

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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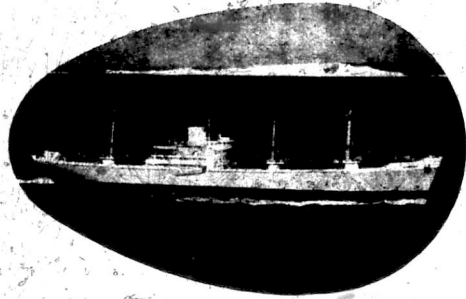
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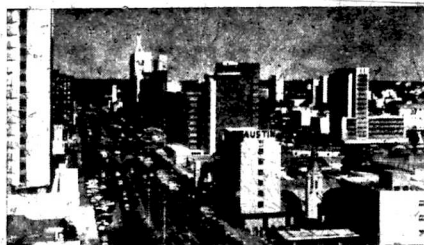
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

WHY SHOULD RHODESIANS, white and black, have the whole future of their countries wrecked by the indiguisable incompetence, frightening opinionativeness, uncontrollable rashness, and defeatism of a few politicians in the United Kingdom who, knowing little or nothing about Africa, and scorning experienced advice, lurch from one crisis to another in mishandling its affairs, are free from the penalty of having to live with the consequences of their follies, and, it is evident, regard grave African problems as but items of transient importance on a long and baffling agenda covering the world? That, fundamentally, is the question which Sir Roy Welensky, Sir Edgar Whitehead, other responsible Central African leaders of both races, and their followers have been driven to ask themselves almost ceaselessly since the Federation, mooted by a Socialist Administration in Britain, was created by a successor Conservative Government which has conspicuously failed to give the new State the support which it had the right to expect, and the denial of which has inevitably and immeasurably encouraged the cliques in the West and in Africa who were deterred to wreck a unique experiment in inter-racial co-operation.

Rhodesians Victims of Devious Politicians

Prominent among the destructors have been the leaders of British Socialism, who have flouted the pledge given in the party's name by Lord Attlee that it would do all in its power to make the Federation a success. Had that undertaking been even partially fulfilled, the whole history of Central Africa would have been changed, for the African political extremists would then have been able to count on almost automatic backing by the Opposition in this

Comfort for African Political Extremists

country in any disagreement, real or synthetic, with their own Governments. It has been dinned into them, moreover, that half the population of this country votes Socialist, and since they also know that Tories of the Macleod school have shown themselves as woolly-minded, weak, and wobbly about Africa as those who sit on the other side of the House of Commons, the Banda, Kwanda, Nkomos, Chona, and Chipembere calculated that, with the aid of propaganda and pretence in Europe, and well-organized violence in tribal areas, they could succeed in their designs, however notorious.

As was emphasized in these columns at the time, the only way in which the Rhodesians could be given a fair chance — especially in view of the confusion caused in the African mind by the misguided policy of Mr. James Griffiths — was for British politicians of both parties to make it clear that an irrevocable decision had been taken, and that African spokesmen, understandably anxious for progressive changes, must address their appeals to their own Governments, not to London. Instead they were quickly assured that they could find comfort in the House of Commons and great publicity in the London Press and on the air and television whenever someone bent on disturbing inter-racial peace cared to fly to England — usually by way of Accra or Cairo, where the extravagant ideas of immature men would be further perverted, and where, of course, they were encouraged in violence. If the Conservative Government had had principle, pluck, devotion to its duty, or even the elementary decency to stand by its recent engagements, it would have declined to intrigue with a handful of African mischief-makers. Mr. Macmillan, however, had resolved to abandon the African obligations which the Government had inherited from more trusty predecessors, and he chose

to do so. It is clear that an irrevocable decision had been taken, and that African spokesmen, understandably anxious for progressive changes, must address their appeals to their own Governments, not to London. Instead they were quickly assured that they could find comfort in the House of Commons and great publicity in the London Press and on the air and television whenever someone bent on disturbing inter-racial peace cared to fly to England — usually by way of Accra or Cairo, where the extravagant ideas of immature men would be further perverted, and where, of course, they were encouraged in violence. If the Conservative Government had had principle, pluck, devotion to its duty, or even the elementary decency to stand by its recent engagements, it would have declined to intrigue with a handful of African mischief-makers. Mr. Macmillan, however, had resolved to abandon the African obligations which the Government had inherited from more trusty predecessors, and he chose

as his Colonial Secretary a man whose course of action soon earned him Lord Salisbury's scathing denunciation of being "unscrupulous", while the then Archbishop of Canterbury had to testify after visiting Central Africa that United Kingdom Ministers were distrusted to an extent for which he had known no parallel.

When normal standards of integrity and accountability prevailed, the creators of such mistrust and mischief would have disappeared into well-deserved obscurity. So

Most Disastrous Colonial Secretary.

debased have politics become, however, that the chief executive of the Prime Minister's policy of mismanagement at any price was kept in office until the bills for his imprudence and incompetence were about to be presented, especially in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia. Then, lest he and the party should be too badly besmirched, he was shifted away to other fields of manoeuvre, leaving the odium to fall upon someone else. Mr. Macleod, the most disastrous Colonial Secretary in British annals, revealed himself most clearly in his attitude to African politicians whose power had been derived from intimidation and violence — to Kenyatta, the Mau Mau leader, whom he released with the deliberate object of restoring him to the African leadership of Kenya, shortly after he, Mr. Macleod, had authorized the Governor of the Colony to describe the man in a broadcast talk as "the African leader to darkness and death"; to Dr. Banda, arch-antagonist of the Federation, whose Nyasaland African National Congress, now the Malawi Congress Party, was noted for its use of violence; and, to take a third example, to Mr. Kaunda, professedly committed to non-violence, but president of the Zambia National Congress of Northern Rhodesia, which had to be proscribed by the Government for its deeds of violence, including murder, and thereafter president of the United National Independence Party, some two thousand of whose officials and members have quite recently been jailed for offences ranging from intimidation and assault to arson and attempted murder. These three Macleod protégés personify the irreparable damage done to their countries by him as Colonial Secretary, at the behest, or without the effective disapproval, of Mr. Macmillan as Prime Minister, and in the name of a staggeringly submissive Cabinet.

Just over a year ago Mr. Macleod designed for Northern Rhodesia a Constitution which was described in Parliament by one of his

most fervent admirers, the Socialist Mr. Callaghan, as a "dog's breakfast"; other Members confessed that they could not understand it, and even his friends called it "the slide-rule Constitution". Its reception in Africa was still more derogatory, and, after nearly one hundred Conservatives in the Commons had put their names to a motion of censure, the wretched botchery had to be withdrawn and substituted by an amended plan which was categorically stated to be the United Kingdom Government's last word on the subject. Having been led by the Secretary of State to expect something very much more favourable, Mr. Kaunda and his associates considered themselves tricked by the new version, and, rightly concluding that the Minister could be made to concede something more to violence, U.N.I.P. organized terrorism on a large scale. Mr. Macleod then said, in effect: "Stop this bloodshed and sabotage, and I will change yet again what you were told was the Cabinet's unalterable decision". That ignoble situation was part of the inheritance of Mr. Maudling, whose present revision of the Macleod revision of the "dog's breakfast" version is known to be more favourable from the African nationalist standpoint. It must therefore be unwelcome to the United Federal Party, which, though not opposed to African political advancement, insists that it must be by ordered and merited stages and that the Government must continue in responsible hands.

This brief retrospect is essential to an understanding of the present crisis; but, needless to say, many of the essential facts have not been placed before the British pub-

Denigrating Sir R. Welensky.

lic in the space of columns of comment published during the past three weeks. Millions of readers without detailed knowledge must have derived the ludicrous impression that a reactionary and stubborn Prime Minister in the Federation has made the ultimate challenge to a United Kingdom Government which had evolved a prudent plan which will give the Kaunda party what it wants and yet preserve the Federation. There was scarcely a day in February in which one or other of the mass-circulation papers did not depict Sir Roy Welensky as an ogre in its news or editorial columns or in a cartoon, and last week there was a suggestion in several dailies that he was untruthful. Having been handed a message while addressing his party congress, he had asked to be excused so that he might take a telephone call from London.

and he returned to take away two of the party leaders for urgent consultations. Several papers, which had seemingly received the same hint, thereupon speculated tendentiously about the meaning to be attributed to the simple incident. It was highly mysterious, they suggested, for it was known that neither the Prime Minister nor Mr. Sandys had telephoned Sir Roy — who had not indicated anything of the kind. It would be easy to list offhand half-a-dozen or more names of other men in London who might have highly important and urgent information for Sir Roy and whose name might justify his interruption of other business in order to take the telephone call. Not one of the London commentators drew attention to that obvious fact, and large numbers of people must have been left to wonder whether there had been a telephone message or merely the pretence of some sudden emergency. The affair, trivial in itself, is indicative of the determination in various quarters to deny Sir Roy and his party and to divert attention from the Macmillan Cabinet's calamitous blunders in Central Africa.

Its irresponsibility has been advertised by its inability over a long period, and especially during the month just ended, to make up its mind on fundamentals which ought to have been settled more than a year ago. Procrastination continued throughout the spring and summer of last year, and then came news that the new Colonial Secretary would tell Parliament about his plan for Northern Rhodesia before Christmas. That expectation was disappointed because serious differences between Ministers continued. They have still persisted, and early in February the Commonwealth Secretary therefore flew to the Federation for further consultations, especially with Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead. He also saw the Governors of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, Dr. Banda and Sir John Moffat, and, to the general surprise, went to Barotseland for one night to discuss the demand of the Litunga (Paramount Chief) that his territory should be protected from the machinations of the African nationalist extremists. That the many weeks of parleying and Mr. Sandys's journey had produced no solution became public knowledge when the Africa Committee of the Cabinet had long meetings on each of the three days immediately following the Commonwealth Secretary's return; and on Monday evening a special Cabinet spent two and a half hours discussing Northern Rhodesia, which was then evidently still a source of

contention. Whatever the final decision — and it is likely to be announced while these words are being printed — it is quite safe to predict that those who will be most prejudiced will be the moderates led by Sir Roy.

Why should he and they be asked to treat as wise and sacrosanct a compromise contrived with such hesitation and incertitude by distant politicians of whom few have any real understanding of all that is involved, and who, it must be stressed, have been as much concerned with party political repercussions in Britain as with the future of great areas of Africa which owe their development from savagery to the beginnings of civilization within two generations to European initiative, courage, confidence, energy, and skill? An achievement honourable to the builders, and the hopes thereby nurtured in the minds of millions of Africans, mean little to scuttlers of the Macmillan-Macloed type, but everything to those for whom Sir Roy Welensky is the incomparable spokesman. He will not betray the trust reposed in him, be browbeaten by pro-establishment publicity campaigns in London, or silenced by intimations that irreversible decisions have at long last been taken and that nothing now said or done can achieve anything. That is what Macmillanites want everyone, and especially Sir Roy, to believe. Their wish is vain. The last word will not be said this week, and it will be Sir Roy Welensky, as trustee for the Federation, who will say it, not the injudicious, indecisive, inconstant Mr. Macmillan.

Last Word Will Not Be Said This Week.

He cast off Kenya with impunity because its European political leaders have been so divided, so naive, so vacillating, and so incredibly inefficient; but Mr. Macmillan is making the mistake of his life if he imagines, as all the indications suggest, that he can deal similarly with Northern Rhodesia now and the Federation a little later. That time-table may suit him, but not the Federal Government, which knows that its very existence depends upon the right action now in Northern Rhodesia. The two problems are indivisible, and would be so treated by the United Kingdom Government if it were wise and determined. In Federal matters it has shown neither wisdom nor determination, and for these and other reasons it is not trusted in Central Africa. It will be the unpleasant duty of Sir Roy to drive home that truth to the British people.

Distrust of U.K. Government.

Policy of Appeasement Unacceptable to Federation

Sir Roy Welensky's Address to Party Congress

EVEN WITHOUT THE BURDEN of the few who see in lawlessness and violence a way to gain their ends, the year ahead may well be one of the most testing and exacting that the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland will ever be called upon to face, the Prime Minister, SIR ROY WELENSKY, told the congress of his United Federal Party in Salisbury last Thursday.

"There is to be a general election in Southern Rhodesia, there might well be one in Northern Rhodesia, and, depending largely upon the whims and fancies of others, we may have to face a Federal election. In these contests some of our candidates will face not only their opponents but those who stand behind them, often outside the country itself. Several will have to contend against the filthy weapon of intimidation; and I want to pay special tributes to those of our party who are undertaking this duty in this service to our country.

"I believe that these elections and this year will decide once and for all our ability to keep extremism at bay and out of the public life of the Federation.

"Our development problems in the Federation in the coming year will be mainly those arising from economic expansion. Factors as the pool of unskilled and semi-skilled labour and the constant drift of population into urban areas will be of growing importance. It will be increasingly difficult to meet demands for housing, hospitals, and schools.

"These problems of a growing and changing economy and of an advancing society are not to be ignored. Therefore, while I am confident that the achievement of political stability will do more than anything else to enable us to tackle them, I want again to emphasize that they will grow, not lessen in the coming months; and I want to repeat that anyone who is inclined to procrastinate still further in bringing about a settlement once and for all, of our constitutional problems, will have a heavy responsibility to bear, not only in terms of security but in terms of human welfare and well-being.

Safeguarding Internal Security

"As to the security of our country, I make no apology for the money we are spending on our armed forces and the police, although there is no doubt that this expenditure is a cause for concern. Maintenance of internal security is basic to good government, and today we are faced with an additional problem in the field of defence, namely an external threat.

"Let me remind you of the lengths to which certain people who claim the responsibilities of political leadership in our political life are prepared to go, despite the lessons and warnings of the past, perhaps because they take such events as Gona and the British retreat in Northern Rhodesia last year as proof that violence or the threat of violence pays.

"We again have the threat of violence, only thinly cloaked, levelled at authority when constitutional decisions are imminent. On February 16 in Cairo one such leader declared that unless the Northern Rhodesian constitutional issue were settled in a way acceptable to what he termed the African majority, 'we will take positive action in the form of a general strike'. On the use of force, he said that that depended 'on the behaviour of the so-called Government forces'.

"I am unhelpfully unable to comment on the discussions that I have just had with the Commonwealth Secretary, even though they related in part to the issue of whether moderates or extremists are going to run our country. I know you will understand how wrong it would be for me to disclose the content or even the trend of these discussions.

"But I can say that I have made it abundantly clear to H.M. Government in Britain that the cause of moderation is the real thing, that moderation is not weakness, and that moderation can prevail if given the right circumstances in which to work.

"I have made it just as clear that we have never before seen any reason to pander to extremists, to concede before the threat of violence, or to give in to violence itself without a struggle; nor do we see any reason today.

"Not for one moment would the type of extremist we have to contend with in the Federation be accepted in the political life of Great Britain, and not for one moment would the British people agree to appease his demands. They and any policy of appeasement are just as unacceptable here.

"If we can hold the fort, as I know we can, whilst moderation is allowed to grow, it will inevitably become the only acceptable factor in our political life, as it is in the mature countries of the West. It is becoming clearer and clearer as the days go by that a solution will in the end be found only in a return to the very fundamental issue of the political life of our country: whether it is to be non-racial and based on ability alone, or handed over lock, stock, and barrel to the mercies of the racialists, of whatever colour they may be.

"I restate our determination that race is not to count, that there is no place for extremism, and that our nation will be built on ability linked to moderation. This I made clear throughout my discussions with Mr. Sandys. We must now wait to see whether H.M. Government will decide to back us in our stand.

"But whatever Great Britain produces from her box of constitutional tricks, whatever blueprints she presents us with, it remains with us here in the Federation itself to build the edifice and to make a success of this country. It depends on the people here, white and black. In the end only we can make the Constitution of our country work.

"You cannot build a nation in a day. I am satisfied that the beginning we have made within the limits of our resources of man-power, time and money has taken us a long way towards the goal we have in mind."

"I will Go the Whole Hog if Needed"

On the previous day Sir Roy had given an interview to the correspondent of the *Daily Express*, Mr. Daniel McCarthy, who cabled that the Federal Premier had told him:—

"Neither the British Government nor anyone else can break up the Federation. I am prepared to fight, to go the whole hog if needed, to keep it. They may be liquidating their responsibilities, but it is we, the Federation, who will have the final say. We are Rhodesians. We have no place to run to. And we shall not sit still and be ground into the dust."

"In the next five years—if I live that long—my rôle will be to show the world that a moderate State can exist in Africa. That is the one big hope left for black and white. I will not let my people down. I will not lie down and let people walk over me.

"The British Government cannot allow Nyasaland to secede from the Federation, because in 1957 it agreed that it would not legislate on matters affecting the Federation unless the Federal Government requested it to do so. The British Government knows this Nyasaland could secede only with our permission.

"There has been no decision on the final form which the Constitution for Northern Rhodesia will take, and there can be no announcement of the Constitution without further contact between the British and Federal Governments. If circumstances were to change, I might fly to London. I know broadly what the new Constitution will be. It may well give an African majority, but we are not against that at all. What we are against is a Constitution that would allow the African nationalist parties to control the country. I am confident this will not be so.

"The Federation stands for moderation. The people who dislike it are the extremists, whether black or white. But I am different from other moderates. I am not prepared to be washed aside. I am not one of those people who talk of principles and will not stand up for them. I am moderate but I shall fight to the end."

Sir Roy told the U.F.P. congress on Friday that he would be unable to carry on as Prime Minister if it did not accept a resolution supporting him in his fight for the independence of the Federation, which was a matter of increasing urgency because of Britain's desire to "disengage in Africa" and the increasing tendency of the U.N. and other bodies to interfere in Federal affairs. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Britain, said the Prime Minister, was looking for a scheme that would satisfy her critics before deciding to transfer power. "If such a scheme would satisfy the U.N. I certainly would not want it. Our problems cannot be solved by people looking over our shoulders. We have to solve them in this country. Constitutions are made in the hearts of men, not written on paper.

"I say to those who think that the battle is lost that I have not even rubbed my feet in the resin in my corner yet". [He was heavyweight boxing champion in Rhodesia in 1926-28.] At that juncture Sir Roy left the room for 20 minutes, and on his return announced that he had had an urgent consultation with London on the phone. He left the meeting again for a private discussion with Sir Edgar Whitehead and the Federal Minister of Law, Mr. Julian Greenfield.

London newspapers published denials that evening and next morning that the call had been from Mr. Sandys or the Commonwealth Relations Office, and Rhodesia House was unable to give an explanation.

Racialists Hostile to Non-Racialist Approach

Sir Edgar Whitehead told the congress that African racialists and their strong bloc at the U.N. were particularly hostile to the U.F.P.'s non-racial approach in the Federation. "If we succeed, as I believe we shall, in finding a genuine non-racial State, then we would have built something so much better than the African racialists can ever offer. They are afraid that similar attempts would then be made in other parts of Africa. Intensive pressures are coming from various groups because we are a menace to their ideas".

Provisional bookings were reported from Salisbury to have been made for Sir Roy on London-bound flights from Salisbury, so he might if necessary leave at the shortest notice. On Sunday he asked the Federal High Commissioner, Mr. A. E. P. Robinson, to see Mr. Sandys urgently, presumably in regard to the announcement of the Northern Rhodesian Constitution. There was a two-hour meeting at the Sandys's London home.

Mr. Macmillan, the Lord Chancellor (Viscount Kilmuir), the Foreign Secretary (Lord Home), and the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Griffiths) had three meetings with Mr. Sandys on the same days following his return from the station, after a five-day meeting with Mr. Macmillan alone.

Mr. Patrick Wall, vice-chairman of the Conservative Party's Commonwealth Affairs Committee, told the 1922 Committee last week that the stability of a vast part of Africa would be jeopardized if the political control of Northern Rhodesia were transferred now to the United National Independence Party of Mr. Kaunda. There would be very serious trouble in the British Government if it made that mistake.

The Labour Colonial Affairs spokesman, Mr. George Thompson, in his constituency, called on the British Government to announce, "stealthily and without any further dithering" a new Constitution which would ensure an African majority in the Protectorate. He said "Sir Roy's

tragedy is that there is no room in modern Africa for the political heavyweight who retains his title only by disqualifying the majority of his fellow Africans from entering the Federal ring with him. The Government have their last chance this week to make up for the original blunder of imposing the Central African Federation. It would be the height of folly for Mr. Macmillan to continue to appease white settlers who are reluctant to surrender undemocratic privileges".

Some 40 Conservative signatures are on a motion initiated by Mr. Wall and Mr. Turton urging Government to find a non-racial solution favouring an independent Federation for all races.

Another Tory M.P., Mr. Humphrey Berkeley, told a Primrose League dinner that it was essential for the new Constitution to provide for an African majority and that Northern Rhodesia's political future had to be settled first, ignoring all "anti-constitutional threats". Sir Roy Welensky was asking for a built-in majority for his U.F.P., which he could not be given. It would be regrettable if, as seemed all too likely, the Federation were to be dissolved.

"But the real tragedy is that steps were not taken to build a non-racial society eight years ago. For the first six years racial discrimination of a poisonous kind existed in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. Sir Edgar Whitehead has been moving courageously in the direction of racial equality, but six years too late. For too long the Southern Rhodesian Government has preached partnership and practised apartheid. This has made mockery of multi-racial partnership".

Sir Roy Welensky would now like the British Government to give independence to the Federation. This would be as "inconceivable and as suicidal as General de Gaulle handing over Algeria to the French colons".

An address of welcome handed to Mr. Sandys when he visited Sir Mwanasina Lewanika, Litunga of Barotseland, is believed to contain a petition for that Protectorate's secession from Southern Rhodesia.

Sir Edgar Whitehead's discussions with the Federation's High Commissioner in London, Mr. A. E. P. Robinson, and on Monday lunched with Mr. Sandys.

As this issue went to press Sir Roy was expected to be here on a plane diverted specially to Salisbury to hear Mr. Sandys. He would present the new Northern Rhodesian Constitution yesterday afternoon to Parliament. He is accompanied by Mr. Julian Greenfield, Federal Minister of Law, Mr. A. D. Evans, Secretary for Home Affairs, and Mr. Stewart Parker, Principal Private Secretary.

Conservative Critics of Party's Attitude on Federation
Monday Club Declares that Destruction of Federation Would Be Cowardly Murder*

"THE Federation is waiting for a burial certificate", says Dr. Banda, who declares that he would rather see Nyasaland starve to death than accept Federal "charity" for a £24m. multi-racial project. Nyasaland is dependent on the Federation to the extent of approximately £34m. per annum.

In Britain a very large majority of the electorate have some knowledge of the political problems of the day, and an opinion expressed by a politician will at least be understood, if not necessarily supported, by the electorate. There is a widely-held impression that similar conditions obtain in Central Africa and that the majority of Africans understand the political pressures exerted by the nationalist leaders and support them. Nothing could be further from the truth.

If the hatchet were brought down on the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland by the British Government in deference to the supposed views of the majority of Africans, as expressed by the African nationalist leaders, this would be no mercy killing, nor even justifiable homicide, but a simple, cowardly murder of the first

major attempt to bring a sensible solution to the great problem of race.

The idea of a Federation, mooted during the period of Labour government, came to fruition under the Tory Government of 1953. Enshrined in its Constitution was the principle of partnership between the races, as expressed in the preamble: "And whereas the said Colony (Southern Rhodesia) and territories (Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland) are the rightful home of all lawful inhabitants thereof, whatever their origin, and whereas the association of the Colony and territories aforesaid in a Federation . . . would conduce to the security, advancement and welfare of all their inhabitants, and in particular would foster partnership and co-operation between their inhabitants and enable the Federation, when those inhabitants so desire, to go forward with confidence towards the attainment of full membership of the Commonwealth;

Time Not Against Moderation

This is the concept now at stake. Within the Federation it is widely accepted that to due course Africans will form the majority of the electorate in each territory and the majority of the elected members of the territorial and federal legislatures. However, it is implicit in the ideal of partnership that such elected majorities should not in any way be racial in character but should work for the good of the nation as a whole.

It is said that time is against the forces of moderation in

* In a pamphlet entitled "Bury the Hatchet" (obtainable for 1s. from V. Richard's Place, London, S.W.3.) The above passages indicate the character of the brochure.

Africa. That is not true. Time is on our side and must be used to further the cause of multi-racialism. Without time, indeed, we are lost. The African nationalist's use of intimidation and violence is evidence that he has no great voluntary support. Time will not lose us the good will of the majority of Africans, but a policy of cowardice will.

Education, social advancement and economic advancement will all come with time. On education we in Great Britain must accept that we have a duty to the African which has to a certain extent been neglected. The Government must prepare a scheme to enable newly-qualified teachers to spend two or three years in countries like the Federation and then secure a post at least as good as he or she could have obtained by staying in England and winning all possible promotions and salary increments during that period.

First and most important is the need to continue the deliberate policy of abolishing discriminatory practices. It is unfortunate that the forward looking policy of the Government of Southern Rhodesia is not mirrored in the activities of all the Europeans there. The episode of the Salisbury swimming baths not only reflects very badly on Salisbury City Council but also does the Federal cause immense harm.

Enormous changes have occurred in the Federation over the last eight years. These have been reflected particularly in amendments to the Land Apportionment Act which have changed the principles of land tenure and have led to the abolition of discrimination in hotels. (This Act is now to be repealed altogether). The Police Service, Federal and territorial, is now open to all races on equal terms. The University College is completely non-racial, and new technical colleges are to open to Africans, Asians, and Europeans solely on a basis of merit.

Make Room for Africans

Africans must be accepted personally as worthy of as much consideration as European counterparts and increasingly by a sensitive management. The board of directors and company managements in the Federation should make room for suitably qualified Africans. This is already happening in some businesses but should be extended. When room has been made for the African, he must be treated as any European would be in his position. Any African worthy of advancement should not be denied the opportunity of promotion.

In view of the need to build up a strong African middle class and because of the extreme urgency of making partnership the principle of "rate for the job" must apply to all fields of employment. Increased opportunities must be given to Africans to improve their status by technical education and other training. Time can solve the problems of poverty and ignorance. To rush into a black State now would be a disaster.

African political advance must also be based solely on merit. It is a Conservative principle that there should be no levelling down that we must raise people who are less fortunate up to the level of the more fortunate. Thus when we write franchise qualifications into a Constitution we should engage in a whole-hearted effort to enable people to meet those qualifications as quickly as possible. Only this way can we ensure a responsible electorate at all times. The minimum qualifications should—indeed must—be dropped in favour of universal adult suffrage only when 90% of the population have achieved those qualifications.

Greater power should be given to the traditional tribal authorities. To enhance the influence of the chiefs would have the effect of increasing the chances of peaceful evolution during the present difficult period, and it would provide a body of men trained in administration who can be worked into the territorial and federal legislatures and Governments.

An Example of Multi-Racialism

The aim of the Federation should be to provide an example of multi-racialism that can convince the rest of the world that the idea is workable. The *apartheid* policy of South Africa we utterly reject as ill-conceived and leading to injustices which are quite unacceptable. The policy of the racialists, black or white, is equally anathema. It entirely overlooks the immense value of the European to the African and vice versa.

Multi-racialism we believe to be right in Africa as a whole. Multi-racialism is not only the answer to a country in which Africans and Europeans live side by side, but is equally the answer where the different tribes of small nations of Africans try to live together.

In Africa a large number of small States, newly created, are looking around for an example, an example which the Federation can supply. A federal system allows for the just representation of all legitimate interests and negates the danger of domination by any one faction. More important, these new African States are looking for leadership.

The implication is always that this leadership must come from States following racialist policies. This is why it means inevitable. The Federation by showing itself in practice to

be truly multi-racial, with its firm, progressive Government, great natural resources (and therefore capital), also has the stability and moral authority to entitle it to leadership of Africa.

The influence of the Federation in the world is in direct proportion to its influence on Africa. The future of the Federation—and the outcome of present controversies in Northern Rhodesia in particular—is thus of the greatest international importance. A breakdown of multi-racialism and the establishment of racialist Governments in Central Africa would create the conditions which the Communists seek to bring about.

The Afro-Asian bloc—led by power-hungry racialists, with support from the Soviet bloc—dominates the General Assembly of the United Nations. If Africa were to be divided along the Zambezi, pressure would become increasingly strong for Africa south of the Zambezi to be "liberated". Submission to such pressure would inevitably lead to a major conflict between black and white in Africa, and it is unlikely that the people of Britain would be content to sit back and allow widespread slaughter. The forces of the East would, of course, be lined up behind the racialists.

We have heard successive conferences of African racialists murmuring ominously about the "liberation" of Northern Rhodesia. These pressures will increase, particularly if the continent is divided into coloured north and a white south. These pressures will die only through the establishment of a strong multi-racial State in Central Africa, with its influence spreading out to north and south.

Berlin is not the major battleground with the Communists, nor is Laos, nor Indonesia. The doctrinaire battle is centred on Africa. It is to Africa that the East is directing most of its attention today. A major tactical victory would go to the Communists if by reason of our actions the Federation were to disintegrate.

H.M. Government is pursuing a policy of disengagement in Africa. As a result it is not possible that all British bases will have been closed by the end of the year. The nearest British troops to the Federation would be in Aden. The Federation would be the only possible territory in which we could establish a military and police presence. To have a stable, multi-racial Federation we should have no base on the whole African continent. Because of this threat it is necessary for the Federation to spend tremendous sums on defence.

If in building up defence and security forces the Federal Government can place emphasis on the need for African officers, some good will be accomplished. When officers are white and black without discrimination, the advance will have been made. But by itself, defence the Federal Government will have that which will depend on economic and educational development. And unless economic standards can be raised in Africa it will be relatively easy for the Communists to gain their victory.

No Surrender to Violence

Any change now in favour of the United National Independent Party of Northern Rhodesia would be seen as a surrender to violence and intimidation. This could have serious repercussions in Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar, Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. It could lead to a wave of violence throughout that part of Africa. It could also lead to further violence in Cyprus, to a renewed threat to Kuwait, to violence in British Guiana.

The British Government must not submit to violence. Rather should it be shown that H.M. Government support the use of violence by U.N.I.P. as a clear indication that the party is irresponsible and unfit to share on an equal basis in the government of Northern Rhodesia. The Government of Northern Rhodesia (not the Federal Government) recently published a report placing sole responsibility for last year's violence in Northern Rhodesia on officials and members of U.N.I.P. The present Northern Rhodesia Government is a Government dominated not by the United Federal Party but by the Liberals.

U.N.I.P., the African racialist party, is pledged to destroy the Federation. With Dr. Banda in Nyasaland this would mean that two out of its three parts would be aiming to destroy it. In its place would be established two more racialist States to build up the black empire north of the Zambezi, their aim being to "liberate" those States which lie further south. And the vast potential good of the Federation would be eliminated.

Many Africans do not want to see European influence destroyed in Northern Rhodesia. U.N.I.P. represents a small minority of the Africans. The vast majority know nothing of politics. To create a U.N.I.P. majority in Government would be to give vast power to people who are quite prepared to impose their will by force—as they have tried to impose that will on H.M. Government by the use of violence.

In Nyasaland African majority rule has come. It is hailed

in the liberal Press as reasonable and responsible rule, a claim which seems strange in view of Dr. Banda's extremely irresponsible statements and his whole attitude towards the Federation, which has brought his people so many benefits. In Northern Rhodesia the racist party has been given to understand that H.M. Government will react to threats of violence by submission. Only in Southern Rhodesia has a firm front been shown.

Yet if the British Government will hold firmly to its policy and work with the chiefs instead of rejecting them, if it will show the moderate Africans that it will give them and their European colleagues support—even to the extent of limited military support—the chiefs and the multi-racialists can hold firm to make partnership work. They represent the majority of Africans and Europeans.

The rôle of the British Government is to give this support and to expend considerably more time, effort, and money in

"selling" our aims to the United States as well as to the African and Asian members of the Commonwealth. It is essential that we win the good will of the majority, if not of all members of the Commonwealth, and equally of all our allies.

At present the efforts, being made are negligible, and are even being reduced after the recent cut in our information services. The propaganda weapon is a valid weapon in the cold war, but it should first be used to convince our allies of the rightness of our cause. Thus, money that is now being directed from America to the racist leaders could, when our purpose is more fully understood, be directed in support of our aims.

The message must go out both from this country and the Federation—by example and by explanation—that what we are trying to do is right for the African, European, and Asian, and vital for the future of the world.

Unitary Government Would Mean Kikuyu Domination

Racism Made Prisoners of Economic Circumstances in Kenya

NEWS OF THE KENYA CONFERENCE at Lancaster House, London, has been scanty, and the *communiqués* have been published inconspicuously by most newspapers, which have simultaneously given the prominent treatment to news from and about rural Africa.

However, several leading organs of the Press have published letters about the Kenya Conference, and in the columns of *The Times* leaders of delegations have stated their cases at some length.

Mr. Rumbira Mbari, president of the Kenya African Democratic Union, wrote on Monday:

"In recent letters and statements to the Press Mr. Mbari's arguments based on the fact that Kanu, the Kenya African National Union, won a majority at the last election. Having achieved this, Kanu nevertheless refused to accept office and have regretted it ever since."

I would like here to explain some fundamental facts to the people of Britain in order to avoid misunderstanding and confusion.

Kanu consists of all practical purposes of three tribes—Kikuyu, Luo, and Kamba—who live in small but densely populated geographical areas where development and advancement have been easier. The tribes who follow Kadu, the Kenya African Democratic Union, be they Hamitic, Nilotic, or Bantu, are spread over two-thirds of Kenya's geographical area and in many cases possess poorer land. At least a dozen major tribes and tribal groups are united in Kanu.

On a population basis the three large tribes comprising Kanu amount to roughly half the population, while the many smaller tribes who support Kadu make up the other half. In terms of politics and especially the registration of voters, the Kikuyu and the Luo are comparatively easy to organize, due to dense population and good communications. The pastoral tribes of Kadu are far flung and roam over thousands of square miles with their cattle. It is consequently difficult to organize a militant political movement among them, and, indeed, they would not wish it. Their desire is to live at peace with their neighbours and to develop their own areas.

Mr. Mboya's Pretence

It is naive of Mr. Mboya to pretend that tribalism does not exist in Kenya: what we have to do is to decide how best to harness the energies and loyalties of the different tribes to create a country in which they may all owe true allegiance to the centre.

The facts of the matter are that Kadu's half of the population will not accept domination by the Kikuyu and the Luo, who, for the reasons I have stated above, are able to muster a 'political majority'. Mr. Mboya's glib phrases like 'the will of the majority' and 'undivided democracy' will never get round this fundamental question. In any case why should smaller groups be subjected to this kind of thing? Why should two or three tribes impose their will upon many smaller tribes? We have numerical parity with Kanu, but we do not wish to impose our rule upon them.

"In drawing up a Constitution it is absolutely vital to consider most carefully the position of all the component parts of the country and not just the biggest slices.

"Kadu, through myself as their leader, are putting forward a plan at the conference which will ensure that Kenya remains as a unit. Each of the six regions we propose must have control over certain legislative and administrative matters as of right, and totally separate from the central Government. The regions, secure in the knowledge that the central Government will be unable to interfere with certain basic rights, will feel happy to co-operate with us to solve the problems of the nation through the machinery of the Federal Government."

"A unitary Government as proposed by the party to which Mr. Mboya belongs is an alternative to the plan that I have just outlined. It would mean the disintegration of Kenya as we know it today. The fact that people may now through the disintegration of Kenya as an entity be distributed to the Union Jack and the Colonial system. Not one of Kenya's boundaries, which are arbitrary, makes any sense, for they split tribes and peoples in two and lump together many who have no historical reasons for being part of the same country."

"Under a unitary Government, the majority of the population, Kikuyu-Luo domination, the majority of the population would secede to Hamitic and Ethiopian respectively. The Moslems would seek to join the other half of their tribe in Tanganyika, and the same applies to the Kambas in Kenya and Uganda. The Kalenjin and the Coast peoples would probably declare themselves separate States. Yet none of these people wish this to happen."

"Because we believe that Kenya can and should survive as an entity, we have put forward the only possible proposals which will allow her to do so. It was the failure to recognize this same problem that led to the chaos in the Congo."

Grave Security Risk

The three delegates of the Kenya Coalition Party, Messrs. L. R. M. WELWOOD, CLIVE SALTER, and DAVID COLE, had written previously:

The announcement that Britain's defence needs in East and Central Africa will have to be re-examined in the light of a continuing need to support the civil power underlines the grave security risk which exists in Kenya today, which is ever present in our minds during the present Constitutional Conference here at Lancaster House.

"Whatever the outcome of the conference, few will doubt that these risks will be gravely increased by the ultimate withdrawal of British authority. Further economic set-backs will add to the army of unemployed marauding thugs and lawless incidents such as the attack on a British farmer reported at the same time as the White Paper was published."

"Whilst we have a duty to help in finding a solution to Kenya's constitutional problems, we cannot forget that we have a special obligation towards the 60,000 British people in Kenya. They have accepted the inevitability of independence, but find in many cases that this may also involve the probability of personal ruin and acute danger."

"The problem in Kenya stems from the fact that the farming industry, which is the keystone of the economy, was built up by British settlement directly encouraged by H.M. Government up to as late as 1960. This industry represents an investment of £120m., and from this comes over one quarter of the nation's wages."

"We have persistently and consistently represented to successive Secretaries of State the urgent need for a plan which

will permit an orderly transfer of economic power to African hands whilst at the same time safeguarding the economy, since the continuance of large-scale British settlement is obviously incompatible with the setting up of an independent African State.

"Our representations have been received with courtesy and promises of investigation, but so far nothing has been done which provides an effective solution or in any way allays the near-despair of the people we represent, who today regard themselves as prisoners of economic circumstances in a land of increasingly dangerous tensions.

"It is our considered opinion that unless such a plan is forthcoming now, Britain will not only be faced with the necessity for recurrent financial aid to Kenya but also with the necessity of intervening to protect the lives of her own people in Kenya."

More than once during the past week the conference has seemed on the brink of a breakdown, and after one session the

differences were such that it was impossible to agree on the phrasing of the customary non-committal *communiqué*.

A five-member steering committee was appointed on Friday, and on Monday it was agreed to establish four other committees to deal with the structure and functions of governing authorities, the judiciary and public service, land and citizenship, and human rights.

K.A.D.U. delegates have insisted that there must be acceptance of the Federal principle if useful work is to be done, while K.A.N.U. has argued that each committee should consider the conflicting points of view as they arise.

Delegates still talk of a long speech last week by Mr. Oginga Odinga, vice-president of K.A.N.U., who defended Communism and dictatorship if Africans wanted it. Why, then, have safeguards in a Constitution?

After one meeting Sir Michael Blundell told reporters: "We are all to be sacrificed on the altar of Kenyatta's unwise speeches."

"Top Up" Colonial Pensions

Ex-Officials Suffering Injustice

VISCOUNT BOYD OF MERTON, making his maiden speech in the House of Lords last week, strongly urged H.M. Government to "top up" the pensions of those former members of the Colonial Service who are suffering injustice and often hardship because their pensions have not been increased since they were those of men who have retired from the Home Civil Service.

LORD OGMORE had called attention to the plight of many ex-officials in the Colonies and their widows. About 15,000 Colonial pensioners drew between them £22m. annually, but those whom he had in mind numbered only 2,790, and the proposal was that they should receive an additional average of 24s. per week, costing more than £286,400 a year.

The recipients would be mainly elderly men on moderate pensions who had never enjoyed the enhanced post-war salaries. Whereas salaries had risen about 240% since before the last war, pensions had usually risen by less than 50%. Of 4,000 widow pensioners 2,300 had not received increases equivalent to the level established for United Kingdom civil servants.

The failure of H.M. Government to act fairly in the matter was excused by the contention that the officials had been employed by territorial Governments overseas. Yet the Colonial Office paper of 1954 entitled "Reorganization of the Crown Colonial Regulations" constituted the Secretary of State as the ultimate authority for appointment, discipline, promotion, and general conditions of employment. How then could it be contended that those people were not the responsibility of H.M. Government? They had, in fact, never had contractual relationship with the now independent Governments, but were always servants of the Crown.

Lord Boyd's Maiden Speech

VISCOUNT BOYD said that during his five years at the Colonial Office the paper mentioned by Lord Ogmore had been his guide, and the passage quoted seemed to him a pledge from which there could be no honourable departure. A week before leaving the Colonial Office he had signed a dispatch inviting all former and existing Colonial territories to grant to pensioners of the Overseas Service the same increases as were about to be enjoyed by pensioners of the Home Civil Service.

Speaking as one who had had a longer responsibility to the Crown and Parliament at the Colonial Office than anyone since the days of Joseph Chamberlain, he could only say that it was simply not true that overseas pensions and pension increases were the responsibility solely of the Colonial or former Colonial territories. The overall responsibility was that of the Secretary of State.

Moreover, H.M. Government had already accepted responsibility for "topping up" in the strictly parallel cases of civil servants from India, Pakistan, Burma, and Palestine.

Posting of an overseas service officer to a particular terri-

tory was made by the Secretary of State's decision, and a particularly good officer was often sent to a particularly difficult territory. If that territory had not responded to his dispatch of 1959, why should the man who had been sent to it be penalized?

Another argument was that "topping up" might encourage territories to default on pensions. "If I tried to describe that argument in language which would normally be used in the Colonial Service I should be out of order in your lordships' house."

About 2,300 widows were not receiving pensions increased at U.K. rates, and the national honour demanded that the right to them should be paid. Of 10,825 pensioners now being paid by the Crown, 2,300 were receiving less than the U.K. rate of pension increase. Giving them to the level of their fellow citizens in the U.K. would cost £110,000 a year, and to deal similarly with the widows would mean another £110,000.

Servants of the Commonwealth

"These, my lords, are people who steadfastly and selflessly and usually under very arduous conditions, served their country and the Commonwealth—never, as Lord Curzon said when saying goodbye to the Indian Civil Service, letting their enthusiasm be soured or their energy diminished. It is during all the time that the Almighty had placed them under the greatest of His ploughs, in whose furrows the nations of the globe were germinating and taking shape."

"I rejoiced in Lagos a year or so ago when I heard the Prime Minister of Nigeria refer to them as men and women who came to Nigeria—and the same is true elsewhere—first as masters, then as leaders, finally as partners, but always as friends."

"I hope that one result of this debate will be to ensure that justice is done; and if it is sometimes difficult for even the best of Colonial leaders now in the newly independent countries to see that justice is done, this is then all the more reason why H.M. Government should do justice to people for whom we shall always remain responsible."

LORD MILVERTON said that Lord Boyd had spoken with magnificent understanding and perception of a Service whose respect and affection he had won as Secretary of State.

No Colonial or ex-Colonial Government had failed to pay the basic pension. H.M. Government was not being asked to undertake that responsibility, but merely to "top up" the pension to meet modern conditions and the reduced value of the currency, and to bring Colonial pensioners into the same position as those who had spent their lives in the Home Civil Service.

THE EARL OF SWINTON, a former Colonial Secretary, agreed with Lord Boyd and Lord Ogmore that responsibility was that of the Secretary of State.

LORD HASTINGS, replying on behalf of the Department for Technical Co-operation, contended that Governments overseas had been the real employers of those who are now pensioners, but emphasized that H.M. Government, being most anxious that their pensions should be increased on the scale adopted in the United Kingdom itself, had done all in its power to persuade the overseas Governments to accept their responsibilities. Twenty-nine had granted increases at least as generous as those under the U.K. Pensions Increases Act, and four of eight now independent Governments had done the same.

Nationalism the Real Enemy

Sir Edgar Whitehead in London

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, arrived in London on Sunday for "routine talks" with the British Government and with private financiers in regard to investment capital for African education and housing and for major irrigation schemes.

Answering questions from journalists at the airport, he said: "If Nyasaland leaves the Federation, and the Northern Rhodesian situation results in the same thing, Southern Rhodesia would be left alone. But I do not expect that these two countries will leave the Federation. Once their leaders are in a responsible position they will realize the enormous economic advantages of the Federation. Even if they did leave, I think that Southern Rhodesia would be economically strong enough to go it alone. We did it for 30 years.

"I think that Sir Roy Welensky's suggestion that he would go the whole hog to leave the Federation was a somewhat allegorical remark. I do not expect that we shall have to fight.

"Of course, the future of the Federation is not the purpose of my visit, and I shall not be discussing it unless it is raised by the United Kingdom. If it is raised, I would certainly continue to support the maintenance of the Federation. I am not sure of the way it stands with Sir Roy Welensky on this point.

"I have no doubt that some changes will probably be made, but this is a matter for negotiation. People are apt to forget that there is no use having a Constitution unless the people on the spot are going to work it. What ever advice we get from other countries.

Appearance of Racial Discrimination

Since Federation 75% to 80% of racial discrimination has disappeared. No one can tell whether it would have done as had there been no Federation, but Africans have been able to get the high status and get jobs they never had before. Europeans in Southern Rhodesia do not disagree with this advancement, although some think it is being done too quickly. We shall continue on the same lines. There is still some poverty, but I doubt whether ending the Federation would ease this.

"I have just been on an extensive tour talking to Africans. I am perfectly satisfied that the real trouble is that they have not realized the tremendous advantages which the new Constitution will bring with their vote. In the forthcoming elections any candidate without African support will start with a great disadvantage because of the way the Constitution is framed.

"It is quite important to me that all Africans are asking for one-man-one-vote. Some are, but a large number prefer the qualified franchise which they have now.

"The real enemy of the people in Central Africa is nationalism, white or black. For a long time now there has been suspicion in Rhodesia that London has been prepared to back nationalism — provided it's black nationalism — at the expense of those who are fighting for genuine non-racialism."

Before leaving Salisbury Sir Edgar had said, with reference to a decision of the United Nations to inquire into Southern Rhodesia's self-government, that his Government would not provide the U.N. group concerned with any information and would not allow a U.N. team to enter the country. A senior official was reported by one news agency as having added later that "if any U.N. mission tries to sneak in here they'll probably find themselves looking down the business end of a rifle barrel."

Questioned on the subject on his arrival in London, Sir Edgar said: "I am not aware that they have any intention of coming to Southern Rhodesia. I understand they are undertaking a study of our Constitution to see if they regard it as self-government. All they need for confirmation are some documents. But we are not allowed to deal with them. We have no contact with them on any point. We have no particular wish to have any contact at the moment, because we were expressly excluded from the list of trustee territories when the U.N. Charter was drawn up, and we cannot very well be whisked in all this time later. We have been self-governing since 1923, and it is rather late in the day to suggest that we are not.

"All the U.N. has to do is read our Constitution carefully.

They will find that we are self-governing. On the claim that a minority of whites is governing a black majority, the answer is that race is not in our franchise."

The Prime Minister said that he had no appointment to meet Mr. Macmillan, but was usually invited to see him when in London. He had come for personal talks with Cabinet Ministers who were friends of his, including Mr. Sandys, Mr. Butler, Mr. Thorneycroft, and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd; to try to raise about £1.5m. towards the £5m. annual bill for African education through the Department of Technical Co-operation; and because the Federal High Commissioner, Mr. A. E. P. Robinson, had been urging him since September to pay a visit to meet people interested in general investment in Southern Rhodesia who might provide finance for major irrigation undertakings such as the Sabi Valley scheme.

U.N. Inquisitive About S. Rhodesia

Inquiry Into Its Self-Government

ON FRIDAY the United Nations General Assembly endorsed by 57 votes to 21, with 24 abstentions, a Trusteeship Committee resolution sponsored by nine Afro-Asian countries, including Ghana, Ethiopia and Egypt, that the recently formed 17-member "anti-colonial" committee should be directed to consider whether Southern Rhodesia had attained a full measure of self-government.

Opposing this as "entirely unnecessary and unwise intervention that would be outside the U.N.'s competence", Britain's representative, Sir Hugh Foot, told the Trusteeship Committee that the special autonomous status of Southern Rhodesia had repeatedly been recognized internationally. Though the Colony was not independent, it was self-governing in internal affairs and was completely responsible for its own economic, social, and educational policies, and under no obligation at all to provide information on such matters to any British Minister or even to Parliament.

He quoted Sir Edgar Whitehead as having said that the Constitution was bound eventually to be made by the African majority, and denied that the Colony was becoming "another South Africa."

Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey (Ghana) claimed that the U.N. was coming to Britain's rescue in her dealings with Sir Roy Welensky. He stated that no Africans held senior civil service posts, that none were in the Government, and that the new Constitution was designed to maintain a white governing majority.

Tanganyika's representative paid tribute to Britain's enlightened policies in his country but said that she was playing an ignoble rôle in abetting white discrimination against the African in Southern Rhodesia.

Committee on Anti-Colonialism

Senator Brooks (Canada) and Mr. Bingham (United States), the only two members to speak with Sir Hugh Foot against the motion, argued that Southern Rhodesia, unlike South Africa, was committed to the principle of multi-racialism and was moving towards giving its African population greater representation.

The committee voted 56 to 20, with 22 abstentions, in favour of a resolution "to consider whether the territory of Southern Rhodesia has attained a full measure of self-government, mindful of the fact that the indigenous inhabitants have not been adequately represented in the Legislature and not represented at all in the Government."

The special "watchdog" committee on the abolition of colonialism, under the chairmanship of Mr. C. S. Jha (India), will be expected to recommend to the General Assembly in September whether Britain should be required to make formal reports on political, social, racial and economic conditions in Southern Rhodesia. The members include representatives of Australia, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Italy, India, Madagascar, Mali, Poland, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia, Russia, U.K., U.S.A., Uruguay, Venezuela and Yugoslavia.

Mr. Joshua Nkomo, president of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, said after news of the vote was released: "Whatever happens in Southern Rhodesia now will take place under the eyes of the U.N. We expect Sir Edgar Whitehead to take steps toward Southern Rhodesia's independence after the elections there in October. Faced with this possibility we want the world to realize our plight."

It has been suggested that action by the Afro-Asian bloc has resulted from Mr. Nkomo's visits to independent African countries.

PERSONALIA

MR. D. H. DRENNAN is now Deputy Commissioner of Agriculture in Tanganyika.

EARL AND COUNTESS DE LA WARR have left London for Salisbury.

MR. S. R. HOGG has resigned from the board of Land and General Developments, Ltd.

MR. J. N. BAINES recently returned to the Federation from a visit to the United Kingdom.

MR. P. A. G. FIELD is now provincial commissioner of the Northern Province of Uganda.

MR. J. L. MACDUFF, a puisne judge in Kenya since 1953, is to become Chief Justice in Fiji.

MR. RICHARD JAMES FRANKLIN has been appointed investment manager of Barclays Bank D.C.O.

MRS. C. C. S. SHONTU has been sworn in as a Nominated Member of Uganda Legislative Council.

MR. FRANK LOYD has joined the Kenya Government official delegation at the Lancaster House Conference.

MISS P. J. MCKEE has arrived in Nyasaland as the Social Development Department's first full-time case worker.

MR. J. MURRAY Commissioner in London for Northern Rhodesia, returned from a short visit to the Protectorate.

MR. ARTHUR HASLER has been appointed chairman of the Federal Government's Immigrants Selection Board in London.

MRS. PATRICIA TARGETT's paintings of Zanzibar are now on view in the gallery of the Commonwealth Institute in Edinburgh.

MR. J. K. S. MSHOTE and R. K. MAKAO are district commissioners in Tanganyika for Biharamulo and Machingwa respectively.

MR. EUGENE BLACK, since 1949 president of the World Bank, who has visited East and Central Africa, intends to retire shortly.

MESSRS. C. J. BRIGHIDIAN, F. J. E. O'BRIEN and G. DE LA P. WILKINSON, from Kenya, have entered the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst.

MR. C. S. CREE has been acting as Chief Conservator of Forests in Tanganyika, with MR. M. S. PARRY replacing him as deputy chief conservator.

MGR. ADRIAN DUMGU has become Catholic Bishop of Masaka, Uganda, in succession to the VERY REV. JOSEPH KIRUMIRA, now Archbishop of Rubaga.

The appointment of MR. J. M. HUNTER as a Nominated Member of the National Assembly of Tanganyika has been revoked. So has that of MR. C. DE SOUZA.

HERR JOSEPH GEHRKEN, a German engineering contractor, has offered 10 scholarships to the Tanganyika Government, four of which have already been awarded.

DR. A. N. ALLOTT, Reader in African Law in the University of London, spoke in London on Monday on "Legal Development and Economic Growth in Africa".

When the DUKE OF GLOUCESTER visited the 3rd King's African Rifles at Nanyuki he was presented with a bronze statuette of an askari for The Gloucestershire Regiment.

MR. ANDREW TIBANDEBAGE, who has been receiving diplomatic training in Ankara, has been appointed a counsellor in the Tanganyika High Commission Office in London.

MR. PETER MOLLOY is now secretary of the United Kingdom Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. He was formerly director of National Parks in Tanganyika.

MESSRS. A. C. BADENOCH, S. COWPERTHWAITTE, and H. H. WEST have been appointed Under-Secretaries in Uganda, respectively in the Ministries of Agriculture, Works, and Education.

MR. STEPHEN HASTINGS, M.P., will today speak on "The United Nations in Katanga" at a joint lunch-time meeting in London of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies.

DR. L. S. ANDERSON, who was deputy medical officer of health in Nairobi a decade ago, has been appointed to the World Health Organization's Regional Office for Africa as public health adviser.

COUNTESS PATRICIA DE SALLE is trying to find a mate for her tame lioness Tana, whose mating calls are considered likely to attract wild lions from the Ngong Hills to her Karen home near Nairobi.

MR. C. W. DUMPLETON, public relations officer of the Colonial Development Corporation, is retiring. The duties are to be discharged by MR. C. H. WALTON, who has been with the C.D.C. since 1954.

MR. A. D. DODDS-PARKER has been adopted as Cheltenham's prospective Conservative candidate by 711 votes to 197 cast by supporters of two local men, one of whom may stand as an Independent.

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, arrived in London by air on Sunday. He is due to fly back to Salisbury on Saturday unless circumstances should make it necessary to prolong the visit.

PROFESSOR W. M. MACMILLAN will shortly leave for South Africa to receive the honorary degree of D.Litt. from Natal University. On his way back by air he will make short stays in Southern and Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and Kenya.

LORD WILLINGTON, president of the Fauna Preservation Society, who has returned from a visit to East Africa, has announced that the International Wild Life Fund is to give £20,000 over the next three years to Uganda to help safeguard the white rhino from poachers.

MR. GEOFFREY NEWHAM, Club of Kenya, was rescued by a British Army helicopter after spending two nights on Mount Kenya last week after a fall in which he injured an ankle and broke some ribs. At the time he was at a height of about 17,000 feet.

MAJOR J. W. E. MACKENZIE, Senior Assistant Commissioner of Police in Tanganyika, has retired to dabble in farming in Dorset. During the last war he was adjutant to the 2nd/6th K.A.R. in Ethiopia, and in Burma commanded the 3rd Bn. The Northern Rhodesia Regiment.

Visitors from the Federation now in the United Kingdom include MR. & MRS. R. I. K. CUMMING, MR. P. DUNLEY OWEN, MR. & MRS. E. DULK, MR. & MRS. D. G. FULLER, MR. & MRS. E. J. H. ELLIS WILLIAMS, MR. & MRS. G. GISBORNE, MR. M. H. S. HALL, MR. J. MALTAS, MR. M. STUART-SHAW, and MR. & MRS. I. W. M. WRIGHT.

MR. A. E. DORMAN, Assistant Director of Veterinary Services in Kenya, has gone to the United States for a two-month visit at the invitation of the Agency for International Development. He is to examine the facilities available at American universities, colleges, and other institutions for the training of students from Kenya in veterinary science and research, laboratory technology, and livestock disease control. Six Kenya students are now taking veterinary science courses in the U.S.A.

SIR NICHOLAS CAYZER, chairman of the British and Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd., stated in Salisbury last week that he entirely disagreed with the statement recently made in that city by SIR MATTHEW SLATTERY, chairman of B.O.A.C., that air transport had "killed" sea transport and that large ocean liners would eventually disappear. SIR NICHOLAS said that man must have relaxation, that there was none better than a sea voyage, and that the Union-Castle Line was thinking of building two more passenger ships.

MR. WAZIRI DOSSA AZIZ, the Tanganyika African National Union candidate, has won the Bagamoyo by-election, polling 3,207 votes against 89 cast for MR. ZUBERI MTEMU, president of the African National Congress, who forfeited his deposit. Only 37.56% of the registered voters polled.

MR. GODFREY AMACHREE, former Solicitor-General and Permanent Secretary of the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Justice, has been appointed to take charge in New York of the United Nations civil operation in the Congo, with responsibility for training personnel and developing public services.

PROFESSOR E. B. EDNEY, of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has left for a year's acclimatization study at the University of California, sponsored by the university and the Rockefeller Foundation. DR. J. RANKIN has taken over as head of the Zoology Department.

MR. TOM MBOYA, secretary-general of K.A.N.U., who flew back from a week's visit to the United States on Monday, told a dinner at the Chicago Conference for Brotherhood that he would not feel he had accomplished very much "if on leaving free Africa I am thrown out of a Mississippi town because I am black."

LORD COBOLD, former governor of the Bank of England, who has visited East and Central Africa, has been appointed chairman of a commission to North Borneo and Sarawak to inquire into local views on the question of membership of the proposed Federation of Malaysia.

SIR FRANK HALL-PATCH, chairman of the Standard Bank, has found it necessary to reduce his commitments for reasons of health, and SIR CYRIL HAWKER, who at the end of this month will retire from the Bank of England, has agreed to become deputy chairman, with a view to taking over the chairmanship from Sir Frank next August.

MR. JUSTUS N. OCHIAI, the first African in Kenya to be given charge of a provincial office of the Information Department, has arrived in London to attend a short course at the Central Office of Information. In 1959-60 he took a year's course on audio-visual communications at Indiana University U.S.A. He is a B.A. of London and an M.S. of Indiana.

MR. LAURIE J. CAMPBELL, the new secretary of the Christian Churches' Educational Association in Kenya, is headmaster-designate of the Alliance High School, at which he was a pupil. At the last election he stood as a New Kenya Party candidate. MR. F. R. DAIN, lately secretary of the Educational Association, is to attend St. Augustine's Theological College, Canterbury.

Four non-official members appointed to a new Nyasaland Government Scholarship Selection Committee are SIR MARTIN ROSEVEARE, MR. A. B. CHAVURA, MR. H. CHIKAPA, M.L.C., and MR. J. TEMBO, M.L.C. The chairman is to be the Minister of Education, the secretary will be an official of that Ministry, and four members representing the Government are to be nominated.

MR. O. B. BENNETT, general manager in Northern Rhodesia of Rhokana Corporation, Ltd., who was recently appointed Minister for Rhodesia and Nyasaland Affairs in Washington, may not be able to take up his duties for some months, for as a result of a serious motor accident he is in hospital with a shattered hip. He was to have gone to the United States in April.

The managing director of Fisons, Ltd., having resigned suddenly, the responsibilities of that office are being temporarily discharged by SIR JOHN CARMICHAEL, who joined the board less than a year ago. He was in the Sudan Civil Service from 1936 to 1959, latterly as Financial and Economic Adviser. In 1960 he became chairman of Fisons Pest Control (Sudan), Ltd., and later that year joined the board of the Pest Control parent company in the United Kingdom.

Obituary

Major Salah Salem

MAJOR SALAH SALEM, who died in hospital in Cairo last week at the age of 41, was one of a small group of Sudanese officers in the Egyptian Army who worked with Nasser to bring about the revolution of 1952, the three most prominent Sudanese in the Free Officers' Movement being General Neguib and the Salem brothers, the man who has now died, and Wing Commander Gamal Salem. After the revolution Major Salem was appointed Minister for National Guidance and Sudanese Affairs, and he soon became widely known as the "dancing major" because in the presence of Press photographers he danced in his underpants while visiting the Southern Sudan during the 1953 election campaign. After a difference with Nasser two years later he resigned his office and became editor of a Cairo newspaper.

Colonel R. E. Cheesman

COLONEL ROBERT ERNEST CHEESMAN, C.B.E., who has died at the age of 83, was H.M. Consul in North Western Ethiopia from 1925 to 1934, the consulate being at Dangila, south of Lake Tana. He did a great deal of mapping of the Blue Nile, and wrote "Lake Tana and the Blue Nile" which was published in 1936. For his journeys on the Nile he was awarded the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society. He also made maps of the tracks leading to the Arab Desert, and when Italy entered the war in 1940 he was specially asked to join the Sudan Defence Force, from which he was quickly transferred as head of the Ethiopian Intelligence Branch of General Platt's staff. When the campaign in Ethiopia ended, he was appointed Oriental Counsellor in the British Legation in Addis Ababa.

MR. ROBERT KUDICKE, of whose death at the age of 65 we learn belatedly, served as a medical officer in German East Africa from 1902 until he was taken prisoner with his field ambulance in Mozambique in 1918. After the war he lectured at a university in China, of which he became dean of the medical faculty, before returning to Germany. In the last war he served again in the army as a medical officer in Poland, and on demobilization was made Professor of Hygiene at Frankfurt University.

MR. HAROLD MAYNARD NICHOLLS, a director of Dwyer & Co., Ltd., and manager of its Lusaka branch, was recently killed in a road accident near Gwelo while travelling with his wife and daughter. Born in Cape Town in 1911, he went to Southern Rhodesia in 1934 and had since lived and worked in the two Rhodesias. He was a past president of the Northern Rhodesia Motor Traders' Association.

MR. JOSEPH ARTHUR DWEN, who died recently in Kenya in his 80th year, was engaged in the sisal industry in Kenya from 1911 to 1954, when he retired to a mixed farm near Elburgon. On the Swift and Rutherford estate at Punda Millia, Thika, he built the first sisal factory in the country. He was for seven years chairman of the Kenya Sisal Growers' Association.

MR. JOHN MCGRAW, who has died in Southern Rhodesia at the age of 58, was a past chairman of the National Industrial Council and the Trades Union Congress of Southern Rhodesia.

MR. JAMES RIDDELL OBE, who died recently in Nairobi, was mayor of the City from 1925 to 1927 and again from 1931 to 1933.

DR. MOHAMMED AHMED ALI, Health Minister in the Sudan since November 1958, has died in Khartoum Hospital.

Independence "No Licence to Grab"

Warning by Kenya's Acting Governor

MR. E. N. GRIFFITH-JONES, Acting Governor of Kenya, said recently in Nakuru when opening the annual session of the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Eastern Africa:—

"Particularly the African people have to learn that independence is not an open sesame to individual prosperity. It does not mean a licence to grab other people's property. It does not mean automatic promotion to jobs which one is unqualified and incompetent to fill. It does not mean that one suddenly becomes entitled to respect, status and privilege without earning and deserving them.

"It does mean hard work. It does mean responsibility. It does mean understanding and tolerance, community of purpose, and common endeavour.

"Businessmen cannot be allowed to disregard politics in determining their plans and policies. Broadly speaking, businessmen and industrialists ask only for the creation and maintenance of a climate favourable to their activities; that they will not be subject to unreasonable interference or penal taxation; that other basic rights and personal freedoms will be respected and preserved. In common with all other citizens, they must have an assurance of personal security for themselves and their families.

"We have had many statements from responsible politicians that conditions favourable to the investment of overseas capital will be maintained in East Africa after independence, and I believe that there is a growing appreciation of the importance of attracting investment capital. It is inevitable, however, in a period of transition and rapid change that doubts and uncertainties will arise and persist until they are dispelled by practical demonstration. I know that businessmen in East

Africa, in common with overseas investors, feel the need for reassurance at the time.

"It is my impression that, not only in Kenya but throughout East Africa there is influential political circles an increasing determination to preserve the very substantial commercial and industrial development which has been achieved in East Africa in recent years, and to create the conditions for future expansion.

Guarded Optimism

"I can only express a certain guarded optimism that good will and commonsense, and indeed sheer self-interest, will produce fair and reasonable solutions and make it possible for future development to be undertaken with confidence.

"East Africa will continue for many years to depend not only on heavy investment of capital from overseas in its agriculture and industry but also on loans and grants from outside sources. All the less developed countries of the world are, in a similar position, and the demand for capital and investment enterprise is very much greater than the supply. East Africa must compete in the world markets, and she can do this only if she can offer terms and conditions at least as attractive as other capital-hungry countries.

"A period of settled political conditions in East Africa could do more perhaps than anything else to raise our international credit and ensure that the fund of good will which I know exists for East Africa abroad is converted into much-needed capital assistance and new investment.

"Many large and influential firms have been showing a great interest in the potentialities of this part of the world. They are hesitating and understandably so, until they can see the way ahead. They need assurance of stable conditions, responsible administration, and fair and just treatment by the future Governments. Then they will readily supply that stimulus and momentum which our economy so badly needs to continue to need. There is no disinclination to accept ordinary commercial risks out here—only a prudent caution against speculative and unprofitable ventures.

"There has long been a realization among businessmen and industrialists that East Africa must form one economic unit if we are to achieve the maximum development of our potential. There is now evidence in political circles of a real realization of the need for unity and co-operation in this effort.

"We have progressed through the East Africa High Commission to our new East African Common Services Organization, which, by a system of ministerial committees dealing with main groups of subjects, not only gives full recognition to the political facts as they are today, but emphasizes the vital need for an East African approach. The participation of independent Tanganyika in this organization is a fair augury for the future of East African co-operation.

Political Federation

"It is encouraging that there appears to be an increasing body of opinion in all three territories which favour an eventual political federation. We have a *de facto* customs union, a common income tax system, and excellent common East African railway, civil aviation, meteorological, and posts and telecommunications facilities. The new Common Services Organization provides machinery for close co-ordination of policy and effort.

"In the context of world conditions today, with the formation of trade and economic groupings such as the European Common Market, it would be prudent to mobilize our strength in a single group. The economic arguments for this association are quite compelling.

"The economic strength of the East African territories will continue to lie in agricultural and allied activities. Despite the most adverse drought and flood conditions, the value of East African agricultural exports for 1961 is estimated to have reached £101m. This compares with £110m. in 1960, but, in the light of adverse weather conditions and lower world prices, the figure is very encouraging. The Kenya figure for 1961 is just about the same as for 1960. It is expected that other exports will exceed £23m. in 1961, thus improving on the 1960 figure of £21m.

"I believe—and God grant that I am not wrong in this—that there are in London for the Kenya Constitutional Conference many politicians who realize that they hold in their hands the fashioning of the destiny of this country at the most critical and momentous stage in its history, and who are genuinely and honestly determined to discharge their great responsibility honourably.

"God grant them the wisdom and courage—and, yes, the humility—to do what is right, what is just, and whatever will ensure the lasting benefit and prosperity of this country and all its peoples of whatever race.



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Politicians in Charge of Provinces

TANGANYIKA'S NINE PROVINCES become regions today, each under a regional commissioner who is the political representative of the Government, charged in the first place with the task of "interpreting the three-year development plan in practical terms right down to the village level".

Each district is to be set a production and development target, and villages are expected to build or maintain feeder roads, build dams, make terraces for soil protection, dig wells, and build better houses by voluntary effort and without calling upon national finance required for the overall development plan.

The Prime Minister has said that the whole emphasis of the work of the Administration must be on development, and that those in charge of running villages, districts, and regions will be judged by what they achieve. The appointment of regional commissioners was a step towards the appointment of political heads to take charge of districts.

The regional commissioner, said Mr. Kawawa, would be "junior Ministers" provincial commissioners, who would now be the civil service heads in the regions, would be known as administrative secretaries. With the transfer of political functions to politicians, "the proper people" civil servants could concentrate on technical work, leaving explanations to the new political personalities.

Kabaka Yekka Commands Lukiko

SIXTY-FIVE OF THE 88 SEATS of the Lukiko of Buganda were won by the Kabaka Yekka ("Kabaka Only") party in last week's elections, in which about 800,000—more than 90% of the electorate—polled. The remaining three seats went to the Democratic Party, one of whose candidates was unopposed.

There were no candidates of the Uganda People's Party, which had formed an alliance with Kabaka Yekka.

After the polls closed on Thursday Buyaga and Buganda counties were declared disturbed areas, a curfew was imposed, and police reinforcements were moved in.

On Sunday about 800 Banyoro in the Mubanda district set fire to huts and market stalls after attacking Buganda chiefs and their police guards who were posting curfew notices. The police had to open fire after tear-gas had failed to disperse the crowds, who were demanding secession for their area from Buganda. Seven people were wounded, two seriously, and 31 were arrested.

In another incident in the same district between 20 and 40 persons were arrested after police had dispersed about 300 people with tear-gas.

Intimidation and crop slashing have been reported from other areas in Central Buganda, mainly against D.P. supporters.

The Chief Minister of Uganda, Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka, who is also president of the D.P., said that he did not accept the results of the Lukiko elections as fair, alleging that the Kabaka's Government and its chiefs had influenced voters. He was confident of winning the April general elections for the National Assembly, and would not accede to Opposition demands for his Government's resignation.

Mr. Kiwanuka becomes Uganda's first Prime Minister today with the attainment of self-government.

Mr. M. Kintu has been re-elected Prime Minister of Buganda.

African Gang Raids Kenya Farm

A GANG of between 12 and 20 Africans armed with bush-knives last week attacked Mr. Jack Blowers, aged 60, on his Amarwa sisal estate at Sultan Hamud, 70 miles south of Nairobi, and stole two guns, ammunition, and about £650. They escaped in a lorry and an estate wagon which they stole from the farm.

Mrs. Blowers was forced to open a safe containing the guns and the money after the raiders had bound her husband, cook and houseboy. After driving off, the gang returned and tried to re-enter, but Mr. Blowers had freed himself and locked all the doors. Four shots were fired through a window.

The couple were taken to hospital. Mr. Blowers had a four-inch cut over his right eye and was badly bruised on his back from being kicked and trampled on. One of the gang had told Mrs. Blowers that he wanted to kill her husband "because he has killed my cattle" (farmers in the area have had to call in the police to remove Wakamba tribesmen's cattle grazing illegally on their land).

Mr. Blowers said that some members of the gang had tried to rape his wife, but the others had stopped them.

Prison and Flogging for K.A.N.U. Gang

Youth Burned With Paraffin

THE CHAIRMAN of the K.A.N.U. Youth Wing in Central Nyanza, Ochoia Achoia, has been sentenced to seven years' imprisonment and 24 strokes for instigating and directing the burning with paraffin of an African youth in Kisumu in January.

Two other Youth Wing members were sentenced to seven years' imprisonment with 12 strokes, and a third to five years' imprisonment.

The senior resident magistrate, Mr. E. Trevelyan, described Achoia as "a wicked, callous, sadistic, thoroughgoing liar, and brute, the ringleader of a gang of rascals who have no respect for established authority".

The injured youth, Raphael Owino, was kidnapped by a group of K.A.N.U. Youth Wing members and accused of being a thief. He was bound, grass was stuffed between his fingers and burned, and paraffin was poured all over his body and set alight.

The four men were also sentenced to one day's imprisonment for wrongful confinement of the youth, a sentence that was also passed on a fifth man, Wilson Ndola Ayah, described as a political adviser to the K.A.N.U. vice-president Mr. Odinga Odinga, M.C.

About 600 He and Turkana warriors crossed into Uganda on Sunday and stole some 1,000 cattle.

A conference to discuss the question of the Coastal strip of Kenya will open in Lancaster House, London, on March 8. It is being chaired by Mr. Manning, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Twenty African nurses in South Africa who resigned from Government hospitals there in response to an appeal from the African National Congress, to help in Tanganyika, have arrived in the territory by air.

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Young Tories Criticize Government

Many Hostile Motions About Colonies

STRONG CRITICISM of the Government appeared in many of the motions submitted for the annual national conference, which was held in London last Saturday, of the Young Conservative and Unionist Organization.

Not one of the 20 motions on Commonwealth and Colonial affairs was selected for debate. Only one of the 20 was unequivocally on the side of the Government. Among the other 19 were the following:—

Submitted by Epsom Young Conservatives: "That this conference strongly supports Sir Roy Welensky's views, as expressed to the Institute of Directors in November, and urges H.M. Government to pursue with more determination a policy in Africa of a gradual handing over of power to responsible people only; and to refrain from considering to extremism and violence."

Bath Young Conservatives: "That this conference believes that countries which aspire to independent government should first provide evidence of the ability to govern themselves, whilst the authority of the parent country is gradually withdrawn."

Folham Young Conservatives: "That this conference, while recognizing the inevitability of the younger nations of Africa attaining an increasing measure of independence, strongly resists the release of known terrorists in these nations, and calls upon the Colonial Secretary to maintain the balance between expediency and the safety of law-abiding citizens loyal to the Crown."

Rochdale Young Conservatives: "That this conference deplores the persistent failure of H.M. Government to attempt to make the British people to the challenge and responsibility of our position as members of the Commonwealth and urges H.M. Government to pursue such policies as will ensure the unity and sense of purpose of the Commonwealth, rather than policies which can lead only to its disintegration."

South Bedfordshire Young Conservatives, Eastern Area: "That this conference urges the Government not to grant independence to any further Colonies until such time as at least half the population of any territory to be granted independence is literate."

Feltham Young Conservatives, Home Counties North Area: "That this conference welcomes the movement towards self-government of dependent territories throughout the Commonwealth, but trust that this movement will not be at the expense of the basic principles of civilized government and will not prejudice legitimate rights and interests. Moreover, it looks to the Government to work for closer unity with these Commonwealth countries which share our ideals."

West Wexham Young Conservatives: "That this conference considers, in order to help the underdeveloped countries of the Commonwealth increase their standards of living and productive capacity, students from those countries who come to Britain to study for professional and university qualifications should on completion of their courses return to their countries to work and assist development for a minimum period of five years."

North Battersea Young Conservatives, London: "That this conference is of the opinion that H.M. Government has singularly failed its supporters in the country by embracing policies totally incompatible with the traditional image of Toryism."

THE REV. JOHN RICHARD WORTHINGTON POOLE-HUGHES, home secretary of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa since 1959, has been elected Bishop of South-West Tanganyika. A Welshman, from Llanidloery, now aged 45, he was educated at Uppingham and Hertford College, Oxford, and then, after serving in the forces for six years, went on to Wells. Ordained in 1947, he served a curacy in Aberystwyth, and in 1950 went to Korogwe, Tanganyika, as a U.M.C.A. missionary. Three years later he became a lecturer in St. Cyprian's Theological College, Tunduru, of which he was sub-warden until 1957. He was then on the staff of St. Michael's College, Llandaff, Glamorganshire, for a short while, before joining the U.M.C.A. headquarters staff in London.

Six Months General Strike Threat

Mr. Kaunda "Ready to Die"

A GENERAL STRIKE to last six months will be called by the U.N.I.P. leader, Mr. Kaunda, if Federal troops are moved into Northern Rhodesia by Sir Roy Welensky, he told a cheering crowd of some 5,000 Africans in Lusaka on Sunday.

"The day a shot is fired my party will forsake a Government in exile, but I will stay here to direct resistance and go to jail or die if necessary."

At another meeting in Kamwala township, Lusaka, he said: "Stockpile your foodstuffs, eat less costly things, drink less. When the word comes—and I am the only one who can give the word—stop work. We are prepared to bring everything to a standstill, even our schools; you cannot learn as a slave."

"We are not taking this stand because of racial hatred or a wish to drive the white man into the sea. It is because we know we have been wronged by Welensky. Because of his actions we have no alternative but to strike."

"On the day I call the strike thousands of volunteers from the World Peace Brigade will peacefully invade our Zambia from Tanganyika. These people will not come equipped with guns, but with Bibles. If arrested they will sit down and ask the police to take them back where they came from."

When he returned to his home in East Africa two days earlier, Mr. Kaunda said that the British Government must deal with Sir Roy Welensky. "Otherwise we shall take care of ourselves. Too many times in the past I have urged my followers to show restraint in the face of provocation. The time for being submissive has gone."

The senior U.N.I.P. official has in the past few days described the Federal Prime Minister's recent blunt statements as "treasonable, reckless, and irresponsible public statements, which could precipitate civil war". If he were to declare "illegally" an independent Federation, "red war" would result in Northern Rhodesia, where the Africans would be entitled to end the Federation with the Africans would be entitled to end the Federation.

The Liberal Party leader, Sir John Gorton, was reported to be making for Lusaka from his Brussels farm to be ready to fly to London to qualify any move the Federal Prime Minister may make there.

Invest in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

The economy of the Federation is expanding rapidly. In 1960 the output of manufacturing industry increased by 10%. No longer is the Federation looked upon merely as a primary producer. It has become a market in its own right, and its preference is for British goods. Already the list of manufacturers who have decided to build factories in the Federation includes these impressive names:

THE BRITISH MOTOR CORPORATION
THE METAL BOX CO. LTD.
DUNLOP RUBBER CO. LTD.
FORD MOTOR COMPANY
J. LYONS & CO. LTD.
PILKINGTON BROTHERS & CO. LTD.
BOOTES GROUP
ROTHMANS
ROVER COMPANY LTD.
DAVID WHITEHEAD & SONS LTD.

If your company is seeking new investment fields, should it not be on this list?



For up-to-date information on business conditions and prospects in the Federation, write to:

The Office of the High Commissioner, Rhodesia House, Strand, London, W.C.2.

Disagrees With Federal Government Northern Rhodesian Government Statement

MR. T. C. GARDNER, Northern Rhodesia's Minister of Finance, has issued a statement on behalf of the Government concerning the decision of the Federal Government to appoint a Fiscal Review Commission to consider the proportions in which the proceeds of taxes on incomes or profits, the proceeds of export duties, and the amounts of external borrowings are distributed between the Governments of the Federation. The decision to appoint the commission had been announced two days earlier in the Governor-General's speech at the opening of the Federal Parliament.

Mr. Gardner stated that the Northern Rhodesian Government regretted the decision to appoint a review commission at this time. This did not mean that it was satisfied with the present fiscal arrangements or their results. Indeed, the Government recognized that changes were necessary. It believed, however, that comprehensive revision of the fiscal provisions of the Constitution were required, and that could be initiated only in conjunction with review of the Federal Constitution.

The existing fiscal provisions of the Constitution were unduly restrictive and had produced anomalous results. Thus, rather than impose territorial taxation where it could do harm economically, the Northern Rhodesian Government had been obliged to restrict and even cut back the level of its services and to hold up capital development.

Territorial Fiscal Economy

The Monckton Commission had recognized the difficulties of the present arrangements and had proposed alternative methods of giving the territorial Governments greater fiscal autonomy. Other alternatives might also be considered at the proper time.

The main requirement was a system of taxation which would give each Government reasonable autonomy in the field of taxation and reasonable range of taxes from which to draw the revenues that were needed for essential services and development. Each Government must have a choice between sources of both direct and indirect taxation, and each must possess the right to decide the level of Government expenditure necessary to fulfil obligations, and to raise from its area the corresponding revenue by whatever methods and from whatever sources seemed best.

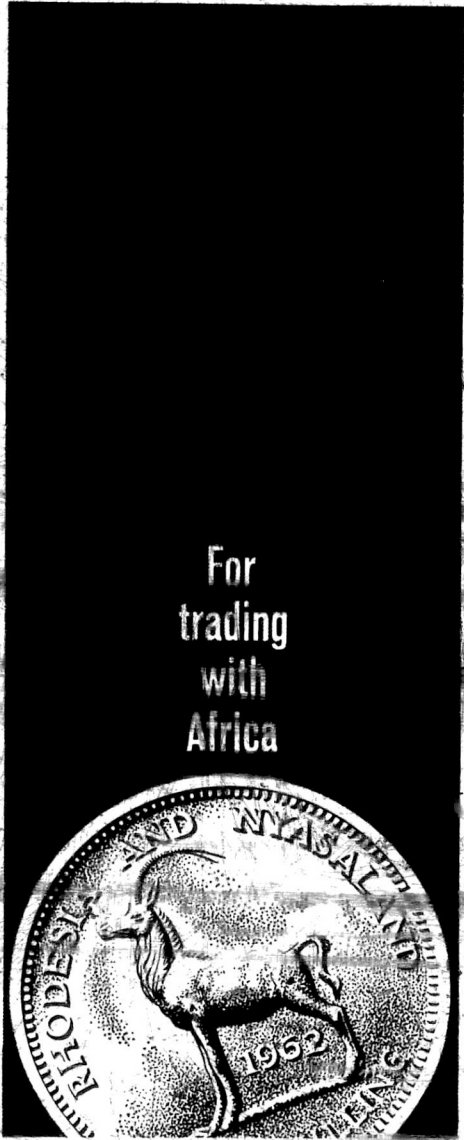
Review of the fiscal provisions of the Constitution was therefore essential, but the review commission which the Federal Government had now decided to appoint would not, in terms of the Constitution, possess adequate powers to deal with the problem. It must necessarily be limited to making recommendations for the division of income tax, export duty (if levied), and external borrowings between the four Governments.

It could not deal with the redistribution of taxing functions. That could be done only if a full-scale fiscal commission were established, and that would be possible only as part of a Federal constitutional review, when the effects of any redistribution of functions deemed desirable could be taken into account.

The Northern Rhodesian Government consequently felt that a fiscal review commission appointed at this time was unlikely to be able to recommend adjustments which would enable the serious budgetary difficulties of any or all of the Governments to be resolved. As such a commission of the Government would be appointed, the Northern Rhodesian Government would place before it a full statement of how seriously its services and development were being restricted by the present fiscal arrangements, accompanied by a considerable case for a more favourable distribution of tax and loan resources, in order to enable that damaging position to be alleviated.

Of 31,191 African employees eligible to vote, 20,866 have voted in favour of strike action on the Copperbelt and 338 against in a ballot held by the Northern Rhodesia African Mineworkers' Union.

Conciliation talks between the Northern Rhodesia Mineworkers' Union and Mufulira Copper Mines, Ltd., over the reinstatement of a European who was dismissed for striking an African miner have broken down.



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Parliament

Mr. Sandys's Visit to Federation

Statement to House of Commons

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, told the House of Commons last Thursday:—

"I returned yesterday from Salisbury, where I had discussions with the Government of the Federation about various problems in the Federal sphere. In accordance with established practice, I also consulted the Federal Government about the proposals of H.M. Government for the amendment of the Constitution of Northern Rhodesia. In this connexion, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia came to see me in Salisbury, as also did Sir John Moffat.

"During my stay in the Federation I paid a short visit to Nyasaland, where I had talks with the Governor, Dr. Banda, and other Ministers. While in Salisbury I also had meetings with the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia.

"The House will not expect me to say anything at this stage about the conclusions to be drawn from my visit. There will be no avoidance of announcing my decisions which may be reached.

MR. STRACHEY: "Does not the rt. hon. gentleman agree that it is extremely important that the Government should announce decisions on the inter-related problems in this whole area, and especially on the Constitution for Northern Rhodesia? Is he aware that, especially in the case of the situation in Northern Rhodesia, and more disturbing and that, in the words of *The Times* today, 'every day's delay now darkens the prospect'?"

MR. SANDYS: "Everyone quotes *The Times* when it suits their purpose. There will be no delay which can be avoided in announcing my decisions which may be reached.

MR. MALL: "Can my rt. hon. friend say whether he has been able to make a new approach to these very difficult problems which have now been under discussion for well over a year?"

MR. SANDYS: "There is little new about this problem."

MR. THORPE: "Can the rt. hon. gentleman help us a little more in regard to Northern Rhodesia? He will be aware that it is over a year since the last Constitution was first published, and then varied. Can he tell us when the people of Northern Rhodesia will know their fate? How many weeks will it be before an announcement is made?"

MR. SANDYS: "It will be made as soon as possible."

London Responsible for Decision

MR. STRACHEY: "There is one thing upon which the Secretary of State has written *The Times* today, and that is that if the House wishes to change or dissolve the Central African Federation it is in the power of this House, and of no other House, to do so."

MR. SANDYS: "As the rt. hon. gentleman knows, Parliament does not possess the power to deprive itself of the right to legislate for any British territory which is not fully independent. On the other hand, there are other established conventions for legislating for self-governing dependencies."

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Does the Secretary of State agree with the conclusion in *The Times* today that a bitter pill has to be swallowed, that it is in Westminster that the decision about the future of the Federation will have to be taken, and that this responsibility cannot be delegated to Salisbury?"

MR. SANDYS: "The responsibility for deciding what shall be the Constitution of Northern Rhodesia rests here, in London. On the other hand, as the hon. Member knows, we have a well established obligation to consult the Federal Government about this, and that is what we have done."

MR. CALLAGHAN: "Are the Government now in a position, where, having consulted the Federal Government and other responsible authorities, they are ready to reach their own conclusion and publish it to the House and Northern Rhodesia?"

MR. SANDYS: "That is what we are in the process of doing."

MR. GOODHEW asked the Colonial Secretary what estimate he had made of the effect upon the economy of Nyasaland of the secession of that territory from the Federation and the withdrawal of the subventions at present paid by the Federal Government.

MR. MAUDLING: "The financial and economic problems that would arise were Nyasaland to withdraw from the Federation are considerable. They were set out in general terms in paragraphs 57-59 of the Monckton Report."

MR. GOODHEW: "Has not my rt. hon. friend some accurate estimate? Surely, before the Monckton Commission recommended the possibility of secession it must have had an estimate put before it? Could he say if this could be made available to the House?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I doubt if we could add at all to what the Monckton Commission said. We can give certain figures of the amount of revenue received by Nyasaland from the Federation, but the economic effects of secession would be widespread."

MR. G. M. THOMSON: "Will the Minister bear in mind as a precedent that, when Jamaica expressed a desire to secede from the West Indian Federation, we did not allow the economic costs of this to be the deciding factor?"

MR. MAUDLING: "There is the difference that Jamaica is standing on her own feet financially."

MR. THOMSON asked what consultations there had been with Nyasaland and Barotseland about their future constitutional arrangements in connexion with the future of the Federation.

MR. MAUDLING: "The future constitutional position of Nyasaland and Barotseland was a subject of discussion during my visit to Central Africa last December. The Livingstone views have been invited on the way in which the new constitutional arrangements for Northern Rhodesia should be applied to Barotseland, and his reply is awaited."

MR. THOMSON: "Is the Minister aware that the ill-judged visit by the Commonwealth Relations Secretary to Barotseland during the present week has complicated an already difficult situation? Can he give the House some enlightenment as to the nature of his rt. hon. friend's talks, since the constitutional future of Barotseland is the Colonial Secretary's responsibility?"

MR. MAUDLING: "The hon. Member should confess, ill-judged remarks with respect to this."

MR. STONEHOUSE asked the Colonial Secretary when he expected to announce the details of the new Northern Rhodesian Constitution.

MR. MAUDLING: "I hope to make a statement soon."

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Has the rt. hon. gentleman's attention been drawn to the leading article in *The Times* today which makes the very valid point that every day's delay now darkens the prospect? Does not the rt. hon. gentleman think that the longer this goes on the more it seems likely that Sir Roy Welenski's presence is being successful? What does he mean by 'soon'?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I read *The Times* leading article first thing this morning, as I always do, but I cannot say more than that I hope to make a statement soon. I agree that the sooner it is made the better; but 'soon' is 'soon' and I cannot define it in terms of days."

MR. THOMSON: "The Opposition have been extremely patient about this. Would not the rt. hon. gentleman agree that delays are now reaching the stage of being positively dangerous?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I should like to state an exact time, but I cannot do so at present. I recognize the need for an early announcement, but I am anxious to get the right announcement."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that the dreary defeatism of the leading article will find little echo in this country?"

MR. MAUDLING: "It is one thing to read *The Times*; it is another thing to comment on it."

MR. M. FOOT: "Has the rt. hon. gentleman anything to say about the general suspicion that he wrote the leading article as well as read it?"

MR. MAUDLING: "Internal evidence is against that, because my standards of English are not adequate."

Encouraging African Advancement

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked what special arrangements were made to ensure the suitable employment of Northern Rhodesian Africans who qualified in the legal and other professions.

MR. MAUDLING: "I have asked the Governor what particular steps have been taken following the report of the local committee under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice which advised on entry into and training for the legal profession. I will write to the hon. Member when I have the Governor's reply."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "May I ask my rt. hon. friend whether he does not agree that for the cause of African advancement it is vital that those Africans who qualify for the professions should be given every help and encouragement? If I send my rt. hon. friend details of a personal case which is rather disturbing will he look into it?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I certainly agree about the importance of this matter, and I will be glad to look into any personal case."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked to what extent murder, other crimes of violence, and crimes involving witchcraft, had increased in Nyasaland during the last year.

MR. MAUDLING: "There was a slight increase in these crimes between 1960 and 1961. The 'Protectorate' generally is orderly, and the increase is attributable to increased police coverage in rural areas rather than to any significant deterioration in law and order."

"Following are the comparative statistics:

| | Number of cases | |
|---|-----------------|-------|
| | 1960 | 1961 |
| Murder, manslaughter, infanticide, and attempted murder | 145 | 150 |
| Grievous harm and woundings | 2,337 | 2,625 |
| Arson | 747 | 732 |
| Malicious damage | 456 | 491 |
| Witchcraft | 31 | 46 |

COMMANDER DONALDSON asked why Chief Masula of the Lilongwe district of Nyasaland had resigned.

MR. MAUDLING: "Because he was no longer acceptable as chief to his people, and hence could not effectively administer his area."

COMMANDER DONALDSON: "May I ask whether it is not the fact that chieftainships in Nyasaland are by the consent of the people and that it is implied that the chief rule by the agreement of their people? ... It is also the fact that this chief, who had objected to the Law Congress Party at the Lancaster House Conference, was shortly thereafter subjected to public humiliation which created circumstances that caused him to resign?"

"As Nyasaland is under the protection of the Crown, is it not the responsibility of H.M. Government to see that the system of chieftainship and the maintenance of law is protected? Will you take steps to do whatever is necessary to ensure that the chiefs who are at present opposing the Law Congress Party are not coerced to give up their offices and are humiliated and lose the confidence of their people?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I should like to look into the point about humiliation. I am not altogether happy about the position of chiefs in Nyasaland. My hon. and gallant friend is quite right unless you have support of their people, they cannot effectively carry out their duties as chiefs."

DR. D. JOHNSON asked the Colonial Secretary to publish a list of cases of ritual murder that had occurred in Nyasaland during the past 12 months.

Ritual Murders

MR. MAUDLING: "There have been two cases of so-called ritual murder in the past 12 months. I have asked the hon. member for particulars and will circulate them later."

DR. JOHNSON: "May I ask my hon. friend whether he agrees that these reports are extremely disturbing and are illustrations of the danger of allowing primitive people premature self-government?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I should not like to draw any deductions from these two particular cases until I have had the details."

SIR G. NICHOLSON: "Is it not time that tribute was paid to the high standard of law and order maintained in Nyasaland at present?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I am grateful to my hon. friend for that supplementary question. I said earlier that the present state of law and order in Nyasaland is satisfactory."

MR. WALL asked for a statement about the constitutional future of Nyasaland.

MR. MAUDLING: "I have nothing to say at present, except that the Constitution which was introduced last summer is working well. Steps are now being taken, in accordance with the Federal White Paper of August 1960, to replace the two nominated official members who sit in the Executive Council by elected members."

MR. WALL: "Is my hon. friend aware that Dr. Banda is alleged to have said on numerous occasions that he wishes Nyasaland to secede? Will he tell the House whether secession is constitutionally possible?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I think that questions of constitutional changes in the Federation are more for my hon. friend, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations than for me, but certainly Dr. Banda has made it absolutely clear that his policy is secession, and it was on that policy that he was elected."

MR. JOHN HALL asked if the Prime Minister was aware that the Kenya Government supported the claim that non-designated officers should be treated on the same basis as designated officers? If there was any doubt in the matter, was it not right that the non-designated officers should be given the benefit of that doubt?

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I quite understand the problem. I am in consultation with the Secretary of State for the Colonies. I will continue to keep in close touch with him about these matters, but I should prefer not to go further than that today."

DR. KING: "Is the Prime Minister aware that questions in the House today have revealed that on both sides there is disquiet about the injustice being done to a group of men who have served H.M. Government in Kenya very faithfully?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I understand that point, which we

discussed only last Tuesday, and for that reason I am in touch with my hon. friend on this matter."

MR. G. BROWN: "Will the Prime Minister look up the precedents which the Labour Government established at the time of the independence of India, and the very large sum of money—about £20m.—which was then paid to maintain the morale of the civil service concerned? Will he take that into account in deciding to be as generous as he can in the case of Kenya?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Yes, sir, but I think that this is rather a different matter. This is a matter between officers recruited by H.M. Government, and officers recruited locally."

Breach of Faith

DR. KING asked the Colonial Secretary if some of the non-designated civil servants in Kenya had been recruited overseas in exactly the same way as some of the designated men who had become designated as a result of the Ladbury revision? "Is he aware that the differentiation which he makes in the conditions of service, and in protection if Kenya becomes independent, as between designated and non-designated men when both are doing exactly the same job, is regarded by the non-designated men as an injustice and a breach of faith and of promises made in documents which they have already submitted to the hon. gentleman?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I cannot accept that there has been any breach of faith. This problem has given me a great deal of concern, but there is a clear distinction between people recruited for service in the Overseas Civil Service generally, that is in the overseas territories as a whole, and people recruited by a particular Government for service in that particular territory. That is the basis of the distinction, and I think it valid."

MR. AUBREY: "Does the hon. gentleman know that there is a schoolmaster in Kenya who receives approximately £1,000 a year while men who are doing the same job as he is designated to receive nearly £2,000? Is he aware that designated officers receive in pay and emoluments more than twice the amount that non-designated officers receive? Are there any officers who perform the same class of duty, and that Asian schoolmasters who are designated have serving under them designated officers with higher pay?"

MR. MAUDLING: "Basic salaries in Kenya are common to all serving officers. They were fixed on the basis of the report of the Planning Commission."

"In addition an inducement allowance of about 50% to 50% of basic salary plus education allowances for their dependants, all paid for by the Government under the Overseas Service Aid Scheme. This makes it possible for some junior officers, if designated, to receive more than some senior officers, if they are not designated. These arrangements were approved by the House when it passed the Overseas Service Act in 1961."

DR. KING: "Is the hon. gentleman aware that the replies which the Prime Minister gave to representations made to him earlier this week seem much more sympathetic than what he has said today? Will he look carefully into the position?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I have looked into it closely. After seeing deputations I recommend the Government to take representations of these territories. If they do not accept my representations there is nothing I can do about it, because it is their responsibility to decide what the settlement should be."

Communist Money Sent to Kenya

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Will the hon. gentleman bear in mind the importance of bringing the Kenya Constitutional Conference to an end as quickly as possible and agreeing to an early date for independence, bearing in mind that, the longer the period of uncertainty lasts the greater is the danger of 'funk' money leaving the country and a general economic rundown?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I am not quite sure what the hon. gentleman means by 'funk' money. Our purpose at the conference is to reach agreement on the Constitution. I regard that as being of absolutely fundamental importance and regard it as essential."

MR. GOODREW asked the Colonial Secretary if he was aware that large sums of money were being sent to Kenya from Communist countries for subversive purposes.

MR. MAUDLING: "I have seen persistent reports to this effect. But there is no legal ban on gifts of money entering Kenya, and it is difficult to see how one could be made effective."

MR. GOODREW: "Does not my hon. friend think it ridiculous that, while the Government and many others from Kenya are doing their best to reach some political solution for the troubles, money should be allowed into Kenya for the express purpose of making that impossible? Has he not heard or read of the recent statement by Mr. Odinga, who even suggested that there was nothing much wrong with Communism for Africa?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I cannot comment on individual statements, particularly if they are made in the Constitutional Conference, which is confidential at present. I do not see how we could take legal powers to stop money going into Kenya from

Communist sources, it might well come through Britain itself or through other third countries'.

MR. SHINWELL: "While far from condoning any Communist interference in Kenya's affairs—if such be the case—so that we may see the whole picture, will the rt. hon. gentleman, if he makes an inquiry, inform the House about the vast sums of money being sent to Kenya to certain principal persons in the Government party, of which H.M. Government are well aware, as I am?"

MR. MAUDLING: "One cannot prevent gifts of money going into Kenya, from whatever source, to individuals there. I know of no legal way to stop it. But I share my hon. friend's concern at the development of Communist propaganda in this part of Africa. It is a growing difficulty which we must be prepared to face."

MR. G. M. THOMSON: "Does the rt. hon. gentleman agree that the best way to ensure that the Communists waste their money is to have a speedy and successful conclusion to the Constitutional Conference at Lancaster House?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I entirely agree."

MR. WALL asked the Colonial Secretary what action he was taking to ensure the impartiality of the electoral and returning officers in the coming elections in Buganda.

MR. MAUDLING: "I have carefully examined the arrangements which the Governor has agreed with the Kabaka's Government for the supervision of the elections in Buganda, and I am satisfied that everything possible has been done to ensure that the officers concerned will carry out their duties impartially."

MR. WALL: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that one of the posters, professing that it is for the Kabaka Yekka, or the Kabaka's Party, and that the election address of the party has a picture of the Kabaka in the uniform of the Brigade of Guards on the cover, and that many of the electoral returning officers are his subjects? Would it not therefore be better to choose returning officers from outside Buganda?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I have looked closely at the arrangements for the electoral returning officers and have discussed them with Mr. Kiwanuka. I am satisfied that, in fact, no undue weight will be exercised on the elections by people acting as returning officers. I doubt to what extent the photograph of the Kabaka in the uniform of the Guards would influence an election one way or the other."

Attempt to Reduce Federal Authority House Rejects Mr. Dingle Foot's Motion

AN ATTEMPT by Mr. Dingle Foot, Socialist M.P. for Ipswich, to deprive the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland of authority over immigration and emigration was defeated in the House of Commons last week by 232 to 168 votes, after the Attorney-General had argued that any piecemeal changes in the Federal Constitution were undesirable and untimely.

It was anomalous, Mr. Foot argued, that the Colonial Secretary, still answerable for the administration of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, should have no authority to say who might enter the territories. The sole discretion given to the Federal Government in that regard had, he alleged, been used capriciously and arbitrarily. People had been forbidden to enter the Federation or ordered to leave it merely because their political views were unwelcome to the Federal authorities.

When the United Nations had recently wanted to place observers in the Federation in connexion with operations in Katanga, the Federal Government had rejected the request, and the role of the United Kingdom Government in sending the reply from Salisbury to New York had been merely that of sub-editor and postman.

Sir Roy Welensky had recently invoked an announcement made in 1957 which said: "The United Kingdom recognizes the existence of a convention applicable to the present stage of the constitutional evolution of the Federation, whereby the U.K. Government is not to initiate any legislation in regard to the Federation, nor to deal with any matter included within the competence of the Federal Legislature except at the request of the Federal Government."

The comment of the Monckton Commission had been: "This announcement refers only to powers conferred upon the Federal Legislature by the Constitution, and it cannot affect the legislative authority of the U.K. Parliament to provide for the future constitutional development of the Federation and for this purpose to make any necessary amendments to the Constitution itself. It is essential that right should be re-

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LORD ROBINS ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION IN THE FEDERATION

THE SIXTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY WILL BE HELD ON MARCH 22 at The Chartered Insurance Institute, 20 Aldermanbury, London, E.C.2.

The following is the statement by COLONEL THE LORD ROBINS, B.S.O., the President which has been presented with the report and accounts for the year ended September 30, 1961:

There has been no change in the issued capital of the parent company since we met in March, 1961, but there have been one or two changes in the composition of the board. For reasons of health and the pressure of other commitments, Lord Salisbury resigned from the board in April last, and I need not tell stockholders how greatly we miss him and the wise counsels that he invariably brought us. We have been fortunate in gaining as a colleague Sir Frederick Crawford, G.C.M.G., D.B.E., who retired from the Colonial Service towards the end of 1961 after a career of great distinction, all spent in Africa; he has assumed appointment as our resident director in Africa and with Lord Malvern will give the board strong representation in the Federation. We are also delighted to record that Her Majesty in the New Year Honours advanced Mr. Keith Acutt to be a Knight Commander of the British Empire.

Accounts

CONSOLIDATED PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT: Mineral revenue dropped by over £1,300,000 as a result of the voluntary curtailment in copper production and the consistently lower level of market prices for base metals generally, to which I referred when I was addressing you at the annual meeting in March last. On the other hand, gross income from investments rose by over £500,000 to a new record of £3,576,000; interest and underwriting commission rose by £150,000 to £514,000. Although these three principal sources of recurrent profits decreased in the aggregate by £803,000 from £15,196,000 to £14,393,000, or by 5% it is nevertheless fair to claim that the Group's earning power was well maintained.

There are, however, other credits and charges in this year's profit and loss account which require explanation. The profits less losses on realization of investments amounting to £1,811,000 derived principally from the sale of South African securities to Rand Selection Corporation, Limited, at market values on November 11, 1960, to which I referred in my statement last March. At the date of the balance-sheet there had been a decline in the market value of Rhodesian and South African securities, and £1,733,000 has been charged in the profit and loss account to provide for writing down certain investments held by dealing subsidiaries to market value.

The Group's provision for taxation for the year under

review at £5,610,000 is £210,000 larger than last year. This is due partly to the increase in the rate of profits tax in the United Kingdom but more especially to the increase from 7s. 6d. to 8s. in the £ in the rate of income tax imposed on companies subject to Federal and territorial taxes in Rhodesia. It has also been necessary to make an adjustment of £193,000 in respect of taxes in the previous year.

Out of the consolidated net profit of £7,960,000, the sum of £852,000 has been retained by subsidiary companies. The profit available for distribution to the parent company is £7,108,000, and after deducting £1,000,000 paid last October as an interim dividend, the directors recommend:—

Final dividend of 5s. 6d. per unit or share less income tax £3,028,000
Transfer to general reserve

The balance on profit and loss account to be carried forward will be increased by £279,000 to a total of £2,734,500.

The interim dividend of 2s. which was paid on October 26, 1961, together with the proposed final dividend of 5s. 6d. to be paid on March 31, 1962, will make a total of 7s. 6d. per unit or share.

Consolidated Balance-Sheet.

The capital and reserves of the Group at September 30, 1961, stood at £47,816,000 a decrease of £2,750,000 compared with the position a year earlier. Of the surplus on investments of £7,852,000 previously shown under the heading capital reserves £6,320,000 has been used by the directors to write down the aggregate book value of investments held in subsidiary dealing companies and the balance of £1,532,000 credited to the consolidated profit and loss account being that part of the surplus relating to sales of securities outside the Group.

The result has been that the Group's investments had a book value of £44,124,000 at the date of the balance-sheet, compared with a market value of £52,363,000. Since the end of the financial year there has been a considerable recovery in South African goldmining shares, and I shall be able to give you an up-to-date market valuation at the annual meeting.

You will see that fixed assets, after depreciation, have increased in the aggregate by £495,000, mainly as a result of capital expenditure on the parent company's forestry and agricultural estates. Current assets at £8,980,000 are shown as less than current liabilities and provisions by £833,000. But you will note that in addition to the short-term British Government securities included in the current assets the Group held a further £2,000,000 of British Government securities amongst its investments.

The gross investment income of the Group was £3,576,000, compared with £3,002,000 in the previous year. The board has confidence in the earning power of its investments in Rhodesia and South Africa, and I feel that once again I must record that the investments outside Africa have been made from the Group's income arising from its general investment business, including naturally the revenues of The Rhodesia Railway Trust, Limited. Of the Group's total investments, including property interests, approximately three-quarters by book values are in Africa.

Investments

The Group's policy is unchanged; the development of the Federation is the primary field for employing its financial resources. Indeed, its investments in the Federation in the past year increased and will continue to increase in the future. I would mention, for example, that a loan of £100,000 was made to the Southern Rhodesia African Housing Fund and a loan of £120,000 to the National Archives Building Board. Additional finance was provided for The Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company, Limited.

Investments in the Republic of South Africa now come almost entirely of our holdings in Rand Selection Corporation, Limited, and Unkar Corporation, Limited. The transfer of South African mining and finance holdings to Rand Selection Corporation was dealt with fully in my statement to you last year, and I have only to add that this corporation is now firmly established as a great mining finance house equipped to play a very important role in the financing and development of the mining industry. The corporation has recently raised a substantial loan in the United States and Canada, details of which were made public at the time. Since the end of our financial year, it has increased its annual rate of dividend from 2s. 9d. to 3s. The first dividend from this large investment was received after the end of the year under review and so is not included in the accounts now submitted.

During the whole of the financial year depressed conditions prevailed in the gold-mining share market and I might mention that the *Financial Times* gold-mining share index shows that there was a fall of no less than 19% during the period October 1, 1960—to September 30, 1961.

During the year the Group made their first payment of 25% on the £5,500,000 3½ per cent. Unsecured Loan Stock 1966-71 in The Consolidated Zinc Corporation, Limited, on which I reported a year ago. The balance of 75% on the Loan Stock, amounting to £4,125,000, will be payable as to one-third in the current year and one-third in each of the two following years. It was announced at the end of January that the boards of The Consolidated Zinc Corporation and The Rio Tinto Company, Limited, had reached agreement to recommend to their shareholders a complete merger of the two companies. We have been informed that our Group's interests will be fully protected, but until the proposed scheme has been approved by the shareholders of the two companies we shall not know whether there will be any change in the security we hold.

In connexion with our projected Canadian land investment we have acquired a controlling interest in Coniaurum Holdings, Limited, a Toronto company, which is now a subsidiary of Cecil Holdings, Limited. It is through this company that we hope to make our land investment in Western Canada about which I reported to you at our last annual meeting. Accompanied by our Group investment manager, I recently visited the property near Vancouver and was greatly impressed by it. The assets of Coniaurum Holdings, Limited, still consist wholly of cash, pending conclusion of the

negotiations, which have been necessarily long and complicated.

I should like to draw your attention to the affairs of our investment subsidiary, The Rhodesia Railways Trust, Limited. The market value of its investments at September 30, 1961, were £13.75 million, compared with £11.6 million the previous year and £10 million two years ago. The net profit of the Trust was £275,100, compared with £253,900 the previous year, and £215,600 at September 30, 1959. The net assets of the Trust, after deducting £1 million loan capital, now amount to £12.9 million. I think you will agree that we may feel some satisfaction in the progress made by this subsidiary company in building up a very valuable asset for the Group.

Among our Group's intentions, I would record that we have promised the Federal Government to lend it the £4 million which was provided for Kariba as and when the repayment instalments fall due. This will be devoted to development projects in the Federation.

Estates

You will be glad to know that our citrus property at Muzo is being expanded rapidly, aided by the greatly increased flow of water from irrigation, which has been made available by reconstructing the Masek Dam and adding 10 feet to the height of the dam wall. In due course this Estate with 42,000 acres and 100 miles of main irrigation canals, and 144 miles of concrete furrows to serve them, will be one of the biggest single citrus properties in the world.

The planting programmes on our important forestry estates at Melsbeter and Imbeza take into account the softwood requirements of Central Africa for the years to come, and I may tell you that in this case we are planning as far ahead as the end of the century. Our forestry enterprises are associated with modern saw-milling plants, able to kiln-dry and process the necessary volumes of commercial timber.

Mining and Prospecting

Last year I reported record copper production of 560,000 tons. This year, due to planned restriction of output, production decreased to 537,000 tons. The capacity of the industry has however, increased further. Mufulira West has now started producing in a small way and will by July, 1967, have a capacity at the rate of 50,000 tons a year.

Capital expenditure continues both at Bancroft and at Nchanga with a view to increasing capacity within the next two years.

At the Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Company, Limited, the new Imperial vertical furnace is being run in. When it is in full operation it will improve extraction recovery and effect material reductions in production costs, at the same time increasing production by 25,000 tons of zinc and 13,000 tons of lead a year.

Mining revenue, after providing for the payment to the Northern Rhodesia Government of 20% of the net revenue, decreased from £11,835,000 to £10,303,000. Provided market prices for metals remain their present levels and there are no strikes or any further planned restriction in output, mineral revenue should expand in the current year.

Your board is fully aware that there exists criticism in some quarters of the Company's enjoyment until 1986 of these mineral revenues, the rights to which are enshrined in a series of treaties and agreements extending over the past sixty-odd years and which more recently have been guaranteed by the British and Nor-

thern Rhodesia Governments in the Mineral Rights Agreement of 1950.

I must yet again emphasize that the treaties and agreements referred to were made freely and honourably with African chiefs under the scrutiny and with the confirmation of Her Majesty's Government of the day, and it would be an inconceivable breach of faith if these were to be repudiated by the political leaders of today, principally because, after decades of pioneering, they have at last proved profitable.

There is much loose talk bandied about of huge sums which, it is alleged, are being and will be taken out of Africa. Let us look at the record. Gross mineral revenue in the year ended September 30, 1961, amounted to £12,856,000. After deducting administrative costs, the Northern Rhodesia Government's 20% share of mineral revenue amounted to £2,552,000, while Federal and territorial taxation on the balance at the rate of 8s. in the £ amounted to £4,065,000. These two items absorbed £6,617,000, equivalent to 52% of the gross mineral revenue. Furthermore, during the year, the Group invested £3,016,000 in Africa, so that you will note that 75% has remained there. In addition the Group employs a large proportion of its liquid funds in short-term investments in Rhodesia.

The balance, and not least the territories in the Federation, require the constant injection from overseas sources of huge sums of fresh capital if the standard of living of their peoples is to be raised. But this objective cannot be achieved, much less maintained, by unprofitable investments in ventures which fail to make profits.

Seeking Outlets for Investments

The Group is sometimes criticized by Africans and Europeans on the ground that it does not promote more actively the diversification of industry in Northern Rhodesia. On the contrary, we are constantly searching for promising outlets for investment in that territory, and have already participated in the mining, milling, baking, transport and cement manufacturing industries. We have also invested in fixed property, including a multi-racial hotel in Lusaka which loses money but contributes to public convenience on a high standard. We shall continue to seek profitable outlets, but we have resisted, and will continue to resist, suggestions that it would benefit the country or its peoples to invest in failures or to squander capital for propaganda purposes.

The mining industry, on which the economy and thus the employment of the majority of the people depends directly or indirectly, is still in our view the best prospect for successful investment and development.

Political dangers and threats in Northern Rhodesia have reduced stock market values to a point where gross dividend yields of over 20% are normal, even for established mines with long lives. In these circumstances it becomes impossible to raise from outside sources the £20 to £30 million required to finance a new copper mine with a capacity of 40,000 or 60,000 tons a year even if the grade of the ore is better than 3% copper, which would be considered high by current world standards.

Nonetheless this Group and its friends again spent nearly £1 million last year on prospecting and drilling in Northern Rhodesia in the search for new mineral deposits. We did this naturally in the hope of achieving success but also in the belief that this policy is in the best long-term interest of all the people living in Northern Rhodesia. This is after all but an extension of what The British South Africa Company practised throughout the long unrewarding years of administering

the territory, of building all its railways, roads and public buildings prior to 1924, and thereafter in prospecting for minerals till then undiscovered.

Indeed, our stockholders, who for 35 years had received no dividend, were highly critical of this policy. For a further 22 years dividends were modest, averaging 1s. 3d. per stock unit, and it is only in the last 15 years that the board has been able to be more generous.

Unless the prospects of political stability are restored it is most improbable that the capital to bring any new mineral discoveries into production will come from any source other than through the great mining companies in Northern Rhodesia, including this Group, ploughing back over many years part of their profits remaining after tax. This we have done and will continue to do. But first the new mineral deposits must be found and proved. Secondly, those who have the knowledge, experience and skill must be allowed, after contributing through taxation their fair share of the revenues of the territory, to dispose, as to them seems wise, the balance of profit to reward capital invested in the past and to provide the new capital to ensure the growth of the economy. It is in that endeavour that we persevere, and your Board will not allow itself to be diverted from it by political pressure or ignorant criticism.

Constitutional Form

When I addressed you last year, this was a burning question in the Federation and in its component territories. It still is, so far as Northern Rhodesia and the Federation itself are concerned. Nyasaland has its new Constitution and has held elections which provided an overwhelming majority in Legislative Council and powerful representation in Executive Council. Banda's Malawi Party, Investors and all who are interested in the future of Central Africa will watch events in Nyasaland carefully and adjust their policies accordingly.

Political solutions, however attractive they may seem, must be related to and permit of economic initiative and expansion for the true welfare and progress of States; and Nyasaland is no exception.

In Southern Rhodesia, proposals for a more advanced new Constitution were handsomely endorsed by the electorate at a referendum and will now be implemented. It is to be hoped that, when elections are held in a few months' time, the African citizens of that country will avail themselves of the opportunity offered by the new constitution to take a significant place in its political affairs. Disorders there have been and serious intimidation; but there seems every prospect that once a measure of responsibility has been extended to Africans and they have been brought into the administration, these troubles will gradually disappear.

There remains the problem of Northern Rhodesia, where, as I have said above, The British South Africa Company's stake is a large one, not only as the recipient of mineral royalties but by reason of the financial backing it has given to the mining industry and the money it has spent, and is spending, on prospecting for further mineral resources. It is essential that whatever Constitution may be adopted should not only ensure the retention of government in responsible hands but should also adequately protect the mining industry on which the whole economy of the country has been built up.

So far as the Federation itself is concerned, there can be no doubt that, when the Constitutional discussions are resumed, it will be found desirable to re-allocate some of its functions to the territorial Governments. The important thing is to preserve those large common services which are operated inter-territorially.

I must say a word about the Katanga. Attacks have been made on the Company—on our whole Group—in Parliament and in the Press, alleging that financial interest in the Katanga has led us to give active support to the Tshombe regime. May I say at once that no company in our Group holds a single share in any concern operating in the Katanga or in any other part of the Congo. We have a natural anxiety as indeed has everyone in Rhodesia, over the tragic events which have overtaken that prosperous and hitherto law-abiding country and for the acts of violence which are occurring within literally a few yards of the Northern Rhodesia border.

Northern Rhodesia and the Katanga have a common boundary of some 1,200 miles. Anyone who examines the map of that region can see that the "Congo Pedicle" cuts down into the heart of Northern Rhodesia and separates the Copperbelt from the northern provinces of that territory. The large influential Lunda tribe

straddles the frontier, and those members living in Northern Rhodesia owe their allegiance to a Paramount Chief in the Katanga. Tribal conflagrations along the frontier might well endanger the economy of the Copperbelt and the safety of its inhabitants. It is therefore essential that law and order, which is at the present time the joint responsibility of the British and local Governments, should be maintained in this area.

For this reason the Company must support Sir Roy Welensky and his Government in the measures that have been taken, at the request of the Northern Rhodesia Government, to safeguard the important enterprises that have been built up so near to the Katanga and to protect the people, white and black, who are engaged in them.

As I write this statement I have just returned from a visit to the Federation, and shall bring my report up to date at the annual meeting of the company on March 22, 1962.

Undiminished Confidence in S. Africa

Great Expansion Planned by Finance Company

CONSOLIDATED MINES CORPORATION has undiminished confidence in the mining companies in Southern Africa. Mr. K. C. Scott, the chairman, says in his annual statement, which gives details of proposals for great expansion of interests.

The intention is to acquire by way of share exchange large holdings in the British South Africa Company, Selection Trust, Ltd., Central Mining & Investment Corporation, Ltd., and Johannesburg Consolidation Investment Co., Ltd., and minor holdings in Rhodesian Anglo American, Ltd., and Bay Hall together totalling £10,637,469, the vendors being Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., and Rand Selection Corporation, Ltd.

Consolidated Mines Selection has already substantial interests in copper mining in Northern Rhodesia. In the year ended on December 31 it had a profit after taxation of £330,311, against £319,623 in the previous year. Its present issued capital is £1.2m. in 10s. shares, but assets at the end of the year were just over £5m., representing a share valuation of 41s. 9d., the basis for the above transactions.

African Investment Trust

THE AFRICAN INVESTMENT TRUST, LTD., reports profits after tax for the year ended September 30 at £21,752, compared with £122,314 in the previous year, when the profit on sales of stocks and shares was £46,123, compared with £24,643 in 1961. A dividend of 2% takes £1,752, leaving £34,436 to be carried forward. The issued capital is £150,000 in 10s. shares. Investments stand in the books at just over £1m. and current liabilities exceed current assets by about £20,000. An interest free loan of £176,750 is due to the parent company.

During the year 550,000 shares of 5s. each were acquired in Kanyemba Gold Mines, Ltd., a South African company operating mines in Southern Rhodesia.

Brigadier S. K. Thorburn, chairman since 1958, died in November. Mr. Alan H. Ball has been appointed his successor, and in September Messrs. R. W. Rowland and A. J. B. Ogilvy joined the board, of which the other members are Mr. J. N. Kiek and Mr. J. A. Caldecott. Mr. Rowland has recently become joint managing director of London and Rhodesian Mining and Lands Co., Ltd., the parent company, which has acquired substantial assets in Rhodesia which were previously controlled by him.

Two-thirds in value of the investments of African Investment Trust are in companies operating in Africa, 22% in commercial and industrial companies in the United Kingdom, and 11% in American, Canadian and other enterprises.

SOCIÉTÉ MINIERE DU BÉCEKA, of Brussels, which mines diamonds in the Bakwanga area of South Kasai, has perfected a new diamond grading plant which will increase efficiency and substantially reduce further capital costs which were to have been incurred. The Bakwanga properties yielded just over 13m. carats in 1960, and, despite the disturbances in the Congo, the 1961 output is thought likely to have reached a record. Forminière, however, which mines diamonds in the Tshikapa area of Kasai, had a 1961 output of only about 44,000 carats, or about 25% of what had been expected. Some of its installations were damaged.

M.T.D. (Mangula) Report

M.T.D. (MANGULA), LTD., incorporated in Southern Rhodesia, reports net profit for the year to September 30 of £23,724 (1961, £483). Dividend for the year is 10% on the capital reserve increased by £22,500, or 10% carry forward, to £23,274. The issued capital is £5m. in stock units of 5s. Mining revenue in the book at almost £51m. interest in subsidiary total £215,000, and current assets less current liabilities are £5,152,118. The company has a 20% interest in Messina Rhodesia Smelting and Refining Co., Ltd., and has agricultural and township properties.

Copper output amounted to 26,897 short tons (24,015 long tons) of concentrates of an average copper content of 30.4%. Export sales amounted to 10,808 short tons of concentrates containing 3,465 short tons of copper (4,890 long tons in the previous year). Ore reserves at the end of the year are in excess of 26m. short tons, assaying 1.89% copper, and amounted to £261,193. During the year the price of copper fluctuated between £316 and £249 per long ton.

Commander H. F. P. Orentell, R.N. (Retd.), is the chairman, and the other directors are Sir Charles W. Meredith and Messrs. D. E. Cox, F. Elliott, P. O'B. Frost, P. U. Kissik, and C. M. Stuart.

Globe and Phoenix Gold Mining Co., Ltd., reports a working profit in January of £21,036 (December £23,501).

The Ford Motor Company of Rhodesia's new plant in Salisbury has produced its 1,000th unit. The first car came off the production line on July 14.

British cars were the best sellers in 1961 in the territories of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which bought 14,080, a record. Ford of Dagenham headed the list.

Kanyemba Gold Mines, Ltd., Southern Rhodesia, milled 3,200 short tons in January for a working profit of £1,377. Development expenses totalled £3,627.

Because of labour unrest a £2m. development programme, in Kenya, including the building of a sugar refinery at Muhoroni, has been indefinitely suspended.

The Wankie Colliery's January output was 209,648 tons of coal compared with 229,501 tons in December. The coke production figures for the two months were 4,324 tons and 13,628 tons.

At the Areturus Mine, Southern Rhodesia, 7,011 short tons of ore were milled in January for a mine profit of £6,025. At the Muriel Mine, also owned by Coronation Syndicate, Ltd., there was a working profit of £8,235 from 4,931 tons milled.

The chairman and managing director of the Leyland Group, Sir Henry Spurrier and Mr. G. G. Stokes, left on Sunday for a visit of three weeks to South, Central and East Africa. Group sales in Africa have recently increased by more than 36%.

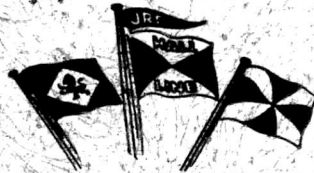
British African Tea Estates, Ltd., Nyasaland, report net profit after tax for the year to June 30 last of £87,923, against £66,208 in the previous year. The dividend is raised from 7% to 12%. There are 2,849 acres under tea, and the production was 3,062,622 lb. (2,529,719 lb.). Fixed assets stand in the balance-sheet at £743,796.

The Sabi Development Committee's Report, tabled in the Federal Parliament, considers development of the Sabi-Lundi basin to be essential to absorb Southern Rhodesia's increasing population. Great extension of irrigated agriculture by peasants is proposed, with extensive development of cotton and citrus growing.

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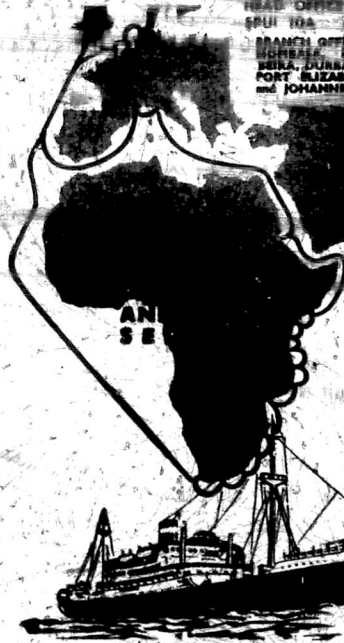


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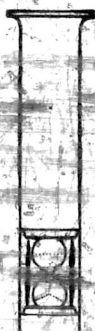
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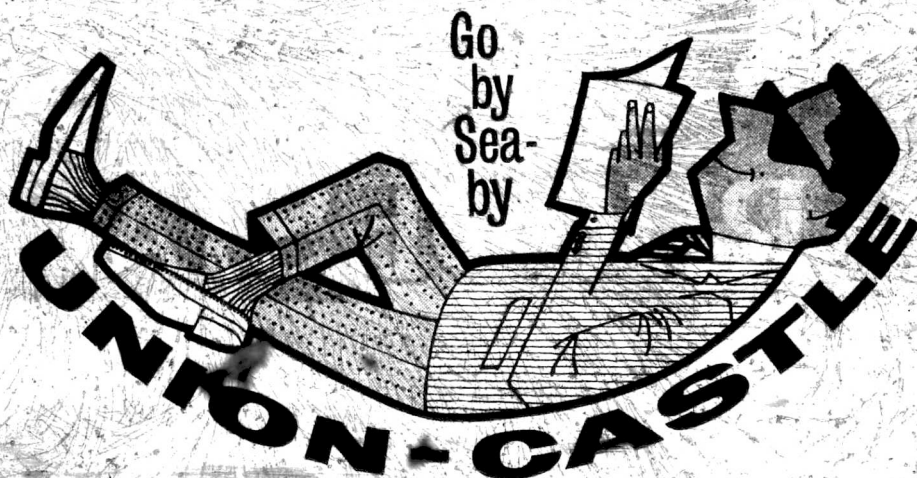
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Invest in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

The economy of the Federation is expanding rapidly. In 1960 the output of manufacturing industry increased by 10%. No longer is the Federation looked upon merely as a primary producer; it has become a market in its own right, and its preference is for British goods. Already the list of manufacturers who have decided to build factories in the Federation includes these impressive names:

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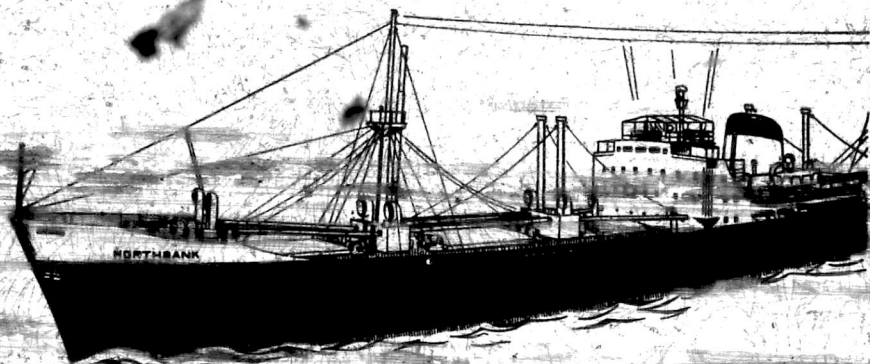
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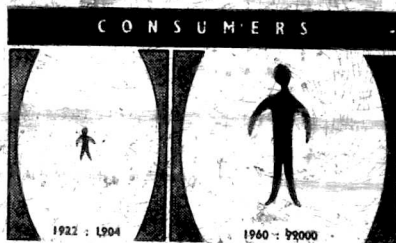
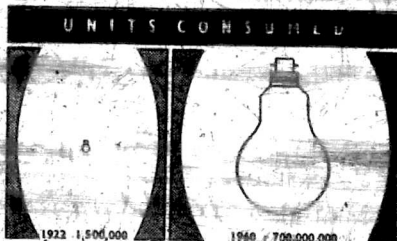
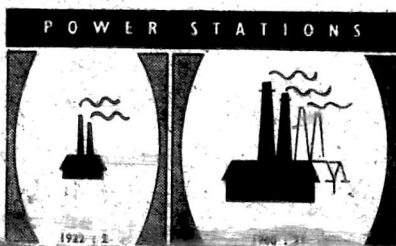
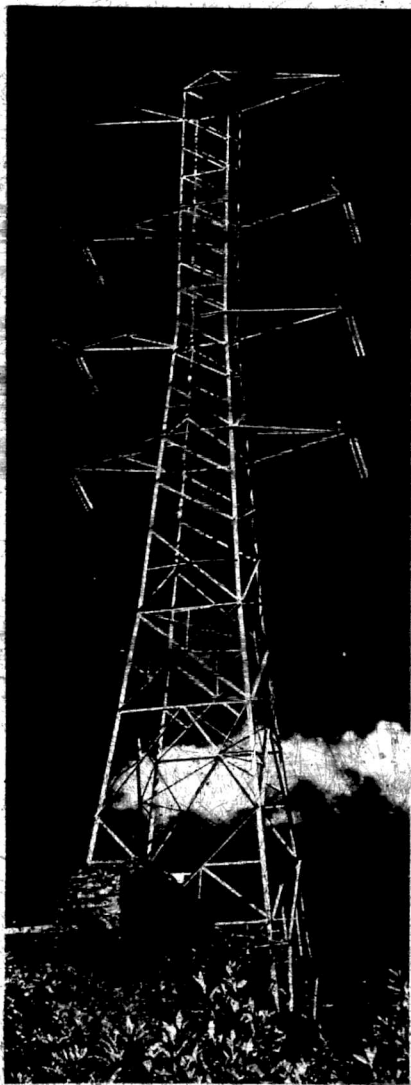
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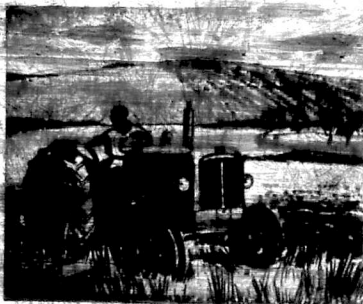
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

ALL THAT CAN BE SAID for the Mandling revision of the Macleod substitute for the original Macleod "dog's breakfast" Constitution for Northern Rhodesia is that it could have been worse on paper, and might therefore have touched off an explosion. It has

Mr. Macmillan's Hallucination

escaped such fury precisely because nobody considers that it can work. That judgment may even be shared by the unfortunate ministerial inheritor of Mr. Macleod's self-opinionated and incompetent amateurism, which has had irreparably mischievous consequences. Mr. Mandling cannot be proud of the puny thing for which he stands *in loco parentis*, and must have said in effect to himself, and perhaps to close confidants: "This misbegotten infant cannot live, but it cannot be strangled. Though that would doubtless be better for all concerned, that kind of rough justice is out of fashion—except, of course, on the grand scale"; and the candid friend might at that point have interposed that the Conservative Government had certainly not treated the Federation as anything grand, but had apparently considered it expendable since Mr. Lennox-Boyd quitted the Colonial Office, almost certainly because he would not be a party to the Prime Minister's sudden, cynical, and complete reversal of the Cabinet policy by which he and his predecessor, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, had been guided. Amazingly, and against all the evidence, Mr. Macmillan still professes that merit is the criterion by which he judges claims for political advancement in Africa. That hallucination is shared by no responsible moderate politicians, white or black, anywhere in East or Central Africa; and both moderates and extremists have reached the conviction that the present United Kingdom Government is determined to jettison its obligations long before its African wards have acquired enough knowledge and experience to bear

the responsibility now carried by their trustees.

In a sane world the idea of entrusting the future of great countries to a Kaunda, Banda, Nkomo, Kenyatta, or the political adventurers in their entourage would have been laughed to scorn. The late, however, is that they must not merely be

Hazarding the Ship of State

haunted, but given the prospect of their death. Although they have never sailed even as cabin boys in the ship of State, they are encouraged to dress up in the uniforms of authority and imagine that that will qualify them to take charge of the vessel. If she founders, with heavy loss of life and of valuable cargo, that will be unfortunate. No, of course the Macmillan Cabinet will not insure the ship: they declined to do so in Kenya, and though that craft is already waterlogged and uninsurable by anyone else, they are not disposed to give cover to the Federation. There was a time when they thought the prospect fair and said fair words, and there are still occasional complimentary references to it and to multi-racialism, but commitment must go no further, even though withdrawal be in itself treachery to the idea and the ideal.

What the new Northern Rhodesian Constitution will obviously not produce is the multi-racialism which it purports to desire. Sir Roy Welensky and Mr. Kaunda are

Frustration Built Into Constitution

agreed that the new provisions for election to the Legislature of fifteen "national" members by the European and African electorates voting together make it certain that in a large majority of those constituencies, if not in all but the one reserved for Asians and Coloureds, no candidate will succeed because none will be able to obtain one-tenth of the

votes cast by electors of the other race as well as a majority from his own race. Yet the Legislature which the United Kingdom Cabinet wants was to have three legs, one European, one African, and a third which may now be found to be entirely missing. The honest course would be to admit that the stool cannot stand on two legs and that something else must be substituted. The intention, however, is to pretend that the third leg is of no consequence. There is another piece of trickery in the false plea that a ten per cent. vote from electors of the race different from that of the candidate would prove that he has "substantial" support from them. Such a suggestion would be dismissed as moonshine in any but a political circle, in which nothing is now too monstrous for acceptance. When "substantial" support had to be defined in Kenya for a comparable purpose it was taken as one-quarter of the votes (though even the new Kenya Party wanted one-third). If that was justifiable in East Africa—where it brought a calamitous result which would have been avoided if thirty-three per cent. had been the qualification—how can a mere ten per cent. be justified in Rhodesia?

Knowing that further folly was to be committed in that country, and that all his representations had been ignored, Sir Roy Welensky flew to London last week, not

Responsibility of U.K. Government.

waste time and argument on what could not be changed, but to try to bring the Macmillan Government face to face with the realities in Central Africa. If plain speaking could have had that salutary result, it would have been attained. Unfortunately, there is good reason to fear that a desperately serious situation was again thrust aside as a little local difficulty. "After me, the deluge" appears to be this Government's motto; but it is one which makes no appeal to men with a robust sense of duty and of destiny. Even before Sir Roy Welensky was airborne after his last talks with Ministers on Friday it was being put about that the future of the Federation was the responsibility of the Federal Government, that if the Federation was to continue in a modified form the proposals should come from Salisbury, and that it was a mystery why Sir Roy should have travelled so far without apparent purpose. The truth is that H.M. Government is even more responsible for the continuation of the Federation than the Federal Government itself, for it created the Federation, dictates policy in two of the three constituent territories, and

to its shame, has failed throughout to demonstrate that there can be no question of the dissolution of a State which, having achieved much in less than nine years, would have achieved immensely more if the world had known that there would be no weakening of United Kingdom confidence and support.

That would not, of course, mean that there would not have to be changes, especially in African political advancement. That is conceded by all reasonable Europeans. What

Deterioration of British Standards.

none of them accept is H.M. Government's ignoble policy of scuttle—more politely termed "disengagement"—in London by people who think it rather bad form for vigorous protests to be made by countries like Southern Rhodesia and Kenya when their existence as civilized States is jeopardized by a Cabinet with no principle except that of appeasement of violent pan-Africanists. While these words are being printed the Federal Assembly will be holding a fateful debate which may result in a general election. The speeches will not make pleasant reading for Conservative Ministers or Members of Parliament in the United Kingdom, who ought nonetheless to read them as a matter of duty. A year ago almost a hundred felt themselves compelled to oppose the Cabinet's readiness to capitulate to U.N.I.F. Now, after weeks of violence by that body, only half the number would sign an innocuous motion. Thus quickly and tragically do British standards deteriorate. Their ostensible guardians are but little concerned.

Statements Worth Noting

"We are told that we must 'come to terms' with Africans, meaning surrender"—Mr. R. Rich, M.P. for Lusaka East.

"The big guns on the Government benches have a terrific 'muzzle velocity'."—Mr. R. Williamson, speaking in the Federal Parliament.

"If we had faith in ourselves, capital from overseas would come here as fast as we require it"—Mr. R. F. Haisted, speaking in the Federal Parliament.

"I attended a Parliamentary course at Westminster and witnessed the constant battle for power in the House of Commons. It is more a game than a battle, a game played for very high stakes and with very few scruples"—Mr. J. W. Swan, speaking in the Federal Parliament.

"The Church in Africa has been far too content to reproduce the social pattern of secular society in its own life; but the Church everywhere is continually exposed to the temptations of conforming to the pattern of society in which it is set"—Dr. Ambrose Reeves, lately Bishop of Johannesburg.

Notes By The Way

Front Page News

EVERY LONDON NEWSPAPER treated Sir Roy Welensky's arrival and the constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia as their main news story last Thursday, and so did many provincials. All suggested that the Government's revision of its so-called "final" decision last June was advantageous to Africans. A two-column heading in *The Times* said: "Gain for Africans in Northern Rhodesia". The *Daily Telegraph* had the captions "Way Paved for African Rule: Sir Roy Fails to Stay Rhodesia Plan"; it gave the whole of its back page to Northern Rhodesia, the top heading over the Parliamentary report reading "Sir Roy Absent from Scene of Defeat". Even the *Financial Times* gave first place to the topic, with a three-column heading "Longer Odds Against Sir Roy Now". The *Guardian* report was entitled "Hurdle Removed for Africans". Another heading in the *Scottishman* was "Scales Tilted Against Welensky". The *Star* had "Sir Roy at Arm's Length", and "No Fears About Tory Revolt".

Broad Hints

BANNER HEADLINES across the eight columns of the front page of the *Daily Express* said: "Ice Cold for Sir Roy: Forty Minute Visit to Macmillan". The *Express* report stated that when the Federal Prime Minister called at Admiralty House on Mr. Macmillan "the atmosphere was frigid; yet it was something of an anti-climax, for it looks as if the immediate cause of the crisis, the new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia, is going to be unworkable anyway". The seven-column heading in the *Daily Mail* was similar, saying "Cool Off, Says Mac: He Gives Sir Roy A Rough Forty Minutes". Mr. Macmillan was charged with showing Sir Roy "the minimum of courtesy" and with not having seen his uninvited guest off at the door. Readers of the *Daily Herald* were told, under a six-column caption "Troops Plan 'Suicidal', Sir Roy Warned: Show-down With Premier", that the Government "is hardly bothering to conceal its displeasure at Battling Welensky's theatrical descent on London. . . . When he went to Admiralty House the Prime Minister was not at the door to welcome him". The similarity of treatment by the three popular papers was striking — as if all three had been given a broad hint from someone in or very close to Admiralty House. "Show-Down Day for Welensky" said the *Daily Mirror*, with the sub-head "He Will See Mac Again After Angry Night Talks".

Conflicting Comments

THE GOVERNMENT was castigated in a *Times* leader for the way in which it had "played fast and loose with both sides", and warned that it "will pay dearly for its actions", and Mr. Kaunda, the U.N.I.P. leader, was told that he cannot now be beaten by his political opponent and will be favoured by further constitutional change unless he makes the great mistake of turning once more to violence. The *Guardian* considered this third draft Constitution "an exquisite compromise between the first two", and likely to produce in Northern Rhodesia either a series of invalid elections or "another Government like the present one, sound, respectable, and representing no one at all." It would, the leader-writer suggested, conduce to dishonest campaigning and perhaps produce a Government of moderates representing

immoderates: "It is magnificent, but it is not democracy; perhaps Mr. Maudling's formula, laughable though it is, is also workable. The Federation is thus safe for a while". The *Scottsman* thought that Mr. Maudling's "deceptively modest changes may have far-reaching and unpleasant political effects; he has made the scheme fairer at the risk of producing frustration and perhaps deadlock. It may yet be unacceptable and unworkable".

Warning About Nationalism

TWO SURPRISES were that the *Express* made no editorial comment, and that the leader in the *Daily Mail* was, on balance, markedly favourable to a Federation which the paper has so frequently attacked. It said, *inter alia*: "We hope that this latest Constitution may last at least for some years. What Central Africa badly needs is a political structure so that the Federation can sort itself out and look to the future. All that of good will pray that this great multi-racial experiment, unique in the world, will succeed, but before it can do so both partners, white and black, must make concessions. . . . The ground has to be cleared of many illusions before an enduring political structure can be built. . . . African nationalism has developed much too fast, but the impetus is too great to be checked. The African illusion is that 'freedom' once achieved will solve all problems. They have yet to learn that if itself it will not even keep the wheels of authority turning. On the contrary, it can lead to disastrous extravagances and to political and economic deterioration".

Racial Discrimination

MOST UNSYMPATHETIC of the leading articles was that in the *Financial Times*, which misrepresented Sir Roy Welensky as determined to make no political concessions to Africans; did him the injustice of comparing his attitude with that of the Government of South Africa; asserted that he does not represent his electorate; and described him as having been intransigent about concessions to the African population, in marked contrast to the readiness of the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia to accept the inevitability of such concessions". The truth, of course, is that the Federal Government has been unfairly blamed in regard to racial discriminations which were the sole responsibility of Southern Rhodesia, and that if that Colony had done a few years ago what it has now done, many of the charges directed to Sir Roy Welensky could never have been sent to any address, let alone the wrong address. Now, of course, the Government headed by Sir Edgar Whitehead is moving with exemplary speed in the right direction, and is receiving splendid backing from many Africans who resent the pressure and the policy of the African nationalist extremists.

Sir Roy a Liability?

CANDID CRITICISM of politicians is an indispensable safeguard of the public interest, but there are obviously right and wrong times for all-out attacks on a leader. The wrong time, almost invariably, is when he is abroad on his country's business, engaged in highly important negotiations; and due to return in a few days, to give a full account to his own Parliament. Last Friday, on

the very day on which Sir Roy Welensky was due to fly back from London after harassed hours of discussion with senior Cabinet Ministers, the *Bulawayo Chronicle* published a long leading article headed "Has He Become A Liability?", and asking Rhodesians if they wished "to risk standing next to a Samson in his supreme moment" and "whether Sir Roy was still an asset or a liability". Such criticism, which came very close to condemnation, was surely untimely while the Federal Prime Minister was battling with the United Kingdom Government for some public assurance about the inviolability of the country of which he is the elected spokesman.

Weakened in Whitehall

HE FACED massive difficulties, and his arguments were inevitably weakened by the knowledge in Whitehall within a few minutes of publication in Rhodesia that he was under fierce attack by a paper which had for years strongly supported the Federation and its Prime Minister. In addition to publishing him in London, the argument prejudged, obviously without adequate evidence, what he was to say in Parliament four days later. How much better it would have been if such remarks had been withheld at least until after the statement of Sir Roy Welensky about his negotiations in London and the debate in the Federal Assembly. On the previous day the same paper had published another leader, entitled "The Last Throes of Anger", which likewise have encouraged British Ministers in their resistance. There was also a defeatist leader in the *Rhodesia Herald*, which suggested that "from today, the people of Southern Rhodesia may wish to look more towards the Government of Southern Rhodesia than to the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland; they may wish to question, with greater intensity than hitherto, the proposition that the continuance of the Federation is essential to the well-being of the people in Central Africa". What advantage could there be in inviting such questioning while the two Prime Ministers were in London for the express purpose of discussing these matters? Both were due back in Salisbury within a few days. Why could the expression of uneasiness not await their return?

Stab in the Back

WHEN THIS WEEK'S special sitting of the Federal Parliament is over, those responsible may regret the publication of such matter. It is to me inconceivable that the proceedings of the three or four days will cause them to reflect with satisfaction on what was written. Even if events were to prove me wrong in that suggestion, I should still consider that the right time for publication would have been after the debate, not at the climax of very difficult negotiations, with the scales heavily weighted against the Federation. If for any reason a responsible publication could not at that time support the Federation's forceful representative, it ought, I suggest, to have refrained from a stab in the back. That harsh description has been used in my presence more than once during the past few days.

Disrespect on TV

VERY OFFENSIVE REMARKS were made by Mr. Paul Johnson when Sir Roy Welensky was interviewed in an ITV programme last Thursday. He was asked: "You seem to be the only person prepared to go the whole hog to maintain the Federation; but have you not a vested interest in it? If there is no Federation, you are out of a job. Is that right?" There must have been general sympathy with the Prime Minister's report that

"that is quite offensive", and anger in many minds at Mr. Johnson's pursuit of the subject with the statement that "If the Federation comes to an end the position of Southern Rhodesia and of people like yourself would be very much diminished in the world, which must be galling to a man of your statesmanlike claims". Nobody is better able to look after himself in a verbal rough-and-tumble than Sir Roy, but that fact cannot justify such aggressive, discourteous, and indeed intolerable innuendoes. A visiting Prime Minister should be able to count upon normal good manners when under cross-examination. Of the many people who have spoken to me about this programme not one had a good word to say for Mr. Johnson. All praised Sir Roy for his self-control—and most gave me samples of the late, and usually unprintable, remarks which they said they would have made in reply. There are too many exhibitionists on TV who mistake slickness for cleverness, asperity for astuteness, and disrespect for candour.

Purblind

FOR YEARS the *Observer* has pleaded, almost week by week, the cause of black African nationalism. Now it has had to admit in a leading article that only three of the 26 independent African States possess 'what we can recognize as parliamentary democracy'. That it brushed aside merely as 'an awkward fact' whereas it is of course proof of the complete unreality of the arguments to which prominence has been given in the paper for years. The honest course would have been to admit that the *Observer* had seriously misled its readers. It did them and the country exactly the same disservice in pleading for the appeasement of Hitler.

Campaigning for Uthuru

"WHEN MR. MAUDLING visited the Copperbelt," writes a reader, "African children—milk by courtesy of Rhokana Corporation, since their parents spend their wages at the beer-halls!—were decked out with placards. Several fat little youngsters bore notices 'We are starving', and I saw one youth of about 16 years of age with a piece of cardboard round his neck which declared 'Good Dead Englishman!' Hundreds of adults of both sexes, smeared with ashes and tribal paint and many of them full of beer, kept screaming for 'Freedom'. Such are our embryo democrats."

D.T.C.

WHITEHALL has an irreverent habit of nicknaming Departments and individuals prominent within them, a habit not very popular in senior circles because the jibe is so often apposite and biting. I hear that the new Department of Technical Co-operation, to which many former members of the staff of the Colonial Office have been transferred to their doleful dissatisfaction is already dubbed the Department of Technical Confusion.

Mr. Macleod Not Amused

MR. MACLEOD, lately Secretary of State for the Colonies, and now chairman of the Conservative Party, is not amused by the many satirical references to politicians in the review "Beyond the Fringe", which for some months had been playing to packed houses in London. According to the diarist of the *Daily Mail*, he sat in the second row one evening last week, frowning frequently as the Government was attacked. "During the devastating imitation of the Prime Minister, Mr. Macleod watched red-faced, and when the bores burst into applause only Mr. Macleod's hand was still."

Sir Roy Welensky: "Britain Has Broken Faith"

Erosion of the Federation Cannot Be Tolerated Any Longer

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, told a special session of the Federal Assembly in Salisbury on Tuesday afternoon that his Government could no longer accept a series of indecisive constitutional negotiations and subsequent changes by the British Government which seemed like a deliberate attempt to destroy the Federation.

He said that he had flown to London to warn of the consequences of further erosion of faith. Even at this late stage, the British Government should scrap its "futile" proposals for Northern Rhodesia, which would produce only stalemate, increased African extremism and "frightening" economic repercussions.

The full text is as follows:

Before the House adjourned at the end of the last sitting, I would recall Parliament's final discussion on the British Government's decision to alter Northern Rhodesia's new Constitution if these should turn out to make important changes. The Secretary of State for the Colonies announced the British Government's decisions on February 28. He told the British Parliament that his Government intended to make only two changes in the scheme as it was left on June 26, 1961. It had been decided to do away with the numerical alternative of 400 votes and reduce the percentage from 12.5 to 10.

Important changes, and I propose to state the Government's objections to them, and also the reasons which impelled me to come to London on February 27.

It will be recalled that towards the end of 1958, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, introduced a new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia under which elections were held in early 1959. This Constitution had certain blemishes, but it had some very admirable features. It introduced a dual roll system with cross-voting and provided for certain seats to be reserved in such a way as to ensure a place for moderate Africans as well as others. The outcome of the election was that a moderate non-racial party won a majority of seats and was able to secure the inclusion in the Executive Council of five Ministers, including an African.

Supposed To Last 10 Years

This Constitution was clearly designed to endure for a lengthy period, because provision was made in it for the lower roll qualifications to be progressively raised so as to merge with the upper roll — a process entailing about 10 years. During 1960, when this Lennox-Boyd Constitution had been in operation less than two years the new Secretary of State, Mr. Iain Macleod, began to press for changes to increase African representation and to lower the franchise qualifications.

The Federal Constitutional instruments require the British Government to consult with the Federal Government before making changes in the territorial Constitutions. In February, 1961, Mr. Macleod put forward his plan, which became known as the three fifteen plan. The Federal Government strongly opposed this plan and did its utmost to dissuade the British Government from introducing it. Nevertheless it was announced on February 21, 1961. The plan was not then in a final state. Certain points were left for determination and the Governor of Northern Rhodesia was given the task of consulting the political parties on these points.

The Federal Government initiated a debate on these February proposals and on March 2, 1961, the Federal Assembly agreed to a motion calling on Government to resist by every means open to it changes in Northern Rhodesia's Constitution and the franchise which might result in political power passing out of the hands of responsible people.

In March, 1961 I attended the Commonwealth Prime Minister's conference. In the course of my stay in London I had discussions with the British Prime Minister and stated to him my strong objections to the plan. The British Government would not agree to alter its basic plan. At this stage the Governor had still to consider certain aspects which had not been definitely settled in February. In June, 1961, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Duncan Sandys, visited Salisbury and I made further representations to him. This was followed by my sending the Minister of Law and Secretary of Home Affairs to London for further discussions with the British Government. As a result of our

representations, substantial changes were made in the proposals.

I must emphasize that there were lengthy discussions between the British and Federal Governments in June, as a result of which the Federal Government accepted certain changes in franchise requirements which had the effect of increasing the number of Africans who could register as voters. The British Government in turn accepted the need for certain other changes.

At the end of these discussions I was asked by the Prime Minister for my assurance that the scheme would be considered as final. I gave that assurance.

I announced the changes on June 26 when the Federal Assembly first met in its third session and stated that the Federal Government intended to do its best to make the new scheme work, although we were by no means satisfied with the scheme. The Governor of Northern Rhodesia announced the changes at a meeting of the Legislative Council on June 27, and did so in terms which made it clear that they were intended to be final.

It will be recalled that a referendum was held in July in Southern Rhodesia upon the new Constitution of that territory. During my stay in London, I pointed out to the Prime Minister, personally, the need to have the Northern Rhodesian Constitution finalized before the Southern Rhodesian referendum. I said that voters in Southern Rhodesia would be highly suspicious if details of Northern Rhodesia's scheme were withheld. I made no secret of the fact that I personally would not participate in the campaign until I was able to assure the electorate that they need have no concern in regard to the outcome of the elections in Northern Rhodesia under the proposed new Constitution for that territory. I made this abundantly clear on a number of occasions, and there could be no misunderstanding. Furthermore, it was made very clear during the June negotiations by my Minister and my Secretary of Home Affairs.

Influenced S. Rhodesian Referendum

In deference to my insistence on this point the British Government in fact agreed that the Northern Rhodesia Constitution should be finalized before the Southern Rhodesian referendum was held. Consequently, in this knowledge and in the very sincere belief that the proposals were final, I then took my full part in the referendum campaign. A good deal of importance was attached to the Northern Rhodesian proposals in the course of the referendum campaign, and I myself was able to advise the voters that under the new Northern Rhodesian Constitutional proposals a moderate party would have a reasonable chance of winning the election. I had no hesitation in doing so, as I believed very genuinely that the proposals were in their final form.

Naturally I never expected that the scheme would subsequently be altered in a most material way so as to prejudice the prospects of a moderate party and enhance the prospects of an extremist racial party in the Northern Rhodesian elections. Now I know I was misled, and I am deeply concerned that I might in turn have misled the electorate.

This question was put by Mr. Biggs-Edison on February 28 last: 'Will the Secretary of State say whether these proposals honour assurances about the Northern territories which were given to Southern Rhodesians at the time of their referendum?' The answer was: 'The statement I have made today does not represent any departure from any undertaking whatsoever given by H.M. Government.'

This answer is misleading in one respect and totally incorrect in another. It is misleading in that knowledge of the British Government's scheme as at June 26, 1961, was regarded by the Southern Rhodesian electorate as representing firm decisions which would not be varied when the referendum was out of the way. The Southern Rhodesian electorate is fully entitled to regard the British Government's decision unilaterally to change the scheme as a piece of sharp practice. The answer is incorrect in that, as I have already stated, firm agreement was reached between the British Prime Minister and myself that the scheme as at June 26, 1961, was final.

U.N.I.P. Campaign of Violence

In August, 1960, U.N.I.P., whose leader Mr. Kenneth Kaunda had conveniently removed himself outside the Federation, began a campaign of violence in Northern Rhodesia; the purpose of which was to persuade the British Government to alter the new Constitution so as to favour their cause. No one who has read the report prepared by

the Northern Rhodesian Government on the disturbances there from July to October last year can have any doubt that U.N.I.P. promoted a campaign of violence for the reasons I have given.

Northern Rhodesian territorial police and Federal troops were used to bring this campaign under control. When it was clear that this had been done, to the dismay of the Federal Government the British Government decided to re-open the Northern Rhodesian Constitution. Their decision was announced on September 15, 1961, and I immediately protested in the Federal Assembly. It was obvious to me beforehand that the British Government was likely to go back on its definite agreement with me. It had become obvious to me from reports beginning to appear in the Press. I have learned over the years that whenever H.M. Government wish to take any particular line of action, a hint will be given in the form of "inspired leaks" to the Press. These leaks have in these years proved to be of surprising accuracy.

I did my utmost to dissuade them and requested an opportunity to make personal representations to the British Prime Minister. This request was completely ignored. I have got beyond being hurt, and whatever other criticisms I have of Mr. Macmillan, he has never been himself otherwise than being courteous and gentlemanly, but I was therefore surprised at this discourtesy because he had approached me for my assurance that finality had been reached in our negotiations. I naturally believed that if he or his Government wished to depart from our joint agreement he would afford me the opportunity of making personal representations to him.

It is a most sordid history of the past which I want to state, and my objections to the proposed whole and in particular to the changes that have just been announced. In the first place, I entirely endorse the description accorded by Mr. James Callaghan in his June 26 proposals as a dog's breakfast. I have always regarded them as most unworkmanlike, bristling with anomalies and difficulties, as was most extraordinary that at the very time when the British Government was agreeing to implant the cross-voting system in Southern Rhodesia they should eradicate it in Northern Rhodesia. It had worked well.

Frustration and Grave Discontent

The scheme tends to apartheid in the upper and lower roll introduced a form of forced partnership in the National seats. It presents delimitation difficulties and problems which have not begun to be appreciated by the British Government. Moreover the scheme represents no advance in the direction of responsible Government whatever may be claimed for it in regard to increase in African representation. There is still no provision for a Prime Minister and Cabinet, and the Governor retains all of his former powers.

The changes made last week have the effect of lightening the burden for the racial extremist parties in getting European support to the extent of 20% while increasing the burden of the moderate parties in getting the support of the Africans by 150% even with the reduction of the percentage from 124 to 10. I do not believe that the African racial parties will succeed in getting minimum European support. Nor do I consider it very likely that the moderate non-racial party will be able to secure the minimum of 1,000 African voters. This is explained in more detail in a Paper which I now table and which is headed "National Members".

The inevitable result will be stalemate. Arising from this frustration there will be grave discontent. I notice that the Northern Rhodesian Government and the Secretary of State hope to get a general election in October. I do not believe it can be done before next March. It is shocking to think that after all these delays we can look forward only to stalemate a year hence, followed presumably by further retreats in the face of African extremism.

There is no need for me to say very much on the harmful effects that this is likely to have on our Federal economy. For two years already we have had to put up with U.K. indecision. It will take some 12 months for the new Constitution to be brought into effect, and if at the end of that period my assessment of frustrated elections proves correct, the effect on the economy might well be frightening.

Britain Insolent

These aspects however appear to be of no consequence to the British Government: but I mention them to show how acutely important they are to us in the Federation— even more so to our Africans who are so much dependent on the opportunities created for them by European investment and enterprise. Investors are unlikely to be encouraged to put their money into Northern Rhodesia or indeed the Federation while this political and economic uncertainty continues to exist.

The Constitution is ill-conceived and to my mind the approach has been slipshod. The difficulties of a delimitation commission do not appear to have been appreciated. State-

mate in the National seats might well mean that no party will be able to provide both African and European membership in the Executive Council within the requirements of the Constitution. This position does not appear to have been contemplated, and I believe unfortunately that it is a distinct possibility. I could go on giving examples of other imperfections. There is no provision to determine the position of candidates who are unopposed in National Constituencies. The whole underlying purpose of these Constituencies is that candidates shall secure a stated minimum percentage of voters before they can be elected, but the proposals are silent on how this can be determined in the case of unopposed candidates.

But what to me is the most shocking aspect of all is that the British Government should be determined to make changes designed to favour and encourage an anti-Federation Party—one which resorted to an open insurrection in order to blackmail the British Government. I think we were entitled to expect the British Government to arrange Constitutions within the Federation as to give the best prospect for the successful continuance of the Federation, which Britain herself created. But the plan they have just finalized appears to be designed deliberately so as to favour a party whose whole objective is to break up the Federation.

Evasive Short-Term Solution

When Mr. Sandy's paid his recent visit to the Federation, I tried to persuade him that a settlement of the Northern Rhodesian Constitution on the lines that his Government was considering would harm, not help, in a settlement of the over-all problems of the Federation. It is obvious to me that any new Constitution will be a failure, and in any event it could not possibly provide a lasting solution. It is a matter of the utmost gravity that the British Government should have chosen to apply a band-aid solution and thereby evade the responsibility of tackling the whole problem.

The British Government are open to censure for their approach to these vital issues. The fact that this Constitution now imposed will inevitably lead to frustration gives the African extremists the green light to go ahead with their next round of threats, and if the British Government is not consciously wooing them, they could scarcely be doing more to please them. I would remind you that the extremists are in this case U.N.I.P. murderers. Are we in the Federation now asked to believe that this waddling away of principle and promise is not playing straight into their hands?

The effect of this policy on Barotseland is of profound significance. The Litunga and his Council were not represented at the Northern Rhodesian Constitutional Conference. The February White Papers make several references to the Barotse. Cmd. 1295 records that the Secretary of State told the Conference: "H.M. Government cannot take any Constitutional decisions affecting Barotseland until there have been separate consultations with the Paramount Chief"; paragraph 20 of the same document says: "Application of the provisions of the U.K. Government's proposals for Barotseland would have to be discussed in separate consultations with the Paramount Chief". This is repeated in paragraph 15 of Cmd. 1311, Paragraph 2 of Appendix IV to Cmd. 1295, which deals with the House of Chiefs matters. The position of chiefs in Barotseland in relation to the House of Chiefs will necessarily have to form part of the proposed consultations with the Paramount Chiefs.

Fobbed Off

The Secretary of State held discussions with the Paramount Chief, now called the Litunga. What emerged from these discussions was that the Litunga and his people were gravely concerned at the deference paid to African extremism, and in consequence they mooted the withdrawal of Barotseland from Northern Rhodesia, though not from the Federation. They were fobbed off with assurances that no Constitutional change affecting their status would be made without the consent of the Litunga.

The actual application of the February 1961 proposals to Barotse seems not to have been discussed, or if it was, no conclusions were reached, because on June 26, 1961, in Cmd. 1423, paragraph 5, page 5, the Secretary of State quotes the Governor of Northern Rhodesia as saying: "In their application to Barotseland these conclusions are however subject to confirmation or amendment, since I have not yet had the benefit of the final view of the Litunga and his Council about the position of the Barotseland Protectorate within the new Constitution".

There is nothing in the statement made by the Secretary of State on February 28 to indicate whether application of the scheme to Barotseland has been further considered. However, he was subsequently asked a question in the House of

(Continued on page 671)

Mr. Maudling Tells Parliament of Changes in N.R. Constitution

Abolition of 400 Votes Minimum and Qualification Reduced from 12½% to 10%

MR. MAUDLING, Secretary of State for the Colonies, told the House of Commons on Wednesday afternoon of last week of the Cabinet's decisions about changes in the Constitution of Northern Rhodesia.

He said:—

"In September last my predecessor announced that once violence and disorder had ceased in Northern Rhodesia Her Majesty's Government would be ready to consider, on the basis of the White Papers and his statement in the House on June 26, any representations within the area where divergences of view on the Constitution still persist.

"When the Governor reported to me that violence and disorder had ceased I called for such representations, and I subsequently visited Northern Rhodesia and saw representatives of all the parties concerned. Not surprisingly, there were widely differing views expressed. But many of the demands made fell outside the limits set by the September statement.

"The Government have reached the conclusion that some changes are required in the June proposals, but that these should not amount to reopening questions which at the time opinion in the territory appeared in general to be settled.

"In particular, the Government believes that the fundamental principle of the White Papers should be maintained, namely, that it should be open to any party or parties to obtain a majority if they can pass the necessary tests, and that, in particular, in order to qualify for a national seat, any candidate must obtain a stated minimum percentage of votes from both races.

Abolition of Numerical Minimum

"The Government have considered with particular care the aspect of the proposed Constitution which has caused the greatest controversy, namely, the numerical alternative of 400 votes. The effect of this is that while the degree of support that an African candidate would normally have to obtain from the European voters would have been one in eight, a European appealing to African voters would only have needed around one in 25.

"The Government accepts that this gives ground to legitimate complaint and that the purposes of the White Papers can best be achieved if candidates have to obtain the same minimum proportion of the votes of either race. They therefore propose to abolish the numerical alternative.

"The Government further feel that the qualification of 12½% is too high, and they therefore propose to reduce it to 10%.

"We do not propose to make any other changes.

"The necessary Orders in Council will be made and laid before the House as soon as possible. It is the earnest hope of H.M. Government that all parties in Northern Rhodesia will now co-operate in the new Constitution and fight the election when it comes on this basis."

MR. HEALEY (Leeds East, Lab.): "The hon. member for Cardiff South-East, Mr. Callaghan, when he commented on the hon. gentleman's predecessor's proposals last June, described them as 'a dog's breakfast'. I prefer to describe the Colonial Secretary's proposals today more as a curate's egg."

SIR KENNETH PICKTHORN (Carlton, C.): "Oh dear!" (laughter.)

MR. HEALEY: "All of us on this side of the House will welcome the abandonment of the numerical alternative of 400 and the reduction in the qualifying percentage from 12½ to 10, although we would have wished the reduction to have been greater.

"Would not the Colonial Secretary agree that even these

new proposals fall far short of the demands of political equity, of the recommendations of the Monckton Commission 18 months ago, and indeed of the proposals of his predecessor last February? Would he not agree, for example, that under the franchise as at present proposed the European community proportionately will still have 10 times as many votes as the African community?"

SIR K. PICKTHORN: "Mr. Speaker, if this were a supplementary question, would it be in order to read it?" (Laughter.)

"The SPEAKER: "It appears to be a second supplementary question and sometimes reading may tend towards brevity."

MR. HEALEY: "Is it not still the case that it is possible, when two candidates do obtain the qualifying percentage in a given seat under the existing arrangements, for a candidate with minority of the total vote to be elected? Does he believe that it is possible to persuade the African population to accept the benefits of democracy when it is presented to them in such a form, and in a form indeed which requires some mathematical expertise to understand fully?"

"Let me say that in spite of that [Ministerial protests, and cries of 'Disgraceful'—my rt. hon. friends and myself hope that the African leaders will accept these proposals and will co-operate in carrying them out in the forthcoming elections.

"Can the Colonial Secretary assure the House that the election will be held before the House has the opportunity to review the Federal Constitution, because it would be most convenient now that these proposals have been made—that the people of Northern Rhodesia should not have to wait for a federal review conference by the Government which they want?"

MR. E. M. BURTON (Leeds East, M. Speaker): "It is about time the hon. gentleman did hatch his egg!"

"Treasonable Threats" Statement Evokes Protest

MR. HEALEY: "I understand that it is of great concern and interest to both sides of the House that the Federal Prime Minister has arrived uninvited in London and that he will in a renewed Ministerial statement. I would like to ask the Colonial Secretary if he will assure the House that the Government will not be deflected from the course that he has just announced by the treasonable threats of the Federal Prime Minister [loud Ministerial cries of protest], and if he will inform Sir Roy."

MR. RAY WILLIAMS (Sunderland South, C.): "Is it within the rules of order and bounds of propriety in the House to refer to the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, a member of the Commonwealth, as acting in a treasonable manner? If it is not, would it not be courteous of the hon. gentleman to withdraw that accusation?"

THE SPEAKER: "All that has happened so far is that the hon. gentleman has got half way through a sentence which contains the words 'treasonable threats'. I have not heard any more about it yet."

MR. HEALEY: "It will be within the knowledge of the House that Sir Roy was quoted on the one o'clock news as saying that he would go the whole hog and use all means, including if necessary force, to prevent a dissolution of the Federation, although it is within the constitutional powers of this House to dissolve the Federation if it so desires. Therefore I regard the remarks which I used as being not only in order [Ministerial protests]."

THE SPEAKER: "We are really getting very disorderly. I am entitled to allow the hon. gentleman to ask certain questions. We have allowed—to be perfectly fair—to a very lengthy remarks on these occasions to, I think, the Leader of the Opposition only. I will be grateful if the hon. gentleman will just ask his question."

MR. HEALEY: "May I finally say then [Ministerial cries of 'No' and 'Sit down'] is the Minister aware that the survival of the Commonwealth in Africa depends upon the British Government standing firm against Sir Roy Welensky's threats?"

MR. MAUDLING: "What I have announced does not amount to a return to the February proposals. What I was concerned with was not so much the degree of resemblance between these and any other proposals but getting them right, as I believe we have.

"Certainly I believe that we can persuade the Africans—and we must make every effort to persuade the African parties—to participate in the elections and to co-operate in a Constitution on this basis. I am grateful to the hon. gentleman for indicating that his party will also endeavour to persuade them to take that attitude.

"On the Federal review, we have left it essential to settle this controversy about the Northern Rhodesian Constitution

first. The date for the resumption of the Federal review conference has not yet been settled.

"I cannot accept the phrase that the hon. gentleman used—I do not accept it in any way at all—but I would say that the Government do not intend to be deflected by any threats from whatever quarter."

MR. TURTON (Thirsk and Malton, C.): "The June announcement was put forward as the 'final decision' of the Government. Following the outbreak of violence in Northern Rhodesia, his predecessor withdrew it. Is this announcement more final than that of June, or if there is a recurrence of violence will this announcement be replaced by another?"

MR. MAUDLING: "As I explained in my statement, the Minister said in September that we would review the Constitution over a limited area of the proposals when violence had ceased. Violence did cease. We did review the Constitution with an open mind on this area of the proposals, and we came to these conclusions, from which we will not be deflected by threats from any quarter."

MR. GRIMOND (Orkney and Shetland, L.): "The changes made in the June proposals are very welcome. Can the Secretary of State tell us in more detail the position now about the minimum qualifying percentage which differs from the February proposals; and can he tell us whether these new proposals will allow the black Africans to elect a majority in the assembly?"

"Will he bear in mind that many people in Britain are profoundly shocked by the statements of Sir Roy Welensky that he is going to take every step to carry out the policy he wishes to carry out, and get the hon. gentleman to do this? This would appear to be a deliberate management to lawlessness, and is a most unfortunate statement at this moment."

MR. MAUDLING: "The hon. gentleman is right. A candidate can be elected to a national seat unless he achieves the minimum of 10% of the vote cast by each race. How that will result in practice at the elections no one can foretell with certainty. But it does mean that any party or parties who obtain the necessary support and pass the necessary tests will be able to obtain a majority."

Sitting on the Fence

MR. WALL (Haltwhistle, C.): "My statement indicates that the Government are still sitting on the fence and appear undecided whether to back a non-racial future for the Federation. [Applause and cries of 'No!'] When is the election in Northern Rhodesia likely to take place and what plans has he for the future of the Federation which, due to the intervention of the United Nations, has now become a matter of great urgency?"

MR. MAUDLING: "The timing of the elections will depend on the passing of the necessary Orders in Council, the drawing up of the constituencies, and the compiling of new registers. I do not think that it will be possible to hold them before the autumn."

"On the future of the Federation, that is outside the scope of this statement, which is confined mainly to Northern Rhodesia. The view of the British Government is clear—that a successful future for the Federation must depend on the consent of the majority of people in the area."

MR. SØRENSEN (Glasgow, L.): "What is the Colonial Secretary's view on the reaction to these proposals of the various parties involved, and also from Sir Roy Welensky?"

MR. MAUDLING: "No. I await those reactions with great anxiety because very important issues hang upon them."

MR. PAUL WILLIAMS: "Can he give a specific assurance that this further final settlement will do nothing whatever to break the continued existence of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland; and will he go a stage further and say that the Government continue to uphold the principle of a non-racial approach to these problems in Central Africa and will promote this policy?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I believe that these proposals will contribute to the prospects of federation in Central Africa, and I believe that the only prospect for the future happiness of Europeans and Africans alike in Central Africa depends upon mutual tolerance and mutual co-operation." [Ministerial cheers.]

SIR RICHARD NUGENT (Guildford, C.): "The Colonial Secretary seems this time to have struck the right balance of acceptability between the two parties. Inevitably some Europeans in Northern Rhodesia will think it goes too far and some Africans not far enough. But, I believe that the majority of opinion, both here and in Northern Rhodesia, will support the Colonial Secretary if he now sticks to his decision and carries it into action." [Ministerial cheers.]

MR. MAUDLING: "We have done our best to produce what we believe to be the right answer. If it is not accepted by all parties in Northern Rhodesia the consequences will be tragic everywhere."

MR. H. CLARK (Antrim North, U.U.): "We welcome very much the down-to-earth manner in which the Secretary of State has dealt with this very difficult problem. [Ministerial

cheers] The majority of my hon. friends feel that had he made a different statement today he would merely have postponed decisions which in two or three years' time would have been much more difficult to take."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON (Chigwell, C.): "Do these proposals honour the assurances about the northern territories given to the Southern Rhodesians at the time of their referendum?"

"Since the Prime Minister taxes the Leader of the Opposition with possibly being a sort of Lord North might I ask for assurances that there are no Lord Norths sitting on the Treasury Bench who might provoke Sir Roy Welensky into becoming not only a George Washington but an Abraham Lincoln who just 100 years ago was reluctantly compelled to fight to save the Union?"

No Departure from Previous Promises

MR. MAUDLING: "The statement I made today does not represent any departure from any undertaking whatsoever given by the British Government."

"I would be tempted to reply that my knowledge of history is not adequate to deal with it in detail. I must say these are matters of such moment that we must deal with them in this House on a basis of reason, not passion."

MR. G. M. THOMSON: "Can the right hon. gentleman say why he has not dropped the proposals so widely criticized for a separate seat for Asian and coloured voters in Northern Rhodesia? Can he also say whether Barotseland accepts the proposals which he put forward?"

MR. MAUDLING: "The question of the Asian seat is difficult. I received representations from various sources in differing directions. It is not clear how one can argue about one's right to give a separate seat, because that really matters, the main bone of contention, by removing the distinction between Europeans and Africans in the matter. I have assured the Litunga that the special position of Barotseland is not affected by the changes that I have announced."

MR. JONES: "Does the right hon. gentleman regard this as a final constitution for the people of Northern Rhodesia? In the event of the Africans boycotting the Constitution as now presented, and of instructions being forthcoming from Sir Roy Welensky and his party, what will the policy of the Government be? Finally, will the right hon. gentleman tell me what will be the effect of the changes on the Governor's Executive as a result of the proposed changes and should the Africans secure a majority?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I regard the statement I made today as a definitive statement of the position at this stage of the constitutional development of Northern Rhodesia. The second question I must regard as hypothetical. I did not quite understand the purport of the third question."

MR. CRECH JONES: "Obviously, if there is a majority of Africans elected to the Legislative Council, some position will have to be found for Africans on the Governor's Executive. What I want to know is: if a majority is secured in the Lower Chamber, will a majority be permitted on the Governor's Executive?"

MR. MAUDLING: "It is the normal practice of Governors to form a Government based upon the majority in the election."

[Editorial comment on Mr. Maudling's statement appears under "Matters of Moment"]

Tory Protests

At the time of the statement 43 Conservative backbenchers had signed a motion urging the Government to seek a non-racial solution to the constitutional problem in Northern Rhodesia which "will not prejudice the future of an independent Central African Federation acceptable to all races". The signatories were:

Major Wall (Haltwhistle), Mr. Turton (Thirsk and Malton), Sir Charles Mott-Radclyffe (Windsor), Sir Donald Kabery (Leeds, N.W.), Sir Harmar Nicholls (Peterborough), Sir Oliver Crosthwaite-Eyre (New Forest), Sir Beverley Baxter (Southgate), Sir Jocelyn Lucas (Portsmouth, S.), Commander Donaldson (Roxburgh), Mr. Hirst (Shipley), Dr. Glyn Clapham, Sir Frank Mackinnon (Buckingham).

Mr. du Cann (Taunton), Mr. More (Ludlow), Mr. Gresham Cooke (Ewickham), Mr. Robert Cooke (Bristol, W.), Mr. Wise (Rugby), Sir Anthony Hurd (Newbury), Sir Arthur Vere Harvey (Macclesfield), Mr. Norman Pannell (Liverpool, Kirkdale), Commander Kerans (The Hartlepoons), Sir William Teeling (Brighton, Pavilion), Mr. Biggs-Davison (Chigwell), Mr. Goodhue (St. Albans), Mr. John Eden (Bournemouth, W.), Mr. Coulson (Kingston-upon-Hull, N.).

Mr. Jennings (Burton), Mr. Farr (Harborough), Sir John Maitland (Horncastle), Mr. Robert Mathew (Hendon), Mr. Ronald Russell (Wembley, S.), Mr. John Jackson (Derbyshire,

S.E.), Brigadier Clarke (Portsmouth, W.), Wing Commander Bullus (Wentley, N.), Sir John Barlow (Middleton), Mr. Woodruff (Isle of Wight), Mr. Robert Jenkins (Dulwich), Mr. Cordle (Bournemouth, E.), Mr. Hastings (Mid-Bedfordshire), Mr. Philip Goodhart (Beckenham), Mr. Eostain (Folkestone), Captain Litchfield (Chelsea), and Mr. Deeds (Ashford).

Mr. Paul Williams (Sunderland, S), Mr. Fell (Yarmouth), Dr. D. Johnson (Carlisle), and Captain Kerby (Arundel) had presented an amendment urging H.M. Government not to prejudice the future of the Federation and to "reject utterly any United Nations intervention in the internal affairs of the Federation".

A motion urging the Government "to ensure that modified proposals for the Northern Rhodesian Constitution will allow the continuous growth of a non-racial community and will enable an alliance of federated States to continue in Central Africa" was presented by Socialist M.P.s who included Mr. Roy Mason, Mr. F. J. Bellenger, Mr. G. Deer, Mr. Edwin Wainwright, Mr. F. McLeary, Mr. J. Diamond, Mr. R. Winterbottom, Mr. N. Edwards and Mr. A. Roberts.

U.N.I.P. Rejects New Constitution But States Conditions for Fighting Elections

THE U.N.I.P. HAS REJECTED the new Northern Rhodesian constitutional proposals but has said that it will take part in elections under them if bars on political parties are lifted, if political prisoners are granted an amnesty, and if there are no further political arrests.

That decision was made at a meeting of the party's national council in Lusaka on Monday. The U.N.I.P. Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, said afterwards that the Constitution had been rejected and strongly condemned. "We believe that the proposals cannot work, but our national council would be prepared to consider participating in forthcoming elections subject to the stated conditions."

Earlier, he had addressed an audience of about 500 Europeans, Asians and Coloureds. His party called the meeting to appeal for their help in building a non-racial society in which all would live without fear of losing their rights or their property. His party, if in power, would, he declared, have no intention of interfering with private enterprise or nationalizing the copper or other major industries.

There would be no distinctions between the races, as all would be "Zambians". The African people of Northern Rhodesia "are perfectly capable of running a country. We shall make mistakes like every Government, and we shall learn from them."

Initial reactions in Northern Rhodesia to the new Constitution were unenthusiastic. Mr. Kaunda said that the British Government had dodged the issue. A quick working out of the figures for the national seats had shown clearly that the Constitution could not work and would result only in stalemate, because obviously neither the U.F.P. nor U.N.I.P. could get the required number of votes.

"This will not give us the stable Government which we need very badly."

Sir John Moffat, leader of the Liberal Party, said: "I don't think anybody is going to be enamoured of this at all. If the African nationalists stay outside we can expect serious trouble. The present Constitution died prematurely and this will have the same fate. I don't think I've seen so much thunder and lightning produce only a couple of rain."

Mr. John Roberts, territorial leader of the U.F.P., considered it more than likely that there would be a number of abortive results in the national seats through failure to return a candidate at all, which would make a laughing stock of the British Government.

Mr. Harry Nkumbula, leader of the African National Congress, dismissed the proposals as unacceptable. They contained no benefits for the Africans, and Welensky remains on top. He would find it difficult to control his supporters if they decided to enter upon "any unpleasant activities."

Mr. Winston Field, Dominion Party Opposition leader in the Federal Parliament, said that if the proposals were meant to be a device for handing over authority to the African nationalists, he could foresee considerable internal strife in the Protectorate "very soon."

Mr. Kaunda, asked if the new plan might not be aimed at effecting a shot-gun marriage between U.N.I.P. and the Liberal Party, replied that such a coalition would be meaningless, as he did not think the latter group would be able to win the

10% needed of the European votes to qualify for the national seats.

Next day Mr. Kaunda called on the Governor, Sir Evelyn Hone, and gave him details of military plans and a plot allegedly prepared by Sir Roy Welensky for the Governor's arrest and the declaration of an independent Federation. He asked for the immediate arrest of the Federal Prime Minister in London, and gave a warning that if he were allowed to return to the Federation "there will be terrible bloodshed". An alternative would be to have U.N. troops stationed in Northern Rhodesia.

The U.N.I.P. leader told a Press conference that the source of his information—which was "very, very correct"—was similar to that which told us that Welensky was meeting Tshombe last year, which was at first denied and later admitted. In fact, Welensky has made top-level plans for the arrest of the Governor, high-ranking police officials in the Northern Rhodesian police, and high-ranking Colonial Office men in the Government. "Once he has done this he will call the whole Federation independent. Whether or not he has similar plans laid on for Nyasaaland, I don't know. My guess is that if Welensky is disappointed with his talks in London he will then carry out his plan."

Sir Roy commented in London: "The report is drivel. Law and order is a territorial matter under the control of the Governor, and it is within the Governor's power to have an investigation into the matter if he wishes. I will collaborate 100% to show that it is absolute drivel."

A Protectorate Government spokesman said next day that no inquiry would be made into Mr. Kaunda's allegations.

Barotseland May Not Secede "Unwise at this Stage", Litunga Told

IT WAS OFFICIALLY announced in Lusaka on Monday by Mr. F. M. Thomas, Northern Rhodesian Minister of Native Affairs, that the Litunga (Paramount Chief) of Barotseland and his Council had made representations to the United Kingdom Government.

Sir Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, when he was recently in the Federation said Barotseland should be permitted to separate from Northern Rhodesia but remain within the Federation.

Mr. Thomas said that Mr. Maudling, Secretary of State for the Colonies, had now instructed the Government of Northern Rhodesia to inform the Litunga that H.M. Government "remain of the view that it would be unwise, and not in the best interest of the Barotse people, to pursue the question of separation at this stage."

Sir Mwanjwina Lewanika, the Litunga, has made no secret of his contempt for the African political extremists in Southern Rhodesia, particularly those of the United National Independence Party, and of the wish of his subjects that there shall be no disruption of the forms of government traditional in his territory.

Many Rhodesian Air Passengers Killed Worst Disaster in British Civil Aviation

MANY RHODESIANS on their way to Europe were killed near Douala, West Africa, at the beginning of the week when a D.C. airliner carrying 101 passengers and a crew of 10 crashed within a minute of take-off. There were no survivors.

It is the worst disaster in the history of British civil aviation. After re-fuelling at Douala the aircraft took off into a storm and crashed into a swamp near the end of the runway.

The airliner, which had an all-British crew, was bound from Lourenço Marques, Portuguese East Africa, to Lisbon and Luxembourg.

The names of passengers living in Southern Rhodesia who had booked to Britain have been given as follows:—Mr. A. Barr, Miss J. Bisset, Mr. F. Connolly, Mrs. T. Connolly, Mrs. S. Readman, Mr. R. G. Robertson, Mr. E. Rogers, Mr. A. Rorbyn, Miss H. Sanderson, Mr. R. Taylor, Mr. C. C. Cottier, Mr. J. Curming, Mr. A. Edsell, Mrs. B. Edsell, Mr. J. Fraser, Mrs. G. Fraser, Mr. D. C. French, Mr. J. Hargreaves, Mrs. E. Hargreaves, Miss Hargreaves (10 months), Mr. G. A. Hewett, Miss T. Hewett, Miss L. G. Hewett, Master R. I. Hewett, Mr. R. Hewstic, Mr. T. J. McGarry.

U.K. Government Accused of Breaches of Faith

"Has Done Little or Nothing to Maintain Faith in the Federation"

A FRONTAL ATTACK on the United Kingdom Government was made by SIR ROY WELNSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, when he addressed a Press conference in London last Friday just before he flew back to Salisbury.

The British Government had, he said, done little or nothing to establish or maintain faith in the Federation; had now introduced a new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia despite the fact that the agreement which he had made with Mr. Macmillan last June had been "final and very definite"; had "gone the way to U.N.I.P. violence"; and had broken faith with the electors of Southern Rhodesia, many of whom considered themselves to have been "tricked by the British Government".

He called upon the British Government to re-examine its policies in Africa "even at this late hour".

Reading from a prepared statement, Sir Roy Welnsky said:

"I have not come here, as was often suggested, to make a last desperate attempt to get the British Government to alter their plans. An hour or so before I left Salisbury, I knew that the Colonial Secretary would announce his plan on the afternoon of the day I arrived in London, and I know that I should have had the opportunity of persuading British Ministers out of the decisions they had already taken the day before.

Favouring the Breakers of Federation

"My purpose in coming here has been to state my objections to the proposals, to consider what their effects will be, and to discuss with the British Government the new situation that arises from their decisions.

"My main objection to the changes recently announced is the fact that they favour the cause of those who want to break up the Federation and make very much more difficult the prospects of those who want to maintain it.

"Worse than this, it is becoming more and more apparent that the British Government is content that the Northern Rhodesian election should be won by an anti-federation party or a combination of such parties. If they do not actually wish this result, they seem prepared to let it happen.

"Let me remind you that it was the British Government that inaugurated the Federation in 1953, and that from time to time they have professed a desire to keep the Federation in being. But it is the Federal Government, led first by Lord Malvern and since 1957 by myself, that has had the task of building up the Federation. The Federal and Southern Rhodesian Governments have borne the burden of bringing about a partnership of the races in Central Africa and of advancing the African.

"In our task we have had very little help, and I am bound to include the British Government in this context. As distinguished from other countries, the Federal Government have had no grants of British money except for the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

"Therefore I repeat, that the burden of bringing on a backward population of some millions has fallen almost wholly on us; and I would add that those who argue that the rate of advancement is too slow should consider providing the means to speed it up.

"At least one might have expected the British Government to give us their moral support and backing. Instead, with every constitutional change for Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland they have made our task more difficult.

"I have taxed the British Prime Minister and the Secretaries of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies with these matters, and asked them to tell me what is their conception of the future of the Federation, but I have never had a satisfactory or unequivocal reply.

"One of my main complaints against the British Government is that they have done little or nothing to establish or maintain faith in the Federation.

"Another is that they pay so little regard to the interests of the moderate African. He scarcely gets a hearing; yet there is no doubt in my mind that he is in the majority in the Federation and it is the moderate African who makes partnership possible. But he is the victim of intimidation already, and if the extremists get to power they will see that there is no place for him.

"It was only at the very end of 1958 that the Constitution of Northern Rhodesia was radically revised by Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, as he then was. He introduced a system in which it was possible for a multi-racial party to succeed in the elections and to provide a team of African and European Ministers to co-operate with officials in administering the Government.

"Before this Constitution had been in operation for two years the British Government set about making radical changes with the intention of increasing African representation in such a way that an extremist party, bent on secession from the Federation, might win the election.

"Believing that it is our common duty to sustain the Federation, I naturally did my utmost to persuade the British Government to modify their proposals in such a way as to enable moderate multi-racial parties to have a sporting chance of winning the general election.

"Final" Agreement Reached in June

"With much difficulty in June 1961 a final and very definite agreement with the British Government was reached about the new Constitution. As a result of this the scales were to be precariously balanced between the pro- and anti-federation parties and no one could predict a clear victory for either. I accepted the June Constitution though it had many bad features.

"Thereupon the United National Independence Party led by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda began a campaign of violence in the Northern and Lusitania provinces, and sought to bring pressure on the British Government to alter the Constitution in favour of that party. U.N.I.P. is, of course, the successor to the Zambia Party described by Sir Arthur Benson while Governor of Northern Rhodesia as 'Murder Incorporated'.

"In the course of an armed and violent insurrection U.N.I.P. burnt and destroyed many African schools and other buildings. Over 2,000 of their members were convicted of crimes of violence, including murder, rape, arson and robbery. Just as the security forces had succeeded in bringing this insurrection under control the British Government to our dismay decided to reopen the Northern Rhodesian Constitution, thus giving a clear indication to the extremists that their violence had paid dividends.

"It will be remembered that a referendum was being held in Southern Rhodesia in July on the new Constitution of that territory. It was obvious that the Southern Rhodesian electorate would be greatly influenced by the nature of the settlement on the Northern Rhodesian Constitution. This was well known to the British Government.

Electorate "Tricked" by U.K. Government

"I had discussions with them as to whether the settlement reached in June should be announced before the Southern Rhodesian referendum or delayed till after the referendum. My advice to the British Government, which on this occasion they took, was that the Northern Rhodesian constitutional proposals must be settled and announced before the referendum so that the voters would know where they stood in relation to Northern Rhodesia.

"This was not just an academic matter. I addressed numerous meetings in the referendum campaign, and at each of them I was asked pertinent questions about the Northern Rhodesian Constitution. In the faith that the June agreement was final I was able to allay the fears of my questioners.

"Many of the voters in the Southern Rhodesian referendum now believe that they were tricked by the British Government because shortly after the outcome of the referendum it became obvious that the new Constitution of Northern Rhodesia was going to be altered to favour African extremists.

"The new Constitution is so complex that it needs profound study before one can begin to understand it. The minimum percentage requirements are now such that the elections in the so-called national seats are almost certain to be frustrated. I believe that the British Government recognize that this is likely to be the position, and they appear not averse to a situation in which pro- and anti-federalists are in a stalemate position, thus enabling the Governor to take control.

"Unfortunately, we already have the experience of Nyasaland where the Constitution lays down that the new Executive Council is purely advisory to the Governor. In practice Government is completely under the control of Dr. Banda.

"The Times in a leader of February 22, a year after Mr. Macleod issued his first White Paper, summed up the position thus: 'This means that the Colonial Secretary accepts a course of action that would almost certainly put just as anti-federal and secessionist a Government in power in Lusaka as Mr. Sandys met in Nyasaland'.

"I do not believe that this will be the immediate result of the new Constitution, because I believe that the elections in most if not all of the national seats will be frustrated. If this happens, and it probably will, there is likely to be serious trouble, followed by a further surrender to violence and fresh changes designed to ensure that the extremists get their way.

"It puzzles me that people in Britain seem anxious to pave the way for control of the Government of Northern Rhodesia by a party whose mouthpiece, the *Voice of U.N.I.P.*, has idolized the murderers of Mr. Burton, and 2,000 of whose members were imprisoned a year for serious crimes of violence.

"I am glad to say that it is becoming obvious to me that the great British public, in whom I have considerable confidence, are having a revulsion of feeling against continual surrenders to racial extremism.

"I believe that even at this late hour it is the duty of the British Government to re-examine their policies in Africa and to look for an entirely fresh solution to the problems of the continent which will ensure its continuity and its early progress to independence under Governments which are responsible in all senses of the word".

Sir Roy Welensky's London Visit Happenings of Three Hectic Days

SIR ROY WELENSKY'S VISIT to London last week was short, crowded, and full of incident. He arrived on Wednesday and left on Friday evening.

He lunched with the Queen; paid two calls on the Prime Minister; had talks (in some cases two or more) with Mr. Sandys, Mr. Maudling, Lord Home, and Mr. R. A. Butler; saw many other people interested in Federal affairs; appeared in several television programmes; and gave two large Press conferences, in addition to seeing several journalists privately.

On arrival at London Airport Sir Roy said that he had not come to try to change the British Government's mind on Northern Rhodesia but to "discuss the wider field".

"Certain events have taken place which make it necessary that we have discussions as to one can do the necessary planning for the future. In the light of the discussions here I shall go back and decide on the lines I shall take."

"I believe in the Federation and I am prepared to go the whole hog to maintain it. It is the last country in which the Union Jack will be flying in Africa. You will see that in a short time. We are trying to do something which is of vital importance to Africa."

The Whole Hog

Pressed to explain what he meant by "going the whole hog", the Prime Minister replied that it was a "well-known British description, which means that I would take every step necessary to carry out the policy I wish to carry out". Asked if that meant that he would use force, he agreed that he would use force "if necessary". Federal troops would be used to protect the Federation. He added: "I am a moderate man, but I differ from other moderates in not letting myself be driven to the wall."

He had no objection to an African Government, but only to a built-in majority for extremists of either race. He had not sought guarantees for the continuance of the Federation because he had never accepted that it could be broken up "willy-nilly". Ending Federation would heed the consent of its people. He did not believe that the majority of Africans wanted to break up the Federation.

Sir Roy paid a 40-minute call on Mr. Macmillan the same evening. Next day, accompanied by Mr. Julian Greenfield, Federal Minister of Law, Mr. A. D. Evans, Secretary for Home Affairs, and Mr. A. E. P. Robinson, High Commissioner in London, he again met the British Prime Minister, who was accompanied by Mr. Maudling and Mr. Sandys. On Friday he had a further meeting at the Commonwealth Relations Office with Mr. Sandys and the Colonial Secretary.

Sir Roy lunched with the Queen that day, and had discussions with the Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, and Mr. Butler. He flew back to Salisbury that evening after giving a Press conference which is reported in other columns.

When asked in a TV programme if he were not worsening a delicate situation by talking about fighting, he countered: "Nobody should have any illusions about what I mean. What I have in mind is the maintenance of law and order and the keeping together of the Federation. I am concerned that the nationalists should clearly understand that my job as Prime Minister is to maintain law and order, and I intend to do everything in my power to see that law and order continues".

"I Live With the Mistakes"

To another question he replied: "I live in Africa. The British Government doesn't. I have to live with the mistakes. I do not want to see a repetition of what has happened in the Congo."

The interviewer suggested that Sir Roy's status as Prime Minister would be diminished if his hopes for the Federation were not realised. "I am not wedded to the idea of being a Prime Minister", he answered. "I should be quite happy to fade out of the picture."

On arrival in Salisbury he said that there had been no settlement of Rhodesia's problems in London. He had learned of the terms of the new Northern Rhodesian Constitution only as he was leaving to catch the plane to London. He had twice asked the British Government for consultations; on the first he had not received even the courtesy of a reply.

The second time he had received the majority of the national seats would never be held. It would lead to the frustration, rather than a breakdown, of the Federation. Elections could not be held in 1962, and would be held in 1963.

"We cannot go on with this piecemeal fringing around with the Constitution of the institutions of the Federation. We want some sort of finality. Nyasaland cannot be allowed to go because you cannot take away any one part of the Federation without destroying it."

"If people use force to try and destroy it, then I shall use force to keep it together. The ultimatum has been given that I threatened to use force to prevent the majority of the national seats from being taken away from the Federation in which they would dissolve the Federation without the consent of my Government."

The visit had otherwise been worth while, as he had been able in "frank and blunt" talks to put the Federation's position forward, with the result that at Westminster there was a keener appreciation of the problems involved and of the need for a settlement. He made no apology for his straightforward approach. "After all, we are all members of one family". He added: "I can't believe that the British Government wanted to lay out the red carpet for me, but there was no courtesy at any time. There were no preparations so far as I know, for a cell in the Tower of London in view of the accusations made against me."

A special session of the Federal Assembly had been summoned for Tuesday to receive a full report from the Prime Minister of what had transpired in London.

"Stupid" Missionaries

BECAUSE SOME "STUPID MISSIONARIES" insist on children being Christians before admitting them to their schools, some areas of Nyasaland will be left without education when the Government's new Education Bill is introduced. Dr. Hastings Banda, leader of the ruling Malawi Congress Party, said on Sunday in Limbe when outlining plans for the Government to take over mission schools throughout the territory. "Before we take over this Government many schools were not filled because certain missionary bodies only had places for their own members. We have stopped that. I want every child to go to school, whether he is a Christian, Muslim, or heathen." Control of education is to be vested in the district councils after elections for new councils.

£5m. Loan for Federation

LAST JULY it was announced that a £5m. Commonwealth Assistance loan would be made available for the development programme of the Federal and Southern Rhodesian Governments. The loan agreement was signed in Salisbury last week by Sir Donald Maciartyre, Federal Finance Minister, and Lord Alport, U.K. High Commissioner in the Federation.

PERSONALIA

MR. D. J. WILLIAMS, a judge in Tanganyika, is on leave pending retirement.

MR. T. E. W. WADDINGTON has joined the board of the Northern Rhodesia Co., Ltd.

MRS. ESEZA MAKUMBI is a new Nominated Member of the Uganda Legislative Council.

COMMANDER ANTHONY COURTNEY, M.P., and LADY TREFGARNE were married in London last week.

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Federal Prime Minister, lunched with THE QUEEN at Buckingham Palace on Friday.

MR. G. CHANTLER, manager of the Dar es Salaam branch of the Ottoman Bank, has arrived in London.

LORD HOWICK, Governor of Kenya as SIR EVELYN BARING, has been appointed chairman of the Nature Conservancy.

LORD COBBOLD, who has visited East and Central Africa, will today join the board of the British Petroleum Co., Ltd.

MR. A. E. P. ROBINSON addressed the Liverpool branch of the English Speaking Union on Tuesday on the Federation.

SIR KRISTIAN O'CONNOR, lately president of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa and LADY O'CONNOR are back in England.

SIR JAMES ROBINSON is about to undertake a lecture tour in the United States. He will speak on British achievements in Africa.

MR. NICHOLAS CAYNER, chairman of the British and Commonwealth Shipping group of companies, has joined the board of London Assurance.

MR. JOHN THOMSON has retired from the board of Barclays Bank D.C.O. owing to the increased pressure of the chairmanship of the parent bank.

MR. J. R. M. ROCKE has been appointed vice-chairman of Booker Brothers, Manchesters & Co. Ltd., a group with large Central African interests.

THE REY, and MRS. A. NICHOLSON are passengers for Mombasa in the RHODESIA CASTLE, in which the REV. J. H. E. SHERRY is outward-bound for Mombasa.

MR. A. E. P. ROBINSON, High Commissioner in London for the Federation, gave a dinner party last week for SIR EDGAR WITTEBORN, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia.

MR. JOHN STUART LODGE and MISS PETA ROBINSON, eldest daughter of the Federal High Commissioner in London and MRS. ROBINSON, were married in London last Friday.

MR. R. COUNSELL, who has travelled widely in East and Central Africa as sales manager of Revol, Ltd., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, has been appointed general manager of the company.

MR. & MRS. PHILIP NOAKES were the guests of the chairman of the Royal Over-Seas League, SIR ANGUS GILLAN, and members of the Central Council at luncheon one day last week.

MR. J. R. SEWELL, who has arrived in Nyasaland to take up duty as collector of customs and excise in Limbe, has been Customs Adviser at Rhodesia House, London, for more than a year.

MR. AMBROSE MAJONGWE, an official of the United Federal Party, has arrived in London "to try to educate the British Government and public about the truth of the situation in Southern Rhodesia."

MR. J. E. C. BAILEY, chairman and managing director of Baird & Tatlock (London), Ltd., and other companies, will this month visit their branches and agents in Nairobi, Ndola, Salisbury, and Johannesburg.

DR. CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN, lately chief representative of the United Nations in Katanga, has accepted an invitation of President Nkrumah, who is chancellor of the University of Ghana, to become vice-chancellor.

GENERAL SIR GERALD LATHBURY, Quarter Master General to the Forces, and at one time G.O.C.-in-C. in East Africa, has been paying a short visit to Army units in Kenya. He is due to fly to Aden today from Nairobi.

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH has consented to be patron of Voluntary Service Overseas, of which VISCOUNT BOYD OF MERTON has been elected chairman of the council. DR. BIRLEY, headmaster of Eton, is the new vice-chairman.

MR. A. F. GILES, who was recently appointed Resident Commissioner in Basutoland, was for some years an administrative officer in Tanganyika, and since 1955 has been Administrator of St. Vincent. While at Oxford he was president of the Union.

DR. R. H. MUMFORD, who was for some years a missionary doctor in Formosa, served during the war as a medical officer in troopships, and has since had a large industrial practice in Yorkshire, has arrived in Nyasaland to join the Universities' Mission.

MR. YUDA KOMORO, a 28-year-old Pokomo from the Tana River, who has been appointed headmaster of the first African day secondary school in the Coast Province of Kenya, was educated at the Alliance High School, Kikuyu, and Makerere College, where he graduated B.A. in 1957.

LORD COLYTON, chairman of the Joint East and Central African Board, is reported by Foreign Affairs readers to have said a few days ago in Mozambique: "I find a completely multi-racial society without any colour bar, and with equal opportunities for men and women of all races. It is a pity that the United Nations does not offer financial assistance for the improving of social conditions instead of merely adopting violent resolutions."

Passengers who arrived in England on Friday in the TRANSVAAL CASTLE included MR. H. G. S. CAYNER, deputy chairman of the Union-Castle Line; SIR JAMES MCNEILL, deputy chairman of John Brown & Co., Ltd., and LADY MCNEILL; MR. D. H. MARCH, Assistant Trade Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Salisbury, and MRS. MARCH; and MISS JEAN MONRO, decorative consultant to the British and Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd.

CHIEF H. M. LUGUSHA has been appointed chairman of the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation. So that the post might be held by an African, MR. R. E. I. HOBBS, chairman for the past four years, decided to step down to the appointment of managing director. CHIEF LUGUSHA, who became a nominated member of the Legislative Council in 1953, was at one time its Deputy Speaker. He has been a member of the Executive Council, Assistant Minister for Local Government, and a member of the East Africa Central Legislative Assembly.

Obituary

MRS. ETHEL SACKVILLE FLEMING, widow of the late GEORGE N. FLEMING, died in Southern Rhodesia last week at the age of 89.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL SIR GORDON JOLLY, K.C.I.E., who has died in South Africa at the age of 75, served with Indian troops in the East African campaign of the 1914-18 war.

MAJOR-GENERAL DUDLEY SHERIDAN SKELTON, C.B., D.S.O., who has died at the age of 83, was for many years in the Royal Army Medical Service, in which he served in the Sudan, in the East African campaign of the 1914-18 war, on the Western Front, and in India. After leaving the Army he was a ship's surgeon in the P. & O., British India, and Clan lines.

Sir Edgar Whitehead Expects Federal "Miracle"

Building a Nation of Rhodesians to Counter African Racialism

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, told a Press conference in London last Thursday that he was "extremely optimistic" that the political problems of the Federation would be solved. "If we managed that 'miracle' in Southern Rhodesia, there is no reason why we should not do the same for the Federation.

"A new look at affairs in Africa these days is absolutely necessary. During the past 60 years we in Southern Rhodesia established an extensive manufacturing industry on a quite complex modern industrial pattern, with new industries starting on a large scale. There is a very large and important European farming industry, with an output of £60m a year. We have a steadily expanding mining programme, with asbestos, gold and chrome leading the field, further tin mining undertakings, and new projects connected with some of the nuclear minerals, nickel, and platinum and semi-precious stones. We have self-sufficiency in sugar after only a few years of operation on our irrigation schemes.

This economy employs 100,000 Europeans and 600,000 Africans. Half the Africans are from Southern Rhodesia. Because of some unemployment priority for jobs is given to Africans from within the Federation. Exactly the same priority is used for Europeans.

"Our expansion in education has been so tremendous that we are ahead of any other African country, with 70% of the children in lower primary schools and 45% to 50% in the upper primary. Provision of new schools and additional classes incurs a substantial financial drain, but as a self-governing country we have never received a penny from Britain.

When we invited the then head of U.N.E.S.C.O. to visit us, in the hope of being able to get aid from his organization, he said that we had the finest educational system he had seen anywhere in Africa, but that we could not be helped because the money should be spent in assisting other countries to catch us.

"If we sit back and do nothing about it, we shall not be able to withstand the modern flood of African racialism. But a tremendous number of Southern Rhodesian Africans now thoroughly understand that prosperity, a rising standard of living, and the services provided depend on industry, and that the wages paid are far more than they could earn on their own holdings or as agricultural employees.

Building a Nation

"Their wages have doubled during the past five years, and more and more are getting advanced jobs formerly done by Europeans only. On the railways 30% of the firemen are now Africans, and the railway training school is non-racial where all learn together. The same policy applies throughout the civil service, in which there are now about 100 Africans on the same rate of pay as Europeans.

"We cannot allow standards to be undercut by one race being paid less than another in a non-racial society. Merit and ability are all that are taken into account. The great mass of the African people would not have it otherwise. Opposition comes only from extremists who would like to have the jobs and the salaries without having the qualifications. In this hard, competitive world we must maintain standards and efficiency, any drop in efficiency would lose us our international competitive power in many directions.

"We have proved that the Africans can achieve high standards. The tragedy is that many parts of Africa are satisfied with the second best, with anybody being allowed to scrape through some not very high trade schools tests. We are turning out highly qualified African craftsmen who can compete with anyone in this country.

"The only answer to the African racialists is to have a Rhodesian nationality that takes no account of colour. It is at that that our 'Build a Nation' campaign is aiming. It means that we, in Southern Rhodesia, should feel closer together

among ourselves than towards people of our own race from across the border.

"Many people thought I had lost all touch with reality when I put forward this idea, but it has met with remarkable success already. Africans who were previously nationalists are backing it, and there is much support particularly from the younger people. Some Europeans and Africans have given up their jobs to work full-time for the campaign without pay, and often against intimidation. We have now eight Europeans and 41 Africans — we want 60 altogether — and innumerable part-time workers.

Practical Examples

"In January I made a fortnight's tour of 4,000 miles of mainly African areas, addressing four meetings a day and finding out what the local problems are. In one African purchase area they wanted a community hall with a library, bar, and bottle-store; they had raised £800, only to find that the building would cost £1,600. Would Government give the other £800? I said we couldn't, as we needed the money for schools, but told them I was sure their European tobacco farming neighbours would help. A European whom I didn't even know was present stood up and said that he would see that the balance was provided.

"It doesn't matter what the race is. We have outlawed the word 'multi-racial' with its connotations of distinct groups that have agreed to co-operate. Now we use the word 'non-racial'. We have a 'non-racial' school for the settler, for many are fourth and fifth generation Rhodesians. "They are prepared to fight for their way of life — and we are prepared to fight an anti-racialist aggression has been made by the pan-Africanists, who make rude notes at their conferences and talk of 'liberating' the people of our country. Our people are free and do not require liberating. They are a great deal freer than some of the people making such claims. I visited 17 districts in Southern Rhodesia that voted in U.N.C.O. for an independent Rhodesia's self-government.

"At the time of this referendum young Europeans told me that although their fathers were going to vote that they would vote 'Yes', because they had to live in the country. One young man of about 30 told me that he had at one time thought that he might succeed me, but now he sees that by the time that could happen the leader of the party would be an African — under whom he was quite prepared to serve.

"I am not interested in any policy which does not plan for at least the next 30 years. The racialists would ruin our economy. Old prejudices die hard. Africa for the Africans has its attractions too, but the nationalists would begin by going back at least 50 years before they could even start to move forward again.

"A review of the Federal Constitution must be held as soon as possible. The economy has suffered from the uncertainties of the past three years, which began with the visit of the British Prime Minister to us in 1959. Then came the Monckton Report — so long ago that most people have forgotten what is in it. Anyway, it is out of date now. Ministers have probably spent more time on constitutional matters than on anything else during the period.

"I am tired of meeting large-scale investors — it happens at least once a week — who say they would put in £10m. or £15m. tomorrow morning but can't because they don't know whether there will be a Federation or not or the form of Government; they must wait until the constitutional problems have been settled.

"It would be no good at all to have once more the form of negotiation we had at Lancaster House in 1960, with 100 delegates allowed 40 minutes each to make a speech. Unemployment in the Federation absolutely precludes waiting until as long as this time next year for the review.

"It would be a tragedy if the Federation were to break up, and quite ridiculous for this closely-knit economic unit to be wrecked for merely political reasons. We would all have to come together again in the long run anyway.

"If the Federal Government were in the hands of African nationalists — not an African Government, but a nationalist African Government — I would certainly be anxious to get Southern Rhodesia out of their clutches.

"Only the people of all races in the Federation can work out a Constitution, people living there according to its spirit. People from outside Africa are totally incapable of understanding the spirit of Africa."

Sir Edgar had informal talks with Mr. Macmillan at Chequers on Sunday. After final meetings with Mr. Sandys, and the Federal High Commissioner, he returned to Southern Rhodesia on Tuesday afternoon.

Uganda Attains Self-Government

Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka Becomes Prime Minister

UGANDA attained internal self-government last Thursday, when Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka, the Chief Minister, became the first Prime Minister and head of a Cabinet consisting of one European (Mr. P. J. Wilkinson, O.C.), one Asian (Mr. C. K. Patel), and 12 Africans.

The portfolios are as follows:—

Prime Minister: Mr. B. M. K. Kiwanuka.
 Minister of State: Mr. S. Bemba.
 Minister of Home Affairs: Mr. G. Oda.
 Minister of Finance: Mr. L. K. M. Sebahu.
 Minister of Works: Mr. N. E. Opio.
 Minister of Local Government: Mr. D. J. K. Nabeita.
 Minister of Education: Mr. J. C. Kiwanuka.
 Minister of Commerce and Industry: Mr. C. K. Patel.
 Minister of Agriculture and Animal Industry: Mr. B. J. Mukasa.
 Minister of Land and Water Resources: Mr. M. Musinguzi.
 Minister of Foreign Affairs and Consular General: Mr. P. J. Wilkinson.
 Minister of Health: Mr. Z. Babukika.
 Minister of Social Development and Labour: Mr. F. F. K. Mulinzi.
 Minister of Economic Development: Mr. A. A. Latim.

The Governor, Sir Walter Courts, who had presided over meetings of the previous Council of Ministers, is not a member of the new Cabinet.

The Legislative Council has been renamed the National Assembly.

Generous Aid by British Taxpayers

The Secretary of State for the Colonies said in the House of Commons on Thursday:—

"H.M. Government have reviewed with the Uganda Government the financial resources which are likely to be available to that Government over the next few years for recurrent and capital expenditure, particularly in respect of the five-year development plan which began on July 1, 1961, and the compensation scheme for designated officers."

"H.M. Government have agreed, subject as necessary to the approval of Parliament, to give the following assistance to Uganda:—

(1) The Colonial Development and Welfare moneys already promised to Uganda and unissued at July 1, 1961, amounted to £1,835m. To the extent that any balance remains unspent at independence, this sum will continue to be available after independence in the form of grants, for purposes to be agreed with the Uganda Government.

(2) A special grant towards the development plan of £14m. available to be drawn evenly between the date of independence and June 30, 1964.

(3) The Exchequer loan of £2.75m. already promised, to be provided under Section 2 of the C.D. & W. Act, will be made available towards the development plan before independence.

(4) A Commonwealth Assistance loan of £2.4m. towards the development plan available to be drawn evenly between the date of independence and June 30, 1964.

(5) An interest-free loan of £4.25m. with a grace period on repayment, to assist the Uganda Government to meet its share of the compensation scheme for overseas officers.

(6) A loan of £1.75m. on the normal terms for Commonwealth Assistance loans to assist the Uganda Government in respect of the commutation of pensions of officers retiring from the service.

(7) H.M. Government will continue to meet the costs of Uganda's military forces in the period following independence until March 31, 1963; up to about £200,000, and will provide the £50,000 required in that period to complete capital works at linja barracks.

(8) H.M. Government will also be happy to enter into a technical assistance agreement with the Government of Uganda after independence.

A White Paper published in Uganda last week outlined a five-year development plan costing more than £54m., on the general lines recommended by the World Bank Mission last year. The United Kingdom and international sources have together promised £124m., and the Government estimates that Uganda can raise another £194m. internally. More than £20m. would therefore have to be found in other ways.

P.M. Insists on Need for Federal System

After taking the oath as Prime Minister, Mr. Kiwanuka said that that day marked the end of the struggle for freedom, and that henceforth the indigenous people of Uganda would make and implement decisions concerning the internal governance of the country without reference to anyone else. The powers which the Governor would retain were few, and in most cases were reserved only to be used in extraordinary circumstances. The key they had been given opened the door to freedom without the power to close that door again. They were determined to die rather than give up their new freedom.

He was especially aware of the great need for solution of the "lost countries" issue (counties claimed by Bunyoro from Buganda) before the country became independent, and of the anxieties of the kingdom districts of the Western Provinces (Toro, Ankole and Bunyoro) and of the Busoga district in the Eastern Province. Recent events had caused doubts in the minds of many people in Uganda as to what might happen if no proper settlement was reached between those kingdoms.

"For this reason, it is my considered opinion that the Government must be urged to reconsider their decision on the status of these kingdoms before we give us independence if there is going to be no peace in the country."

He saw no reason why federal status could not be granted to these districts. That would help to allay the fears of the Brits and their subjects, and the result would be peace and stability.

"I therefore propose to approach the Secretary of State immediately on this matter with a very strong recommendation that the demands of these three kingdoms be met."

I shall also inform the Secretary of State how very important that the lost countries issue be decided before we go to the elections, as this is going to have a great effect on the number of representatives in the National Assembly in the two kingdoms involved in the dispute.

The Prime Minister thanked members of the civil service for the good work they had rendered in the country ever since the beginning of the Protectorate. Uganda did not want to Africanize posts because of any grudge against expatriates, but because it was felt that indigenous people should now take over those appointments.

Governor's Address

The Governor, Sir Walter Courts, said that the transfer of authority marked a great step forward not only in the aspirations of the people of Uganda but also in the policy of H.M. Government in preparing the country for independence.

Certain responsibilities important to the welfare of the country would continue to rest through himself on H.M. Government until the final stage of independence was reached. These particularly included aspects of external affairs, defence, control of the armed forces, internal security, and the operational control of the police forces. He would also be responsible for ensuring that the obligations of H.M. Government and the Government of Uganda to the treaty kingdoms in Uganda were discharged.

He hoped that the country, under God's guidance, would proceed in a peaceful and orderly fashion to full independence. Only when that stage had been reached would H.M. Government feel that its obligations to the people of Uganda had been properly discharged.

Before the oath-taking ceremony the Governor, in full-dress uniform, and the new Prime Minister, wearing top-hat and frock coat, had inspected a guard of honour formed by the 4th King's African Rifles.

The day had been declared a public holiday. Special services were held in the Protestant and Roman Catholic cathedrals in Kampala and in churches throughout the country. In the afternoon a programme of spectacular African dances was held in Kampala and in the evening a dinner and dance were attended by the Prime Minister.

The plan is that Uganda shall attain full independence on October 9 next.

Delegation from Northern Frontier

Demand to Join Somali Republic

EIGHT REPRESENTATIVES from the Northern Frontier District of Kenya arrived in London last week. Together with the elected member for the N.F.D. in the Legislative Council, they will take part in the Lancaster House Conference when it discusses the future of the N.F.D., spokesmen for which have demanded union with the Somali Protectorate.

On their arrival the delegation issued the following statement to the Press:—

"The pattern of proposals is similar to that which was set by H.M. Government in 1960 when independence was granted to the former British Somaliland Protectorate to enable the territory to unite, as it did, with the former United Nations Trust Territory of Somalia.

"The territory of the N.F.D. and its people have always been treated as a separate entity. Their territorial frontiers with the rest of Kenya are closed. No-one is allowed to leave or enter without a special pass. The vast majority of the N.F.D. people have never seen Nairobi.

"Owing to the lack of contact or common interest with the rest of Kenya, the N.F.D. has stagnated for years. Such basic services as health, education, and development, land ownership is not permitted, educational and medical services are practically non-existent. Until 1960 political parties in the N.F.D. were prohibited. The N.F.D. finds no place in the economic or political plans for the rest of Kenya.

"In contrast, the people of the rest of Kenya have got a fair deal from their brothers in the Somali Republic who are of the same race, who occupy the same terrain, and who speak the same language, religion, livelihood and social system. Somali territory has been 'traded' before by Britain at the expense of Somali unity, and the delegation is here to say that it does not happen again."

"We Refuse to be Balkanized"

They also issued a small brochure entitled "A People in Isolation: A Call by Political Parties of the Northern Frontier District of Kenya for Union with the Somali Republic". The names of the parties were not stated; they were identified merely by initials: (1) N.P.P.P.P., (2) N.P.D.P., and (3) N.P.P.N.U.

The brochure stated:—

"We, the political parties of the Northern Frontier District of Kenya (N.F.D.), will not permit anyone, European or African, to decide our destiny. We have been divided from our brethren long enough. We refuse to be balkanized."

"We are members of a single Somali nation. Somali is our language, spoken from the Gulf of Aden to the N.F.D. Islam is our culture, pastoralism our way. Not only do we want to be freed from an outmoded form of colonial administration in the Northern Frontier District of Kenya, but we want to reunite with our brothers with whom we can evolve an administration suited to our way of life. The only form of administration that is any good to us is a Somali administration. This is centred on Mogadiscio, and we shall unite with it."

"Fourteen years ago the American writer, Negley Farson, broke through the curtain of secrecy that surrounds and isolates the N.F.D. He wrote: 'There is one half of Kenya about which the other half know nothing, and seems to care even less'. It is no different today.

"The shape of the new Constitution for the rest of Kenya does not directly concern us, provided the inhabitants have their dignity and self-respect restored and provided the humiliation of colonial rule is quickly removed.

"We of the N.F.D. number between 100,000 and 150,000 people. The population of the rest of Kenya is about 6 1/2 m. It is wrong that the British Government under pressure from the rest of Kenya should endeavour to deprive us of one thing

that is sacred to us — the realization of our destiny, which is the unity of all Somali people."

"We have always been a separate entity, denied even the freedom to seek employment in the rest of Kenya, while a visa to enter Kenya does not entitle the holder to visit the N.F.D."

"African leaders in the past have never wanted us. They have never tried to break down the barrier that separates us. They have always felt indifferent towards our needs and aspirations. Our territory has always been regarded as a 'punishment station'. Our only guests have been Colonial officials, exiles and political prisoners. We ourselves have not been able to visit the rest of Kenya without a special pass.

"No one outside Kenya seems to be aware that for decades a 'pass' system has been imposed upon us, not unlike the system that operates in South Africa. We are, for all intents and purposes, incarcerated. The vast majority of us in the N.F.D. have never set eyes on Nairobi. We are not allowed to do so. Yet some say that we have been part of Kenya for over 60 years. A curious partnership indeed!

"In contrast, our brothers to the East have always left their artificial frontier open to us so that we can move in and out of the Somali Republic, sharing the freedom which is our natural heritage."

Somali Territory Bartered by Britain

"Besides the iniquitous pass system we have suffered from a stagnant colonial administration for the last 50 years. All land in the N.F.D. is Crown land. We cannot own it. Agriculture is discouraged. There is no development plan for the N.F.D. Our primary schools are closed as recently as 1960, was only one among 600 others in the rest of Kenya. The British administration does not even employ a district clerk from the N.F.D. Officials divide a portion of the land among us to wear European clothing, and they discourage us from speaking the English language.

"In 1890, the Italian Emperor, Victor Emmanuel III, proclaimed British territory as a fertile strip of country along the River Juba and a railway line from Mombasa to Uganda. The territory in between was apparently of no account. For 20 years no British official was sent to the N.F.D. By 1925 Jubaland was no longer of value to Italy. In 1925, in fulfilment of a secret pledge during the negotiations for the return of this Somali territory was just handed to Italy, leaving the N.F.D. which formed part of the same terrain, as a buffer to protect the white highlands of Kenya.

"This was not the only occasion that Somali territory was 'bartered' to further Britain's imperial interests, at the expense of Somali unity. Britain handed over 2,500 square miles of Somali territory to Abyssinnia in 1897 in defiance of earlier agreements protecting the independence of the Somali people. Again in 1935 Britain offered to surrender Somali territory to both Italy and Abyssinnia so that His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia could be 'compensated' for having made territorial concessions to the Italians.

"In 1941, after Britain had driven the Italians out of the Somali peninsula, she brought the Somali territory under British administration. Britain's Foreign Minister, Mr. Ernest Bevin, sensibly pleaded that all Somalis should be united. Pressure from Ethiopia and other nations whose interests conflicted with Somali unity proved too much for Britain. She then abandoned the Somali Ogaden in 1948 and the Somali Haud in 1954.

"The transfer of Jubaland to Italy in 1925 turned out, as it happened, to be the first step towards Somali reunification, for Jubaland is now part of the independent Somali Republic. The next step was taken by Britain in 1960 when she granted independence to British Somaliland so that it might unite with former Somalia, a United Nations Trusteeship Territory administered by Italy. We demand the same right to unite with the Somali Republic now."

No Betrayal of Birthright

"There is nothing new in this. We demanded the unity of all Somalis a decade and more ago, but our voices were silenced when our most active political party, the Somali Youth League, was proscribed by the Kenya Government in 1948. From 1948-60 no political parties were permitted in the N.F.D."

"As far back as 1904 Sir Charles Eliot, the British Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate, wrote: 'If it were possible to detach the district inhabited by Somalis it would be an excellent thing to form them into a separate Government, as they are different in population, economic and physical conditions from the other provinces; but unfortunately, they are too small to form a separate administration, and the adjoining Somali territories are not British'.

"No, they are not Somali! If Britain does not permit us to unite with the Somali Republic she will be guilty once again of betraying to the interest of short-term expediency at the expense of the unity of the Somali people."

"Together with our brothers we shall resist any further betrayal of our birthright."

*N.P.P.P.P. stands for Northern Province Peoples' Progressive Party; N.P.D.P. for Northern Province Democratic Party; and N.P.P.N.U. for Northern Province Peoples' National Union. There are several other parties or groups, including the Somali Independent Union, the Somali National Association, the Northern Province United Association, the Rendille United Front, and the Boran Muslim Welfare Association.

Kenyatta's Controversy with K.A.D.U.

STATEMENTS made by Mr. Ngala, president of the Kenya African Democratic Union, and Leader of Government Business in Kenya, have been challenged in *The Times* by Kenyatta, president of the rival Kenya African National Union, who wrote:

"Mr. Ngala is either blind to facts or determined to mislead the British public. He makes the now too notorious claim that Kadu represents all the minority tribes in Kenya and that Kanu represents no more than the Kikuyu, Luo and Akamba tribes!

"He concedes that at the last elections Kanu won 67% of the votes while Kadu got only 16%. But he dismisses this fact rather easily and does not show what, if any, changes have taken place since then. I can confirm that another election will see a Kanu victory and in the hands of the East African Market Research Organization published this month Kadu has not won any new support. The position of party support remains the same. How then does Mr. Ngala reach his conclusion that Kanu and Kadu are the same in strength?

"Perhaps it would help Mr. Ngala to look at the present delegates attending the Kenya conference. His side, Kadu, has representatives from nine tribes, namely: Giriama, Maa, Masai, Elgeyo, Nandi, Kipsigi, Abaluhya, Meru, and Tugen. All Kanu's delegation includes the following 10 tribes: Luo, Kikuyu, Kamba, Kisi, Giriama, Luhya, Kikuyu, Embu and Meru, Akamba.

"It will be seen from this analysis that Kadu does not represent any more tribes than Kanu—the reverse is in fact the case. It will also be seen that apart from representing the majority of the people in the country Kanu is today controlling a number of seats in the areas which Mr. Ngala claims to be exclusively reserved for those areas where the two parties have two members each and in the Masai area, where both parties have one seat each. Kadu cannot speak for the other since they have no member there. As Kanu's member represents 130,000 of the 180,000 Northern Province population.

Kalenjin

The Kalenjin tribesmen all number 260,000 population in the Rift Valley Province with three seats which Kadu controls. But in this same province Kanu support is well established now and especially among the 100,000 or more plantation workers. In any election without reserved seats Kadu's present lead in the area would be wiped out. As against this so-called Kadu control in the Rift Valley's 260,000 people, Kanu controls the Central Province with over two million people and in Nyanza Province Kanu members represent over 1,500,000 to 800,000 represented by Kadu members.

"While Mr. Ngala may claim support of the Abaluhya tribes, the facts are that in the North Nyanza elections out of a total poll of 118,000 votes Kanu won only some 22,000 votes while Kadu candidates won 9,000 votes—the Kadu votes do not include the support given to Mr. Muisa Amalemba who stood not as Kadu but as president of the Abaluhya Political Union.

"This then is the picture which Mr. Ngala seeks to ignore, hide or confuse. His technique and that of his United Kingdom sponsors and the band of professional public relations men they have employed is to appeal to the weakness of the British people i.e. present Kadu as an underdog and Kanu as a bully poised to impose a ruthless tribal dictatorship when independence comes.

Tribal Fears

"What Mr. Ngala has not told the readers is that Kanu does not seek to import a Westminster Constitution but instead to have a written Constitution with built-in checks and balances i.e. instead of Parliament being supreme as at Westminster the Constitution shall be supreme, buttressed by an independent judiciary and a tough amendment machinery to exclude any possibility of changes or amendment by simple majority in Parliament.

"Kanu concedes that there are tribal fears and anxieties but accepts them as a challenge while Kadu seeks to exploit, encourage and build on these fears. Kanu proposes that the Constitution should entrench certain specific rights which would be exclusively reserved for local government—which would be outside the jurisdiction of Parliament. It is also proposed that any amendment to the basic clauses of the Constitution must in the first place receive 75% support of all the local governments.

"Regional governments do not assuage tribal anxiety since within a region there will still be many tribes some of which may be antagonistic and without any machinery for the protection of minorities within the region.

"It would be futile to try to win the Kenya conference

through the Press, and I therefore must restrict my remarks to mere generalities. But I hope that the British public will beware of the subtle, professional public relations move, to appeal to their sentiments in support of an artificial underdog. The moment democratic principles are sacrificed in a wave of emotion then we will have started on the road to the ruin of even the safeguards for the individual and minorities. You cannot suppress and frustrate a majority without serious risks. We believe too in unity if we are to face up to the challenge after independence."

Economy in Desperate Straits

The letter appeared under one from Lord Delamere, chairman of the Kenya National Farmers' Union, and Mr. C. O. Oates, chairman of the Convention of Associations in Kenya, who emphasized that the Colony's economy is in desperate straits, that the farming industry will collapse unless given substantial and immediate financial help, and that the new Constitution will not succeed unless supported by a sound economy.

Kenya and the Conference

K.A.D.U.'s Increasing Resistance to K.A.N.U.

THE KENYA CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE at Lancaster House, London, was marked last week by daily reports of increasing Kanu procedure and even a threat from K.A.D.U. in Kenya to demand the recall of its delegation. Then the delegates agreed to meet for at least an extra hour each day and, if necessary,

to make a statement by which the committee on the structure of government on Friday had made it clear the K.A.N.U. agreed that local government authorities should have entrenched legislative powers, more detailed consideration was given on Monday to K.A.D.U. suggestions about the legislative powers to be accorded to local authorities and about local government and the maintenance of public order and the machinery of regional government itself.

K.A.D.U. circulated a map showing its proposed regions which would each have about 1m. people in divisions that cut across tribal areas with a view to reducing the dangers of tribal clashes by making for multi-tribal populations in the region. The K.A.N.U. concept of a strong central government envisaged "other governing authorities" based on the 13 local authorities now operative in Kenya.

The committee considering a Bill of Rights met on Thursday and asked for a memorandum from the Colonial Office showing in comparative form the provisions contained in such bills in various territories.

In a week-end visit to Elge, Mr. Mboya, K.A.N.U. secretary, said that anxiety that Kenya might develop into another Congo was not justified. "An independent Kenya will not reject a measure merely because it is proposed by the Soviet Union or support one just because it is proposed by the United States. We do not identify the West with freedom, democracy and Christianity, and the East with totalitarianism. The present struggle between East and West is a power struggle, and not necessarily a struggle between democracy and totalitarianism."

K.A.D.U. officials meeting in Nakuru last week decided to form the Kenya Trade Union Movement as a counter to the Kenya Federation of Labour, on the grounds that the latter, dominated by Mr. Mboya, is too immersed in politics, said to have been shown by its dispatch to the conference of a memorandum in support of unitary government. Mr. Chirchir Komen is chairman, and Mr. Martin Shikuku, general secretary of K.A.D.U., has been elected general secretary.

The meeting cabled the Colonial Secretary that it would demand the return of the K.A.D.U. delegation if their regional plan were not accepted, adding that the meeting had rejected unitary government, Mau Mau, illegal oath-taking, the Land Freedom Army, terrorism, and the use in Kenya of Communist money. Mr. Shikuku said that he would fly to London this week.

Mr. Wilson Kitazi, the party's acting executive officer, said in Kenya that it was thought that the British Government had secretly accepted regionalism as the only practical solution for Kenya, but would not say so publicly at present for fear of "upsetting" K.A.N.U. and "because it fears bloodshed if it does."

The women's wing of K.A.D.U. cabled the party delegates demanding "regionalism" and saying: "Mothers are not prepared to bear children for murdering by Mau Mau terrorists."

U.N. Blunders in Katanga

Mr. Hastings on His Recent Visit

SENIOR UNITED NATIONS OFFICIALS responsible for operations in the Congo were apparently quite ignorant of what instructions had been given in consequence of the resolution on the removal of mercenaries from Katanga in September last year. Mr. Stephen Hastings, M.P., emphasized to a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies in London last week.

Dr. Conor O'Brien, in charge in Katanga when Mr. Hastings was there in October, claimed later that he had been instructed by Mr. Mahmoud Khiri to arrest the three Katangese Ministers, Messrs. M'ungongo, Kibwe and Kimba, and Europeans found in the Sûreté and the Ministry of Information (where files were to be seized), and President Tshombe himself if absolutely necessary. Warrants for such arrests had been prepared and bore the seal of the Congolese Central Government. The U.N. troops were also to occupy the post office and radio station in Elisabethville.

Dr. Sture Linner, chief U.N. representative in the Congo, and Mr. Ralph Bunche, the U.N. Secretary-General's principal assistant, had, however, both denied any knowledge of those instructions. Mr. Linner had replied that he had been in contact with Mr. Hammarskjöld himself in a secret wireless link.

"It is hardly likely that such an arrangement would exist with a relatively junior officer. Either Dr. O'Brien was mistaken in his recollection of the Observer, or else some senior officer on his own private initiative put an operation of force into action to effect a political solution — which was illegal according to the terms of the U.N. resolutions and inconsistent with the U.N. also, ill-conceived militarily for getting rid of mercenaries, since the method used would mean the destruction of the town; and that most of the Katangese forces would have taken to the bush, whence it would have been only too simple to conduct guerilla war."

Ugry Situation in Baluba Camp

Mr. Hastings said that the "ugly situation" he found in Elisabethville. The U.N. had publicly offered protection to Baluba tribesmen who had not at that time left their jobs, and the Baluba group, comprised mainly of youthful militants, had encouraged the people to accept the offer by telling them that a massacre and the bombing of the city were imminent. The result was a refugee camp, caused by ignorance, not by ill-will in which many thousands of Africans lived in indescribable misery, "a horrible and deplorable state of affairs" in the centre of the camp. "Some soldiers were entrenched behind sandbags with their guns pointing out day and night. The officers who took in Mr. Hastings had been in two minds as to whether it was safe to do so."

After the first attack U.N. troops were to be seen everywhere in the city, all armed. Despite a condition of the ceasefire that no troop reinforcements would be undertaken by either side, the U.N. contingents had been doubled in strength by the time the fighting broke out again in December. Feeling among Africans and Europeans in Elisabethville was so strong against the U.N. that it was only a matter of time before something went wrong. More violence was inevitable. "I suggested to Dr. O'Brien that it might be less provocative if his troops were moved away from the town, but, he did not answer."

"Previously he had had Belgian administrators in Albertville and Elisabethville removed, and 11 district officers flown out in a move to arrest political advisers. Think what would be the result if 11 D.O.s. were suddenly removed in Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia! European officers in the gendarmerie were also expelled, though the U.N. agreed after a strong protest from President Tshombe to allow 80 to stay on to ensure cohesion, in view of what had happened elsewhere in the Congo when the officers left."

Dr. O'Brien told Mr. Tshombe in September to broadcast to the people that all remaining mercenaries should give themselves up. He did so, and 150 surrendered. The President told me that those expulsions meant that the backbone of the administration had been taken away, making it excessively difficult to keep going.

"In the general anarchy and breakdown now existing in the Congo, reports come through that junior U.N. officials are asking that Belgians should be allowed to return to help restore a little order."

"At that time Mr. Tshombe wrote to Mr. Adoula suggesting an economic and customs union, joint armed forces, and a common currency. This was entirely reasonable and went a long way towards meeting the views often expressed by the U.N. and Leopoldville for a federal structure. But he got no answer. The two men must be allowed to get together, as African to African alone, without any foreign diplomats breathing down their neck and insisting on this and that."

Murdered by Ethiopians

There could be no doubt that three Red Cross workers, including the Swiss chief in Katanga, had been murdered without provocation by U.N. Ethiopian troops. At Kongolo, where 22 European missionaries had been murdered and mutilated after three columns of Central Congolese Army soldiers had driven out Katangese gendarmes, the U.N. had managed to arrest only four suspects. Similar incidents had occurred in half a dozen other towns.

From Luluabourg a friend had written that the once fully equipped hospital had been ransacked. Patients had no proper beds or bed-clothing, and many of the children were dying of malnutrition. Yet again someone had absconded with the money needed to buy food.

"We must continue to criticize the U.N. when its actions do not accord with the fine standards set out in the Charter. If we close our eyes to such sad evidence as the Congo provides, instead of having a great future this splendid experiment may fall through."

The chair was taken by Major Lewis Hastings, father of the speaker.

U.N. Has No Proper Place in Congo

Obsession With Mercenaries

THE OBSESSION of the operations of the United Nations in the Congo has been made in the *Daily Telegraph* by Mr. John Bulloch, who has spent some months in that country.

His experience is that there is no unified plan to turn the Congo from a collection of primitive provinces interspersed with a few towns into a viable modern State; that the U.N. representatives do everything on an *ad hoc* basis; that each national contingent in the military force has its own idea of how things should be done and the ear of one of its own countrymen in the headquarters hierarchy; and that even matters of major importance are not decided in the Congo but in New York, where the recommendations of the men on the spot are frequently over-ruled.

Mr. Bulloch's summary of the situation contained these passages:

"In Kasai there has been a breakaway movement only as strong as in Katanga; in Kivu the writ of the Central Government has run only as far as the provincial administration chose; in Luluabourg a provincial president approved by the Leopoldville Administration has for weeks been going his own way. To Mr. Adoula every one of these places is as important as Katanga."

"Acceptance by Mr. Tshombe of the authority of the Central Government, even membership of that Government by some Katangese Ministers, would not solve overnight the problems of the Congo. Yet that is the impression the U.N. has consistently sought to give."

"The constant United Nations obsession with mercenaries is something which even the U.N. officials on the spot are hard put to it to justify. At the same time the U.N. makes no objection to the employment of mercenaries by the Central Government."

"Day after day there are incidents which appear to clamour for strong U.N. action — the massacres at Kindu and Kongolo, the lawlessness in Luluabourg, the ever-present troubles caused by the constant influx of refugees from Ruanda into Kivu, the threats to lonely mission stations around Bukavu, the continuing disorders in North Katanga."

"In all this black picture there is one hopeful sign — that Mr. Adoula, Prime Minister since last August, at last seems to be emerging as a man of sufficient stature to draw the Congo together as one integral whole."

"The mighty contributions made by the British people to mankind stem from courage, not fear".
Mr. J. W. Swan, speaking in the Federal Parliament.

Tanganyika's Regional Commissioners Appointment of Ten "Junior Ministers"

TEN REGIONAL COMMISSIONERS have now entered upon their duties in Tanganyika. They are:—

MR. RASHID JUMAABE ARDALLAH, Regional Commissioner for the Tanga Region. Aged 39. Joined the Tanganyika African National Union in 1954 and served as provincial secretary in the Northern, Eastern and Dar es Salaam provinces. Last year he represented T.A.N.U. at the annual conferences of the Conservative and Labour parties in England.

SHEIKH K. AMRI ABEDEI, Commissioner for the Western Region. Aged 37. Is M.P. for Kigoma and chairman of the T.A.N.U. Parliamentary Party, and was until recently Mayor of Dar es Salaam. Had charge of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission in the Eastern Province. Graduated in 1956 in theology, Arabic and Urdu at Rabwah Missionary College, West Pakistan. Has been president of the Tanganyika African Parents' Association, and is a member of the national executive of T.A.N.U.

MR. BARUGIRA EDWARD MUNYACHI BARONGO, Commissioner for the Northern Region. Aged 35. Is M.P. for Busubi, and for the past two years has been deputy secretary-general for T.A.N.U. Had previously been district secretary in Bukoba, his home, and provincial secretary for the West Lake Province. Was for five years in the East African Medical Corps.

MR. SELEMAN JUMA KITSUNDO, Commissioner for the Eastern Region. Aged 33. While working in Kenya as a member of the Kenya African Union, and on returning to Tanganyika was for three years a member of the Tanganyika African Association before it became T.A.N.U. Was its provincial secretary in the Eastern Province and afterwards provincial secretary in the Southern Highlands and Eastern provinces. He is a member of Morogoro Town Council.

MR. SAMUEL LUANGISA, Commissioner for the West Lake Region. Chairman of Bulaya Council, Bukoba, and has been provincial secretary of T.A.N.U. in the West Lake Province.

MR. PHILEMON PAULO MURU, Commissioner for the Southern Region. Aged 37. A member of T.A.N.U.'s national executive and provincial chairman in the Northern Province; a member of the Education Council and chairman of the education committee of the Lutheran Primary School at Nkwashoo. At one time a medical assistant in a Government hospital in Malawi.

MR. JOHN BENEDICT MUOGO MWAKANGALE, Commissioner for the Southern Highlands. Aged 38. M.P. for Mbeya and Chunya. After working for some years as a veterinary assistant, became secretary of Rungwe African District Council in 1949, and in 1955 took a local government and public administration course in the United Kingdom. Was elected to the Legislature in 1958 and is now a member of the Tanganyika Pyrethrum Board.

MR. JOHN ANDERSON NZUNDA, Commissioner for the Southern Region. Aged 34. M.P. for Masasi, and has been T.A.N.U.'s provincial secretary in the Southern Province. After completing his secondary education, he went to South Africa and holds the certificate in journalism of the South African Academy of Journalism and Art. Last year he visited the U.S.A. Served in the Tanganyika Defence Force in 1942-43, was a Scoutmaster from 1942 to 1953, and was for three years on the management committee of the Arnavotglu Community Centre, Dar es Salaam.

MR. ABBAS KLEIST SYKES, Commissioner for the Dar es Salaam Region. Aged 32. A founder member of T.A.N.U., and honorary secretary-general before a salaried secretary-general was employed. Has been on the executive committee from its establishment, and was at one time national treasurer. Studied in France and Switzerland, and was in business in Dar es Salaam.

MR. RICHARD SAIMURA WAMBURA, Commissioner for the Lake Region. Aged 34. M.P. for Mtwara. Has been T.A.N.U.'s provincial secretary in the Lake Province.

The regional commissioners have been officially described as "junior ministers", who are the Government's political representatives in their areas, charged with the duty of "interpreting the three-year development plan in practical terms right down to the village level".

Coastal Strip and Zanzibar Conferences

THE SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, Seyyid Sh. Abdulla bin Khalifa, and the British Resident, Sir George Mooring, arrived in London on Monday to attend a conference beginning today on the future of the Kenya Coastal Strip.

A 10-member delegation to the Zanzibar Constitutional Conference, which opened in Dar es Salaam, arrived. It comprises five members each of the ruling Zanzibar Nationalist Party and the Opposition Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party.

The Minister of Education, and leader of the Z.N.P., Sheikh Ali Muhsin, said on arrival that they would demand independence by October this year, with elections to be held after rather than before independence.

He said that differences between the two parties were not as wide as publicized. Both approached the conference in the same frame of mind, aiming at success in achieving that "complete independence which is spontaneously demanded by the people and which will put Zanzibar in a better position to bring about the unity of East Africa. We hope that next year will see us all free in East Africa and that we will start immediately to find ways and means of uniting our territories into one unit. That is the beginning of Pan-Africanism, to which we have devoted all our energies."

Sheikh Mohamed Shamte Hamadi, Chief Minister of Zanzibar, said at the week-end that he would press Britain for internal self-government by July 1.

Another Kikuyu Terrorist Organization

A DEFENCE MINISTRY SPOKESMAN in Kenya said on Friday that there was now another Kikuyu terrorist organization, which was sometimes called Soldiers of Kenyatta, sometimes Freedom Soldiers, and sometimes by other names. It was separate and distinct from the Land Freedom Army which has been officially described as a Mau Mau-type body.

The new organization, mentioned during the past week on several occasions during trials of terrorists at Kiambu, was believed to have been formed by hard-core ex-Mau Mau detainees who were still at large in the forests and who had recruited other Kikuyu, most of them unemployed or without land.

Their aim was described as that of "climbing on the independence bandwagon and making certain that they get something having fought for during the emergency".

At one trial a letter was quoted which was said to have been addressed to Mr. Mbiyu Koinange, now general secretary of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa, and in pre-Mau Mau days one of the closest associates of Kenyatta in the Kenya Africa Union.



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Sir Roy Welensky's Speech

(Concluded from page 658)

Commons: 'Can he also say whether Barotseland accepts the proposals which he put forward?' His reply was: 'I have assured the Livingstone that the special position of Barotseland is not affected by the changes I have announced this afternoon'. It will be noticed that the Secretary of State neatly sidestepped the actual question and avoided saying whether the Barotse have accepted the proposals.

I am in fact extremely doubtful whether they have been made aware of them even now. I believe that the answer of the Secretary of State was not only evasive but was extremely misleading, and I believe his assurance to the Livingstone is worthless.

On a purely technical basis it might be thinly argued that the special status of Barotseland is not affected by these Constitutional changes. In hard practical reality, the position of Barotseland is vitally affected by what happens to the Constitution of Northern Rhodesia. The handover of reins of Government to extremists in Northern Rhodesia would be disaster for Barotseland, and the Livingstone and his Council are fully aware of this. They have expressly asked the British Government to exclude them from Northern Rhodesia and to make them a separate territory within the Federation. This of course is within the knowledge of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, who paid a visit to Barotseland quite recently. It is incomprehensible that the British Government should proceed with their plan for Northern Rhodesia without taking this into account. It is clear that special status schemes for Barotseland has not in fact been considered. We are thus in the same position that we were in more than a year ago. The White Papers we still have, an incomplete scheme and its application to a vast area of Northern Rhodesia still in doubt.

Scrap This Sorry Scheme

The new Constitution has still to be carried to the Order in Council and amendments to the franchise laws. Many gaps have to be filled. We do not know whether the Government intend to change the franchise law to enable the leaders of the A.N.C. and U.N.I.P. to lose their present disqualification for election to the Council, nor do we know what terms of reference will be given to the delimitation commission, though the British Government have promised to consult with us on this. We have seen no draft of Declaration of Rights, though the White Papers contemplate the incorporation of such an instrument.

I am convinced that these new but incomplete proposals for Northern Rhodesia offer no solution to the problems of that Territory, but rather frustration and futility. I believe, in the light of the desire of the Barotse people to extricate themselves from this sorry scheme of things that the British should even at this late stage scrap their proposals and take a fresh look at the problem of Northern Rhodesia and its relation to the Federation. It may be that the true solution would lie in dividing Northern Rhodesia like all Gaul into three parts, each separate and linked to the Federal Government.

It may be that some other solution must be sought, but whatever the solution is to be, now is the time to seek it. It is no longer possible for us to accept this sequence of constitutional negotiation and change which represents at best lack of decision and at worst a deliberate attempt to break up the Federation. The story of the Northern Rhodesian Constitutional negotiations which have recounted is only one chapter in a

longer account of piecemeal negotiation which has had a severe effect on the economy of the Federation and on the progress of its people. It has bred uncertainty but has also firmly entrenched in our minds disillusionment with both the determination and real intentions of the British Government.

Similar Complaints from West Indies

It will not have escaped the notice of Members that the Prime Minister of another Federation in the Commonwealth yesterday protested in the strongest terms at the treatment meted out to him by the British Government in deciding to dissolve his country without so much as consulting him. He accused the British Government of bad faith or duplicity. I am therefore not alone in accusing the British Government of breaking faith.

Nevertheless, this is something I am prepared to put down to experience, but what I am not prepared to do is to accept that this erosion into the Federal structure can be allowed to go on any longer, and it was another and most important purpose of my visit to London to make clear to H.M. Government what the consequence of any further breach of faith would be. I had thought that this would have been unnecessary in view of the recent visit of the Commonwealth Secretary. It is public knowledge that he had discussions here on the wider issues affecting the Federation as well as the Constitution of Northern Rhodesia, but it seems that the message he took back with him to London was not the message we gave him, or perhaps the British Government would not accept it.

No More Delay

Whatever the case may be, I trust that the House will abundantly clear to all concerned that the Federal Government looks upon a settlement of the affairs of the Federation as a whole as something which we cannot allow to be staved off or avoided any longer. We look to the implementation of the spirit and letter of the convention subscribed to in April 1957 by H.M. Government and the Federal Government. In these words occur: 'the purpose of this conference is to review the Constitution in the light of the experience gained since the inception of the Federation and in addition to agree on constitutional advances which may be made. In this latter context the conference will consider a programme for the attainment of such status as would enable the Federation to become eligible for full membership of the Commonwealth'.

Office Blaze

FIRE BROKE OUT on Tuesday in Salisbury in the building where Sir Roy Welensky's office is situated. His office was badly damaged, but important documents and valuable paintings were removed to safety.

African Students in East Germany

ABOUT 300 AFRICAN STUDENTS at a time are to be trained at the Wilhelm Pieck Youth College in Bogensee, north of Berlin, which has just been opened by the East German Government. In this Communist institution all pupils will be taught Russian and about the Soviet Union. The subjects studied will also embrace politics, propaganda, and journalism.

Ten Sentenced for Torture

TEN KAMBA TRIBESMEN have been sentenced to 30 months' imprisonment each for torturing another Kenya African who had been 'arrested' by K.A.N.U. youth wing members for allegedly telling his European employer about illegal grazing on his estate.

During the short time he has been in office the Chief Minister has confused everyone—his own colleagues, the civil servants, and the farmers and labourers.—Mr. S. Mhambi Katana, M.L.C., Uganda.

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RHODESIA

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Another Abandonment Forshadowed

MILLIONS OF POUNDS having just been spent in building permanent barracks at Kahawa, near Nairobi, for British troops, a new Defence White Paper (Cmd. 1639) states—without any indication that such heavy expenditure has been incurred—that there will be no long-term requirement for the base.

The one paragraph in the document which deals specifically with Africa says:—

"At present we maintain in Kenya a part of our Army Strategic Reserve, which is available for supporting the civil power in the African territories for which we are responsible and as a reinforcement for our forces in the Middle East, primarily for operations in the Persian Gulf. Alternative arrangements will be made to support operations in the Middle East theatre. During the sixties, therefore, our military requirements in East and Central Africa will have to be re-examined in the light of a continuing need to support the civil power. This may require the maintenance of forces in the area, but there will be no long-term requirement for a base. In addition, we shall have to retain facilities there for air transit, staging and for training normally accorded by Commonwealth countries to each other."

Inquiry into Buganda Shooting

AN INQUIRY opened Monday into incidents last week in Buganda country, Uganda, in which seven people were wounded after police had opened fire on rioting Banyoro tribesmen. A Banyoro Government spokesman disputed the official version of the shooting—that the crowds had attacked the police and refused to disperse even when tear-gas was used. He alleged that the police had opened fire after pursuing the crowd as they fled from a burning market-place. Mr. P. Field, a former provincial commissioner in Uganda, and Mr. J. G. ... Acting Deputy Inspector-General of Police, are conducting the inquiry.

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Action Against the Turkana

ABOUT 1,000 TROOPS and police have for the past fortnight been operating against Turkana raiders in the border area between Kenya, Uganda, and the Sudan, where large-scale raiding, with heavy loss of life and of cattle, has continued for about two years. The Turkana, armed with modern rifles obtained in Ethiopia, are said to have killed more than 150 tribesmen in Uganda and about 100 in Kenya and to have stolen nearly 18,000 head of stock, of which only 5,300 have been recovered. Official figures issued by the Ministry in Kenya deal with 77 incidents between January, 1960, and November last year. The Government of Uganda has spoken of 150 incidents. The 5th Bn. K.A.R., supported by two aircraft, 10 platoons of a police general service unit, and tribal police, also supported by reconnaissance aircraft, are engaged in the operation, for which the Sudan has provided a company of infantry.

Ngei in Cairo

CAIRO RADIO recently broadcast an interview with Kenyatta's close Mau Mau associate Paul Ngei, now one of K.A.N.U.'s most extreme nationalist members, in which he repeated his demand that European farms in Kenya must be taken over by Africans. He denounced the re-settlement scheme for the purchase of European land for division among African peasant farmers, and declared that Africans must also take over European businesses. "The economy of the Africans must, must, must today come into our hands".

90-Year-Old European Clubbed

AN AFRICAN GANG last week clubbed 90-year-old Mrs. Sarah Grimbeck and her daughter, Mrs. Cecily Reynolds, aged 64, in their farmhouse in the highland and stole money and clothing. Both had to be taken to hospital where Mrs. Grimbeck was said to be in a critical condition. She and her husband, who died 10 years ago, arrived in Kenya from South Africa in 1905. They were among the pioneer settlers in the Rumuruti area.

Invitation to Addis Ababa

WILL THE NEXT MEETING of the World Council of Churches be held in Addis Ababa? The last item on the programme of the assembly recently held in New Delhi was to receive an invitation in that sense from the Orthodox Church of Ethiopia. The World Council meets at intervals of five years. The invitation to gather next time in Addis Ababa is to be considered by the committee two years hence.

Correction

MR. D. M. HODSON, controller of overseas services of the B.B.C., was recently reported as saying that there were four or five sound receivers to every television set in Africa and three to one in Asia. His statement was that "as compared with five years ago, there are now four or five times as many sound receivers in Africa as a whole and in Asia, excluding Japan, three times as many".

Union-Castle Guides

THE 1962 EDITIONS of the Union-Castle "Yearbook and Guide to East Africa" (10s. 8d. post free) and the "Yearbook and Guide to Southern Africa" (14s. 3d.), both edited by Mr. A. Gordon-Brown, maintain the high degree of reliability established over the years by these most useful reference books. All the usual features and maps are included. Both can be warmly recommended.

Parliament

Britain's Overseas Technical Aid

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS last week Mr. MACLEOD replying for MR. VOSPER, said that H.M. Government had spent £10.1m. in 1960 on technical assistance overseas, and that in the first nine months of 1961 the total was £17.4m.; the increase being attributable largely to the Overseas Service Aid Scheme. The figures included Britain's voluntary contributions to United Nations technical assistance funds and the United Nations Children's Fund, but not the technical assistance element in the regular contributions to the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

Asked by MR. G. H. THOMSON how many teachers had been recruited last year from the U.K. and the U.S.A. respectively for the Anglo-American scheme at Makerere College, Uganda, MR. MACLEOD replied that there had been places for 160 Americans and 10 British teachers and that this year the numbers were expected to be about 100 from America and 50 from the U.K.

The scheme was supplementary to the normal recruitment of U.K. teachers for service in East Africa, and that more than anything else accounted for the disproportion. What he considered a fine scheme had emerged from the Princeton Conference of December, 1960. It would, he believed, be of immense benefit to East Africa.

Asked by MR. H. WHITE in reply to a question from Mrs. WHITE, whether the disturbances in Mubende district had been an outbreak of violence in the Mubende district of Buganda, which forms part of the so-called "lost counties" claimed by Bunyoro. It had taken the form of crop-slashing and attacks on local chiefs, houses and markets. In two instances small detachments of Protectorate police, which had been attacked by crowds, were obliged to open fire and seven persons have been injured.

The Governor is satisfied that the situation in Mubende is now under control. The cause of the disturbances is the strong feelings in the area over the lost counties dispute, heightened by the excitement aroused during the recent election in Buganda. Strong police reinforcements have been sent to Mubende.

"There were a number of acts of violence elsewhere in Buganda over the election period, but the Governor reports that there is now a marked falling off in the number of these incidents".

In reply to questions by MR. BIGGS-DAVISON and SIR WILLIAM TEELING, MR. GODBER said that, in connexion with the movement of United Nations troops into Kolwezi and Jadotville, H.M. Government had continued to stress the great importance of the U.N. acting in full co-operation with the Katanga Government, and that military moves should not be made until complete agreement had been reached. He knew that it was the wish of the Secretary-General to withdraw the U.N. troops as soon as possible.

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked the Postmaster-General whether mails from the United Kingdom to Katanga were still being examined by U.N. officials at Elisabethville airport.

MISS PIKE: "Our information is that there is no examination of mails from the U.K. by United Nations officials at Elisabethville. Under normal international postal procedure our mails for abroad are due to be delivered by the carrier to the postal administration of the country of destination, and we understand that this is being done in this case".

Common Market Negotiations

When Common Market points were under discussion, MR. CALLAGHAN asked the Lord Privy Seal to make it clear that the view of the Government was that "there is nothing in reason, logic or sense why Commonwealth territories in Africa should have any less favourable treatment accorded to them than is being given or is proposed to be accorded to the associated territories".

MR. HOSKING: "The fact is that Africa is already divided. Sixteen countries associated with the Commonwealth Economic Community have certain trading arrangements. The countries of the British Commonwealth have other trading arrangements at the moment and have different arrangements. Our object is to try to bring the two together. In these negotiations there is a long process of negotiation of the characteristics of the trade and economies of the countries".

MR. CALLAGHAN: "May we not have it made clear that there is no reason why Britain should be expected to make sacrifices in respect of Commonwealth territories in order to buy ourselves into the Common Market? It is the intention, sacrifices which are not demanded of France and her associated territories".

MR. HEATH: "We are certainly not treating the Commonwealth as being asked to make sacrifices so that we can buy ourselves into the European Economic Community. The actual conditions which we and the Commonwealth countries themselves are asking are matters for negotiation".

Retirement Proposals Partially Accepted

Asked by CAPTAIN KERBY about the position of non-designated overseas officers in Kenya, MR. MAULDING replied:

"In view of the assurance given in paragraph 12 of Colonial No. 306, I strongly urged the East African Governments to accept and implement the proposals I made last November after discussions with representatives of the officers concerned for retirement benefits for non-designated officers serving in East Africa on overseas leave terms. I emphasized to the staff associations concerned that the decision to implement my proposals rested with the East African Governments which had been responsible for the recruitment of these officers.

"I have now learned that the Government of Kenya is prepared to adopt my proposals in part only, and does not feel itself able to grant these officers a general right to retire, as I had suggested. The final decision on my proposals must rest with the East African Governments".

Mrs. CASTLE asked what steps were being taken to dispatch supplies of British-produced milk products to Tanganyika for famine relief.

MR. BRAINE: "None, sir. My hon. friend has received no request from the Government of Tanganyika for food to relieve the famine".

Mrs. CASTLE: "Are not hunger and malnutrition endemic in those areas? Would it not be better if, instead of trying to cut down our milk production, we were to give British farmers their head and then process any surplus milk for distribution in the hungry areas of the world?".

MR. BRAINE: "The hon. lady is forgetting that the problem is not merely one of food but of distribution also. The United States Government have provided very large tonnages of food, but the problem in the conditions following the floods was how to distribute this food. It was to transport food to places cut off by floods that Royal Air Force transport was made available. We were able to provide that very quickly, and the Prime Minister has received the warm thanks of the Prime Minister of Tanganyika".

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Mr. Nkomo's Statements in London

Denies Large Subsidies from Cairo and Accra

ALLEGATIONS THAT CENTRAL AFRICAN affairs were being handled in secrecy by the British Government and "white settlers" to the exclusion of the African people were made by Mr. Joshua Nkomo, president of the Zimbabwe African People's Union of Southern Rhodesia during a brief visit to London last week before he returned to New York to give evidence to the United Nations committee on the abolition of colonialism which is to investigate Southern Rhodesia's self-governing status.

Africans, said Mr. Nkomo, wanted to remove the burden of governing their territories from Britain's shoulders, but were told that they were not ready to look after themselves. "Who is going to blow the whistle to say when we are ready? It is immaterial whether Sir Roy Welensky wants it or not, we shall be free and independent one day. Does Britain really want to see the Union Jack flying in Central Africa? We seek friendship with Britain, but anybody holding us under that flag is our enemy.

"We want to see the Federation end now. Once the three countries are independent, African states we can decide for ourselves what form of union we want. I believe in bigger things, like the Pan-Africa and the African Peoples Conference. We don't believe in Federation because it was imposed by a minority, so it must go completely. Once there are more independent States to our north, their pressure will be irresistible if we have still not got independence.

"But important decisions are being made between Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Sandhu on the one hand and Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead on the other, as well as always, the Africans' interests. We Africans of Central Africa will not accept Constitutions and agreements arranged and dictated between one white man and another to the detriment of our own people.

"The Z.A.P.U. appeal to the U.N. has succeeded, as the report shows, in fact, the committee which will investigate whether Southern Rhodesia is truly self-governing has already decided that it is not. The investigation will be a mere formality.

Non-Racialism A Pretext

"Britain as a member of U.N.O. is bound by the General Assembly resolution of December 14, 1960, defining the conditions for the attainment and practice of independent status, and is therefore aware that the self-governing status of Southern Rhodesia falls short of these requisite principles. The 1961 Constitution of Sir Edgar Whitehead was rejected by the 3m. Africans and must collapse and fall; 225,000 settlers accepted it, though only 41,940 settlers voted for the new Constitution in that referendum, with 21,826 against. A mere 384 Africans supported it in a sample N.D.P. referendum, while 467,189 rejected it.

"We are not going to assist Sir Edgar Whitehead obtain his 'pseudo-independence', which would turn the country into another South Africa. We will put up candidates only when all the 3m. Africans are allowed to vote. Sir Edgar will be very lucky if he gets 50,000 Africans on to the voters' rolls.

"Of what use is the 'Build a Nation' campaign with only a hundred or so Africans out of 3m.? We don't need the repeal of the Land Apportionment Act — it will only be manipulated for the white groups' interests. We want to put these things right ourselves. These liberal moves mean nothing. The people cannot live on statements of intention; they have to live with reality.

"Don't talk to me of multi-racial government. We do not recognize it. It does not exist in our minds. It is just a convenient cover for people who are manipulating the country for themselves under the pretext of non-racialism. We do not want to throw out the other races and want to work with them, but it depends on their behaviour."

"Mr. Nkomo could not say of how many paid-up members his party had, because he had been away for a while, but he was sure that the party programme had almost 100% support from the Africans.

It was "absolute nonsense" to suggest that he was receiving thousands of pounds a month from sources in Cairo or Accra. President Nkrumah of Ghana exerted no more influence over him than any other African leader with whom he had had discussions.

The British South

Africa Company

Industrial Expansion in the Federation

The President of The British South Africa Company Group has recently stated that it is the Board's policy that the primary field for investment by the Group will continue to be the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The establishment of the railway system in the period 1898 to 1910 was the first major task of The British South Africa Company in the commercial field. Nearly 2,500 miles of railway, stretching from Mafikeng and Beira to the Congo, were built in an undeveloped country with the Company's money or by debentures guaranteed by the Company. The railway was a fundamental part in the development of the Federation.

The British South Africa Company Group has contributed £4 million in loans towards the financing of the Kariba Hydro-Electric Scheme. The provision of power from Kariba will enable full activity on the Copperbelt to continue without fear of interruption, but will also make possible the supply of power to industrial concerns and encourage expansion both north and south of the Zambezi.

The Group has taken a large stake in the £9 million development scheme of The Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company Limited. That company is expanding its works at Redcliff, and when the programme is completed it will be able to supply the Federation's steel requirements and add to the country's exports.

The British South Africa Company Group subscribed for a substantial part of the share capital of Chilanga Cement Limited. The Chilanga company, which has a factory near Lusaka, supplied more than 400,000 tons of cement for the Kariba project.

A subsidiary provided a substantial part of the initial share capital of Rhodesian Alloys which has its headquarters at Gwelo. After a very testing formative period this refinery for ferro-chrome and allied products is now well established. That company provides a valuable outlet for Rhodesia's raw materials such as chrome-ore, limestone and coal, and it is one of the main consumers of electric power in the Federation. Its products are exported to markets all over the world.

The British South Africa Company Group has contributed substantially to the industrial expansion of the Federation, and it is a policy it will continue to pursue.

Agricultural Training Centres

AGRICULTURAL TRAINING CENTRES are to be extended in Tanganyika in order to produce 250 field assistants annually for the next decade, with the aim of having one such assistant for every 1,000 African farmers, Mr. J. S. Kasambala, Minister for Co-operative and Community Development, told the annual conference in Morogoro of representatives of the Tanganyika African National Union Youth League. Six animal draught centres are to be set up each year until there are two in every region. Agricultural and co-operative colleges offering diploma courses will be opened in Morogoro, and steps are to be taken to encourage the people to increase their cattle herds and to sell their cattle more freely.

Unofficial Strikes Condemned

TWO REPRESENTATIVES of the Southern Rhodesian Trade Union Congress, Mr. Reuben Ameia and Mr. E. Gwanzura, called on the Minister of Labour, Mr. A. E. Abrahamson, at his request recently. After discussing recent unofficial strikes they signed a statement expressing regret that individual action had been taken by workers in some industries, but emphasized that the trade union movement had been in no way concerned. They advised workers to take their grievances to the industrial tribunals, to listen to bad advice and take matters into their own hands, and to avoid being misled by their interests and lead to loss of earnings and perhaps to dismissal. The remedy for wage claims was through the trade union movement, not by sporadic strikes.

THE UGANDA CO. has made a 5,000-dollar grant to Nyasaland for the purchase of secondary school library books.

Work will begin early in 1962 on a £3m. processing factory in Arusha, Tanganyika, for the Michigan Type Co.

A stone-age axe, thought to be at least 5,000 years old, has been found in Northern Rhodesia by a schoolboy.

An economic delegation from Kuwait has visited Harare in order to investigate the possibilities of investing Kuwaiti capital in the Sudan Republic.

Rhodesia Railways are to hire 30 electric locomotives from two British manufacturing companies for a period of 10 years at a cost of nearly £3.2m.

Provisions for the establishment of 20 district councils elected on a universal franchise, with chiefs as *ex-officio* members, are contained in a Bill being introduced in Nyasaland.

British United Airways, the independent air transport company serving East and Central Africa has been granted licences to operate from Harare to 12 European destinations and to Malindi.

Hippo Valley Estates, the 150,000-acre agricultural project in Southern Rhodesia, is increasing the authorized capital from £1m. to £1.4m. The Rhodesian Anglo American group has subscribed £280,000 and Rhodesia Breweries £175,000. The plan is to increase citrus and sugar production substantially. The present area under cane of 3,500 acres may be increased to as much as 15,000 acres within the next three years, and exports of citrus, now about 40,000 cases, may be raised to about 500,000 cases within four or five years.

Messina (Transvaal) Development Co.

THE MESSINA (TRANSVAAL) DEVELOPMENT CO., LTD., which has copper properties in Southern Rhodesia as well as in South Africa and a 62% interest in M.T.D. (Mangula), Ltd., a Southern Rhodesian enterprise with an issued capital of £5m., reports profit after tax for the year to September 30 at R.2,191,780, against R.2,961,798 in the previous year (the rand being equivalent to 10s.). Dividends take just over R.1m., and there is a transfer to capital reserve of just under R.1m.

Group capital expenditure of nearly R.24m. included R.522,386 at Mangula and rather more than R.1m. at the Alaska copper property in Southern Rhodesia, where ore reserves total 4,460,000 tons of a grade of 1.8% copper.

The ore reserves of M.T.D. (Mangula) exceed 26m. short tons, assaying 1.29% copper. Mangula's output was 26,897 short tons of concentrate, containing 13,563 short tons of copper. Sales revenue totalled R.4,167,742 and working expenditure R.2,390,786, giving a net profit of £1,647,448 after meeting various charges. The dividend was 11%.

The directors are Commander H. F. P. Grenfell, chairman and managing director, Mr. D. E. Cox, joint managing director, and Messrs. R. P. Grenfell, P. O'B. Frost, P. U. Rissik, and C. M. Stuart.

Rhodesian Corporation

RHODESIAN CORPORATION, LTD., reports profit after tax for the year to September 30 of 292,875 compared with 285,217 in the previous year. Dividends of 3s. 4d. stock take (takes 306,203), leaving after further adjustment £45,375 to be carried forward. The issued capital is just over £1m. Assets stand in the books at £2,200,000, less current liabilities at £60,446. Mrs. C. J. Burns is the chairman and the other directors are Lord Walsingham and Messrs. C. H. Higgins, J. P. Luce, P. L. Wigley, and J. Jousse (alternate), J. A. Griffiths).

The Uganda Company Limited

THE UGANDA CO., LTD., reports consolidated net profit after tax of the parent company and its subsidiaries for the year ended August 31 of £233,667, compared with £180,951 in the previous year. Dividends totalling 10% take £146,096, leaving to be carried forward by the parent company £105,275 and by subsidiaries £438,139.

The issued capital is £2,385,233 in shares of 10s. Fixed assets stand in the consolidated balance sheet at £3,913,754, current assets less current liabilities at £325,442, and trade investments at £39,092. There are capital reserves of £400,187, revenue reserves of £632,818, and outstanding investments totalling £850,050.

Earl de la Warr is the chairman, and the other directors are Sir James Robertson, Mr. D. A. J. Buxton, Mr. S. Bolster, Mr. J. K. Dick, and Mr. E. H. Morland (secretary).

The directors of subsidiary companies in East Africa are Messrs. C. H. Rowe (general manager), P. W. D. Gilderson (assistant general manager), T. B. Bazarrabusca, C. Lewis, E. K. Mukasa, and M. M. Ngobi, M.A.C.

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New Agricultural Wage Structure

A NEW WAGE AGREEMENT has been reached by the Tanganyika Association of Agricultural Employers and the Tanganyika Plantation Workers' Union in respect of agricultural workers in the Arusha, Moshi, and Oldene districts.

All categories of workers will receive substantially increased wages. The working week is to be 45 hours, with overtime at time-and-a-half.

Employees on ticket rates will be entitled to seven days' holiday with pay after each year of service, provided that at least 288 days have been worked in the period, and employees on monthly terms will have 14 days with pay.

Farm assistants are to start at £22 10s. a month, rising by 30s. per month annually to £27. For permanently employed artisans the minimum will be £9, rising by £1 to £12; for vehicle drivers, £8 by 10s. increments to £9 10s.; and for office clerks on farms, £9 by £1 to £12. First-grade headmen will start at £8 5s. and probationary headmen at £6.

For general agricultural workers on tickets the starting wage will be 84s. In all cases increments to the Government scale are provided 21s. a month may be deducted.

A coffee-picking rate of 1s. per four-gallon tin is to be established.

Wankie Colliery Company sold 203,583 tons of coal and 2,909 tons of coke in February.

Uganda's Minister of Agriculture has suggested the local manufacture of "instant" coffee.

Arabia Petroleum Co. Ltd. reported net profits for 1961 of £66,665 (1960 £79,000) and the 9% dividend is repeated.

Thirty-three members of **Dar es Salaam Chamber of Commerce** have subscribed £11,837 to the Tanganyika National Fund.

Two **Federal Government** loans are to be made on March 21: the first of £3m in 6½% 1982-87 local registered stock at 98%, and the second of £2½m at 5½% maturing in 1963.

Three local fertilizer companies and some foreign manufacturers have been officially asked whether they would care to invest in the establishment of a nitrogen plant in Tanganyika.

Uganda cotton growers will be paid 57 cents a lb. for 85 and 56 cents a lb. for S. 47 first-quality seed cotton in the planting season, and 23 cents a lb. in West Nile and 20 cents in all other zones for second quality.

The **Kenya Chemical Workers' Union** has called for a strike by its members employed in Nakuru by the Fyreflum Board of Kenya, which has therefore asked growers not to consign flowers to the board until further notice.

A total coffee crop of 32,487 tons is estimated for the 1961-62 season in Kenya, with 22,143 tons from European areas, a decrease from last year's crop of 24,963, and 10,344 from African holdings, compared with 7,769 tons in 1960-61.

Taylor Advertising, Ltd., of Nairobi, has incorporated David Blair and Hawthorne, Ltd., another advertising agency. The reconstituted board consists of Messrs. K. L. Hunter, Lester Rogers, Dennis Gado, Keith McGuinness, and Edward Bundy.

British American Tobacco Co. Ltd. had consolidated assets on September 30 last of more than £450m., including fixed assets of nearly £73m., the corresponding figures a year earlier having been £412m. and just under £70m. Current assets were nearly £359m. Group profits rose by £7m. to £694m., a record. The dividend is to be raised by 1d. to 2s. 3d., tax free, per 10s. unit. The chairman is Sir Duncan Oppenheim.

Kiketu Estates Holding, Ltd., which paid a dividend of 27½% for the year to March 31 last, had a profit before taxation of £27,763.

Hubert Davies & Co. Ltd., report net profits for the year to October 31 of R. 380,448 (R. 414,198) after tax of R. 96,835. Dividends total 15% (17½% in 1960).

At the annual meeting in Tanga of **Bird & Company (Africa), Ltd.**, Sir Charles Ponsoy, the chairman, said that owing to unfavourable weather and the lower price for sisal results for the current financial year were likely to be disappointing.

Russia and the Sudan have signed an agreement for Soviet technical aid in building three grain elevators, milk processing and fish and fruit preserving factories, an onion drying plant, asbestos and cement factories, veterinary and agricultural laboratories, and a cotton experimental station.

Traffic between the port of **Lobitse** and the Copperbelt is again being carried by the Benguela Railway. Communications were interrupted in December by damage to the track and to installations between Jadotville and Elisabethville station area when United Nations troops took aggressive military action.

The **Universal Asbestos Manufacturing Co. Ltd.**, which has two associated companies in Uganda, had a profit after tax for the year ended October 31 of £384,727 (£436,640). The dividend is 10½d. per 5s. share, taking £174,043. The issued capital is £2m. in ordinary shares and £1,000,000 in 5½% cumulative preference. Fixed assets appear at £14m., interests in subsidiaries at £225,371, and current assets less current liabilities £273,069. Mr. Frank W. R. Douglas is the chairman.

A fifth of the labour force of the **East African Portland Cement Co. Ltd.**, has been discharged since October because of deteriorating trading conditions. The annual meeting was held by the Chairman, Mr. J. H. Martin, who said that there was no sign of recovery in agricultural, commercial and industrial development. Building plans worth only £509,000 had been approved in Nairobi for the first three months of the year compared with £4m. for the same period the previous year, which indicated a drop in demand for cement.

The report from the **Kenya Agricultural Development Board** has been formed by the Kenya Government under the chairmanship of the managing director of Afcof, Ltd., Mr. P. C. B. Benson, with the Deputy Secretary (Trade and Economics) of the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Communications, Mr. J. H. Martin, as deputy chairman. Other members are Messrs. E. J. Hollister, J. Bann-Hall and C. A. Mele.

Radi Brokers, Ltd., a company with large East African interests, reports consolidated profit after tax for the year to August 31 of £115,896, compared with a loss of £239,949 in the previous year, when heavy provisions had to be made for doubtful debts. In the past year income from trade investments was up by more than £100,000, and sale of an investment produced a surplus of £462,071. Ordinary shareholders receive 5% and the holders of A. shares 15.2%. After making various adjustments the carry-forward is £734,675. The issued capital is £2m. in preference, £14m. in ordinary, and £200,000 in A. shares.

Consolidated Mines Selection Co., Ltd. has increased its authorized capital from £2m. to £5m. in 10s. shares and the issued capital from £1.2m. to just under £3½m. The net assets of the company and its subsidiary have been increased by £10.6m. by the proposal recently summarized in these columns. The company and Anglo American Corporation are to exercise a joint option to acquire 400,000 shares in Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Co., Ltd., at a cost of about £2.3m. C.M.S. will make a £3m. issue of convertible debenture stock.



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Company Report**National and Grindlays Bank Limited****Encouraging Results of Merger****Proposed Rights Issue****MR. J. K. MICHIE'S STATEMENT**

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF NATIONAL AND GRINDLAYS BANK, LIMITED, will be held on April 3 at 26 Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

The following is the statement by the Chairman, Mr. J. K. MICHIE, which has been circulated with the report and accounts:—

The balance-sheet and accounts of the Bank now before you reflect in figures *inter alia* the outward results of the acquisition on January 1, 1961, of the Eastern business and branches of Lloyds Bank, Limited, and these I am sure you will concur are encouraging. But what cannot be seen is the effort and co-operation by the staffs of both the combined business which has made the merger the successful and undoubted one. The integration of staffs, methods and systems which have grown up separately and independently is a task requiring patience, good-will and broad-mindedness, and if in one year we have not achieved "optimum" results, we are well on the way to that desideratum.

The Accounts

The total of our consolidated balance sheet as at the close of 1961 was £251,284,590, or approximately £70 millions more than at December 31, 1960. Of this increase about £50 millions is attributable to the addition of Lloyds branches, leaving £20 millions for "growth". Because of the merger, figures of deposits and advances are not readily comparable, but as a consequence of the continued pressure for financial accommodation our liquidity ratio again fell slightly.

Naturally our expanded business brought higher profits, the figure being £644,273 against £479,276 for 1960. This increase has enabled us after providing for a dividend of 14% on the increased capital to place £150,000 to premises accounts and allot £100,000 to the reserve fund. Taxation I regret to say took an even higher percentage of our gross profits in 1961, otherwise our showing would have been somewhat better.

To bring our reserve fund more into line with our increased capital we decided to transfer a sum of £850,000 from our inner reserves, thereby bringing our published reserves to the round figure of £4 millions.

An expanding banking business carries with it the obligation to have its liabilities backed by a sufficiency of capital and reserves. At the extraordinary general meeting, which will follow the annual general meeting, shareholders will be asked to sanction an increase in the authorized capital of the Bank from £5,702,925 to £9,000,000. If this is agreed to it is then the intention to make a rights issue in the proportion of one share for every four held on March 14, 1962, at a price of £1 5s. per share.

Your board expects to maintain a dividend at the rate of 14% on the increased capital.

National & Grindlays Finance and Development Corporation

The net profit for the year was £16,302. A dividend

of £15,000 was declared and is included in our consolidated profit and loss account.

Old loans made at low rates of interest are gradually being reduced or revised, and, if the Corporation can borrow at somewhat finer rates, results should steadily improve.

Exporters' Refinance Corporation

During the year the Bank joined with the Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation and S. Japhet & Company, Limited, in forming the Exporters' Refinance Corporation, Limited, for the purpose of providing credit finance for exporters on a short and medium-term basis. The authorized capital of the new company which recently commenced operations is £1,000,000. The three participants have equally taken up shares of a nominal value of £750,000 of which £150,000 has been subscribed. Lord Aldington is chairman of the company and Mr. Owen and Mr. Cavley, deputy general manager of the Bank, are also on the board.

Board

Due to failing health, Mr. Mackenzie has stepped down from the Board on June 30 last and much to our regret he died a few months later. During his thirteen years as a director, including three as deputy chairman, by his ability, his charm and his modesty Mr. Mackenzie Hay endeared himself to all with whom he came in contact, and his passing was a great sorrow to us.

I must also mention the death last year at a ripe old age of Mr. R. H. L. Langford James, who was a member of the board for twenty-one years and chairman from 1936 until 1946. He was a man of great character, and in his own quiet way made his imprint on the Bank and left a legacy of unity and co-operation between chairman, board and management from which we who followed have derived great benefit.

It is not long since we had occasion to congratulate your deputy chairman on receiving the honour of knighthood. Sir Toby Low has now become Lord Aldington, and I am sure you will all wish to join in congratulating him on this further recognition of his signal services to the country.

At the end of the proceedings of the annual general meeting we shall lose three of our present board, Mr. McGrigor, Mr. Allan, and Mr. Chisholm having intimated their wish to resign. All have given unselfishly of their time, their abilities and their experience to the service of the Bank, and we shall miss them.

Mr. McGrigor joined the board in 1951, and his wide knowledge of Indian and African business and industry and of tea in particular has been of great value to the board.

Mr. Allan and Mr. Chisholm after reaching the highest executive position in the Bank have served on the board for nine and five and a half years respectively and we have benefited from their great experience of our business and its problems.

India

The results of the general election, now being held, and which has been rightly described as a massive exercise in democracy, will be known before this is in your hands.

The Reserve Bank rate remained unchanged at 4%, although throughout 1961 call-money often cost considerably more and at the end of the year 5½% was being paid. This is a reflection of the continued steady pressure for Bank accommodation, principally by new and growing industries, to which I drew your attention a year ago, and there is no sign of a cessation. An illustration of this pressure is that during the eight months April 1 to November 30, 1961, consent was given to the formation of 258 companies, including 53 of foreign origin, with a total authorized capital of Rs 160.81 crores. Inevitably this puts the banking system under continued strain, in which, with the encouragement of the Reserve Bank, has been met very successfully.

The process of merging weaker with stronger banking units has continued, public confidence has revived, and there has been an increase in deposits over the whole field of licensed banking.

A scheme for compulsory insurance of small deposits came into effect on January 1, 1962, and although the cost will fall largely on banks whose depositors do not require this protection, it is hoped that they too will gain from the confidence which the measure will engender in the minds of the small depositor.

The Reserve Bank has strongly advised indigenous banks to increase their inner reserves; at the same time it has shown every disposition to assist banking through its Bill Market Scheme and by the encouragement it continues to give to the spread of the banking habit.

New Branches

During the year we have been given licences to open fourteen new branches, of which four are already in operation. Arrangements for the others are in train.

In spite of very considerable foreign aid, India's external reserves have fallen by some Rs.20 crores and this cannot but cause some anxiety. Until India's economy becomes self-propelling the buttress for her balance of payments deficiency must come from outside, and the consortium of Western nations responsible for providing the bulk of the external wherewithal for India's latest five-year plan known as the "Aid India Club" will be considering her needs. The total so far promised for the first two years is \$2,225 millions, but another meeting is to be held in May of this year to review the situation.

Agriculture must be regarded as the life blood of India, and it is encouraging to see that the Planning Commission expect to see an increase in production of 24 million tons to a total of 100 million tons over the next five years. Sometimes it has been thought that agriculture ranked too low in the plans of a country much of whose population is so near the breadline, but this would be a great step towards eliminating food shortages.

The jute industry had a much better year in 1961 and as a result of increased export demand the number of looms sealed was reduced to 7% in January of this year, the lowest for many years. Due to the competition of lower cost goods principally from Japan and Hong Kong, India's exports of cotton piecegoods were considerably reduced, particularly to Australia and East Africa.

Tea also had a difficult year and prices, particularly

for common teas, fell to low and in some cases barely remunerative levels, a situation which still persists.

Pakistan

In October last the fine new headquarters of the State Bank were officially opened in Karachi and your bank was represented by your deputy chairman.

The State Bank rate remained unchanged at 4% throughout 1961 and money continued to be tight.

The movement in the country's external assets during 1961 was an adverse one and strenuous efforts are being made to increase exports. However, during the year 1960-61 industrial production rose by 12.4%, which is a distinctly encouraging pointer and one which many older countries will envy. Agricultural production too was considerably increased.

Pakistan has been somewhat apprehensive about obtaining adequate aid for her current five-year plan but a recent decision made in Washington by the Western consortium steps up their contributions covering the second and third years of the plan by \$625,000,000. The Indus Basin Projects are now getting under way and a number of major contracts have recently been placed.

Ceylon

Ceylon: I regret, has again had a troubled year. Balance-of-payment difficulties, illegal strikes, and a recent abortive attempt to overthrow the Government, have all contributed to an unhappy situation which one feels in a country so well endowed with natural resources could somehow be avoided. The recent rise in rubber prices should help considerably.

Apart from an unofficial strike by all bank employees we along with other foreign banks have recently imposed disabilities which must have a rather life effect on our business. Indeed, that is the declared intention.

The most recent figures available show Ceylon's external resources as Rs.476.4 millions in November, 1961, against Rs.481.2 millions in December, 1960. The Central Bank rate has remained at 4% since 1960.

Burma

1961 was not a good year for exports, for due to an unusually short rainfall the rice crop which is Burma's economic backbone produced an exportable surplus of only 1,600,000 tons, a fall of 400,000 tons from the 1960 figure, representing a loss of over £12 million in foreign exchange. As this is under 50% of the average pre-war exports obviously much remains to be done to encourage the cultivator and to give him a sense of security.

Early last year we decided that two offices in Rangoon were unnecessary, and during the year we gradually transferred the business of Lloyds Branch to our main office. This operation has now been successfully completed and our surplus office has been sold.

Aden

Business in Aden was well maintained in 1961 including her entrepôt trade which had been showing some signs of declining. A minor building boom still persists, but the prosperity of Aden depends rather too greatly on the refinery and her oil bunkering business, plus the considerable expenditure in connection with the British Forces in the area. The extension of cotton cultivation in Abyan and Lahej is therefore a welcome development.

We have recently extended our branch system in the area by opening sub-branches at Jaar, Lahej and Zingibar in the West Aden Protectorate, and in due course we shall open at Al-Itihah.

Somali Republic

Rains were good and export business was active last year, to the benefit of our branches. However, as a result of the union of the two territories we have ceased to be bankers to the Government, and this cannot but reduce our business though we hope temporarily only.

East Africa

1961 was a difficult year in all four territories falling under this head, and there is no reason to believe that the difficulties are over.

The rate of outflow of European and Asian capital has recently declined considerably, but I fear that is only because the supply of "free" money is decreasing. Naturally a situation of tight money means dear money, and this scarcity could easily reach a point when the supply was inadequate to finance the growing and marketing of the crops.

The Currency Board has recently taken a step to meet this difficulty by offering discount and advance facilities to the banks specifically against crop finance, and this will be of considerable help.

It is a most unfortunate concatenation of circumstances that a year of political destiny should also have had to bear visitations of nature which have struck grave blows at the economy of the whole area: first the severe drought followed at the end of the year by rains and floods unprecedented in this century. This combination has had disastrous effects on crops almost without exception—the Uganda cotton crop is now estimated at less than half of the first expectation—and has further lowered the morale of farmers and cultivators.

Political Transition

Politically, though at different stages, each country is in a state of transition.

Tanganyika having achieved self-government in December last is furthest ahead, although her leader and first Prime Minister, Mr. Julius Nyerere, has already given up his office in order to reorganize his party T.A.N.U. Mr. Nyerere had achieved great prestige as a statesman of broad and liberal views, and it is sincerely to be hoped that the step he has taken presages a continuance of the non-racial policy which he had preached so insistently and apparently so successfully.

Uganda achieved full internal self-government on March 1 and attains full independence in October. Meantime a commission is engaged in trying to settle the contesting claims of Buganda and Bunyoro to certain territories.

In Kenya the constitutional problem is still unresolved, and it is to be hoped that out of the conference now being held in London will come some mutually acceptable and workable plan which will meet the aspirations of the Africans and allay the fears of the non-indigenous races.

Fundamental Problem

Schemes have been canvassed whereby there could be a willing transfer of land on reasonable terms from European to African ownership, but the equivocal *obiter dicta* of certain party politicians have not contributed to the task of achieving an early and reasonable settlement of this fundamental problem.

Meantime values of Government securities of commercial and industrial shares, and of land and properties have fallen steeply, and without a new spirit of accommodation this will have grave long-term effects on the economy of the country, and on the level of employment of the growing African urban population.

Zanzibar is now working under a new Constitution,

under which an election was held in January last.

Unfortunately Indonesia bought practically no cloves during the second half of 1961, and this resulted in a drastic fall in exports and a rise in unsold stocks. Exports of coconuts and copra also suffered a setback.

In July, 1961, we opened a sub-branch at Wete on Pemba Island, which is the main clove producing area.

Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

The Federation again came out with a favourable balance of trade of around £60m., tobacco and copper both doing well, and recently trade has been more active; but here again the future is wrapped up in political and constitutional questions which have still to be settled and which include the future of the Federation itself. Meantime investment capital is shy and scarce and building activities have declined to a trickle. Our business is making steady progress.

General

As you will have seen, we are by no means without our problems, but our overall chart shows we continue to grow. This also applies to our London business, and I make no apology for drawing the attention of our shareholders and our overseas constituents to the various services which are available not only at head office but also at Parliament Street and St. Andrew's Square.

As I have already indicated, I am highly satisfied with the calibre and *esprit de corps* of our staff, and I wish to thank them for another most excellent year's work.

The economy of this country continues to be balanced much too finely. The causes and problems involved have been fully commented on by other bankers whose institutions are affected more closely than is our own; but what does concern us are the possibilities of an economically unstable Britain and the repercussions on the countries in which we operate and on our own operations there.

It is becoming increasingly evident that the countries more recently emerging into self-government tend to emphasize their independence not by stressing their association with Great Britain but rather by making other contacts, some regional, others geographically more widely spread. This is a natural and understandable phenomenon, and how it affects Great Britain as a country and us as a bank will depend largely on how much or how little we as a nation can give these countries in financial and other kinds of assistance to enable them to gain their economic and political feet.

Common Market

The question of our entry into the Common Market is a part of this issue, for many Commonwealth countries are a little apprehensive about not merely the economic but also the political consequences of our doing so. For that amongst other reasons it is important that we should know as soon as possible what are the terms on which it is open to Great Britain to join the European Common Market and so be able—I hope—to reassure doubting Commonwealth countries about their own future relations with us.

An extraordinary general meeting will follow the annual general meeting for the purpose of considering two resolutions. The first refers to the proposal to increase the capital of the company. The second provides for an alteration to the articles of association to empower the directors in appropriate cases to provide pensions or other suitable retirement benefits to a chairman or deputy chairman of the Bank.

A letter covering the reasons for these proposals is being sent to shareholders, so no further comment is required from me.

Company Report**Cable and Wireless (Holding)**

(Investment Trust Company)

A Decade of Expansion

THE THIRTY-THIRD ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF CABLE AND WIRELESS (HOLDING), LIMITED, was held on March 2 in London.

SIR EDWARD WILSHAW, K.C.M.G., D.L., J.P., LL.D. (the Governor) presided, and in the course of his speech said:—

Once again I am able to present accounts showing a continuation of the great expansion which has been a feature of our accounts during each of the preceding nine years.

Compared with the previous year the gross income has risen by £201,691; earnings, after taxation, have increased by £139,610; the net amount distributed to stockowners has increased by £122,754; the book value of the investments has increased by £2,501,496; and the market value of the investments has increased by no less than £6,802,783 to £49,112,465.

Over the ten-year period gross income has increased from £986,435 to £2,345,555; earnings, after taxation, from £316,355 to £1,161,876; distribution to stockowners from £210,000 to £781,911; book value of investments from £14,344,321 to £23,360,158; and the market value of investments from £14,719,354 to £49,112,465.

In normal times one great advantage of an investment in an Investment Trust Company is the Trust's

ability generally to make up on the "swings" what it loses on the "roundabouts", but the Chancellor's request for dividend restraint means that there is little, if any, to be made up on the "swings", while for some time now company reports, notably those of the steel companies, have shown that the "roundabouts" are having to bear reduced profits and reductions of dividends; the effect of this has already been felt to a certain degree.

I do not contemplate, however, that the full effect will be sufficient to prevent our earnings from providing ample cover for the payment of a 10% dividend for the next accounting period.

When we began business as an investment trust in 1950, £100 of our stock could have been purchased for £96; since that time a further investment of £113, making a total of £211, would have sufficed to take the full entitlement of shares issued by way of rights. To-day the shares so purchased would be worth some £860. During the same period the gross income receivable would have risen from £6 to £27, this latter sum representing a return of £12 16s. per cent. on the total sum invested.

For many years this company has done its utmost to encourage the small investor, and I feel the success of our efforts is amply evidenced when I tell you that over the past five years the number of names on the register of ordinary stockowners has increased by no less than 100%.

The report was adopted.

The Two Rivers Dam, built near Eldoret, Kenya, has cost about £460,000.

This year's East African Dinner in London will be held on Thursday, June 21.

Thirty Africans from Kenya and Uganda have been commissioned in the K.A.R. as lieutenants.

British Servicemen in East Africa are to receive increased local allowances backdated to February last year.

Before the next general election membership of the Tanganyika National Assembly is to be increased to between 100 and 120.

The Commonwealth Day Movement has transferred responsibility for its work to the Joint Commonwealth Societies Council.

For the first time since the tests were instituted, three Africans have passed the Nyasaland Labour Department's law examinations.

Representatives of 34 African countries have met in Paris at U.N.E.S.C.O. headquarters to discuss the development of African information media.

Africans in the Elgeyo-Marakwet district of Kenya own more than 30 tractors, a higher number than in any other African area in the Colony.

Six hundred African teachers in Kenya have been dismissed because pupils' parents in a number of districts have refused to pay their district council rates.

Five bursaries of £100 a year for three years are being awarded by the Kenya Dairy Board for training at the veterinary school at Kabete, near Nairobi.

A decree published in Lisbon on Friday announced the formation in Mozambique of a permanent corps of volunteers to help in the defence of the territory.

Tanganyika being no longer a trust-territory, the flag of the United Nations is to be flown only on United Nations Charter Day, June 26, and United Nations Day, October 24.

The highest cricket partnership in East African history, of 225 runs, made between a Kenya European and an Uganda Asian, Messrs. Jarman and Salmaudin, was a feature of the match between an East African XI and the visiting Cavaliers XI, composed of cricketers from many parts of the Commonwealth. The East African captain, Mr. Ramanbhai Patel, made 129 runs.

Eleven men of the 2nd Royal Tank Regiment have arrived in Nairobi after a 4,000-mile drive across the Libyan and Sudan deserts from Benghazi on an "adventure training course".

For 37 plots of 15 acres each in the Kiambu district of Kenya made available for a pilot smallholders' scheme on land bought from Europeans, several hundred applications were received from Africans.

The 24-year-old liner DURBAN CASTLE, now on her last voyage, is to be sold to Hamburg ship breakers for £200,000. The 23-year-old WARWICK CASTLE is to be withdrawn from the service three months hence.

Fourteen Africans have been nominated by the Governor of Uganda to make recommendations about a national flag and a special issue of stamps to commemorate the country's independence. The chairman is Mr. Kajubi, a lecturer at Makerere College.

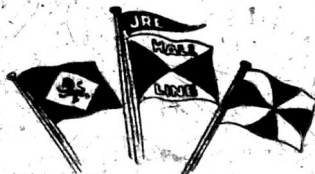
A Nordic mission of eight members, two each from Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden, has just ended a three weeks' visit to Tanganyika to investigate the possibility of those countries offering technical assistance, especially in education and training generally.

Recruitment of 1,000 teachers for Africa in each of the next five years is the aim of a new body established by the Anglican, Nonconformist, and Roman Catholic Churches of Britain. The Bishop of London, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford, and the general secretary of the Free Church Federal Council have made a joint appeal for volunteers, who should write to the Inter-Church Committee for the Recruitment of Teachers in Africa, Sanctuary Buildings, Great Smith Street, London, S.W.1.

After discussions lasting 13 days the United Nations Economic Committee for Africa (U.N.E.C.A.) decided in Addis Ababa on Saturday that a committee of experts should study a project for an African Development Bank and Institute of Economic Development and Planning, with headquarters in Dakar, Senegal. The leader of the United Kingdom delegation, Sir Alan Dudley, said that U.N.E.C.A. could play a great unifying rôle in Africa. Portugal was recommended for expunction for not having included any African in her delegation.

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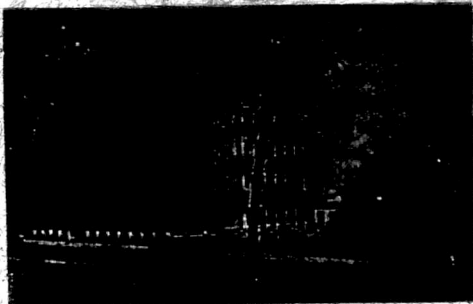
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