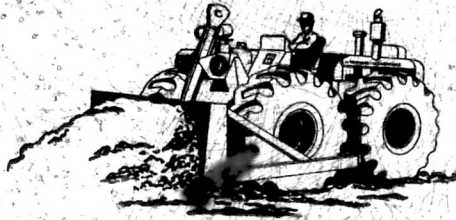


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Founder and Editor: F. S. JOELSON

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE EARL OF HOME, as forthright and successful a Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs as he proved during five eventful years as Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, is one of the very few members of the present Cabinet who can be called upon to speak up for Britain and British and Commonwealth interests from whatever quarter they may be menaced. This issue records his latest speech, which is memorable for its frankness, timeliness, and courage. Prudent career politicians treat the United Nations as immune from criticism, and even its faults are little understood by the people. Recognizing the danger of that ignorance, Lord Home has indicted the United Nations for its irresponsibility on important issues, its tolerance of reckless resolutions, the "shamelessness" of some of its voting, and its deliberate breaches of the Charter which supposedly governs its conduct. Such a summary of its shortcomings was badly needed, and because the manoeuvres and machinations of many of the member States grievously prejudice British and British African interests, we recommend the Foreign Secretary's statement to the study of all who profess a serious concern with public affairs.

Irresponsibility of The United Nations.

Colonialism, Lord Home emphasized, has been the main topic of reckless talk in the General Assembly and of resolutions which have revealed "an almost total lack of responsibility and certainly pay no heed to the main purpose of the United Nations, which is to ensure order and peace". It is well to be reminded that just over a year ago the General Assembly declared itself in favour of immediate steps in all territories which had not yet attained independence for

the transfer of all power to the peoples of those countries "without any conditions whatever", the resolution specifically providing that "inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence". Even a school debating society would have been most unlikely to commit itself to a policy so crack-brained; but, because a high proportion of the members of the United Nations enjoy the sport of attacking what they are pleased to call "colonialism", the organization pledged itself to the piece of absurdity. Eighty-two of the one hundred and four member States, as Lord Home appositely commented, are in serious arrears with their subscriptions.

A number of member States have voted in favour of the use of force to achieve national ends, four countries which are represented in the Security Council having supported a resolution

Indian Aggression Against Goa Condoned.

which condoned India's invasion of Goa; and the Foreign Secretary considers that if the debate had been in the General Assembly a majority might have backed India's unprovoked aggression, though it constituted a gross breach of international law and of India's obligation under the Charter. When Portugal resisted the Communist-inspired rebellion in Angola, howls of anger were heard at the United Nations. Now that India has overwhelmed a tiny territory which had been Portuguese for more than four and a half centuries, there has been no condemnation, but on the contrary, condonation. Such cynicism and lack of principle over Goa have had their counterpart in the Congo; and because the most outspoken and insistent critic of United Nations malpractices in Katanga has been Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the neighbouring Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, he has been made the target of daily vilification, in which powerful organs

of the United Kingdom Press continue to join.

Downright misrepresentation has characterized such daily detractions, the cumulative effect of which is incalculably damaging to the Federation. The politicians and journalists who sedulously present so false a picture of Sir Roy Welensky are well aware that he is Central Africa's outstanding leader, and that he, almost alone, stands between them and the fulfilment of their disastrous design, to deprive the Federation of that capable leadership which can for a considerable period be provided only by Europeans, in association of course with African cadets to public service. Wise Africans, who know this to be so, are astounded at the determination of United

Kingdom politicians of all parties, and of the Press, to cold-shoulder the moderate Africans and appease the extremists, for that course can lead only to catastrophe, particularly for the African masses. The chief argument for the maintenance of the Federation is, indeed, that it offers a bulwark against the oppression now prevalent over vast areas of Africa which have already been brought under the domination of men of the Nkrumah-Kenyatta type; and a frightening factor in the situation is that dangerous dictators of that type (many of them with close Communist connexions) can now count on powerful apologists in the Western world, sophists who, because the offenders are not white, condone the grossest offences. It is therefore all the more valuable to Africa to have at its service such trusty and mettlesome guardians of faith as Sir Roy Welensky and Lord Home.

Notes By The Way

Michael Blundell

AS WAS WIDELY EXPECTED, the New Year Honours List includes a knighthood for Mr. Michael Blundell, without whose vigorous aid Mr. Macleod, who had recently become Secretary of State for the Colonies, could not have imposed upon Kenya two years ago a policy so disastrous that it has brought that then happy and prosperous country to the brink of despair and bankruptcy. A firm stand by Mr. Blundell, leader of the New Kenya Party, would have made it impossible for a self-opinionated and thrustful Minister who was completely ignorant about African affairs to bulldoze his way to a constitutional "settlement" on paper which had no relation to the realities of the situation. Unhappily, the equally ambitious Mr. Blundell, likewise ignoring serious warnings, and beating down strong opposition even in his own delegation to the Lancaster House Conference, promptly proved himself to be the ally whom Mr. Macleod required for the first steps on the road to calamity.

Macblundellism

MR. BLUNDELL was prepared to march in the direction desired by the new political head of the Colonial Office, even though that meant the beginning of rehabilitation of Mau Mau, the foulest conspiracy in all British African history, and the destruction of Kenya's economy and hope for the future. "Macblundellism" was the term at once applied by this newspaper to the cynical reversal of all that had been implied in the policies of Mr. Oliver Lyttelton and Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, the two immediate Conservative predecessors of the hatchetman installed at the Colonial Office by Mr. Macmillan to cut away Britain's links of honour in and with East and Central Africa. It was the product of obsequious compliance by a Kenya political contortionist no less than of arrogance by a professional politician in the United Kingdom who was quickly to create irreparable chaos in East and Central Africa. The most common contemporary comment about Mr. Blundell's conduct was: "He'll get a knighthood for this." There had, of course, to be decorous delay.

Joint Architect of Betrayal

A SATIRIST with adequate knowledge could give a scathing account of some of the knighthoods and other high awards made in the past quarter of a century or so on the recommendation of East African Government (or, as is probable in this case, on the initiative of the Colonial Office). At one period there was such a succession of fantastic appointments that Nairobi was dubbed throughout Kenya "the city of dreadful knights". Some of those who fell victims to the sword of condemnation were, however, well regarded, and the public judgment resented was jobbery on a scale far grandly out of focus. The public memory being notoriously short, the anger of that earlier period is now almost forgotten. But those who recall it will not, I think, be easily reconciled to this solatium for the joint architect of a betrayal of all for which Britain stood in Kenya until January, 1960.

Precept and Practice

IT IS OF THAT CATASTROPHE that men will think, not of the rest of Mr. Blundell's public life, including his term as Minister of Agriculture—which is now assuredly nearing its end, for the Kenya African National Union, without whose support he would have lost his seat in the Legislature, will never forgive his act, once elected, of striking a bargain and taking office with their opponents, the Kenya African Democratic Union. He had already been spurned by the overwhelming majority of Kenya Europeans, with the consequence that in the electoral primaries he polled only a little over one-fourth of the votes cast in his own constituency. Of his ability and energy there can be no question. The tragedy is that he has lurched from one policy to another in recent years, thereby destroying the faith reposed in him by a European community which had sadly lacked the leadership which he might have provided. No harsher comment could be made on his vacillations than to compare his actions with his own previous assurances. Had he stood by his declared principles Kenya would not now face disaster. With this handle to his name and with Mr. Macleod to help from the Conservative Central Office, it would not even surprise me to find him a Tory candidate for the House of Commons.

Irresponsibility at United Nations Condemned by Lord Home

Foreign Secretary Speaks of Reckless Resolutions "Shameless" Voting and Breaches of Charter*

BY THE CHARTER of the United Nations the member countries resolved to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind", and they pledged themselves never to use force for the resolution of conflicts "save in the common interest", but to be a "centre for harmonizing the actions of nations". The United Nations was founded to provide security as the basis of peace, and that is the purpose for which it exists today.

Since the beginning of this century nations have been groping their way towards interdependence. Inevitably, since man's oldest habit is to fight, the organization of peace must be a slow and frustrating business. The League of Nations broke on the stresses and strains between its members.

The United Nations started with better prospects—first, because the United States of America was a member, and secondly, because many who were previously resigned to war as inevitable have now realized that what Byron called "that immortal fury of almost every body born to die" could literally come true.

Why then, if there is such a universal urge for peace and the machinery to achieve it is ready to hand, is there a collapse of confidence in the United Nations?

The answer is that for the first time since its foundation, a number of countries have voted publicly and without shame in favour of the use of force to achieve national ends.

Condoning India's Breach of Law and Charter

Countries which were members of the Security Council supported a resolution condoning the use of force by India against Goa. Had the debate been in the Assembly, many more countries—perhaps even a majority—would have voted the same way.

Whatever the provocations suffered by India, or the excuses made by her or for her, there is no doubt at all that her action was a direct breach of the Charter and of international law. When the United Nations approves that, it could be, as Mr. Adlai Stevenson said, "the beginning of the end".

Many of us had foreseen this crisis of confidence. For years the Russians had been frustrating the proper working of the United Nations, but lately a new and dangerous practice had begun to prevail.

Resolutions have been persistently passed by the Assembly, in particular on colonialism, which could only be described as reckless and careless of peace and security.

Everyone has seen the chaos in the Congo, and everyone knows that it derives from a premature grant of independence to a country whose people were totally unprepared for their new responsibilities. Yet many delegates were instructed by their Governments to sponsor and vote for resolutions which could only multiply and magnify that chaos in other places.

Resolution 1514 of December 14, 1960, says: "Immediate steps shall be taken in Trust and non-self-governing territories or in all other territories which have not yet attained independence to transfer all powers to the peoples of these territories without any conditions whatever"; and the resolution goes on: "Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educa-

tional preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence".

Such a resolution, and others like it, reveal an almost total lack of responsibility, and certainly pay no heed to the main purpose of the United Nations, which is to ensure order and security of peace.

Again, although countries are free enough with their votes, they are not nearly so ready to pay their legally assessed subscriptions, without which the organization cannot be solvent or efficient.

82 States in Serious Arrears

Eighty-two out of 104 are in serious arrears with their payments. The Soviet and their satellites do not pay anything towards the operations in the Congo or on the Israel-Egypt border, and France does not pay towards the Congo expenses.

When therefore, we have reached a stage when a large part of the organization which is dedicated to peace openly condones aggression; when an organization which was founded to sustain law and order encourages policies which must endanger it; or when a refusal by many to carry their share of the cost brings a prospect of power without responsibility, it is an understatement to say that there is cause for anxiety.

I would like therefore to analyse some of the causes of the present discontent and discuss what we can and should do to save an organization which is the hope of mankind.

One of the main causes of the present troubles is an apparent difference of aim and purpose between the 51 founder members and many of the 53 newly independent countries which were elected to membership subsequently to the United Nations Foundation.

The founder members had the whole emphasis on the organization of peace through collective security. They set up a Security Council to bear the primary responsibility for maintaining the peace. They named the Great Powers as permanent members in the expectation that they would agree on how to keep international order and deal with any breach of the peace by the smaller Powers by united decision and co-ordinated action.

In the event of disagreement between the Great Powers each was armed with a veto on action by the others.

The best there could be was collective security collectively imposed. The best (so it was supposed) stalemate and the *status quo*.

The supposition was wrong, for almost immediately the Russians showed themselves determined to use their veto to further the international objectives of Communism. Russia's decision to subordinate the main purposes of the Charter to her own national ends was the first breach in the spirit of the Charter and the first threat to the life of the United Nations.

For years the Russians have used the platform of the United Nations to prosecute the cold war, using racialism, nationalism, and the exuberant individualism of newly independent countries to further their ends. All this put the United Nations under serious stress and strain.

Using U.N. to Expedite Independence

Now another breach is beginning to appear. Its origin is somewhat similar. A large number of new countries are putting their campaign for acceleration of independence for colonial territories before the main purpose of the Charter which is to provide peace and security. They are more concerned to impose their views on "colonialism" on others than to fulfil their primary duty, which is to "harmonize the actions of nations".

I would not equate their motives with those of the Communists—although far too often they find themselves bed-fellows; but the effect of their actions is to weaken the Charter and to call in question the good faith of the United Nations. Unwittingly they play the Communists' game.

This leads me to illustrate how this concentration on colonialism leads to the adoption of a double standard of behaviour by many of the newly elected countries.

Russia's empire is occupied by military force and ruled by fear. No one who has witnessed what has happened in Hungary and East Germany can have any doubt that Russia's colonialism is the most cruel and ruthless in history. In the

*In an address to the Berwick-on-Tweed branch of the United Nations Association.

United Nations her technique is undisguised—it is that of the bully.

By contrast the British record is one which has freed 600 million people in 15 years and transferred them from colonial dependence to complete independence within the Commonwealth, where they are equal partners and in no way subordinate.

We are moving fast—perhaps faster than in prudence we ought—in the direction in which the new countries want to go.

The United Nations members know that to be true, but they seldom condemn the Russians and constantly harass us for them. As if pushing at an open door is not good enough for them. To co-operate with the metropolitan Power in completing the process of independence in an orderly way, to ensure that new nations get a good start in international life, is apparently emotionally unsatisfying and politically unrewarding.

Since we in Britain are agreed on independence anyway, the only way to pick a quarrel is over timing. Self-government today, regardless of whether there is anyone capable of governing; independence tomorrow even though it would mean other Congos.

Blatant Double Standard

The double standard as applied to Europeans and Russians, and Europeans and Afro-Asians, became so blatant that I felt bound to draw attention to it in the U.N. Assembly. I said:—

"The United Nations, and in particular this Assembly, must show itself to be impartial, and must be seen to be impartial. I'm only going to ask this question: I'm not sure of the answer. Is there growing up, almost imperceptibly, a code of behaviour where there is one rule for the Communist countries and another for the democracies? One rule for the bully, who deals in fear, and another for the democracy because their stock in trade is reason and compromise?"

"The United Nations is to be the body which we wish to see which guards the peace and the rights of the independent small nations—then they must not yield to temptation to put public pressure always upon the reasonable nations because they feel that in the last resort those nations will be decent and therefore will give way. That would be to deny justice to others which they themselves wish to enjoy."

"The United Nations is falling away from the principles of the Charter places Britain in an appalling dilemma."

"Peace for ours is a most vulnerable island—is the first of our interests. We practise the rule of law, and if it is broken at home it is equally so abroad where we have to earn our living. We want always all to co-operate with all nations without exception. Our duty lies in making and keeping friends; and the more the better."

"Our interests and interests therefore combine to urge support for the kind of United Nations for which the founders drew up the Charter. The question which many sober and responsible observers of its practice are asking is, whether we can continue to do so, and whether the United Nations of the authors of the Charter has had its day?"

Let me put the other side of the balance-sheet.

(1) Whatever its faults, the aims of the United Nations are sound and its aspirations true. Britain cannot afford lightly to discard an instrument to peace which is struggling to put together the elements of peace-keeping machinery, however elementary it may appear. Man is not so far removed from the angels that he can dispense with any discipline there may be to hand.

(2) The Communist is a great evil, but there is a change working within the Communist societies. From being monolithic it has become through doctrinal disputes what the egg-heads would call polycentric.

Nor need we expect that the Communist Powers will always get their way in the United Nations. Already Russia's campaign to achieve a troika in the Secretariat has been defeated by the common sense of the Assembly.

Colonialism Transient

(3) Colonialism (except in the Russian Empire) is transient, and after a few more years of emotionalism it should no longer distort the outlook of members of the United Nations.

(4) Some of the decisions of the Security Council have certainly helped to promote the main purpose of the Charter which is peace and security. Luck—because the Soviet was absent from the meeting—enabled collective action to be taken in Korea. United Nations police have helped to keep the peace on the Israel-Egypt frontier.

Although we have been—and I believe rightly—critical of their methods in the Congo, the United Nations have kept the cold war out of that country.

The late Secretary-General too had many acts of conciliation to his credit which prevented disputes in their early stages from becoming acute. The Secretariat can unquestionably do a lot in the field of pacification.

(5) Much quiet, unostentatious, but valuable work is being done in the field of education and farming, medicine and labour relations and technical assistance of all sorts. In an unspectacular way the groundwork is being laid for one world.

There then is the loss and the profit. There is no easy way out of our dilemma, and we shall not be tempted to look for one. There are no soft options in international affairs.

Having drawn up the balance-sheet between pessimism and hope, I come down decidedly on the side of hope—and on a determined effort by ourselves and those who feel like us to bring the United Nations back to working the Charter as it was meant to be. Peace and security must be reinstated as its primary aims.

I have gone into these matters at some length because the United Nations is of such importance in the life of Britain and for mankind, and because I believe that the making of policy should be shared by the people.

The United Nations Association in this country has a real and honourable task to perform. The Government looks to it to keep the aims and principles of the Charter before the people of this country. That is bound to involve some criticism of its practice, but where does loyalty lie—with those who urge upon it actions which tax it beyond its strength or with those who insist that its actions should remain within the compass of the Charter?

The Government ask the understanding and informed support of the association as they try to steer a safe and realistic course for our country, neither sailing off into the blue of Utopia nor foundering upon the reefs of cynicism. With our native blend of idealism and common sense we shall get there in the end.

Dangers of Premature Independence

Mr. Maudslayi Sugrue Cartier

IN A NEW YEAR MESSAGE Mr. Donald Maudslayi, Secretary of State for the Colonies, has emphasized the unwisdom of the premature and general granting of independence to Colonial territories, saying on this

"Basically what we seek for all our territories is responsible self-government within the Commonwealth in conditions that ensure to the people concerned both

a fair standard of living and freedom from oppression from any quarter. Even when the time for independence is in sight, many further steps remain to be cleared."

"This is why we must be wary of demands for immediate, unconditional independence for all Colonies, as well as of what may seem more reasonable demands for strict time-tables."

"Timing is all-important and is not in our hands alone. Any time-table for, say, Kenya must depend on the answers to a number of questions which can't be decided by us alone. I was in Kenya recently to meet the people who must share responsibility for these decisions. We are to have a conference in February. I hope we shall be able to build on the common ground which I believe exists between the main parties."

"From Kenya I went to Nyasaland and on to Southern Rhodesia, where we have an internal constitutional problem to resolve, without any real agreement among the parties on the solution. Nor, indeed, is there unanimity among all sections on the future of the Federation as a whole. Neither in Africa nor elsewhere do you solve such problems overnight, whether political or economic, and it would be disastrous to forge ahead in the blind hope that they would somehow solve themselves as if by magic after independence."

"I've been talking mainly about the politics of independence, but I don't want to give the impression that we in Britain are impatient to shuffle off our responsibilities towards Commonwealth countries less fortunately placed than our own. That isn't the case at all."

"The more direct forms of help—grants in aid and under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, for example—are not really appropriate after independence, but we remain ready to offer practical help within the limits of our capacity and in whatever form is acceptable. That is one reason why responsibility for British technical aid has been concentrated in the hands of the new Department."

"The notion may have got about that a change of Secretary of State means a change of policy. That is not so. We are going ahead in pursuit of our declared aims, because we believe this will strengthen and consolidate this newly transformed wealth to which your countries and mine are proud to belong."

Objections to Autonomous State at Coast of Kenya

Sir James Robertson Favours Integration with Colony

SIR JAMES ROBERTSON'S RECOMMENDATION that the Coastal Strip of Kenya should be integrated with the Colony of Kenya was recorded in last week's issue in which salient passages from his report (Cmd. 1585) were quoted.

From that document the following further extracts are taken:—

"The peoples living in the Strip are made up in approximate figures of 300,000 Africans, 37,000 Arabs, Swahilis and Bajunis, 48,000 Asians, and 7,000 Europeans. Of these, 117,000 Africans, 27,000 Arabs, Swahilis and Bajunis, 34,000 Asians and 6,000 Europeans live in the Mombasa district. These figures are estimates only, the last census having been taken in 1948.

"There is a Jewish community, some Chinese Buddhists, besides Somalis. The Asian population includes an appreciable number of Parsees, Bohoras and Baluchis, every sub-division and caste of the Hindu religion, and all six of the Sunni and Shia Muslim sects. In addition, there are Christians belonging to a variety of faiths.

"The tribes indigenous to the Coastal Strip and Province are the 'Twelve Tribes', who are mainly Islamized Swahili and tend to take the same political stand as the Arabs, and the Nyika people, mainly pagan but partly Christian and, also, partly Christian; these people include the Yamama, Duruma and Digo, and the other tribes which comprise the Mji Kenda.

Temporary Residents from Tribal Areas

"The African population today also includes large numbers of up-country tribesmen, mainly Kamba, Kikuyu, Luo and—to a less extent—Abaluhya, who have done much work at the Coast but whose permanent homes are still for the most part in their own tribal areas. Islam has virtually no influence among them. Of the 38,208 Africans reported in wage-earning employment in the Coast Province in June 1959 only 25,563 were of Coast tribes. The total and to a large extent migratory African population in the Strip from outside the province is thought to be about 60,000.

"The Arabs are all of mixed stock, the early Arab colonists having inter-married with the local people, with the result that there are few indigenous Arabs of pure blood in the Strip today. Indeed, I found a great many so-called Arabs who were unable to maintain a conversation in Arabic.

"The European population in the Protectorate is largely floating, being composed of employees of commercial companies and of the Government. I was given the impression by those in commerce, whose main desire is of course stability, that there would be more future in a separated Coast, if secure, than in a tie-up with Kenya.

"The settled Europeans, who are for the most retired persons and those who run their own professions or businesses, are mostly property owners and have a permanent stake in the Protectorate. The majority support the Arab cause, firstly, because they get on well with the Arabs and other Coast peoples and would prefer to be governed by them rather than by the up-country Africans; secondly, because they consider that there is more chance of having their land titles guaranteed; and thirdly, because they fear a breakdown of race relations in the Strip should it be fully integrated with Kenya.

"Nevertheless, it seems to me that the European settled community on the coast, as in Kenya Colony, are for the most part reconciling themselves to the fact that the majority view must prevail.

"The Asians, Indians, Pakistanis and Goanese are mainly traders and merchants. They have links with relatives and co-nationalists up-country, and the Indians especially are not inclined to enter deeply into controversy about the Coastal Strip.

"The drift into the Coastal Belt from the hinterland has recently been accentuated by a number of factors, the principal ones being:—

"(1) Successive poor seasons in the hinterland, which have reduced the living to be made there to a mere subsistence, and the serious inadequacy of regular water supplies.

"(2) The Swynnerton Plan emphasis of cash crops and their energetic encouragement by the Agricultural Department, with especial reference to the growing of cotton and the planting of cashew nut and fruit trees. Perhaps inevitably, concentration on the more fertile area, on the Coast has led to the hinterland being neglected; but, in addition, on the coast itself regard has not always been paid to the question of who was growing cotton or tree crops for whom on whose land.

"(3) Recent increases in the price of cashew nuts.

"(4) The development of facilities all along the Coast—hospitals, schools, tarmac roads, shopping centres; this urban and semi-urban development making for easier living, has exercised the usual fascination common to country people all over the world, and not least in Africa.

Ingredients of an Explosive Situation

"Thus there are all the ingredients of an explosive situation, and, unless something is done to regulate the problem, there is a chance that African squatters will take the law into their own hands and that a deliberate onslaught will be made on Arab holdings and rights after independence.

"If the prestige and authority of Government are not to be brought into disrepute, the first essential is to ensure general recognition of security of title. In this, the influence of the African political leaders exercised in support of legal rights could be of the greatest value.

"The following measures might be considered. First, the application of the relevant parts of the Agricultural Ordinance to those owners who are not making good use of their land, to encourage them to do so. Secondly, enactment of a landlord/tenant code to ensure reasonable terms for the tenant, the right of recovery of the landlord, and a code of awards that will be fair to both parties. Thirdly, improvement of the land. Fourthly, such a code might also cover labour relations between the landowner and his African labourers. Fourthly, the work of adjudication in respect of land titles should be completed as quickly as possible.

"The Strip, as at present, is not self-supporting economically. It is dependent on the rest of the Colony for the recurrent services of the Government in the form of a grant plus interest on a loan capital for development to the amount of about £2,675,000. To this should be added at least £130,000 for High Commission services. As regards revenue about £1,700,000 is collected from the Strip in respect of income tax, personal tax, customs and excise, and about £215,000 in respect of traders', traffic and liquor licences, entertainment tax and petrol and diesel consumption taxes and proceeds from African courts, making a total of approximately £1,915,000; from this must be found some £65,000 for expenditure on roads. The shortfall between revenue and expenditure is thus of the order of £955,000; and if to this were added the inevitable additional overheads of the area, it would be administered separately from the rest of the Colony, the shortfall would be in excess of £1,100,000.

Britain Has Created Sense of Oneness

"The British Government have created a sense of oneness of the Coastal Strip with Kenya, and for the last half-century Mombasa has served the whole area as its only port and gateway.

"Nevertheless, there is a strong feeling on the Coast that the needs of its people have received scant attention from the Government in Nairobi. The Coast people complain that land development, communications, social welfare, etc., have lagged very much behind their counterparts in the European Highlands and African reserves. They complain of no worthwhile road links with Nairobi and the Tanganyika coast.

"They contrast the magnificent new customs building in Mombasa, built by the East Africa High Commission (which, of course, serves East Africa as a whole but mostly up-country Kenya) with the lack of a new railway station for Mombasa town, and allege that the story of neglect is the same for the post office, Treasury building, provincial headquarters, and High Court.

"They argue that if the Coast has suffered such neglect all these years, during the time of the British Government, who

(Continued on page 450)

PERSONALIA

MR. RAFAEL RUPPIN is Israeli Ambassador to Tanganyika.

MR. T. E. ATKINSON has joined the board of Lewis and Peat, Ltd.

MR. JOE-FIO N. MEYER is now High Commissioner for Ghana in Tanganyika.

MR. J. E. W. LOMAS has resigned from the board of the Northern Rhodesia Co., Ltd.

MR. VIC OLIVER, the radio comedian, has paid a short return business visit to Nairobi.

SIR ANDREW MACTAGGART and IRENE COUNTESS OF CRAVEN were recently married in London.

MR. H. R. LAWS, of Uganda, is on his way to South Africa in the RHODESIA CASTLE for leave.

MR. J. O. O'BRIEN has succeeded MR. J. S. NORMAN as U.K. Trade Commissioner in Nairobi, Kenya.

MR. R. S. MATANG, M.L.C. for Kwale, has been sworn in as Parliamentary Secretary to the Kenya Ministry of Education.

MR. D. BROWN, of Uganda, has been elected vice-president for the coming year of the Inter-African Coffee Organization.

MR. ALAN H. BAEL and MR. ROLAND W. ROWLAND have joined the board of North Charterland Exploration Co. (1937) Ltd.

MR. J. J. NYAGAH, Deputy Speaker of the Kenya Legislative Council, has become chairman of Embu African District Council.

MR. C. R. HILLY, a director of the Standard Bank, will attend the opening next month of the bank's new premises in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika.

THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA has made a gift of one of his palaces to Ethiopia's first university, which consists of six colleges. He is the first chancellor.

MR. E. WEBB, Solicitor-General in Kenya, who is acting as Attorney General and Minister for Legal Affairs, has been appointed a Queen's Counsel.

MR. JULIUS NYERERE, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, is this week visiting the Southern Highlands Province and the longest district of the Southern Province.

MR. IAN FRASER, M.P., has been appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, MR. ROBINALD MAUDLING, as his Parliamentary Private Secretary.

THE REV. R. L. B. JOHNSON, preacher and sacrist of Peterborough, is to be Rector of Hartley, Southern Rhodesia. He will take up his new post in mid-February.

THE VISIT TO KENYA at Christmas paid by LORD WALKER, Governor-General of Northern Ireland was in his capacity as a prior of the Order of St. John.

THE REV. J. G. R. NICHOLSON, vicar of Kiambu and Limuru, and chaplain to the Limuru Girls' School, has been made diocesan canon of Fort Hall Cathedral, Kenya.

THE REV. H. E. SQUIRE, who has been assistant curate of St. Andrew's Thorpe, Norwich, is to be chaplain to St. Andrew's College, Minaki, near Dar es Salaam.

MR. JOHN INGHAM is to relinquish his post as Nyasaland's Minister of Urban Development, so that the office may be held by an elected member of the Legislative Council.

MR. JOHN PROFUMO, Secretary of State for War, will leave London by air on January 8 to visit British troops in the Persian Gulf, Aden and East Africa. MRS. PROFUMO will accompany him.

MR. W. H. F. ROBSON, manager of the K.P.C.U. Ltd. coffee mills in Nairobi, has had to return suddenly to this country for urgent medical treatment and is expected to be away from Kenya for the better part of the coming year.

MR. J. L. MCGAIRL and MR. H. MASON are now respectively Commissioners for Social Development and Community Development in Tanganyika.

MR. R. G. GREEN of the U.N. is to spend a year in Nyasaland advising on saw mills development for soft-wood timbers; a utilization research organization and extraction methods.

MR. DENIS HEALEY, the new Socialist Front-Bench spokesman on the Commonwealth and Colonies, left London on Tuesday to spend a week in the Congo. He will then visit several West African territories.

LORD ALPORT, British High Commissioner in the Federation, will next week have talks in Zomba with the Governor of Nyasaland, SIR GLYN JONES, and the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, SIR EVELYN HONE.

MR. M. J. SMITH has been appointed technical adviser to the Copper Promotion Producers' Committee, which represents copper producers in Rhodesia, South Africa, the Congo, the United States, Canada, and Chile.

MR. J. TIPPETT, industrial relations officer with the Nyasaland Government, has been invited to speak on industrial problems in developing countries at the European Talks annual world conference in Vienna later this year.

SIR SAVILLE GARNER, who recently visited East and Central Africa, took up his new duties on Monday as Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Commonwealth Relations Office, which he entered in 1930 (when it was the Dominions Office).

MISS JANE WOODS, a B.Sc. (Agriculture) of Wye College, who for the past two years has been an assistant lecturer in agricultural science at the Surrey Farm Institute, Worthing, has been appointed a woman agricultural officer in Uganda.

SIR JOHN CARMICHAEL, who was for thirty years in the Sudan Civil Service, became chairman of the Herring Industry Board on New Year's Day. He is deputy chairman of the Independent Gas Board and a member of the Scottish Gas Board.

MR. APOLO K. KIRONDE, a former Minister of Works in the Uganda Government, is to be the first Ambassador of Uganda to the United States. He will shortly leave Uganda for New York to acquaint himself with the work with which he will be entrusted.

MR. BENEDICTO KAWANDA, Chief Minister of Uganda, last week met MR. MAUDLING, Colonial Secretary, on his return from the United States where he had held talks on development plans. He was accompanied by the Minister of Finance, MR. C. G. MEMMOTH.

BIGADIER BERNARD FERGUSSON, who has been a stout champion of the Federation while it has been under serious attack in Scotland during the past couple of years, is to succeed LORD COBBAM next year as Governor-General of New Zealand. His term held the same office.

MR. M. W. MCCRUM, a fellow and tutor of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has been appointed an additional member of the Committee on Training in Public Administration for Overseas Countries which was set up last month by the Secretary for Technical Co-operation.

VISITORS TO THE UNITED KINGDOM from the Federation include MR. R. M. BOUTWOOD, MR. E. T. BRIDGES, MR. J. S. BRIDGES, MR. W. F. CARR, MR. R. G. CHAPPELL, MR. & MRS. O. F. COLLINGS, MR. J. W. COWLAND, MR. & MRS. H. S. ELAND, MR. J. A. HILL, MR. E. M. PINSENT, and MR. J. WOOD.

MESSRS. J. S. KASANBALA, AL NOOR KASSUM, S. A. MASWANYA, I. M. BHOKE MUNANKA, J. D. NAMFUA, A. K. E. SHABA, and I. N. SHAGNA have been sworn in as Parliamentary Secretaries in Tanganyika respectively to the Ministries of Agriculture, Education, Commerce and Industry, the Prime Minister's Office, the Treasury, Health and Labour, and Local Government.

Honours for East Africans and Rhodesians

Knighthoods for Mr. Acutt, Mr. Blundell, Mr. Fletcher-Cooke and the Kabaka

THE NEW YEAR HONOURS LIST contains the names of many people living in East or Central Africa, or who have been connected with the territories, including:

BARON

LOW, THE RT. HON. SIR (TOBY) AUSTIN RICHARD WILLIAM, M.P. for Blackpool North since 1945, and deputy chairman of the Conservative Party Organization since 1959. For political and public services. Is a director of National & Grindlays Bank and the John Brown group, both of which have large African interests.

PRIVY COUNCILLOR

ROBINSON, SIR JOHN ROLAND, M.P. for Widnes, 1931-35; Blackpool, 1935-45; and Blackpool South since 1945. Chairman of the conference recently held in London of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. Has visited East and Central Africa.

KNIGHTS OF CHELOR

CONROY, DIARMAID WILLIAM, Chief Justice of Northern Rhodesia.

FLETCHER-COOKE, JOHN, lately Deputy Governor in Tanganyika.

TRELING, LUKO WILLIAM BURKE, M.P. for Brighton, 1941-50, and for the Pavilion Division of Bedfordshire since 1950. For political and public services. Has long been interested in African affairs.

ROYAL VICTORIAN ORDER

K.C.V.O.

GILLIAT, LIEUT. COLONEL MARTIN JOHN. Has visited East and Central Africa with members of the Royal Family.

ORDER OF ST. MICHAEL AND ST. GEORGE

K.C.M.G.

SCOTT, JIM DIXON, H.M. Ambassador in Khartoum. HUTCHINGS, NEIL, British High Commissioner in Tanganyika.

C.M.G.

BUTTER, J. H., Permanent Secretary to Treasury in Kenya.

DEEDES, P. G., chairman of Natural Resources Board of Southern Rhodesia.

HILL, C. DE N., Permanent Secretary to Treasury, Tanganyika.

HODGSON, A. B., Principal Secretary (Establishments) in the Office of the Prime Minister of Tanganyika.

NEIL, T., Permanent Secretary in the Office of the Chief Secretary in Kenya.

STONE, R. E., Resident in Buganda.

SWABBY, C., lately Forestry Adviser to the Colonial Office; now with the Department of Technical Co-operation.

THOMAS, F. M., lately Minister of Native Affairs in Northern Rhodesia.

ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Military Division

C.B.E.

BENTLEY, AIR VICE-MARSHAL A. M., Royal Rhodesian Air Force.

O.B.E.

BLACKWELL, LIEUT.-COLONEL C. R. A., 2nd Bn. the Royal Rhodesia Regiment.

M.B.E.

BARON, MAJOR J., attached 2nd Bn. the Royal Rhodesia Regiment.

Civil Division

G.B.E.

BLACKBURNE, SIR KENNETH WILLIAM, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Jamaica. Visited East Africa while in charge of the Information Department of the Colonial Office.

HETHERINGTON, SIR HECTOR, lately Principal and Vice-Chancellor of Glasgow University. Has visited East and Central Africa.

K.B.E.

ACUTT, KEITH COURTNEY, for services to industry in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

BLUNDELL, MICHAEL, Minister for Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Water Resources in Kenya.

KABAKA OF BUGANDA, HIS HIGHNESS EDWARD FREDERICK WILLIAM MUKABYA MUTESA.

KIPPING, SIR NORMAN VICTOR, director-general of Federation of British Industries.

C.B.E.

ABERCROMBY, D. B., commodore chief engineer of R.M.S. WINDSOR CASTLE.

BENNETT, O. B., for public services in Northern Rhodesia. BISHOP, F., Commissioner of Customs and Excise, East African Common Services Organization.

COLLARD, C. A., Commissioner for Labour, Nyasaland. CROOT, H. J., Senior Surgical Specialist, Uganda.

DEBBINGS, H. W., lately Federal Minister in Washington. LAWRENSON, G. V., Government Engineer, Bechuanaland.

MURRAY, G. P., Regional Manager, East African Railways and Harbours.

MACKENZIE, H. M. M., chairman of Public Services Board of S. Rhodesia.

WARD, J., chairman of Federal Power Board. WOODS, F. R. E., for public services in Kenya.

O.B.E.

ARNOT, R. S., chief engineer of Rhodesia Congo Border Power Corporation, Ltd.

CAMERON, N. A., Commissioner of Prisons, Uganda. COOK, K. R., Director of Audit, Zanzibar.

LOWARD, D. J., Registrar-General, Kenya. DANCKWERTS, J. V., chairman, Land Settlement Board of Rhodesia.

DEBRIEN, H. R., headmaster of Shikha Secondary School, Somali Republic.

DAVIES, E. L., Solicitor-General, Tanganyika. DAVIES, R. G., Hoskins, president of Rhodesia Tobacco Association.

FRASER-SMITH, E. W., Deputy Permanent Secretary in Prime Minister's Office, Tanganyika.

GARLAND, T. V., Acting Permanent Secretary for Works, Kenya.

GILBERT, J. D., Assistant Director, East African Virus Research Institute.

GRIFFITHS, J. F., for public services in Northern Rhodesia. deputy engineer in chief, Ministry of Works, Uganda.

HILL, G. W., for public services in Nyasaland. IRVINE, THE REV. A. C., for public services in Kenya.

JAMES, F. A. R., Under Secretary in the Federal Ministry of Defence.

KENNY, N. M., general manager of Mufulira mine, Northern Rhodesia.

KISWANA, SALEHE, for public service in Tanganyika. MULYANTI, BISWERI KISALITA, for public services in Uganda.

NOAKES, P. R., chief information officer "B" at Colonial Office.

RALSTON, W., Director of Mines and chairman of Mining Affairs Board of S. Rhodesia.

ROSS, A., British Council representative in Kenya. SAUNDERS, S. H., senior engineer, Crown Agents for Overseas Governments and Administrations.

TOMKINS, G. W. O., organization and methods adviser, Nyasaland.

UNSWORTH, K., Director of Veterinary Services, Bechuanaland. WALOFF, Miss ZINAIDA, principal scientific officer, Antilope Research Centre.

WILLEMS, W. B. J., general manager of Clove Growers Association, Zanzibar.

(Continued on page 446)

Smith Mackenzie's Board Changes

MR. J. M. SIM, relinquished on December 31 the positions of chairman and managing director of Smith Mackenzie & Co., Ltd., in order to take up an appointment in the London offices of the Inchoape Group, but he remains on the board of the East African company.

The new chairman is Mr. J. W. Mortimer, hitherto joint managing director, who was appointed to the board in 1950.

Mr. H. P. Foxon, who has been a director for the past three years, is now deputy chairman and joint managing director. Since the beginning of 1960 he has been in overall charge of the company's trading activities.

Mr. R. E. S. Chapman, general manager of the Nairobi branch, has been elected a director.

The other members of the board are the Earl of Inchoape, Lord Twining, and Messrs. A. T. O. Deas; R. V. R. Hepburn, D. C. Staly, S. F. Champion, and J. W. Ritchie.

Sultan Coming to London

THE SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR will come to London early in March at the invitation of H.M. Government for consultations on the problem of the Kenya Coastal Strip. Discussions of the subject will be held at the same time between H.M. Government and representatives of the Government and Legislatures of Kenya and Zanzibar, and immediately afterwards there will be a Zanzibar Constitutional Conference, to which the Secretary of State has invited members of the Government and the Opposition in Zanzibar.



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New Year Honours List

(Concluded from previous page)

WILLIAMS, G. R., for public services in Kenya.
YOUNGER, W. M., Commissioner of Lands in Northern Rhodesia.

M.B.E.

BARKER, T. C., lately Deputy Postmaster-General in the Federation.

BERTRAM, MRS. M. L., doctor in charge of Church Missionary Society's hospital in Omdurman, Sudan.

BROOKS, S. B., design assistant, East African Railways and Harbours.

CHAMPION, MRS. W. J., for social welfare services in S. Rhodesia.

CHELLAHS, N. R., assistant executive officer, Northern Rhodesia.

CHIBWINJA, SIPRIANI, assistant information officer, Nyasaland.
COOK, C. L., for service to journalism in the Federation.

DE BEER, J. S., Director of Agriculture, Bechuanaland.
DESAI, M. D., associate registrar of Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa.

ELLIS, H. W., lately educational supply officer, African Book Centre, Nyasaland.

FERNANDES, A. B., proof reader, Government Press, Uganda.
FRANCIS, R. H. L., inspecting engineer, Crown Agents.

GRANT, J. S., planning supervisor, statistical department, East African Common Services Organization.

HARVEY, L. V., officer in charge of Tuli breeding station, S. Rhodesia.

HELLASI, THE REV. A. S. MINSHI, priest in charge of St. Michael's Anglican Church, Bughe, Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia.

HOLDENGARDE, MRS. B. W. B., for political services in the Federation.

HONORIM, MISS G., lately matron of Harare hospital, Salisbury, Rhodesia.

JOSHUA, P., for public services in the Federation.

KASHIM, M. R., for public services in Uganda.
KIRAGO, M., president of Northern African Appeal Court, Kenya.

LEVER, MRS. B. A., for public services in Northern Rhodesia.
MISS M. R., persons' secretary to the Governor of Uganda.

MALINDWE, A. C., African farmer, S. Rhodesia.
MARIN, J., regional director of British Council, Moshi, Tanganyika.

MANSFIELD, P. N. E., for services to cricket in S. Rhodesia.

MICHELL, N. A., deputy superintendent, S. A. S. Hospital, Mochre, T. chief superintendent, S. A. S. Hospital, Muntali, T.

MUNTHALI, D. I., labour officer, Tanganyika.
MUNTHALI, B., secretary for works in Busoga African Local Government, Uganda.

NAIR, E. B., of Bulawayo, S. Rhodesia.
NYANDISI, Chief Musa, chief of Nvaribari Location, Kisi, Kenya.

PANCHOLI, V. M., lately establishment officer, East African Posts and Telecommunications Administration.

PATEL, J. B., for public and political services in the Federation.

PEEL, W. A., principal auditor, Seychelles.
PRIDHAM, F. H., forester, Tanganyika.

REID, MISS A. I., headmistress, Mvumi School, Tanganyika.

ROBERT, S., for services in Tanganyika to Swahili literature.
ROCHE, MISS M. E., for public services in Kenya.

ROOTIE, DR. C. A. VAN, medical officer, Bechuanaland.
SECHLE, MRS. G., for social welfare services in Bechuanaland.

SHAH, R. B., assistant superintendent of prisons, Tanganyika.
SINGH, H., for service to sport in Kenya.

SLATFER, R. M., lately headmaster of Highlands School, Rhodesia.

SPENCER, W. M., agricultural officer, Kenya.
STAFFORD, DR. J. I., medical officer, Uganda.

TWOHEY, J. T., goods agent, E.A.R. & H.

M.B.E. (Honorary)

ABRY, EL HAJ SHEIKH SAID NASSOR SEIFF EL, for public services in Tanganyika.

LAMKI, SHEIKH MOHAMED NASSER EL, for public service in Zanzibar.

MATULI, SHEIKH MOHAMED SUREIMAN MBARUK EL, for public service in Zanzibar.

REINE, SISTER M., Roman Catholic missionary in Nyasaland.
STANGO, A., Mother Superior, St. Francis Mission, Solwezi, Northern Rhodesia.

The Union-Castle Line will continue to call at St. Helena and Ascension Islands after the termination of the round-Africa service this year, but not as frequently as hitherto.

Convention Group for Conference Creating Viable Future "Appallingly Difficult"

THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS were passed without opposition at a special conference of the Convention of Associations of Kenya held in Nairobi before the Christmas holidays. Seventy-five delegates were present, representing 44 district associations. Owing to the flood situation 15 delegates were unable to attend.

(1) That this conference of the Convention of Associations emphasizes the fact that out of the 14 European members of Legislative Council entitled to attend the forthcoming constitutional conference in London only three remain uncommitted and truly representative of European majority opinion; and urges H.M. Government and the Government of Kenya, in the interests of future confidence and stability, to ensure that the majority views of the European community are adequately represented and are given due weight at the conference; and in view of the heavy responsibility falling on the three truly representative European elected members, this conference authorizes the executive of the Convention of Associations, in conjunction with the K.N.F.U. and in co-operation with the Kenya Coalition, to appoint a delegation which will include, in addition to the leaders of the European associations, experts on the economics of Kenya, agriculture, commerce and industry, to act as advisers to and in support of the European Parliamentarians.

(2) That this conference of the Convention welcomes the united approach made by the Kenya Coalition, the K.N.F.U., and the executive of the Convention to the Secretary of State, endorses the views expressed in their joint memorandum, and urges H.M. Government to take steps to implement the same.

(3) That this Convention of Associations calls on Government to create a sound and practical scheme for the purchase of land from the partial and total nationalization of the agricultural sector, that will give confidence and thereby ensure that a viable economy exists when the economy is independent; and requests the council of the Convention to decide what action is to be taken if the Government does not put into operation such an adequate scheme; further, that the Convention is confident that our European elected members of Legislative Council are fully conscious of the importance of independent justification for overall coverage and rely on them to represent this at all appropriate moments.

The Chairman's Speech

Mr. C. O. Oates, the chairman, had said in his opening address:

Since our adjourned annual conference was held in April, 13 associations have joined or re-joined, while one—Ngong—has resigned. Of the 31 associations in existence in Kenya, 46 are affiliated to us, and two more are about to join. We stretch from Sotik to Nanyuki and from Kitale to Kikambala.

During the year your executive asked the Sotik, Kitale and Thomson's Falls Associations to send someone to join the committee. We were pleased to welcome General Irwin, the Hon. Allanson-Winn, and Mr. David Icely Eljoret, Ruiru, Kinangop, Nakuru and Iloilo were already represented, so very excellent indeed, and I think we have fairly good coverage. I think them all for the hard work they have put in, and I bring to your notice the enormous amount of work done for us by my vice-chairman, Mr. Harry MacAllan. Not only has he written the petition and many other excellent papers, but we have had the free services of a brilliant lawyer.

For some time I had been combining, albeit very ineffectually, the post of chairman and secretary. Shortly after the conference the organization of the petition and the delegation to London made it necessary to look for office help. Fortunately we were able to secure the services of Miss Lorna Hills, who had been associated with the Electors' Union and the Voice of Kenya. Without her I do not know what we should have done. Apart from the great experience she brought to us, to get through the work she has stayed until late at night and often given up her week-ends. Convention is very much in her debt.

With the constitutional conference before us in London, we shall need about £2,000 for the first six months of 1962, the most vital six months so far in our history. This sum will pay, we hope, for everything, including the legal experts' fees. I do beg that, now we have gone so far, we shall not fail for the lack of 20s. from every farmer.

One result of the petition, which more than 3,800 property owners in Kenya, signed, was that it brought people of all shades of political opinion on to common ground. We saw Mr. Macleod twice and put our point of view forcefully. We were promised certain answers, but before he could give us

these he was promoted. We have continued to ask his successor as Secretary of State, Mr. Maudling, for this information.

We put our case on land titles and the responsibility of the Crown or H.M. Government to one of the leading constitutional lawyers. His first reply on the actual liability of H.M. Government for our titles was not very encouraging, but he has suggested another line of approach which we are taking up, and which your executive considers it essential for us to pursue. This will need a great deal of work on our part, and we are most fortunate in being able to rely on the help of Mr. Clive Salter, Q.C., and Mr. MacAllan.

Kenya Liaison Office

Another result of our London visit was that we were for the first time able to leave behind us a viable organization at work on our behalf. In association with Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck we started up the Kenya Liaison Office, which has built up a wide confidential circulation list for our news and views in the Houses of Parliament, the City of London, and other interested people. We have been greatly assisted by friends in the City of London, while Miss Betty Mercy, the Coalition's London representative, and Mr. John Connell look at and decide what to do with the material we send them.

A delegation from your executive saw Mr. Frases, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, when he was here last May, and we saw Mr. Maudling three weeks ago. Mr. MacAllan and I also formed part of the tripartite delegation which was the first of the European bodies to see Mr. Maudling.

The replies to our questionnaire on citizenship left no doubt as to what would be the result of a single compulsory citizenship.

We have also seen the World Bank mission and put forward a plea for a finance corporation. We shall probably see the mission again when the full results of the referendum are available. The results of the survey regarding, considering the well-known reluctance of farmers to have a sort of returns, a total of 1,662 to date is excellent. We had over 1,400 by the time of Mr. Maudling's visit. It is in confidence to give him the results of the partial analysis.

In view of suggestions that I and my executive were quite good at seeing the results of all our purposes, I may perhaps state that my executive has seen none of the returns. I have seen only a few, while the analysis has been done for us by a lady trained in statistical work who was engaged for this purpose.

General Lack of Confidence

We are not at this moment going to divulge the result of the referendum, though the overall picture is of a general lack of confidence in the future, which in the case of many people could be corrected if certain steps were taken by the British Government to underwrite their assets. One very worrying feature, however, is the number of people who are over 55, who have lost confidence in living in Kenya, but who see no hope of disposing of their farms.

Unfortunately, everything we have feared over the economy of this country has come to pass, and the Treasury is to all intents and purposes bankrupt. Yet when 14 or 15 months ago the Convention warned that that was bound to happen, we were reproved both by Government and the local Press. What was very obvious to us who have had an intimate knowledge of agriculture in Kenya for a great number of years—that if you undermine the confidence of the European farmer you deal a death blow to the economy of the country—was not apparent to those in charge of our destinies, and most of all was this fact completely ignored by our late but not lamented master Mr. Iain Macleod.

Immediately after Lancaster House it was obvious that something would have to be done to protect the economy of Kenya. Indeed, Mr. Peter Marrian as president of the K.N.F.U. produced a most able paper entitled 'The Defence of Kenya's Economy'. Ever since then Convention has lost no opportunity of impressing on H.M. Government the paramount necessity of underwriting land values and titles.

Nothing has been done, and I will make a guess that in the years 1961-63 H.M. Government will have to produce at least half of the £35m. we asked for over 10 years to maintain confidence. This money will not be used to bring back confidence, but merely to be poured down the bottomless pit of helping unbalanced budgets.

It is now becoming much clearer that we Europeans in Kenya are involved in what is merely a small facet of a tremendous change in British policy. The commonwealth ideal as conceived by that great Statesman, Ian Smith, has proved a failure, because the urge of H.M. Government to get into the European Common Market and forge much closer political

links with France, Germany, Italy, and the Benelux countries, thus making a third power group comparable with Russia or America, with whom the latter will work closely.

"In these circumstances H. M. Government wishes to get out of Africa as quickly and as cheaply as possible; and it is here that we as a small facet of a vast change of policy are involved, because the small European farmer in Kenya is considered expendable. This great change of policy is being masked by expressions like the 'brotherhood of man' and other clichés, while at the same time the United Kingdom Immigration Bill is forced through Parliament at I should imagine, the demand of the European Six, which, if Great Britain joins them, do not want the problems of coloured immigrants.

Any Future For Us ?

"Most of us have a problem that is our main source of worry—whether we shall have a future in Kenya. This decision, a personal one, must be taken in the light of the existing circumstances and in the individual's opinion of his or her future prospects. The question whether to go or stay has tended to divide us, and I do ask that those who feel that they must and can leave shall not be regarded and referred to as yellow-bellied quitters any more than those who announce their intention of staying should be asked to visit a psychiatrist. Lately the European community has been much more united. Let us try to understand and appreciate the personal problems of each other.

"One paramount and overriding point in the policy of your executive is that the European in Kenya is the responsibility of H.M. Government. We shall never admit that the Government of the U.K. has not got a moral and probably legal obligation to us.

Brink of Ruin

Since at the recent Lancaster House Conference it was decided that Kenya would be given independence very short time, the fast Secretary of State did nothing to avert the loss of confidence felt by us in our future in this country, and as a result the economy of it has been brought to the brink of ruin. To set out of Kenya as quickly and

cheaply as possible seems to be their only aim. We cannot agree that they shall be allowed to get away with this policy.

"I do not wish any of our African friends to take this statement as being anti-African or anti the future independent Government. It is obvious that Kenya will become independent in the not too distant future, and that its Government will be African-controlled. Our point is that European farmers have over a long period of years been encouraged to come to Kenya by H.M. Government and by the Government of Kenya, which has always to date been under their control.

Frustrated by Unjust Treatment

"This conference is taking place two months to the day before the Kenya constitutional conference in London. We are living under a sense of frustration which springs primarily from a conviction that we have been unjustly treated by our own people.

"Let us, however, today debate the motions before us in an atmosphere of restraint and dignity. Do not let anything be said that will injure feelings or give the impression that we are unreasonable and intolerant people. Rather let us devote our efforts to seeing in which way we can help in the appallingly difficult task of creating a viable future for this country in which so many of us have lived for so long."

The Human Rights League in Zanzibar has been declared unlawful and dangerous society.

The Omukama of Bunyoro has complained that the terms of reference of the Privy Council inquiry into his kingdom's "lost counties" dispute with Buganda are too "loose", and that "unwelcome evidence" might consequently be excluded.

K.A.D.U.'s "secret" regional plan for Kenya is reported from Nairobi to provide for division of the country into 11 administrative units, namely the Central, Kikuyuland, Ukianda, Meru and Embu regions, the Northern Province, central Northern Province, Athabany and Turkana, the Kisumu (Naiyasha/Kinangop), Nyanza's Luo and Kisi areas, and the remainder of Kenyan territory, including the Masai and Usin Gishu.

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"Demonstrable Falsehoods" of United Nations Firm Rebuttal by Federal Cabinet

THE FEDERAL CABINET had a special meeting last week to consider Congo affairs. The following statement was issued:—

"The Federal Cabinet met this afternoon to consider the situation in Katanga arising out of the recent U.N. allegations that the Federal Government was allowing military supplies and personnel to reach Katanga and the request made recently by the Acting Secretary-General for additional troops, tanks and guns for the Congo operations.

"As regards the allegations, the Cabinet was satisfied that the Federal Government's policy of strict neutrality in regard to the provision of military supplies, equipment and personnel was being effectively interpreted and carried out by Federal officials. No firm evidence had ever been produced by the U.N. to substantiate its charges and it was apparent that in the absence of fact the U.N. was content to rely upon rumour.

"Threadbare" Allegations

"The latest U.N. allegations of Rhodesian assistance for Katanga referring to the supply of mortars and to the activities of an allegedly Rhodesian pilot, named Wickstead, were in our view threadbare, being merely a repetition of allegations made by the Prime Minister of Guyana in 1960 and publicly and categorically repudiated in December 1961. The Prime Minister's statement referred to the pilot, Wickstead, and described how he had entered the Federation on a normal civilian flight on December 13. Wickstead was not a Rhodesian but a United Kingdom citizen as the U.N. was very well aware. It is difficult to see how the U.N. could have found only another example of its determination, regardless of facts, to perpetuate a propaganda war against the Federation. The U.N. Government was not unhelpful, however, that this repetition of demonstrable falsehoods would, sooner or later, have the effect of creating a reasonable and responsible world opinion that U.N. statements about its Congo operations should be treated with the greatest reserve.

"The elements in the Congo situation which the Federal Government found profoundly disturbing, it was particularly alarmed by the Acting Secretary-General's recent appeal for further heavy armament to be sent by U.N. forces. This appeal had the most ominous connotation. Apart from the fact that it was made at a time when negotiations for a settlement of the Katanga situation were in progress—a singularly inappropriate time in sabre rattling—the sort of weapons, particularly tanks and Howitzers requested, could not by any stretch of imagination be considered necessary for a police force, armed with offensive weapons of a heavy calibre, that may pose a threat to neighbouring states, particularly when the strength of military and colonial pressures in the U.N. organization was so great.

Call for Impartial Investigation

"The Federal Government was further disturbed by such obvious misconstructions as certain U.N. spokesmen had chosen to put upon the proceedings at Kitona with their references to a signed, sealed and delivered agreement on the part of the Katanga authorities. Despite this, however, the Federal Government was pleased to notice more hopeful signs on the horizon. Katanga deputies have left for discussions in Leopoldville and Mr. Kimba had spoken encouragingly in Paris of the possibility of negotiating the federal constitutional settlement of the Congo problems with give and take on both sides. The Federal Government had long been convinced that that was the right solution.

"The Federal Cabinet agreed that if there was to be a further resort to force in Katanga, it would pose an immensely serious threat to the Federation. The situation would, therefore, continue to be watched with the greatest concern.

"The Federal Government considered that an impartial investigation into the conduct of U.N. operations in Katanga was long overdue. There have been a number of well authenticated reports of the bombing of hospitals, attacks on ambulances, indiscriminate destruction of civilian property, the killing of innocent civilians and rape, looting and pillage, carried out by units of the U.N. forces. If the U.N. wants to retain any respect as an instrument of international peace and security, the Federal Government was convinced that these

reports had to be the subject of thorough investigation by an independent agency."

On Friday, accompanied by Sir Malcolm Barrow, Minister of Home Affairs, and a group of officials, Sir Roy flew to Ndola "to confirm with the responsible officials on the spot the border arrangements for preventing military supplies and personnel from entering Katanga." Sir Evelyn Hone, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, met both Federal Ministers at Lusaka to discuss their Governments' respective responsibilities and co-operation.

Visit to Border

The following statement was issued:—

"Arrangements at border posts between Northern Rhodesia and Katanga to prevent the passage of military supplies and personnel into Katanga from the Federation were discussed in detail at a meeting in Lusaka this morning between the Governor of Northern Rhodesia and the Federal Prime Minister. Ministers and senior officials of both Governments were present.

"After an examination of allegations from different sources that military vehicles and supplies had been seen, it was agreed by the meeting that none of the allegations against the Government was justified. Any passage of commercial vehicles, food supplies, and medical stores were normal trade transactions between the Federation and Katanga.

"The two Governments agreed, where necessary, to strengthen border post personnel to man certain points which might provide outlets for individuals seeking to enter Katanga for illegal purposes.

"The Federal Prime Minister and his advisers later flew to Ndola for further discussions of a similar nature with officials there."

A letter sent to the U.N. from the U.N.I.P. by Mr. Mainza Chona, requesting that the party should be allowed to appear before the General Assembly to produce "irrefutable evidence" of collaboration between Sir Roy and President Tshombe, states that the Federal Government has an interest in maintaining a speeded Katanga in order to provide a buffer against independent African States and prolonged confusion during Northern Rhodesian constitutional negotiations.

In a New Year's message, Sir Roy said: "Many of us will be glad to have seen the old year go. It brought little benefit to the continent that, and perhaps less encouragement to those who have been trying to bring peace and stability and the opportunity to prosper to their countries. The great struggle between the West and the East went on. Communism continued its encroachment of the past decade. The 'liberation of the Colonial peoples' was taken forward several stages, and with it, certainly in Africa, fresh areas of chaos and depression were created.

Corruptive Clique in U.N.

A new danger to world peace and to the integrity of our countries appeared in a device created within the U.N. whereby force could be used, and was, to achieve national ends. And all the while, right up to the last days of the year, certain leaders of thought—in politics especially, but even in the sphere of religion—found themselves able to excuse aggression and killing, or to condone it, because, as in the case of the U.N., they were able to find some good as well as evil about the aggressor.

"But despite all this there is much comfort and encouragement to be gained from recent days, and hope that the tide has now turned from the ebb of 1961. The truth about the corruption of the U.N. ideals by a clique of members has been brought out into the open, and quite clearly it has caused a revulsion in the minds of many. There is now a chance, and a good one, that those ideals will be reaffirmed.

"As far as we are concerned in Africa, there is no evidence to suggest that the stand we have taken has weakened of its in vain, and much to the contrary. However, there must be no slackening in the coming year and for 1962 I appeal to the loyalty and support of all in this country, whatever race they may be, in the efforts we are making to bring opportunity and a decent life to the people of the Federation, and I ask them to sink their differences in the face of the greater dangers which surround us."

More than 11,000 dogs were vaccinated against rabies in Nyasaland's Southern Province last year.
Total acreage of soft-wood plantations in Nyasaland stands at 20,000. Expansion up to 73,000 acres is envisaged.

Sir James Robertson's Report

(Continued from page 443)

have a reputation for fairness and justice, what would be its fate in a new set-up in which inexperienced people from up-country regions would dominate the Government. On this account, some people, who ordinarily would not favour autonomy of the Coast are inclined to support it out of a feeling that, being on the spot, they would be able to influence those in authority and power, which would not be the case if they came under the domination of a Kenya Government situated in Nairobi.

Little Manifestation of Sultan's Sovereignty

"The only manifestation of the Sultan's sovereignty on the Coast of Kenya is his flag, which flies everywhere in the Strip and even in the Witu lands which are outside it. The Iwalis, mudiris and kadhis, although Arab administrative and judicial officers, are not appointed by the Sultan; indeed, he is not consulted about their appointments. The Sultan, in fact, is not consulted on any matter affecting the day-to-day administration of the Coastal Strip of Kenya; he has not visited the Coast since he became Sultan; and very few of the Arab inhabitants of the Strip have ever seen him. His sovereignty is therefore very nominal and little more than a vague sentimental idea.

"Even so, many of the Arab inhabitants look as much to the Sultan as to the British Government for protection of their interests, and, although the Sultan's sovereignty means little in its practical effect, I was convinced that emotionally it is a factor which cannot lightly be put aside. Any arrangement, therefore, which could be devised which would allow the Sultan to exercise nominal sovereignty to continue would, I think, be welcomed by the Arab population of the Strip.

"I found a difference of opinion between the Government parties and the Opposition in Zanzibar about the future of the Strip. Both sides hoped that the Sultan's sovereignty could be maintained, but the Opposition, the Afro-Shirazi Party, would not be prepared to agree for this if it was likely to lead to any worsening of relations between Zanzibar and Kenya.

"The Sultan was desirous that whatever solution was found should be to the benefit of his people on the Coast. I got the impression from my interviews that the people of Zanzibar as a whole were not very interested in the outcome, though they saw in possible changes in the agreement potential financial advantages for Zanzibar.

"The Kenya African political leaders are opposed to any arrangement which would diminish the national integrity of Kenya as a whole. Not unnaturally they regard the Kenya Colony and Protectorate as a single unit. They regard the port of Mombasa as the port of Kenya, as indeed it is in economic terms, and consider the whole of the Coastal Strip as Kenya's 'front door'.

Attitude of African Politicians

"They would regard the independence of Kenya as the final fulfilment of their aim to throw off the shackles of imperialism; they have no desire to see the British withdraw and at the same time to allow a foreign power in the shape of the Sultan of Zanzibar to continue to exercise sovereignty, however insubstantial and sentimental it might be.

"In support of their claims to a unitary State of Kenya Colony and Protectorate, they point to the fact that the British have administered both areas as one, and to the fact that the African population is in the majority in both the Colony and Protectorate. They argue on geographical, ethnic, political and economic grounds, and their arguments command respect.

"The African political leaders, in short, do not recognize Arab claims to autonomy nor, if the Strip should be integrated in Kenya Colony, the natural desire of the Arab and other minority communities on the Coast to secure safeguards of some kind, and feel that if they are given supreme power they can deal with the problem in their own way. They regard the Sultan's sovereignty as an historical accident and its perpetuation as a matter of convenience on the part of the British. They appear determined that the sovereignty shall lapse on Kenya's obtaining independence.

"With the exception of the Islamized Swahilis (who are classified with the Arabs), the majority of the Africans and the members of Kenya's two big African political parties (Kenya African Democratic Union and Kenya African National Union) on the coast are in favour of a unitary Kenya embracing both the Colony and the Protectorate. Like their political leaders in Nairobi, they dispute the historical arguments of

the autonomists and point to the time-old African majority in the Strip. They criticize the 1895 Agreement as a product of unacceptable British and Arab colonialism and history and the Africans were not consulted when it was signed. They are adamant in their refusal to recognize the Sultan's sovereignty and are determined that the manifestations of his suzerainty shall be removed on Kenya's independence.

"The Arabs and Swahilis resident in the Strip are almost unanimous in favour of some form of local political autonomy, although there are differences as to whether the Sultan's sovereignty should continue. Virtually all oppose integration of the Protectorate with the Colony, fearing strongly that Arab traditions and right would be put in jeopardy under the weight of up-country African influence.

"They refer to the incipient intimidation, to the threats of boycotts and to the growth of a spirit of intolerance which they regard as a shadow of coming events. During my visit to Mombasa on October 9 and 10 there were instances of intimidation and boycotting of Arab shops by Africans which showed me that these fears are not groundless.

"They argue that Britain, having for her own convenience administered the two areas as one, has wrongly generated the impression of a unitary Kenya. They urge that linguistically, racially and in religion the peoples of the Strip are different from those of up-country Kenya and are not happily assimilable.

"They are willing to see an autonomous Strip join an East African Federation and propose Mombasa as the Federal capital. They contend that the majority of 'true residents of the Strip support their views.

"The Asian and European population in the Strip is divided on this question, some supporting autonomy and others integration. In general, however, I found almost universal support among these sections for Arab claims for as effective safeguards as can be devised in such matters as land, education, language and religion, and in the maintenance of the present system of administration through Iwalis and mudiris and of judicial settlement by Kadhis, existing under the Sharia.

Concept of Federation Welcomed

"The majority of the people of all sections of the community to whom I discussed the future of the Coastal Strip welcomed the concept of federation of East African territories, and many considered that in this would be found the ideal solution to the problem of the Coastal Strip. In such an event I should recommend that Mombasa—and perhaps the Coastal Strip itself—should be declared Federal territory and be administered by the Federal Government.

"Unfortunately there is no certainty that a federation can be formed. Although economically, East Africa as a whole has the framework on which a Federation can fairly simply be constructed, politically there are many difficulties, not least the fact that there are no area-wide political organizations which spill over into each territory. Much as I should have liked to have considered the problem of the future of the Coastal Strip against a background of impending federation for East Africa as a whole, I have had to consider the problem on its own merits in the light of the situation which obtains today.

"In view of the attitude of the British Government and of His Highness the Sultan, and in the light of the weight of opinion among the Coastal Strip inhabitants themselves, I am satisfied that it would be impracticable for the British Government to continue to maintain its protection over the Coastal Strip after Kenya Colony becomes self-governing and a *fortiori* independent.

"It was held by some witnesses that it would be impossible for H.M. Government to change the 1895 Agreement without breaking their word. Under clause 6, however, H.M. Government has the right to terminate the agreement at any time after giving six months' notice.

Objections to Referendum

"In my view it would be particularly dangerous to allow present fears and uncertainties to increase. A referendum would not only do this; it would create additional points in time at which such fears and uncertainties could be intensified to such a degree that there could conceivably be an eruption leading to violence and race riots. This is possible if and when a decision is taken on my report; but if a referendum were to be held there would be two further dangerous occasions—when the list of electors was prepared and when the result of the referendum was announced. I do not consider that this would be in the interests of the inhabitants of the Strip.

"Moreover, apart from exacerbating present racial animosities, it is possible that the result of any referendum would itself be influenced by intimidation, and, whatever its outcome,

it might be argued by the protagonists of either party that it was not a fair reflection of majority opinion in the Coastal Strip.

"It is clear that the Coastal Strip is neither economically, ethnically, politically, nor administratively viable.

"To add to the present lack of viability the creation of a new State implies the creation of many new services and institutions which would be expensive: e.g. a new Government, with Ministries and an Assembly; a separate civil service, with central secretariat, treasury and departmental headquarters offices; a larger police force with a police headquarters; and so on. In fact, the overheads which are now provided by the Kenya Government would in the new State have to be provided on the spot, and this could not be done without considerable increases in expenditure.

"Some witnesses suggested that a deficit of £1m. is not unbridgeable and that the revenue necessary to cover the gap could be raised either by increasing customs charges on goods passing through the port of Mombasa or by levying additional local taxes, which an autonomous Coastal State could legitimately do. I cannot believe that the former would be for the benefit of East Africa as a whole or that the Governments of Kenya and Uganda would easily allow the new State to interfere with their economic lifeline in such a way. The latter would mean that the Strip was barely making both ends meet, and was subsisting on the verge of bankruptcy, stifling its own development by a too high level of local taxation.

Race Relations Good

"Race relations along the Coast have been extremely good. I see no reason why they should not continue to be so. However, the majority of the Africans, who are now the predominant race in the Coastal Strip, are opposed to any idea of an autonomous State and separation from Kenya.

"In my opinion, law and order could be maintained in an autonomous State of the kind suggested only by expelling the bulk of the African population, and centrally controlling further immigration by Africans from outside the Strip whether from the neighbouring areas or from the up-country.

"Even if it were possible to achieve practical policies to persuade or to force the up-country Africans to return to the hinterland, and if it is by no means certain that many of them are not entitled to be regarded as persons indigenous to the Coastal Strip, either on traditional grounds or because they have lived all their lives and made it their permanent home

"I do not regard it as possible to expect an autonomous State stretching in a thin belt for 200 miles along the Coast to be able to prevent infiltration and invasion by further and substantial immigration of up-country tribes people in search of the work, land and facilities which the Coast provides.

"And if a hostile up-country Kenya Government wished to excite agitation and disorder, the new State would not be in a position to defend itself from attack. An intractable situation would almost certainly develop which could cause serious harm to the safety and the peaceful development not only of the new State itself but of the whole of East Africa.

"Thus on economic, ethnical, political and administrative grounds, the Coastal Strip (as a whole) cannot be set up as an autonomous State with any hope or expectation that it would succeed. If it were set up, it would be bitterly opposed by up-country Kenya opinion, and I have no doubt that propaganda and incitement, working on the easily excitable feelings and emotions of the African population, would soon lead to disorder, break-down and chaos. In the circumstances I have no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that autonomy for the Coastal Strip is impracticable and should not be proceeded with.

Federal Exchange Control Remains

DESPITE ALMOST DOUBLED banking reserves in October of £47m. and a generally improved economy, approval is to be sought by the Federal Government for extending the present exchange control for a further year in view of unsettling events in neighbouring territories and the lack of finality in home constitutional affairs, the Minister of Finance, Sir Donald Macintyre, announced in Salisbury recently.

New emigration allowances, made possible by the improvements, will be £1,000 for single persons and up to a maximum of £2,500 for families, with provision for progressive withdrawal to the new country of residence.

Travel allowances have been increased to £300 a year and £150 for children under 12, with maximum cumulative allowances of £900 and £450 respectively over three years.

These changes indicated the improved position of the Federation's reserves, the Minister said, and showed that control was serving a useful purpose. The Government was resolved to remove it when circumstances permitted, but the moment was not yet opportune.

Kenyatta for Fort Hall Seat

More Criticisms of K.A.N.U. Leadership

KENYATTA IS TO STAND for election to the Kenya Legislative Council in the Fort Hall seat vacated in his favour by a fellow K.A.N.U. member, Mr. Kariuki Njiri, who sent his resignation to the Governor last week. This was announced at the close of the party conference in Nairobi.

K.A.D.U. immediately stated that its Nairobi branch secretary, Mr. Erasmus Mukundi, would contest the by-election.

Mr. Njiri — whose father, ex-Chief Njiri, nailed the Union Jack to his headquarters when Mau Mau was rampant and dared the terrorists to take it down — is to become publicity and education secretary of K.A.N.U., a new post. Further new positions to be filled under the party's revised constitution include those of seven vice-presidents and a deputy-president.

Mr. Samuel Ayodo, the party's Nyanza South member, who is one of the closest associates of Mr. T. J. Mboya, has talked of the need for another conference, which should be open to the Press and public. The party, he said, needed cleaning up and its leadership required straightening out. He is reported as saying: "The conference was full of rumours of assassination, spy rings, plots to overthrow party President Kenyatta, and of K.A.N.U. leaders who would imprison other leaders if they took power"

African Gang Attacks Family

A EUROPEAN FARMER from Narivasha, Mr. William Macrory, and his family of five, were attacked by Africans with bush knives and clubs as they drove home from Nairobi a few days before Christmas, and he and his wife had to be taken to hospital with head wounds. Kamau Gikigiu, a former milk buy employed by Mr. Macrory, has been sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for 14 strokes after pleading guilty to taking part in the hold-up. Another African has also pleaded guilty, and three others charged have been remanded in custody until Mr. Macrory is well enough to give evidence. He is still in hospital with a skull and stab wounds in the head.

Sentenced for Bullying African Officer

SENTENCE OF TWO WEEKS' IMPRISONMENT has been passed in Kenya on Messrs. George Leonard Blowers and Peter Richard Powell, joint managers of a sisal estate near Machakos, for stopping and damaging a police vehicle with intent to intimidate, insult or annoy the African inspector in charge of it. The magistrate, Mr. C. C. Gould, said that the two men had been guilty of a "disgustingly cheap attempt to bully an African officer and had shown complete disregard for the uniform in front of a crowd of Africans." He had little doubt that they would have adopted a different attitude if addressing a European officer. Both men pleaded guilty.

K.A.R. African Officers

ABOUT 29 EFFENDIS will be commissioned this month in the Kenya battalions of The King's African Rifles, bringing the total of African officers to 37. A further 20 N.C.Os. are to attend short-service commission courses at Mons Officer Cadet School, Aldershot, in March and April. Pay increases for other ranks, introduced to April 1, 1960, have been approved.

Nigeria has presented Tanganyika with a cheque for £20,000, "to be spent exactly as the Prime Minister wishes."

A U.F.P. African candidate for Kota-Kota in the Nyasaland general election has been sentenced to nine-months' hard labour for conspiring with three other persons already jailed, to burn down their own homes and blame the arson on Malawi Youth League members.

Katanga Deputies in Leopoldville Relations With U.N. Improved After Talks

ALTHOUGH THE Katanga Cabinet had in the previous week decided that it was incompetent to authorize acceptance of the Kitona agreement, and had referred the matter to the National Assembly for discussion yesterday, Wednesday last week found the Minister of Public Functions, Mr. Albert Nyeimbo, leading a group of senators and deputies to Leopoldville, under U.N. escort, to take their places in the Congo Central Parliament in accordance with one of the eight points of the agreement.

They were welcomed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Cyrille Adoula, in an official *communiqué* which stated that their arrival showed "the wish of the President of the Province of Katanga to respect the agreement which he freely signed at Kitona authorizing senators and deputies originating from South Katanga to come to Leopoldville in order to participate in the work of the higher assemblies of the country."

Nine deputies and seven senators of Mr. Tshombe's Conakat Party have seats in the Central Parliament.

Lord Home, the Foreign Secretary, cabled Mr. Tshombe the same day.

At the moment when Katangan deputies are leaving for Leopoldville for constitutional talks, I want you to know how the U.N. Government stands to the fulfilment of the Kitona agreement. It believes that you were right to make the agreement. Mr. Adoula, and we greatly hope that you will make every effort to convince your people that the best future for the Katangan people lies in the close co-operation with the other provinces and Central Government within the framework of the Loi Fondamentale. I therefore hope that you will make the utmost effort to arrive at a settlement satisfactory both to Mr. Adoula and to yourself, because I am certain that on this depends the future of the prosperity of the Congo."

President Tshombe alleged that Congolese Army troops were receiving U.N. support in attacks on Kongolo and Komboko to the north of Elisabethville as well as communications and reconnaissance aid, and that several people had been killed and wounded in fighting which, he said, had begun two days earlier. In New York the U.N. issued a "categorical denial," saying that similar charges had been made by Mr. Tshombe on several recent occasions. "We have heard reports of minor clashes in the area between Central Government and Katangan troops. We have no forces in that area."

Complaints of American Influence

A telegram from President Tshombe to President Kennedy denounced in the most energetic terms the undermining work your representative is doing in Leopoldville to destroy my peaceful action, and Mr. Rowan's effective intervention with the U.N. was sought in London in a telegram in the hope that the Assembly session could be held in "a climate of peace" and that it might obtain the immediate cessation of "U.N. provocation against the Katanga population and gendarmes." A third cable protested to the Acting Secretary-General of the U.N. against incidents "provoked by certain contingents of the U.N. forces in Katanga."

The complaint against Mr. Edmund Gullion, American Ambassador in Leopoldville, and President Kennedy's personal representative, was that he was influencing the U.N. to prepare military measures against Katanga in case the Assembly did not accept the Kitona agreement. The State Department dismissed the allegation as false, and hoped that it was not part of the propaganda campaign designed to justify denunciation of the agreement.

Mr. Carl Rowan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs in the United States, has alleged that a Mr. Michel Struelens had been operating a propaganda machine responsible for much of the support there and in Europe for the Katanga régime. "By spreading around at least £50,000 from some rather plush quarters in New York over the last year, Mr. Struelens has gotten some extremely vocal help in dispensing a string of myths and a stream of misinformation about Katanga and the Congo," stated Mr. Rowan.

Without saying so explicitly, he hinted that the propaganda campaign had the support of the Union Minière, which he described as the core of European interest in the Congo, with its 8% and 60% respectively of world copper and cobalt pro-

duction. "Despite all of the Congo's troubles, this Belgian-controlled firm had net profits of 47m. dollars in 1960 and the first half of 1961 was, I am told, its most profitable such period in history."

"Horrendous Propaganda Lies"

Those with financial interests in the company would naturally rather see Katanga as an easily controlled separate nation than as part of a larger Congo whose Government might be less friendly than Mr. Tshombe's. Union Minière was not the villain of the piece; indeed, the Congo needed much that the company could give, and he wished it well. The U.S., however, could not support Katanga's secession without likewise supporting "special economic interests and privileges that are the heart of a colonialism that Africa abhors and the American people firmly oppose."

Mr. G. Meenen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, asserted that the Struelens propaganda had been responsible for "horrendous lies of indiscriminate mayhem by U.N. troops"; whereas in fact casualties had been kept low only by the restraint and discipline of the U.N. forces.

Mr. Struelens, aged 33, who lived for 25 years in Katanga and was director-general of travel and tourism for the former Belgian Congo, described Mr. Rowan's remarks as "vicious and slanderous," adding: "I present issues, policies, and facts. As a large number of Americans have come to think that Katanga's policy is right and that bloodshed and military force in the Congo are not right, it is because of their own judgment." He had spent just over £35,000 on information activities for Katanga during his first year's operations, ended on September 30. His office was purely governmental, and had nothing to do with Union Minière.

Belgian Embassy Re-opened

A slow return to production in the company's mines at Jadaville and Kolumba areas has been reported, and in the badly damaged workshops at Jadaville. The Lumbumbashi depot, held by U.N. troops, is still closed down.

Diplomatic relations between Belgium and the Congo were re-established after a hiatus of 17 months since six weeks after independence. Mr. Edouard Longereaux, head of the liaison mission which has operated in Leopoldville since March, has become *Chargé d'Affaires*.

The bodies of three Red Cross workers, including a Belgian woman, which had been missing for some time, were found in shallow graves near the Elisabethville camp.

Colonel Mirus, C.O. of Indian troops in Elisabethville, said his men were reported to have told the special correspondents: "Figures that his men have taken in all the prisoners and finish off the wounded; everything that is happening in Katanga is their fault. I do not see why I should allow a mercenary to kill my men and then be able quietly to surrender, hoping to be treated like a prisoner. It is not my business whether they are all in uniform. There is certainly a risk that any European may be considered as a mercenary, even if he is not armed."

On Monday it was learnt that President Kasavubu had summoned the Katanga Assembly to meet at Kamina. President Tshombe at once declared the action illegal, saying that he would adhere to the arrangement for a meeting in Elisabethville.

In a letter to the Congolese President he quoted the constitutional law as providing that the provincial assembly should meet in the provincial capital unless authorized by the Head of State in unusual circumstances to meet elsewhere in the province, in which case the meeting place was to be proposed by the president of the Assembly or, for an extraordinary session, by the head of the provincial Government. President Tshombe wrote that if Mr. Kasavubu insisted on the Kamina meeting, he (Tshombe) would be obliged to seek litigation in the Belgian Council of State under the Loi Fondamentale.

Meetings With U.N. Officials

The Katanga President met Mr. Brian Urquhart, acting U.N. civilian chief, and M. Georges Dumontet, another U.N. official, for talks on the maintenance of law and order in the city. He also saw Brigadier K. A. S. Raja, the U.N. commander. Mr. Tshombe said that M. Dumontet's presence was responsible for the improved relations between the U.N. and the Katanga Government.

He announced that he had ordered his troops to withdraw from Kongolo after a week's fierce fighting with Central Army troops, who had burned and pillaged all the surrounding villages. U.N. air reconnaissance had been provided, he claimed. There was a promise of U.N. denial from New York. "The tin mining centre of Manono was reported in Balubakat hands, that party now claiming to control a third of Katanga in opposition to President Tshombe."

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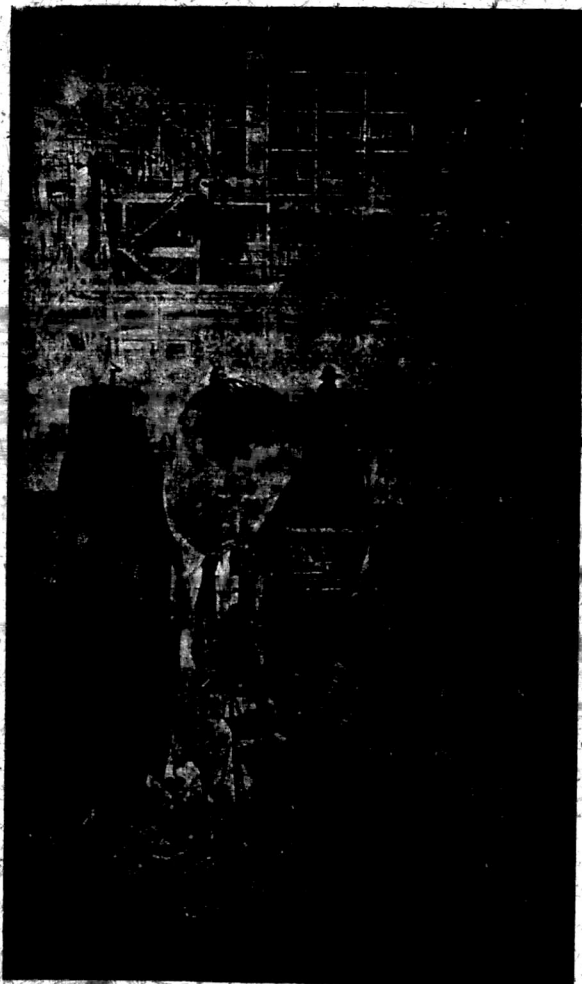
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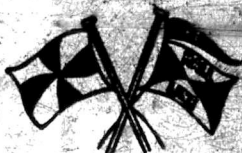
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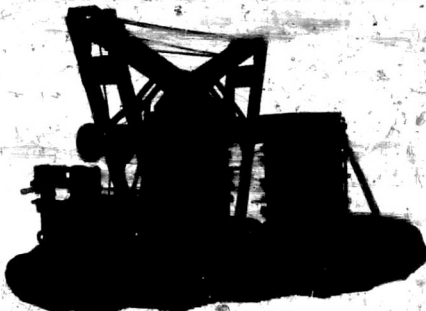
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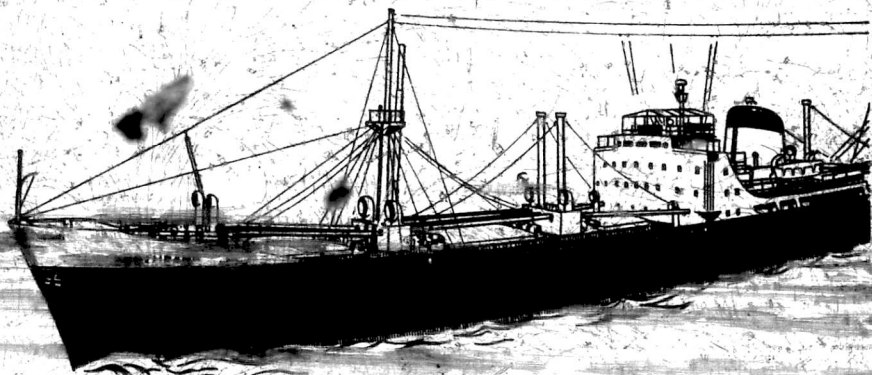
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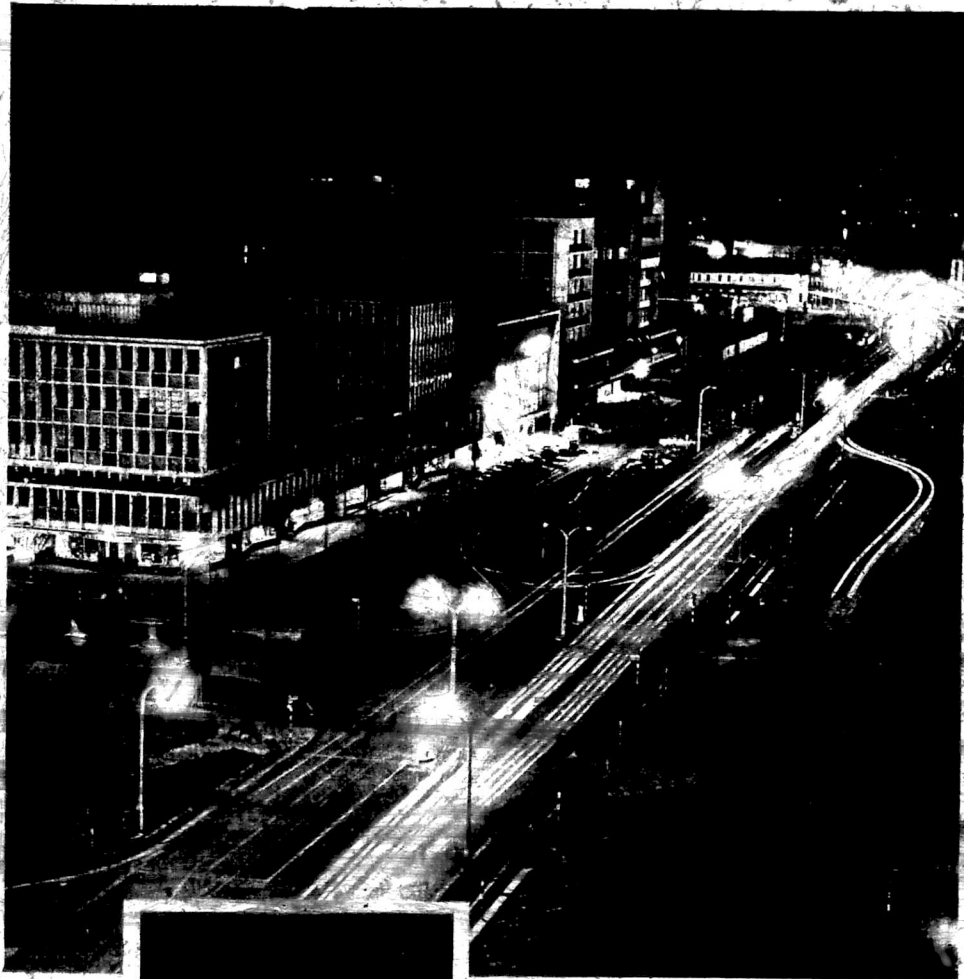
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, JANUARY 11, 1962

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was fully justified in rejecting the provocative proposal of the Secretariat of the United Nations that observers appointed by that international organization should be stationed within the Federation to supervise

Good Reasons For Rejection. traffic with Katanga. In the first place, the idea was an affront to the dignity of the Federation; secondly, it implied that repeated affirmations by the Federal Prime Minister and an explicit statement by the Federal Cabinet were not to be trusted; thirdly, it constituted an attempt to make the Federal Government the scapegoat for the gross incompetence shown by the United Nations in the Congo; and, fourthly, there could obviously be no substance in the insulting implication that a party of amateurs from New York could be more effective than the trained and experienced officials of the Federal Government.

Instead of contenting themselves with a peremptory refusal, however, Sir Roy Welensky and his Cabinet colleagues proposed that U Thant should "inform himself on the situation", fairly coupling the invitation with a warning that he would be shown evidence of serious malpractices in Katanga by agents of the United Nations, whom the Federal Government regards as responsible for "an extremely disturbing state of affairs", one which requires urgent and full examination. The United Nations is thus again challenged to inquire into what has been done in its name on the borders of the Federation—to the grave hazard of Rhodesia. While declining to accept United Nations observers, the Federal Government welcomes the idea of frank discussions with the man to whom the proposed observers would have reported,

Alternative Suggestions.

and, as a conciliatory gesture, it has suggested that the International Red Cross, whose officials already inspect all rail traffic from Northern Rhodesia to the Congo, might extend its activities to road and air communications.

As was to be expected, the powerful United Nations lobby in Britain at once resumed its smear campaign against Sir Roy Welensky, who was depicted in many newspapers and from many platforms as acting unconstitutionally and from a sense of injured dignity and as flouting Her Majesty's Government by conducting an independent foreign policy from Salisbury. *The Times* described Sir Roy as "more than prickly" in his reaction on displaying his strength, independence and passionate resentment at the besmearing of his Government. Was there not abundant reason for him to resent the aspersions cast upon the Federation? Had he not the right, and indeed the duty, to act as he and his Cabinet considered best in its interests? Far worse than the leading article (which was not wholly critical) was the publication on a news page under the heading "Mixed Reaction in Salisbury" of a telegram from its correspondent in that city who, far from reporting any mixed reaction, emphasized that rank and file opinion warmly approved rejection of U Thant's proposal. Not a word in the message indicated any difference of opinion. Yet many readers, having merely read the caption, must have derived the false impression of considerable opposition to the Federal Cabinet's action. Misleading headlines are all too common in the mass-circulation newspapers, but it is seldom indeed that this kind of misrepresentation slips into an authentic organ.

Seriously Misleading

Before the Federal Government's announcement was made, there had been days of negotiation between the British and

Federal authorities, with increasingly frequent, pointed, and obviously inspired hints in London newspapers that the United Kingdom Government would stand no nonsense from Salisbury (one normally responsible publication going so far as to state that a firm attitude would be maintained even if it involved Sir Roy Welensky's resignation). The creation of that kind of atmosphere—mainly by the Foreign Office and people close to it—merely made a bad position worse, for the Federal Government, having had more than enough brow-beating from Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod in the past couple of years, could certainly not be expected to tolerate pressure imposed from London, not even ostensibly as a Commonwealth matter, but primarily to save the face of the United Nations—which is believed to have received the idea of observers in the Federation from United States and Afro-Asian quarters. It is the Federal Government, and that Government alone, which has been consistent and wise throughout the whole period of menace in and from Katanga, and it deserves the moral support of all who care for the well-being of Central Africa.

IN ALMOST EVERY CASE of violence during the disturbances in Northern Rhodesia between July and October last the incidents were instigated or executed by officials or members of the United National Independence Party, and of 2,691 persons so far convicted of offences arising out of political crimes at the time 2,158 are known to have been members of the party. Those statements are made by the Northern Rhodesian Government in an official report from which long extracts appear in other columns. The Government describes the disturbances as "a widespread campaign of subversion, disagreement over the territory's political progress having been turned by the followers of one political party into a campaign of intimidation and violence"—violence which involved the use of explosives and petrol bombs, admonitions to copy Mau Mau methods, and propaganda which persuaded emotional and temporarily unbalanced Africans to destroy or seriously damage sixty-four schools and many churches, hospitals, dispensaries, and other mission buildings. The report examines point by point the allegations in U.N.I.P.'s brochure entitled "Grim Peep into the North", and any fair-minded readers must be convinced of the general falsity of the charges made in that document against the security forces.

The grotesque distortion of the allegations is evident from the fact that the pamphlet refers to "hundreds of deaths", whereas the total was twenty-one. If the military and police units had been trigger-happy there might have been hundreds of deaths, for they were clearly under the heaviest provocation and were always largely outnumbered. On very many occasions, however, European and African servants of the country ran unnecessary risks in the hope of avoiding casualties, and the order to fire, when there was no escape from it, was often withheld until the attackers, armed and carried away by passion, were within a few yards of the usually small party of police or troops. Well may the Government say that those who were engaged on these operations "often all day and all night and in dangerous circumstances, discharged their duties to the best of their abilities in the particular set of circumstances with which they were faced". The tribute would have been all the better for the omission of the last eleven words, which will be exploited by the organizers of sedition as confessing that the Government itself has reservations. The report gives the impression of a scrupulously honest piece of work—in contrast to the reckless dishonesty of U.N.I.P.'s charges and the deliberately organized campaign of U.N.I.P. violence. The party's New Year message, of which the main passages are also published in this issue, needs to be read in the context of the breaches of law and order to which it should bear the whole responsibility. And that is a party which stapletons in the West and a few in Africa—consider non-violent!

Statements Worth Noting

"It is a great honour to find myself the youngest member of this Legislative Council."—Mr. G. C. Chakumba, M.L.C., Nyasaland.

"India buys more from Uganda than Uganda does from India. After independence Uganda should make an effort to buy more goods from India."—Mr. Balamu Mukasa, Minister for Agriculture and Animal Industry in Uganda.

"Elected Ministers in Uganda are entitled to leave at the rate of five days for each month of service, six weeks of such leave normally to be taken within each period of 12 months served."—Mr. Benedicto Kwanuka, Chief Minister.

"When Dr. Ralph Bunche, the American Negro and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize who was Mr. Hammarskjöld's personal representative in the Congo, fell into disfavour with the Communists, their newspapers referred to him always as an American, never as a Negro."—Mr. Vernon Bartlett.

Notes By The Way

Abuse of Honours

A CAUSTIC COMMENT on one aspect of the New Year Honours List appeared in Notes By The Way in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA last week. Since then I have read a greater volume of influential criticism of the list than any I recall since the scandals of Lloyd George days—with which several writers and speakers have openly likened Mr. Macmillan's use of patronage. Except for a very unconvincing leader in *The Times*, I have not read any commendation of the list in any responsible newspaper; and the sharpest attacks have been made by publications with a real sense of public service, including the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Guardian*, and the *Sunday Telegraph*. There have been a dozen allusions in print to the fact that far too high a proportion of the honours are now regularly given, not for real national service, but for work for the Tory Party. The *Telegraph* pointed out that half the barons, half the baronets, and six of the 28 knights were Tory politicians who were being rewarded for years of obedience to the party line, emphasizing that this pattern had been followed during the last 40 years of Conservative Government.

Cynical Compilation

THE NEW STATESMAN, repeating the figures, suggested that the Prime Minister's letter to the House of Commons from the Queen would be the best corrective, adding "Queen Victoria often rebuked her Prime Ministers for putting forward unwelcome candidates, and so in milder terms did George V". The *Economist*, having described the parliamentary honours as "consolation prizes for failed Cabinet-status", charged Mr. Macmillan, with "continuing his habit of recommending even more honours to Conservative Party workers up and down the country than other Conservative Prime Ministers have done". Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, M.P., writing in the *Guardian*, thought the list "easily the most cynical compilation since the era of Lloyd George and Mandell Gregory, under Mr. Macmillan we seem to be reverting, at least in the lower echelons, to something not so far removed from a sale of honours". The diarist of one London daily commented acidly on "politicians continuing to hog the honours".

Rhodesia Wants African Voters

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, has made the significant comment that the "Claim Your Vote" campaign now being vigorously waged by his Government is likely to bring the number of Africans on the electoral register to nearly 60,000, or about 75% of the total, mainly Europeans, now on the upper roll. "Once we get 50,000 or more Africans voting, it will no longer be possible for a candidate in my constituency to disregard the interests of any section of the community", said Sir Edgar, adding that "extremist elements, white or black, will be doomed". Such a development would be excellent. The last thing desired by extremist African politicians is, of course, that tens of thousands of people of their race should register, and by their co-operation give the new Constitution a fair chance—which is why the National Democratic Party, before it was recently proscribed, had set about persuading Africans to refuse to enrol. Under the new law an African earning as little as £10 a month is eligible to vote if he knows enough English to complete the application form.

No Uhuru for Doctors

THE RECENT PROPOSAL by Mr. Derek Bryceson, Minister for Health and Labour in Tanganyika, that doctors in private practice should pay heavily for that privilege (and £100 a month was understood to be the Minister's figure) came under quick criticism, and he has now appointed a committee to consider means of facilitating the Government's declared policy of "ensuring that the services of medical practitioners are devoted to the greatest benefit of the people of Tanganyika". He was in so great a hurry to announce this concession to public indignation that, as he admitted, the membership of the committee had not even been decided, except that the chairman would be Mr. A. K. E. Shaba, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary in his Ministry, and that three other members would be Mr. L. N. Sijaona, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Local Government, Dr. W. J. M. Evans, Chief Medical Officer, and Dr. C. V. Mtwali, Acting Deputy Chief Medical Officer. There is doubtless redistribution of doctors in Tanganyika—as there is in almost every other country—but it is scarcely likely to be corrected by heavy fines upon practitioners in the towns (about the only place in which they can hope to earn an adequate living) and by denying qualified men the right to practise privately until they have served for a longish period either in the Government Medical Service or with a missionary society. Monopolization of the profession in this way would assuredly keep doctors out of Tanganyika altogether, and that can scarcely be the intention of a Minister for Health who knows how thin on the ground doctors are in that vast territory.

Bride Price

NAIROBI CORRESPONDENTS of United Kingdom newspapers and news agencies have reported that Mrs. Mboya, the Kenya politician and trade unionist who is to marry a daughter of Mr. Walter Chuma, another Luo member of the Legislature, is to pay a bride price of 16 head of cattle, whereas according to tribal custom 24 head would have been expected. According to the *Express*, Mr. Odede explained: "I could not be too stiff with Tom, so I leniently asked for only 16 head. Tom is happy with this arrangement". Apparently Mr. Odede is likewise satisfied. Was either concerned with the opinion of the future Mrs. Mboya? As she has been educated at a university in the United States, and is said to be a person of strong will, she may take a dim view of this adherence to tribal tradition by a father and a bridegroom who are both sophisticated men in the Western sense of the word.

Twisted

TWISTED was the heading given to an editorial paragraph in the *Sunday Telegraph*, which, having referred to Mr. Colin Legum, Commonwealth correspondent of the *Observer*, as a voluble apologist for the United Nations, said that his "warlike shrieks were interrupted on a recent television programme by a writhing demonstration of the Twist". Thus comparative anatomy returned to the screen.

E.A.R.-marked

"THE MOST EXPLOSIVE THING TO CROSS the border into Katanga seems to have been a bad tin of baked beans".—Sir Roy Welensky, during his recent visit to the Northern Rhodesia-Katanga border.

Damning Proof of U.N.I.P. Responsibility for Disorders in N.R.

Almost All Violence Instigated or Executed by U.N.I.P.

SOLE BLAME for the serious disorders which occurred in Northern Rhodesia between mid-July and the end of October is now placed by the Government of that Protectorate on the United National Independence Party led by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, who has always claimed that his organization is non-violent.

A strictly factual report just published by the Government under the title "An Account of the Disturbances in Northern Rhodesia July to October, 1961" shows, however, that of 2,691 persons convicted by the courts 2,158 were members or officials of U.N.I.P.

Of 703 persons convicted of proposing violence, riots and unlawful assembly, 527 were shown to be connected with U.N.I.P. Of 186 sentenced for illegally carrying weapons, 163 were U.N.I.P. members. Of 182, charged and convicted of blocking the railway and roads and damaging bridges, 143 were proved to have U.N.I.P. connexions.

The only two Africans charged and so far convicted of sedition were U.N.I.P. members. Of 40 sentenced for possessing explosives or ammunition, 26 were party activists.

In the case of assault on civilians the respective figures were 39 and 27; in arson, 183 and 123; in threatening violence, 109 and 87; in robbery and theft, 70 and 53; in damaging buildings with explosives, 17 and 15.

Widespread Subversion

In none of the 21 categories into which the offences have been subdivided is the picture less damaging to the party.

Consequently the Government description is of "a widespread campaign of subversion" and of "U.N.I.P.'s implication in the disorders".

Twenty-nine of the 78 pages of the report are devoted to a detailed rebuttal of the many allegations made in U.N.I.P.'s pamphlet entitled "A Grim Peep into the North".

The disturbances resulted in 21 deaths (not counting a police inspector and seven constables drowned when their boat sank while crossing a river). Mr. Kaunda had asserted that more than 50 Africans had been killed.

The following passages are taken from the report:—

"Widespread disorders occurred in Northern Rhodesia during the period July 15 to October 31, 1961, when the Governor announced that he was satisfied that violence had ceased. All provinces except Barotseland were affected in varying degree.

"Worst affected were the Northern and Luapula Provinces, where gangs ravaged the bush, communications were interrupted, attacks were prepared and launched against Government servants, and widespread destruction of schools, bridges and other intimidation and defiance. The rest of the territory was less gravely disaffected, although sporadic arsons or acts of terrorism with explosives and hooligans occurred in most districts.

"There can be no doubt of the responsibility of officials and members of the United National Independence Party for the disorder. Of the persons convicted by the criminal courts up to the end of October for offences connected with the disorders just over 80% were known to be connected with the party. No other organization or society was in any way involved.

"This account of the disturbances begins in the middle of July, when U.N.I.P. held a national conference beside the Mulungushi River near Broken Hill to obtain approval for its central committee's decision to reject the British Government's proposals for a new Constitution.

"Several thousand delegates were present and the conference was well conducted, although defiance of authority and some hostility to Government servants were evident. The new Constitution was condemned, and Mr. Kenneth Kaunda was given 'emergency powers' to formulate and direct a positive action campaign which would manifest the people's displeasure and induce the British Government to reconsider and modify the scheme. Reference was made to a 'master plan' which Mr. Kaunda had announced at Kitwe on June 18 and which he said would be designed to step up anti-Federal propaganda and ensure the destruction of the Federation by non-violent means.

Plan to Destroy Federation

"Delegates returned to their districts in an elated and aggressive mood and intimidation increased. The objectives of Mr. Kaunda's 'master plan' had been widely publicized as the total destruction of Federation and the bringing to a complete standstill of the economic life of the territory.

"In this context he had claimed that the party controlled the mines, the railways, and the kitchens. This suggested that the essence of the plan was to be a general strike. In fact the party controlled none of these activities and have so far failed to harness to their cause the two most powerful African trade unions—the African Mineworkers' Trade Union and the African Railway Workers' Union.

"U.N.I.P. was therefore compelled to fall back on other methods to embarrass Government, and the first phases of their campaign included a mass boycott of beer-halls, thinly disguised as a 'keep sober' campaign. This started at Lusaka five days after the Mulungushi conference and spread to most centres on the line of rail. The boycotts entailed coercing people who did not wish to abstain from drinking and were accompanied by sporadic acts of hooliganism and the burning of a few thatched buildings. They were never wholly effective and soon collapsed. In addition to persons were intimidated by the organizers, but the scale of influence which they exerted was substantial.

"Many Africans were mindful that during 1960 a woman who defied the beer-hall boycott in Lusaka was beaten with petrol and burnt to death.

"In the latter half of July U.N.I.P. officials in the Luapula Province organized a number of unlawful processions and meetings and the collection and destruction of marriage and identity certificates. Energetic action was taken by the police and tension subsided.

Organized Violence

"Actual violence started during the first week of August in the Northern and Western Provinces, being usually started by the organization of defiance of authority by party officials. The disorder followed a recognizable pattern and was not spontaneous. A great number of people were concerned in the disturbances; in some districts villagers evacuated their homes in large numbers and took to the bush for weeks. Gangs of law-breakers appeared; they were armed with flails made with bicycle chains, home-made axes, steel hoes, catapults and bush-knives, in addition to the conventional spears, knobkerries (clubs), knives, bows and arrows.

"Police reinforcements and the 1st Bn. The King's African Rifles comprising 517 officers and men were sent to Northern Province, and additional Police and a battalion of the Rhodesian African Rifles comprising 309 officers and other ranks were sent to the Luapula Province. A small number of district officers and district messengers were also temporarily seconded to the provinces to strengthen the administration. The military and police forces were deployed throughout the 10 administrative districts concerned and were at all times greatly outnumbered by the malcontents.

"On August 8 all branches of U.N.I.P. in the Northern Province were declared unlawful, and with some exceptions, meetings were banned. On August 19 branches of U.N.I.P. in the Luapula Province were declared to be unlawful and meetings were also prohibited. In the Western Province branches of the Youth Brigade of U.N.I.P. were declared unlawful on August 8. Order was restored without it being necessary to apply for any Governor's orders for the detention of persons.

"Within a few days of the commencement of violence in the Northern Province a series of attacks were made with explosives against buildings and property in most towns on the Copperbelt; and arsons, stone-throwing, damage to property, attacks upon police, and unlawful demonstrations spread

steadily to the Central, Southern, Luapula, North-Western, and Eastern Provinces. Wherever violence occurred the security forces reacted speedily and with resolution, and the Luapula Province was the only other area which became gravely disordered.

"Along the line of rail special precautions were taken to prevent sabotage of the track, and in the towns in the Western and Central Provinces all Class A members of the Police Reserve were called up. Intensive patrolling in the African townships reduced intimidation and the number of incidents.

"The Native authorities were severely tested. A number of chiefs and local officials suffered violence or were threatened, and the position of most of the others was extremely difficult. They were frequently temporarily isolated and virtually unprotected, and at the same time were subjected to intangible pressure as a result of the disaffection of many of their own people. With remarkably few exceptions they and their *kapusos* (tribal policemen) stood their ground steadfastly. They were of the greatest assistance to the security forces, and were often able to disperse crowds, locate and arrest wanted persons and suppress disorder unaided.

2,158 U.N.I.P. Members Convicted

"Not all trials have been concluded, and a number of wanted persons are still being sought, but by the end of October 2,691 persons had been convicted by the criminal courts for offences connected with the disorders. Of these 2,158 were known officials, members or supporters of the U.N.I.P. The conviction and removal from the disturbed areas of these offenders contributed largely to the successful efforts of the security forces to regain the initiative and to restore order within a comparatively short time.

"Grave damage was done to schools, bridges, motor transport, roads, churches, clinics and other centres providing services to Africans. In addition, many private houses have been burned and a considerable number of public buildings destroyed or damaged. The economic life of the people in the affected areas has been disrupted, and the effect on both the subsistence and the cash economy cannot yet be gauged.

"Where the key to political and economic development for Africans is the rapid provision of education, the destruction of schools is particularly deplorable. Over four schools have been damaged or destroyed, and 194 teachers from these schools found their work brought to a halt. Thousands of school places were lost and the education of many children seriously interrupted. Much of the equipment for school work was lost.

"The 'Grim Peep into the North' alleges that there have been hundreds of deaths and countless atrocities committed by security forces against the inhabitants of villages. This and it is merely false. Accounts of six serious riots involving deaths given in the publication are gross distortions. The same can be said of the allegations about beatings and general brutal treatment. Of the 74 villages specifically named as having suffered brutal treatment only in two cases have investigations shown that it is possible to say that security forces may have roughly handled the inhabitants.

"About 500 houses and huts have been burnt during the period of the disturbances. Most of these—some 340 huts—are in the Chinsali district, particularly in the areas which were most disaffected and where violence and sabotage were rife. In Mpika district one village of 25 houses has been burnt; this is believed to have been caused by a bush fire which swept through the village after it had been deserted by its inhabitants.

No Retaliation by Security Forces

"At no time has there been any planned campaign by security forces to burn houses either as a retaliatory measure, or as a punishment for taking part in disorders, or as a demonstration of a determination to put down violence by stern measures. It is however likely that on one or two occasions the security forces did set fire to houses in circumstances where they considered such action necessary in order to achieve their objective of bringing violence under control and restoring law and order.

"It is known that some of the houses were burnt by U.N.I.P. members themselves, either to implicate the security forces or to intimidate people into support for their cause. Some villagers also burnt the houses of those who had brought them trouble, whereas others came back to destroy utterly their own houses which were only superficially damaged. This was done as a gesture of complete defiance of authority and an abandonment of all contact with the Administration.

"There have been a number of cases of looting of stores and other property by gangs of law-breakers. Very few complaints have been made about looting by security forces, and

there have been very few cases of reported theft. It would indeed be unlikely, however, that in operations of this nature the security forces could be held guiltless of taking the stray chicken from deserted villages to supplement their rations.

"There have been certain complaints of damage done to property while villages were searched for arms or for wanted persons. In these villages, where there had been violence or lawlessness, offensive weapons were removed as a precaution against their use by armed gangs.

"During the period of the disturbances there were in all seven allegations of rape by members of the security forces. In the Chinsali district a soldier was convicted and sentenced to two years' imprisonment for rape, and a case in the Luwingu district is still under investigation. An allegation of rape in the Mpika district was carefully examined, and identification parades were held. No evidence was forthcoming to substantiate a charge against anyone.

"A case of alleged rape in the Kasama district turned out to be one of adultery with consent, and the soldier concerned is paying compensation. Allegations of rape in the Kasama location, at Luwingu and in the Abercorn district turned out to be false on inquiry.

"Twenty-one persons lost their lives in the course of security operations and 30 persons were wounded.

"Among the security forces one European officer and seven African members of the Northern Rhodesia Police were accidentally drowned in the course of operations, and one soldier has been accidentally killed. Twenty other soldiers were injured in the same incident when the soldier was killed. A district assistant was wounded with spears and a soldier was injured in the Luwingu district. Several *kapusos* have been injured with bush-knife cuts or by severe assaults. In the Abercorn district four soldiers were injured with stones, and in the Kawambwa district one constable sustained head injuries. In the riot at Bwamba village one policeman received wounds. In addition, several district messengers, soldiers, and policemen received minor injuries in the course of security operations.

"In the Western Province the swift and resolute action taken by the police on the outbreak of violence upset the plans for sustained disorder and secured the arrest of most of those responsible for the disturbances. Effective patrolling and the tightening up of security in the towns improved the security situation. The same is true of the other areas in the Central and Southern Provinces along the line of rail.

Sabotage, Arson and General Lawlessness

"The situation in the Northern and Luapula Provinces was different. Here the disturbances were widespread in a vast area of bush country with few main roads and a scattered population. Lines of communications were impassable until the road-blocks had been cleared. The security forces had to deal with armed defiance of authority, with sabotage and arson, and general lawlessness. They also had to maintain and seek to disperse armed gangs of up to 500 Africans at a time. By patient and determined methods law and order was restored, and these vast areas were brought back to normal administrative control.

"Annexure B gives the number of convictions of U.N.I.P. members during the period of the disturbances for offences arising out of political crime. Of 2,691 persons convicted, 2,158 are known to be U.N.I.P. members. These figures emphasize the extent of U.N.I.P.'s implication in and responsibility for the disorders.

"The evidence given in the courts during the trials of these persons shows that the violent incidents have in almost every case been instigated or executed by U.N.I.P. officials, members of the party. Whatever the directions of the leaders of the party may have been, it is clear that the call for positive action was interpreted by the lower formations of the party as the signal for the adoption of violent methods.

"The root cause of the unrest has been dissatisfaction over the British Government's plans for constitutional change. When negotiations failed to achieve U.N.I.P.'s objectives the advocates of violence gained ground and disorders followed. Party officials at the lower level took the initiative and promoted the campaigns of violence, particularly those in the Northern and Luapula Provinces. These followers of the party turned to violence because of their disappointment over the party's failure to achieve their political objectives during the constitutional negotiations. Some senior officials of the lower formations have clearly taken matters into their own hands in their attempt to gain by violence what the party had been unable to achieve by negotiation. The large numbers of U.N.I.P. officials and members already arrested and convicted since the beginning of the disturbances is evidence of the party's implication in the disorders.

"Officers of the police, and junior N.C.O.'s, took unjustifiable risks in exposing themselves and their men to danger in order

to avoid causing casualties among law-breakers. These casualties are deeply regretted, but it is certain that there would have been many more but for the extreme patience and forbearance of all concerned in most dangerous and provocative circumstances.

"It was the Government's plain duty to preserve public security, to halt the dangerous drift into lawlessness and defiance of authority, and to curb those whose action and influence were endangering lives and property. Over large areas disaffected persons set out deliberately and aggressively to undermine constituted authority and to defy the forces of law and order. This was not a case of intolerance by Government of legitimate opposition to its policies; it was a widespread campaign of subversion. Disagreement over political progress was turned by the followers of one political party into a campaign of intimidation and violence.

"The conduct of security forces during civil disturbances is naturally the subject of careful investigation by the authorities and of criticism by those who have been involved in the dis-

orders. Government is satisfied that those who were engaged on these operations, often all day and all night and in dangerous circumstances, have discharged their duties to the best of their abilities in the particular set of circumstances with which they were faced.

"When ill-disposed persons have taken unto themselves offensive weapons and then deliberately seek to oppose with force, security forces engaged in the legal execution of their duties, someone is bound to be hurt. It must be understood that not only have the police and the army every right to protect themselves in self-defence, but also in extreme circumstances they are empowered to resort to the use of firearms for the preservation of law and order. It is indeed due solely to the extreme forbearance and discipline of the security forces that many people were not injured."

[Further extracts will appear next week. Editorial comment is made under Matters of Moment.]

U.N.I.P. Claims that Its Master Plan Has "Conquered"

"Pressure to Join the Dead to Make Zambia Free", says Party Circular

U.N.I.P., the United National Independence Party of

Northern Rhodesia, has issued a long New Year statement, which accuses H.M. Government of having used "blackmail tactics" in its negotiations with the party; of having been "conquered" by the "Master Plan" of Mr. Kaunda, president of U.N.I.P.; of being unable to have an independent inquiry into recent widespread disturbances in Northern Rhodesia; and of being primarily responsible for the deaths of the Africans who were killed in the rioting.

"We must glorify these martyrs" says the message. "The dead will not forgive us unless we continue fighting and dying (if necessary) for what they have died for."

Mr. Macleod, lately Secretary of State for the Colonies, whom Mr. Kaunda and U.N.I.P. often praised, is now said to have "proved to us ministers from the word 'go'".

Mr. Macleod Accused of Insincerity

The statement reads (in part):

"In order to persuade Mr. Kaunda to enter the Review Conference in February, 1961, the British Government began to use blackmail kind of tactics. 'If you do not attend the Review Conference, the Northern Rhodesia talks will not begin.' Thus Mr. Macleod proved to us insincere right from the word go.

"Consider that he had told Mr. Kaunda at Chester in December, 1960, that he would not give to Mr. Kaunda anything less than a majority! In Nyassaland they have an absolute African majority rule, whereas the Constitution he announced for Northern Rhodesia on June 26 was carefully designed to ensure a built-in majority for the Europeans, and their ugly black stooges.

"From the beginning to the end Mr. Macleod presented schemes which could not even serve as bases for discussion, and the U.N.I.P. delegates rejected to consider any of the schemes. During the February conference he told delegates who did not boycott the conference that, despite the absence of the United Federal Party led by Roy Welensky and Dominion Party, he would regard the conference as full and that he would ignore the boycott by these foreigners. The same Macleod said a few days later that the conference had no power to discuss the upper roll because these two foreigners' parties had boycotted the conference.

"In other words, he admitted that he had deceived us when he had earlier assured us that he would regard the conference as full and that he would ignore the boycott by the U.F.P. U.N.I.P. declared the deadlock. But the British Government said their scheme was not yet complete. Yet in June they announced a scheme which was even worse than eyes before.

"The U.N.I.P. announced the historic master plan even before the June 26 announcement. The British Government said they will use force against people who opposed the Constitution. They said the scheme announced was final. The Governor told a delegation of five Indians that not even the British Government could now change the Macleod plan. In a special pamphlet the Governor explained the White Paper to all people, asking them to co-operate. But U.N.I.P. denied this.

British Government "Brought To Its Knees"

"At the biggest conference ever held in Northern Rhodesia Mr. Mulungushi, the 4,000 delegates humiliated Kaunda's master plan and gave emergency powers to him to direct the campaign designed to kill the wicked Macleod Constitution.

"After Mulungushi you fought and fought gallantly, and at a price. Some of you died—killed by forces of oppression. They will not enjoy the freedom you have won. They were fighting for the country as a whole. They were fighting to benefit any of us who would survive the military and oppressive forces.

"Later the British Government was brought to its heels. They were conquered. They announced that they would have another look at the Constitution. But their biggest defeat is reflected in their refusal to appoint a commission of inquiry into disturbances and the cowardly conduct of the so-called security forces.

"U.F.P. have said that they want to make Tshombe a life member of the U.F.P. They want to tour Northern Rhodesia with Tshombe addressing U.F.P. meetings. In other words, they adore a man who is deeply involved in the murder of our patriotic leader Patrice Lumumba. A man who cannot keep his word; a man whose policy has cost the whole world numerous noble lives (among them Dag Hammarskjöld) and millions and millions of pounds. Tshombe's party is financed by Union Minière, Welensky's U.F.P. is financed by the British South Africa Company. Who can blame us for describing Welensky and Tshombe as mercenary politicians?

"The British Government are not prepared to inquire into the conduct of their savage troops, as exposed by the 'Grim Peep into the North'. Instead, they ordered police and district administrative officers to investigate. These are the very people deeply involved in the atrocities. It is like sending a murderer to investigate his own crime.

"The British Government fears to be condemned for excessive and illegal violence and arson committed by the security forces. There is this fear also that an independent commission would most certainly exceed its terms of reference and denounce the British Government for ever considering the February and June schemes as solutions for Northern Rhodesia's problems, and would undoubtedly place the greater share of responsibility on the British Government for the

(Concluded on page 471)

Federal Government Rejects Idea of United Nations Observers

U Thant Declines Sir Roy's Invitation to Visit Salisbury for Talks

STATIONING OF U.N. OBSERVERS at airports in Northern Rhodesia and on roads giving access to Katanga was suggested by the acting secretary-general, U Thant, in a letter dated December 29 to Britain's representative at the U.N., Sir Patrick Dean.

U Thant wrote that the Prime Minister of the Federation, Sir Roy Welensky, had characterized certain U.N. statements about the movement of men and armed vehicles through Rhodesia into Katanga as "either exceedingly naive or deliberately mischievous". He proposed that observers should be posted in order that such charges might not arise again. U Thant added that it was completely untrue that he had asked for either howitzers or tanks, to which purported request Sir Roy had referred in one statement.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT replied as follows last Thursday:

"The Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has received through the British Government the text of a letter from the acting secretary-general of the United Nations. Its main purpose was to put forward a suggestion regarding the stationing of U.N. observers on Federal territory.

No Interference with Normal Trade

"It has always been the policy of the Federal Government within the ambit of its constitutional powers to prevent any weapons or military supplies from being carried across the border into Katanga, and it has taken steps to ensure that the proper control of the border is exercised. It has not been prepared, however, to interfere with the normal trade between Katanga and the Federation, which has been carried on over a period of many years. To do so would have caused hardship in Katanga and injustice to long-established traders in the Federation.

"Not only has the civilian population of Katanga benefited from the continuance of this trade, but the U.N. authorities in Katanga themselves have also been to a greater or less extent dependent upon services available in the Federation and upon the supplies of food and other material reaching it through the Federation.

"The Federal Government is aware that a number of allegations have been made by the U.N. which have not been substantiated. For instance, it has recently been alleged that 40 jeeps with mounted machine-guns and driven by armed mercenaries crossed the frontier just before Christmas. Full inquiries have been made into this allegation, and the Federal Government has confirmed that in fact 13 Land-Rovers and 17 three-ton trucks, all unarmed and supplied in fulfilment of normal commercial orders from industrial concerns in Katanga, crossed the frontier at Kipushi on December 23 carrying foodstuffs and also in fulfilment of normal commercial orders.

"Furthermore, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia and the Federal Prime Minister issued a joint statement on December 29 in which it was said that after full examination none of the allegations regarding military supplies to Katanga could be justified.

"In view of the established policy of the Federal Government, the action which it has taken to ensure that this is implemented, and the failure of U.N. authorities to substantiate their allegations, the Federal Government does not consider that there is any justification for the acting secretary-general's request to station U.N. observers on Federal territory, and has accordingly informed the acting secretary-general through the British Government that it must reject his proposals.

"Nevertheless, it recognizes that international issues of the greatest importance are involved and it is anxious to give the U.N. authorities an opportunity of correcting their misunderstandings regarding both Federal policy and the position on the frontier of Northern Rhodesia and Katanga. It has therefore asked the British Government to convey an invitation to

the acting secretary-general to come to Salisbury to discuss the matter with the Federal Government and to inform himself of the situation.

If Secretary-General Accepts Invitation

"The Federal Government proposes to take the opportunity of the acting secretary-general's presence in Salisbury to draw the attention of the U.N. to the evidence which the Federal Government possesses regarding events in Katanga and actions by the U.N. forces there. It is believed that the U.N. authorities will wish to consider this evidence carefully and make a full investigation into the incidents to which it relates. Some of the well-authenticated reports disclose an extremely disturbing state of affairs.

"It is obvious that the acting secretary-general and his advisers believe that the Federation has been guilty of giving military support to the Katanga forces. For its part, the Federal Government believes that certain of the U.N. commanders in Katanga have on occasion acted without the acting secretary-general's knowledge or authority, secure in the belief that they would not be called upon to justify their actions to world opinion. The Federal Government considers that a full and frank exchange of views is the best way of reaching the truth.

"As proof that it has nothing to hide, the Federal Government has informed the acting secretary-general that it is prepared, if asked to do so, to invite the International Red Cross to extend to air and road communications between Northern Rhodesia and Katanga the present arrangement whereby Red Cross officials inspect all rail traffic going to Katanga from Ndola. These arrangements could be brought into operation without delay."

Just before the above statement was published in Africa, Europe, and America, Sir Patrick Dean transmitted verbally to U Thant the invitation to visit the Federation. A British Government spokesman said that no reference was made to the question of U.N. observers.

The U.N. Congo Advisory Committee met in New York on Tuesday and agreed unanimously that U Thant should refuse the invitation on Sir Roy's terms, but that he might send a deputy on an invitation from Britain.

U Thant said he would deal only with the British Government on preventing entry into Katanga of arms and men from Rhodesia, evidence for which was "too convincing for Sir Roy to deny."

Mr. Edward Heath, Lord Privy Seal, said in a TV interview in Washington that he would welcome talks between the Federation and the U.N. on the observers. On Britain's position, he said that not only the constitutional question of Britain's control of Rhodesian foreign policy had to be considered, but also raised for the fact that the countries of the Federation were moving towards greater use of their own powers.

Mr. Duncan Sandys, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, cancelled a visit which he was to have made to Cyprus at the week-end, and it was conjectured that he might revisit the Federation.

Portugal has refused a U.N. request for observers to be positioned in Angola near the Katanga border "because they should be impartial, and the U.N. has affirmed a predominant opinion of Portugal's overseas policy."

Sir Roy Welensky's Reply

ON FRIDAY, the Daily Mail published three questions which it had cabled to Sir Roy Welensky and his answers, as follows:—

"Do you think the presence of U.N. observers on Federal territory would be an infringement of your sovereignty?"

"That depends on the circumstances. As I understand U Thant's approach to the British Government, it is a request that the Federal Government should agree to the stationing of observers on Federal territory.

"I read that as an approach which acknowledges the right of the Federal Government to comply with the request or to decline it. No question of infringement of Federal sovereignty therefore arises. It would arise only if some attempt were made to post observers without the consent and approval of the Federal Government. That is not an eventuality which I foresee."

"What independent check on suspicions of arms-running would you be prepared to accept?"

"I am offended by the implications that the U.N. authorities

(Continued on page 470)

PERSONALIA

DR. W. STUTZER, foreign editor of a Zurich newspaper, has recently spent a week in Kenya.

MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P., has returned to London from another visit to East Africa and Sudan.

SIR NUTCOMBE HUME has retired from the executive chairmanship of Viyella International, Ltd.

MR. D. J. B. NICHOLLS has joined the board of Thompson, Smithett & Ewart, Ltd., Nairobi.

LORD and LADY RENNELL are outward-bound for Australia and the Far East in R.M.S. CANBERRA.

MR. S. J. MCADDEN, Conservative M.P. for Southern East, has just paid a fortnight's visit to Kenya.

MR. FABIAN LUK OKWARE is the first Uganda African to be promoted a senior superintendent of prisons.

MR. F. J. PEDLER, joint managing director of the United Africa Co. Ltd., has been re-visiting East Africa.

SIR WALTER COUTTS, Governor of Uganda, has been admitted to the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem as a Knight.

MISS V. M. H. OWEN, headmistress of Limuru Girls' School, Kenya, will fly to Nairobi on Monday after a month in England.

MR. MALCOLM ARCHER, Acting Kenya Agent in London, and public relations officer, will be in Kenya from January 22 to February 3.

MR. M. DUTT, formerly commercial manager, has been appointed regional manager at Lugazi of the Zambian Sugar Factory, Ltd.

MR. GEORGE HILL, editor of *Nchanga News*, Northern Rhodesia, has resigned to become managing director of Chingola Printers, Ltd.

SIR LEONARD LORD, vice-president of the British Motor Corporation, Ltd., and LADY LORD are on their way to the Cape. They are expected to revisit the Federation.

MR. JOHN A. METCALFE has resigned from the board of Bakers Industrial Holdings, Ltd., in order to devote more time to Minerals Separation, Ltd., and his other commitments.

MR. IAN MCCULLOCH, public relations officer for Kenya in Kenya, the opposite number of MR. MALCOLM H. ARCHER in London, is paying a short visit to the United Kingdom.

LORD MOLSON, LORD LISTOWEL, and LORD WARD OF WITLEY have flown to Uganda from London to make their inquiry into the "lost counties" dispute between Bunyoro and Uganda.

MR. R. W. HILL arrived recently in Seychelles as representative of Sir Roderic & Co. (Management), Ltd. who are to operate a new ferry service between Mahé and Praslin and La Digue.

MR. K. CHUME, Nyasaland Minister of Education, and MR. H. L. HUDSON, Chief Education Officer, left yesterday for New Delhi to attend the second Commonwealth Education Conference.

MRS. MENON, India's Deputy Minister for External Affairs, and MR. APA B. PANT, Ambassador to Indonesia, who was formerly High Commissioner in East Africa, have been visiting Kenya.

MRS. REBECCA FANE, of Gilgil, Kenya, who died recently in Hampshire after some months' illness, left estate in the United Kingdom valued at £21,060, on which duty of £2,497 has been paid.

MR. HUGH FENN has resigned as director of Bulawayo's Academy of Music, Southern Rhodesia, to take up a music appointment at Heany Teacher Training College. MR. A. R. SIBSON succeeds him.

SIR EDWARD WILSHAW, governor of Cable and Wireless (Holdings), Ltd., and LADY WILSHAW arrived at Southampton last Friday in the PRETORIA CASTLE after their visit to the Rhodesias and South Africa.

MR. Y. B. SIMOLLI, M.L.C. for Toro North-West, has resigned as secretary-general to the Uganda National Congress to join the Uganda People's Congress.

MR. G. D. CANNON, deputy chairman of the Uganda Coffee Marketing Board, and a former M.L.C., has been appointed Director of Trade and Industry in Papua and New Guinea by the Australian Government.

MR. A. A. OJERA is the new member for South-West Acholi in the Uganda Legislative Council, following a by-election in which he defeated MR. A. A. BANYA, whose election at the general election had been declared invalid.

MR. D. PENNY, of the Nyasaland Information Department, is on six months' home leave. The official news, picture, and feature services are being operated meantime by MR. KEITH ROBINSON, until recently a Fleet Street journalist.

MR. T. J. MBOYA, general secretary of the Kenya African National Union, and MISS PAMELA ODEDE, daughter of MR. WALTER ODEDE, also a member of the Kenya Legislative Council, are to be married in Kenya on January 20.

MR. D. J. K. NABETA is now Minister of Local Government in Uganda, following MR. BASIL BATARINGAYA'S resignation to devote himself to Democratic Party affairs. MR. G. O. B. ODA has taken over the Ministry of Health portfolio.

MR. G. P. HADDON-CAVE, Acting Treasurer and Secretary for Finance in Seychelles, to which he was seconded from the Kenya Treasury, is due back in the Colony shortly after a visit to the United Kingdom for discussions on the Seychelles budget for 1962.

MRS. FLORENCE LUBEGA has been elected president of the Uganda Council of Women. Other office-bearers are MRS. SARLA MARRANDYA and MRS. REBECCA MULIRA, vice-presidents; MRS. DOROTHY CLARK, secretary; MRS. ANNE KAGWA, treasurer, and Miss NEELA KORDE, publicity secretary.

MRS. ELIZABETH MARSHALL-THOMAS, an American authoress who has written a study of Kalahari Desert bushmen, has returned to New York after spending for four months at Kalapala, north of Kampala, in the Karamoja area of Uganda. She gathered material for a book on the Dodoth tribe.

MR. L. LEWIS, chief health inspector in the Ministry of Health, and MR. I. R. KAGWA, district health inspector in Toro, represented Uganda at a World Health Organization symposium on housing and sanitation held in the Niger Republic. Mr. Kagwa is to visit Ghana, Puerto Rico, and the U.S.A.

MR. MICHAEL BLUNDELL, Minister for Agriculture in Kenya, will return to London shortly to make representations to H.M. Government for financial aid for a cultural plan for the Masai country. He will be accompanied by MR. JUSTUS OLE TIFIS, a Masai, who is Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry.

MR. S. W. BAMUTIRE, M.L.C. for Busoga North-East, and three other Uganda People's Congress officials from the district, have resigned to join the Democratic Party because they feel that the U.P.C. is supporting MR. W. W. K. NADIOPE, its member for Busoga West, "in his wish to become Kyabazinga of Busoga."

We recently reported that MR. EDWARD MUNGONI LISO had been elected acting president of the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia to replace the late MR. KATILUNGU. His deputy is MR. JOHN BANDA. The secretary, MR. JOB MICHELO, intends to contest the South-Western constituency by-election.

MR. HARRY NKUMBUA, president of the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia, was last week released from prison in Livingstone after serving part of a year's sentence passed on him in April for allegedly causing the death of an African constable by dangerous driving. Part of the term was remitted for good conduct.

MR. GORDON BROOKS, town treasurer of Kampala since 1951, will retire shortly.

M. M. A. VAUCEL, director general of the overseas Pasteur Institutes, Paris, is to visit the Federation on behalf of the World Health Organization.

VISCOUNT BOYD OF MERTON gave a reception on Tuesday evening in the House of Lords after the annual meeting of the Overseas Employers' Federation, of which he is president.

MR. REGINALD MAUDLING, Secretary of State for the Colonies, is about to leave for Trinidad for informal talks with West Indian leaders. He will be back in London before the end of the month, for a Jamaica constitutional conference will open on February 1, and Kenya and Zanzibar conferences will follow in the middle of the month.

Obituary

SURGEON COMMANDER ALAN GORDON BEE, R.N. (Retd.), has died in Kampala.

MAJOR W. J. A. H. ARCHINLECK, late of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, died recently in Nyeri, Kenya.

MISS OLIVE SHAKESPEAR WALLER formerly headmistress of Limuru Girls' School, Kenya, died on Sunday at her home in Cambridge.

SERGEANT JOSEPH MAZZINI TRENAMAN, who has died in Leeds, aged 51, was a colonial from the B.B.C. in 1945 to inaugurate an Army education scheme in East Africa.

MR. R. J. WILKINSON, whose death in Henfield at the age of 82 is reported, served in the South African War, and then served for many years in Uganda, to which he first went in 1905.

MR. EUGEN A. PINTO, who in 1907 started the Kampala Oriental Company in Uganda, has died in Goa at the age of 81. He was one of the founders of the Kampala Goan Institute.

THE REV. JAMES DONALD MOFFATT, who died recently in England, served in the Northern Rhodesia Diocese of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa from 1912 to 1919 and from 1931 to 1947.

PROFESSOR FREDERICK DEPHAR, C.M.G., C.B.E., who has died in London at the age of 61, had been since 1955 Research Professor of International Economics at the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

THE REV. A. W. G. DUFFIELD, of South Brent, South Devon, whose death is reported, was a missionary priest at St. Faith's, Busape, for three years, and then for two years rector of Umalil. He returned to England in 1932.

SIR DONALD KINGDON, who had served in the Colonial Legal Service in Uganda, Tanganyika, Kenya, Nyasaland, and in West Africa, collapsed and died while attending a service at Eastbourne College, at which he had been educated.

MR. HUMFREY GROSE-HODGE, who has died at the age of 70, was known to many East African parents as headmaster of Bedford School from 1928 to 1951. He was in the Indian Civil Service as a young man and on active service in the 1914-18 war in India and the Middle East.

MR. J. E. S. TURTON, who collapsed and died recently while walking on the beach at Ramsgate, Natal, served in Rhodesia for 42 years, having joined the Native Affairs Department at the age of 18 and ending his career as Secretary for Native Affairs and Chief Native Commissioner. He served in 13 administrative districts, was noted for his imperturbability, and was the first historian of Salisbury.

MRS. HELEN COLLIS, whose death in Bulawayo is announced, was 16 times golf champion of Bulawayo, and she had been champion of Matabeleland, Mashonaland, and Rhodesia. She was vice-president of the Rhodesian Ladies' Golf Union, and its regional president for Matabeleland.

SIR CHARLES GRIFFIN, who died last week at his home in Aldeburgh at the age of 86, went to Nyasaland as Crown prosecutor in 1901, became Attorney-General four years later and a judge of the High Court in 1906. He was Chief Justice in Uganda from 1921 to 1932, when he retired from the Colonial Legal Service.

BARON KARL RUKAVINA, who has been killed in a motor accident in Southern Rhodesia, was a Yugoslav who went to Rhodesia in 1928 after studying at McGill University, Canada, and the London School of Mining. He spent eight years on the Copperbelt, and then interested himself in mining properties in Southern Rhodesia. During the last war he was an R.A.F. Liaison officer with the Yugoslav and French Air Forces.

MR. JOHN SIBBALD, who served in the Scots Guards in France in the 1914-18 war and then as an estate assistant and later estate manager in Nyasaland, has died in Central Africa. Latterly he had farmed on his own account. He was a past president of the Nyasaland Agricultural Society, a P.M. of Lodge David Livingstone, a founder member of the British Empire Service League, and a member of its central council.

DR. HENRY GODFREY FITZMAURICE, who has died in Zomba, was in 1924 the first Government medical officer to be posted to Kota Kota. He served throughout the Ethiopian campaign of the last war, and in the 1914-18 war he was a proboscidea surgeon in the Royal Navy. In 1946 he retired from the Colonial Medical Service, then being Deputy Director of medical services in Nyasaland. Thereafter he resided near Lake Nyasa.

THE HON. HUGH FLETCHER MOULTON, M.C., who has died at the age of 86, was at one time a director of several companies interested in gold mining in East and Central Africa. The son of Lord Moulton of Bank, he was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, and was then called to the Bar. He served in the Western Front in the 1914-18 war, after which he was for a short time Liberal M.P. for the Salisbury Division of Wiltshire.

LORD BIRDWOOD, M.V.O., who has died in a London hospital, aged 83, was the son of Field Marshal Lord Birdwood, whom he succeeded in the title in 1951. He served in the Indian Army from 1919 to 1945, and had since written and spoken a great deal about Indian and Middle East Affairs. Lately he had made a special study of Communist activities in Africa and Asia. He was an active worker for the Conservative Commonwealth Council.

DR. SHEFFIELD NEAVE, C.M.G., O.B.E., D.Sc., who has died in Chelmsford at the age of 82, was honorary secretary of the Zoological Society of London for 15 years until 1952. He was educated at Eton and Magdalen College, Oxford, where he gained a blue for athletics. In 1904-5 he was a naturalist on the staff of the Geodetic Survey of Northern Rhodesia, and then for two years entomologist to a sleeping sickness commission sent to Katanga, and from 1909 to 1913 entomologist to the Tropical African Entomological Research Commission. His next appointment was as assistant director of the Imperial Institute of Entomology, a post which he held for 28 years, before becoming director in 1942 in succession to Sir Guy Marshall. About the same time he became honorary secretary of the Zoological Society, succeeding Sir Julian Huxley. He wrote many papers on African fauna, and for years edited the *Journal of Applied Entomology*. Mr. Airey Neave, Conservative M.P. for Abingdon, is the eldest son of his first marriage.

Letter to the Editor**Thoughts of a Kenya Settler
No Orchids for Mr. Macleod**

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

SIR.—Mr. Biggs-Davison, M.P., was somewhat unjust when he compared the Kenya settlers with the Portuguese settlers in Angola, for the Portuguese are backed by a Government which has no intention of leaving them in the lurch. The Portuguese will be spared the sickening sight of politicians of their own race fawning on an African "leader to darkness and death". Roman Catholics are conscious of evil: I am not a Catholic, but during our Mau Mau rebellion the staunchest opposers of the evil in Kikuyuland were the quite fearless Catholic fathers.

Critics of the present British Government maintain that they have achieved nothing since they came to power. In Kenya they have achieved something which neither the Germans in the first war nor the Italians in the second could accomplish: they have defeated the Kenya settlers—using weapons more foul than any employed against our communists in times of war.

Despite the fact that the appalling behaviour pattern of the Bantu on the rampage repeats itself in Kenya, the Congo, Northern Rhodesia, and Angola, leader-writers in national newspapers in Britain have the temerity to tell us that we must readjust our ways to the new pattern of society—by which they mean acceptance of the domination. What do they and Mr. Macleod imagine that the young Mau Mau men recently butchered in the Congo thought in their last moments?

A former Governor assured us that he would not hesitate to invest in Kenya; but he didn't. While Secre-

tary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Macleod said that he would not mind having a farm in Kenya; but he hasn't.

Kenya settlers are preparing to go, some to Australia, some to New Zealand, some to South Africa, and some elsewhere. Whatever their destination, they will take with them a newly acquired attitude to a Mother Country which allows a Minister of the Crown to ruin their lives and their country in two short years.

If Mr. Macleod achieves his ambition and becomes Prime Minister, I hope that it will be of England only, and that Scotland will by then have its own Parliament, one in which Anglicized Scots will have no voice.

Sotik,

Kenya.

Your faithfully,

JAMES MCKILLOP.

Points from Letters**In the Same Convoy**

"KENYA, and its European residents in particular, owe EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA so much for support and frank portrayal of events during these anxious times. I sail into the seas ahead buoyed up with the knowledge that you are in the same convoy."

Like Sick Sheep

"EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA is to be admired for all that it has said and done to bring about a change of mind in British colonial policy. The English of today, however, are like a lot of sick sheep; the dog barks and all lie down, too scared to move. What a change from the old bull-dog types who were served in the East African campaign of the 1914-18 war. If Britain goes Communist, these endless strikes will pull her down if something is not quickly done to awaken the people as a whole to what is happening and to the outcome of the flannel-footed behaviour of her politicians. Can the future of the white man in Africa be so bleak? There can be no security for anyone else. We depend on the Africans for services; he loyal in the mass, is now bewildered. Only yesterday I heard a chief pleading with a district commissioner to try to postpone self-government in Kenya for at least 10 years."

Intimidation and Kenyatta

"A LONDON NEWSPAPER has quoted Kenyatta as having said during his visit to England, when questioned about his association with Mau Mau, that that was a mere matter of historical background. It is certainly nothing of the sort, but very much a present problem for us in Kenya, for Kenyatta has deliberately chosen to keep close to himself some of the men who were sentenced with him on Mau Mau charges; and he would scarcely have done that if he had wished Mau Mau to be something over and done with. Whether he has acted in this way of his own choice, or whether he is already under pressure from Africans more extreme than himself, can probably not be known with certainty by any European. There are strong grounds for the suggestion that he (and other extremist African politicians in Kenya) know that it would be extremely dangerous for them to flout the Land Freedom Army, which may be assumed to be far stronger than has been officially admitted. Many Africans are convinced that its thugs would not hesitate to kill Kenyatta or anyone else who made himself objectionable to what is unquestionably a well-organized and well-directed terrorist body. The intimidation which fostered Mau Mau may have caught up with Kenyatta."



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More Dissension in K.A.N.U.

Large Payments from Communist Sources

KENYA NEWSPAPERS have in the last few days published many statements about payments and offers of money to Africans prominent in the Kenya African National Union.

The vice-president, Mr. Oginga Odinga, was said in one report to have been promised £150,000 from behind the Iron Curtain and to have received a first instalment of £10,000.

About a year ago he admitted a gift of £10,000 from Communist China, and it has been repeatedly alleged that he has since received several times that amount, mainly from China but also partly from Soviet Russia. A good deal of money has been spent on sending Africans to study in Communist countries, to which many have travelled via Somalia, and substantial sums have gone to finance K.A.N.U., in which Mr. Odinga's influence is consequently strong.

A telegram from Nairobi to *The Times* at the beginning of this week suggested that the providers of the funds are now dissatisfied with its expenditure, and apparently there is speculation within the party that the Eastern bloc may divert funds to Mr. Paul Ngei, the Kamba extremist who has several times talked of the expulsion of European agriculturists from Kenya.

Kenyatta Under Criticism

The dispatch referred to reports that Kenyatta had seriously damaged his reputation during the independence celebrations in Dar es Salaam by repeatedly attempting to attract the limelight to himself, by appearing on formal occasions in a tunic shirt, and by a series of minor incidents. By contrast, Mr. Odinga, at the end of his time talking to local trade union leaders and discussing their problems, in common with leaders of the opposing Kenya African Democratic Union.

Now, according to *The Times* message, more and more voices in K.A.N.U. talk of Mr. Mboya as the future Prime Minister of Kenya, for there is growing criticism that Kenyatta has failed to establish a rôle for himself either above

or below the party disputes. A split in the party is considered inevitable before the next general election.

At a meeting in Kitale on Sunday Kenyatta was described as "a prophet of God" by Mr. Elijah Masinda, founder of a proscribed religious movement, who had been under detention for 13 years and was recently released.

Kenyatta sharply criticized the British administration in Kenya for discriminating between the races, and declared that in an independent Kenya there would be no such discrimination.

New Opposition to Mr. Macleod

"Left-Wing Expedient" At Colonial Office

THE NATIONAL FELLOWSHIP, formed as a new "political ginger group", has given as one of the main reasons for its establishment the appointment of Mr. Iain Macleod, lately Secretary of State for the Colonies, as chairman of the Conservative Central Office, a move which it considers to be fraught with danger to the country.

The announcement continues:—

Mr. Macleod has always been inclined towards a kind of mild Socialism. He showed it throughout his period of office as Minister of Labour by invariably deterring to the trade unions.

He showed it again by his policy of giving independence to colonial countries before they were ready for it, with disastrous results to the settlers. His left-wing expediency was proved by the way in which he released Jomo Kenyatta despite the appalling cruelties and bestialities of the Mau Mau organization which Kenyatta had organized and managed.

Unless the influence of a sufficient number of Conservatives is brought to bear upon Mr. Macleod, he will lead the party even further to the left than it has so far gone. Moreover, there is an obvious danger that left-wing parliamentary candidates will find favour with Central Office.

Later the announcement says:—

In no circumstances should Kenyatta, who has not proved to be permitted to become Chief Minister in Kenya. No further steps should be taken towards giving Kenya independence until a reliable method of safeguarding the rights of settlers has been found.

Colonial territories are being given their independence too hurriedly and often without regard to the legitimate rights of the settlers and the well-being of the Natives. Sir Roy Welensky's plans for multi-racial Government should be given a proper trial.

Saluting Tanganyika's Flag

MR. AMIR JAMAL, Minister for Communications, Power and Works in Tanganyika, said recently: "Public resentment has been felt because of the failure of some foreign ships calling at our ports to fly our national flag. The desire of our people to see our flag flying on these ships is perfectly natural, but no law compels visiting ships to fly our national flag. When the national flag of a host country is flown by a visiting ship in port, it is a voluntary salute given as a matter of courtesy. It is wrong for us to force any visitor to salute us. One day we shall have our own ships, which, while in ports in foreign countries, will be glad to salute their host countries."

Excessive Royalty on Diamonds

MR. E. I. DONALDSON, presiding at the annual meeting in Johannesburg of Tanganyika Diamond and Gold Development Co., Ltd., said that the subsidiary company in Tanganyika, Alamasji, Ltd., had lost 10,198 rands (£5,099) in the year, partly because drought had stopped washing operations for six weeks; but mainly because of the unduly high rate of royalty levied by the Tanganyika Government, to which R53,814 had been paid, that being out of all proportion to the present cost structure. Repeated applications for remission or amendment of the royalty had been made, and if there were not a change the life of the mine would be considerably reduced. Prospecting had disclosed large areas of gravels of medium value, but the future must be greatly affected by the attitude of the authorities to yet another application for relief by way of reduced royalty.

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Katanga Studying Kitona Agreement

Leopoldville Checks on Minor Leaders

KATANGA'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY has set up two committees on politics and foreign policy to study the Kitona agreement.

President Tshombe told the Assembly on Thursday that he found no fault with points two to seven of the agreement (reported in our issue of December 28), but that the first and eighth, dealing with Katanga's acceptance of the *loi fondamentale* of May 19, 1960, and with facilitating the execution of U.N. General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, were still open to discussion.

"I leave to you the task of determining how far our concessions can go and which articles of the agreement should be modified. I asked for an end to the fighting, not because we were weary of fighting for our freedom, but because the Government was too concerned about the happiness of the people for it not to try with all possible means to end the carnage and killing of the civilian population. For this reason alone I agreed to Kitona, where the eight points which you have been charged to examine were proposed to us.

"Katanga must be unified with its brothers in the Congo, but must remain sufficiently free so that its fate will not be finally sealed on the day the shadow of Communism spreads over this country and Gizaeng takes power. Thanks to his group's majority in the Leopoldville Assembly.

President Tshombe accused the Central Government of having several times violated the *loi fondamentale*, and said that Katanga would not respect it unless the Central Government, the U.N., and the foreign powers directing the Leopoldville Government did so as well.

The Assembly should have examined the agreement on the spot, he said when only 10 members appeared. The Deputy Speaker presided at the meeting because there was not the necessary quorum of 35. During a seven-minute session held in darkness because there was no electric light — U.N. help in transporting 3000 Katanga members from the remoter areas of Katanga was called for. Mr. Tshombe, Mr. Wadiombi, president of the Assembly, and the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Mumbongo, arrived after midnight with which they were indignant. Another Katangan delegation has gone to Leopoldville to take part in constitutional talks with the Central Government, as laid down in the Kitona

Kalonji Detained

Mr. Albert Kalonji, self-styled president of South Kasai, is now detained at a military camp outside Leopoldville, his Parliamentary immunity having been withdrawn because he is accused of maltreating political opponents.

Emperor Haile Selassie last week rebuked the Ethiopian troops who were accused by the Katangese of atrocities during the recent fighting. Three cases have been alleged of raping of European women. Previously he had suggested their withdrawal from Elisabethville.

A special correspondent in Brussels of the *Sunday Telegraph* has reported that hundreds of young volunteers have been sent to fight for Katanga by the Civil Action Movement (M.A.C.), an extremist group aligned with the French O.A.S. Secret Army Organization. M.A.C. claims a membership of about 10,000.

The American State Department last week accused Mr. Michel Struelens, the Belgian director of a Katanga Information Service in New York, of being involved in attempting to buy recognition by Costa Rica of Katanga as a sovereign State. He has denied the charge as being completely without foundation.

Belgian civilians in Elisabethville have suggested to the acting secretary-general of the U.N., U Thant, that the commanding officer of the Gurkha troops, Lieut.-Colonel Mitra, should be decorated.

Mr. John Bulloch, special correspondent of the *Sunday Telegraph*, cabled: "In the September fighting the Gurkhas were the most hated of all U.N. troops; in the December fighting they were the least hated. The change is entirely due to the efforts of Colonel Mitra. Stories of Gurkha atrocities abounded after September and he was determined there should be no repetition.

Rescuing Civilians

"On the first day of the December fighting he went in with his men to clear a Katanga strongpoint with bayonets and kukris. After that he acted more like a Red Cross man than

a soldier, driving himself in his easily recognized private car, tending civilian areas where fighting was going on to guide people to safety, and even returning to get some of their most valued possessions. Twice he took a Red Cross ambulance column under fire from both sides into the square where the bitterest street fighting was taking place.

"The happiest memory is the story of Colonel Mitra and three Gurkhas being fired on by Ethiopian soldiers. Instead of returning the fire or driving off, he stormed out of his car, picked up a startled Ethiopian lieutenant, and told him in unprintable language what he thought of him."

America and Russia are flying in aid to the flooded Stanleyville area of the Province Orientale. The U.S.A. has given £3,750 for buying cattle, five diesel generators to replace the city's hydro-electric plant which had been put out of action by the flood waters, and flour and rice. Soviet help consists of doctors and nurses, with a plane-load of medical supplies.

The Congolese Premier, Mr. Adoula, has insisted that the Russian doctors must become temporary members of the World Health Organization or be deported, since all aid to the Congo is meant to be provided through the U.N.

Gizenga Called to Account

On Monday the Chamber of Deputies of the National Congolese Parliament passed a resolution giving the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Antoine Gizenga, 48 hours within which to present himself in Leopoldville to defend himself against charges of secessionist activities in Stanleyville during the past three months and of refusing Government demands that he should return to assume his regular duties. The motion was tabled by Mr. Kimvay, deputy president of the Parti Solidaire Africain, of which Gizenga is president.

The *Daily Telegraph* correspondent cabled: "Gizenga's pro-Communist régime is cracking. The leftist leader, said to be wooing out moderate elements from his administration and replacing them with party cronies, is losing favour with the people. He lives in near seclusion, emerging only with a band of armed guards. His principal lieutenants—the provincial president, Mr. Simon Lesala, and the Information Minister, Mr. Lumumba (brother of the general Victor Lumumba) are supposedly leading him away from the general Victor Lumumba, has transferred his loyalties to Mr. Adoula.

Impatience and Discontent

There is widespread discontent over the ineptitude of the régime's officials, who have failed lamentably to deal with the flood crisis and the general austerity. Inflation is rampant, with bread costing 4s. 4d. a loaf and meat and vegetables in scarce supply. Electricity and water have been cut off for nearly two months. Grass grows in abandoned buildings, garbage has accumulated, and the streets are strewn with refuse that once made the province notorious as a health hazard.

Only 1000 of Gizenga's army of 10,000 men is in Kivu and northern Katanga, leaving 9,000 shabby, shoddy soldiers, sloppily dressed in old Belgian uniforms and blue gym shoes, to hold down his vast population."

Thirty-five French-speaking mercenaries who flew into Brazzaville on Monday admitted that they were going to fight for Katanga. They were reported by the U.N. to have left immediately by chartered plane for Ndola, where, however, an official spokesman said that no such aircraft had arrived.

In France an ex-paratrooper officer was arrested on Monday for illegally recruiting volunteers for Katanga, offering pay of £100 a month and onwards.

Six new secondary schools will open this month in the Central Province of Kenya—two each in the Kiambu and Embu districts, and one each in Nyeri and Poyt Hall.

An amnesty against prosecution for the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition has been announced in Southern Rhodesia and will continue until February 12. During that period there will be no prosecution of persons who apply for permits for arms or ammunition already in their possession or of those who surrender arms or ammunition to the police.

Primarily in consequence of reduced advertising revenue, the *Central African Examiner* has had to part with its editor, Mr. Jack Halper, and the chief shareholder, Mr. Theodore Bull, is now honorary editor. A smaller format is being adopted, and fewer pages will appear in future issues. The directors consider that on this basis "it will be possible to ensure the paper's permanent existence."

A tourist from Hamburg, Mr. Hans Kluyver, who was sleeping in the open at Ngorongoro, Tanganyika, awoke to find himself being dragged away in his sleeping bag by two hyenas. After about 50 yards the bag broke and the animals seized his feet. A little later he broke free and grabbed one of the beasts by the throat, trying to throttle it. By this time his companion heard his cries and came to his assistance.

"Mercenaries" Refused Admission

Negligence of European Governments

SIR MALCOLM BARROW, Minister of Home Affairs, said in Salisbury yesterday morning:—

"The Federal Government pointed out to the British Government some time ago that it was the responsibility of the Metropolitan Governments to satisfy themselves about the *bona fides* of travellers to Katanga before they were issued with travel documents. The British Government was asked to make the appropriate representations.

"Yesterday it was reported from Brazzaville that a group of French-speaking passengers were on their way from Paris to Ndola, Northern Rhodesia, by chartered aircraft. A U.A.T. [French] plane on scheduled flight carrying 36 passengers was yesterday refused permission to land at Ndola, but it landed at Livingstone in accordance with normal schedule.

"Of the passengers 26 Frenchmen and one Spaniard had no transit visas. They were refused entry to the Federation and left to return to Brazzaville on the same plane at 11.45 a.m. Rhodesian time today. The balance consisted of one Italian mechanic, one French journalist, one Spanish journalist, one U.K. citizen, and five Belgians. All of these passengers were able to comply with the requirements of the Federal immigration laws and were allowed to proceed as passengers in transit.

"The plane also carried 800 kilos of clothing, consigned to the Katanga authorities. This is being held pending Customs examination.

U.N. Operations in Katanga "Sinister"

Former M.P.'s Criticisms of Dr. O'Brien

MR. STEPHEN HARRISON, Conservative M.P. for Mid-Bedfordshire, has said in a letter to the *Observer*, which had published two long articles by Dr. Conor O'Brien, lately United Nations representative in Katanga:—

"I paid a short visit to Elisabethville and Leopoldville last October, soon after the first bout of fighting ended. When I met Dr. O'Brien in Elisabethville I had sympathy for him, for whatever the rights or wrongs of what he had done, there could be no doubt of the extreme difficulty of the problem which faced him.

"But how can he possibly now maintain that he had a mandate under the United Nations resolution of February 21 to order the action which began on September 13?—and the whole tragic muddle stems from that operation.

"The use of force for the removal of mercenaries was not sanctioned until the resolution of November 24, and in any case it is now clear from his second article that Dr. O'Brien was concerned with the occupation of the radio station, the post office, the *stricte* and information offices, and with the arrest of three Katanga Ministers and probably Tshombe also. These orders were consistent only with an attempt to force the political issue in Katanga; they do not even mention the mercenaries.

"Two elements contribute to the unhappy plight in which Dr. O'Brien found himself at the time of his departure: his own inability—or that of his staff—to appreciate the military consequences of the use of force by the U.N., and secondly, the extraordinary revelation that the orders he accepted and upon which he acted on September 13 came as a private initiative from Mr. Kihari, or from some faction in the U.N., represented by Mr. Kihari.

"A punitive operation—and that is what the U.N. set out upon—against organized resistance in Katanga with the forces U.N.O.C. had available, or even with double those numbers, could not hope to achieve a clear-cut result. There was no possibility of pinning the Katanga forces down or surrounding them. Communications are very difficult, and it had pressed the Katangese would simply melt into the bush. Certainly U.N.O.C. could destroy Elisabethville, the mines and other fixed installations, but this would only increase the chaos and therefore the problems facing the U.N. It would not catch the mercenaries.

"In the circumstances prevailing in Elisabethville, the second clash followed the first quite inevitably, and like the first, it has foundered inconclusively, as it was bound to do; and as it will again if the U.N. are so foolish as to renew it.

"Surely Dr. O'Brien and his colleagues also misjudged the unity and capability of the Katangese. Mercenaries there certainly are, but the determination with which white and black

have fought side by side in Katanga cannot be explained away as the work of a few score adventurers in search of gold. There is a spirit there which was plain to see last October and the U.N. have only strengthened it by rendering it desperate.

"Lastly, we have the visit of Mr. Kihari and Mr. Faury to Elisabethville, described by Dr. O'Brien in his second article. The implication of what he says is clear—that the U.N. Force was committed to a highly controversial and critical course of action, the results of which have gone far to shake the confidence of those who originally drew up the Charter, on the orders of some unspecified faction within the organization itself and without the knowledge of the Secretary-General or his senior deputies.

"This sinister possibility, so clearly set out by Dr. O'Brien, merits a full and impartial inquiry and nothing short of this will serve to restore that confidence."

Men Prominent in Elisabethville

MR. KEITH KYLE has sent from Elisabethville to *Time* and *Tide* a long and most interesting report on happenings in Katanga, where the recent fighting cost, he estimates, the lives of between 20 and 30 European civilians. Members of the British community are said to have been "humiliated" by Ethiopian troops in the United Nations force.

President Tshombe is described as a man of controlled tension. His military chief, General Moke, who had served as an N.C.O. for 30 years, is referred to by white mercenaries as a soldier's soldier.

Colonel S. S. Mitra, commander of the Gurkhas, showed "unique capacity for inspiring affection and respect among the Belgian population once the fighting was over."

Captain Max Glanville, a former aviator in the Katanga Air Force, who crashed five of his planes, is described as a "dashing, rumbustious, generous, sentimental adventurer", who declares "I came to make money, and I have come to have a love for Katanga". He and Colonel Mitra "hit it off splendidly" when the U.N. was fraternizing with Katangese employees.

M. Georges Olivet, dashing, heroic Swiss Red Cross man, would take an ambulance anywhere in danger and died doing it. Mme Nicole Vermeire, who was killed while dled with him with seven bullets in her back.

Colonel René Fak (or Faukes, or Faut), called the "gentleman-in-chief" is regarded as an anti-Communist Frenchman who is so unpopular with some other mercenaries that they would welcome his expulsion.

The American Consul, Mr. Lewis Hoffaker, is "calm, idealistic, and a fine man."

Mr. George Ivan Smith, a cultured Australian was "apparently on his way from having been director of the U.N. Information Service in New York to take up a long-cherished job as head of the new U.N. East Africa Office in Dar es Salaam. He stopped off in Elisabethville for 10 days to help out his old friend, Dr. O'Brien, discovered that O'Brien seemed scarcely on speaking terms with anybody and slipped into the task of improving the U.N.'s local public relations. Since he was there when the present crisis started and out-ranked Mr. Brian Urquhart, who had been sent to take O'Brien's place when he was recalled to New York, Smith found himself in charge."

A tragic irony was that M. Favre, Swiss economic adviser to Tshombe's Government, was killed by Swedish fire, for he was both a former U.N. official in Leopoldville and represented the chief threat to the continuation of the monopolistic grip which the Union Miniere and its associated companies have always had on Katanga's foreign trade."

A little-known man is M. Attala, a Lebanese millionaire said to be handling Tshombe's arms contracts.

"The standing with Belgians in Elisabethville of M. Spaak, Belgian Vice-Premier, Foreign Minister, and Minister for African affairs, is roughly equivalent to that of Ian Maitland among white settlers in Kenya and the Rhodesias."

"The Legislative Council building in Northern Rhodesia is the only one I have seen in which liquid refreshment is restricted to tea only. We want something to drink down all unkindness".—Mr. S. R. Malcolmson, M.L.C., addressing the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council.

Federation's "No" to United Nations

(Continued from page 463)

do not accept the solemn assurances of myself and the Governor of Northern Rhodesia that no arms-running is taking place to our knowledge across the Northern Rhodesia-Katanga border, and also by the fact that no valid evidence has ever been produced in support of various allegations that it has been taking place.

"Since, however, we have nothing whatever to hide, I am prepared to invite the International Red Cross to inspect all road, rail and air consignments to Katanga from the Federation. They are already inspecting rail consignments under arrangements concluded before U Thant's suggestion was made.

"One of my reasons for suggesting that this function should be carried out by the International Red Cross is that I believe the same independent body should be given facilities to investigate the larger number of well-authenticated reports which have been reaching me of offences by U.N. units and personnel against civilized standards of conduct in pursuit of their objectives. I suggest that the United Nations cannot ignore these reports."

"Do you want to discuss the question directly with United Nations executives or are you prepared to have a compromise formula worked out by Britain and the U.N.?"

"Whilst it is natural and entirely proper that I should discuss these questions with the British High Commissioner in Salisbury, since it is the British Government which represents the Federation's interests at the U.N., the issues involved relate to the direct responsibilities of the Federal Government. It is for that reason that I have invited U Thant or his personal representative to join in discussions with me about this problem and the many difficulties which surround it. I hope that at a personal level a good many misunderstandings can be removed."

Security Council Resolution

U Thant's request that observers should be stationed in Rhodesia sprang from the Security Council's resolution of November 24, which read:

- The Security Council,
 Recalling its previous resolutions;
 Reaffirming the policies and purposes of the United Nations with respect to the Congo (Leopoldville), namely:
 (a) to maintain the territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of the Congo;
 (b) to assist the Central Government of the Congo in the restoration of law and order;
 (c) to prevent the occurrence of civil war in the Congo;
 (d) to secure the immediate withdrawal and evacuation from the Congo of all foreign military, para-military and advisory personnel not under U.N. command, and all mercenaries; and
 (e) to render technical assistance.

Welcoming the restoration of the National Parliament of the Congo in accordance with the *loi fondamentale* and the consequent formation of a Central Government on August 2, 1961.

Deploiring all armed action in opposition to the authority of the Republic of the Congo, especially secessionist activities and armed action now being carried out by the provincial administration of Katanga with the aid of external resources and foreign mercenaries, and completely rejecting the claim that Katanga is a sovereign independent nation;

Noting with deep regret the recent and past actions of violence against U.N. personnel;

Recognizing the Government of the Congo as exclusively responsible for the conduct of the external affairs of the Congo.

"(1) Strongly deprecates the secessionist activities illegally carried out by the provincial administration of Katanga, with the aid of external resources and manned by foreign mercenaries;

"(2) Further deprecates the armed action against the U.N. forces and personnel in the pursuit of such activities;

"(3) Insists that such activities shall cease forthwith, and calls on all concerned to desist therefrom;

Authority for "Vigorous Action"

"(4) Authorizes the secretary-general to take vigorous action, including the use of requisite measures of force if necessary, for the immediate apprehension, detention pending legal action and/or deportation of all foreign military and para-military personnel and political advisers not under U.N. command, and mercenaries, as laid down in the Security Council resolution of February 21, 1961;

"(5) Further requests the secretary-general to take all neces-

sary measures to prevent the entry or return of such elements under whatever guise, and also of arms, equipment or other material in support of such activities;

"(6) Requests all States to refrain from the supply of arms, equipment or other material which could be used for war-like purposes, and to take the necessary measures to prevent their nationals from doing the same, and also to deny transportation and transit facilities across their territories except in accordance with the decisions policies and purposes of the U.N.;

"(7) Calls upon all member States to refrain from promoting, condoning, or giving support by acts of omission or commission, directly, or indirectly, to activities against the U.N., often resulting in armed hostilities against the U.N. forces and personnel;

"(8) Declares that all secessionist activities against the Republic of the Congo are contrary to the *loi fondamentale* and Security Council decisions, and specifically demands that such activities which are now taking place in Katanga shall cease forthwith;

"(9) Declares full and firm support for the Central Government of the Congo and the determination to assist that Government in accordance with the decisions of the U.N., to maintain law and order and national integrity, to provide technical assistance, and to implement those decisions;

"(10) Urges all member States to lend their support, according to their national procedures to the Central Government of the Republic of the Congo, in conformity with the Charter and the decisions of the U.N.;

"(11) Requests all member States to refrain from any action which may directly or indirectly impede the policies and purposes of the U.N. in the Congo and is contrary to its decisions and the general purpose of the Charter."

This resolution was adopted by nine votes to nil, with two abstentions (United Kingdom and France).

Federation's Rapid Economic Progress

Commonwealth Economic Commission's Summary

THE FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND has made rapid progress in economic development since its formation in 1953, says the Commonwealth Economic Commission in a Press communiqué which continues:

Capital formation has been notable in the public and private sectors, with Government and statutory bodies investing from 11% to 16% of the net national income and private investors from 16% to 25%.

In the six years from 1954 to 1959, the amount of capital from abroad totalled £225m, while national savings provided £580m for investment in the form of depreciation allowances (£167m.), undistributed profits (£116m.), personal savings (£150m.), and Government surpluses (£147m.).

"As the national income depends to a great extent on exports of copper and tobacco, the progress of economic developments was affected by fluctuations in the world markets for these products and was checked during the recession of 1957-58. The effect on capital formation lasted into 1959.

"The gross domestic product and the income per capita nevertheless continued to grow, and the gains accrued to the African wage-earners, who provide the greater part of the labour in mining and manufacturing, as much as to the immigrant non-African population, which supplies the capital and management. Between 1954 and 1959 African earnings increased by 40% in all three territories of the Federation and non-African incomes by between 25% and 30%.

"The economy was diversified by an increase of investment and employment in manufacturing and strengthened not only by improvement in the productive equipment and capacity of the mines and farms but also by major developments in transport and power. Finance for railway and power development was obtained in large part by borrowing from abroad.

"To meet the further power needs of the country the great Kariba project was undertaken in 1956 and financed with loans totalling £75m. The first stage was completed according to programme in 1961 and added 600 MW of capacity.

"The improvement of African agriculture is an important objective for the three territorial Governments, while the development of European agriculture, which is the responsibility of the Federal Government, has been assisted by investment in soil conservation and irrigation as well as by the farmers' own improvements and increasing use of machinery, fertilizers, improved seed, and new cultural practices. For the future increases in employment and living standards are expected as a result of further developments in mining, manufacturing, and agriculture."

Stage Three of Master Plan

(Concluded from page 462)

deaths because of their folly in trying to appease extremist and selfish settlers.

"How can we now help the dead? We must remember them. A circular is soon being sent out asking for a complete list of the martyrs. We have the list, but we must ensure that it is complete. We must remember these dead people, thank them, and glorify them.

"We must learn patriotism from them—love for our country. Do we love this land of ours? Are we prepared to defend it? Are we prepared to die for it? Do we know our friends and allies? Who are they? If some of our people did not die along with Englishmen in fighting against Hitler and Mussolini, how terrible would our life be under Hitler?

"The dead people will not forgive us unless we continue fighting and dying (if necessary) for what they have died for. Wherever we may be, we must watch the British tactics. Let us be happy and lay down our arms if they will give us a good Constitution; but let us prepare for an even bitter fight if they again let us down. Let us prepare to join the dead people in order to make Zambia free. Let us conquer all foreign intrigues.

"Maudling rather ridiculously insisted that political parties should submit written representations. As we could not imagine political parties submitting concurring memoranda, we refused. Mr. Maudling has said now what was obvious to any sincere person who made a little effort to think: Perhaps he takes your problems as his hobby. Away with him!

"U.N.I.F. is not worried about his statement that he will impose a Constitution. It is better to have an imposed Constitution than to agree to accept a rotten Constitution. We cannot refuse to co-operate with an agreed Constitution because had it may be. Whereas at the moment Maudling proposes a Constitution, Bwana Mkuhwa Kenneth Kaunda has asked immediately implementation of the stage of the master plan.

"U.N.I.F. demands an African majority. I.F.P. demands European supremacy. Hence the deadlock. Both sides say they are prepared to fight against any concessions to the other—though U.F.P. have recently conceded that they are not opposed to an African majority. They are only opposed to a U.N.I.F. majority. They want a majority of European African stooges of U.F.P. and the African National Congress.

"It is possible for the British Government to impose a Constitution if our fate is decided once and for all time the extent of any white supremacy rule in this country. This is why we are sitting and waiting for Maudling's imposed Constitution. Impatience is far better than a swindle. A factor which gives rise to optimism is Maudling's statement that he found that no one was opposed to an African majority.

"Maudling is to announce his decision on 6r about January 14. The New Year seems bright. But another stupid blunder by Britain could bring worse tragedies. Those anxious to avoid the Congo situation here should know that one of the principal reasons for the chaos there is the lack of a good acceptable Constitution. The Constitution of a country is the backbone of any country.

"Our people are in a fighting mood today—seeing rapid progress being made by our neighbouring territories towards nationhood. Will Zambia be the only country without freedom?

"The departure of Mr. R. Nicholson at the beginning of last year was ample sign of an adverse Constitution. Mr. Martin Wray has been regarded as reactionary and no better than a U.F.P. card-carrying member. Mr. Jones, the Minister for Local Government, announced anti-African proposals for municipal elections in that the proposals will give a built-in majority for the Europeans. Mr. Jones does not want Africans to be village headmen of towns. How can we expect him to support us in our demand for an African Prime Minister—not merely a mayor of one town?

"Now both Mr. Wray and Mr. Jones are retiring. Does this give rise to hopes of optimism? Is this the beginning of gradual and progressive elimination of extremist elements opposed to African rule? Look out for the successor to Mr. Wray.

"But it is really what we are prepared to do in the event of a disappointment which is the deciding factor. It is up to each and every one of you to promise to achieve freedom for his country, using any means—and whether the British Government or the settlers want it or not.

The subscription reads "Yours in the struggle for freedom, M. Mainza Chona, National Secretary, for and on behalf of the Central Committee."

Tanganyika Becomes Independent

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has published a 68-page illustrated special issue under the above title. The contributors are:—

Sir Richard Turnbull	Lord Twining
Mr. Julius K. Nyerere	Sir Ernest Vasey
Sir Edgeworth David	Sir Alfred Vincent
Sir Edmund Teffe	Sir Charles Phillips
Mr. G. P. G. Mackay	Mr. O. S. Kambona
Mr. J. E. Lloyd	Mr. J. M. Hume
Mr. D. C. Brook	Mr. W. G. Dickinson
Mr. J. H. S. Tranter	Mr. J. R. Campbell
Mr. John Bellamy	Mr. Paul Bennett

THERE ARE also outlines of the careers of Sir Richard Turnbull, Mr. Nyerere, all Cabinet Ministers in Tanganyika and the country's High Commissioner in London.

COPIES should be ordered immediately from EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, 66 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

PRICE: 4s. post free by surface mail to any address; 7s. 6d. by second class air mail.

P.M. Refutes T.U.C. Allegations

Sir Edgar Whitehead's Reply to Mr. Jamela

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia—who has also been acting as Minister of Labour—said a few days ago in reply to statements made in an African newspaper by Mr. Reuben Jamela, president of the Southern Rhodesia Trade Union Congress:

"My attention has been drawn to Mr. Jamela's allegations that, contrary to a statement which I recently made that in Southern Rhodesia trade union organizers are not persecuted for carrying on legitimate trade union organizing activities, the police are waging a campaign of persecution to eliminate the effective organization of trade unions."

"Mr. Jamela has not brought his allegations directly to me, so that I must rely upon the instances which he has quoted in the Press to substantiate his claim. He alleges that Trade Union Congress organizers have been fined for trespass. If this was so, then obviously the organizers were convicted by the courts not for their trade union activities but for contraventions of the law."

"In another instance, the organizer was not prosecuted but warned against breaking the law."

"In a third instance a Trade Union Congress office attendant was arrested on suspicion of the payment of tax."

"Whilst it is the policy of the Government to encourage legitimate trade union activities and employers have been asked by the Minister of Labour to co-operate with trade union organizers, it should be understood by trade union leaders and such organizers that they have to comply with the law no less than anyone else."

The Federation's armed forces are formidable. Having served in the British and Indian armies, Leby, that for its size the Federal Army is comparable with any in the world. Its fire power is very high indeed. The askari are most cheerful, steadfast, loyal, and incredibly keen."—Lieut Colonel T. P. J. Lewis, O.C., 1st Bn. K.A.R. (Central African Rifles).

Third Stage of Master Plan

Kaunda's "Ultimatum" to Mr. Maudling

PRESS TELEGRAMS from Lusaka last Thursday stated that Mr. Kaunda, president of the United National Independence Party, had sent a written "ultimatum" to the Secretary of State for the Colonies threatening to implement the third stage of his "master plan" unless the new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia were announced by a stipulated date.

It is believed that the third stage plans the organization of strikes at the copper mines and in industry generally.

Though U.N.I.P. later announced that the "ultimatum" had been airmailed from Lusaka before December 31, it had not been received at the Colonial Office when the general secretary of the party, Mr. Mainza Chona, said in London more than a week later, when on his way to Accra that the next stage of the master plan would certainly be put into action if Mr. Maudling had not announced his decision before the last date acceptable to U.N.I.P.

He added that he had sent the Secretary of State a friendly written warning that "we have a feeling that you and your Government are not interested in negotiations or reasoning." The letter also protested at British acceptance of Sir Roy Welensky's refusal to admit United Nations observers.

Mr. Chona dismissed as "nonsensical" the Northern Rhodesian Government's report on the July-October disturbances.

Commander of Tanganyika Rifles

BRIGADIER PATRICK SHOLTO DOUGLAS, M.C., who at the request of the Tanganyika Government has been seconded from the British Army to command The Tanganyika Rifles, has spent over 20 years in The Black Watch, from which he was from time to time seconded for other duties, including command of the East African Training Centre at Nakuru in 1954-55. Brigadier Douglas, a grandson of the late Earl of Moray, and second son of the Hon. Patrick Douglas, was educated at Fettes College, Edinburgh, entered the Army from the Supplementary Reserve in 1932, and went to France with his regiment on the outbreak of war in 1939. After the fall of France he went to the Middle East, and was a company commander in the Eighth Army at the battle of Alamein. He took part in the invasion of Sicily and in the Italian campaign, and when the invasion of Northern Europe began he was second in command of the 1st Bn. The Black Watch. Wounded in Normandy, he rejoined his unit as it was about to enter Germany. He also served in the Korean war.

My Friend

LORD FISHER OF LAMBETH, lately Archbishop of Canterbury, said in London a few days ago when addressing senior school boys and girls: "Sir Roy Welensky is a friend of mine—but he is fond of shouting and very fond of answering back. The kindest thing I can say is that although I kick him, I never hit below the belt. Yet he is not so bad as Mr. Krushchev, who shouts far louder and answers back at far greater length. The Western Powers have fallen into the terrible error of answering back at great length."

Pyrethrum production in Kenya has suffered badly from the rain of the past 10 weeks.

By a printing error the current liabilities of Barclays Bank D.C.O. were recently reported as standing at £17.42m. The figure should have been £7142m.

Tenders have been invited by the Sudan for the construction of a 110-mile road from Khartoum to Wad Medani, to be financed under an American aid programme.

Uganda's Credit and Savings Bank is "seriously concerned" over the sharp increase in arrears during the past few months, and has given a warning of the difficulties likely in maintaining operations if borrowers, some of whom owe up to 30%, continue to default on re-payments.

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Assessing the Future of Ethiopia The Emperor "A Poor Insurance Risk"

THREE MOST INTERESTING DISPATCHES from Ethiopia have been contributed to the *Guardian* by Mr. James Morris, whose commentary ended on an exceptionally candid note.

He wrote, *inter alia*: —
"Nobody I have met in Ethiopia wishes to see the monarchy abolished. Except perhaps among the less mature of the student body, it is universally recognized as the proper fulcrum of this weird and beguiling empire. The Ethiopians, like the English, are used to kings and still respond to the grand manner.

"The general wish, supposedly shared by the Emperor himself, is to see this venerable and romantic institution converted into a true constitutional monarchy on the British pattern; and the question is whether Ethiopia will allow this consummation to occur in the Emperor's own reluctant time or whether a convulsion will occur during Haile Selassie's life—a convulsion that might speed the democratic processes, but might equally suppress them once and for all.

Crown Prince's Ambitions

"In the normal course of events the succession would pass to the elder son, Crown Prince Asfa Wossen. This man, however, stands at the very nub of the empire's uncertainties, for his loyalty to his father is exceedingly suspect. He was first implicated in intrigues against the throne in 1947, and during the attempted *coup* last December Haile Selassie was in a position to make a notorious broadcast in support of the *coup*. It is not clear whether he did this in a direct, personal, or indirect way, but it is certain that the old Emperor regards him with unrelenting and understandable suspicion. When the last of Oid went to Belgrade recently for the conference of uncommitted Powers, he took the Crown Prince along with him, just in case.

"The Emperor's eldest son, Crown Prince Asfa Wossen, is devoted to his family and his beautiful wife, and wishes to become an easy-going, liberal, kindly sort of king, leaving the business and exhalations of political leadership to men of more robust stuff. With such a Dionysian father, however, his future must be in doubt. Perhaps he will be banished to Bonka by some sudden exertion of the imperial will leaving the succession to his younger brother, the eccentric Beale Selassie, who is said to detest his father.

"It is much more likely that the Army leaders will rise again, send Haile Selassie into exile, and establish a military autocracy on the Sudanese-Pakistani pattern—with the Crown Prince as a respectably traditional figurehead.

Revolution Likely

"Such a revolution might fatally weaken the always rickety cohesion of the empire. Many a great man would fight for his pickings. Many a general would squabble for his place behind the throne. The great Galla conglomeration of tribes might secede into Moslem independence. More than one provincial governor, on the far fringes of the empire, might be tempted towards autonomy.

"So I sympathize with Haile Selassie in his terrible dilemma. He cannot win. If he hastens his country's progress towards democracy, eventually all he stands for will be submerged in hybrid modernism. If he continues to ride his State on so tight and oppressive a rein, he will probably be thrown. Patiences are growing short in Ethiopia, and I would assess Haile Selassie as a poor insurance risk.

"I do not believe that the old patriarchal system of Ethiopia can survive its present exemplar—that small, sad, celebrated monarch around whose name and image everything Ethiopian revolves. When he goes, an age will inevitably end. Ethiopia as we have hazily known it since the days of Prester John will cease to exist."

"The Congo needs above all strong, patient, good-tempered politicians, honest and capable administrators, and energetic and long-sighted businessmen" — Mr. Tom Hopkinson.

"I continue to believe that the Federation, given proper encouragement, constructive criticism and time, has a great chance of creating a genuinely non-racial society with a prosperous economy" — Mr. H. E. Oppenheimer.

"Problem" Tribe 30 years Behind Times 247 Killed in Raids Last Year

THE DIFFICULTIES of administering Uganda's "problem" tribe, the Karamajong, were described in the Legislative Council by the Minister for Security and External Affairs, Mr. C. Powell-Cotton, when he rejected a proposal to abolish immediately Government confiscation of Karamajong cattle as a collective punishment for tribal raids.

Mr. D. O. Lobueni (Uganda People's Congress), who said that innocent people suffered by such confiscation, suggested that the police were too lazy to search for raiders and found it easier to seize cattle.

Mr. C. B. Kaiti (U.P.C.) denounced collective punishment as unjust, as against customary law, and as "driving the Karamoja to madness". He asked: "Why doesn't the Government impose a collective punishment on Kampala because of the number of cars stolen there?"

Mr. Powell-Cotton replied that the Karamajong were unique in Uganda in being semi-nomadic and resistant to any form of change. They were by at least 30 years behind the rest of the country in development, and to bring them to the standards of the rest of the country the Government must achieve stability.

No Number-Plates on Cattle

Confiscations were imposed not for individual cattle theft but for cattle raids when it was apparent that many people had taken offence had knowledge of the raid been organized. During the past year 6,629 cattle had been seized. In 1960 42,000 herd cattle were claimed to have been stolen and 247 people killed—86 of them in clashes with the Turkana the others engaged in inter-tribal raids.

While the Government considered the repeal of the legislation enabling confiscation, it proposed to do so at the first convenient opportunity. Meanwhile he proposed an inquiry into the causes of the tribal raids and order in the area (which has already submitted its report).

Unfortunately, cattle did not have number-plates or engine numbers to make them easily traceable. An attempt is being made to persuade the tribes to brand their cattle.

"Constitutional Monarchs" in Uganda Contradiction in Terms, Say Research Workers

WHEN THE CURRENT BUGANDA AGREEMENT was published this journal emphasized the unreality of its provision that the Kabaka should henceforth be regarded as a constitutional monarch.

There is an interesting passage on this point in a book entitled "East African Chiefs" (Faber, 42s.), in which members of the staff of the East African Institute of Social Research at Makerere College examine the attitude in some Uganda and Tanganyika tribes to traditional systems of hereditary rule. The passage is in these terms: —

"Unfamiliar is the notion of a constitutional monarch, embodied in the recent Buganda Agreement and in the similar constitutions drawn up for Bunyoro and Toro. Since in those tribes all the hierarchies of power and status, administrative, clan, or military, depended on the monarch, the idea of a king outside politics is a contradiction in terms.

"Moreover, political elements which had been hostile to the king's power have shown that they come to put a new value on their monarch when anything threatens the loss of their tribal identity, such as plans for a unified Uganda or a Federation of East Africa. Ganda politicians of every trend united to support their exiled Kabaka, Nyerere and Soga politicians have repeatedly asked for kings like the Kabaka, since they realized the extent to which the ruler of Buganda acted as a symbol of his people and of its separate political existence. Soga have asked for a hereditary ruler instead of rejoicing in their new powers of electing their Kyabazinga.

"Thus the interlacustrine monarchs, who seemed at first such a convenient means of handing out orders and ensuring their acceptance, now appear, at any rate in Uganda, as obstacles towards a further advance towards the unification of a Protectorate composed of many tribes."

News Items in Brief

Seventy-five Somalis are studying in Moscow. The People's Democratic Party has been formed in Tanganyika.

Umali municipal swimming bath, Southern Rhodesia, is now open to all races.

Africans in Kenya are empowered by a new Bill to make will bequeathing property.

A new railway station, costing some £120,000, has been opened at Kisumu, Kenya.

A £15,000 club in Kitwe is being built for the 3rd Battalion The Royal Rhodesia Regiment.

Five Africans convicted of murdering Mrs. Norah Osborne in Kenya in May were hanged last week.

A £10,000 grant has been made by the I.C.F.T.U. to the Northern Rhodesian African United Trades Union Congress.

An error has been found on Tanganyika's 30 cents independence stamps, the final figure in "Uhuru 1961" being missing.

More than 35,000 refugees have returned to their homes in Ruanda, which they left when tribal fighting broke out in October.

A scheme to pump water from floor of the Ngorongoro Crater to the rim for cattle domestic use is under consideration.

Experts from the four Scandinavian countries will visit Tanganyika before the end of January for discussions on technical aid.

Flood relief operations in Kenya by the Royal Navy and Royal Marines ended on Monday, when such work was resumed by the R.A.F.

The Kenya Development Corporation is to lend Kenya £100,000 for the financing of rural and agricultural African settlement in the White Highlands.

The first African woman to join the staff of Rhodesia House, London, is Miss Mavis Gurnede, a 22-year-old journalist from Bulawayo, who has done much broadcasting in Rhodesia.

A Lawrence Kadlungu Trust fund for the education of his child, the first founded by the Northern Rhodesian Mineworkers' Union, in conjunction with the African National Congress.

The Hotel and Domestic Workers Union wants its members called "waiter" instead of "boy". It demands replacement of the *kanji* by a white uniform within five months.

Removal of Bechuanaland's capital from Mafeking to a town within the Protectorate, probably Gaborone, is expected to cost about £10 million, likely to take three years, was begun in March.

A writ for libel has been served on behalf of Sir Roy Welensky on a member of the London committee of U.N.I.P., in respect of statements made in a recent issue of "The Voice of Zambia".

Dozens of residents in Salisbury, Rhodesia, are now having private swimming-pools built in their gardens. There are thought to be about 1,500 such pools in and near the capital city of the Federation.

Three Uganda students departed last week on animal conservation in Africa in the Department of Botany at London University. It was the first of a series of holiday courses on wild life conservation.

Four African men have been sentenced to death in Nyasaland for burning two women whom they suspected of using witchcraft to cause the death of a girl who was seized by a crocodile while she bathed in a river.

Immediate secession by Nyasaland from the Federation is urged by a new political party, the Nyasaland African National Union, which opposes the Malawi Congress Party because it "is tired of Dr. Banda's stalling act".

Limuru Girls' School, Kenya, has launched a £100,000 appeal for new dormitories, classrooms and laboratories for higher studies. The Government and the Church of England have already made grants totalling £60,000.

Ways of accelerating the building of the Aswan High Dam are being discussed in Cairo by a delegation from Russia led by the Soviet Minister for Power Stations. Russia has already supplied equipment said to total 42,000 tons.

Makerere College has a new "campus-centred" fortnightly newspaper, "The Makererean", organized for the students by the American teachers who have been on orientation courses there before working in East African schools.

Non-Africans in Buganda who qualify as voters will be able to vote in the Lukiko elections, and those fluent in Luganda are eligible as candidates, the electoral boundary commissioner, Mr. W. W. Kalema, has stated.

About 30 British officers of the 3rd K.A.R. have resigned from Nanyuki Sports Club, because a move to open it to African officers failed to gain the necessary two-thirds majority. There were 149 votes for and 90 against the change.

Kenya police had to open fire at the week-end when a crowd of some 500 screaming Africans surrounded them at Mwanji, near Kisumu. One man who rushed upon an African constable with a bush-knife was shot dead. Three others were arrested.

Twenty-eight African Heads of State have been asked to attend a conference in Lagos from January 25 to 30. The countries to which invitations have been sent include the former Belgian and French Congo, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, and Tanganyika.

A Masai member of the Kenya Legislature, Mr. John Keen, has proposed that 20 Masai families should develop a 500-acre farm on co-operative lines. While recently in the United States he received offers from ranchers to give students from the tribe training of six months in modern commercial animal husbandry.

Four officers of the 2nd Br. The Scots Guards were posted off from Wellington Barracks, London, on Monday, to start on an overland journey to Kampala. They are Major Lieutenants, Lord Vestey and Messrs. John Clavering, Robert Follows and Nicholas Timpson. The battalion is to be flown to the capital at the end of January.

Charges made against Mgr. Joseph Kobovig, a Roman Catholic priest in Rubaga, Kampala, by the Buganda Government after he had been arrested on the Kabaka's orders for alleged meddling in politics, have been dropped after the Kabaka had received the Bishop of Kampala's resignation. Vincent Billington, and other Catholics, among them.

A new Institute of Administration for the training of future African civil servants, was opened in Nairobi on Monday, the United States Agency for International Development having provided £110,000 for the building and the Kenya Government £67,000 for the site, furniture, and equipment. Within a year 104 Africans should have been trained for the provincial administration (of which the full present complement is 249) and about 200 as executive officers.

A balloon expedition from Zanzibar to the East African mainland has been organized by the *Sunday Telegraph* in commemoration of the centenary of Jules Verne's book "Five Weeks in a Balloon", a fictitious account of a journey supposedly made in 1862 by the science correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, Mr. Anthony Smith. The expedition's respondent of the paper, is in charge of the expedition, which also includes two photographers. The balloon left Zanzibar last Thursday and two hours later landed near the road from Bagamoyo to the Tanganyika capital. The plan is to go on to the Serengeti to photograph the game.

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Mitchell Cotts Group Changes

THE MITCHELL COTTS GROUP has announced various recent board and management changes.

Senior executive direction of all the group's companies operating in South and Central Africa and Portuguese East Africa is now in the hands of Mr. J. H. Edge, who on appointment as managing director of Cotts Holdings and Investment Co. (Pty.), Ltd., relinquished the office of managing director of the Reinforcing Steel Co. (Pty.), Ltd. He first joined the group in South Africa in 1923.

Mr. B. W. Duff, hitherto managing director of Fraser and Chalmers (South Africa), which has large Rhodesian interests is now also chairman.

Since his appointment some months ago as deputy managing director in Nairobi of Cotts Holdings (East Africa), Ltd., Mr. Kenneth A. Adcock has relinquished the position of shipping director in Mombasa.

His successor there is Mr. Ian McInnes, who has been appointed a director of Mitchell Cotts & Co. (East Africa), Ltd., Mitchell Cotts & Co. (Tanganyika), Ltd., and Mitchell Cotts & Co. (S. Africa), Ltd.

Mr. I. R. McInnes is sales manager for the Nairobi area. Mr. D. G. Hill, lately manager in Ndola, has taken over the Bulawayo branch. Ndola is now in the charge of Mr. D. T. D. Gibson.

Mr. R. J. Farmer, for the past four years on the staff of the Kenya Farmers' Association, has rejoined the company in London as a senior in the chemical division.

East African Extract Corporation, Ltd., a group subsidiary, which has for some time bought the entire pyrethrum output of Tanganyika, a crop valued at about £200,000 annually, is to open a processing plant near Arusha in a few weeks. More than half the crop is produced by some 4,000 African growers, a few of whom have between 20 and 100 acres each under pyrethrum.

A party of 44, including seven field assistants of the Agricultural Department, recently left the chartered ship from Kings on a three-day journey of 690 miles to Nigeria where they saw the processing of pyrethrum by the Extract Corporation. They visited Nairobi National Park, the airport, a brick factory, the plant of the East African Tobacco Co. Ltd., and East African Slag Estates Ltd., Ruira.

Smith Mackenzie Board Changes

THERE WERE TWO regrettable mistakes in last week's news item about changes in the board of Smith Mackenzie & Co. Ltd. The new chairman is Mr. J. W. Morton, not Mr. J. W. Mortimer, and Mr. D. C. Staley's name was misspelt Staly. We apologize to both.

Marley Tile Holding Co. Ltd., which has a subsidiary in the Federation, reports group net profits to October 31 at the record figure of £274,235 (from £97 in 1960). The 15% dividend (the same) is now payable on capital increased by a two-for-five rights issue. Fixed assets stand in the balance sheet at nearly £7m. and net current assets at nearly £4m.

Rhodesia Cement's Reduced Earnings

Continued Decline in Building Operations

RHODESIA CEMENT, LTD., reports group net profits for the year ended August 31 after tax at £49,124, compared with £124,727 in 1960. In the case of the parent company the comparable figures were £44,200 and £136,697. Owing to continuing decline in building operations throughout the Federation there was a 23% drop in sales, from 163,729 to 126,445 tons of cement.

The parent company has an issued capital of £1.2m. in 5s. shares. Fixed assets stand in the balance-sheet at £2.1m. and interests in subsidiary companies at £610,468. Current liabilities exceed current assets by £563,967.

The investment in the Nyassaland Portland Cement Co., Ltd., a subsidiary, has been increased to £412,190. Last July Central African Slag Industries (Private), Ltd., was formed to process and market slag produced by the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., 60% of the capital of £150,000 in 10s. shares being issued to Rhodesia Cement and the balance to Tanganyika Properties (Rhodesia), Ltd. Three other subsidiaries are African Limestone Search, Ltd., Kafue Calcite Co., Ltd., and Wilson Street Properties, Ltd.

Mr. L. A. Bevis is chairman and Mr. T. P. M. Cochran vice-chairman, and they are joint managing directors. The other members of the board are Messrs: M. G. Fleming, A. Sanders, J. W. Phillips, I. Kollenberg, A. D. Butler, and C. I. Jacobs.

Central Line Sisal Estates

CENTRAL LINE SISAL ESTATES, LTD., report profits for the year ended June 30 last after tax at £46,371, compared with £75,614 in the previous year. Owing to severe drought the output fell from 4,422 to 3,764 tons of sisal, and sales produced £306,232, against £353,480. Rotation expenditure was higher at £20,517 (£19,311) and production rose by about £3,900. For tax purposes the aggregate was £200. Shareholders receive 20% against 22½%, and the carry-forward is £127,451 (£14,512).

The issued capital is £392,300 in 10s. shares and stands in the books at £460,360, current assets less current liabilities at £67,582, and shares in a poultry breeding subsidiary. The limited liability fund, the cost of capital reserve amounts to £165,341 and general reserve is raised by £10,000 to £75,000.

Mr. E. W. Bovill is the chairman, Mr. R. W. Bryon the managing director, and Mr. A. F. S. Sikes the third member of the board.

A new textile mill at Iluka, Kenya, will cost about £400,000. Rhodesia and Nyassaland Tobacco Co. Ltd. are now manufacturing in Salisbury an American brand of cigarettes for export.

Twentieth Century Fox Films, Ltd., expect to spend about 5m. U.S. dollars on a picture now being made in the Manyaki district of Kenya.

A £1½m. contract in the Sudan for the excavation of the main canal in the Khashm El Girba project has been awarded to a German consortium.

The American Aid Mission in the Sudan has approved a grant to the Sudanese Ministry of Commerce of 4m. U.S. dollars to finance private imports during 1962.

International Computers and Tabulators (Central Africa) (Pvt.), Ltd., is spending £95,000 on provision in Salisbury for the manufacture of cards for their machines, for servicing of such machines, and for a training school.



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Agents at ports of call in East and South Africa MITCHELL COTTS GROUP

Company Report**Mitchell Cotts Group Limited****Far-Reaching Effects of African Political Decisions****MR. H. C. DRAYTON'S STATEMENT**

THE FORTY-SECOND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF MITCHELL COTTS GROUP LIMITED, was held on January 5 in London.

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

Last year I expressed the hope that our profits would be better for the year under review than for the previous year. I did point out the political risks we had to run in Africa, and unfortunately they have been as bad as we could have expected them to be, with the result that our results for the year are disappointing.

Our Group trading profit for last year did show a little improvement, but not as much as I expected, and after adjustments relating to previous years it is a little down—£1,058,000 compared with £1,117,000. Your directors are recommending a final dividend of 6 pence on the ordinary shares, making 12 pence for the year.

Politics and Economics Interlocked

Today more than ever politics and economics get interlocked, and the consequences of purely political decisions have far-reaching effects on the business life and trading prosperity not only of the countries themselves but also of their neighbours.

International advance, discussion and argument in East Africa, a major political and constitutional change in South Africa: political argument about the constitutional future of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland; a flight of capital to a greater or lesser extent from them all; a severe agency law in Libya—these are some of the factors with which we have to contend, and represent a large part of the background against which we have been operating during the past 12 months.

During virtually the whole of our year under review there has been a continuing outflow of capital from South Africa. The total net withdrawal of capital during the period was probably something of the order of £80,000,000 to £100,000,000, the effect of which on the general economy might have been even more serious than it was but for the simultaneous creation of quite a large amount of credit. For example, advances by the banks between January 1960 and April 1961 went up by about £80,000,000—an increase of about 25%.

It is scarcely, therefore, surprising that towards the end of last June a number of severe restrictions were introduced on the export of money and on imports, and, at the time of speaking, these in the main still continue. They would seem to be having their intended effect in strengthening South Africa's reserves.

Hope of Modest Improvement

You will no doubt want to hear what I think the year to June 30, 1962, holds for us. On the basis of such information as we have today, in making what I hope is a reasonable guess of how the rest of the year will turn out, it seems to me that we have got one or two areas where we should certainly do better, one or two where I feel pretty confident that we shall not do as

well, and for the remainder I would expect there to be no very great difference either way. Putting it all together, I would hope for a modest overall improvement; and I would ask for your sympathetic understanding when I use the word "hope" and not "forecast".

The report was adopted.

National and Grindlays Bank, Ltd., has opened a branch in Arua, Uganda.

Drilling for oil has begun at Ras Tundaus, Pemba Island, by B.P./Shell. The cost will be about £400,000.

Maize growers in Rhodesia have set a new acre-yield world record for dryland maize of 16 bags per acre for this season's 74in. bag harvest.

Working profit at the Dalny mine in Southern Rhodesia in December totalled £18,380 from 4,474oz. gold produced from milling 22,150 tons of ore.

Officials of Egypt's Economic Development Organization have held further discussions in Khartoum on the establishment of an Egyptian-Sudanese oil company.

Initial capital outlay of £240,000 will be incurred on a willow-leaf assembly factory for Uvaka, Northern Rhodesia, which will begin production in the second quarter of this year.

Bank of East Africa, Ltd. reports net profit for the year to June 30 at £210,486 (£393,879), the reduction being due to severe drought, lower sales prices and higher working costs.

At last week's annual general meeting of Standard Bank D.C.O. Mr. Julian Crossley, the chairman, said that the bank had made a substantial contribution to Kenya's famine relief fund.

The Forestal Land, Timber and Railway Co., Ltd., have decided, owing to much reduced profits, not to declare an interim dividend in respect of the year ended on December 31 last.

Rohissa coffee from Uganda is set to fetch a price of 10s. per cwt. on the London market owing to a temporary shortage, its highest level for two years. New Kenya imports from West Africa has the prospect of being fairly brisk.

It was officially estimated in Kenya last week that the heavy rains had destroyed half the wheat crop, which was worth £34m. last year, when wheat ranked fourth in the table of agricultural production. In some areas the whole of the cereal crops have been destroyed.

The Kenya National Farmers' Union has asked the Government to set up a national council to assess the losses suffered by farmers of all races from the disastrous floods of recent weeks. A moratorium on loans and land rents in appropriate areas has also been suggested.

Blissard sets in 1961 through the Central Selling Organisation, which acts for producers in South Africa, Tanganyika, the Congo, and other countries, set a new record at £95,711,860, beating the previous peak in 1952 by more than £44m. The figures for the last quarter of the year, £36.4m, were also a record.

Liebig's Extract of Meat Co., Ltd., which has interests in East and Central Africa and the Sudan, reports group trading profit for the year to August 31 after taxation at £870,935 (£1,038,116), of which £285,630 (£435,456) is retained in subsidiaries. Interim and final dividends of 4% and 11% are repeated, but the carry-forward is reduced from £46,640 to £20,210.

Rhodesia Television, Ltd., lost £58,690 from February of 1960 to June 30, 1961, but the Salisbury station opened only in November, 1960, and the Bulawayo station in June of last year. They produced net advertising revenue of £100,000. Pre-operational expenditure had been £54,034, preliminary expenses totalled £18,808, and operating expenditure amounted to £137,411.

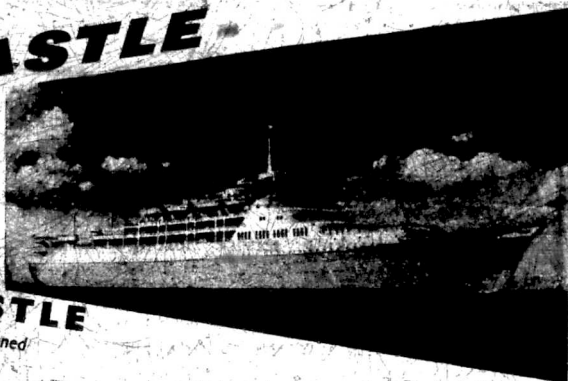
Richard Costin (Africa) Ltd., the Federation's largest constructional and civil engineering enterprises, has "trimmed its sails to the wind of a substantial decline in work since 1957-58, but is certainly not pulling out", Mr. R. Taylor, the chairman, has said in Salisbury. Mr. D. Mars-White has been transferred to Australia, to be succeeded as managing director by Mr. J. P. Younger.

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