

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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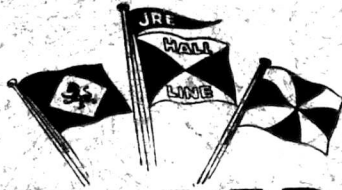


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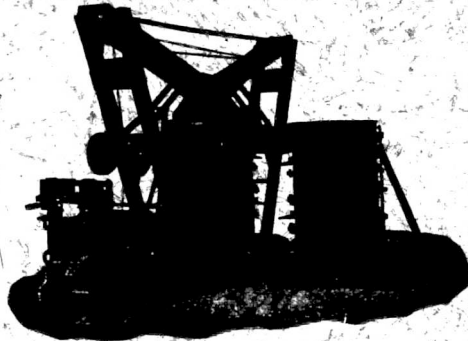
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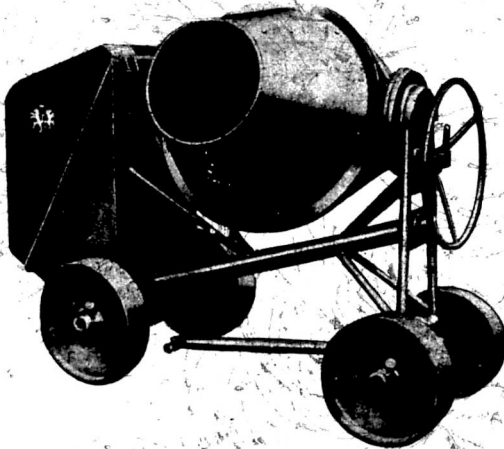
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The modern town of Bulawayo dates from 1893, and takes its name from the Zulu word 'ubulawayo', meaning 'killed'—thereby providing a grim reminder of the fate of a rebellious neighbouring tribe in the early 19th century. The Bulawayo of today however is concerned rather with growth and expansion. With an estimated population of 180,000 it is now the principal heavy industrial centre of the Federation.

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, MARCH 23, 1961

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

IT IS NAIVE to assume, as the Press in general has done, that the results of Sir Roy Welensky's discussions in London are to be measured by the terms of the joint *communiqué* issued on Monday as he boarded an aircraft to return to Salisbury.

More Than Meets The Public Eye.

What was not said in that statement but was nevertheless agreed must be highly important. Indeed, the Prime Minister's brief comment at the airport that "I leave this country more convinced than ever that the Federation will continue" corroborates that interpretation. He came to Britain fearing that the recklessness of Mr. Macleod over constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia and the complacency of the Cabinet threatened to destroy the Federation. He has returned satisfied that that danger has been substantially diminished, though not yet entirely removed. Evidently, therefore, the *communiqué* tells part only of the story and that not the most important part. Even if we were to disregard this deduction — which has not been made by a single daily paper commentator — we should not share the general assumption that the chief spokesman for the Federation (who would be the first to acknowledge the able and loyal aid given by his friend and Minister of Law, Mr. Julian Greenfield) has been defeated in his tough tussle with Mr. Macmillan.

Until the official announcement was published on Monday H.M. Government had refused to budge from its ruling that there could be no departure from the provisions of the recent White Paper.

Real Changes in The Situation.

Though there is still lip-service to that theory, it has in fact been abandoned, for there is now an additional promise that "due regard will be paid to the

considerations which the Federal Government have brought to the attention of the United Kingdom Government". Those seemingly innocent words are pregnant with meaning, for it was precisely because due regard had not been paid to those considerations that Sir Roy Welensky recalled his Parliament, made the best speech of his career, and, supported by a fifty-one to four majority after a long debate, decided that, unless he could persuade the British Cabinet to think again about Northern Rhodesia, he would resign, face a general election, and then resume the battle (for which he would unquestionably have been returned with an overwhelming majority). The British Government has thought again, and has obviously met at least some of the points which caused him deep anxiety; and Sir Roy is therefore prepared to see how matters now develop in Northern Rhodesia, where, it will be noted, there are to be "consultations", not a conference. That is all to the good. Another gain is that the consultations will be widened to cover a proposal submitted in London by Sir Roy Welensky as a variation of the Macleod plan (which has been criticized by Africans almost as harshly as by Europeans). For these reasons the result of the discussions of the past fortnight may be said to be a formula which neither repudiates Mr. Macleod (though it contains the inference that he may not get his way) nor rejects Sir Roy's insistence that control must remain in responsible hands. Good sense can still save the situation in Northern Rhodesia, which has nothing whatever to gain from the abandonment of the evolution of the multi-racial partnership.

Throughout Sir Roy's visit to London, as for some weeks previously, extraordinary efforts were made by several senior Ministers

and their close associates to lobby the Press, with the consequence that many misleading statements were put into circulation and, what was much more satisfactory to them, some facts which would have been most damaging to the Government were almost entirely suppressed. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA is, indeed, still the only publication to have recorded the Cabinet crisis which brought Mr. Macleod back from the brink of resignation. In normal circumstances that revelation would have caused every national newspaper to busy itself ferreting out the facts. On this occasion nothing of the kind occurred; and only one London daily even mentioned what we had discovered. By preventing Mr. Macleod's resignation the Cabinet is temporarily committed to his support (though some of his ministerial colleagues are known to be very far from happy). It was therefore no surprise to find on Tuesday that influential newspapers had completely disregarded what is suggested above. "Cabinet Stand Firm on Northern Rhodesia: Plans Considered Only in Spirit of White Paper", said the headlines in *The Times*. "Sir Roy Gives Way on Northern Rhodesia: Objections to British Plan Withdrawn", declared the *Daily Telegraph*. "Sir Roy's Last-Bid Fails" ran the *Daily Mail* heading. "Macmillan Wins Time on Rhodesia", asserted the *Daily Express* much more accurately. "Macleod Is Winner" said the *Daily Mirror*. Quite half the population of the country has thus received a false impression, which will have been communicated to the African territories, still further weakening confidence.

We hazard the prediction that before the year is out the firm leadership of Sir Roy Welensky will have prevailed, greatly to the advantage of all Central Africa, and that resentment with Macleodism will have spread so far within the Conservative Party and the country as a whole that its author may have disappeared from the Colonial Office. Many people influential in his party would be delighted to see him go tomorrow, but, his resignation having been refused by Mr. Macmillan on grounds of party convenience, he can obviously not be dropped or moved now. What Tory M.P.s and peers think of his actions was demonstrated inferentially by their exceptionally cordial reception of Sir Roy Welensky when he addressed the back-benchers' meeting, which is reported in other columns. Seldom

indeed is much to be gleaned about the proceedings on such occasions, and it is significant that so much detailed information should have been volunteered to us without any approach to anyone, and that several informants should have urged us to publish a report in fairness to Central Africa and in order to make it clear that many Conservative M.P.s consider that their party and the country have been badly let down by their leaders, including in particular the Prime Minister and Mr. Macleod.

** ** **

SOUTH AFRICA'S DECISION to withdraw from the Commonwealth, a tragic event, must have made the United Kingdom Government more than ever anxious to avoid a breach with the Government of a Federation which, it has always been hoped, would make such a success of its multi-racial partnership that it would progressively influence its great southern neighbour, especially in its attachment to *apartheid*. With South Africa outside the Commonwealth there will be a still greater need for the influence of a friendly British neighbour — which, unhappily, will now have added to her own economic difficulties the numerous repercussions consequential upon South Africa's withdrawal. *Apartheid* has no apologist in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, which considers the policy morally wrong and incapable of succeeding. Hitherto it has not been debated by conferences of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, because the domestic policies of individual members were deemed to be their own concern. That salutary rule having been broken, what guarantee can there be against a repetition? It is ironical that two of the Afro-Asian Prime Ministers prominent in the long ideological wrangle are themselves culpable of discrimination — for India can still be reproached over Kashmir and the caste system, while Ghana has made a mockery of "democracy". Mr. Nyerere, Chief Minister of Tanganyika, who intervened most unfortunately with the threat that his country would stay outside the Commonwealth if South Africa were not ejected, might have reflected what South African troops did for Africa in two world wars, and that two of the greatest South Africans, Botha and Smuts, were among the creators of the League of Nations and of the Commonwealth of Nations. All men of good will must hope that South Africa will at no distant date come back into an association of peoples which has been seriously damaged by the events of last week.

Notes By The Way

U.N.I.P. and the Press

THE STRANGEST PRESS CONFERENCE which I have attended for years was that given in London a few days ago by Mr. Mundia, deputy national treasurer of the United Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, who harangued a dozen journalists as though he were addressing a monster open-air meeting. Many of his statements were so reckless and purposeless that there was not the slightest chance that they would find their way into print, but he continued unchecked on his course after a friendly warning that that would be the inevitable result. He repeated again and again the nonsensical assertion that "there is no difference between the Welensky régime in Central Africa and the *apartheid* policy of Dr. Verwoerd in South Africa", and when asked to justify that extravagant allegation began a long tirade which was based on the grant of self-government to South Africa in 1910! He also made the astonishing assertion that the British Press consistently refused to allow the African point of view to be made known to the public, and when told that in the past few weeks there had been many columns of such news in the leading papers, sometimes several columns in a day, he replied that he bought all the important papers every day and had found almost nothing on the subject. He must have been the only person in the room who, looking for a needle, had failed to see the haystack.

Unsolved Conundrum

HIS INSISTENCE that a specific promise of African majority rule in Northern Rhodesia must be the condition for U.N.I.P.'s participation in further constitutional discussions in Lusaka or London raised a problem which was not resolved. Mr. Mundia said that Mr. Kamanga, U.N.I.P.'s representative in Cairo (who sat at his right hand) and he had just telegraphed to Mr. Kaunda in Lusaka urging that the party should have nothing to do with the resumption of constitutional discussions. He read the message, which contained these words: "Demand unequivocal assurance from H.M. Government that Africans in Zambia are entitled to majority rule as basis for starting talks". Three-quarters of an hour later, however, he affirmed in reply to close questioning that before his departure from Northern Rhodesia he had been authorized by Mr. Kaunda and the party executive to state that U.N.I.P. would engage in no more discussions, no matter what the basis, until the United Kingdom Government had given a public pledge that African majorities would be established in the Executive and Legislative Councils. On three occasions he reiterated that that decision had been made by the party as a party, and that it had been given him as an instruction for his activities during a fortnight's visit to London. Why, then, should he and the Cairo representative of the party have cabled that very suggestion from London some days later? Was Mr. Mundia told of an idea (perhaps not a decision) in Lusaka and asked to moot it from London, and did he disclose in his diatribe to journalists more than he had intended?

Courageous Africans

ITS EMISSARY claimed that U.N.I.P. has now 840,000 paid-up African members and 120 European members, who, he said, outnumbered the Northern Rhodesia African members of the United Federal Party. He was

emphatic that the African membership of the U.F.P. had been produced by financial and other kinds of intimidation. The truth, of course, is that in all three territories of the Federation the many Africans who have had the courage to join the U.F.P. have done so with the knowledge that all sorts of pressures were likely to be used against them. In quite a number of cases their businesses have been ruined by organized boycotts and in some cases by arson. They have had their homes, motor-cars, and other property destroyed by fire and petrol bombs. Some have been seriously assaulted in broad daylight, and repeated threats of death have been made to the members, and similar messages have been written and telephoned to wives. Their children, even those in the junior classes at school, have been beaten up, some being seriously injured. Far from being "stooges", as the nationalist extremists so often allege, these men and women have shown and still show remarkable courage.

£1,000 (perhaps) for Sir Roy

THE RECKLESS Mr. Mundia later declared: "Should Sir Roy Welensky be seen here again representing the African people, I shall give him £1,000"; and, not content with uttering the words, he distributed a typescript containing the promise over his signature as deputy national treasurer of U.N.I.P. The meeting was brought to a sudden close before an opportunity occurred to ask whether he or his party could provide a banker's guarantee or some acceptable bond for the fulfilment of the promise. Had he not incautiously included the word "again", he might quibble on the next occasion that the Federal Prime Minister was not deemed, by his extremist organization to represent Africans; but Sir Roy will represent "the Africans" just as much as on previous visits as P.M. When he returns for the Federal Review Conference — probably in September — he will theoretically be £1,000 richer; but he is unlikely to spend an extra shilling in expectation of payment by U.N.I.P. of its foolish forfeit. Visits by such men as Mr. Mundia are to be heartily welcomed, for they show representatives of Fleet Street and the political parties some of the self-opinionated but manifestly ill-balanced young men who see themselves as the destined leaders of their countries.

M.P.'s. Strange Ideas

MR. E. H. C. LEATHER, M.P. for Somerset North, and a vice-chairman of the Commonwealth Affairs Committee of Conservative Members of Parliament, who until a few months ago had so reasonable an approach to East and Central African questions, has recently made several strange speeches, the latest of which contains an exceptional amount of misinformation in a few sentences. Consider these assertions in a short address at High Peak: (1) "The story that the pace of events in Central Africa has been speeded up by some change of policy or personality in London is simply not true". (2) "It is just nonsense to talk as though something had suddenly and unexpectedly gone wrong". (3) "The parrot-cry is that Iain Macleod has lost the confidence of both black and whites: when did any Colonial Secretary ever have it?" (4) "Between the political leaders of the blacks and whites there is just not enough common ground; each group distrusts the other and seeks to dominate the other. The only way either would have

any confidence in the British Colonial Secretary would be if he openly sided with it against the other

Lack of Sound Leadership

NONE OF THOSE ASSERTIONS is likely to be accepted by people who know Africa well. As to the first, Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod, Sir Roy Welensky, Sir Edgar Whitehead, Mr. Nyerere, Dr. Banda, Mr. Mboya, *et al* would assuredly declare that the pace has been greatly accelerated since the wind-of-change speech; and I can think of nobody except Mr. Leather who would disagree with them. His second point is equally surprising, for everybody knows that things have gone very wrong indeed in Kenya, Uganda, Nyasaland, and Northern Rhodesia. As to (3) there was undeniably far greater general confidence in Mr. Lennox-Boyd, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, Mr. Creech Jones, and even Mr. James Griffiths (especially in the early part of his term of office), than is reposed in Mr. Macleod. Indeed, it is certain that none of his predecessors in modern times has been so widely mistrusted as the present Secretary of State. If the fourth point were true it would make nonsense of British policy down the years: Black and white politicians in Africa may lack faith in one another, and far too many black politicians have deliberately stirred up racial enmity as a means of securing political and financial advancement for themselves. It is they, not the great mass of moderate-minded and courteous Africans,

who have agitated for what they are pleased to call "freedom". Africans, like other sensible people, appreciate strong leadership, the lack of which from Britain has done immense harm in the recent past.

The Snatching Season

A GOOD STORY has been told to a London audience by a man well known in Central and East Africa who was travelling in Nyasaland when African tobacco growers, having just sold their leaf, were affluent. An aged headman, an old friend of his, agreed that it had been a good season, that men's pockets were full of money, and that they had reason to be glad, but, he confided, there was much trouble, as there always was in "the snatching season". Asked what the expression meant, he replied that when men in the towns and villages had much money they snatched the wives and daughters of other people. Indeed, he had just had much trouble on that account for a brother living far away had sent his daughter to stay with her uncle, and she had been snatched by a young villager who had had a good crop. As temporary guardian, the headman had promptly complained to the district commissioner, a case had been brought, and the offender had been fined £17 10s., which was satisfactory. When the European expressed his regret and sympathy, the old man brightened, explaining that, though it had been important to get the money, there was no need to worry about the maiden, for she had been "quite happily snatched".

South Africa to Leave the Commonwealth on May 31

Dr. Verwoerd's Statement to Prime Ministers' Conference

SOUTH AFRICA will leave the Commonwealth when the Union becomes a republic on May 31.

Before that decision was made and announced to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference on Wednesday of last week Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of the Union, the Commonwealth Conference had spent more than 15 hours, spread over three days, in discussing an application from the Union Government for readmission to the Commonwealth as a republic.

All the Prime Ministers except Dr. Verwoerd are officially stated to have spoken critically of *apartheid* as a policy, and it has been made clear that that policy was the only obstacle to South Africa's continued membership. The strongest attacks on the racial policy of the South African Government came from the Afro-Asian and Canadian spokesmen.

Because the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is not completely self-governing, its Prime Minister attends as an observer, and was therefore not present while South Africa's application was considered by the representatives of member countries.

At the meeting on Wednesday of last week, March 15, Dr. Verwoerd said:—

"No self-respecting member of the Commonwealth could be expected to remain within the group after receiving the treatment which South Africa has received in the past few days. In the circumstances I wish formally to withdraw my request for South Africa to remain a member of the Commonwealth after she becomes a republic on May 31.

"My request was made in the expectation that it would be willingly granted, without reservations, as was done also on behalf of South Africa in the previous cases of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana, and Nigeria in spite of our great differences with them, which we were prepared to subordinate in co-operation on matters of common concern.

"Furthermore, we were influenced by what we considered

to be the genuineness of the sentiments expressed at last year's conferences of Prime Ministers, to wit, that South Africa was welcome as a member of the Commonwealth.

"It is with great regret that I am obliged to take the step of withdrawing my request, and I wish to assure the friendly disposed Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth that South Africa's withdrawal on May 31 will be deeply and sincerely regretted not only by the Government but also by the people of South Africa. We hope, and shall endeavour to co-operate in all possible ways with all these members of the Commonwealth who are willing to maintain their former good relations with us.

"I am sure that the great majority of the people of my country will appreciate that in the circumstances no other course was open to us. National pride and self-respect are attributes of any sovereign independent State.

"I must admit that I was amazed at and shocked by the spirit of hostility—and at this last meeting even of vindictiveness—shown towards South Africa in spite of the lengths to which we were prepared to go in the various draft *communiqués*.

"It is clear that in the view of the majority of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, after the lead given by a group of Afro-Asian nations, South Africa will no longer be welcomed in the Commonwealth after May 31, when she becomes a republic.

"The character of the Commonwealth has apparently changed completely during the last year. The opposition to South Africa's continued membership is based on alleged discrimination against and oppression of the non-white peoples of South Africa. I do not intend repeating my strong denial of those allegations at this stage.

"I do, however, wish to state that it is ironical that these allegations have come from Prime Ministers in whose countries oppression and discrimination are openly practised and where the basic principles of democratic government are flouted.

"I refer particularly to Ghana, India, Malaya and Ceylon; although certain other Commonwealth countries are also not free from such practices, sanctioned by legal enactments. In other cases, while not expressly permitted by law, little or no attempt is made to discontinue such practices.

"The proceedings at today's meeting, which have obliged

me to take this regrettable step, in my opinion mark the beginning of the disintegration of the Commonwealth.

"This free association of States cannot hope to survive if, instead of devoting itself to co-operation on matters of common concern, Commonwealth Prime Ministers are going to continue the practice of interfering in each other's domestic affairs and if their meetings are to be made the occasion for attacks on fellow members.

"Such practices have led to the present unsatisfactory conditions prevailing at the United Nations, and they will, I venture to predict, lead to the eventual disintegration of the Commonwealth, which all would regret."

Invidious Position

A few hours later Dr. Verwoerd issued another statement, reading—

"My decision was taken not only on behalf of South Africa, her honour and her interests, but also in the interests of our friends in the Commonwealth, particularly the United Kingdom. I could not place them in the invidious position of having to choose between South Africa and a group of Afro-Asian nations.

"It is better for all of us that the good relations, economically and otherwise, between South Africa and the United Kingdom should be retained and strengthened by bilateral agreements and co-operation, as in the case of Ireland, than that the presence of South Africa should embarrass Great Britain in her relations with the newer members. The same holds true of South Africa's relations with other older members.

"I have good reason to believe that this will be the case. At no stage was there any doubt that the question of republic or monarchy was of no importance. Although this change was made the peg on which to hang the attack, it was clear that something similar would have developed soon, perhaps in the form of a motion for expulsion.

"It also became very clear that the attack was in its ultimate objective aimed at any policy differentiating between the races, politically and/or otherwise, and not only at that of the present Government of South Africa.

"Full political and social equality of all races in one mixed society quite soon was the acknowledged objective, whatever participating forces this development might set loose.

"The policies of all parties, except perhaps of the Liberal Party of South Africa, would in my mind soon have been included in such attacks within the Commonwealth as it is now developed, namely multi-racial with the Afro-Asian members increasing in numbers and aggressiveness."

MR. MENZIES, Prime Minister of Australia, said: "This is a very unhappy day for those who attach value to the Commonwealth as an association of independent nations each managing its own affairs in its own way but all co-operating for common purposes. The criticisms which we all had to make of South Africa's policy of apartheid were plainly expressed in a debate which took place with Dr. Verwoerd's complete concurrence. It is deplorable that it can never be conducted in such a forum and atmosphere again. I am deeply troubled about the implication for the future nature of the Commonwealth."

SIR ROY WELLESLEY, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, said: "I have heard the shattering news with the deepest regret. It is so bad for the Commonwealth, scarcely any part of which has not some kind of skeletons in the cupboard. Apartheid, with which most of us disagree, was an internal matter. Now it appears that we are going to dwell on differences rather than on the things which are our common interests.

"This is the beginning of terrible repercussions. No one's internal affairs will be safe. What is there now to stop discussion of the Kashmir problem or of Australia's policy on Japanese immigration? In our part of Africa many of us remember with great gratitude the part which South African troops played in two wars."

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, commented satirically: "As a result of this action Australia will leave the Commonwealth next year because of her white Australian policy, and the United Kingdom the year after. Britain's expulsion will be proposed by Kenyatta and seconded by Archbishop Makarios."

In the House of Commons the Prime Minister said, *inter alia*—

"I am sure that I speak for many on both sides of the House when I express our deep regret that the Commonwealth ties with South Africa, which have endured for 50 years, are

shortly to be severed. I regret also the circumstances which have made this inevitable.

"Remembering that the Commonwealth is an association of peoples of all races, colour, and creeds, we must hope that in the years to come it will be possible for South Africa once more to play her part in the Commonwealth. (Loud cheers).

"The Prime Minister of South Africa has said that he hopes to co-operate in all possible ways with all those members of the Commonwealth who are willing to maintain good relations with South Africa and that South Africa will remain a member of the sterling area and will co-operate fully in matters of common interest.

"The House will wish to debate the various implications of the situation with which we are now faced, and arrangements will be made through the usual channels for a debate next week."

In Dar es Salaam Mr. Julius Nyerere, Chief Minister of Tanganyika, is reported to have embraced excitedly the European Minister for Labour, Mr. D. N. M. Bryceson, and the Asian Minister for Communications, Mr. A. H. Jamal, when the news was received, and to have said: "This is marvellous. Now we have a Commonwealth cemented on a firm moral foundation. I shall ask the Council of Ministers to declare March 15 as Commonwealth Day in Tanganyika."

He said later: "I am deeply thankful for the stand taken by the Premiers of the Commonwealth under the devoted leadership of Mr. Macmillan. To-day's decision means that the Commonwealth has survived its greatest crisis, and that in the fire of conflict of opinions there has been forged a greater and indestructible Commonwealth of peoples of all colours, all languages, and all faiths. The true Commonwealth has been born to-day. I thank God for His hand in this conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers."

Attempted Interference with Courts

Judge Reports Pressure by Executive

TWO ATTEMPTS were made by the executive in Southern Rhodesia last year to interfere with the discretion of magistrates in granting bail; Mr. Justice Lewis has reported in his capacity as a one-man commission of inquiry into allegations made by Dr. Ann Palley in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament.

Allegations that the Government had interfered over the imposition of sentences were, however, not substantiated, the judge found.

The report states that during the disturbances towards the end of last year there was a widespread feeling among the police that people arrested were being treated too leniently by the courts and that attacks on policemen were not being regarded seriously. This had the effect of lowering the morale of the police force.

It produced an attitude "either of reluctance to effect arrests at all, or particularly among police reservists, of expressing a desire (which had to be severely checked by the Commissioner of Police) to take the law into their own hands by beating up the offender and leaving him in a garbage bin rather than bring him in for trial."

The police and executive sought a meeting with magistrates to discuss the question of sentences generally. Police stations were asked to submit reports on sentences that had been passed and these reports contained adverse, sometimes impertinent, comments on individual magistrates. Documents containing these reports reached the chief magistrate by error, and he and his fellow magistrates refused to allow the meeting.

The judge referred to two cases regarding the granting of bail, the first of which concerned a member of the African National Congress charged under the emergency regulations. The Secretary of Justice was said to have telephoned the magistrate before whom the man appeared, giving the impression that by granting bail the magistrate had earned disapproval.

In the second case, also concerning bail for an African political leader, the Commissioner of Police referred the matter to the Department of Justice "in the genuine belief that the interests of public security necessitated this intervention on his part". The Under-Secretary of Justice was instructed to seek an interview with the magistrate concerned, but the senior magistrate refused to allow the interview to take place. Both cases amounted to attempted interference, the judge said.

Five hundred African students at London University have given a party to senior staff members to express their appreciation and gratitude to the university landlords who have opened their doors to non-Europeans were also invited.

Sir Roy Welensky Addresses Conservative Back-Benchers

Federal Prime Minister's Blunt Comments to Parliamentarians

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has received from several sources information about the proceedings last Thursday evening, when SIR ROY WELENSKY addressed Conservative back-benchers in a committee room of the House of Commons.

It was, we are told, the largest and most enthusiastic gathering of Tory back-benchers held for a long time. Estimates of the attendance are from about 150 upwards. That many more were present than had been expected is clear from the fact that some very well-known figures in the party had to sit on the floor.

An astonishing fact is that, in an obvious attempt to reduce the audience, arrangements were made at short notice for Mr. Butler, second in the Conservative hierarchy and Leader of the House, to speak at the same time in another committee room. Such was the volume of protest, however, that that competing meeting was abandoned. That the proposal to hold it won added sympathy for Sir Roy Welensky seems certain.

The Federal Prime Minister struck a challenging note at the outset by saying that he would put to his audience a question which was in the mind of every European in Central Africa: "Does Britain want the white man to stay in Africa?"

If the answer was that the white man should remain for a variety of reasons, by no means least in order to fulfil the protective duties due to the great mass of moderate, decent Africans, it was surely the responsibility of H.M. Government to play its part in ordered evolution with responsible Africans bearing a larger share as they became capable of discharging it satisfactorily.

If that was not what the United Kingdom Government intended, ought it not to say so quite clearly, so that the Europeans in the Federation could fend for themselves?

In the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland there were approximately 300,000 Europeans, one-third of whom were born in the territories, one-third of whom had migrated from the United Kingdom, and the other third of whom had been born in South Africa. It was significant that in no section was there stronger feeling against United Kingdom Ministers than among the 100,000 or so who had been born and brought up in Britain.

Treated with Less than Frankness

At about that point Sir Roy Welensky put another question: "Did his audience want him to say something about the differences between himself and British Ministers?" Quickly assured that that was indeed what was wanted, he went into some detail about the occasions on which he had been treated with less than frankness and less courtesy than might have been expected.

First of his examples concerned the Monckton Commission, to which representatives had been nominated from within the Federation on the distinct assurance from H.M. Government that the commission would be precluded by its terms of reference from considering the secession of Nyasaland. He had, Sir Roy emphasized, been given the most explicit undertakings in that connexion, but the commission had nevertheless disregarded these promises and stretched its terms of reference to cover questions which he and his Government had consequently regarded as *ultra vires* and described as such to the public. By the reference in the commission report to the possibility of secession by Nyasaland, localisable damage had been done to Central Africa and to relations with the United Kingdom.

He had also been misled about the release of Dr. Banda. The first indication that such a step was intended had reached him through a statement made by a prominent British Socialist. Inquiries had thereupon been made and had

brought from London a reply that there was no truth whatsoever in the allegation. Yet soon afterwards Dr. Banda was in fact released by Mr. Macleod. Incidentally, no information about the negotiations in that respect was given to the Federal Government.

Then came the Nyasaland Constitutional Conference in Lancaster House. The agreement which emerged provided that the Africans who were to be given the vote must all be British subjects or British protected persons who had paid taxes for the previous 10 years. That agreement had been flouted and breached, without reference to the Executive or the Legislative Councils of Nyasaland, by regulations issued by the Secretary of State for the Colonies which enfranchised a considerable number of Africans from Portuguese territory and left the way wide open for Africans who could not prove that they had paid taxes for a decade to receive the vote nevertheless. Those regulations, to which there were also other objections, had been laid before the Federal Government only four days before they were gazetted and given the force of law.

The recent Northern Rhodesian Constitutional Conference at Lancaster House, with its plan for "three fifteens", would have the inevitable result of putting the balance of power in the hands of extremists, and was therefore unacceptable to a Government and a community which insisted on the importance of retaining authority in responsible hands. The White Paper plan, moreover, was so indefinite that no one could foretell what might happen under it. It was astonishing that some people should claim that as a *virtus*. How could it be wise to leave evolutionary development to mere chance?

"Technique of Disagreement"

Apart from the faults in the plan itself, which he criticized in some detail, Sir Roy Welensky objected strongly to what he called the "technique of disagreement" developed by Mr. Macleod, who had formed the habit of bringing together a large number of people of widely different views and then seeking to impose a compromise with which nobody, or scarcely anybody, could be satisfied. That, he suggested, was not the way in which to settle the future of any country.

One of the great shocks of his political life had been the discovery that H.M. Government intended to change a Constitution in Northern Rhodesia which had been in force for scarcely two years, which had been intended to last about five times as long, which was working well, and which it was consequently quite unnecessary to disturb.

That Constitution, introduced by Mr. Lennox-Boyd, had been reached by consultation, and although he and many others had not been very happy about some parts of it, they had felt justified in accepting it, and it had worked reasonably well. There was no reason why it should not now have been adapted to give stronger representation to Africans, an idea with which he sympathized, provided that they were elected on the basis of their competence and not merely by reason of race. The fundamental difference between the Lennox-Boyd and present plans was that the first was inter-racial in concept while the new proposals were nakedly racial.

Again and again the Prime Minister came back to the point that those elected to rule a country should be persons capable of discharging that task.

A considerable number of questions were put and answered. A member notorious as an apologist for Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod was shouted down by his fellow Conservatives when he made one of his customary interventions. That, in the opinion of some who were present, was generally regarded as a significant indication of the temper of the meeting, which appeared to be overwhelmingly sympathetic to the case presented by Sir Roy Welensky.

M.P.s seldom confide in the Press about meetings of this kind, but on this occasion quite a number of papers were able to publish brief reports, and one daily gave an unusually detailed account, much on the lines of the above fuller report.

In the following days, moreover, political correspondents of various dailies and Sunday papers made comments on the back-benchers' meeting, which was widely considered to have given a further warning to the party leaders that anxiety was spreading about the Macmillan-Macleod attitude to Africa.

The political correspondent of *The Times* wrote on Monday under the heading "Conservatives Slipping Off The Cloak".

"There is an evolutionary change of mood towards the right, which some observers thought came through very strongly in the tongue of the meeting last Thursday when Sir Roy Welensky addressed back-benchers. Sir Roy felt self-doubts that have been growing for some time."

White Paper Scheme Ill-Considered, Lord Milverton Says

Further Speeches in House of Lords Debate on Macleod Policies

EARLIER SPEECHES in the House of Lords debate on the Government proposals for Northern Rhodesia's constitution were reported last week. The debate continued:

LORD MILVERTON felt that what Mr. Macleod claimed for his plan was precisely what he had no intention of doing. Why could he not have adapted the Lennox-Boyd system instead of plunging into a totally new one of which the working and results have not been clearly thought out, and why try to manoeuvre Sir Roy Welensky into acceptance of it without time to study it properly?

The ill-considered scheme of the White Paper was the last of a series of four, differing widely in concept, and produced one after the other in three weeks. It was fantastic that on January 3, 1961, the current Northern Rhodesian qualifications for the upper roll were used as an exact model for Nyasaland and that within a week the Federal Government were informed that the Northern Rhodesian upper roll qualifications were to be lowered, and it was also fantastic that in several of the plans the system of cross-voting was to be eradicated in Northern Rhodesia at the very time when, under the Sandys-Whitehead Plan, the system was to be implanted in Southern Rhodesia. Naturally the Federal Government viewed these methods with distrust—especially as they remembered the methods adopted over Kenya and over Nyasaland, where points agreed between delegates at the conference were extended by the operations of a working party into fields which had never been contemplated by the delegates, thus preventing discussion by the existing Legislature and circumventing any consideration by Executive Council.

The White Paper continued a reactionary retreat from the principles laid down in 1958. They would be unlikely to bring moderate Africans into the Legislature. Indeed, the scheme seemed designed to suit the extremists.

Inflammatory Speeches

"At Northern Rhodesia's present stage any ostensible extension of democratic processes needs to be carefully scrutinized lest it lead to the acquisition of effective power by a comparatively small section who have never shown any capacity for anything except inflammatory speeches and the organization of terror, whose horizons seem bounded by the acquisition of power for themselves, and who have yet to show any noticeable concern for the future well-being of their fellow Africans. It could not be in the interests of the latter that their destinies should be effectively entrusted to such hands. The fate of the Federation and the hope of progress and happiness in its component territories are at stake. I hope that your lordships have read the great speech by Sir Roy Welensky on February 27 to the Federal Assembly. Unfortunately the publicity given to this speech by the London Press was small, meagre, and inadequate. It is the convincing speech of an honest and sincere statesman, a leader who inspires trust and stands on principles which no adroit evasion can shake. If H.M. Government reject Sir Roy's request for fair negotiation, the blame for a deadlock will not rest on Sir Roy's shoulders.

"The Secretary of State for the Colonies, like a modern Pandora, has opened the sealed Lennox-Boyd box containing the winged blessings of peace and prosperity, and they have fled. But at least Pandora shut the box in time to prevent the escape of Hope. If the Secretary of State persists in his present policy, and arbitrarily denies to the Federal Government the opportunity of free discussion so amply given by his predecessor, then Hope itself will fly away, leaving the Secretary of State and H.M. Government in the unenviable position of the man who made a desert and called it peace."

VISCOUNT ALEXANDER OF HILLSBOROUGH, having expressed great admiration for the business career of Lord Salisbury, said: "We would not hesitate to say in respect of his interests in the British South Africa Company and other things that he has not done too badly out of Africa. The noble marquis, who spoke so feigningly, said he was speaking for the majority of the white population in the Rhodesias. Perhaps he did not remember that since 1957 he has also been a director of the British South Africa Company."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "I think it an abominable charge that I am allowing financial interests to interfere with my judgment. I hope the noble viscount will withdraw that at once."

VISCOUNT ALEXANDER: "I am not making any charge. I said that you spoke on behalf of the majority of people in the white minority in Africa. On the other hand, the noble marquis must not be a law unto himself. As a rule, every noble peer who speaks upon these matters in which he has a financial

interest declares it at the beginning of his speech. That is all I have to say."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "I think that is much too much."

VISCOUNT MASSEREENE AND FERRARD wondered why the U.K. Government had voted for the United Nations resolution to expel all Belgian advisers from the Congo. "If we want multi-racial societies in Africa, Katanga appears to be the only area in the Congo where there is law and order and some semblance of prosperity. In the rest of the Congo there are anarchy, chaos, and starvation. We have the United Nations used as a stalking horse from behind which certain Afro-Asian nations, in conjunction with Mr. Krushchev, try to attain their nefarious ambitions."

"In an earlier debate I expressed the view that the break-up of the Federation would be a disaster. If the Federation does break up there is no hope of practical progress for the African. The Government have cast the Lennox-Boyd proposals on the rubbish heap. I cannot agree with the Colonial Secretary that his proposals are multi-racial. Out of the 45 seats, 30 are racial... the scheme may ruin any chance of democracy in Africa. Power will probably fall into the hands of extremists."

"I associate myself with Lord Salisbury's remarks. It is also my experience that they have little trust in H.M. Government. Moderate Africans know that if there is no white guidance and knowledge to lead Africa the whole country will revert to disease, famine, and the jungle."

Press Very Misinformed

"I also complain of the attitude of the Press. With one or two exceptions they appear to be very misinformed or to desire to mislead. The Europeans have been held up as a group of reactionary 'has-beens'. Sir Roy Welensky is a liberal politician and there is no question that the Europeans are reactionaries. I beg H.M. Government to heed the European rumblings in Southern Rhodesia. How terrible it would be—though I do not think it would ever happen—if U.K. troops were ever face to face with their own kith and kin in Central Africa. It could be the end of civilization. What the country really wants before all these Constitutions is stability."

VISCOUNT BRIDGEMAN said (in part): My reason for intervening is that from time to time I go to the Federation as an exporter. It is difficult to realize how well the business of the Federation has stood up to these political upheavals. It has gone ahead with remarkably little interruption, though a good deal of money has left the country and building contracts have slowed down.

"Fortunately, the key industries are in strong and safe hands, even those strongly-held industries cannot carry on indefinitely unless confidence improves. If the Federation ceased to exist—if the Federation territories were balkanized—it could result only in an economic setback of the first order, and the effect would fall on the just and the unjust alike, irrespective of race, colour, or nationality.

"There is considerable lack of confidence in the way the British Government have handled the present problem. Until confidence returns every proposal, however sound or wise, is bound to be suspect. Until confidence returns there is no prospect of the credit-worthiness of the country returning, and therefore there is every prospect of retarding the development of the Federation right in the middle of its stride.

"No one bears that cross more heavily than the moderate African, that most valuable and vital person in the whole of these negotiations, whom we shall do everything to support and fortify. The weight and pressure on these unfortunate people must be almost unbearable. It would be interesting to know what exactly were the circumstances under which Mr. Nkomo felt bound to repudiate the agreement which he reached with Mr. Sandys.

"I hope the Government know how far this or that riot is a genuine product of the local mind and how far it is inspired and paid for from outside. If it is inspired and paid for from outside, then clearly no one should pay undue attention to it. Do your lordships imagine that pro-Lumumba demonstrations by students in a dozen countries within two days were spontaneous acts of students?—I do not."

LORD LLOYD, a former Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, described the preservation of the Federation as important to the whole world and agreed that there was considerable mistrust among white Rhodesians of the policies of H.M. Government. Lord Salisbury had given only the facts.

"We ought not to minimize the difficulties facing the Colonial Secretary. He may not have been entirely wise, H.M.

Government recognize the fears of the African community. I am not clear whether they recognize the fears of the white community. We must be absolutely fair to both sides.

"I do not believe that the white community in Rhodesia have done nearly enough to encourage Africans to believe that the Federation was really going to be a partnership. I am equally convinced that if you want politically immature people to become more mature the best thing to do is to give them a job — just as you put a difficult politician in the Government . . .

"H.M. Government are giving an impression that when there is any question of doubt they favour the African side against the white. I have had that impression from some of the speeches. The white community have made the country, and it cannot exist for very long without them. Before you give Africans a majority in any council they ought to have had some experience and to have shown some responsibility in government. If the Africans were prepared to shoulder some responsibility and show that they were able to accept it that would do more to restore confidence and further the political future of the Federation than almost anything else. I do not believe that any constitutional change which gives Africans an absolute majority in the Legislative Council in Northern Rhodesia ought to be put forward by H.M. Government.

"One hears the argument: 'Unless you give Mr. Kaunda everything he wants he will be subjected to much more extreme action'; and better the devil you know than the devil you do not. But that argument is never applied the other way. From various noble lords opposite people would imagine that Sir Roy Welensky was the most violent and extreme reactionary. In fact he is generally considered in Rhodesia to be rather a moderate leader. If you try to force the white Rhodesians further than they can go you crash the Federation just as surely as if you force the black Rhodesians further than they can go.

No Chance of Success

"We have been changing Constitutions in Africa with bewildering rapidity in the last two or three years. In a country where more than anything else stability is needed it is a terrible mistake to do this. As long as extremists, whether of right or left, believe that if enough fuss is made a Constitution can be upset in 18 months, no constitution has any chance of success.

"I regret that we did not stick to the Lennox-Boyd Constitution. It was good, in so far as it was carefully worked out to cover a period of, I think, 10 years. The new Constitution is so complicated that in itself it breeds lack of confidence, because nobody knows what it means. The noble earl said yesterday he was glad he could not possibly say whether it means a white or a black majority. So vague and indeterminate a Constitution will never receive the support of the white settlers.

LORD FARINGTON endorsed Lord Colyton's criticisms of the Colonial Secretary's present plan. "If any candidate to be elected must have a certain percentage of the votes of each of the two rolls, surely it would be possible for nobody to be elected at all?"

THE EARL OF PERTH: "It will be a percentage of the votes cast, not a percentage of the votes on the register, so that the thing that the noble lord fears could not occur."

LORD FARINGTON: "Could it not? I am still not enlightened."

THE EARL OF SWINTON: "Could it not happen? As the Lord Chancellor put it yesterday, in order to be eligible you have to get more votes than in this country would forfeit your deposit. You have to get 12½% of the total votes cast in each block. Suppose there are 10 candidates and each gets only 10%. Nobody has 12½%. Who is elected?"

THE EARL OF PERTH: "I think I would accept that, on the unlikely hypothesis of such equality, that could happen. I suppose the same thing could happen in this country."

LORD FARINGTON: "My friend Kenneth Kaunda's remarks were mentioned. I have the highest opinion of his character and ability, and I read his remarks not as a threat but as a warning. So far as they may have been unwise and ill-chosen, I regret them; but I regret far more the calling up of the Territorials in Rhodesia.

"I should like a different Constitution from the one suggested by the Colonial Secretary because I believe his scheme has the disadvantages of racialism and impracticality."

LORD CRATHORNE, a member of the Monckton Commission, described his report as designed to stress the need to continue the Federation, and thought that any new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia should have a prescribed term of life. It was regrettable that the federal Constitution should have been reviewed so soon.

LORD COLERAINE feared that if the gap between the Federal and British Governments was not quickly bridged the chance would have been lost. No Constitution could have been better designed than that now under discussion, to produce weak

government, for the balance in the Legislature would be in the hands of no one knew who.

One thing which H.M. Government had failed to realize was that British people, whether in this country or in Southern Rhodesia, would not be coerced. If a Constitution was used to abolish their rights and liberties the Constitution would go to the wall, not their rights and liberties.

LORD FRASER OF LONSDALE confirmed from his acquaintance with Southern Africa that Lord Salisbury had merely stated the facts. Surely he had no need to declare his interest in Rhodesia every time he spoke; he had often done so.

The Monckton Commission say that Nyasaland is not viable. Why then give a few politicians with very little experience the opportunity of deciding, or of calling upon an ignorant electorate to help them decide, that the time has come for secession? It is asking for trouble. Nor do I agree with the Monckton proposal that powers should be moved from the centre to the territories. That is contrary to all Commonwealth history.

"Among the British there are about 3% of persons capable of executive leadership, political and other forms of leadership. There are perhaps another 7% capable of being N.C.O.s. I do not see any reason why any other group, whatever their race or colour, should be expected to have more. I see no reason why men in Rhodesia or anywhere else in this world should not produce a small number of capable leaders with intelligence, integrity, and the powers of leadership. But experience is needed. Lord Alexander of Hillsborough proclaimed the doctrine of equality. No doubt there is equality in the co-operative society; all co-operators are equal; but not all make good leaders.

Takes a Long Time to Learn

"I think my noble friend the Duke of Montrose is wrong in saying that we cannot accept lower standards. If you are going to give inexperienced persons the opportunity of being M.P.s. or Cabinet Ministers before they have had decades to learn their job you must accept lower standards. It is a good thing to have, say, two Ministers without experience among a bunch of Ministers with experience. It takes a long time to learn to manage a democracy. I am not sure, from listening to some debates in another place before I came here, that we have learned it ourselves . . .

"It is not to be presumed that a man who has a big mouth and is a successful demagogue because he can whip up the crowds, would make a good Minister. Experience is needed for Ministers — and for voters and civil servants."

Lord Fraser concluded with the remark that it would do Mr. Macleod good to read the record of the debate.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD (until recently Lord Pakenham), who repeatedly referred to the federal Prime Minister as "Mr. Welensky", wondered why Lord Salisbury had attacked Mr. Macleod and not the Prime Minister.

VISCOUNT HAILSHAM prefaced a heated reply for the Government with this reference to the Duke of Montrose:

"I must be the only living man who has been bitten by the noble Duke. When we were playing the wall game against each other on St. Andrew's Day at Eton I was, in that civilized way which is permitted, knocking his nose with the outside of my hand, not rubbing at all, and he said to me: 'If you go on doing that I shall bite you.' The noble duke is a man of his word: I did go on doing that, and he did bite me. Our side won by one shy. I shall not bite the noble duke this evening. I shall quarrel with him only very gently . . .

"I think Lord Salisbury's speech was a very grave error of judgment, and he will have to bear a very terrible burden of personal responsibility if things do not end as happily as we should wish.

About the only generous thing in his speech was a reference with genuine and obvious feeling to the isolated families of Europeans who have made Rhodesia their home and stand to lose everything if things go amiss. I too have them in mind, and the Colonial Secretary has them very much in mind. I am not prepared to assume that the policy advocated by the noble marquis would make those Europeans safer in the long run. Nor am I prepared to admit that in the long run the stake of us in this country is a smaller stake than their stake.

The noble marquis is a man of high lineage, noble family, distinguished personal achievements, and great possessions which here and in Africa give him the right to speak about affairs and lend great weight there to what he says. Of him to whom much is given much is required. From the noble marquis we have learned to expect wise counsel, moderate language, restrained opinions, and a standard of personal conduct which is courteous and always in good taste. I have served in this House under his leadership. He has won the respect of almost every member. In what he said yesterday he betrayed none of the qualities which I have tried to enumerate.

"He launched what was rightly described as a vicious

attack) by beginning on a note of personal reference to the honourable way in which my rt. hon. friend had entered public life. He saw fit to use that personal reference to mount a series of insults which I thought utterly unworthy of the noble marquess and indeed of the conduct of public life in this House. We cannot all have great possessions, but we can all be proud of our personal honour. It was that which I thought the noble marquess was seeking to take away from my rt. hon. friend.

He said that he did not charge my rt. hon. friend with being disingenuous but only with unscrupulousness. In my opinion, to say of one man that he deliberately sets himself to outwit another is one of the deadliest insults than one gentleman can level at another. In drawing that distinction between unscrupulousness and disingenuousness, the noble marquess was at least to me "too clever by half". I am no card player. The noble marquess is himself proficient at bridge. But if I sat down at cards with a gentleman who took refuge in that kind of distinction I would leave the table before I lost too much money. The noble marquess has twitted my rt. hon. friend.

"Personal Abuse"

THE EARL OF ARRAN: "May I interrupt to ask the noble viscount whether he would cease his personal abuse and get on with his speech?"

VISCOUNT HAILSHAM: "The noble marquess has delivered a violent personal attack and I am entitled to defend my rt. hon. friend. I should prefer the Macleod rules of bridge to the Guggenheim rules; and if I had to choose between marquesses I prefer the Queensberry rules to the Cecil rules, because the Queensberry rules at least prescribe that it is unfair to hit below the belt..."

It is characteristic of the reckless and illogical way in which he made charges against the Colonial Secretary that he should have introduced the topic of the terms of reference of the Monckton Commission as virtually the only evidence against the Colonial Secretary of being unscrupulous in his handling of the African situation."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "I did not say that it was evidence of his being unscrupulous. I said it was very unfortunate, and so it was, because there is no doubt that when Sir Roy Welensky received his guarantee—we have never been told what the wording of it is—he believed that he had been told there would be no mention of the subject of secession. He and all Rhodesians regarded themselves as being deceived by the Government. It is a perfectly straightforward argument; everybody knows it is true."

VISCOUNT HAILSHAM: "What I have said is that the noble marquess made a charge against my rt. hon. friend without any evidence at all."

EARL WINTERTON: "Is the noble viscount unaware that Sir Roy Welensky himself stated that he had been deceived?"

VISCOUNT HAILSHAM: "What happened—and it is as well to get the record straight, though this has no bearing on the integrity of the Colonial Secretary—was that terms of reference were agreed between the parties, which in my opinion excluded a straight recommendation of secession; that the Prime Minister refused either to extend or abridge the terms of reference which were agreed, although he was pressed to do both; and that the Monckton Commission rightly or wrongly decided that it was within their terms of reference to deal with the continuance of federation and to say that the federation could in fact be continued only if at a later date a qualified right of secession was in fact granted."

"Whether right or wrong, it can in no circumstances form any basis for a charge that anybody was deceived by the British Government. The commission construed their terms of reference with the benefit of legal advice from two ex-Law Officers, including its chairman, an ex-Law Officer of the Federation, and at least one Federal judge. They came to the conclusion that they were open to raise that particular point."

"Charges of distrust levelled at H.M. Government or Secretaries of State ought to be taken seriously."

LORD LLOYD: "May I inquire from the noble viscount the Leader of the House when we may expect him to answer the debate instead of indulging in a tirade of personal abuse?"

VISCOUNT HAILSHAM: "The noble marquess described the position as a crisis of confidence between ourselves and the peoples of the Federation. I agree with the most rev. Primate that it is a very good thing to bring these questions into the open. But it is one thing to bring into the open the fact that charges of untrustworthiness are being brought by our fellow subjects in another part of the world against H.M. Government—and it is right that Parliament should know that—but another thing altogether for anybody in this House to endorse those charges as justified and say they are true. It is because the noble marquess has endorsed both charges that I think it necessary to look in detail at the evidence upon which they are alleged to be founded..."

After a long passage on the 1958 and present Constitutions

for Northern Rhodesia, Lord Hailsham insisted that no retreat towards racialism was involved.

Speech of Extreme Violence

By leave of the House, LORD SALISBURY replied:

"The noble viscount has attacked me in a speech of extreme violence. I do not complain. I think that the extremity of the violence towards a member of this House whom your Lordships have known well for 20 years and who had the privilege of leading this House for 15 of them has done his case no good."

"In the earlier part of my speech I was describing the views of the white communities throughout Africa on the Colonial Secretary. We have it on the authority of the most rev. Primate and of the Duke of Montrose that what I said about their views was entirely accurate. Lord Listowel asked whether I shared the views of these people that the Colonial Secretary had ignored his duty towards the European community in Africa; and I said that I did."

"I have been told by the Lord Chancellor and by the Leader of the House that it was not the Colonial Secretary's intention to do that. I think no one can deny that in fact that has been the effect of the policy pursued by the Government since Mr. Macleod took over the Colonial Office, and not before. That is the view, as has been said by the most rev. Primate, of the white communities in Africa, and also, if my postbag is any guide, of a considerable section of opinion in the Conservative Party in this country."

"I cannot pretend to regret having raised this question in the way I have. It was very painful to say what I did. Lord Hailsham has accused me of very unworthy motives, but if he is the guardian of his conscience, so am I the guardian of mine, and my conscience is clear."

"There is no doubt that this bitter feeling in Africa does exist. It still seems to me that it was the Government, not I, who had a case to answer. It is my sincere hope that in future the Government will be able to show by their actions as well as their words that they are not differentiating against Europeans. They say that they are not. It is for them to show it. Then, if that is so, we shall all be able to go forward together towards a goal which, the Lord Chancellor said yesterday, is common to us all."

Motions Critical of U.K.

THE NORTHERN RHODESIAN and Nyasaland Legislative Councils have this week debated motions critical of the British Government's handling of their affairs. In the Northern Rhodesia Council Mr. Rodney Malcolmson, acting United Federal Party territorial leader, proposed a motion that the White Paper proposals were unacceptable and gave notice of a motion calling on the British Government to pay the expenses of delegations attending the constitutional talks. In Nyasaland Mr. Blackwood, U.F.P. deputy leader, proposed a motion of no confidence in the Colonial Secretary in relation to his handling of the affairs of the Protectorate.

"Bright" Report by Japanese

THE JAPANESE ECONOMIC MISSION which has ended its tour of East Africa will tell private investors in Japan that the prospects for investment in East Africa are "very bright". Mr. Fumihiko Kai, Japanese Ambassador-at-Large, who headed the nine-member mission, said before leaving Nairobi that he envisaged joint ventures between Japanese investors and local manufacturers in textile and other light industries. One such enterprise will be undertaken in Mombasa, where the Japanese Mitsubishi group will provide technical assistance and a substantial part of the £1m. capital for a rayon cloth factory, to be built by the newly-formed Kenya Rayon Mills.

Leader of the Opposition

THE RECOGNITION of Mr. H. J. Roberts, leader of the United Federal Party, as Leader of the Opposition in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council was announced by the Speaker when sittings of the Council were resumed in Lusaka last week. He said that the change was a consequence of the appointment of Sir John Moffat, the former Leader of the Opposition, to be Minister of Land and Natural Resources.

Dinner for Sir Gilbert Rennie

Prime Minister's Tribute

SIR ROY WELENSKY gave a dinner in London last week in honour of Sir Gilbert Rennie, who will shortly retire from the appointment of High Commissioner in London for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and Lady Rennie.

The other guests of the Federal Prime Minister were the Marquess of Salisbury, Lord Howick, Lord and Lady Nelson of Stafford, Lord and Lady Reith, Lord and Lady Robins, Lord and Lady Sinclair of Clevee, Sir Gerard and Lady d'Erlanger, Sir Alexander and Lady Clutterbuck, Sir Nutcombe and Lady Hume, Sir Percy and Lady Hunting; Sir Gilbert Laithwaite, Sir Edward and Lady Wilshaw, Miss G. Rhodes, Miss P. M. Hutton, Miss J. Hotchkiss, Mr. and Mrs. P. F. Barrett, Mr. T. V. R. Barbour, Mr. A. D. Evans, Mr. J. A. Gray, Mr. J. M. Greenfield, Mr. H. St. L. Grenfell, Mr. and Mrs. F. S. Joelson, Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Laseelles, Mr. W. S. Parker, Mr. H. N. Parry, Mr. H. J. Roberts, Mr. D. Taylor, and Mr. and Mrs. S. E. R. Wynne.

Sir Roy said that while Sir Gilbert Rennie was Governor of Northern Rhodesia he (the speaker) was leader of the non-official members in the Legislative Council, and that in that and other capacities he had had abundant evidence of their guest's integrity, soundness, determination to do what he felt right, and a meticulousness which saw that every "i" was crossed and every "j" dotted in the cause of giving Northern Rhodesia good government. In their close relationships he hoped that he (Sir Roy) had on the whole behaved reasonably responsibly.

Apply the Bush Fires Ordinance

Following so beloved a Governor as Sir John Waddington, Sir Gilbert had had an especially difficult task, particularly as he arrived when Northern Rhodesia was beginning to change quickly as a result of the expansion of the economy and the first stirrings of political life among Africans. The good old days had gone and real problems had to be faced.

The non-officials had, of course, their differences with the Governor, and one of the things they quickly learnt was that he meant what he said. The consequence was that they had deep respect for his sincerity and integrity.

"Among the many examples of his quick wit, I recall an occasion in Executive Council when he and I, both non-smokers, found the room filled with tobacco fumes, and my friend Geoff. Beckett was an offender with a big cigar. It got so bad that at last I asked the Governor if we had to continue to endure such a state of affairs. In a flash he replied: 'I think we ought to invoke the provisions of the Bush Fires Ordinance!'

"Few men get anywhere without the help of a woman, and Sir Gilbert has been greatly helped by Lady Rennie. At one luncheon at which the Governor began to say something, I remember that he was quickly interrupted by his wife saying: 'Gilbert, don't try that one here—which was just what my wife might say to me.'

"Sir Gilbert has been High Commissioner in London since the inception of the Federation. Of course, I wanted him to occupy that office—but it is quite certain that our difficulties in Northern Rhodesia would have been far less if he could have continued in his post as Governor for the first three or four years after the creation of the Federation. Here in London he has done a magnificent job, and I know of the tremendous esteem and affection in which he is held. Lady Rennie and he will take into retirement our very best wishes and our confidence that they will never miss a chance of helping the Federation."

Sir Gilbert Rennie's Reply

SIR GILBERT RENNIE said how grateful Lady Rennie and he were to the Prime Minister for his hospitality and his remarks and for gathering together so many who had helped them greatly in their duties at Rhodesia House.

The little local difficulties in Northern Rhodesia which Sir Roy had mentioned had enabled them to get to know one another, and they were not a bad combination. He had had

complete confidence in leaving labour matters in particular to Sir Roy, who always produced the right solution for the many and often ticklish problems, especially of the Copperbelt. As Sir Roy Welensky and his colleagues had helped in Africa, so their fellow guests that night had helped in London by their encouragement and friendliness, by political and other advice, and by editorial comment.

"I am so glad that the Prime Minister has paid tribute to my wife in the way he has done", Sir Gilbert continued. "She is a woman of great foresight. I once heard a Government official complain that before their retirement he and his kind were not given a year or two of training in an occupation which they could take up on quitting the Colonial Service. My wife has been doing her best to ensure that I get the necessary training in domestic management, so that I shall be able to do my share of the chores about the house. To be serious, she has been a tremendous help to me; and, if the opportunity arose, I should propose to her again."

"I must take this opportunity of saying how much we owe to the staff at Rhodesia House of all levels, beginning with my deputy—and Mrs. Barrett. Tom Barbour has been mole, ant, and beaver; nothing is too much for him; and Miss Pat Hutton, my personal secretary, has won my admiration by her ability and her endurance."

"A detribalized Scot among white settlers in England, I shall on April 5 emerge from Rhodesia House saying 'Kwacha, kwacha'. Freedom, Freedom—with a better realization of what freedom means than many of those in Africa who shout loudly about it."

Sir Gerard d'Erlanger expressed the thanks of the other guests to their host.

Queen Mother on Central Africa

QUEEN ELIZABETH THE QUEEN MOTHER spoke of Central Africa when she presided last week as Chancellor of London University at the ceremony of the presentation of degrees in the Royal Albert Hall.

Her Majesty said:—

"The future of Central Africa is very much in our thoughts today, and it would be rash to prophesy the outcome of the political discussions now taking place. Of one thing I am certain: it is a good omen for the years ahead that the College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has been from the outset organized on a multi-racial basis. Whatever constitutional arrangements are finally worked out, Central Africa will stand in urgent need of graduates of the university college, and I am sure they will be forthcoming in ever-increasing numbers."

Letter to the Editor

British Opinion About Africa

Public Not Consulted

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR,—Mr. Desmond Donnelly writes you that Sir Roy Welensky has no "hope of mass support in 1961 Britain."

My impression of my constituents and countrymen is otherwise. Mr. Donnelly's party was similarly out of line with public opinion on Suez.

British public opinion has not been consulted about Africa; nor, as you have pointed out in your columns, has the House of Commons yet debated the Lancaster House decisions on Kenya.

House of Commons,

London, S.W.1.

Your obedient servant,

JOHN BRIGGS-DAVISON.

Africans Back U.F.P.

TWO AFRICAN MEMBERS of the Nyasaland Legislative Council, Mr. Chijozzi and Mr. Chinyama, both former members of the Malawi Congress Party, have joined the United Federal Party, "because we believe that the Federation has stamped out segregation and discrimination in Nyasaland."

National Members Elected in Kenya

K.A.D.U. Gains Three More Seats

BY WINNING THREE OF THE "NATIONAL" SEATS in the Kenya Legislative Council, the Kenya African Democratic Union has brought its strength in the Council to 15, against the Kenya African National Union's 20. The "national" members were elected last week by a college of the 53 members returned on the common roll.

Two of the European candidates chosen are members of the New Kenya Party.

The 12 "national" members — four Europeans, four Africans, three Asians, and one Arab — are: —

Europeans

MR. DEREK Q. ERSKINE, a Nairobi businessman, who was elected M.L.C. for Nairobi South in 1942 but resigned in 1950. Standing again in 1952, he was defeated by Mr. Norman Harris, and then retired from politics. He is a past president of Nairobi Chamber of Commerce, is president of the Kenya Amateur Athletic Association, and chairman of the Outward Bound Trust.

MR. RHODERICK A. MACLEOD, a brother of the Colonial Secretary, is executive officer of the New Kenya Party. He formerly farmed in the Rift Valley Province and during the emergency served with the Kenya Police.

MR. BRUCE R. MCKENZIE, Minister for Agriculture since June, 1959. He was born in South Africa, served in the R.A.F. during the war, and then went to Kenya to farm in the Rift Valley. He is a past president of the Royal Agricultural Society of Kenya.

MR. JOHN L. PORTER, a member of the New Kenya Party, went to West Africa 23 years ago as a tutor at Achimota College. Since 1946 he has served as principal of various schools in Kenya and from 1950 to 1958, was principal of the Jeanes School, Kabete.

Africans

MR. APOLO KILELU, M.A., a teacher and former member of the Naivasha District Education Board; a K.A.D.U. candidate.

MR. JOHN KONCHELLAH, regional secretary of the Narok branch of K.A.D.U., has been teaching for nine years at Narok; founded the Masai United Front.

MR. FANUEL W. ODEDE, a Luo, worked as an assistant veterinary officer for many years, then took up a teaching post at Makerere College. Was for a time a nominated member of the Legislative Council and is now a businessman in Central Nyanza. Detained under the emergency regulations, he was released from restriction last year; a K.A.N.U. candidate.

MR. PETER J. H. OKONDO, a public relations officer with the Shell Company in Kenya. He was assistant secretary in the Treasury in Uganda from 1953 to 1959; a K.A.D.U. candidate.

Asians

Muslim: **MR. JAN MOHAMED**, entered business in Nyanza Province and formed a bus and transport company in Machakos in 1945, last year organized on multi-racial lines as the Akamba Public Road Services. A member of Nairobi County Council and the Machakos Township Authority.

Non-Muslim: **MR. SOMABHAI PATEL**, a teacher in India until he joined the Kenya Education Department in 1945. Three years later went in to private legal practice in Nakuru. Has been president of the Rift Valley Indian Chamber since 1953 and is a member of the Nakuru Indian Congress and legal adviser to the Indian Association.

Non-Muslim: **MR. FITZVAL R. S. DE SOUZA**, has lived in Kenya since 1950. Was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1952 and entered private practice in Nairobi a year later. Took his Ph.D. degree in 1955. Assisted in the appeal against Kenyatta's sentence.

Arab

MR. MOHAMED A. ALAMOODY, worked for the Kenya Information Department during the war and for 10 years was honorary secretary of the Arab Association. Last year was appointed to the Council of State, but resigned to contest the Arab "national" seat.

The unsuccessful candidates were: —

European: Mrs. Marjorie Needham-Clark, Mrs. Susan Wood, and Messrs. Peter Colmore, Shirley V. Cook, George A. Heath, Sydney H. la Fontaine, Harry MacAfan, and Donnethadh O'Beirne.

African: Mrs. Margaret W. K. Gocku and Messrs. Shekue Ali, Leonard Auma, Erik Bomet, Ahmed Farah, Jephtha Gaya, Hassan Jama, John Kasoyoka, Justus Kiocha, Elliptas Mburua, John M. Muchura, James N. Mutai, Jones W. Mukaka, David M. Mulihi, James Muriuki, Newland G.

Ngome, Abdurahman Omar, Ignatius Owaila-Owailo, Charles W. Rubia, Johnston J. Wanjau, Wanyuta Waweru, and Job W. Wawire.

Asian Muslim: Messrs. Shaikh Armin, Tahir K. Janoo, Basheer Mauladad, and A. G. Shelton.

Asian Non-Muslim: Messrs. Givaadna G. Amin, Krishan D. Handa, Inder Madan, Sadrujeen A. Rahimulla, and Faichand Sood.

Arab: Mr. Abdullah A. Eljahady.

More Protests Against Macleodism

Lords Forester and Cardigan Resign

LORD FORESTER has written from Bassitt, Banket, Southern Rhodesia, resigning from the Conservative Party because he believes that "Mr. Macleod's policy is fraught with peril both morally and economically and will hit the African first". The subscription which he has hitherto paid to the Ludlow and Wrekin Conservative Association will in future go to the United Federal Party in Central Africa. "In order to help Sir Roy Welensky in his difficult fight on behalf of the moderate Africans against the Dominion and extremist parties".

The Earl of Cardigan has resigned the presidency of Burbage Conservative Association, Wiltshire, saying "I have always thought Lord Salisbury generally right when he has spoken".

Mr. Geoffrey Hirst, Conservative M.P. for Shipley, has said in his constituency: —

"A crisis of confidence has been created by the Colonial Secretary and I find it hard to see how he can heal it. If he can, well and good. Healed it must be. Otherwise the crisis will spread throughout many territories other than the Federation—and that is not a price which can be paid for by loyalty either to a Minister or a policy which provokes it."

Earlier Mr. Hirst had said: —

"South Africa's departure from the Commonwealth is a warning. Let us heed it in case of the Central African Federation. A break-up or even of the Federation would be much more than a tragedy; it would be an unparalleled disaster, and might, indeed, foreshadow the break-up of the Commonwealth."

"The Federation has submitted a counter set of proposals for constitutional reform to the British Government. I hope they will lead to an agreed solution; but if it be a case of the Federation or the resignation of a Cabinet Minister, then I say to the Prime Minister, as I do to the country, that there can be no argument or delay about which must go."

Grinding Kenya to a Standstill

Mr. John Connell, the journalist and author, who has just paid a short visit to Kenya, has written in the course of an article in the *Evening Standard*: —

"Mr. Macleod has swiftly and brutally turned the country's economic plight to the political and personal disadvantage of the settlers; he has trumped what they in their innocence thought, was their fate."

"In effect he has told them: 'You say you are the economic mainstay of Kenya. O.K. boys, you'll keep on being just that—but on my terms, and the African nationalist leaders' terms. No compensation if you quit; no security of land titles if you stay.'"

"The result is that never in my life have I met a group of people so hurt, so bewildered, so anxious, and so angry as the Kenya European farmers."

"Political betrayal has precipitated economic disaster. The farmers are conscious that they are economic prisoners, at the mercy now of a British Government which has repeatedly let them down, and soon to be at the mercy of an African administration."

"A mixture of political folly and economic pigheadedness is grinding Kenya to a standstill."

In Protest Against Macleodism

LORD SELBORNE, who has been a member of the East Hampshire Conservative Association for half a century, has resigned "in protest against Mr. Macleod's African policy and at his keeping Mr. Ian Macleod in a position for which he is quite unfit". Lord Selbourne was a Conservative M.P. from 1910 to 1940 when he succeeded to the title.

PERSONALIA

SIR ROY WELENSKY has been received in audience by THE QUEEN.

LORD and LADY LYEE OF WESTBOURNE are visiting the Federation.

SIR ANDREW MACTAGGART, chairman of Balfour Beatty & Co., Ltd., flew to East Africa last week.

MR. H. G. SPARKE has been elected chairman and MR. G. C. HAWKINS deputy chairman of the London Sisal Association.

MR. DONALD C. BROOK, chairman of the British Central Africa Co., Ltd., is paying another visit to East and Central Africa.

MR. JULIAN GREENFIELD, Federal Minister of Law, and MR. A. D. EVANS left London by air on Tuesday to return to the Federation.

SIR ERNEST VASEY, Finance Minister in Tanganyika, flew back to Dar es Salaam last week after 10 days in London for official discussions.

THE QUEEN and THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH gave a dinner party at Buckingham Palace last week for the COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS.

DR. RAMSEY, Archbishop of York, and Archbishop-designate of Canterbury is to receive the honorary degree of D.D. from Manchester University.

DR. ROBERT ROBSON has arrived in the Federation on a two-year contract as industrial consultant to the Federal Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

SIR JOHN MORAY, Chief Justice of Southern Rhodesia, retired earlier this month on his 73rd birthday. The new Chief Justice is Sir Hugh Beadle.

MR. J. N. V. DUNCAN, managing director of the Rio Tinto Co., Ltd., London, has also been elected chairman of the Rio Tinto Mining Company of Canada.

MR. L. G. T. FARMER, vice-chairman and managing director of the Rover Motor Co., Ltd., returned in the WINDSOR CASTLE last week from his visit to Rhodesia.

MR. J. GIBSON JARVIE, chairman of the United Dominions Trust, Ltd., returned last week in the WINDSOR CASTLE from his visit to the Union and Rhodesia.

MR. O. V. GARRATT, Adviser on Prisons to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, will today address a lunch-time meeting of the Royal Commonwealth Society.

MR. IAIN MACLEOD, Colonial Secretary, will arrive in Dar es Salaam on Saturday to preside over the Tanganyika Constitutional Conference, to be held from Monday to Thursday next week.

THE SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR last week signed a proclamation nominating as heir to his throne SKYYID JAMSHED, his eldest son, aged 31, who was at one time an officer cadet in the Royal Navy.

SIR ROY WELENSKY, the Federal Prime Minister, accompanied by his principal private secretary, MR. STEWART PARKER, left London airport by B.O.A.C. Comet on Monday evening for Salisbury.

MR. MAURICE WALCOTT RUSH has been appointed a director and a member of the executive committee of the board of Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., of which he has been a manager.

MR. STEVEN EVERETT, formerly Deputy Commissioner for Commerce and Industry in Tanganyika, has taken up his new appointment in Salisbury as Tanganyika's Trade Representative to the Federation.

MR. E. J. PARTRIDGE, deputy chairman of the Imperial Tobacco Company, has been appointed chairman of the tobacco manufacturers' standing committee set up to assist research on the relationship between smoking and health. He succeeds SIR ALEXANDER H. MAXWELL.

MR. G. G. POTIER, vice-chairman of Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, Ltd., has arrived in London.

When SIR ROY WELENSKY, Federal Prime Minister, and MR. J. M. GREENFIELD, Federal Minister of Law, were the guests at dinner last week of the United and Cecil Clubs, COLONEL SIR RICHARD GLYN, M.P., presided.

THE PRIME MINISTER gave a luncheon party at Admiralty House on Saturday for SIR ROY WELENSKY and MR. JULIAN GREENFIELD. The other guests were MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, MR. T. J. BLIGH, and MR. B. ST. J. TREND.

BRIGADIER R. MICKLEM, a director of Rhodesian Selection Trust, Ltd., Mutitwa Copper Mines, Ltd., and Roan Antelope Copper Mines, Ltd., and MRS. MICKLEM arrived in London from Northern Rhodesia a few days ago.

MRS. DENIS WILSON has been nominated to succeed MRS. DURRANT as Girl Guide Colony Commissioner for Kenya. There are to be several assistant commissioners, including an African, MRS. HANNAH RUBIA, and an Asian, MRS. ANN EBOO.

MR. ROLAND BROWN, a London barrister, will be constitutional and legal adviser to Tanganyika's Chief Minister, Mr. Mwerete, at the constitutional conference in Dar es Salaam. The Attorney-General, MR. J. S. R. COLE, O.C., will attend as the Governor's adviser.

THE RT. REV. CHARLES MUHORO KARERI, a Kikuyu, has been installed as the first African Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, succeeding the RT. REV. R. MACPHERSON, who is retiring after 27 years' mission work in Kenya.

MR. AND MRS L. C. W. BAYLTON, of Mbeya, who have been in London for the past month, will fly back to Tanganyika Territory about a week hence. Mr. Baylton, a former member of the Legislative Council, is chairman of the Tanganyika Pyrethrum Growers' Association.

MR. H. W. JEFFRIES, Minister for Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Washington, MR. R. B. M. WETMORE, of his staff, and MR. W. MARGOLIS, a Salisbury industrialist, will represent the Federal Government at a Congress on African Resources to be held in New York from March 27 to 29.

The Prime Minister of Sierra Leone has asked H.M. Government that SIR MAURICE DORMAN, now Governor of the Colony, should be appointed Governor-General on April 27, when the Colony will become an independent State within the Commonwealth. SIR MAURICE has served in East Africa.

LORD ALPORT, the new United Kingdom High Commissioner in the Federation, returned to Salisbury at the week-end after a three-day visit to Nyasaland, during which he attended a farewell sundowner party at Zomba Gymkhana Club to the Governor, SIR ROBERT ARMITAGE, and met Government officials and political leaders.

MAJOR-GENERAL HASSAN BESHIR NASR, Chief of Staff to the Sudan Army, who has just spent a week in this country at the invitation of the Government, lunched with the Chiefs of Staff, visited the Staff College and the Parachute Brigade, dined at Chelsea Hospital with the Army Council, spent a day with the Royal Navy, and met the Foreign Secretary, the Lord Privy Seal, and several other senior Ministers.

SIR JOHN CARMICHAEL, from 1954 to 1956 Permanent Under-Secretary in the Finance and Economics Ministry in the Sudan, and then for three years Financial and Economic Adviser to the Sudan Government, has joined the board of Fisons, Ltd. He became chairman of Fisons Pest Control (Sudan), Ltd., last year, and a few months later a director of the parent company in the United Kingdom. He is deputy chairman of the Independent Television Authority.

Colonel Grogan Sells Out

COLONEL EWART GROGAN, the Kenya pioneer, now aged 86, made it known in Nairobi last week that he had sold his large sisal estate in the Voi area to a group of Asians. He told the Press: "Only a damn fool wouldn't sell, for the new Constitution in Kenya can bring only chaos. In my time I have developed perhaps half a million acres in Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda. Now I must look after the future of my four daughters, two of them in England, and my great-grandchildren — and then sit and watch the results of the folly of Kenya's common roll elections. I love Africa and the African, but this political advancement has come far too soon".

African District Officers

NINE MORE AFRICANS have been appointed District Officers in the Kenya Administration, bringing the total number of Africans to 16, or 10% of the District Officer strength. They are Messrs. J. Kyalo, Joseph Musembi, J. K. arap Kotite, P. J. Gachati, P. A. Shiyukah, E. P. Oranga, J. N. Michuki, G. S. K. Boit and D. D. Wabera. Four locally-engaged European Officers recently appointed are Messrs. C. J. A. Barnett, E. H. M. Alleyne, M. J. Darling and Major W. F. Barrow.

Delimitation Commission

THE GOVERNOR OF NYASALAND has appointed a three-member commission to delimit constituencies for the forthcoming general election. Heading the commission is Sir Charles Hartwell, chairman of the Northern Rhodesian Public Services Commission, with Mr. G. W. Y. Hucks, clerk to the Tanganyika Legislative Council, and Mr. L. M. Bandawe, a retired Nyasaland African civil servant, as the other members.

Sir Roy Welensky Flies Back

Statement About Northern Rhodesia

SIR ROY WELENSKY left London Airport on Monday evening for Salisbury after a visit of 16 days for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

He had seen the Prime Minister again for several hours on Saturday, spent nearly an hour and a half with him on Monday morning, and met him again after a special Cabinet meeting that afternoon.

Sir Roy drove direct from Admiralty House to the airport.

As he flew back the following joint statement was issued from Admiralty House:—

"Advantage has been taken of Sir Roy Welensky's presence in London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference for further consultations between the United Kingdom and Federal Governments about the Northern Rhodesia Constitution. Naturally no attempt was made to carry out anything in the nature of negotiations, but there has been a most valuable exchange of views.

"The United Kingdom Government confirmed that they are prepared to consider any proposals within the framework and general spirit of the White Paper and the statements by Ministers in the House of Commons which may be put forward by the political groups in Northern Rhodesia; and, of course, due regard will be paid to considerations which the Federal Government have brought to the attention of the United Kingdom Government.

"It has been agreed that detailed consultations with the various political groups should proceed at Lusaka and that the United Kingdom Government will continue to consult the Federal Government in accordance with established practice".

[Editorial comment appears in Matters of Moment.]

RHODESIAN SELECTION TRUST GROUP OF COMPANIES

SOIL PHYSICIST

THE Kafue Pilot Polder Trust in NORTHERN RHODESIA require the services of a Soil Physicist with training in modern techniques and preferably with experience of irrigation of heavy clays. The soils of the Polder are uncommon and present considerable opportunities for new and original research.

A commencing salary of not less than £2,500 per annum is envisaged, together with liberal fringe benefits.

Applications with curricula vitae should be forwarded to the address below. Applicants should quote the names and addresses of three references, and also state a possible date of commencement.

Personnel Officer,
Vainona Estates Limited,
c/o Rhodesia Selection Trust Limited,
P.O. Box 1479,
SALISBURY,
Southern Rhodesia.

Commissioner's Visit

SIR ARTHUR KIRBY, Commissioner in London for East Africa, will sail next week in the s.s. KENYA to revisit the territories. He is due in Nairobi on April 19, and nine days later will go to Magadi (being a director of the Magadi Soda Co. Ltd.), and then on to the Nakuru, Kericho, and Kisumu areas. He will cross by lake steamer to Port Bell for a six-day visit to Uganda, and from Entebbe will sail for Mwanza. Thence he will go by rail to Tabora and Dar es Salaam for a stay of six days in the Tanganyika capital. After spending two days in Zanzibar, Sir Arthur will revisit Taaga, Moshi, Arusha, and Nairobi, whence he will fly to London on May 31. He was last in the territories about two years ago.

Salaries Commission

THE TANGANYIKA GOVERNMENT has appointed to its Local Salaries Commission, which will begin work in April, Mr. A. L. Adu (chairman), Mr. J. D. Namfua, M.L.C., Mr. M. Kibaki, Mr. M. M. Devani, and Mr. Rawley Farley, an expert in industrial relations, who formerly lectured at the University College of British Columbia, Vancouver.

Meat Commission Inquiry

THE GOVERNOR OF KENYA has appointed a Commission of Inquiry into the conduct and management of the Kenya Meat Commission, consisting of Mr. Thomas A. Dennison, chairman, Mr. Richard Luyt and Mr. Emrys Jones. The terms of its inquiry include the causes for the recent dismissal of the Meat Commission's general manager.

K.A.N.U. Decision Reversed Delegates Will Visit Kenyatta

REVERSING its earlier "irrevocable" decision, the Kenya African National Union agreed at the week-end to send a delegation to see Kenyatta and discuss the political situation. Six K.A.N.U. delegates will go to Lodwar tomorrow with six K.A.D.U. delegates, two of whom have already visited the Mau Mau leader.

Mr. Gichuru and Mr. Mboya, the K.A.N.U. leaders who a week earlier were adamant in their refusal of the Governor's offer to arrange a visit to Kenyatta, were stated to have changed their minds after receiving a request for a visit from Kenyatta himself through his British lawyer, Mr. Dingle Foot, M.P., who had seen Kenyatta in connexion with a proposed libel action against a London newspaper.

Showing an inclination to reverse another "irrevocable" decision—that K.A.N.U. would not take part in a Government until Kenyatta was unconditionally released—Mr. Gichuru said: "If Kenyatta advises us to take part in the Government while he is still restricted we shall seriously consider it".

The interpretation in Kenya is that K.A.N.U. recognizes that its attempt to intimidate the Governor away from his firm stand on Kenyatta's release has failed. Recently Mr. Mboya went so far as to say that K.A.N.U. would not join the Government even if Kenyatta wished it.

K.A.D.U. announced last week that in protest at the Governor's refusal to release Kenyatta that party would withdraw its members from the present Government. That was, however, merely a token gesture, for the Government had only three more weeks in office. The K.A.D.U. Ministers were Mr. Ngala, president of the party and Minister of Labour, and Mr. Towett, Assistant Minister of Agriculture. The question of K.A.D.U.'s co-operation in a new Government was left open. The K.A.N.U. Minister of Commerce and Industry, Dr. Kiario, also resigned.

Seven of the eight Asians elected to the new Legislative

Council had had an earlier meeting with Sir Patrick Renison and added their voices to the demand for Kenyatta's release.

Mr. S. Gautama, president of the Kenya Indian Congress, said that the Indian community felt that Kenyatta's release would promote stability and help to restore confidence in the country's future. Mr. Gautama added that reports about Kenyatta gave the impression that he showed Gandhian thinking.

There was speculation in Nairobi that the Colonial Secretary might intervene in the deadlock between the Governor and the two African parties by breaking his journey to the Tanganyika constitutional conference. His statement in the House of Commons last week gave no support to that suggestion, however. Then it was officially announced that he would stay in Nairobi only while his Comet refuelled.

"Enemy of the Europeans"

Mr. Gichuru and Mr. Mboya, already out of countenance over the Kenyatta issue, were further embarrassed at the week-end by statements made by K.A.N.U.'s extremist vice-president, Mr. Oginga Odinga, who described Kenyatta at a Mombasa meeting as "a pure nationalist and an enemy of the Europeans". While in Peking he had proclaimed Kenyatta as the leader of Mau Mau, which Kenyatta had himself denied.

The Kenya correspondent of the *Guardian* telegraphed that a deterrent to Kenyatta's release was the reputed threat of resignation by leading members of the Administration, including the Chief Secretary, Sir Walter Courts, and the Minister of Internal Security and Defence, Mr. A. C. Swann.

Meanwhile there were numerous reports of a resurgent Mau Mau movement. In a cable to the *Daily Telegraph* Mr. Eric Downton suggested that it was not possible to give a complete assessment of the security situation because the Government was withholding information about attacks on Europeans and other crimes.

European farmers who live in districts where the security situation is most brittle are convinced that political anti-European agitation is again on the increase. This is especially felt in the Rift Valley. The farmers cite scores of ugly minor cases about which the Government issues neither comment nor information. The Government holds that news of such events unnecessarily aggravates the situation.

The correspondent adds that there is a tendency to take the white man's law less seriously now because of a belief that "uhuru is just around the corner".

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African Leaders Meet

AN ALL-AFRICAN PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE opening in Cairo today is expected to bring together about 500 African political and Labour leaders from 34 countries. Among those attending are Mr. Joshua Nkomo, leader of the Southern Rhodesian National Democratic Party, and Messrs. James Gichuru and Tom Mboya of the Kenya African National Union. K.A.N.U. has announced its intention to seek a vote urging the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations.

Nyasaland police have searched the Blantyre premises of the National Council of Labour.

Government officials in Salisbury have denied reports that many Rhodesian families have emigrated to South Africa because of political uncertainty in the Federation.

British United Airways now offer reduced fares to passengers flying from Nsaka, Lusaka, and Salisbury to Entebbe on the Safari services between the Federation and Britain.

Two Africans were killed and seven injured in rioting in Usumbura, Ruanda-Urundi, which followed the deaths of nine African children to whom an African hospital attendant had mistakenly given arsenic instead of purgatives.

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Parliament**"Insult" to Britain****Questions About U.S. Envoy**

THE PRIME MINISTER said in answer to questions from MR. BIGGS-DAVISON, MR. FELL, and MR. STONEHOUSE that he had made no representations to President Kennedy about statements made by Mr. Mennen Williams, United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, during his visit to East Africa.

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON recalled that President Kennedy had given a rather insulting pledge in his inaugural address that "one form of colonial control should not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny", and asked the Prime Minister to tell the President on his forthcoming visit that British rule had not been and was not tyrannical, and that Europeans in Africa were not expendable in the interests of American economic expansion.

THE PRIME MINISTER: "While not accepting the implications of my hon. friend's question, I tried to put a defence of the long and splendid story of Britain's expansion overseas when I spoke to the United Nations in September."

MR. FELL: "Whilst I realize my right hon. friend's difficulty, it is surely the fact that the people of this country feel that Mr. Mennen Williams insulted Britain by what he said in Africa, particularly as some of his statements were made in a British territory while an election was in progress. Will not the Prime Minister reconsider taking up the matter directly with President Kennedy and ensuring that there are consultations before the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs embarks upon some new American policy sponsored by President Kennedy?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "We have to take a balanced view of these affairs. Foreign travel is full of pitfalls, as we all know. I shall shortly have an opportunity of discussing these matters in a friendly, personal way with the President."

MR. BROCKWAY asked the Colonial Secretary for a statement about Kenya, in which both the African parties declined to take part in the Administration. Would he take advantage of his coming visit to Tanganyika to spend some time on this problem in Kenya, and in particular, to see Mr. Ken-

yatta, about whom the trouble largely concentrates, in order to seek to find a solution which will enable a good beginning to be made with the new Constitution?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I should like to answer in words which I hope will go to the people in Kenya. The Governor knows perfectly well that he could today form a strong, able, and stable Government from people of all races if he released Mr. Kenyatta. There is nothing that Kenya more desires than a strong and stable Government, and I share that desire to the full, but I made it absolutely clear from the first that matters of law and order are not matters on which one can bargain."

"I hope, therefore, that men of all races who have studied the Governor's statement and have seen the conditions that he has laid down will be able—and feel themselves doing right for Kenya—to take up the portfolios that will be offered to them."

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Is the Colonial Secretary aware that the attitude he is now adopting may be regarded as a sop to the extreme right wing in Kenya and that he is flying in the face of reality? A stable administration in Kenya can be formed only if the rt. hon. gentleman releases Jomo Kenyatta. Is he aware, first, that 95% of the population of Kenya want Jomo Kenyatta to be released; and, secondly, that the release of Jomo Kenyatta will, in fact, be a contribution to achieving stability?"

Will Not Bargain

MR. MACLEOD: "The House will recognize that I have been asked this question about many men during the 18 months I have been Secretary of State. I have always given the same response: I will in no circumstances bargain about a matter that is fundamental to law and order."

SIR H. OAKSHOTT: "Will my rt. hon. friend recognize that most of us regard the consideration of law and order in respect of the future of Jomo Kenyatta as absolutely cardinal and fundamental, but that at the same time, now that the elections in Kenya have taken place—with the result that I think many of the Africans had hoped for beforehand—every step should be taken to encourage them to do what he has just said—accept the responsibility which those elections have placed upon them and take their part in trying to govern the country in which they live?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I very much agree with that, and I know that it is in that spirit that the Governor is approaching his present consultations."

DR. D. JOHNSON asked the Secretary of State if he would make available Command Paper No. 9081, 1954, "Memorandum on the Mau Mau Oath Ceremonies", at present available only in the Library of the House of Commons, to the list of persons submitted to him by the hon. Member for Carlisle.

MR. MACLEOD: "Copies of the document concerned were distributed to public libraries, where they are available at the discretion of the librarian."

DR. JOHNSON: "Although from the point of view of its obscene content this paper is not far outside the bounds of 'Lady Chatterley's Lover', there has never been any suggestion that the late D. H. Lawrence should be made Prime Minister of Great Britain? Is not that analogous to what has been suggested in the House today? And is it not repugnant that anyone associated with those ceremonies should occupy a responsible position in the Commonwealth?"

MR. MACLEOD: "My hon. friend need not prove to this House that Mau Mau was a social movement. We all know that."

SIR A. HURD asked the Secretary of State if, in view of the recent attacks on Europeans in Kenya, reminiscent of the Mau Mau days, he would amplify the reference in the Governor's broadcast of March 1 to the security risk involved in releasing Kenyatta now; and if the Kenya police force had traced any organization behind these attacks.

MR. MACLEOD: "There is no evidence of political motivation or of any organization behind the recent increase in serious crime in Kenya, which arises mainly from the present economic depression aggravated by the widespread and serious drought and consequential food shortage in many areas; and Europeans have been neither the sole nor even the principal victims. I consider that the Governor's reference in his statement of March 1 to the security risk involved in releasing Kenyatta puts the position clearly."

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that stability and law and order in Kenya will be undermined if he continues to detain Kenyatta, and on this issue will he not also accept the wise advice of Mr. Nyerere, who says that Kenyatta should be released?"

MR. MACLEOD: "There can be no swifter way of destroying the prospects for the future of Kenya, which I think are very encouraging at present after the elections, than by retreating from a position so carefully and deliberately taken up by the Governor of Kenya and H.M. Government."



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MR. G. M. THOMSON asked the Secretary of State for a statement on the situation in Kenya in the light of the decision regarding the continued detention of Kenyatta.

MR. MACLEOD: "The Governor is engaged in preliminary discussions pending the formation of a Government, and in those circumstances I do not consider, that I can usefully make a statement."

MR. THOMSON: "Would not the Secretary of State bear in mind the advantages of taking a definite decision on a difficult problem like this? Would not he consider accepting the invitation made by him to Mr. Gichuru to visit Kenya during his coming trip to East Africa?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I am going to Tanganyika in a few days, and I will be passing through Nairobi both going and coming back. However, I should not like the hon. gentleman to think from that I would interfere in any way with the Governor's very difficult task in forming a Government. What we all hope will happen is that a strong and stable Government will be formed. I am sure that that is the wish of all hon. Members on both sides of the House. It would be very good for Kenya if that could happen. The admirable way in which the elections were conducted, gives one hope that it may still be possible to achieve that."

MR. STONEHOUSE asked the Secretary of State what arrangements he was making in response to the request of the Kenya African National Union to visit Kenya to discuss with them and other political parties the release of Kenyatta.

MR. MACLEOD: "I have received no such request, but, in any event, this is not a matter in which intervention by me would be appropriate. The Governor has only very recently, and with my full agreement, made the position in regard to Kenyatta clear."

CAPTAIN KERBY asked how many convictions took place in Northern Rhodesia in 1960 of officials and members of Mr. Kenneth Kaunda's party; and how many persons were convicted for assault, for conspiracy, for riot, for sedition, for personal violence, for damage to property, and for contempt of court.

MR. MACLEOD: "There were 403 convictions of persons known to be members of the United National Independence Party. Of these 40 were for assault, 31 for conspiracy, 19 for riot, 10 for sedition, 45 for proposing violence, one for violence, 13 for damage to property, and 13 for contempt of court."

MR. DEMPSEY asked what financial assistance had been given to Southern Rhodesia during the past five years.

MR. SANDYS: "The only financial assistance for the exclusive use of Southern Rhodesia in the last five years has been a loan from the International Bank of £2m. for African farming. In addition Southern Rhodesia has shared in the benefit derived from financial assistance given to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland."

Clash at N.D.P. Meeting in Bulawayo

POLICE USED TEAR-GAS in a clash with part of a crowd of about 20,000 Africans attending a National Democratic Party meeting in Bulawayo on Sunday. Four African policemen were slightly injured.

The clash occurred when at the end of the meeting the crowd surged through a gateway which the police had closed. One man was arrested and others began stoning the police. When they retaliated with tear-gas part of the crowd panicked and broke down a fence.

The meeting, called to discuss the party's attitude to the Southern Rhodesian constitutional proposals, had been addressed by Mr. Nkomo, who said that the voting qualifications were "a refusal by the Europeans to recognize your personality" and that "the fires of freedom" would sweep through Southern Africa in the next year.

Later at a closed session the party congress decided that it would not take part in the referendum on the proposals unless its demands were met. These were: that the method of selecting members of the proposed Council of State should be satisfactorily settled; that the Federal Government should desist from interfering in the Northern Rhodesian talks; that all remaining detainees in Southern Rhodesia should be released; and that the ban on N.D.P. meetings in the countryside should be lifted. The congress rejected the proposed franchise qualifications.

Mr. Leopold Takawira and Mr. Michael Mawema, two officials who had been suspended for statements made about the outcome of the constitutional conference, were reinstated.

Mr. Nkomo, who was re-elected president, left soon after wards for Cairo to attend an All-African Peoples' Conference. Mr. A. E. Abrahamson, Southern Rhodesian Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, cabled to the B.C.C. on Monday criticizing its news reporting of the disturbance at the N.D.P. meeting. He described the report as presented "in a way which is a travesty of truth and fair play and a disgrace to journalism".

Kenya Paying for Macbuhndellism

MR. J. P. ORD, chairman of the finance committee of Nairobi Chamber of Commerce, has estimated that traders in Kenya have in the past year lost at least £1½m. through bad debts. For the Colony's financial year ending next June he believes that the deficit will not be less than £3m. and may reach £4. Because traders are following the policy of reducing their stocks, imports have decreased, with a consequent sharp fall in customs duties, which may be about £2m. below last year's total.

Detainees Policy Praised

MR. R. D. FAIRN, director of the British Prisons Administration, who headed the committee which inquired into Kenya's detention camps policy 18 months ago and has been on a return visit to the Colony, praised the Government for taking "calculated risks with courage and imagination" to implement the committee's recommendations. Seldom had a report to a Government been acted on so rapidly, he told the Kenya League for Penal Reform.

Acquitted of Manslaughter

MR. GEORGE ANTHONY DAVID JOHNSTON, 24, a Kenyan-born paint factory worker, has been acquitted by the Supreme Court in Nairobi of the manslaughter of a Kikuyu tribesman, Mutunga Mbeloko, on December 24 last year. Johnston and a British soldier, James Mulvaney, were originally charged with murder. The charge against Mulvaney was withdrawn. On the second day of the trial, after Mr. Justice Wicks had drawn attention to a direct conflict of evidence of two eye-witnesses, the Crown counsel, Mr. F. Stratton, said he would offer no further evidence.

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London Sisal Association Luncheon

THE LONDON SISAL ASSOCIATION held its annual luncheon last week under the presidency of Mr. J. F. Birkmyre.

Mr. H. G. Sparke, who at the annual meeting that morning had been elected chairman of the association, proposed the health of the guests, on whose behalf Sir Arthur Kirby, Mr. C. W. Gillibaud, and Mr. K. W. S. Mackenzie replied.

SIR ARTHUR KIRBY said, *inter alia*:—

"Your members make their living by revelling in ravelling the sisal which the growers in East Africa so carefully comb and balefully bundle. The hard-working sisal planters of East Africa cast envious glances towards the easy-living spinners who twist along their ropey way, pulling their strings and balling their twine to go on the bind to fatten the purse of the Chancellor.

"Think of poor old Joe, the sisal planter, loping between his prickly overgrown daffodils, meeting his friend newly rich from tea planting, who, seeing Joe's doleful demeanour, says 'What's deprecating you, Joe?' 'Look at that sisal,' replies Joe; 'all gone up the pole, covered with bulbuls and not a cow in sight. How do you think I can propagate?' 'All I can suggest,' says his friend, 'is that you should find a sucker or two.' That Joe retorts, 'is a thoroughly Hitchcockian remark, the sort of thing which brings on my hard fibrositis.' 'Rub it with some flume juice and cortizone it away,' says his friend.

"Many spinners feel some apprehension about the future of the sisal industry in East Africa. For many the outlook has seemed somewhat 'Macloudy' and the market prospects too 'Mbuoyant'.

"Happy the political situation in Tanganyika gives us hope. Julius Nyerere is proving to be an honest, able, and fearless leader, and his new young Ministers, who came to their posts almost completely without governmental administrative experience, are proving to be capable and firm in dealing with impatientcies of their own people, who are understandably impatient in demanding the better conditions which, in their minds, would be the immediate accompaniment of *Uhuru*.

We should be foolish to expect that events will run uninterrupted smoothly in so new a country as Tanganyika with so few of the indigenous people trained in government and management; it may be that, by the combination of impatience within Tanganyika and political pressures from the outside, the new Government will not have things by any means easy. It doesn't take them long to find out that the processes of government are hard work and not achieved by magic.

"But there seems to be firmly established in the new political concepts in Tanganyika a realization of the necessity for technical and administrative assistance to Tanganyika from the outside and for conditions to be favourable for the overseas investor. Because of this it is unlikely that the firmly implanted sisal industry will be adversely subjected to financial or other measures which would deleteriously affect either the investment or the production of so valuable an export crop.

"Even if political portents in Kenya appear not so favourable as in Tanganyika, it is improbable that the new African politicians, who are now in the parliamentary majority and who look forward to leading the Government of the future, will deliberately do anything to upset Kenya's exports. They are conscious of Kenya's dependence upon earnings from the export of agricultural crops.

"In spite of the political utterances made by many of these young, impatient politicians, most are serious, sensible people, and the African population as a whole tends to be well behaved. Indeed, the very basis of all tribal structures was good social behaviour and the people are unlikely to change fundamentally in this respect.

"Paradoxically, it is we British who seem to be the most depressed about East Africa. We read dismal jeremiads and expressions of grave doubts about the future of East Africa. We seem to have lost faith in our ability to maintain our position and lead East Africa to peaceful and positive government. Other countries, more detached from the immediate problem, take a more hopeful view. Missions from America, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Israel, Japan, and other countries have all ended their visits with their leaders making optimistic noises about East Africa's future.

"We shall achieve positive good—in the interests of Britain, of our own kith and kin, and of our investment—by striking a more optimistic assessment of the abilities and intentions of the African. Denigration and lack of confidence can do nothing but harm. Events are happening much too quickly for our comfort. Because of the haste to get things done yesterday, the course of the new Governments will surely go awry from time to time.

"I am confident that, despite all the setbacks and frustrations East Africa will prove the innate good sense of its peoples and demonstrate the lasting value of the great contribution which has been made by the immigrant races, who for the moment feel expendable in the expedient moves towards political progress."

Finance Minister on Kenya

MR. K. W. S. MACKENZIE, Minister for Finance and Development in Kenya, said that that country's present financial and economic difficulties were the result of lack of confidence, but that the basic economy was sound and aided by the diversity of production.

There had been no fundamental weakening of the economy since the winds of change began to blow, and exports during the past year were a record, but imports were lower than was to be wished, and there had been some disinvestment, not to the extent of business fleeing the country, but of liquid assets being sent abroad. In the first six weeks of this year about £930,000 had been invested in Kenya, mainly from the Continent.

None of Kenya's politicians wanted to see the economy ruined, and they were fully aware of the vital importance to the country of the immigrant planters, businessmen, and investors.

H.M. Government would help Kenya through a difficult transitional period, especially in the very necessary task of maintaining the essential administrative and technical services. He saw no reason to doubt that the country would come successfully through this period of adjustment if people kept cool heads, warm hearts, and slow tongues.

MR. GILLIBAUD said that he had recently found in Tanganyika that on well-managed sisal plantations labour costs were often no higher than before last year's decision to raise African wage rates by about 80% in consideration of a promise that the recipients would do 30% more work. Many estates had then quickly reduced what they recognized to be unnecessarily large labour forces.

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New Soviet Attack on U.N.

Withdrawal from Congo Urged

IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY on Tuesday Russia renewed its attack on Mr. Hammarskjöld and the United Nations operation in the Congo, calling for the withdrawal of U.N. forces within a month. In reply, Mr. Adlai Stevenson, United States representative, accused Russia of obstructing U.N. efforts in the Congo and introducing into the debate "the most destructive spirit of the cold war".

The debate was adjourned without a date for its resumption being set.

In Leopoldville on Wednesday last week the Congolese Prime Minister, Mr. Ileo, disclosed that General Lundula, Congolese Army commander in Stanleyville had sent a telegram to the central Government suggesting negotiations to heal the breach between the pro-Lumumba provinces of Orientale and Kivu and the other States who have subscribed to the Confederation plan agreed to at the leaders' conference at Tananarive. No mention was made of Mr. Gizenga, the former head of the Stanleyville régime who is believed to have been deposed by Lundula.

The day had been declared a public holiday to mark President Kasavubu's triumphant return from Tananarive and 20,000 Congolese packed the Leopoldville streets to cheer a march past by 2,000 troops. Mr. Kasavubu and Mr. Ileo were joined on the saluting base by Mr. Mekki Abbas, of the Sudan, acting U.N. representative in the absence of Mr. Dayal in New York.

In Abidjan, President Felix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast announced that representatives of all independent African States had been invited to a conference on the Congo in Monrovia, Liberia, on April 8. The invitation had been signed by the Heads of State of Nigeria, Mali, Liberia, Cameroon and the Ivory coast.

At the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference in London, when the Congo was discussed, Sir Roy Welensky said that he did not agree in blaming the Belgians for the situation, but saw in it the dangers of warring tribalism and the growth of African imperialism.

In the House of Commons, during a debate on the Foreign Office, Mr. Tom Driberg, Labour, called for a censure of

British representatives in Leopoldville who, he said, had conducted "a bitter personal vendetta" against Mr. Dayal. The House approved the Government's decision to make grants towards the United Nations' civil and military operations in the Congo.

On Friday it was reported that 30 Europeans released from arrest by Congolese in Kivu Province had reached safety in Kindu. Thirty others remaining in the area were said to be terrorized by "leopard men". On Sunday a joint U.N. and Congolese force set out from Kindu to protect whites in Kivu Province from attacks.

The first detachment of 4,700 Indian troops assigned to the Congo—a unit of Gurkhas—were flown into Leopoldville by United States Air Force planes. An air lift for the entire contingent, lasting about three weeks, is planned, transportation by sea being excluded by the closure of the port of Matadi, from which the Congolese have ousted U.N. troops.

President Kasavubu said on Monday that the United Nations forces should withdraw "and let us solve our problems in our own way". They had been called in to bring peace but in fact had brought disorder.

General Mobutu said he would never allow U.N. troops to return to Matadi. As to the U.N. resolution calling for the withdrawal of Belgians, he said he had 14 Belgian military advisers, whom he knew as friends. "How can I accept an Indian as an officer when I do not even understand what he is talking about?" he asked. "Mr. Nehru has described me as a bandit. So how can one co-operate with these people?" He believed that General Lundula's troops were becoming disillusioned, and would rally to his side.

Many Killed in Angola

ABOUT 70 EUROPEANS are believed to have been killed in Northern Angola in a series of attacks by terrorists who came across the Congo border. Troops, reinforced from Lisbon, have moved into the area and are reported to have surrounded the terrorists. About 60 refugees have reached Luanda. The Portuguese Overseas Ministry stated in Lisbon that the attacks were provoked by agitators of "a terrorist organization with headquarters in a foreign territory neighbouring Angola".

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Big Investments in Federation

AN £18m. pipeline and oil refinery scheme and a 6m. industry which will be a large user of Kariba power are expected to come to the Federation soon, said the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Mr. Frank Owen, when he addressed the annual meeting of Salisbury Chamber of Industries.

No information is available about the new industry, but representatives of the Rover Motor Co., Ltd., have visited Salisbury recently in connexion with the possible establishment of an assembly plant for Land-rovers.

The Minister said that the total number of factories registered in Salisbury during 1960 was 846, an increase of 10% over the previous year. The main developments were a new brewery, a flour and maize mill, a high-class knitwear factory, and widespread expansion in the clothing industry. Main projects for 1961 were a vehicle assembly plant (Fords), a new cigarette factory (Rothmans of Pall Mall), and large-scale clothing enterprises and weaving and dyeing projects.

The contribution of manufacturing industry to the gross domestic product £27m. in 1954, was no less than £53m. in 1959.

A leading British industrialist, Dr. Robert Robson, had joined the staff of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to advise on the future of industrial development in the Federation, with particular emphasis on textiles, iron and steel. He was formerly adviser to the British Cotton Board and on the staff of the British Iron and Steel Board. He had been a buyer for one of the largest retail organizations in the U.K., and had represented the British Government in Washington, Geneva and Paris on various international economic organizations.

The new Government-backed Export Promotion Council was also giving valuable assistance to private enterprise. Every month, said Mr. Owen, about 200 Federal manufacturers were advised on export opportunities by the Federation's external trade representatives. Exports to East Africa and Mozambique exceeded £1m. last year, an increase of 46%, due in part to the appointment of trade commissioners in Nairobi and Lourenço Marques.

Mr. Owen concluded: "Instruct the buyers within your own organizations, to buy Federal or produce a good reason to you for not having done so, and check on the performance every month. The Government already does this. Make sure you follow suit".

Bandanga

BANDANGA, LTD., Nyasaland tea growers, report trading profits for the year ended September 30 last at £16,864 (£12,762), on which taxation of £5,350 is due. A dividend of 15% requires £5,880, the issued capital being £64,004 in shares of 5s. Fixed assets stand in the books at £77,252 and current assets less current liabilities at £14,292. The company, which has 681 acres in full bearing, manufactured 467,726 lb. of tea in the year to September 30, the yield per acre being 671 lb.; drought curtailed the outturn, which had averaged 748 lb. in the previous year. The f.o.b. cost averaged 21.05d. per lb. and the average net sale was 33.54d., compared with 30.13d. in the previous year. The directors are Mr. W. R. T. Picton-Warlow (chairman), Commander J. G. Arbuthnot, R.N. (Retd.), and Colonel D. G. Dickson.

National and Grindlays Bank

NATIONAL AND GRINDLAYS BANK, LTD., which has 49 branches and 31 sub-offices in East and Central Africa, reports a net profit for the year to December 31, 1960, of £479,276 after providing for taxation and contingencies, against £404,708 in 1959.

Dividends of 13½% take £277,706, and the balance forward is £308,058. The issued capital is £3,421,875 in shares of 15s. Current assets less current liabilities stand at £17m., interests in a subsidiary company at £12m., and fixed assets at £38m. During the year two new branches were opened in Northern Rhodesia and one each in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika.

The directors are Mr. J. K. Michie (chairman), Sir Toby Low and Mr. E. J. Mackenzie-Hay (deputy chairmen), Lord Colgrain, Lord Lloyd, Lord Twining, Sir H. G. Cooper, Sir Jeremy Raisman, and Messrs. T. T. K. Allan, N. W. Chisholm, Ronald Mann, A. M. McGrigor, E. H. Owen, and N. N. Wadia. The general manager is Mr. G. T. Gillespie and the deputy general manager Mr. H. D. Cayley.

Mr. Mitchell's statement appears on other pages.

Falcon Mines Report

FALCON MINES, LTD., report a profit for the year to September 30 last of £154,776 (£151,236). Dividends of 20% take £95,319, leaving £24,376 to be carried forward. The issued capital is £499,293 in shares of 5s. Fixed assets stand at just under £1½m. and current assets less current liabilities at £56,950.

The company owns the Dalny, Bay Horse, Sunace, and Falcon mines in Southern Rhodesia and the Mtuga copper claims in Northern Rhodesia, the main work being at Dalny, where there was a working profit of £161,980 and development expenditure of £65,441. The Mtuga property is under tribute and royalties received amounted to £7,281.

The directors are Messrs. F. L. Wigley (chairman), G. Abdinot, S. F. Dench, J. F. Ince, L. A. Jones, P. A. Jousse, and E. B. Papefus (alternate), T. C. O'Brien. There is a London Committee consisting of Messrs. H. R. Mitchell, W. Rees-Williams and Sir H. Robinson.

Extracts from the chairman's annual statement were published earlier.

London and Rhodesian

LONDON AND RHODESIAN MINING AND LAND CO., LTD., is to pay a final dividend of 4%, making 8% for the year against 7½% for 1959. Profit after meeting all charges, including taxation, was £48,835 (£61,699).

African Investment Trust

THE AFRICAN INVESTMENT TRUST, LTD., 27% of whose investments are in Rhodesia, reports a profit for the year to September 30 of £122,314 (£105,463), from which taxation liabilities of £42,893 have to be met. A 30% dividend requires £64,312. The balance forward is £30,818. Issued capital is £350,000 in shares of 10s. Investments standing in the books at £778,395 had a market value of £954,610, and current assets less current liabilities total £47,925. The directors are Messrs. S. K. Thorburn (chairman), A. H. Ball (managing director), J. N. Kieck, and J. A. Caldecott, with the Hon. A. J. B. Ogilvy and F. A. Butcher as alternates.



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Company Report

National and Grindlays Bank Limited

Larger Net Profit Reflects More Favourable Conditions

Dividend Increase Based on Hopeful Outlook

Success of Mutual Arrangement with Lloyds Bank

MR. J. K. MICHIE ON IMPORTANCE OF STABLE BANKING

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF NATIONAL AND GRINDLAYS BANK, LIMITED, will be held on April 11, 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 principal event in our record of 1960 is not reflected in the balance-sheet—the acquisition by us of the Eastern business and branches of Lloyds Bank, Limited, and as a part of that bargain the acquisition by Lloyds Bank, Limited, of just under 25% of our capital. This mutually agreeable arrangement was ratified by you at an extraordinary general meeting held on November 15, 1960. As you will see, it has added 19 to our list of branches, and, as will emerge, it means an increase of around £50 millions in the total of our next balance-sheet.

Another concomitant effect was the strengthening of our board by the addition on January 1 of Sir Jeremy Raisman and Lord Lloyd, appointments which fall to be confirmed at the annual general meeting. Sir Jeremy is deputy chairman of Lloyds Bank, and both are distinguished names in the realm of Commonwealth affairs. At the same time Mr. C. Gardner, chief manager of Lloyds Bank Eastern Department joined our executive staff as an assistant general manager, and Mr. R. J. S. Marsh as assistant manager.

Additional Strength Assured

A great deal of time and thought was given to preparation for this merger of interests, and your general manager, Mr. Gillespie, and I have just returned from tours much of which we did in concert, though his was the more comprehensive and strenuous. Our visits covered the principal branches of the combined Bank in India, Pakistan, and Aden. In addition Mr. Gillespie visited Ceylon.

Our journeys, although covering a wider field, were undertaken with the particular object of seeing that in every possible respect the merger should get off to a good start and that there should be no misunderstandings about our future policy in the minds of either our constituents or our staff.

I am glad to report that our impressions were without exception favourable. Our combined staffs have from the outset shown a most admirable team spirit, while our constituents appreciate that the merger means additional strength to the Bank.

There is too a realization in India and Pakistan that banking should be inherently as strong as possible, and this was reflected in expressions of approval of the merger made to us by many individuals including members of the banking fraternity.

To replace Mr. Lely, whose resignation took effect at the termination of the last annual general meeting,

we invited Mr. Neville Wadia, chairman of the Bombay Dyeing & Manufacturing Company, Limited, to join the board, which he did in June last. Mr. Wadia's family connexion with the Bank goes back two generations and dates from the earliest days of our branch in Bombay, and his wide knowledge of the economy generally and of the industry of India will be of great value to the board and to our managers in India. His appointment now falls to be confirmed by you at the annual general meeting, and I confidently recommend him.

Growth of Advances

The total of our consolidated balance-sheet at December 31, 1960 was £181,551,921—an increase of £18,516,333 over the previous year. The growing demand for finance in the territories in which we operate, the reasons for which I refer to later, has resulted in an increase in advances of just under £19 million. Current, deposit and other accounts are over £18 million higher, but this pressure of demand for seasonal finance has had the effect of reducing our liquidity ratio.

At £479,276 our net profit was £74,568 higher, reflecting the overall more favourable conditions for banking which obtained in our territories in 1960 in comparison with the previous year—which in turn showed an improvement over 1958.

Subject to necessary reservations in respect of East and Central Africa and Burma, this better climate for banking generally seems likely to continue, and as a consequence of this view we have increased our second interim dividend for 1960 from 6½% to 7%, making the total distribution for the year 14½%. Further, this action would not have been taken unless we had felt justified in promising to consolidate this rate of dividend. You can therefore expect, subject to no unpredictable contingency, to receive 14% on the increased capital for the current year.

National and Grindlays Finance and Development Corporation.—The net profit for the year was £10,152, the reduction being accounted for by the higher rates of interest paid on its borrowings from the Bank.

ASIA

India.—What particularly struck Mr. Gillespie and myself in our journeyings through India is the surge of industrialization which is going on, with, it seemed, increasing momentum. The reasons behind this expansion are all excellent and legitimate, and in most cases the capital in so far as cover for land, buildings and plant are concerned seems to be available.

But it is the provision of "working" capital to carry stocks and outstandings which to our minds poses a real difficulty, and unless more money can be found by or for the banking system, it seems to me it will be put under considerable strain within the next twelve months.

I know this aspect of the third five-year plan is appreciated by the Reserve Bank, which has already taken certain measures to increase the resources of the banks by the release of the special deposits which had been called for in March and May 1960 and by the extension of their Bill Market Scheme for the re-discounting of bills on behalf of banks, although on an escalator scale of interest.

The Reserve Bank has also taken steps to strengthen and thereby to increase confidence in banking in India generally — it having unfortunately suffered a setback last autumn. These steps include the merging of some of the smaller banks with stronger units, and the insurance of small deposits.

But somehow the hidden cash balances of India must be drawn into the banking system and through it put to work if the latest five-year plan is to be — as it must be — a success.

When it is realized that the total of bank deposits in all India at June 30, 1960 was only Rs. 1,946 crores, or £1,459,000,000 — or an average sum per capita estimated at Rs. 55 — it will be realized what the scope and the necessities are, and progress is painfully slow. The portents therefore are of a continuance of tight money conditions in the foreseeable future.

Naturally we are doing all we can to attract further deposits, but our branch system sets limits to our potential progress.

During 1960 India's external reserves fell by Rs. 68 crores to Rs. 319 crores.

The Reserve Bank rate remained at 4% throughout the year.

Tea has had a favourable experience somewhat marred by drought in Assam, though this was largely compensated by good crops in South India areas. Internal consumption continues to rise, and the reduction of the export duty by 17% announced in the 1961 budget should benefit exports by making Indian tea prices more competitive in world markets.

Jute manufacturers and shippers have had an exciting and difficult year caused by the tremendous rise in prices in India and Pakistan in October last consequent on the then disclosed shortage of raw jute. These conditions may well react to the detriment of the trade as a whole, for consumer countries will be apt to look for substitute materials rather than be at the mercy of such vagaries in cost.

Pakistan.—The impetus of President Ayub's administration continues to be felt and is reflected in a general feeling of confidence individually and nationally.

The major and much the most important work now in progress is the five rivers water scheme known as the Indus Basin Projects, with its tremendous potentials in extending agriculture and, by desalinization of land, improving it.

What I have already said about jute applies even more so to Pakistan, where the crop is comparatively a much bigger factor in her economy. The percentage of the crop consumed internally continues to grow.

For identical reasons the need for an expansion of bank deposits is at least as urgent as in India; indeed, the ratio of deposits to population is somewhat lower, but that may be in some degree a consequence of the traditional Muslim objection to accepting interest.

The State Bank rate has remained at 4%, and, as I have indicated, money is scarce and, relative to current bank lending rates, expensive.

External assets of the State Bank of Pakistan rose by Rs. 6 crores during the year.

Ceylon.—Both politically and financially Ceylon has had a disturbed year.

Two general elections have been held, the eventual result being a victory for Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Party.

Despite reasonably good prices for tea and rubber, although other exports were not so fortunate, Ceylon's external resources again fell during 1960 — by Rs. 207.6m. — to a figure of Rs. 481.2m., and drastic measures are now being taken to reverse this continued loss by restriction of imports and by raising the Central Bank rate to 4% from the previous inadequate basis of 2½%.

As I have said before, Ceylon's natural wealth is such that a commonsense economic policy followed consistently would soon put matters right, and it is hoped that neither panic nor discriminatory measures will be adopted and that the present penal rates of taxation will be moderated. For these are not the ways to attract foreign investors to the country or indeed to retain existing non-indigenous investment.

Mercantile Credit, Limited, the Colombo hire-purchase company in which this Bank has an interest, did an expanding business in 1960 and good results are expected. This year import and credit restrictions are almost certain to reduce the volume of trade covered by hire purchase.

Burma.—The pattern of events described last year has continued under U Nu's A.F.P.F.L. Party.

Burma's foreign exchange reserves rose during the first half of 1960 but were lower by £5½m. by the end of the year as a result of certain capital disbursements including a repayment to the International Monetary Fund. There was an increase of rice exports to 2,000,000 tons — which nevertheless is still only about 60% of pre-war figures. Increased internal consumption doubtless partly accounts for this disparity.

During 1960 the Government of Burma exercised its option to acquire an increased share of the capital of the internal oil industry now run as the Burma Oil Company (1954), Limited, and its holding is now 51%.

The attitude to foreign companies operating in Burma continues fundamentally unchanged although a recent Ministerial Mission to Europe has expressed the wish to encourage new capital to set up industries in the country. The two policies can hardly be said to run parallel.

Aden.—Lack of rain adversely affected the 1960 cotton crop, which fell below expectations. However, the prosperity of Aden very largely depends on the activity of the port as a bunkering centre and on the operation of the refinery. In the absence of labour troubles for most of the year, both were fully employed; in fact, the prompt handling of ships is now a pressing problem, which is to be met by new installations in the coming year.

Recently we opened another sub-branch in the Maalla area, bringing the total of our offices to five. We have also been given a licence to operate at Al-Ijtihad, the capital of the Federation of Arab Emirates of South Arabia, when this comes into being.

AFRICA

For once a generalization about the considerable area of the Continent of Africa in which we operate appears to be justified.

From the Somali Republic in the north to Southern Rhodesia in the south since I last addressed you the political scene has experienced, or is in the process of, radical change, and to such an extent that in several areas politics completely govern and overshadow economies.

Of necessity I am writing while an election under the Lancaster House Constitution is being held in Kenya; while the political future of Uganda is uncertain; and when a state of crisis exists in the affairs of both Southern and Northern Rhodesia and of the Federation as a whole. The present picture may well be altered by the time this is dispatched to you—I hope for the better.

East Africa High Commission

The High Commission territories of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, as you know, have a common currency and through the High Commission are linked in regard to Transport, Communications, Customs and Excise.

Under the leadership of Sir Jeremy Raisman a three-man commission recently reported on the working of the High Commission, and expressed the view that the present customs system under which Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika in effect form a common market is beneficial to all three territories and strongly recommended that it should be continued. They also recommend a redistribution between the territories of the income accruing to the High Commission.

The most serious aspect of the economic picture of this area, and which has arisen directly out of political uncertainties, is the emigration of European and Asian capital that has taken place over the past ten months. This is reflected in a substantial fall in bank deposits, accompanied by a tendency for advances to increase, while the overseas assets of all the banks fell sharply.

In September last the banks took steps to stem and reverse this movement by offering higher rates for deposits and by increasing their lending rates to a somewhat less extent, but, while the rate of erosion has slowed down, it has not yet ceased, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to see how the trade and commerce of the area will be financed unless some method is found for providing banks with additional funds and short-term money.

Last year, excepting the cotton crops of Uganda and Tanganyika, yields of the main agricultural products were excellent, although coffee prices continued to decline; but particularly in Kenya drought conditions have recently been prevalent, and that must put a further strain on the banking system. Budgets, too, are causing anxiety, for apart from other reasons the development of democratic forms of government is invariably found to be an expensive process.

In Zanzibar, I am glad to say, a sound policy of marketing its large stocks of cloves has been followed, and these are now down to manageable proportions.

Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.—Apart from politics, 1960 was a good year for Southern Rhodesia. The tobacco crop was excellent, and there was an increase in the value of minerals produced.

Similarly, Northern Rhodesia benefited from steady and remunerative copper prices.

The Federation again had a favourable balance of trade, which it is estimated will be over £50m. The Federal Government have just decided to ban the export of capital by residents of the Federation. Other classes are not affected.

The Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland rate was raised from 4½% to 5% in August, mainly to check the increasing demands on the banks for advances. In the circumstances we are pleased to have been able to maintain our business and to in-

In August last we opened Northern Rhodesia.

Republic of Somalia.—With

pendence to the Somaliland Protectorate, followed by its immediate union with Italian Somalia; our branches at Hargeisa and Berbera are now in the Republic of Somalia.

The currency of the old Protectorate is still the East African shilling, and our branches act as agents for the East Africa Currency Board. The shilling is, however, being withdrawn during the next few months and replaced by the Somali. The activities of our branches have not been affected by the political changes, and last year's results were satisfactory.

GENERAL

While it is apparent from what I have written that all is by no means plain sailing, it is also true to say that your board and management do not take a pessimistic view of our future. Otherwise we should neither have increased our dividend nor have increased the number of our branches and sub-branches from 94 to the present total of 141 in a period of just over a year.

We continue to believe that, whatever the political future, sound banking is a necessity to economic life, and it is that which we aim to provide. Indeed, I agree with those who argue that sound economics backed by a stable banking system is a necessary background to any country and any Government and should have a high priority.

What continues to puzzle me in regard to this country, and I am sure causes concern in many minds, is our apparent inability to achieve a worthwhile favourable balance of trade in spite of what is to all intents and purposes full employment. It is all very well to argue that the British people prefer "the good life" to a higher level of savings, but in the world of today the problem by no means ends there. We must either have more money to invest abroad, to lend to our Commonwealth friends, and particularly to emerging nations or see our influence and our trade with them steadily wane.

Cold War Becoming Economic

We incline to claim that we are a special repository of wisdom on international affairs and that others have always been glad to have our counsel, but I feel that would be a more valid argument were we to prove ourselves more successful and more able to help them financially. There is much in the Russian claim that the cold war is now becoming an economic one.

Finally, our staff—and that includes those we have recently absorbed—have given and are giving us enthusiastic and loyal service, and that applies from our general manager right down the line.

When Mr. Gillespie and I were recently on tour we took occasion to meet as many of the staff as was possible, and I hope that the friendly exchanges we had—*inter alia* with our union officials—will bear good fruit.

Commercial advertising in the African Service of the Federal Broadcasting Corporation will start in a few months.

The first official estimate of the current season's crop of flue-cured tobacco in Rhodesia is estimated at about 250m lb., compared with last year's record output of 218m lb.

The city engineer of Bulawayo reports that building development now in progress in that city is worth about £2½m. He expects building contracts worth another £1m to be placed within the next four or five months.

on
1960,
year,
work

Company Report

The British South Africa Company

Canadian Land Project Outlined

Stake in the Federation Represents Over 55% of Investment Portfolio

LORD ROBINS ON CONDITIONS IN THE FEDERATION

THE SIXTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY was held on March 16 at The Chartered Insurance Institute, 20 Aldermanbury, London, E.C.2.

COLONEL THE LORD ROBINS, K.B.E., D.S.O., the President of the company, presided. He said:—

I am very pleased to lay before you today the report and accounts of The British South Africa Company Group for the year ended September 30, 1960, and the statement which was issued therewith.

Since that statement was written we have suffered a severe loss in the death of our close friend and colleague, Mr. Comar Wilson, who died on February 14. Mr. Wilson had been intimately connected with this Company in Rhodesia and South Africa even before he joined the board, especially in the development of the Copperbelt, and all of us valued highly his great personal qualities, his sound judgment, and the charm which endeared him to everyone with whom he came into contact.

We have elected Mr. Keith Courtney Acutt, C.B.E., a deputy chairman of the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Limited, who will succeed Mr. Wilson in London, to be a member of our board, and you will be asked to confirm that appointment.

I promised to bring up to date the paragraphs in our report which deal with certain investment projects.

Land Investment in Canada

I mentioned briefly in the statement circulated with the directors' report the negotiations on which we were engaged at that time with a view to making a long-term investment in land development in British Columbia. I am now able to give you details of this project.

Our partners in this enterprise are the Grosvenor-Laing Group, who have already been responsible for large-scale real estate development in Western Canada and elsewhere, and whose knowledge and experience commended them to us as highly desirable partners if a suitable project should arise which could form the basis of a substantial investment. Early last year Grosvenor-Laing informed us of plans which were under consideration for developing a certain area in the Surrey Municipality near New Westminster, British Columbia, about 15 miles from Vancouver. This area had already been examined by their experts, who recommended that it should be acquired as the nucleus of what should ultimately become a new garden city with shopping centre, community centre, residential and business sections, and other amenities. Careful examination was made here of these plans and further conversations were held with the Grosvenor-Laing directors in Vancouver as well as in London, as a result of which it was decided to proceed with a development

scheme on a partnership basis. The terms of that partnership are satisfactory to both Grosvenor-Laing and to our own group.

Approximately 140 acres of land have been purchased, and the initial outlay is of the order of \$1,000,000. We have been fortunate in being able to finance this project through the acquisition of the controlling interest in a listed Canadian company. Development expenditure will be spread over a period of years. We expect that this will amount to another \$5,000,000 or \$6,000,000, and we shall have no difficulty in meeting this commitment as and when it arises; but it is unlikely that any considerable expenditure will have to be met before 1963.

It is essentially a long-term investment, of which we have the highest hopes; and we have every confidence in the ability of our partners to plan and execute the development successfully.

Rand Selection Corporation

With regard to our new association in Rand Selection Corporation, Limited, I need only say that the requisite arrangements have been duly confirmed by the shareholders of that corporation, and that our group has been allotted four seats on the reconstituted board. Mr. Harry Oppenheimer is the chairman and I am the deputy chairman. A London Committee, on which our group will be well represented, will be set up shortly under my chairmanship.

Investment Policy

There has been some criticism recently in the Rhodesian Press and Parliament that the British South Africa Company Group was not investing its money in the Federation, from which source its main income is drawn. I feel that stockholders and the public should know the facts.

Briefly, then, at March 1, 1961, investments in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, including property interests, amounted at that date to a book value of £29,396,000, or 55.12% of a total investment portfolio of £53,334,000. That figure does not, of course, take account of the very considerable sums which the group continues to disburse annually on prospecting in Northern Rhodesia, which between 1955 and 1960 amounted to nearly £1,500,000; nor does it include the contributions continually made to public, educational, and philanthropic causes in the Federation — contributions which, since they earn no interest, must be classified as investments in the future welfare and prosperity of those territories.

As a matter of interest, I would add that the group's investments in the Union of South Africa stood at March 1, 1961, at a book value of £13,159,000, or

24.67% of the portfolio. Investments in Canada stood at £3,413,000, or 6.4%; in Australasia, at £788,000, or 1.48%; in the United Kingdom and other countries at £3,211,910, or 6.02%; and in the United States at £3,363,000, or 6.31%, the last-mentioned being investments held solely by the Rhodesia Railways Trust.

Mining

I reported in my statement circulated with the directors' report that production of copper for the year ended September 30, 1960, had exceeded 560,000 tons. In the four months to the end of January, 1961, production totalled 173,000 tons, which is at a rate of 10% lower than the previous year. As there has also been a fall in the price of metals, the decline in mineral revenues is somewhat heavier, from £3,744,000 to £3,216,000.

I have just recently returned from the visit to the Federation which I mentioned in my statement. The country is enjoying a most satisfactory rainy season. Everywhere the *veld* looks green, and ranchers and dairymen are happy. The maize and tobacco crops are excellent, dams are filling satisfactorily, planting conditions for forestry have been favourable; indeed, it was hard to find a farmer who had a complaint to offer.

The only cloud over the country is the political situation. It is not too much to say that progress has been slowed down. Investment of capital from outside has virtually ceased, and business enterprise of every description is being adversely affected by the uncertainties which exist, particularly with regard to the future constitutional set-up in Northern Rhodesia. The territorial Governments have taken prudent action to ensure the preservation of law and order, with the co-operation of the Federal authorities who control the

local military forces, and there seems no reason to expect any serious disturbances or dislocation of the normal trend of life.

Distrust of U.K. Government

That we shall be treated to a good deal of oratory of an inflammatory nature is certain, but I am convinced that the rank and file of the African population dislike agitation and want settled conditions and freedom to do their work and live their lives without intimidation.

Among the European population, and indeed among moderate Africans, the really disturbing feature is the prevailing distrust of the United Kingdom Government. Most welcome was the success which Mr. Sandys achieved in his constitutional discussions in Southern Rhodesia, as a result of which an agreement based on principles accepted by all races will be submitted to the public in a referendum to be held within a few weeks' time.

With regard to Northern Rhodesia, uncertainties still continue, and there is a strong feeling of suspicion that, in its haste to placate a noisy group of extreme nationalist politicians, the United Kingdom Government will let down the moderate Rhodesians of all races who have been entirely responsible for the progress of the territory and on whom its future prosperity depends.

I am glad to say that the company's affairs are being most efficiently handled by the general manager and his officials, and I found a happy atmosphere everywhere I went, on our estates and in our offices and among our employees, white and black.

The report and accounts were adopted.

The retiring directors, Mr. M. F. Berry and Viscount Malvern, P.C., C.H., K.C.M.G., were re-elected, and the appointment to the board of Mr. K. C. ACUTT, C.B.E., was confirmed.

Company Report

The Messina (Transvaal) Development Co., Ltd.

(Incorporated in the Union of South Africa)

Considerably Improved Trading Results

Long-Term Prospects Viewed with Confidence

COMMANDER H. F. P. GRENFELL'S REVIEW OF OPERATIONS

THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF MEMBERS OF THE MESSINA (TRANSVAAL) DEVELOPMENT COMPANY, LIMITED, was held in Johannesburg on March 16, 1961.

COMMANDER H. F. P. GRENFELL, D.S.C., R.N. (Retd.), Chairman of the company, presided.

The Chairman addressed the meeting as follows:—

Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to welcome you once again to the annual general meeting of your company and, on behalf of the board of directors, to present for your approval their report and the audited accounts of your company for the financial year ended September 30, 1960. With your permission I propose to take these as read. (Agreed.)

The Copper Market

Before reviewing our year's operations, I will deal

briefly with conditions and prospects in the copper market as these have a direct effect on the prosperity of your company.

As we have seen so often in the past, the market is extremely susceptible not only to strikes within the industry itself, but also to political and economic events generally throughout the world, and in this respect the past twelve months have proved no exception.

At this time last year the supply pipelines between the producers and the consumers of copper had been appreciably drained as a result of the series of strikes in the United States, which began in the summer of 1959 and continued until March 1960. The view was also expressed at that time that with the return to normal working in the steel industry, business activity in the United States might reach a record level during the year.

In the event this did not materialize, and once the pipelines were again full and buyers were able to replenish their stocks, the effect of the industry's greater productive capacity began to be increasingly felt. Although from time to time there were sporadic rallies caused by uneasiness over the situation in the Congo and the threat of further labour troubles in Chile, the overall trend of prices was downwards for the latter part of our financial year.

As regards the current year, the position is that there is still a potential surplus of production over consumption — a situation that is aggravated at present by the low level of business activity in the United States. A number of the major producers have, however, recently announced cuts in their production, and it is to be hoped that these will be effective in stabilizing prices at levels reasonable to both sides of the industry.

Looking to the future, it is clear that the political and economic changes now taking place in the underdeveloped areas in the world must eventually secure a higher standard of living for many millions of people. This fact alone must surely result in an increasing demand for copper and other commodities, and I continue to take a confident view of the long term prospects of your Company.

The Year's Results

As forecast in my speech last year, the results submitted to you today show a considerable improvement on those for the previous year. The net profit of the group after providing for taxation was £1,594,840 — an increase of over £500,000, to which must be added a profit of £164,757 derived from the sale of investments and the redemption of Loan Stock, making a total of £1,759,597.

Of this, the profit attributable to your company was £1,645,656, including £462,850 received by way of Mangula dividends. This enabled your directors to declare dividends amounting to £1,083,500 compared with £756,500 the previous year, and to transfer £500,000 to reserves, while unappropriated profits of £67,248 have been carried forward to next year.

Operational Activities

Turning now to the operational activities of our group, there is nothing unusual to report from Messina, although you will have noticed that there has once again been a small increase in ore reserves despite the year's production of well over 900,000 tons.

Working costs increased from 31s. 11d. to 33s. 4d. per long ton of ore produced, but I hope this is only a temporary increase as it is mainly due to a change in accounting procedure relating to the provision for contingent annual leave pay and bonuses. The cost per long ton of recoverable copper was £130, which compares with £124 for the previous year.

To meet the growing demands on our power plant, we have found it necessary to increase its capacity by the installation of an additional five-megawatt turbo alternator. This should be in commission by the end of the calendar year, and I hope it will meet the needs of both mine and township for the foreseeable future.

We are also extending the mine railway to Artonvilla to enable larger tonnages to be brought in monthly from that section and to reduce the cost of haulage. This railway should be in operation by the end of the financial year.

In October last year the liquidator of the Northern Transvaal (Messina) Copper Exploration, Limited,

offered for sale by public tender the mining lease and claims owned by that company. These are situated between six and ten miles from Messina on the same fault that runs through our own property and are shown on the plan enclosed with this year's report.

Our tender was accepted by the liquidator, and we are now reclaiming the shaft and underground workings and have put in hand a general prospecting campaign on the property. I hope to be able to give you more details of this new acquisition at our next meeting.

I am glad to be able to conclude my remarks on Messina by reporting to you once again that our labour supply, both European and African, remains satisfactory, and that we continue to enjoy excellent relations with all our employees. Indeed, this happy state of affairs applies throughout all the mines in our group, and remains an outstanding feature of our organization.

Southern Rhodesian Interests

Turning now to our interests in Southern Rhodesia, I begin with Umkondo, where the removal of the overburden from the opencast workings has been completed. As a result it may be expected that working costs will be much reduced during the remainder of the mine's life. You will recall that originally it was only anticipated that the life of this property would be between five and six years. The mine has already been in operation for this length of time and the available ore reserves are gradually being exhausted. Unless further ore is discovered, which seems unlikely at present, the remaining life of the mine cannot be expected to be more than about two years.

At Alaska the new smelter began producing high-grade fire-refined copper in December. I had hoped that it would have been in operation by the end of the financial year, but delays were caused by late deliveries of equipment, and also by an explosion which occurred while testing the waste heat boiler, and resulted, I am sorry to say, in the death of one of our employees.

However, although there are still a few teething troubles to be overcome, I am glad to report that the plant is now operating reasonably well, and regular consignments of copper are being shipped overseas. Present indications are that the new "M.R.S.R." brand will be every bit as acceptable to consumers as our own "M.T.D." brand of copper.

Due partly to the delays to which I have referred, and partly to increased costs incurred by improvements in design incorporated since our estimates were originally made, capital expenditure at the smelter has increased by about £275,000 as compared with the original estimate. Arrangements have been made for the additional funds required to be provided by way of loans from the parent Company and M.T.D. Mangula, Limited.

The news from the Alaska mine is a little disappointing. Serious delays in the delivery of plant for the mill has meant that the mine will only be brought into operation at the end of this month. It is expected to produce approximately 2,600 long tons of copper a year in the form of concentrates which will be smelted and refined at the new smelter, and will provide a useful increase in the total production of your company.

Production Target Achieved

At Mangula both mills were in operation for a full year for the first time, and our original production target of 11,500 long tons of recoverable copper was achieved. The net profit amounted to £923,485 — an

increase of over £500,000 as compared with the previous year.

Last year I reported a reduction in working costs from 27s. 8d. to 25s. 3d. per short ton of ore treated. I am glad to say that this figure has now been further reduced to 20s. 5d., for which great credit is due to the resident manager, Mr. Wilson, and all his staff and employees.

After allowing for the increased ore production at an average monthly rate of 94,000 short tons, the end of the year showed a slight increase in ore reserves, while deep drilling from the surface disclosed payable ore over appreciable widths at a depth of 1,750 feet.

In the Noah area the development to which I referred last year is continuing from the new Harry shaft and ore of good grade has been encountered, while production has already begun on a limited scale from the Brian shaft.

At Silverdale re-sampling of the old workings has indicated approximately 300,000 tons of predominantly oxide ore averaging 2.18% copper, and a programme of underground development on two levels is now in hand.

Meanwhile we are actively engaged in exploration work elsewhere on the property, and our geophysical and geochemical campaigns have disclosed some interesting anomalies in several areas which will be tested by diamond drilling at a later date. All in all I think we have every reason to be well satisfied at the way things are going at Margula.

Sanyati Property

I had hoped to be able to present you this year with plans for the exploitation of our property at Sanyati, where our programme of underground development from the Bradfield shaft is still in progress. However, I cannot do so for the following reasons:

First, it appears from results to date that although the tonnage of ore reserves may be substantially greater, the grade may be somewhat lower than originally estimated. Second, the ore bodies have been found to occur in highly folded and structurally complex rocks, so that they are therefore very irregular in shape and "clean" mining is unlikely to be possible. It is therefore only prudent to assume that the mill grade may be appreciably lower than the ore reserve grade. Third, the prices of copper, lead and zinc are, at present, considerably lower than they were when we first took over the property.

Political Factors

There is still another factor which cannot be ignored in present circumstances, and that is the political situation, not only in The Federation but in the whole of Southern Africa. The present time is one of doubts and uncertainties, and until these are resolved and confidence in the future is restored, the raising of capital for a project such as this would be difficult, if not impossible.

Consideration of all these factors brings us to the conclusion that it would be unwise at present to make definite plans to bring Sanyati into production.

I appreciate that what I have said may sound rather depressing, but, in the light of my remarks last year, I wanted to acquaint you fully with our present ideas. However, I would emphasize that these are only provisional thoughts based on development results from the 200ft. horizon, and that further work in depth could well change for the better the underground picture. Similarly, higher prices for copper, lead and zinc would have a material effect on the economics of the propo-

sition, while it is surely not too much to hope that with restraint and good will on all sides some measure of stability may soon be restored to the political scene.

Risco

My review of our interests in Southern Rhodesia would not be complete this year without a reference to The Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company, in which we have a substantial holding. You may remember that following the formation of the company in 1957, the directors of RISCO immediately put in hand a £9m. development programme designed to modernize and greatly increase the capacity of the plant.

With the blowing in of No. 3 blast furnace last month this programme has almost been completed — nearly twelve months ahead of schedule — and for the first time Southern Rhodesia has an iron and steel undertaking capable of operating on an economic basis.

This year the output of iron from the three blast furnaces will amount to about 300,000 tons. Of this total approximately 100,000 tons will be absorbed in the steel-making plant, while the balance will be shipped overseas in the form of pig iron under contracts already concluded to the end of March 1962, and will thus be a valuable new addition to the country's export trade.

Contracts have already been placed for a new programme of general extensions to the works, while plans are being prepared for further increasing the output of the steel-making plant to meet the growing needs of the Federation.

You will realize from what I have said that RISCO today is a very live and progressive concern, and I have no doubt that our stake in it will prove to be a valuable investment.

Senior Staff Appointments

This brings me to the end of my review, but before closing I want to refer to several changes in senior staff appointments which have been made since the close of our financial year.

On October 31 Mr. P. O'B. Frost, who had been our general manager for the past 13 years, retired from this position and at our invitation joined the board of directors. His great experience, which extends over 42 years with the company, will be as invaluable on the board as it was when he was general manager, and in terms of the company's articles of association you will be asked to re-elect him at this meeting.

Our new general manager is Mr. W. I. Spence, who has occupied various senior positions with the company since he joined our organization in 1951. Mr. Spence was a conspicuous success as the first resident manager at Umkondo, and for the last five years has occupied a similar position at Messina. I am confident that he will be equally successful as our general manager.

Consequent upon Mr. Spence's appointment, we have selected Mr. C. H. Irwin as resident manager at Messina. Mr. Irwin, who was our underground manager at Messina for ten years, has latterly been assistant manager there, and I am sure he will carry out his new responsibilities with efficiency and distinction.

In conclusion, it only remains for me to express on behalf of the board and myself — and I am sure on your behalf also — our thanks to Mr. Frost, who was general manager throughout the past year, and to all our staff and employees wherever they may be, for their loyalty and hard work during the year.

The directors' report and balance sheet and accounts for the year ended September 30, 1960, were adopted.

Company Report

The Imperial Tobacco Company (of Great Britain and Ireland), Limited

Chairman's Review at Annual General Meeting

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE IMPERIAL TOBACCO COMPANY (OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND), LIMITED, was held in Bristol on March 21. The following are extracts from the chairman's statement to the stockholders.

Trading Results

The parent company's trading profit was £1,172,323 lower at £17,400,070. The average cost of leaf used was higher last year than in the previous year, and our expenditure on sales promotion was greater. There were also increases in wages and salaries and in packing material prices. Depreciation and interest on borrowed money were higher by £367,497 and £235,910 respectively.

The dividends and interest from subsidiary companies and from trade investments totalled £8,093,432, an increase of £1,156,861 over the previous year.

The total profit for the year was virtually the same as for the previous year. We have transferred the sum of £4,750,000 to general reserve, and we are proposing a dividend on the ordinary stock at the same rate as last year. The total revenue reserves of the group have been increased by £7,305,436.

New Machinery and Packings

During the past year we installed a considerable number of Molins Mark VIII cigarette-making machines, and the programme of re-equipping our factories with these new machines is continuing. We are satisfied that the Mark VIII, which incorporates an entirely new process of tobacco-rod formation, produces better-made cigarettes than any other machine.

Player's Medium Navy Cut cigarettes were first sold in May, 1900, and to mark their diamond jubilee, Player's introduced last year a new 20s flip-top carton. Smokers of this brand, which for so many years has had the largest sales in its price class, now have the choice of two types of 20s carton. W. D. & H. O. Wills also introduced their Capstan cigarettes in a similar type of carton with a new design. This new packing was at first confined to Scotland, where Capstan is the largest selling brand of cigarettes. It has recently been made available throughout the United Kingdom.

In the principal lower price class Wills' Woodbines continue to be by far the largest seller, while Player's Weights remain very popular in London and the South. In the tipped cigarette trade Player's Bachelor is the market leader, and Wills' Bristol is a very progressive brand.

Amalgamation of Branches

We have recently amalgamated our W. A. & A. C. Churchman, Lambert & Butler and Edwards, Ringer & Bigg Branches into one organization—the Churchman, Lambert and Ringer Branch—with headquarters in Ipswich. Our object is to reinforce the manufacturing skill and traditions of these three old-established houses with the advantages of a larger sales organization.

Gift to Employees

It has for many years been our practice to make an annual gift to employees over and above their normal salaries and wages in recognition of continuing loyal and willing service. This year the gift will be 12½% of earnings in the year ended October 31, 1960.

Pension Fund

The financial strength of the company's pension fund has made possible substantial improvements in benefits

without any increase in contributions. Existing pensions have been increased by varying amounts, the increase depending on the date of retirement, with the biggest increases going to those who have been on pension longest. Improvements have also been made in benefits for those who have not yet retired.

The pension fund has 23,000 contributing members, and it is paying pensions which will now amount to nearly £1,500,000 per annum to 6,500 pensioners.

Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

As long ago as 1907 this company set up a leaf-buying organization in Nyasaland, and 20 years later it started a similar organization in Southern Rhodesia. From small beginnings the tobacco-growing industry in Central Africa has expanded until it has not only become an important source of supply for the United Kingdom but also provides the largest agricultural export from the Federation; in recent years this company's annual expenditure on leaf tobacco bought at auction sales at Salisbury and Limbe has exceeded £10,000,000.

The company's investment in Africa has grown over the years, and we have invested considerable sums not only in our leaf-handling plants and in forestry estates to grow the timber for casks, but also on modern villages for our African employees.

Our capital investment in the Federation now amounts to some £3,000,000, which includes expenditure of some £600,000 on the African housing schemes. We can thus claim that we have played a not insignificant part both in the economic development of the country and in the social advancement of its people.

Whatever the pattern of the future, we shall do what we can to ensure that the tobacco-growing industry in Rhodesia and Nyasaland continues to develop, and we shall continue to show our concern for the welfare and advancement of both the Europeans and the Africans whom we employ.

Tobacco Duty

The full rate of tobacco duty in the United Kingdom is now £3 4s. 6d. per lb. and is the equivalent of about 3s. on a packet of 20 Player's Medium cigarettes retailing at 4s. 1d., and of just under 2s. 4d. on 20 Woodbines retailing at 3s. 2d.

Whereas the tobacco duty provided about 21% of the national revenue from indirect taxation in 1939, it will provide about 31% in the current fiscal year. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is now relying for nearly 14% of the total national revenue—direct and indirect—on the taxation of one single commodity.

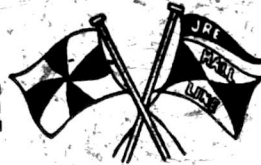
In the case of purchase tax the Government has already taken some action to reduce discrimination against certain classes of goods. Yet the tobacco duty is equivalent to a purchase tax of nearly 400%—nearly eight times the highest rate of purchase tax.

Prospects for the Current Year

Although there are some encouraging features, I would not be justified at this time in predicting that our sales for the year will show an increase. Some costs will be higher. Our income from trade investments is likely to be greater. Taking everything into consideration, I see no reason to expect that we shall not be able to maintain the rate of ordinary dividend after making adequate transfers to reserves.

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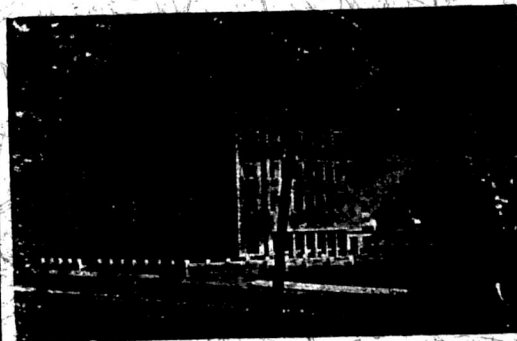
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