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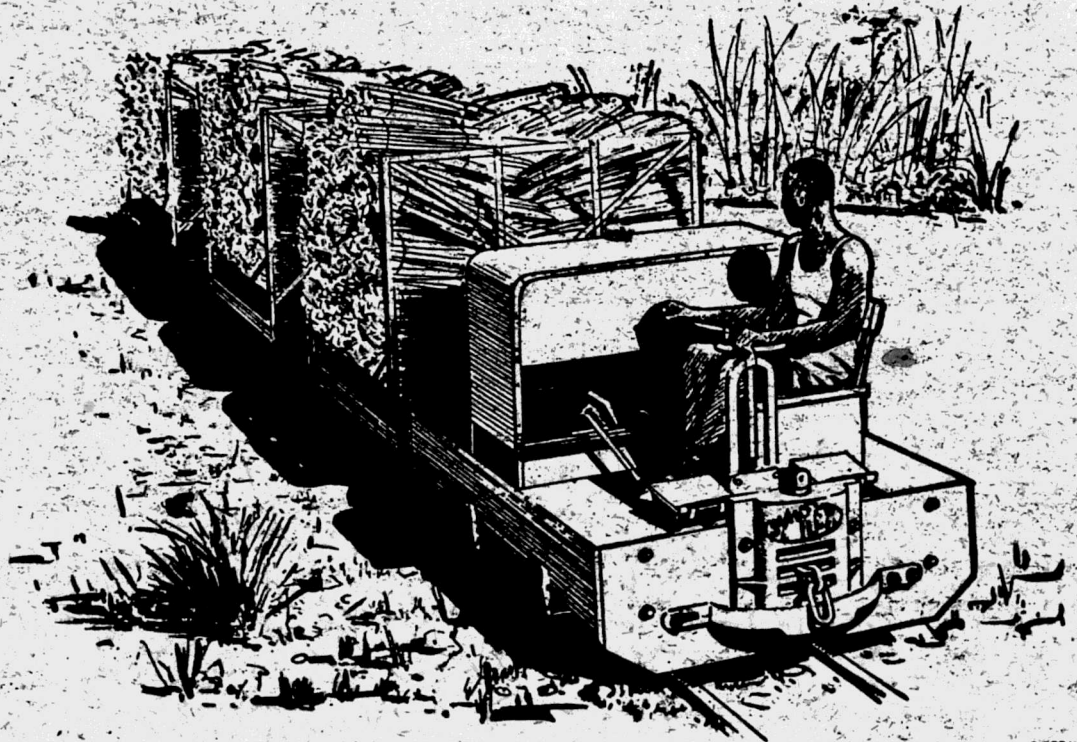
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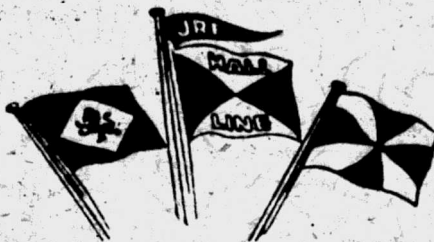
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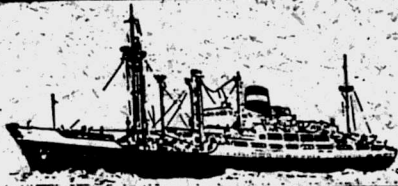
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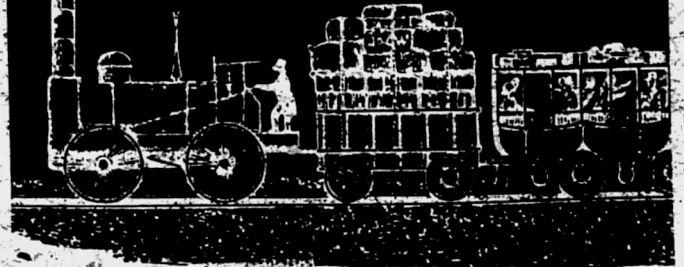
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1963

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

MR. BUTLER, helped by an uncritical Press in the United Kingdom which is deplorably prone to accept the ever-changing views of Ministers, has encouraged the public to believe that by his tact and diplomacy he succeeded during his visit to the Federation in diverting the attention of the African nationalist leaders from politics to economics. We do not share that comfortable delusion. The pan-African misleaders of their people will, of course, be rudely awakened in due time by the harsh realities of the financial, economic and social pressures which will be the inevitable consequences of the political follies in which they have been encouraged by United Kingdom politicians of all parties, and by none so reprehensibly as by the Macmillan Administration since the ominous wind-of-change speech in Cape Town just three years ago. Meantime, however, the Bandas, Kaundas and Nkomos remain bemused by the Nkrumah doctrine that all else will be added if they seek the political kingdom. That they are doing, and it is therefore quite safe to suggest that such encouragement as Mr. Butler may have received from fervent pan-Africans is diplomatic and temporary, not basic.

As recently as last summer Mr. Butler urged a gathering which included leading financiers controlling vast investments in Africa to continue to support industrial and other developments in the Federation in the confidence that the United Kingdom Government stood behind them, his actual words being: "Put your money into the Federation; we will be behind you". The true test of Mr. Butler's success or failure in Federal matters is to compare that pronouncement of July 10, 1962—which no

body would now believe—with his carefully contrived but unconsoling statement in the House of Commons last week. There was not a word on the main issues—of the United Kingdom Government's treachery to the Federal Government; of its series of broken pledges; of the unilateral promise to Nyasaland that it may secede, despite the agreement when the Federation was created that no territory might withdraw except with the unanimous consent of the member States; of the certainty that the unprincipled appeasement of Dr. Banda would promptly produce from Mr. Kaunda a demand that Northern Rhodesia should be similarly treated. Mr. Butler naturally wished the House to forget the disgracefully deceptive dealings with the Federal Government and these other discreditable transactions; and he beguiled M.P.s for the moment, though what he offered had no sort of relation to his ebullience seven months ago. The cry then was "Attack!" Now it is "Salvage what you can".

A Socialist speaker expressed admiration of Mr. Butler a few weeks ago for his "ability to slide off in opposite directions at the same time without any apparent feeling of inconsistency", perhaps because he is "made of ectoplasm". Rhodesians, who are robust specimens of humanity even in their politics, do not appreciate ectoplasmic contradictions, and they will not accept with complacency a report which brought no protests from the House of Commons. The Minister's statement contained five somewhat similar passages worth noting: (1) "I was encouraged to find a widespread disposition to think constructively about future association of the territories"; (2) "I have sensed a movement of opinion which holds promise for the future"; (3) "I noticed a disposition on the

Commons.

Government stood behind them, his actual words being: "Put your money into the Federation; we will be behind you". The true test of Mr. Butler's success or failure in Federal matters is to compare that pronouncement of July 10, 1962—which no

part of the Northern Rhodesian Government to be ready to discuss at least economic links with the South, and I think that that is important"; (4) "A constructive point of view about a future association is expressed in varying degrees by all the Governments concerned; that is a distinct advance on anything we have met yet"; (5) "The Governments would prefer to prepare for a conference rather than launch into a conference which might not be successful through lack of preparation". Those five passages put together mean only that, given a great deal of good fortune, the crash will not be as bad as pessimists (or realists) predict. Yet even that cold comfort was qualified by Mr. Butler's reminder that "we still have difficult and intricate problems in Central Africa"—problems, we add, which have been entirely produced by a flabby, faithless Government in the United Kingdom.

Having capitulated to Dr. Banda on the political front, Mr. Butler had obviously to seek economic compensations, of which incomparably the best would have been a clear

Target of the Pan-Africans.

statement from Mr. Winston Field, Southern Rhodesia's new Prime Minister, that his Government wanted only economic association with its neighbours. That Mr. Butler will have done all in his power to obtain such an assurance is certain. That he failed is evident, for otherwise it would have been made the chief point in his report. Of course he found many people, white and black, who would prefer economic association to mutually damaging isolationism. Equally certainly, some of the people in Northern Rhodesia who spoke in that sense, and assuredly the pan-Africans, meant only that they would accept a continuation of economic association if that was the price to be paid for independence at a fairly early date, with the reservation that they would then set themselves to destroy a European-dominated Government in Southern Rhodesia. They will not have confided these thoughts to Mr. Butler, but he cannot doubt that, as an African Government in Tanganyika concentrated its efforts to help pan-African agitators in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, so Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland under African Ministers will make Southern Rhodesia their immediate target. Not one M.P. interjected a word to remind Mr. Butler and the House that this must be the consequence of H.M. Government's disastrous policy.

On Monday next the House of Lords is to discuss the pledges given at the time of

Federation by such senior Cabinet Ministers as Lord Salisbury, Lord Swinton, Lord Chandos, and Lord Boyd, and since deliberately broken again and again, especially

White Paper on Broken Pledges.

by Mr. Macmillan himself, Mr. Macleod, the most disastrous Colonial Secretary in living memory, and latterly Mr. Butler (with the connivance of their Cabinet colleagues). For years the debates on African subjects in the Upper House have been far more candid than those in the Commons (which has not yet arranged to debate either these broken pledges or Mr. Butler's visit). When the Government was asked just before Christmas for a White Paper containing the text of the pledges, Mr. Butler pleaded for time for consideration, and even last week he still professed not to have decided. Yet days before he spoke in that sense in the House EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA was aware of private conversations in which he mentioned publication of such a White Paper. Our guess is that it will be published this week — not from any desire to be candid even belatedly, but because the very blunt speeches to be expected in the Lords debate will be even sharper if the country has still not been told of the explicit promises given when the foundations of the Federation were being laid, promises for which three former Secretaries of State, each personally concerned at the time, have vouched in confirmation of Sir Roy Welensky's well justified protests.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies, who will leave London this afternoon for Nairobi, faces the unenviable task of imposing his own decisions in fundamental aspects of Kenya's new Constitution about which African

Passed to Mr. Sandys.

Ministers have wrangled for months without reaching agreement or compromise. The second Kenya Constitutional Conference at Lancaster House left such gaps in the constitutional "framework" which was then accepted by both K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. after two months of talk under Mr. Maudling's guidance that discussions in the Council of Ministers of the Colony have continued ever since. Since Mr. Malcolm MacDonald became Governor he has called almost daily meetings, and sometimes two sessions a day, in order to reduce to the minimum the points on which Mr. Sandys must adjudicate. Though the leaders of the two political parties have undertaken to accept the Secretary of State's ruling on issues which they had failed to solve before his arrival, there is an obvious

likelihood that either party, or perhaps both of them, may complain bitterly about his decisions—if only for electioneering purposes. Controversy, if it results, will not necessarily be reasonable or sincere. However tactful Mr. Sandys may prove to be on this occasion—and he would not wish to be ranked with those of his Cabinet colleagues who are rated as too clever by half—and however wise his verdicts on the problems left for his judgment, he will need the sympathy of knowledgeable people, for the points of disagreement between the African leaders concern such vital questions as the extent and the financing of that system of regionalism which remains the big bone of contention between K.A.D.U., its champions, and K.A.N.U., its disparagers.

Kenya, it is already clear, will have one of the most complicated Constitutions in the world. That makes it the more important to eliminate all ambiguities from the text, inevitably a mammoth

Cash in Kenya Politics.

document, and to avoid any provision which might enable the Kenyatta-Odinga-Mboya party to break pledges given to K.A.D.U. if K.A.N.U. should win the general election in the middle of this year. That party, though now less confident of victory than it was in the autumn, has still strong hope, which some of its brash spokes-

men admit to be based on the money which it has received from external sources. Mr. Odinga has openly boasted for a couple of years of the large payments which he has had from China, and responsible people in Kenya, including senior officials, estimate that K.A.N.U. has obtained from behind the Iron Curtain not less than £150,000, and perhaps as much as £250,000. In addition, funds are known to have been sent from the United States, from European countries, and from independent African States. Everyone with experience of Africa is aware that quite small inducements can buy support from African electors, and that many men of considerable influence in political and trade union circles are ready, and indeed eager, to do for modest but regular subventions almost whatever their paymasters may wish. The situation would be thoroughly bad even if the other party had approximately equivalent resources. That, however, has not been the situation at any time, K.A.N.U. being opulent while K.A.D.U. has always lacked funds, at times even enough to pay essential travelling and clerical expenses for a very modest establishment. That that penury has been relieved of late is partly due to contributions from sources which are backing both parties, in order to have seats on the band-wagon of whichever side may win. That, we are asked to believe, is Parliamentary "democracy" and African "advancement".

Notes By The Way

Two Thousandth Issue

THE TWO THOUSANDTH ISSUE of this paper, published last week, has brought many most kindly messages by telephone, telegram, and mail, some from old friends who have been silent for years, some from harassed businessmen whose correspondence is normally commercial, some from appreciative Parliamentarians (and EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has not attempted to disguise its disenchantment with the vast majority of M.Ps.), and, not least, from experienced and hard-bitten journalists. One of them wrote (without explanation) that "the really great feat of 'E.A. & R.' is comparable only with Cleopatra". A prominent public man expressed "admiration for the paper's untiring efforts for truth, decency, and Afro-European partnership"—in which causes he is himself a doughty fighter. An optimist hoped that the editor since No. 1 would still be doing the job when No. 3,000 appears. A little group headed by a man who was especially well known in Tanganyika challenged him to continue *ad infinitum*; and another group, members of which admit frequent disagreement with the editorial opinion (but never write to challenge it in print!), described the journal as absolutely indispensable and unique in the extent and fairness of its coverage of news of East and Central Africa and in the candour of its comments. For these

and other friendly communications I am most grateful.

Surely A Record

MR. BUTLER is surely the only Minister who would have the imperturbable self-assurance to give the House of Commons precisely the same answer on the same day to four dissimilar questions, asked *seriatim*—not a brief answer, but one of 132 words. Any other member of the Cabinet who had determined not to be drawn would have varied his phraseology if only as a thin disguise for his resolve to be uncommunicative. The Minister for Central African Affairs would not make even that concession. He solemnly recited his piece four times. Mr. Mason asked (1) what consideration had been given since Mr. Butler's visit to the Federation to Nyasaland's secession and when it was likely to be completed; (2) what percentage of the Federal debt would be borne by Nyasaland, and how much H.M. Government was likely to pay annually to help Nyasaland's economy; and (3) what consultations the Minister had had with the Federal Government about reorganization of the Federal public services after Nyasaland's secession. Mr. Robert Jenkins inquired if Britain, in allowing Nyasaland to secede, would assume responsibility for its annual budget deficit and what the cost to the Exchequer would be.

Smooth Answer

THE OMNIBUS ANSWER is thus recorded in *Hansard*: "It has been agreed that detailed arrangements for Nyasaland's withdrawal will be handled through a working party composed of representatives of the Federal and Nyasaland Governments, with a United Kingdom chairman. Representatives of the Governments of Northern and Southern Rhodesia will be invited to participate in the discussions as necessary. Matters for consideration will include the apportionment of the Federal debt, and problems affecting members of the Federal public service in Nyasaland. Meanwhile I am not in a position to assess what the effect of Nyasaland's withdrawal might be as regards the financial assistance rendered to the territory by H.M. Government. The working party will be appointed without delay, and while the problems involved are difficult and complex, I am anxious that the work should be completed with all due dispatch".

Mr. Odinga's Histrionics

MR. OGINGA ODINGA, vice-president of the Kenya African National Union, who led the Kenya delegation to last week's Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Moshi, appeared on the platform wearing an African beaded cap and apron and a Chinese worker's blue uniform, presumably to emphasize his attachment to the Chinese Communist leaders (in whose presence in Peking not long ago he glorified Mau Mau). His speech in Moshi was characteristically intemperate and misleading, for he told his audience of about 400 delegates that the regional system of government had been "imposed" on Kenya by "imperialists and their stooges"; it was a "dirty plot" and a "treacherous imperialist design". The truth is that the demand for regionalism sprang up in Kenya among Africans who mistrusted and feared K.A.N.U.; that the Kenya African Democratic Union which they formed made it the keystone of its policy; that it was at first coolly regarded by the Government of Kenya and the Colonial Office, but that its inevitability in Kenya's circumstances came to be recognized, and that it was consequently accepted at last year's constitutional conference in London. Indeed, Kenyatta, Mr. Odinga himself, and the other K.A.N.U. delegates signed the outline of a Constitution which is based on regionalism and which was agreed after nearly two months of wrangling with the K.A.D.U. negotiators, whose arguments won over Mr. Maudling, then Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Deceptive Denunciation

THE MONTHS which have since passed have been spent by the Ministers in Kenya — who are equally divided between the two political parties — in discussing the new Constitution (except at week-ends, which have usually been devoted by K.A.N.U. enthusiasts to traducing and otherwise insulting their K.A.D.U. colleagues in the Government). Mr. Odinga's bitter and deceptive denunciation doubtless owes something to the fact that the United Kingdom Government refused to accept him as a Minister in the Colony when he was nominated for a portfolio by Kenyatta (though a Cabinet which had abandoned principle for expediency did not boggle at accepting Kenyatta!). That ornament of Kikuyuism and his henchman Mr. Mboya, the allegedly "moderate" secretary-general of K.A.N.U., lose no opportunity of pouring scorn on that regionalism which they and their party professed to accept at Lancaster House. K.A.N.U.'s three most influential leaders thus seek to erode the basic principle on which Kenya is to be given self-government, and independence not long afterwards. Yet the public is invited to show confidence

in the future of what was a happy and rapidly progressing Colony until Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod and Mr. (now Sir Michael) Blundell tragically agreed a basis for capitulation to African nationalist extremists who made no secret that they were apologists for Mau Mau, the foulest movement in British African history.

Great Lion of Malawi

DR. BANDA, who has become Nyasaland's first Prime Minister, has had a whole series of adulatory titles bestowed upon him by his followers in the Malawi Congress Party, including its members in the Legislative Council, and even some Ministers who might have been expected to show rather more restraint. For a while he was "Kamuzu", which quickly changed to "the great Kamuzu". Then he was the "messiah". Soon he was being addressed as "Ngwazi" (conqueror), and almost immediately afterwards as "Conqueror of Conquerors". When a party of League of Malawi Youth recently marched eight miles from the headquarters in Limbe to Dr. Banda's home in Blantyre bearing a large black coffin symbolically containing the corpse of the Federation, lettering on the draping proclaimed somewhat prematurely that death had occurred in 1962 and that the burial had been by "Ngwazi, Great Lion of Malawi". Dr. Banda, an old friend of President Nkrumah of Ghana, has that dictator's love of flattery. They might both learn a great deal from the President of Tanganyika, who is content to be Mwalimu (teacher, or doctor) Nyerere.

Bad Reputation

HOSPITAL STANDARDS in Tanganyika have deteriorated seriously since control passed to an African Government. If that allegation had been made by a newspaper it would have come under immediate attack, if not by T.A.N.U.'s chief leaders, then by sycophants in the party anxious to call attention to themselves. The charge has, in fact, been made by Mr. P. P. Muro, Regional Commissioner for the Central Region, who said when addressing the Staff Committee of Dodoma Hospital: "Government hospitals country-wide have gained a bad reputation from lack of manners and bad handling of patients by some members of the staffs; the situation has much deteriorated since independence, since when many of the workers have tended to neglect discipline and respect". Mr. Saidi Mtaka, M.P., Area Commissioner for Mpwapwa and chairman of T.A.N.U. in the Central Region, added that officials of the party were telling the public not to interfere with hospital staffs in order to secure a special kind of treatment. If these remarks fairly describe conditions in one of the country's large hospitals, as is presumably the case, what must be the state of outlying dispensaries?

Reckless Pledge

MR. C. E. COUSINS, Minister of Land and Natural Resources in Northern Rhodesia, said the other day in the Legislative Council: "This Government, and no future Government which will be under African majority control, would not contemplate any interference with existing land rights". How can he possibly know what some future Government may or may not do? Because nobody can be sure that some future Administration may not embark upon a policy of expropriation or confiscation, so categorical a statement ought obviously not to have been made. Africa is already so littered with torn-up pledges that Ministers should be especially careful to avoid undertakings of which they cannot guarantee performance.

"Constructive" Thought on "Intricate" C. African Problems

Mr. Butler Reports on His Consultations in the Federation

MR. R. A. BUTLER, First Secretary of State and Minister for Central African Affairs, gave the House of Commons on Thursday last the following report on his fortnight's visit to the Federation:—

"In the course of my recent visit to Central Africa I entered into consultations with the Federal and territorial Governments with the general objective described to the House in my statement of December 19.

"I was particularly glad to have this opportunity of hearing at first hand the views of the new Governments in Northern and Southern Rhodesia. Differing views were expressed to me on the form which future association of the territories might take and the conditions under which such an association might be worked out. I was, however, encouraged to find a widespread disposition to think constructively on these problems.

"It remains to find a basis upon which these varying points of view can be brought together and jointly considered, and I shall for this purpose be maintaining close touch with the Governments concerned.

Lasting Solution

"I also discussed with the Federal Government and the Government of Nyasaland the detailed arrangements for giving effect to the decision that Nyasaland should be allowed to withdraw from the Federation. It has been agreed that these matters should be handled through a working party composed of representatives of the Federal and Nyasaland Governments under a United Kingdom chairman.

"In Central Africa we still have difficult and intricate problems. I have, however, sensed a movement of opinion which holds promise for the future. It must be our care to guide it towards the achievement of a solution which is acceptable so that it may last."

MR. WALL: "May I congratulate my rt. hon. friend on the success of his visit? Does he agree that the future of Central Africa should now be settled as quickly as possible? Will he give consideration to calling a conference in Central Africa under his chairmanship of the five Governments concerned, to settle not only the future of the Federation but the three territories that at present make up the Federation?"

MR. BUTLER: "Yes, sir. In my contact with the Governments concerned I found that they would prefer to prepare for a conference rather than to launch into a conference which might not be successful through lack of preparation. It is therefore my intention to take the first steps as soon as it is convenient."

Publication of Pledges

MR. HEALEY: "Does not the rt. hon. gentleman agree that the main obstacle to any association between the three territories is the existence in Southern Rhodesia of a Government who represent only 5% of the population and who are preparing to maintain themselves in power by hanging and flogging?"

"Does the First Secretary now acknowledge the desire of the people of Northern Rhodesia for independence, as he acknowledged a similar desire of the Malawi people some months ago?"

"Finally, will the First Secretary tell the House, as he promised to before Christmas, whether he has now taken a decision on whether to publish the pledges made in 1953 by some of H.M. Ministers regarding the way in which the Federation might be dissolved?"

MR. BUTLER: "To answer the latter point first, this matter is still under consideration following upon the consultations I had with the Governments concerned.

"With regard to Northern Rhodesia, I met the coalition Government of U.N.I.P. and A.N.C. and obtained their opinion on the subject of the future of the Federation and on the future of their own country, and undertook to bring that home for consideration.

"With regard to Southern Rhodesia, I do not think that we should make the position more difficult, because I noticed a disposition on the part of the Northern Rhodesian Govern-

ment to be ready to discuss at least economic links with the South, and I think that that is important."

MR. BROCKWAY: "May I ask the First Secretary whether in the discussions there was any consideration of the bigger constructive proposal of a future federation including both East and Central Africa when the Governments of those territories become democratic and independent?"

MR. BUTLER: "All these aspects were mentioned to me by the Ministers, whether African or European, when I was there, but I found no particular disposition to link up with East Africa."

MR. RUSSELL: "Will my rt. hon. friend confirm that it is still the Government's policy to encourage multi-racialism, at least in the two Rhodesias, and would it not be a good thing to announce this?"

MR. BUTLER: "The more the races can live together—that is the object of the multi-racial approach—the happier everybody in Central Africa will be."

MR. JAMES GRIFFITHS: "Is the First Secretary of State aware that pledges alleged to have been made by H.M. Ministers privately in the discussions in 1953, but which were not revealed to Parliament then, have been published by one Government, who have made charges against H.M. Government in connexion with these pledges? Does not the First Secretary believe that the House is entitled now to a full and frank statement on this matter very soon?"

MR. BUTLER: "Yes, sir. As I said to the hon. Member for Leeds East (Mr. Healey), this matter is under immediate consideration."

SIR G. NICHOLSON: "My rt. hon. friend for very good reasons has not been extremely enlightening. When will he be able to make clear the line of his thinking a little more lucidly?"

MR. BUTLER: "Anyone who has visited Central Africa, and realizes the very varied and very often contradictory points of view put to him, would not wish to rush in and spoil the possibility of a settlement when a constructive point of view about a future association is expressed in varying degrees by all the Governments concerned. That is a distinct advance on anything we have met yet, and I propose to take advantage of it."

Agreement on Working Party

MR. WADE: "The rt. hon. gentleman referred to the setting up of a working party. Have all the parties concerned agreed to join such a working party or indicated their willingness to do so?"

MR. BUTLER: "Yes, sir. The working party will consist in the first place of the Government of the Federation, the Government of Nyasaland, and the British Government, and all have consented to serve."

MR. J. BIGGS-DAVISON: "Is the First Secretary of State aware that the British taxpayer is not anxious to add to his burden? Will my rt. hon. friend be able in due course to make a statement of exceptional lucidity about the economic future of Nyasaland and how that country is to be viable?"

MR. BUTLER: "Yes, sir. That depends upon the work of the working party which is going into these matters."

MR. LIPTON: "Is the First Secretary of State aware that, however difficult and intricate he says the problems of Central Africa are, they are nothing like as intricate and difficult as the rt. hon. gentleman himself?"

SIR S. McADDEN asked whether any further undertaking was given to the leader of the Malawi Congress Party concerning the secession of Nyasaland from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

MR. BUTLER: "I agreed with Dr. Banda the machinery to work out the arrangements for Nyasaland's withdrawal."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked the First Secretary of State what discussions he had had with the Nyasaland Government on the effect of secession upon the level of services hitherto provided by the Federation; what study he had made of how the annual Federal subsidy of about £5m. could be made good; and whether he would make a statement on the economic future of Nyasaland.

MR. BUTLER: "The transfer to Nyasaland of services hitherto provided by the Federal Government is an important element in the range of administrative and financial problems arising from the decision to allow Nyasaland to withdraw from the Federation. I have said that the consequences of withdrawal are serious and substantial, and that the Nyasaland Government are ready to adopt policies to minimize them; but I cannot usefully make any statement until those consequences have been examined and negotiated in detail between the Governments concerned."

PERSONALIA

MR. and MRS. A. T. NAGEL, of Gwelo, are at present in London.

MR. R. D. SATHE is High Commissioner for India in Tanganyika.

AIR MARSHAL SIR HUMPHREY EDWARD-JONES is visiting Kenya.

The Japanese Ambassador in Tanganyika is MR. KUNIYOSHI NEGISHI.

SIR ULICK ALEXANDER was 74 on Sunday, and SIR VINCENT GLENDAY 72 on Monday.

MR. J. A. CALDECOTT has joined the board of Willoughby's Consolidated Co., Ltd.

THE EARL OF SWINTON has been appointed a Grand Officer of the Belgian Order of Leopold.

SIR IVO STOURTON, Inspector-General of Colonial Police Forces, is visiting Northern Rhodesia.

SIR EGERTON and LADY HAMOND-GRAEME have left for East Africa and expect to return in April.

SIR ALFRED and LADY VINCENT left London Airport on Friday to return to Nairobi after a short visit.

SIR ALISTAIR FORBES has been sworn as a Federal judge to replace SIR FRANCIS BRIGGS, who has retired.

SIR DENYS LOWSON, a former Lord Mayor of London, has joined the board of Charterland and General, Ltd.

MR. RICHARD SAMPSON, of Lusaka, is director of the newly-formed Association of Northern Rhodesian Industries.

MR. R. C. LONG has been appointed to the Kenya Land Bank Board *vice* MAJOR C. M. TAYLOR, who has resigned.

THE FEDERAL HIGH COMMISSIONER in London is to take the salute at Sunday's morning parade at Sandhurst.

MR. C. E. KING, U.K. representative on the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, arrived in Rhodesia last week.

THE DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER is to open an exhibition of Rhodesian Art in the Commonwealth Institute on February 21.

MR. G. F. A. BURGESS and MR. J. A. MACKINNON have been appointed directors of Amalgamated Metal Corporation, Ltd.

The Swedish vice-consulate in Mombasa having been elevated to a consulate, MR. EDWARD HAND is now honorary consul there.

MR. E. H. GRINDLEY and MR. E. C. NHELL have resigned from the board of Car Mart, Ltd., which has subsidiaries in the Rhodesias.

MR. D. A. BAIN has resigned the managing directorship of S. H. Benson International, Ltd., a company with an East African subsidiary.

MR. ERIC WEISS, a director of Minerals Separation, Ltd., which has large Northern Rhodesian interests, has been appointed joint deputy chairman.

LORD ALPORT, British High Commissioner in the Federation, whose term of office was to have ended next month, is to stay until early June.

MR. A. G. TATTERSALL, of Salisbury, is leading a seven-member Federal glider team to the world's championships this month at Junin in the Argentine.

MR. ALI KISEKKA, Kabaka Yekka M.P. for South Mengo, has suggested that Luganda or Swahili should be made the official language in the Uganda Parliament.

MWALIMU JULIUS NYERERE, President of Tanganyika, opened a Japan Industry Floating Fair aboard the 12,200-ton motor ship SAKURA MARU in Dar es Salaam harbour last Thursday. The vessel's 11 exhibition halls display more than 20,000 products. On Sunday the ship left for Mombasa.

MR. S. ROTHMAN, chairman of the company bearing his name, said in Southern Rhodesia last week that the capacity of its cigarette factory in Salisbury was to be doubled.

MR. S. R. HOGG has been appointed receiver and manager for St. Martin Preserving Co., Ltd., the shares of which have dropped from a peak price of 8s. 7d. in 1959 to 1s. 4½d.

SIR CHARLES MACLEAN, Chief Scout of the Commonwealth, left London on Tuesday to visit Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Aden and Kenya. He will be away until March 19.

MR. A. B. HORN, currently at the Foreign Office, has been appointed Ambassador to the Malagasy Republic (Madagascar), replacing MR. J. E. D. STREET, who will return to the F.O.

MR. M. F. L. ROBINSON is now chairman of the Kenya Pyrethrum Board, MR. D. H. L. SMITH having retired after nine years in the post. He remains a member of the board.

MRS. GOLDA MEIR, Prime Minister of Israel, visited Uganda last week and signed with MR. OBOTE, the Prime Minister, an agreement for technical co-operation between the two countries.

MR. ATO ASSEFA DEMISSIE, a special assistant in the Ministry of Finance in Addis Ababa, has had talks with British industrialists and bankers in the hope of encouraging investment in Ethiopia.

SIR GLYN JONES, Governor of Nyasaland, and SIR EVELYN HONE, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, are to meet LORD ALPORT, U.K. High Commissioner in the Federation in Zomba on March 4.

COLONEL B. G. SPURLING, since 1958 Commissioner of the British South Africa Police, will retire in April at the age of 55. He will be succeeded by MR. F. E. BARFOOT, now Deputy Commissioner.

MR. EDWARD KORRY, special assistant to the publisher of the American magazine *Look*, and previously its chief correspondent in Europe, is to be the next United States Ambassador to Ethiopia.

MR. R. D. MASON has been elected president of the Royal Agricultural Society of Kenya in succession to MR. H. LLOYD. The new vice-president is MR. R. WILSON, in place of MR. S. E. BASTARD.

THE EARL OF CROMER, governor of the Bank of England, who is now in South Africa, will visit the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury on his way back to London, where he is due at the end of this month.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR CHARLES RICHARDSON, Director-General of Military Training at the War Office, and LADY RICHARDSON arrived in Kenya in the middle of last week for a visit of 12 days, including a short visit to Zanzibar.

DR. ERIA BABUMBA, Kabaka Yekka member for Masaka North-West, has appealed to non-Africans to think of themselves at all times as Ugandans, and not "to have one leg here and the other somewhere in Europe or Asia".

MR. R. E. MOREAU, formerly of the Colonial Service in East Africa, has received the Stamford Raffles Award of the Zoological Society of London for his contribution to zoology. He is an outstanding authority on the birds of East Africa.

MR. BRIAN STRINGER is now secretary of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, MR. KENNETH HOBSON, who had held the office for 14 years, having left to become general secretary of Durban Chamber of Commerce.

Threats by "minor politicians" to sack the present chiefs and headmen and replace them with "uhuru chiefs" were discounted when he visited Kitui district by MR. RONALD NGALA, Minister for Constitutional Affairs and Administration in Kenya.

MR. HERBERT CHITEPO, Director of Public Prosecutions in Tanganyika, has returned to Dar es Salaam from a brief visit to Salisbury, accompanied by two former officials of the banned Z.A.P.U., MR. JASON MOYO and MR. WASHINGTON MALIANGA.

VISCOUNT BRIDGEMAN called on PRESIDENT NYERERE when recently in Dar es Salaam. He is chairman of Rajmai Holdings, Ltd., proprietors of a tea estate at Tukuyu, and a director of the Australia and New Zealand Bank and of Mercury Securities, Ltd.

THE DOWAGER LADY BADEN-POWELL, World Chief Guide, is spending three weeks in Northern Rhodesia. After visiting the Copperbelt, Broken Hill, Mongu and Livingstone, she will attend a civic luncheon in her honour in Lusaka on February 20, and then leave for Southern Rhodesia.

MR. WILLIAM RENDELL, managing director of the Colonial Development Corporation, resigned last week from the board of Bailey (Malta), Ltd., to which he was appointed when three Government directors withdrew last April. His resignation had the concurrence of the Colonial Secretary.

LIEUT.-COLONEL C. P. DAWNAY, chairman of Dalgety and New Zealand Loan, Ltd., and a managing director of Lazard Brothers & Co., Ltd., the merchant bankers, has joined the board of Martins Bank. He is also a director of Guardian Assurance and Electrical and Musical Industries, Ltd.

MR. COLIN CROWE, deputy head of the United Kingdom delegation at the United Nations, who was British Chargé d'Affaires in Cairo from 1959 to 1961, has been appointed British Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, with which diplomatic relations have just been restored. They were severed at the time of Suez in 1956.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Commonwealth Relations and Colonial Secretary, who will leave London this afternoon for talks in Kenya on the new Constitution and elections, will afterwards visit Zanzibar to discuss the Kenya Coastal Strip and Tanganyika and Uganda for discussions on the East African Common Services Organization. He will be away about three weeks.

MR. PETER ANDREW DAY, Administrator of Tristan da Cunha from 1959 to 1961, is to return to the island with an advance party of islanders; they will leave England in mid-March. Mr. DAY, who served in the Royal Navy for three years, was a district officer in Tanganyika from 1953 until his transfer to Tristan.

The Southern Rhodesian African Trades Union Congress will actively engage in politics in order to obtain a democratic Government attractive to investors and industrialists, the union's financial secretary, MR. NZIRAMASAMGA, has said. He was echoing an assertion by the president, MR. T. MSWAKA, that trade union leaders could not withhold themselves from politics in the Colony because of the constitutional situation.

MR. J. T. MALULEKE, general secretary of the Southern Rhodesian African Trades Union Congress, has been suspended. MR. T. MSWAKA, the president, announced that the executive committee had taken the decision after hearing nothing for nearly a fortnight from MR. MALULEKE, who might have left the country.

LORD DALHOUSIE, Governor-General of the Federation, told some 500 African children at a mission school near Fort Victoria last week that it would be advantageous to both the Rhodesias to have some kind of link in the future; whether that possibility were realized would depend on the wisdom of the leaders concerned.

Five Ethiopian long-distance runners have been invited to compete in the English track championships later this year. They are ABEBE BIKILA, the Olympic marathon champion; MAMO WOLDE, who recently won an international cross-country event in San Sebastian; and WAMMI BIRATU, TSEGAY MARIAN, and AGU WAGIRA.

MR. LARDNER-BURKE, president of the Rhodesian Rugby Football Union, and MR. LIONEL CORNWELL, the secretary, said a few days ago that the proposed visit of a combined rugby team from Oxford and Cambridge to the Federation and South Africa would not be cancelled, as had been suggested in some quarters.

Aircraft being manufactured to replace the Dakota (DC3) are too large, too fast and too expensive for under-developed countries wishing to open their own local airlines. MR. J. J. FURNISS, Director of Civil Aviation in East Africa, told the U.N.O. conference in Geneva on the application of science and technology to less developed areas.

MR. GEORGE MCWATTERS, chairman of Harveys of Bristol, Ltd., will leave London today with Mrs. MCWATTERS for a month's business visit to East, Central, and South Africa. The group has a subsidiary in Rhodesia. MR. MCWATTERS is a great-grandson of the founder of the business. Before their marriage Mrs. MCWATTERS was woman's editor first of the *Daily Express* and then of the *Daily Mail*.

MR. ANTONI TAMALE, secretary of the Buganda Lukiko Elected Members' Organization, has issued a statement attacking the kingdom Government for lack of policy and Ministerial inefficiency, and calling for the resignation of the Katikiro, MR. MICHAEL KINTU. The chairman of the elected members' group, MR. SAULU LUBEGA, having said that the secretary's statement was unauthorized, MR. TAMALE replied that it represented a true summary of the feelings of most of the 68 members.

MR. D. A. TYRRELL, Deputy Commissioner of Customs and Excise in East Africa, who has succeeded MR. F. BISHOP as Commissioner, was transferred from H.M. Customs and Excise in England to the Customs Department of Kenya and Uganda in 1946. He was made a Regional Commissioner in 1954 and Deputy Commissioner last April. During the war he served in France, Belgium, and Kenya in the Royal Artillery and the Devon Regiment. For some years he has been a member of the Advisory Committee on European Education in Kenya.

LORD WROTTESELEY, who has lived in Southern Rhodesia for the past ten years, and inherited the title last September, has come to this country in connexion with death duty claims, and has told the Press that if the total is too heavy estates owned by the family for several hundred years will have to be broken up. In that event he will return to Salisbury. The family seat is Wrottesley Hall, Staffordshire. The estate covers 3,200 acres and 10 farms. The fourth baron, who was the uncle of the present peer, died at the age of 88, leaving unsettled assets of about £45,000.

NORTHERN RHODESIA



For Information
APPLY TO

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

Telegram: "NORHODCOM LEQUARE LONDON"
Telephone: W11 6611 Cables: "NORHODCOM LONDON"

Obituary

BRIGADIER-GENERAL A. C. CRITCHLEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., who has died at the age of 72, had succeeded as a soldier, aviator, industrialist, and sportsman. A Canadian, he was an acting brigade major on the Western Front when he was wounded in 1916 near Ypres, and on his return from hospital he was so successful in command of a battle training school in France that he was given charge of the training of all Canadian troops in England, and later of basic training for the Royal Flying Corps. On the outbreak of the Second German War he was made responsible for the initial training of all air crews in Britain. Later the Government asked him to become chairman of B.O.A.C., from which he resigned early in 1946 when the Labour Government decided to split Britain's airlines into three separate corporations. He had been a great advocate of development of the flying-boat, which he was anxious to use for an Eastern African service.

COLONEL LORD WILLIAM PERCY, C.B.E., D.S.O., who has died at the age of 80, had travelled in most parts of the world, and especially in Africa, mainly to study birds. In his youth he was an ardent collector, but for many years his whole interest had been in observing them. He was at one time a member of the council of the National Parks of the Belgian Congo. From the standpoint of the ornithologist he considered East, Central and Southern Africa especially attractive. His first trip to Africa had been in early manhood, and he had returned on many occasions. Africa's political and other problems interested him to the last.

CHIEF MSOMA KANJO, of Karitu, in the Nzega district of Tanganyika, whose death is reported, is stated by the Government Information Department to have been about 109 years old and to have been installed as chief at the age of eight. The Germans removed him from office in 1912, but he was re-instated after the British occupation of what was then German East Africa. In 1949 he received the Queen's badge and certificate of honour.

MR. ALFRED MAX LANDAUER, C.B.E., who died last week at his home in Cobham, Surrey, aged 80, was the son of the founder of the family firm of Landauer & Co., hemp, sisal, and jute merchants, of which he was senior partner until quite recently. He was the first vice-president and later president of the London Sisal Association. During the last war he was hemp controller in the Ministry of Supply.

MR. HUGH SIDNEY HAUXWELL WATSON, Chief Conservator of Forests in Northern Rhodesia, who has died at the age of 54 while on leave in Europe, took the Forestry Degree while at Oxford, joined the Burma Forest Service in 1930, and left in 1948 on transfer to Northern Rhodesia. During the war he served with the Burma Forces, being demobilized as a Lieut.-Colonel.

SIR JOHN PASCOE, who has died at the age of 69, was chairman of the London Committee of the South Africa Foundation, and chairman of Aberdare Cables, Ltd., parent company in a group with a Southern African subsidiary.

DR. ROBERT MACNEIL BUCHANAN, M.D., who has died suddenly in Scotland, was formerly senior physician in the Sudan Medical Service.

THE REV. WILLIAM SHUCKFORD FLYNN, who has died at the age of 89, was Chaplain in Nakuru, Kenya, in 1931-33.

Storing Up Trouble for the Future

Sir Roy on Unviable African States

SIR ROY WELENSKY, the Federal Prime Minister, said on Friday when he opened a new factory in Salisbury of the Royal Baking Powder Company:—

"To me every new factory established in the Federation, every new investment, and every school built is more than a new development in the social or economic field; it is also the fulfilment of an essential rôle of Government, a rôle which cannot be separated from its purely political obligations if the interests of the man in the street are to come first, as I believe they must.

"Unfortunately, the trend of more than a decade has been against this point of view. More and more the ordinary citizen is being sacrificed to politics, and in Africa certainly a great deal of trouble is being stored up for the future, because disillusionment with the present cult of politics is bound to come. Although much of value has been achieved in Africa in recent years, the so-called liberation has had one result for which the continent may pay dearly. Some of the new States make economic sense, but some 20 of them look like being either permanent pensioners of the West or ready material for a new grouping in the years to come, a regrouping which might well not be under the Western banner.

"In the last 12 months—which, to say the least, have been characterized by difficulty and uncertainty—very considerable developments have taken place in the economy of the Federation. In addition to the start of the oil refinery, no fewer than seven other major international concerns or groups have invested or announced plans for investment in Rhodesian industry, their interests ranging from chemicals to ferro-chrome and vehicle assembly."

President Tshombe Fears Blindness

U.N.O. Troops in Congo Another Year

PRESIDENT TSHOMBE of Katanga has arrived in Paris to see an eye specialist. He told Mr. John Starr of the *Daily Mail* at the week-end that his eyes were infected, caused possibly by sand. "I am afraid I am going blind", he confided. "I cannot see anything at 50 yards and I cannot even read newspapers. How can a President go on with his work if he cannot see his papers?"

He said he would return to Katanga as President. The people there and the Army supported him. He expected to go to Switzerland first for treatment for a stomach ailment.

Mr. Starr, who met Mr. Tshombe in Elisabethville two years ago, wrote: "The 6ft. 3in. man who once dominated any gathering by height and strength and voice alone is shrunken and timid. He has lost at least two stone. His cheeks are sunken. Every few seconds he rubs his eyes and he has to strain to focus across a table."

The President, who arrived in France on Saturday, had flown in from Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, after a visit to Pexofra de Sousa in Angola. He did not meet the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, during his short stay in Salisbury.

U Thant has stated that United Nations armed troops will still be in the Congo a year from now. Secession in Katanga had ended, but given an absence of alertness or a too rapid withdrawal of U.N. troops it could be revived, for there were interests on the scene that were always ready to flirt with secession. An "intensified" presence of U.N. soldiers was needed in the adjoining Kasai Province, where serious clashes continued to occur between youth wings, tribal groupings, and Central Government troops, following a division of the area on more or less tribal lines into smaller units.

The Katangese gendarmerie commandant, Major-General Norbert Moke, and 22 officers, have taken the oath of allegiance to the Central Government at a ceremony in Leopoldville.

Union Minière staff at the Prince Leopold mine in Kipushi will strike tomorrow if Ethiopian troops, who have replaced an Irish contingent, are not moved from the district. Some work is already at a standstill.

The Congolese Prime Minister, Mr. Cyrille Adoula, is expected to visit Brussels next week at the Belgian Government's invitation.

Government and United Nations Sharply Criticized

House of Commons Debate Katanga Developments

SHARP CRITICISM of the United Nations and of H.M. Government was voiced by Conservative speakers when the House of Commons last week discussed the recent attack on Katanga.

MR. PETER THOMAS, Joint Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who opened and closed the debate, said that in October, when H.M. Government had bought 12m. dollars worth of United Nations bonds, it was estimated that by the end of 1962 U.N.O.'s deficit would be almost 200m. dollars. At that time 54 members had bought bonds or announced their intention to do so, and 45m. dollars worth had been purchased. Australia, Canada and New Zealand between them had already purchased an amount almost equal to the total U.K. commitment. Now bonds to the value of 120m. dollars had been purchased, and if all the pledges made are fulfilled the total would be 170m.

MR. JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON said that thousands of British taxpayers were unwilling to relieve the financial bankruptcy of the U.N. until it showed some sense of recovery from its own moral bankruptcy. The Under-Secretary had to defend the indefensible. Britain's Congo contributions had gone towards the undermining of British and European interests; towards the subversion of good African friends of the West, towards unscrupulous and cruel attempts to destroy a small African State and its nationalist leaders. British financial contributions had done as much towards those undesirable ends as the ammunition which the Admiralty had supplied to the U.N. forces or the transport aircraft supplied by the R.A.F.

Subverting Western Standards in Southern Africa

"Union Minière wants stability in which prosperity can grow and social progress proceed. Whatever its future, Union Minière is a rich European legacy to advancing Africa. Let those who attribute to it all sorts of conspiratorial undertakings reflect whether there might not be other interests which have profited or sought to profit from war in Katanga.

"When one asks who may have benefited from three acts of aggression—the turning of Elisabethville into a Budapest, the bombardment of hospitals, communications and utilities, and the slaughter of innocent civilians; African and European—one should look for those who would profit by an Abadan of the European interest there, or, in times of over-production of copper, by bringing its mines to a stop. I commend to hon. Members a speech by Representative Bruce*, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, who by penetrating research, voluminously documented, has disclosed possibilities and ramifications of hideous fascination, which have in large measure been confirmed as to the facts by the Belgian Foreign Minister, M. Spaak, who is certainly not pro-Tshombe, in a speech in the Belgian Senate.

"It appears from these allegations that in June 1961 a group of private Swedish and American financiers formed and incorporated in Switzerland a new company to exploit the natural resources of Katanga. These hard-headed businessmen could have formed the company only on the assumption that the existing state of affairs in Katanga would soon be broken. This was formed in June 1961; and in the autumn there followed the second U.N. offensive.

"Sometimes too much emphasis is placed on the economic interests at stake in Katanga. There are also important strategic interests of concern to those who want to subvert British, European and Western interests in the whole of Southern Africa, those who want above all to discredit the idea that a partnership between Africans and Europeans can be practised and not merely preached.

"The base of Kamina in Katanga is a key position from which the subversion, or even the conquest, of other territories of Southern Africa could conveniently take place. At this moment armies are being trained in the Congo for the invasion of Portuguese territories—the armies of Holden and Andrade. Is the U.N. doing anything to request the Government in Leopoldville to bring the training of those armies to an end?"

*The only extensive report of Congressman Bruce's speech to appear in Britain was published recently by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

"It was on Christmas Eve that the third U.N. offensive in Katanga began. From an incident which the British Consul and others made valiant efforts to stop arose the third U.N. offensive. We heard a lot about securing freedom of movement, but it became clear that a full-scale campaign had been launched—contravention of the Security Council's express assurance that 'U.N. forces will not be a party to, or in any way intervene in, or be used to influence the outcome of any internal conflict, constitutional or otherwise'.

"It is tragic that Commonwealth troops have been involved but I say with pride that none or hardly any of the serious allegations against the conduct of the U.N. forces referred to the forces of the Irish Republic or of any Commonwealth country. But in the latest offensive and the offensives that preceded it there have been levelled, and not investigated, the gravest allegations of breaches of common decency, military honour, the laws of war, and international conventions.

Outraged by Ethiopian Troops

"The Vicar-General of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Elisabethville has given to the U.N. Command a report of what his own clergy in the African parishes of the city witnessed when Ethiopian troops put to death more than 100 civilians. Two women and a girl were disembowelled with bayonets after being repeatedly raped.

"The Vicar-General continued: 'The commanding officer of an Ethiopian unit visited the Benedictine monastery at Lubumbashi where there had been looting and the Ethiopian officer said: "They are children; one must make allowances for them". These are the soldiers of the United Nations.

"Mr. Hammarskjöld gave his word that there would only be a token U.N. force in Katanga. President Tshombe agreed to it. That undertaking was not kept. All allegations should be investigated, whether arising from the latest offensive or the two preceding offensives. We should make an impartial international investigation a condition of continued support for the Congo operations. Such a body as the International Commission of Jurists should investigate. It conducted an inquiry when there were allegations against the French Army at Bizerta.

"We hear of the secession of Katanga. What really happened was that decolonization was successful in Katanga and unsuccessful in other parts of the country. It was secession not so much from the Congo as from chaos.

"President Tshombe has always striven to ensure a loose confederation respecting Katanga autonomy. He had his own proposals for such a confederation when he was in Coquilhatville in June 1961 and was kidnapped and tortured for his pains. Much more recently Mr. Adoula refused to meet him in New York. If President Tshombe is regarded as intransigent, I am not surprised, recalling what happened in Coquilhatville. Actually, it was Mr. Adoula who said in July 1962 that 'a federal régime is the one best suited to a country as large as ours, which offers the best guarantee of stability between the various groups which compose it'. It is the only system which has any chance of working.

Nationhood through Bloodshed

"It is to the credit of H.M. Government—though not very much of the story is to their credit—that Mr. Tshombe, with their help, accepted a new Constitution which, if it had been accepted by others, might have achieved reconciliation. It was on the eve of reconciliation that fighting broke out again.

"The people of Katanga have achieved nationhood as a result of fighting together in defence of freedom and their homes. The Katanga nation has been born in blood. White citizens of this Katanga nation have fought side by side for different reasons, as people always do in wars, but for a principle of Afro-European partnership which is the only hope if Africa is to be saved from being a pawn in the East-West game.

"When may we expect the withdrawal of U.N. forces from Katanga? What progress is being made in the fulfilment of the U Thant plan for reconciliation? What is the position of the refugees? There has been a report that the Northern Rhodesian Government asked for U.N. help to pay for their relief and were refused.

"The U.N. has given the Congo a good deal of civil assistance at heavy cost. The Belgian colonialists were much cheaper. The U.N. military intervention in Katanga has been a series of bloody crimes and costly blunders, for which we pay in every sense. H.M. Government have been compounding an international felony. By buying U.N. bonds we finance our own undoing."

(Continued on page 514)

Durable Links for the Rhodesias

Mr. Field Defends Hanging Deterrent

THE TENTH Southern Rhodesian Parliament opened on Tuesday in Salisbury. For the first time, under the new Constitution, there are 65 members (compared with 30 previously), of whom 14 are Africans in the United Federal Party Opposition of 29. There is one independent. The governing Rhodesia Front, led by Mr. Winston Field, the new Prime Minister, has 35 seats.

Opening the new session, the Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, stated that the Government "have not advanced the right to secede from the Federation and have not and will not take any action which will contribute to the demise of the Federation as it at present exists".

Interviewed on his farm near Marandellas last week, Mr. Field said that he had told the Minister for Central African Affairs, Mr. R. A. Butler, that a decision must be made soon on the future of the Federation.

"We don't want uncertainty any longer. We did not ask for secession, but we are surely liable to be left in the position if Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia secede where we have been seceded against, as it were.

"If there is to be a tie-up with Northern Rhodesia, it must be durable. The African leaders there might agree to trade links now in order to hasten independence and later repudiate such agreements and raise tariffs; but one doesn't give up trying for good results just because something else might happen in the future. One starts on the assumption that the links are durable."

A conference to arrange what associations should be retained should be attended only by the Governments concerned, Mr. Field added.

The amendments to the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act which introduce a mandatory death sentence for certain offences of arson and use of explosives had, he said, an "excellent" precedent in British Government Legislation in Northern Rhodesia, where an obligatory death penalty had been provided for attempts to derail trains. "They have never since had a case of anyone interfering with the railway. We should be utterly wrong to ignore that example.

"We don't want to punish people for throwing petrol bombs. We want them not to throw bombs. Throwing bombs is not only a means of political intimidation but also a way of leveling old scores. I am not so young now, but I remember what stopped me from breaking windows as a child—I knew I should be beaten, and so I did not do it."

A Northern Rhodesian Ministry of Legal Affairs spokesman has said that the death penalty had not been introduced, though some Legislative Council members had demanded it; a maximum sentence of life imprisonment for attempted train derailments had been laid down in 1960.

Nationalists Re-arrested

Eight African nationalist leaders, including the former president of the banned Z.A.P.U., Mr. Joshua Nkomo, were on Monday remanded on bail for a week after appearing in Rusape magistrate's court charged with offences against the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, including taking part in an illegal procession and obstructing or hindering the police.

Mr. Nkomo and three former A.N.C. officials who were recently released from restriction—Messrs. James Chikerema, Maurice Nyagumbo, and Daniel Madzimbamuto—were also charged with contravening a Rusape by-law. They were remanded on £100 bail. The other four men, who included Mr. George Nyandoro, formerly of the A.N.C., were remanded on £15 bail. Mr. Nkomo, Mr. Chikerema and Mr. Madzimbamuto must report daily to the police.

The case arose out of a "welcome home" reception involving some 3,000 people on Saturday. Hundreds of Africans shouted and cheered outside the court-room on Monday, ignoring police orders to move. They dispersed when Mr. Nkomo told them to go home quietly.

The "national chairman" of the proscribed Z.A.P.U., the Rev. N. Sithole, who has been attending the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Moshi, Tanganyika, has said that the arrests will make an Algeria-type situation in Southern Rhodesia "inevitable". They presented a challenge from the Government "which we must take up now or suffer for ever. The Southern Rhodesian nationalists will now use violence if necessary."

The British Labour Party spokesman on Colonial affairs, Mr. Denis Healey, described the arrests as indicating that Mr. Field was "hell-bent on catastrophe; this cat-and-mouse conduct will disappoint those in Britain who hoped that the new Rhodesian Government might adopt a more straightforward attitude towards the African leaders".

Death Sentence for Petrol Bombers

Southern Rhodesia's New Legislation

SOUTHERN RHODESIA'S new Government has decided upon capital punishment for a number of offences which have not hitherto carried the death penalty.

The Law and Order (Maintenance) Amendment Act, 1963, now before the Parliament of the Colony, substitutes for Section 33A of the Act of 1960 the following provisions:—

"Any person who (a) sets or attempts to set on fire any person, building, structure, vehicle, vessel, aircraft or railway engine, tender, carriage, van or truck; or (b) by the use of explosives causes or attempts to cause injury to any person, or destroys or causes or attempts to cause damage to any building, structure, vehicle, vessel, aircraft or railway engine, tender, carriage, van or truck; shall be guilty of an offence, and

(c) shall be sentenced to death in any case where petrol, benzene, benzine, paraffin, methylated spirits or other inflammable liquid or an explosive was used in the commission of the offence and such offence was committed against any person or in respect of (i) any building or structure used for residential purposes, whether or not at the time of the commission of the offence any other person was present in such building or structure; or (ii) any vehicle, vessel, aircraft or railway engine, tender, carriage, van or truck in which any other person was present at the time of the commission of the offence, whether or not the person convicted of the offence knew of the presence of such other person;

(d) in the case of any other offence under this section, shall be sentenced to death or to imprisonment for life as the High Court may determine."

For importing dangerous weapons without an official permit imprisonment up to 20 years may be imposed, and police officers are given authority to stop and search without warrant any person of vehicle entering or leaving the Colony.

Some offences for which the punishment has been 10 years imprisonment will now carry a maximum sentence of double that term.

Protests

The Bar Council of Southern Rhodesia has protested to the Minister of Justice, Mr. Clifford Dupont, that the amendments would impose mandatory death sentences even in such cases as offences committed by pregnant women or persons under 16. They would also cover many cases of arson or malicious damage connected with fraudulent insurance claims and the like, or caused by jealous husbands or resentful drunkards.

Apart from these considerations, the Bar Association remains opposed to the principle of minimum sentences. This opposition is greater when the penalty is death. It is objectionable in principle to fetter the discretion of the courts in the matter of sentence, and we reiterate that we believe the fearless and unfettered action of an independent judiciary is the only reliable safeguard of the liberties of the ordinary man. It is quite impossible to impose a just and reasonable punishment without consideration of all the circumstances of each individual case, variations in which are infinite. Experience has shown that any attempts to fix minimum penalties leads to absurdities, anomalies and injustices, and frequently breaks down in practice."

The Dean of Salisbury, Dr. Gonville French-Beytagh, has described the proposed amendments as indicative of a "state of war" in the Colony. "It is an act of fear and anger, and fear never solved anything", he said at the week-end. "Weapons like petrol bombs came into use when underground movements used them in occupied territories against the Nazis and Communists. The Government of this country does not represent the majority of its inhabitants, and therefore cannot morally legislate in this way on behalf of that majority."

The former president of the banned N.D.P., and latterly an important office-holder in the proscribed Z.A.P.U., Mr. Leopold Takawira, has been arrested on charges under the Law and Order Maintenance Act.

Art from Rhodesia

H.R.H. THE DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER is to open at 11.30 a.m. on Thursday next, February 21, in the Art Gallery of the Commonwealth Institute an exhibition of "New Art from Rhodesia" which has been organized by the Rhodes National Gallery, Salisbury.

Truths Which Kenya Must Face

Mr. Hillard on Causes of Apprehension

KENYA IS BANKRUPT; its Sabbaths are disfigured by wild electioneering; some aspects of the country are discouraging; and falsehoods and false promises could lead to disaster.

These points were emphasized by Mr. R. J. Hillard, president for the past two years of Nairobi Chamber of Commerce, at the annual meeting last week, at which Mr. G. St. L. d'Adhemar was elected his successor.

In the course of his speech Mr. Hillard said: —

"Last January we addressed to all members of the Legislative Council a letter inviting attention to the slide towards bankruptcy and stating that the future economic and social welfare of Kenya lay in the hands of all those who were to attend the Lancaster House Conference — and in theirs alone.

"The letter received wide Press coverage, and it aroused an odd objection from politicians who claimed that it was an impertinence for a chamber of commerce to present to the elected representatives of the people a variety of statistics which had already been published in Government documents. Otherwise the letter had no effect outside business circles. There is no need this year for me to tell you that the country is now bankrupt. Our Minister for Finance has told us so himself.

Wild Politicians and Pseudo-Politicians

"On Mondays your eyes and ears have been bombarded by Press and radio with the alleged wild week-end statements and counter-statements, denials and counter-abuse of politicians and pseudo-politicians of all races and creeds.

"You have done right not to pay too much attention

to these outbursts which have so disfigured the Sabbath. You have realized that a political bear-garden, while unfortunately bound to prevent any restoration of confidence in the future, is the normal product of electioneering in all democratic countries.

"It is the great misfortune of this country that the period of electioneering has already extended over two years, due to the entanglements and pressures of a complex situation. But we must hope now for early elections, when an African Government will be returned to power and will forthwith lay down the economic policies which it intends to follow. Only then will commerce and industry be able to assess the future and, as far as possible, collaborate with the Government in the long climb back to national solvency.

"Today we look through a glass darkly, and some of the things we see are not too encouraging. One of the current slogans is 'Not who is right, but what is right.' That is unobjectionable if it is not carried too far, but we do need the men to do what is right.

"Men Are Everything"

"As George Canning said in the House of Commons in 1801: 'Away with the cant of 'measures, not men' — the idle supposition that it is the harness and not the horses that draw the chariot along. If the comparison must be made, men are everything, measures comparatively nothing'. We must pray that Kenya will produce the right men for the stupendous tasks ahead.

"The success and prosperity of commerce and industry depend on the health of the agricultural and pastoral sector of the economy. We are therefore anxious about the land settlement schemes. Politically they are right and inevitable, but the two published lists of farms for which offers have been made — at what I am told are knock-down prices — cause apprehension that the backbone of past agricultural achievement is in process of being removed.

"The new backbone will consist of many more vertebrae — and the more vertebrae there are the greater the danger of injury. Are the experts satisfied that a farm of 5,000 acres which employed 250 families will continue to produce the same or an increased amount of wealth and employ the same number of families when it is divided into, say, 125 farms of 40 acres each? Unless the answer is satisfactory, we must expect a drop in agricultural exports by which the country lives.

"Present exports are good, but they include the first-fruits (in the way of tea and coffee) of land which was put under cultivation five and four years ago. Is sufficient new land going under the plough today to increase our wealth and make good any shortfall from carved-up farms?

Support Herself or Perish

"The need for increased national wealth is self-evident. We are committed to an Upper and Lower House and to six Regional Assemblies. How are these to be financed? We are also morally committed to raise the standard of living of the working African. How is this to be financed without an upsurge of productivity? Help may continue from our well-wishers in other continents, but in the final analysis Kenya must stand on her own feet or perish.

"Some of these remarks will earn me the reputation of being an acid and pessimistic waffer. I shall accept the title with equanimity, because it is one reserved for those who prefer to speak the truth as they see it and refuse to pretend that things are better than they are. Falsehoods and false promises can lead only to disaster. Truth is always finally triumphant.

"My old Roman friend Horace, who died eight years before the birth of Christ, wrote some delightfully light-hearted poems but also gave very good advice. He wrote '*Acquom memento rebus in arduis servare mentem*', which translated into the modern idiom, says: 'The stiffer the task, the more important it is to keep a level head'. I can give you no better message."

Natural Resources Research Council

ON MONDAY NEXT the East African Natural Resources Research Council will hold its first meeting in Nairobi. Chief H. M. Lugusha, of Tanganyika, has been appointed chairman, and the Earl of Portsmouth, a farmer in Kenya, vice-chairman. The new council will be responsible for the East African Agricultural and Forestry Research Organization, the Veterinary Research Organization, the Marine Fisheries Research Organization, and the Tropical Pesticides Research Institute.

PLAYER'S
please
THE WORLD'S
BEST LIKED CIGARETTES

Commons Debate on Katanga

(Continued from Page 511)

MR. HAROLD WILSON (Soc.) had spoken for a few minutes when Sir Kenneth Pickthorn suggested that he should desist from personal abuse of Mr. Biggs-Davison and deal with his speech.

He agreed that thorough investigation of allegations was needed, but held that U.N. intervention had prevented civil war.

"I would want investigated the whole record of Mr. Tshombe's promises and broken promises, and Mr. Tshombe's relationship with Sir Roy Welensky throughout the two-year period, and the instructions given by H.M. Government to our Consul in Elisabethville.

"I should like to see investigated the rôle of the Katanga propaganda organization, and not least the activities of some of the public relations firms with which our public life is becoming more and more infested. We know who is behind all this propaganda—a former official of the Conservative Central Office, who is making big money representing in this country not only the Union Minière and Tanganyika Concessions, but the Spanish and Portuguese Governments and the whole record of Portuguese aggression in Angola and Mozambique. This should be brought to light."

U Thant Super-optimistic

SIR WILLIAM TEELING (Cons.) said (in part): "To my mind U Thant is super-optimistic about how well things will go in Katanga in the future. After having heard U Thant speak to Members of both Houses of Parliament in Westminster Hall after having had long talks with Tshombe on these matters, it seems to me that U Thant is strongly briefed on one side and very little briefed on the other side.

"U Thant kept saying, as others have said subsequently, that if Tshombe could be got to share an interest with Adoula in running the Government in Leopoldville, all would go well.

"Tshombe spoke to me about what might happen if he went to Leopoldville, as he had done once before. He reminded me that but for the protection given by certain Members in this House and as a result of their publicity he would certainly have been murdered at that time in Leopoldville. He was left for three weeks in such a condition that his legs were completely swollen, he had practically nothing to eat, and he was hardly allowed to sit down or to speak.

"Now, however, he is asked to go back and become Deputy Prime Minister. A person does not become Deputy Prime Minister if he is unknown in the country and is so hated there that the British Embassy has all its windows broken for trying to support him. Nobody in Leopoldville connected with the local régime has any affection for Tshombe or for the Katanga people.

"We talk about democracy out there—but three times recently the Parliament in Leopoldville has voted against Adoula not by the legal two-thirds majority, but by sufficient of a majority to show that it certainly was not a governing majority in power. In the end the Parliament of Adoula has been disbanded for three months so that he can get on and do what he is told from New York.

This Place Called United Nations

"The Katangans want to be linked with the people with whom they were linked before. They cannot understand why this place called the United Nations in New York should say that Nyasaland and Ruanda must be independent while Katanga should not be independent. Mr. Tshombe and his associates think they know the answer: that the issue is being determined by a large capitalist system in the United States which is closely connected with a former U.N. representative in Katanga and with the Kennedy family itself as well as Anaconda Mines and the mines of Chile. They may be wrong, but that is what they believe. Big business in the United States has an especial connexion with the Congo and is very anxious that the rich mines in Northern Rhodesia and Katanga should be controlled by big business in America.

"The rt. hon. Member criticized the mercenaries. There are mercenaries on both sides. No one could suggest that Ethiopians whom the Emperor has been glad to keep out of Ethiopia—those who rebelled against him and are wandering around the Congo—are not mercenaries.

"Not very long ago I was in the Parliament in Salisbury. I still have the *Herald* of that date containing a speech by a coloured Member of Parliament who said: 'We must not be too hard on these different tribes in Katanga'. He said

that it was quite true that a tribe about three weeks before had murdered 11 Roman Catholic Italian missionaries and nuns and sold their bodies for meat the next day in the streets. He said: 'This to my mind is all wrong. You must not consider that all tribes do that sort of thing. My tribe would not do that. They would kill them, but they would not eat them'. Those are the type of people one has to deal with. They are the type of people whom Tshombe is doing his best to suppress; but they do exist."

MR. HUMPHRY BERKELEY said that he found himself more in sympathy with the Opposition speakers than with those of his own party and continued:—

"Early last month I spent 10 days in the Congo. In Elisabethville I found only one person out of approximately 50 who alleged that the fighting started on the United Nations side.

"Of the many atrocities committed throughout the Congo none have been worse than those against the Baluba in northern Katanga by President Tshombe and his mercenaries. People in our embassy in Leopoldville estimate that about 10,000 people probably lost their lives as a result of these operations.

"As to Mr. Tshombe being maltreated, Mr. Lumumba perished at Mr. Tshombe's hands and Mr. Brian Urquhart and Mr. George Ivan Smith were both beaten up by Mr. Tshombe's *gendarmérie*.

Tribute to Indian Brigade

"I accompanied Brigadier Noronha to Jadotville. He is the Indian brigade commander to the U.N. forces in the Congo. He was a major in the Indian Army during the war and won a Military Cross in Burma in 1942 and another in 1944. I had the opportunity of speaking to many of the officers and men in this splendid brigade, which made one feel tremendously proud of the contribution which Britain has made towards the Indian Army. The brigade includes not only the brigadier but six other officers and men who hold the M.C. and two who hold the Victoria Cross. They are the finest troops in the Congo.

"There have been mistakes by the U.N. I doubt whether Dr. O'Brien was exactly the right man to have in Elisabethville in September 1961; but I believe that Brigadier Noronha and General Prem Chand were exactly the right people to have there in December 1962.

"After over a year of very patient negotiating—particularly by Mr. Robert Gardiner, the Ghanaian now in charge—a new central Government has been formed. A valid central Government has been formed under Mr. Adoula. That is a great achievement of the U.N."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "Is it wrong for someone to have secessionist aims? Why not apply that to Nyasaland?"

Adoula Government Would Have Fallen

MR. BERKELEY: "I am not saying that it is wrong. But it is wrong illegally to declare the secession of a province when one only has one-third of the votes and substantially less than half the seats in the Assembly, particularly when one really represents only a small tribal alliance centred round the greater part of the mineral wealth of the entire Congo. There is no democracy in that; and the majority vote in Katanga in 1960 was not in favour either of Mr. Tshombe or of secession.

"In Elisabethville and Leopoldville I talked with the American Ambassador and members of his staff. It is their view that had the Americans not given backing to the U.N. operation in the last few weeks the Adoula Government would have fallen; had that happened, we should have had the real possibility of a Gizengist secessionist Government in Stanleyville, with General Mobutu controlling a small area around Leopoldville as a pro-Western Government, and a breakaway in Kasai. One could have had in the Congo had the U.N. not intervened a complete repetition of the cold war position in Indo-China.

"By helping to maintain the dubious rights of Mr. Tshombe we have lost the good will of an entire continent. If any of my hon. friends dispute that statement, let them go to Nigeria, Tanganyika, Ghana or Sierra Leone and see what our friends there have to say about our attitude in the Congo. Let them talk to the Malaysians, Indians, Canadians or Irish who have been involved in the Congo operation.

"President Tshombe signed five agreements in which he committed Katanga to reunification of one kind or another with the Congo, but he has shown no disposition to put them into practice."

MR. VICTOR GOODHEW (Cons.) expressed dismay and disgust at U.N. action in Katanga. The U.N. had behaved in a manner in complete contravention of its own Charter.

"When people say that the Katangese were the first to

fire I would remind them that there is such a charge in English law as causing a breach of the peace. It is possible to rouse somebody to violent action by one's own action. The details of an offensive were known to some hon. Members here some weeks before. It was known that the plan was to capture Elisabethville, Jadotville, Kolwezi and Kipushi, and that the excuse would be that this was to procure freedom of movement for U.N. troops. All they had to do was provoke an incident in which the Katangese Army fired the first shot so that they could carry out plans which had been prepared for some time.

School for Terrorists

"The central Congolese Government run a school for terrorists at Thysville near Leopoldville where they are trained to carry out terrorist actions in Angola. They make no secret of it. The terrorists arrested during the so-called uprising in Angola were French-speaking Africans, not Portuguese-speaking.

"When they have produced chaos in Angola, as they may do, are they going to move into Northern Rhodesia, Mozambique, and Southern Rhodesia? There are people in Africa who want to see complete chaos in those parts of Africa. There are greater implications to this whole episode than merely the suppression of President Tshombe. We can contemplate the whole future outlook in Africa with the gravest anxiety."

MR. THOMAS said when replying for the Government:—

"When the U.N. went into the Congo a chaotic situation existed. The purpose of their intervention was to avoid conflict between the big Powers, to avoid the importation of the cold war into that part of Africa. We supported them in that purpose. Their rôle was to prevent civil and tribal war and to help the Congolese to settle and shape their own economic and political future. We supported them in that rôle.

"U Thant said that the U.N. forces would be entitled to use force in three eventualities: one in self-defence, for the prevention of civil war, and for the removal of mercenaries. We supported the U.N. in that view. We have had considerable misgivings about the interpretation of these three eventualities. In particular, we had misgivings about the interpretation that force could be used for a political settlement. We hoped and worked for a settlement by consent because we knew that it was only such a state which could be permanent.

Plan for Reconciliation

"It is important to concentrate the whole of our energy behind U Thant's plan for reconciliation. If it proves a success, as I hope it will, in large measure it will have been brought about because of the activities of our British Consul during that very difficult time when the U.N. troops were moving into Jadotville and other towns. The instructions to H.M. Consul were consistently directed towards bringing Mr. Tshombe to accept the Secretary-General's plan for national reconciliation in the Congo.

"The question of an independent inquiry into allegations of improper conduct on the part of U.N. troops during the events of December 1961 was seriously considered at the time. It became clear, however, that there was very little chance of obtaining support to bring about such a general inquiry. Inquiries were held by the U.N. into specific accusations and we were assured that any individuals found guilty had been punished. Each national troop has its own national leaders, and investigations must be conducted by them. However, we have been informed that in most cases the culprits not only were punished but were repatriated from the Congo. Our permanent representative in New York has brought to the notice of the U.N. Secretariat the views and concern expressed in this House."

MR. A. HENDERSON: "Would not a useful purpose be served if the Secretary-General were able to publish the details of the investigations that are being made? Is there any reason why they should be kept secret?"

MR. THOMAS: "No. I think that it would be interesting if they were published, and that most people would support such a request.

"We felt it our duty to respond to the bond appeal because, whatever reservations we may have about certain aspects of the U.N. policies, we consider it of paramount importance for the people of the world that the organization should be viable and able to sustain the principles of the Charter."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "Can my hon. friend give an assurance that this bond issue is once-and-for-all?"

MR. THOMAS: "Yes. It is our intention that it shall be final."

Through rail services between the port of Lobito and Northern Rhodesia, and Elisabethville and Jadotville in Katanga, are expected to be restored by March 5.

Communists Dominate Chaotic Meeting

Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Moshi

COMMUNIST DELEGATES—who preponderated—at the first Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, held for the first time in Tanganyika, had shown beyond doubt that they were not interested in African problems but were concerned only with expanding their influence, the Kenya Minister of State and leader of K.A.D.U., Mr. Ronald Ngala, said in Nairobi at the week-end, when he described the gathering at Moshi as the "most chaotic ever held in East Africa".

Mr. Ngala had refused an invitation to attend because he saw the conference as a Communist plot. Of some 400 delegates in about 60 groups, 80 were Russian, 40 from Communist China, and many from other Communist countries and parties.

The conference was opened by President Nyerere of Tanganyika [whose speech was reported last week]. The chairman was the Tanganyika Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Oscar Kambona, who presided as secretary-general of T.A.N.U.

Despite walk-outs by some delegations, continual bickering in committees and privately, and mutual recriminations accompanied by the expected attacks on "imperialists" and "neo-colonialists", the final sessions over the week-end produced 50 pages of resolutions.

Mr. Odinga Sings

One noted "with profound indignation the British imperialist and Kenya settler clique's disruptive manoeuvres to delay the attainment of Kenya's independence", condemned Kenya's new Constitution, and supported the "right of the African people in Kenya to change the said Constitution".

Kenya's chief representative was Mr. Oginga Odinga, vice-president of K.A.N.U., who has close ties with Communist China. Wearing a Chinese worker's blue overalls, with an African beaded cap and apron, he sang to the conference a Swahili song about East African unity and then berated "the imperialists and their stooges" for imposing a regional Constitution on Kenya.

"The vast majority of our people have seen through this dirty plot and are determined to frustrate the imperialists in their treacherous designs", he averred.

When the delegate of the Somali Republic, Mr. Mohmoud Youssef Adam, expressed the hope that the conference would "impress on our brothers from Kenya the danger of maintaining artificial colonial boundaries", the K.A.N.U. representatives walked out, though other, independent, Kenyan observers remained.

Mr. Adam said that the N.F.D. commission had found that an "overwhelming majority of the people of that area wish to join their brothers in the Somali Republic because they share the same language, culture and way of life.

"It is manifestly wrong for our brothers in other parts of Kenya who are struggling for their own self-determination to wish on spurious grounds of prestige to deny to the people of the N.F.D. the right to their own self-determination. The Somali Republic has no desire for territorial aggrandizement, but all Somali people are one in the desire that they should be united, come what may". Cries of "aggressor" interrupted his speech.

Mr. Adam also mentioned the "Amharic imperialist ambition of Ethiopia", under which, he alleged, "hundreds of our people who seek a humble livelihood as pastoralists under illegitimate Amhara rule have been machine-gunned from the air and on the ground by imperial forces of His Imperial Majesty when they demonstrated that they were entitled to their freedom".

A message from Kenyatta, president of K.A.N.U., suggested that the delegates "must not be too concerned with a fixation about imperialism. This conference has shown an awareness of the need for us to get away from the virus of the cold war and establish our own objectives and standards. Those of us who fail to do this are victims of the cold war. We must not only win political freedom but believe in it and act as truly independent people".

Mr. Joseph Murumbi, also of K.A.N.U., accused the Europeans in Kenya of economic sabotage, as in Algeria, by transferring money out of the country, which contributed in great degree to the increasing unemployment. The country's economy needed to be revived by recasting it along Socialist lines, he said.

British South Africa Company

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY reports consolidated net profit after tax for the year ended September 30 at £8,528,739, compared with £7,960,412 in the previous year. Taxation took £6,068,468 (£5,610,459). The proposed final dividend is again 5s. 6d., requiring rather more than £3m.; an interim of 2s. in November took £1.1m., the total dividend of 7s. 6d. or 50% requiring £4,128,863. The annual general meeting is to be held on March 28.

Cable and Wireless

CABLE & WIRELESS (HOLDING), LTD., reports a net profit for 1962 of £1,345,000, against £1,161,876 in 1961, after tax of £955,000 (£822,201). The gross income was a record at £2,662,576, and the profit before tax was up from just under £2m. to £2.3m. Dividends of 7½d. per 5s. stock unit (against 6d.) absorb just over £1m. Since 1952 the capital has been increased by £8.5m. as a result of scrip issues totalling £4,762,000 and rights issues of £3,785,000. During the period the gross income has expanded by 170%. Investments are now valued at more than £50.4m., against £14.7m. in 1952, since when distributions to stockholders have increased by 39.4%.

Rhodesian Corporation

RHODESIAN CORPORATION, LTD., had a profit after tax for the year to September 30, of £85,370, against £92,825 in the previous year. The 10% dividend is repeated, costing £66,203. After writing £24,362 (£28,457) off quoted investments and making other provisions, the carry-forward is £31,114 (£35,375).

Rover Rhodesia

MR. WINSTON FIELD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, will tomorrow open the new Salisbury factory of Rover Rhodesia (Pvt.), Ltd., whose plant, built on a five-acre site, can handle up to 2,000 Land-Rovers a year. At first it will assemble vehicles, but progressively manufacture both Land-Rovers and other products of the group, whose executive vice-chairman, Mr. L. G. T. Farmer (who is this year's president of the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders), is now in Rhodesia. The initial investment in the Rhodesian enterprise has been £150,000. At present a dozen Europeans and some 60 Africans are employed. Mr. Farmer will have conversations in Lusaka at the week-end with representatives of the Government. He will return to England by sea.

British Central Africa Company

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA CO., LTD., which recently announced a setback for the year ended September 30, largely owing to adverse climatic conditions, reports that group profits fell to £72,373 from £160,055, and that after tax the net balance was £47,106, against £108,513. The dividend is reduced from 27½% (which included 7½% by way of bonus) to 15%, of which, however, 12½% is a capital payment.

S. Rhodesian January Mining Results

CORONATION SYNDICATE: Arcturus mine milled 7,271 short tons for a profit after depreciation of £3,942; Mueiel mine, 4,241 short tons, £6,955. FALCON MINES: Dalhy milled 22,100 tons for 5,580 oz. gold and working profit of £26,397. GLOBE & PHOENIX: 4,780 tons treated for 2,896 oz. gold and £23,229 profit. KANYEMBA GOLD: profit after depreciation of £3,232 from milling 3,520 short tons. MAZOE CONSOLIDATED: profit of £3,193 from milling 3,685 short tons.

F. W. Woolworth & Co., Limited

Extracts from the Statement by the Chairman, Mr. F. L. CHAPLIN

CONSOLIDATED PROFIT AND LOSS: The consolidated net profit before tax amounted to £34,955,030, as compared with £32,586,783 for 1961, an increase of £2,368,255, or 7.27%. I am sure you will regard this as a satisfactory result. Taxation for the year amounted to £18,797,924, as compared with £17,602,049 in 1961.

The profit for the year, after tax, at £16,157,384 shows an increase over 1961 of £1,172,650, or 7.83%, and your directors recommend the payment of the increased final dividend on the ordinary stock of 1s. 4d. per unit as compared with 1s. 3d. £3,500,000 has been transferred to general reserve against £2,500,000, and the balance carried forward has been increased by £2,165,641 to £9,775,189.

STAFF AND SUPPLIERS: I cannot commend too highly the hard work of our staff in stores and offices throughout the year, and once again I should like to pay a very sincere tribute to our suppliers for their co-operation with our own buying force.

CAPITAL PROJECTS: During 1962 ten new stores were completed and opened for business; 41 existing stores were extended and/or modernized; eight were re-located in better premises, and seven conventional stores were converted to self-service.

It is now estimated that the capital cost of our store development programme will amount to more than £31,000,000, which will be spread over the next few years.

PROSPECTS FOR 1963: It is difficult to foresee what may happen during the remainder of the year. Overhead expenses will materially increase again in 1963. Future profits depend on our ability continually to increase sales. With the ever-expanding range of merchandise we have on our counters, together with the improved shopping amenities which we are providing, I am confident we shall continue to receive in full measure the support of the shopping public.

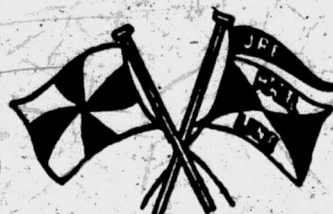
FINANCIAL RECORDS 1953-62

Year ended 21st Dec.	Net profit before taxation £	Taxation £	Net profit after taxation £	Net Ordinary dividends £	Net assets £
1953	18,976,954	11,956,640	7,281,314	4,950,000	42,399,981
1954	20,476,521	10,944,212	9,532,309	6,187,500	46,265,527
1955	22,523,066	11,133,793	11,389,273	7,331,250	50,123,069
1956	23,319,355	12,308,967	11,010,388	7,762,500	53,225,338
1957	24,071,753	12,782,467	11,389,273	7,762,500	169,753,523
1958	25,597,083	13,488,097	12,108,983	7,762,500	74,801,612
1959	28,283,712	14,279,966	15,008,021	9,302,344	79,478,648
		*1,004,275CR		11,378,125	
1960	31,303,554	16,305,304	14,998,250	10,335,937	85,381,083
1961	32,586,788	17,602,049	14,984,734	10,370,390	90,777,657
1962	34,955,308	18,797,924	16,157,384	10,852,734	97,265,881

*Over-provision for taxation mainly due to reduction in the rate of income-tax from 8s. 6d. to 7s. 9d. in the pound.
†Special Jubilee bonus. ‡Includes surplus on revaluation of properties of £13,081,474.

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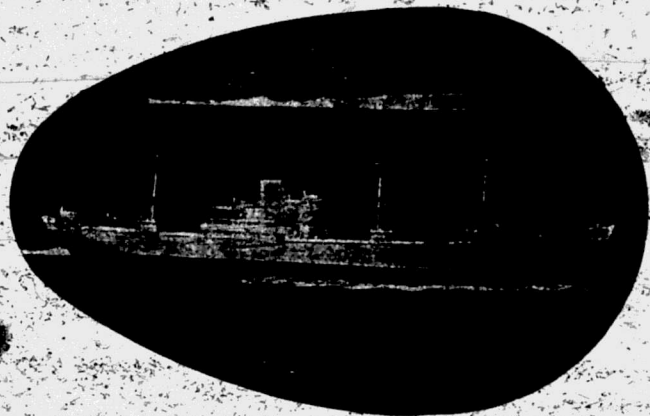
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1963

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE WHITE PAPER which is quoted in full in this issue constitutes the Macmillan Government's written reply to Sir Roy Welensky's charges that repeated pledges given on behalf of the United Kingdom Government a decade ago have since been deliberately and disastrously disregarded by British Ministers. No less convincing document could scarcely be imagined. It is so poor an effort that Mr. Butler, who bears responsibility for its publication, would have been better advised not to issue it. Far from persuasive if read in isolation, it becomes almost contemptible when read together with the Federal White Paper containing the speech of the Federal Prime Minister on December 19; and since it purports to be a reply to that condemnation the two documents demand comparison. Bluntly accused of actions threatening the dissolution of a Federation which was created on the basis that it would continue in the agreed form unless and until H.M. Government, the Federal Government, and the three territorial Governments in Central Africa were unanimously in favour of change, the United Kingdom Government attempts to argue that no pledge was given by its negotiators except in connexion with what might be discussed at a constitutional review conference to be held not later than nine years from the creation of the Federation. Yet, as the White Paper itself confirms, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton (now Lord Chandos), the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, said: "Nothing can liquidate the [Federal] Constitution unless all four [Governments] are agreed on it. . . . Without the unanimous consent of the four Governments in fact the Constitution could not be liquidated. . . . You cannot upset the Constitution without agreement, can you? . . . Nobody is safe from the Sovereign Government repudiating its obligations; in this case there would have to be

four people to do it. . . . All we are asking the lawyers for is an assurance that, with the concurrence of each and all of the Governments concerned, major alterations could take place in the Constitution".

* * *

Every delegate who heard those words must have felt that he was being assured that there could be no question of any change in the Constitution, let alone its abolition, except by common consent of the four Governments in Central Africa and that of the United Kingdom (which would be concerned because it retained responsibility for the Protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland). The White Paper nevertheless makes the astonishing suggestion that the statements which it quotes, including those cited above, "cannot be construed as constituting a pledge by the British Ministers to the effect that no change in the Federation would be made by the United Kingdom without the consent of the four Governments". The truth, of course, is that that is precisely how it must have been construed. Moreover, the basis of federation having thus been thrashed out, the Labour Party through Mr. (now Lord) Attlee, its then leader pledged itself to give all possible help to ensure the success of the plan, and neither the Socialists in the House of Commons (though from that day onwards they flouted the undertaking given in their name) nor the Conservatives suggested that the Federation was not intended to be permanent. Years were to pass before Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod, aided by a staggeringly submissive Cabinet and party, were to start the scuttle from British responsibilities in East and Central Africa which has led to the present shocking situation.

In a debate in the House of Lords just before Christmas the Marquis of Salisbury, who was one of Britain's chief representatives at the time of the conference which decided to create the Federation, said: "There can be no doubt at all that British Ministers at the conference gave most explicit assurances that the Constitution of the new Federation would not be liquidated without the free assent of all the Governments concerned, and that included the Federal Government." Viscount Malvern, who was then Prime Minister and the chief delegate of Southern Rhodesia, declared: "If I had known that all that had been decided in committee was to be repudiated by the British Government, I would never have signed. We spent two or three days discussing the wording of the review clause to make perfectly certain that the question of secession would not be discussed when once the Federation had been brought about. I do not believe we ever thought that any of the States would try and blackmail the Federal Government and break it up. But we had another great anxiety: how were we to make this new State credit-worthy? We all agreed to ensure we got wording whereby no question of secession could possibly take place".

Viscount Chandos, who was Secretary of State for the Colonies at the material time, told his fellow peers: "My memory accords exactly with that of the principal delegate from Africa, Lord Malvern. It is my profound political belief that no federation or federal instrument can subsist if the right of secession is ever written into the Constitution. The centrifugal forces that are released will always render the Federal Government impotent if any of the constituent parties has the right of secession. For that reason, if the documents are examined and they do not constitute a pledge, I should greatly regret it and regard it as a failure on my part". Lord Boyd of Merton (formerly Mr. Lennox-Boyd, and Minister of State at the Colonial Office at the time of the conference) warmly endorsed all that Lord Chandos had said, and added: "The undertakings about secession were regarded as pledges—as we ourselves regarded them—by the people to whom they were addressed. It was in the confidence engendered by these pledges that federation was born, that investment was encouraged, and that plans for a

liberal and progressive policy in Central Africa were laid down". The decision to publish the White Paper was presumably taken in the hope that these unequivocal assertions of former senior members of the Cabinet would already have been forgotten.

There is further British testimony in support of Sir Roy Welensky's case. When the House of Commons was asked on March 24, 1953, to approve the establishment of the Federation, the Secretary of State for the Colonies said that a review of the Constitution which was to be held not earlier than seven years later "is not to decide whether federation has succeeded or failed or whether it should be abolished or continued: it is a conference to make such alterations in the detailed working as experience has shown to be necessary". In those words the House was told quite specifically that the Federation was being set up as a permanency. Again, during a visit to London of Sir Roy Welensky four years later there was issued a joint declaration which stated that "H.M. Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland take this opportunity of re-affirming that they are opposed to any proposal either for the amalgamation into a unitary State of the territories now composing the Federation or for the secession of any of those territories from the Federation". Could any phraseology have been clearer? As recently as January 1960, Mr. Macmillan said in Rhodesia when addressing the National Affairs Association: "If we were to tear up an experiment which is only seven years old, an experiment which has made very considerable progress, we should be guilty of an act of treachery towards the high ideals and purposes which we set ourselves".

But as he spoke his chosen hatchet-man, Mr. Iain Macleod, had started his disastrous work as Secretary of State for the Colonies, and not many months were to pass before, having immediately wrecked Kenya, he embarked on equally foolish and fateful courses in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, in which agitation for the destruction of the Federation was consequently encouraged. The treachery of which Mr. Macmillan spoke in Salisbury had quickly become the policy of his Govern-

ment. The report of the Monckton Commission gravely aggravated the situation by discussing secession, though Mr. Macmillan had given the Federal Government a written promise that that question would be excluded from the terms of reference. The honourable course would have been to reject the report because the commission had cynically disregarded the specific condition on which it was appointed, but the Prime Minister, knowing that the Federal Government was bound to protest against such betrayal, accepted and published the report, and so made a bad situation much worse. It deteriorated so swiftly and irreparably under the misty-minded but stubborn Mr. Macleod, with his insensate appeasement of Dr. Banda and his imbecile Constitution for Northern Rhodesia, that Central African affairs had to be taken out of his hands. In order that his plight might not be too evidently advertised, it was arranged that the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations should simultaneously relinquish concern with Southern Rhodesia, and Mr. R. A. Butler, Deputy Prime Minister, assumed responsibility for a new Central African Office.

His inheritance was unenviable, but those who were acquainted with his political career, including his ardent support of the Neville Chamberlain doctrine of abject appeasement of Hitler, had little, if any, hope that Mr. Butler's appearance on the scene would mean anything but surrender to the Malawi Congress Party in Nyasaland, even though submission to Dr. Banda was certain to produce similar intransigence from the pan-African extremists in Northern Rhodesia, and so subvert the Federation. Under the cover of constant assurances of his faith in the Federation—and as recently as July last he told a large London audience to invest in that State in the knowledge that H.M. Government "will be behind you"—and of devices to gain a little time, Mr. Butler insidiously pursued the sinister and calamitous Macmillan policy of scuttle, a shameful dereliction of duty towards millions of Africans and hundreds of thousands of Europeans. The real purpose of Mr. Butler's recent visit was to seek the co-operation of the Prime Ministers of the Federation and Southern Rhodesia in his artifices for the destruction of their countries. Having failed completely, as anyone knowing Rhodesians could have foretold, he has to try to excuse himself and the Cabinet with this footling White Paper.

So courteous a Chamber as the House of Lords heard on Monday unusually sharp criticism of the White Paper and of the Government for its breach of pledge after pledge and for its vacillation and drift in Africa in recent years. The Earl of Listowel, having compared the White Paper with "Alice in Wonderland", said that its attempt to explain away promises by verbal ingenuity must cause people in the Federation to despise and distrust the United Kingdom Government, and Lord Walston considered that the Government stood convicted by its own document of breach of faith, or at least of highly reprehensible lack of foresight. Lord Colyton, a former Minister in the present Government, condemned the Paper as inaccurate, inept, misleading, and disingenuous, and Lord Milverton, after saying that an honourable understanding had not been observed, declared that the United Kingdom Government was largely to blame for the growing intransigence of African political leaders. Lord Chandos, a former Secretary of State for the Colonies, described Sir Roy Welensky as a far-sighted man, not a firebrand, who had every right to feel aggrieved, injured, and even enraged, for when the creation of the Federation was discussed everyone concerned in the negotiations regarded H.M. Government as the cement which would bind the Federation together, not the gelignite which would blow it up. An even more damaging speech was made by the Marquis of Salisbury, who dismissed the White Paper as irrelevant bunkum; he recalled that a statement of 1952 which nobody had mentioned destroyed its argument, held that the national honour had been tarnished, and accused the Government of shifting and shuffling and attempts to defend the indefensible. The House showed no tolerance for the legalistic quibbling of Ministers, and speaker after speaker emphasized that it must be the taxpayers of the United Kingdom, not those of the Federation, who paid for the Government's lack of forethought, caution, energy, and wisdom. The Macmillan Administration can have drawn no comfort from the debate, and must now regret having issued the White Paper.

"A lion cub has more land and water than an African child in Kenya".—Mr. D. Mwanyumba, M.L.C.

"The estimated population of Embu is about 260,000 people. So far about 26,000 have paid their rates. If you reckon the average size of a family as five people, only about half of those who should pay rates have in fact done so".—Mr. D. T. Arap Moi, Minister for Local Government in Kenya.

Notes By The Way

New Powers for the President

UNCERTAINTY, always a bugbear of business, will be increased in Tanganyika by the decision that the President should have power to impose, vary, or rescind any tax or duty. He would require to refer any such decisions for subsequent approval by Parliament, but in a one-party State it is not merely inconceivable that the House should record disapproval of any action by the person who is both President of the republic and leader of the party, but even that dissatisfaction, if it were felt, should be fully expressed. Not only would all the usual party political forces be ranged against a dissident M.P.; he would himself feel considerable reluctance to disagree publicly and forcefully with the Head of State. It is therefore to be hoped that the authority about to be given to the President will be used sparingly, and not as the normal means of making changes in taxes and duties. Throughout the free world such fiscal matters are normally debated by Parliament and it is obviously better that the responsibility should generally be seen to be that of Ministers, and that the President should as far as possible be above controversy and not susceptible to charges of dictatorship.

Nomenclature

BY WHAT NAME is the Legislature of the Republic of Tanganyika to be known? The point is raised somewhat sharply by the fact that within half a page in a recent supplement to the *Tanganyika Gazette* three different terms were used: first, Constituent Assembly, then Parliament, and a few lines later National Assembly. The House ought surely to decide on a name, one to be used to the exclusion of others. Recently there seems to have been an increasing tendency among members to place after their names the abbreviation M.P. Not long ago M.N.A. was customarily used; and it still is by some people. As Ministers now fly about the world on almost any pretext, they will presumably be in favour of calling the legislative body Parliament. Then they would be M.Ps. when meeting other M.Ps. in Westminster, New Delhi, or some other English-speaking city; and their contacts in New York, Washington, Bonn, and Geneva, or even Moscow and Peking, will have ideas about an M.P., but perhaps none about an M.N.A., and almost certainly none about an M.C.A.

Near Miss

A FRIEND of mine who had long been a close friend of Aneurin Bevan, and for some time a colleague of his in the House of Commons, told me while the rumbustious Member of Ebbw Vale was still Minister for Health in a Socialist Government which was growing uneasy at his unending rows with the medical profession, with the Press, and with many of his own party, that he was likely to become Secretary of State for the Colonies. I made discreet inquiries and was told in strict confidence that the hint might prove accurate. Mr. Bevan must quickly have changed his mind, for Lord Attlee, the then Prime Minister, has just written in a review of Mr. Michael Foot's biography: "When Bevan had laid fine foundations for Health I thought it would be good for him to have a change of office to widen his experience. I suggested the Colonial Office. He said clearly that he wanted to stay where he was as there was important work still to do". There are two possibilities: that Bevan confided in my friend before conveying his

decision to the Prime Minister, or that Mr. Attlee (as he then was) accepted the reply with some such remark as "Well, Aneurin, I don't think that you should remain too long in your present post. You can transfer to the Colonial Office when you wish". He would certainly have been a colourful Secretary of State, and, if promptly challenged by nationalistic extremism, might have been a firm and good custodian of the portfolio, for there was in him a strong streak of authoritarianism.

Dispute Continues

MR. R. J. HILLARD, who has given Nairobi Chamber of Commerce admirable leadership during his two years in the chair, paid warm tribute at the annual meeting to the initiative and drive of Mr. Gavin Henderson, the secretary, and the hard work of his small staff, and then said: "Only once was work held up for any length of time, when the assistant secretary, Mrs. Nicholls, disputed with me the question whether collective nouns take singular or plural verbs: the dispute continues — but I understand that her collection of stamps have been sold!" A lead on this question could well be given by the issuers of stamps, Governments, many of which use in the same statement both the singular and the plural form in reference to themselves. Quite frequently a Minister or a *communiqué* in the United Kingdom, for instance, starts with an announcement that "the Government have decided" something or other, says a little later that "it" is resolved on certain preliminary steps, and adds that "they" have appointed a committee of inquiry. Not even Mr. Churchill gave orders for consistency in this matter when he was Prime Minister—he who wrote "up with which I will not put" when asked about occasionally ending a sentence with a preposition.

Blood-Dump

THE VOCABULARY of the pan-Africanists differs so little from that of the Communists, the fellow-travellers, and the other anti-colonialists that a new term, even if it be one of abuse, is treasure trove to a man who has to wade through endless scruffy repetitions in the duty of keeping himself informed of the utterances of those who want everything in Africa to be gambled on acquisitive politicians, very few of whom have any experience of any kind, but are nonetheless eager to snatch the reins of power from the hands of anyone else. The Nasser Government has for years subsidized the publication of periodicals which encourage these gentry in their inordinate ambitions. Whether there is in Cairo an African Association I do not recall, but last year an *African Association Review* began to appear. None of the copies which I had seen had been worth mention, but the representative in the Egyptian capital of the Mozambique Front, a Mr. F. G. Mahluza, has now delivered himself in its pages of the descriptive term which heads this paragraph: his country he alleges, has been turned into a "blood-dump". He is apparently unaware that his little list of alleged atrocities, for which no sort of evidence is given, pales into insignificance in comparison with the outrages perpetrated by Mau Mau, or, according to the testimony of a Roman Catholic Bishop, with those recently committed in Katanga by Ethiopian troops of the United Nations.

Sharp Attacks in Lords Debate on Central African Pledges

White Paper Called "Bunkum" and "Disingenuous" and Likened to "Alice in Wonderland"

CONDEMNATION of the White Paper which is quoted textually in other pages came from peer after peer when it was discussed in the House of Lords on Monday afternoon.

THE EARL OF LISTOWEL said that what was at issue was the winding up of the old Empire in Central Africa and the need to bring it into line with the rest of the free Commonwealth.

"The charge made by Sir Roy Welensky and the Federal Government is that H.M. Government, by their unilateral decision to allow the secession of Nyasaland from the Federation, have broken a pledge, given in 1953, that the Federation could be terminated only with the expressed consent of all the Governments concerned, including of course the Governments in the Federation.

"The Government's contention is that the pledge not to break up the Federation without the agreement of the other four Governments was limited to what could be done at a conference to review the Constitution. Consequently, the British Government are free to act without the consent of the other Governments before or after the review conference or while it is adjourned—the position at the moment.

Extraordinary Misconstruction

"What this White Paper relates to, in the view of the Government, is what could be done at the review conference, which would, of course, have to pass through the Federal Assembly. I find this an extraordinary misconstruction of plain English: a misconstruction such as I have never come across outside *Alice in Wonderland*.

"There is nothing whatever in the minute to suggest that the required concurrence of the Federal and territorial Governments was limited to the constitutional review conference, in Lord Chandos's statement that 'Nothing can liquidate the Constitution unless all four are agreed on it'.

"When he spoke about 'all four' did he mean the three Governments in Central Africa at the time and the United Kingdom Government—the only Governments which existed when this conference took place—or did he intend to refer to the five Governments mentioned in the minute? If he was referring only to the four Governments the case of H.M. Government in § 7 of the White Paper falls down completely. This has been put very clearly by Sir Gilbert Rennie, the late High Commissioner for the Federation.

"The fact that Parliament can override a pledge does not mean that Ministers do not give pledges or that when they are given they should not be honoured.

"I am not the only person to find the White Paper entirely unconvincing. I ask your lordships to look at Sir Gilbert Rennie's letter in *The Times*. Its leader said about the White Paper last Thursday: 'The Government's argument falls lamentably. The pledges cannot be denied'.

Complete Nonsense

"Can the Government deny that its answer to the British Council of Churches meant that it would be morally and politically indefensible for Parliament to amend the Federal Constitution without the agreement of the Federal and territorial Governments? Does not that make complete nonsense of what Mr. Macleod said in another place on Friday last: that no pledge of this nature had been given in Parliament or elsewhere in the last ten years?

"This Government and the 1953 Government have fallen below the standards of conduct expected of a British Government. In 1953 a secret pledge of enormous political importance was given to the Federation, and this pledge was not revealed by Ministers when the Bill to set up the Federation was before Parliament. What Ministers do must always be subject to Parliamentary approval, and they should do nothing behind the back of Parliament.

"The Government have broken a pledge; but I do not blame them for that. The dishonesty lies in not admitting that a pledge has been broken. Why not be frank and honest, instead of publishing this transparent sophistry? If the Government had said that new circumstances in the Federation make it impossible to keep a pledge given ten years ago, when the

circumstances were not foreseen, I should have had little to complain about.

"In Southern Rhodesia there has been a regrettable worsening in race relations. The policy of community development or racial segregation is beginning to take shape. Until now it happened by custom; it looks as though it may become enforceable by law. Legislation to provide separate swimming-baths and other amenities has been forecast in the Governor's speech. Mr. Nkomo and several of his colleagues await trial for offences arising simply and solely from the popular demonstrations that followed their release, and it is not surprising, however regrettable it may be, that disturbances have already broken out in Southern Rhodesia as a result of these arrests.

Should Not Interfere

"Worst of all, a mandatory death sentence is to be introduced for offences against property. The Bar Association has protested and public opinion has been deeply stirred. Of course, these are matters for the Southern Rhodesian Government, and we should naturally not dream of trying to interfere. Southern Rhodesia has just as much right as its neighbours have to ultimate dependence. But I hope that we shall make it clear to the Government of Southern Rhodesia that until it comes to terms with its African inhabitants we cannot contemplate any demission of our responsibility.

"My plea to the Government is for an immediate and positive policy, for an end to indecision and drift. The new links between the territories which we hope to see can be forged only between the territorial leaders themselves, but they cannot get together until the Government here have decided to wind up the Federation and accelerate the constitutional advance of Northern Rhodesia."

LORD OGMORE held that British Ministers had given pledges in 1953.

"The first I knew of this pledge—and I have been closely concerned with this matter of federation since at least 1950—was at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon of December 19 [during the House of Lords debate.—Ed.] I had never heard a word about it before. Is Parliament bound by any such pledge? I do not believe that this Parliament is bound by it because we knew nothing about it.

"It was a secret pledge, arrived at in secrecy, because it was well known at that time that Parliament would never accept such a pledge. The speeches by Ministers were all against such a pledge. We were under the impression that if at any future time there was a strong body of African opinion—or European opinion for that matter, because at that time it was by no means clear that the Europeans in Rhodesia would welcome this Federation—against the continuation of the Federation, then there was nothing in the legislation which would prevent secession.

Doomed

"We know that federation is doomed, in spite of Sir Roy Welensky, who will soon be left high and dry with no States at all within the Federation. H.M. Government should decide forthwith that there will be a continuing economic organization to handle the common services of posts and telegraphs, airways and railways, the Zambesi dam, and other matters. This is of first importance because credit is now at a standstill so far as the Federation is concerned, and a most serious situation will develop unless H.M. Government makes it clear that there will be a continuing organization.

"I understand the three territories wish for such a common service organization. Until the details are worked out, the British Government must if necessary take over the rights and obligations of the existing Federation for the common services and for the Federal debt.

"Mr. Winston Field said in the Parliament of Southern Rhodesia last week that the two Rhodesias could 'stagger on with a deteriorating situation until the final break-up of the Federation'. The alternative, he said, was to make a clean break and open up the way for negotiations on an equal footing as fully independent States, and to attempt to reach agreement for the operation of various common services, with trade and economic agreements too. I fully subscribe to that statement.

"It will be quite impossible for Nyasaland to shoulder its just commitments and liabilities arising from its withdrawal from the Federation. The territory is quite incapable even of meeting its ordinary budget. How on earth this little country, which has hardly any industries and a very difficult agricultural problem, is going to shoulder any obligations which arise

from the Federation I do not understand. It is impossible for it to do so. The British taxpayer will have to shoulder these liabilities, and much else. Nyasaland will continue to need a great deal of help in every way after she becomes self-governing.

"Northern Rhodesia, the one truly viable territory among the three, has an African majority in the Legislature, and we should consent, as it is still a Protectorate, to a move towards self-government. Northern Rhodesia needs technical and managerial assistance, not finance on anything like the scale that Nyasaland does.

"The British Government should in the near future declare the ending of the Federation. They should take immediate steps to help create a Common Services Organization, in agreement with the three territories. They should end the fancy franchise in Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia and establish for both territories a new Constitution based on universal adult suffrage. They should confirm self-government for Northern and Southern Rhodesia, with a Ministry and Legislature which would undoubtedly be largely African. They should retain responsibility for foreign affairs and defence relating both to Northern Rhodesia and to Southern Rhodesia until they are ready for independence.

Independence for Three Territories

"After a period of self-government, Britain should grant independence to Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, I hope within the Commonwealth. The three territories are as viable as several of the States which have already achieved independence and a good deal more independent than many of the States which are now members of the United Nations.

"I have reason to believe that this sort of policy would appeal to the African nationalists in Southern Rhodesia, who would be willing to extend the hand of friendship to White Rhodesians. They particularly wish to secure the co-operation of the younger white Rhodesians, who I believe will be ready to work with their African compatriots and will not let the dead shadow of their elders blot out the rays of the rising sun."

THE EARL OF SWINTON thought that until 1962 there had been no mention of any pledge.

"Two matters are wholly distinct and separate: first, was any pledge given to limit or fetter the power of Parliament; secondly, what were the hopes and intentions of us in the conference—and, I am sure, of the whole Government—in 1953—for Federation to endure and prosper?"

"We were not discussing the power of the U.K. Parliament, but how the review clause in the Federal Constitution should be phrased and what it meant. I tried to make the point that the British Government and Parliament, so long as the Government of that time remained in power, would not exercise their powers irresponsibly, would not do so to defeat, hinder or hamper in any way the Federation which we were setting up.

"We were determined that the Federation should continue and succeed. I certainly would never have agreed, so long as I was a member of the Government, to the dissolution of the Federation if it had gone forward in the way which we all hoped and intended. That is certainly not a pledge to surrender or fetter the power of Parliament.

Letter to Church Council

"I wrote the letter to the British Council of Churches. It said: The U.K. Parliament would not be precluded by law from amending the Federal Constitution without the consent of the Federal or territorial Governments—those, of course, were the four Governments concerned and referred to—but as the Constitution will be based on a scheme which has been agreed between the four Governments concerned and will itself be so agreed—these are the important words—it seems to H.M. Government that it would in any foreseeable circumstance—and I am bound to say that nobody then could foresee the circumstances which exist at the present time—be morally and politically indefensible for Parliament to enact amendments which had not been similarly agreed."

"We discussed in conference whether the Constitution should contain an explicit power for secession. We were all opposed to this.

"On the question of pledge or undertaking, I think the declaration of 1957 very relevant. It was made by Lord Home, then the Commonwealth Secretary, Lord Boyd of Merton, who was Colonial Secretary, and Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation. It turned on what were the powers of the Federal Constitution which it had been alleged could be altered without any reference. Surely, what the declaration stated was that, in regard to the convention, on matters delegated to the Federal Government and the Legislature, the Government and Parliament in this country would not intervene without their request.

"The outcome to-day is a sad disappointment. We believed passionately in federation. We were sure that it would bring great economic benefits, as indeed it has, to all the territories. Still more, we believed and hoped that federation would create a living, growing, inter-racial partnership. It was a great conception, which I trust may in some way still become a reality.

"But the fruition of that hope depended on and assumed a steady progress in African partnership and participation. In Southern Rhodesia Sir Edgar Whitehead strove to achieve this, and there was real progress. I regret profoundly that he has been defeated. I regret to say it, but the pace of partnership is quite different in the Federation. It is quite true, and great credit to them for it, that the Federal Government have achieved a great deal on the economic side and spent a great deal on African services, especially in Nyasaland; but politically and socially the pace has been disappointing. There is one notable exception—the inter-racial university in Salisbury, strongly backed by Lord Malvern and owing a very great deal, I know, to Sir Edgar Whitehead, whose work it was after his eyes had given way.

"Supervenient Impossibility"

"There have been elections in all the three territories, and all three are opposed to federation in anything like its present form. It is idle and unrealistic to say that however much conditions change one must be bound by one's previously-expressed intentions."

"There was not a commitment, agreement or pledge in the sense that Sir Roy Welensky has claimed; but, even if there had been, there is such a thing as supervenient impossibility, and it would be quite impossible to go on with the Federation to-day. Three of the partners will not play on the old terms.

"Everyone agrees that the economic benefits of Federation have been outstanding and could not have been achieved in any other way. An enterprise like Kariba must be maintained and developed in the interests of all the territories. Railways, airways, roads, posts and telegraphs ought to be unified services. Can anybody doubt that a customs union would not only be a common interest but a common necessity? There must be a good many Federal services, Federal activities, which it would be uneconomic and wasteful to split, where uniformity is clearly in the common interest—matters like commercial treaties, the regulation of imports, banking, company law, agricultural research.

"It will take a great deal of leadership and guidance, and, where necessary, direction from the First Secretary to achieve this. But he is wise and objective and impartial, and I believe he has already won a large measure of confidence in Africa. If representatives of all the Governments can work with him on what these services should be and how they should be run, much may yet be saved and developed; and it may be that, working together, a new unity will be developed and grow."

Appalling Mess

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, who was most critical of the Government, said in the course of his speech:—

"I do not think that anybody doubts Mr. Butler's good will and courage in taking on, with great public spirit, the most invidious task of trying to find some solution for the appalling mess bequeathed to him by some of his predecessors.

"I have seen suggestions of some arrangement under which the Federation as a political entity would cease to exist, but that there should remain what is always vaguely and rather grotesquely described as a 'loose economic link'. This I take to mean that the two northern territories should be given complete political independence, but that what remains of the Federal Government—or some other as yet unspecified central organization—should be devised for the purpose of bridging the inevitable gap between the meagre revenues which Nyasaland herself produces and the steadily rising costs of administering the country at its present level, bearing in mind, of course, as a principle aim the need to ensure that the considerable sums required should not become a burden upon the taxpayer of this country.

"Such proposals have one fatal blemish: that they begin with a complete divorce between responsibility for policy and responsibility for providing the financial resources with which policy is to be carried out. This, sooner or later, will lead to a row. A central body which is responsible for the provision of funds will almost certainly find itself in the unhappy position of having to fork out large sums of money to finance policies to which it is fundamentally opposed, or, at any rate, of which it is profoundly sceptical; and at once a deadlock will occur and the Constitution will begin to break down.

(Continued on page 538)

White Paper on Broken Pledges about the Federation

Full Text of H.M. Government's Reply to Sir Roy Welensky

A SIX-PAGE REPLY by the Central African Office under MR. R. A. BUTLER to SIR ROY WELENSKY'S charges of breach of faith by the United Kingdom Government has been published as a White Paper (Cmd. 1948, 8d.). It is quoted textually hereunder.

Under the title "Commentary on statements relating to the establishment of the Federation and their bearing on the withdrawal of Nyasaland", the White Paper says:—

"(1) The assertion has been made that in 1953, during the course of the Conference on the Federation of Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (which preceded the formation of the Federation)* pledges were given by British Ministers to the effect that no major change in the Federation would be made by the United Kingdom Government and Parliament without the consent of the Governments of the Federation, of the two Rhodesias, and of Nyasaland. The accusation has also been made that, in accepting in principle that Nyasaland should be allowed to withdraw from the Federation, H.M. Government propose to act unilaterally in defiance of undertakings given in 1953 that the Federation would be permanent.

"Rebutting" Bad Faith Charges

"(2) H.M. Government have decided, after consultation with the other Governments concerned, that in order to rebut the charges of bad faith it is necessary to make public the confidential documents, passages from which have already been made public, which are relied upon in support of the allegations that such pledges and such undertakings were given.

"(3) The assertion as regards pledges is based upon (1) the minutes of the 13th meeting of the conference held on Monday, January 19, 1953, and (2) the verbatim record of that meeting.

"(4) The minute in question is short and reads as follows:

REVIEW OF CONSTITUTION

(Previous reference: C.A.F. (53) 12th Meeting, Minute 3)

Mr. Eastwood suggested that the clause providing for a review of the Constitution after not less than seven years, which the conference had accepted at their 12th meeting (C.A.F. (53) 17) might impair the financial credit of the Federation. The general view expressed by delegates was that since any proposal to terminate the Constitution could only be put into effect with the concurrence of the Federal Government and all three territorial Governments, and of H.M. Government in the U.K., it was unlikely that investors would consider the proposed review clause a reflection on the permanence of the Federation. The meeting agreed that no amendment was required in the wording of the draft clause in paragraph 2 of C.A.F. (53) 17.

"(5) The subject under consideration was the provision for review of the Constitution and the question whether such a provision might impair the financial credit of the Federation. As will be seen from the verbatim record set out in the next paragraph, the discussion was initiated by Mr. Eastwood, a Member of the Southern Rhodesian delegation, who raised the question whether the review provision was a 'possible loophole for secession' or 'voluntary liquidation' and whether it might not in consequence impair the credit of the Federation.

Verbatim Record

"(6) The verbatim record of the discussion summarized in the above minute is as follows:

Mr. Eastwood: There is one point. You remember we were dealing with the Constitution the other day; we dealt with this revision—not before seven and not later than nine years. It has been suggested that that is a possible loophole for secession and if not secession it might mean voluntary liquidation. Could anything be read into it at all. Is it likely to be inferred by the financial world?

Mr. Lyttelton: I have not got the words in mind. I do not think you can review a Constitution off the map. It is a question of review.

Mr. Welensky: A review of the whole Constitution.

Mr. Eastwood: Does that infer that there could be a possible voluntary liquidation?

Mr. Lyttelton: I should not have thought it went as far as that.

Mr. Eastwood: I hope not.

Mr. Lyttelton: The point being that the review was not earlier than the seventh or later than the ninth and the Constitution would put into the field of discussion total liquidation of the Constitution.

A Delegate: A suggestion has been made for a review of the working of the Constitution.

Mr. Lyttelton: I think that would perhaps be safer.

Mr. Hopkinson: I think this is very valuable.

Mr. Eastwood: I do not want to convey anything which might impede our credit.

Mr. Welensky: . . . the review. This may envisage the complete break-up of the Federation.

Mr. Unsworth: The working of the provisions of the Constitution.

Mr. Lyttelton: You might knock them all out one by one.

Lord Swinton: You would not, would you, because the Constitution will be enacted. To get a constitutional amendment. Supposing the actual review said on the whole those who are conducting the review, all four Governments, that certain variations in the Constitution are desirable. The way I imagine that these alterations would have to be put into force should be, would it not, by amendment to the Constitution passed through the Federal Assembly, is that not so?

Mr. Welensky: Yes.

Mr. Lyttelton: Nothing can liquidate the Constitution unless all four are agreed on it. I think in those circumstances that working of the Constitution would be more sensible. I do not think you can add the other without the agreement of all four Governments.

Mr. Whitehead: Might I suggest that I do not think there is a certain financial risk in this. People are bound to ask what is going to happen if they cannot agree when this review body meets. Would it be possible to say what amendments may be desirable at the end of the period of freezing?

Unanimous Consent of Four Governments

Mr. Lyttelton: My only comment on that is that you are already talking about credit and finance. You are talking with instructed people and not with public opinion uninformed. We must have an assurance from the lawyers that anything that is put in in this thing does not abrogate what I consider to be the present position which is I think that without the unanimous consent of the four Governments in fact the Constitution could not be liquidated, and therefore whether you are going to borrow your next 25 millions—that is an argument which we hope they will understand but I do not think the electorate of Aldershot will quite frankly. I think that is the answer.

Lord Swinton: I think it is all right and I think after all there has been a good deal of trouble in getting this in. Our anxiety was that we all thought that it was a good thing to have a review and that you did not put it in the early years because then people might try to make it not work—the thing will have been working for at least seven years.

Mr. Welensky: If you added the word 'working' it would improve the matter, would it not?

Lord Swinton: I am not sure that 'working' would because you do want amendments to come in.

Mr. Welensky: What is the actual wording now, does anybody remember it off-hand?

Sir Kenneth Roberts-Wray: In not less than seven nor more than nine years from the said date there shall be a Conference consisting of representatives of the Federation, the three Territories and the United Kingdom, chosen by the respective Governments for the purpose of reviewing the Constitution of the Federation.

Mr. Lyttelton: I think it is quite safe from the credit point of view, Prime Minister, I think we might leave it as it is.

Mr. Welensky: I think we lose sight of one thing, that other than for the Legislative List other amendments can be made, so we are not interfering with that. It is only the Legislative List that is frozen. The unfreezing applies to that, but the review, as I understand, is going to be a review of everything now.

Mr. Lyttelton: I think it has attractions as it is.

* This is the phraseology in the White Paper.—EDITOR

Mr. Whitehead: If you are satisfied and the legal people are satisfied we are quite happy.

Mr. Lyttelton: I think the position is that you cannot upset the Constitution without agreement, can you?

Mr. Greenfield: You could not do so constitutionally without the intervention of Her Majesty's Government here.

Lord Swinton: That is a risk you always run in a sense, that it would be possible I suppose for Her Majesty's Government if they could persuade Parliament to do it to pass an Act of Parliament tomorrow morning to take away the whole of responsible government from Southern Rhodesia and the whole of the functions which would be given to the Federation. You cannot legislate against the United Kingdom Parliament going off its head.

Mr. Lyttelton: That is Mr. Greenfield's point, it is the other way round. He means that as long as it requires the intervention of Her Majesty's Government the lender is safe. Nobody is safe from the Sovereign Government repudiating its obligations. In this case there would have to be four people to do it.

Mr. Greenfield: In this case it is 'the Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away'.

Sir Kenneth Roberts-Wray: If I might suggest a further form of words, something like this: 'When reviewing the working of the Constitution and considering any alteration in matters of detail . . .

Mr. Lyttelton: That is right off the point, there are no details in a Constitution. I am afraid that will not do at all. We are proposing to leave these words as they are, all we are asking the lawyers for is an assurance that, with the concurrence of each and all of the Governments concerned, major alterations could take place in the Constitution.

Lord Swinton: Is there anything ready for us tomorrow for a plenary?

Mr. Lyttelton: Yes, a report by the Finance Committee on matters outstanding. There will be a plenary at 2.30 p.m. tomorrow.

(The proceedings were then adjourned.)

Questions in Review

"(7) This record which is the basic document (as the minute only seeks to summarize its effect) shows:

"(7) (a) that the discussion only related to what might happen at the review and the question what amendments, if any, could be brought about through the review;

(b) that after Lord Swinton had mentioned the possibility that the four Governments (namely the Governments of the Federation, of the two Rhodesias and of Nyasaland) might desire certain amendments, Mr. Lyttelton made it clear that at such a review the Constitution could not be liquidated or upset by the territorial Governments and the Federal Government unless all four were agreed;

(c) that the position of the U.K. Government in the matter was treated as distinct; and that Mr. Greenfield, then Minister of Internal Affairs and Justice in Southern Rhodesia and a delegate from Southern Rhodesia, and now Minister of Law and Home Affairs of the Federation, then stated that the Constitution could not be upset constitutionally without the intervention of a fifth Government, that of the U.K., and by a later intervention he made it clear that in his view the U.K., having created the Federation, could terminate its existence.

(d) that the discussion was chiefly about what, under the Constitution, might be done by the territories and the Federation at the review, and that the views expressed were in relation to that and not to the exercise of power by the U.K. Parliament.

"(8) Accordingly the statements made at the conference cannot be construed as constituting a pledge by the British Ministers to the effect that no change in the Federation would be made by the U.K. without the consent of the four Governments, even in the circumstances then envisaged for the review conference. Indeed, until 1962 there was, so far as can be ascertained, no suggestion that such a pledge had been given.

"No Trace of Pledge"

"(9) Such a pledge by H.M. Government would have meant that the Federal Government and each of the territorial Governments would have been given a permanent veto whereby any one of them could insist on the indefinite perpetuation of the Federation established in 1953 whatever might be the views of the U.K. Government and of the other three Governments.

"(10) No trace of such a pledge can be found in any public document, in any contemporaneous announcement, or in the Constitution itself, Article 29(7) of which provides that 'nothing in this Constitution shall affect any power to make laws for the Federation or any of the territories conferred on Her Majesty by any Act of the Parliament of the United King-

dom'. If such a pledge of such vital importance was given, there was no reason for secrecy with regard to it. The Ireland Act 1949, one of the purposes of which was 'to declare and affirm the constitutional position and the territorial integrity of Northern Ireland', in Section 1(2) states: 'It is hereby declared that Northern Ireland remains part of His Majesty's dominions and of the United Kingdom and it is hereby affirmed that in no event will Northern Ireland or any part thereof cease to be part of His Majesty's dominions and of the United Kingdom without the consent of the Parliament of Northern Ireland'. There is no reason why, if such a pledge was given, a declaration to the effect that no change in the Federation would be made without the consent of the four Governments should not have been inserted in the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Federation Act, 1953, or in the Constitution made thereunder.

Northern Territories

"(11) Pledges which were given by H.M. Government in relation to the safeguarding of the Protectorate status of the inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and with regard to preventing amalgamation of the territories, except in certain circumstances, were as the then Colonial Secretary made clear in the House of Commons, embodied in the Constitution. He said:

"The effective way, which we have adopted, is to safeguard the Protectorate status of the Northern Territories by constructing the Federal Constitution in such a way that these territories remain separate and distinct political entities independent of the Federation within their respective spheres, and continue to be under the responsibility of the Secretary of State for the Colonies and, too, subject to the authority of Her Majesty in Council under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act. This, I can assure the House, the Federal Constitution certainly does. I say in the clearest terms that it will not be competent to interfere with the constitutional position of either of these territories, or, for that matter, of Southern Rhodesia. So much for the Protectorate status.

"The effective method of preventing amalgamation except in certain circumstances is to secure, as the Federal Constitution does, that H.M. Government and, in certain circumstances, Parliament, have the last word on constitutional amendments. This Government and future Governments will be under an obligation not so to amend it unless they are satisfied that a numerical majority of the people concerned are in favour of it. Their intentions are clearly set forth in the Preamble, the fourth paragraph of which makes it quite clear that without a numerical majority of the people amalgamation is ruled out. The effective safeguard, however, is that H.M. Government and Parliament have the last word on constitutional amendments' (Hansard, Col. 903, July 27, 1953.)

"Lasting" Association

"(12) It is further alleged, as mentioned in paragraph 1, that H.M. Government gave undertakings in 1953 that the Federation would be permanent. In support of these allegations reliance has been placed on the fact that the Constitution does not contain any provision conferring a right of secession, and on a statement made by the then Commonwealth Secretary (Lord Swinton) at the 1953 conference, endorsing the view that no such provision should be made. The statement made by Lord Swinton is printed below. But the omission from the Constitution of a provision conferring a right to secede is not relevant. It cannot be inferred from its absence that in no circumstances could secession be contemplated or that an undertaking or guarantee as to the permanence of Federation existed.

"(13) It was, of course, the purpose and desire of H.M. Government in endorsing the Federal scheme in 1953 that a stable and lasting form of association between the three territories should be created. This was clearly and publicly stated at the time. H.M. Government, however, were in no position to give and did not give any undertaking or guarantee as to its permanency.

"(14) The responsibility of H.M. Government for the inhabitants of Nyasaland as a territory under the special protection of Her Majesty remains unimpaired by the establishment of the Federation. In the new circumstances that have arisen, namely the expressed wish of the majority of the inhabitants of the territory to withdraw from the Federation, it would in the view of H.M. Government be a breach of its obligation to the people of the Protectorate to disregard that wish. Nothing said in the discussions quoted can be held to preclude H.M. Government from acting as they have done."

* Extract of statement from the 1953 conference record by the then Commonwealth Secretary (Lord Swinton):—

"I know no Federal Constitution within the Commonwealth, or indeed I think outside it, in which a secession clause is to be found, and there must be very good reasons

for that, particularly when one remembers that there have been both within the Commonwealth and outside it, great jealousies of State and provincial rights when federation took place, yet great as those sectional, and provincial interests were territorially, never was such a clause inserted in the Constitution measures, except, which is delightful, Mr. Hopkinson reminds me, within the Soviet Union. It would be right to describe a claim to secede as a precursor of liquidation. *After all, it would be, would it not, rather an odd way of starting to make a success of, federation to insert in the document of Constitution of federation, in the foreground of it an invitation to secede. It is rather like a marriage service in which the Minister after uniting the parties, immediately drew their very active attention to the facilities for divorce which were available to them. Divorce figures very prominently in the newspapers, but I think most of us do not believe married life is founded on the prospect of divorce, and I think that is as true of political partnerships as it is of other social ones.*

At a time when we all want everyone to concentrate on making federation a success and bringing the union into the most real partnership, it would be odd to invite people to look to secession, but there is one absolutely over-riding economic objection to this which rules it out from the very start. The Federation has got to raise loans and to raise them on federal assets and federal securities. Make no mistake about it — if you doubt my words ask anybody in the City of London — federation could never raise a penny of money by loan if it was not known whether federation was to continue, and therefore whatever views you take about what I may call the moral side of the thing, there is an economic argument to which there can be no possible answer.

"Note.—The words in italics were omitted from the extract already published by Sir Roy Welensky".

[Editorial comment appears under Matters of Moment]

White Paper Contentions Absurd, Says Sir Roy Welensky

Valid Pledges Given Against Secession Have Now Been Broken by Britain

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation, said last Saturday:—

"The British Government in its White Paper, Command 1948, attempts to explain away the pledges given by British Ministers to Lord Malvern in 1953 by drawing a distinction (see § 7 (c) and (d)) between what might be done by the territories and the Federation at the review and the exercise of power by the United Kingdom Parliament."

"This distinction is invalid. The whole case presented in Command 1948 founders upon the rock of absurdity. The British Government concedes that the dissolution of the Federation or secession of a territory could not occur as the result of the review without the consent of the four Governments, but contends that, without any breach of the pledges of undertakings at any other time (for instance, during a period when the conference is adjourned) the British Parliament could unilaterally dissolve the Federation or allow a territory to secede."

"Solemn Treaty"

"The British Government attempts to bolster up this absurdity by reference § 7(c) to statements made at the time by the then Minister of Justice of Southern Rhodesia. It is, of course, quite correct that the Minister expressed the view that the United Kingdom, having created the Federation, could end its existence, and that in fact British legislation would be indispensable for this purpose. As a proposition of law this is incontrovertible. The Minister, in his present capacity as Minister of Law in the Federation, has made this clear on several occasions, and most recently in a White Paper, C.Fed.232, § 1. His statements in no way detract from the force of the pledges given by the British Ministers concerned, which were categorical statements applicable to dissolution or secession at any time."

"The statements made on December 19, 1962, in the House of Lords by the Marquess of Salisbury, Viscount Chandos, Viscount Boyd of Merton, Lord Colyton and Viscount Malvern speak for themselves. The first four, who were British Ministers at the relevant time, agree that the pledges were made as contended by the Federal Government, and Lord Malvern, who was Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, says that without them he would not have signed what Lord Swinton in a speech in Salisbury on July 30, 1953, described as a 'solemn treaty'."

"Paragraph 8 of Command 1948 says: 'Indeed, until 1962 there was, as far as can be ascertained, no suggestion that such a pledge had been given'."

"In 1960 the Federal Prime Minister had considerable correspondence with the British Prime Minister on the subject of the terms of reference of the Monckton Commission and made the Federal Government's case on the subject of secession abundantly clear. On September 21, 1960, in a letter to Mr. Macmillan he quoted the extract of the statement from the 1953 Conference record by Lord Swinton which is reproduced as a footnote to Command 1948. On June 1, 1962, the Federal Prime Minister in a letter to the First Secretary of State (the Rt. Hon. R. A. Butler) quoted much of what is reproduced in § 6 of Command 1948."

"There is nothing remarkable in the observations in paragraph 9 of Command 1948. A Select Committee of both Houses of the British Parliament held that the Federal Government of Australia has the power to veto the secession of any of the States of Australia. Abraham Lincoln held similar views in regard to the secession of the Southern States of the U.S.A."

"In § 10 of Command 1948 it is argued that if such a pledge were given there is no reason why it should not have been incorporated in the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Federation Act, 1953, or in the Constitution made thereunder. Paragraph 7 (B) concedes that Mr. Lyttelton did give a pledge, namely, that at the review the Constitution could not be liquidated or upset by the territorial Governments and the Federal Government unless all four were agreed. It may equally be argued that there is no reason why this pledge should not have been incorporated in the instruments; yet this was not done. The omission to incorporate the pledges which the Federal Government relies on therefore proves nothing."

Merely Quibbling

"Paragraph 11 of Command 1948 in the passage quoted makes it clear that the Northern Territories remain separate and distinct political entities independent of the Federation within their respective spheres." Paragraph 14, however, makes the untenable assertion that 'the responsibility of H.M. Government for the inhabitants of Nyasaland as a territory under the special protection of Her Majesty remains unimpaired by the establishment of the Federation'. The responsibility of H.M. Government was, of course, impaired to the extent of the functions taken over by the Federal Government."

"The British Government now seeks to justify the breach of the pledges by reliance on an alleged new circumstance, namely, 'the expressed wish of the majority of the inhabitants to withdraw from the Federation'. It is merely quibbling to suggest that this is a new circumstance. It is well known that the vast majority of the African inhabitants of Nyasaland who were capable of expressing a view on the matter were opposed to the inclusion of their territory in the Federation from the outset in 1951-1953. Mr. James Griffiths, who as Colonial Secretary had toured Nyasaland in 1951, said in the House of Commons on March 24, 1953: 'Our information is that opposition is practically universal and unanimous'. The findings of the Monckton Commission bear this out. (See §§ 18-22 and 26-27.)"

"The Federal Government adheres to its contentions that valid pledges against secession were given and that these pledges have been broken by the British Government."

Mr. Macleod in Error

MR. J. M. GREENFIELD, Federal Minister of Law, said in Salisbury, last Friday:—

"Mr. Macleod has said in the House of Commons that 'it has never been suggested at any time, either in Parliament or anywhere else, in the whole of the ten years that pledge of that nature existed'. Mr. Macleod does not appear fully informed on this subject. Sir Roy Welensky during 1960 had a lengthy correspondence with Mr. Harold Macmillan on the subject of the Monckton Commission's recommendations"

(Concluded on page 537)

PERSONALIA

MR. ALAN HANCOX has been appointed a resident magistrate in Kenya.

LORD BADEN-POWELL has joined the board of Sunstream Developments, Ltd.

MR. CHARLES WOOLVERIDGE, F.C.A., has been elected chairman of Bird and Co. (Africa), Ltd., in succession to SIR CHARLES PONSONBY.

MR. WILFRED GREVILLE-GREY, a businessman in Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia, will on Saturday marry MISS EDITH DHLAMINI, a Zulu secretary.

SIR ALEXANDER and LADY HYSLOP MAXWELL have left in the TRANSVAAL CASTLE for the Cape on their way to Rhodesia. They will return soon after Easter.

SIR RONALD and LADY PRAIN are to be guests of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club at dinner in London on Tuesday, March 26. LORD SINCLAIR OF CLEEVE will preside.

SIR STANLEY UNWIN and MR. CHARLES FURTH, of the London publishers Allen and Unwin, Ltd., have had talks in Northern Rhodesia with the Ministry of African Education.

MR. ROBERT JENKINS, Conservative M.P. for Dulwich, who has visited the Federation and championed its cause, has been medically advised not to stand at the next general election.

MR. OSAIAH MWAMBUNGU, principal assistant secretary in the Tanganyika Ministry of Commerce and Industry, is attending the G.A.T.T. council meeting in Geneva this week as an observer.

MR. C. S. COOPER, assistant general manager of the Royal Exchange Assurance, is now in Salisbury for a 15-day tour of the Rhodesias in order to discuss investment possibilities with Federal Ministers.

MR. KANYAMA CHUME, Nyasaland's Minister of Education, Social Development and Information, intends to re-organize the territory's Information Department because it is not creating the public image he wants.

DR. E. W. RUSSELL, director of the E.A. Agriculture and Forestry Research Organization at Muguga, Kenya, will spend next month in Australia to advise the Commonwealth Scientific Industrial Research Organization on soil studies.

MR. P. J. OKONDO, K.A.D.U. National Member, has stated that if his party comes to power in Kenya it will demand the dismissal of the Deputy Governor, SIR ERIC GRIFFITH-JONES, and the Chief Commissioner, MR. R. E. WAINWRIGHT.

MISS GILLIAN LARDNER-BURKE, daughter of MR. D. W. LARDNER-BURKE, M.P. for Gwelo, and MISS VERONICA SOMEVILLE have both just obtained the Degree of Bachelor of Laws. They are the first two Rhodesian-born girls to qualify in this way.

MR. D. T. JACK, who was a member of the Monckton Commission while he was Professor of Economics at Durham University, has been appointed by the Minister of Labour to be chairman of the court of inquiry into the dispute at the Ford works, Dagenham.

ARCHDEACON H. CHIPEMBE has resigned from the Legislative Council of Nyasaland, leaving a vacancy for which his son, MR. HENRY CHIPEMBE, lately made Minister of Local Government, was nominated on Monday. He was returned unopposed.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Commonwealth Relations and Colonial Secretary, is accompanied by an Assistant Under-Secretary at the C.O., MR. W. B. L. MONSON, for his talks in East Africa. MRS. SANDYS is travelling with him. Two legal advisers, MR. A. R. RUSHFORD and MR. H. STEEL, and a principal officer from the C.O., MR. P. J. KITCATT, complete the group.

MR. C. G. RICHARDS, director of the East Africa Literature Bureau since its inception in 1948, is about to retire.

SAYED EL NUR ALI SULEIMAN, a member of the Sudan Foreign Service since 1956, is shortly to take up duty as Sudan Ambassador in Uganda.

African clergymen in Salisbury last week called on the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, MR. WINSTON FIELD, and the Minister of Justice, Law and Order, MR. CLIFFORD DUPONT, to discuss police behaviour, the ban on Z.A.P.U., the franchise, land problems and education.

SIR ERIC MILLBOURN, ports adviser to the Minister of Transport, has been appointed chairman of the new council of administration for Malta dockyard. One of his colleagues will be SIR NICHOLAS CAYZER, chairman of the British and Commonwealth group of shipping companies.

PROFESSOR R. L. WAIN, Professor of Agriculture at Wye College, and PROFESSOR A. ROBERTSON, Director of the Royal School of Veterinary Studies at Edinburgh University, are attending this week's first meeting in Nairobi of the newly-formed East African Natural Resources Council.

DR. HASTINGS BANDA, Prime Minister of Nyasaland, has said at a reception in Zomba that he will not "sack a European in order to fit an African into the civil service simply because he has a black skin; those clamouring for promotion must learn a sense of integrity, honesty and devotion to service".

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, Governor of Kenya, has declined an invitation from SIR CHARLES MACLEAN, Chief Scout of the Commonwealth, to become Chief Scout of the Kenya Boy Scouts' Association because he feels that "at this stage of the movement towards independence it is not helpful to the local Boy Scout movement to have the Colonial Governor as its head".

DR. J. G. KIANO, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Economic Planning, is leading a Kenya delegation to the fifth session of the U.N.O. Economic Commission for Africa which opened in Leopoldville on Monday. The other members of the group are MR. P. M. REES, director of the economics and statistics division, and MR. R. J. OUKO, an assistant secretary in the external affairs department.

HERR WALTER SCHEBL, West German Minister for Economic Co-operation, last week met the Secretary for Technical Co-operation, MR. DENNIS VOSPER, for talks on possible forms of Anglo-German collaboration in assistance to developing countries. He also called at the Colonial and Commonwealth Relations Offices and on the C.D.C., the Overseas Development Institute, and the Commonwealth Development Finance Company.

PRESIDENT JULIUS NYERERE of Tanganyika has criticized businessmen for their "wait and see" approach to investment in East Africa, saying that it was inexcusable in the light of the declared policy of the Tanganyika and Uganda Governments and of all prominent politicians in Kenya to develop their countries, aided by private investment. His statement was made when opening a meeting in Dar es Salaam of the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Eastern Africa.

MR. HERBERT CHITEPO, Director of Public Prosecutions in Tanganyika, and the first Southern Rhodesian African to become an advocate, is defending MESSRS. NKOMO, NYAGUMBO and CHIKEREMA, who on Monday pleaded not guilty in Rusape magistrate's court to contravening the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act and an alternative charge of common assault against SUPERINTENDENT T. W. EGLETON, B.S.A.P., who has stated that he was punched by Mr. Nyagumbo and poked with a stick by Mr. Nkomo when he told them they were in Rusape illegally.

MR. JOHN CORBY is now Conservator of Forests (Research and Planning) in Kenya.

MR. E. R. WOOLCOCK has been appointed Deputy Commissioner of Customs and Excise in East Africa.

MR. J. H. CHILD, lately of the Eldoret branch of Barclays Bank D.C.O., has left Kenya to take over the management of the branch in Seychelles.

MR. A. J. NICHOLAS has succeeded the late SIR JOHN PASCOE as chairman of Aberdare Holdings, Ltd., a group with a Southern African subsidiary.

MR. SERAPHINO ANTAO, the Kenya Commonwealth Games gold medallist, will compete in the Australian athletic championships in Melbourne next month.

MR. A. T. S. DIXON, of Thika, Kenya, and Lorton, Cumberland, who died domiciled in Kenya has left estate in England of £69,591, on which duty of £511 has been paid.

SIR NUTCOMBE HUME has retired from the chairmanship of Associated Book Publishers, Ltd., but remains a director. SIR OLIVER CROSTHWAITE-EYRE, M.P., is the new chairman.

MR. JOHN ODULA is the fourth African in Kenya to be appointed a provincial information officer. The first of them, MR. JUSTICE OLUOCH, is now Deputy Director of Information Services.

MR. JOHN R. STODDARD has been appointed technical adviser throughout America to the Pyrethrum Bureau, Inc., which was set up in the U.S.A. a year ago by the Pyrethrum Board of Kenya.

SIR CHARLTON LANE, of Church Enstone, Oxfordshire, a former judge of the High Court of Somaliland, and afterwards Chief Justice of Mauritius, left £14,854, on which duty of £1,159 has been paid.

MR. MARTIN VISAGIE has been elected to the Federal Assembly for the U.F.P. in the North-Western constituency of Northern Rhodesia, where a by-election was caused by the death of MR. E. S. MAGRATH.

MRS. D. E. CLARKE, who has recently left Kenya, was a member of the Nairobi City Council and chairman of its Public Health Committee. ALDERMAN J. M. KASYOKA has been elected to fill the vacancy created by her departure.

LIEUT. COLONEL SIR STEWART SYMES, who was Governor of Tanganyika from 1931 to 1933 and then Governor-General of the Sudan until 1940, left £105,425, on which duty of £54,388 has been paid. He died recently in Folkestone.

DR. W. J. A. PAYNE, Deputy Director of the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organization, will leave Muguga, near Nairobi, next month to take charge of the establishment in the Philippines of a new dairy research institute, a project of a United Nations Special Fund.

MR. S. BASSADIQ, M.L.C. for Mombasa Protectorate in Kenya, has announced that he will no longer work for autonomy for the Coastal Strip, because of lack of support from the Zanzibar Nationalist Party and an alleged private agreement between the Sultan and H.M. Government.

Tanganyika's representative at the Leopoldville E.C.A. meeting this week is the Finance Minister, MR. PAUL BOMANI, who is accompanied by his Parliamentary Secretary, MR. JACOB NAMFUA, a deputy secretary, MR. G. RUGARABAMU, and the senior economist, MR. J. G. SCOTT.

MR. CHARLES LYNN has been appointed chairman of a Copperbelt Planning Authority in Northern Rhodesia, which is expected to report within three years on development plans for the Western Province, excluding Chingola, Kitwe, Luanshya, Mufulira and Ndola mine townships, and all Native trust land and reserves. The other members are MESSRS. J. DARE, W. J. LONGMAN, W. H. MCCLELAND, J. THOMSON and V. I. WEBBER (alternate, W.M. YOUNGER).

MR. FELIX ONAMA, Minister of Works and Labour, has complained to the Uganda Association of Building and Civil Engineering Contractors that of 129 men who last year completed three-year courses in carpentry and bricklaying, not one has been engaged by a private employer.

THE RT. REV. A. M. GELSTHORPE, who has just retired from the rectory of Bingham, Nottinghamshire, has been presented by his parishioners with a television set, and MRS. GELSTHORPE with a Persian carpet. From 1938 to 1945, BISHOP GELSTHORPE was Assistant Bishop in the Sudan.

Reports from Sudanese refugees arriving in the Congo that BISHOP IRENAEUS DUDD, Roman Catholic Vicar-Apostolic of Wau, had been beheaded in Juba with one of his Sudanese priests, and that the cathedral in that town in the Southern Sudan had been turned into a mosque, are false.

SIR BARCLAY NIHILL, having been asked to act as arbitrator in a pay dispute between the Kenya Civil Servants Union and the Government of the Colony, left London Airport on Tuesday for Nairobi, where the arbitration proceedings will open on February 25. The dispute involves the subordinate staff.

MR. W. R. KAPINGA, secretary-general of the Co-operative Union of Tanganyika, has been elected the first president of the recently formed African Co-operative Alliance. He is to represent Tanganyika at a meeting in Stuttgart in April of the central committee of the International Co-operative Alliance.

THE REV. MAURICE DOUGLAS SOSELEIE, lately chaplain of St. Cyprian's Theological College, Masasi, is the first African to be appointed Assistant Bishop in that Tanganyika diocese. Last year he was at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, for six months, and then for a short time a curate at St. Giles's, Camberwell, London.

HERR ERWIN BLUMENTHAL, a senior official of the Deutsche Bundesbank who has recently spent some time in East Africa, mainly in Tanganyika at the invitation of the Government of that republic, has rendered it a report on the East African Currency Board and suggestions for the establishment of a Central Bank for East Africa.

East African students called to the Bar in London in the Hilary term include MESSRS. A. TAPYA (Dar es Salaam), S. T. ABDULHUSEIN (Mombasa), D. W. NABUDERE (Mbale), D. C. K. PATEL (Jinja), and S. K. TREON (Kampala), at Lincoln's Inn; M. G. PANDYA (Mwanza) and V. C. KESARIA (Dar es Salaam), of the Inner Temple; and K. MADAN (Nairobi), P. NYAMUCHONCHO (Kabale), E. A. OTENG (Lira), P. MUTAGAYWA (Dar es Salaam) and S. K. LAXMAN (Mwanza), of the Middle Temple.

MR. M. F. L. ROBINSON, who farms in the Elementeita and Mau Narok districts of Kenya, and has also a property in Tanganyika, has been elected chairman of the Pyrethrum Board of Kenya, on which he has served since 1956. He is a director of Uplands Bacon Factory (Kenya) Ltd., and chairman of the Pig Industry Board of the Colony. His predecessor, MR. D. H. PELL-SMITH, had been chairman of the Pyrethrum Board for nine years, and remains a member. MR. J. F. PERKINS has been re-elected vice-chairman.

ALDERMAN D. KAYANDA, mayor of Mombasa, ALDERMAN J. M. KASYOKA, deputy mayor of Nairobi, CHIEF WILLIE CHIRCHIR, chairman of the Elgeyo-Marakwet African District Council, MR. J. M. OMINO, chairman of the Central Nyanza A.D.C., CHIEF ERASTUS MBAABU, chairman of the Meru A.D.C., MR. T. MWALWA, vice-chairman of the Kitui A.D.C., MR. M. ZANI, vice-chairman of the Kwale A.D.C., and MR. S. NYAGAH, a member of Embu A.D.C., have returned to Kenya after spending three months in the U.S.A. studying local government activities.

U.N.I.P. Tried to Kill Me Four Times, Says Mr. Nkumbula

Transcript of a Television Interview from the Kitwe Station*

INTRODUCTION: Mr. Harry Nkumbula, African National Congress president and Minister of African Education, addressed a massed rally of about 12,000 of his supporters today at Mufulira.

Like party official Mr. Ernest Kapota he found it hot work, and the speeches had a similar flavour. They were largely devoted to attacks on U.N.I.P. the A.N.C.'s partner in Northern Rhodesia's Coalition Government.

Mr. Nkumbula accused U.N.I.P. of violence and intimidation and compared the party's leader, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, with Adolf Hitler. Earlier this week U.N.I.P. circulars made similar charges against the A.N.C. and urged their members to retaliate. The circulars also claimed that Mr. Nkumbula was reverting to his rôle as a "sell-out".

Conspicuous by his absence at this morning's rally was Mr. Frank Stubbs, Minister of Transport and Works, and the A.N.C.'s Member for Mufulira.

INTERVIEWER: Mr. Nkumbula, you yourself today compared Mr. Kaunda with Adolf Hitler. How, then, do you enter into a coalition partnership with a party led by Mr. Kaunda?

To Restrain U.N.I.P.

MR. NKUMBULA: I entered into coalition with Mr. Kaunda only for one purpose—to save this country from damage because if U.N.I.P. was left alone they would stop at nothing, and they will, I think, lead this country to ruin.

INTERVIEWER: You feel that in partnership with them you can exercise a moderating influence?

MR. NKUMBULA: That is the point that I have to exercise. I have to control his movements.

INTERVIEWER: You have more than once accused U.N.I.P. of violence and intimidation. Have you personally ever had any experience of this?

MR. NKUMBULA: O I have had. They have tried to kill me four times now. At one time they put a petrol bomb into my bedroom, but I wasn't in it. Another time they surrounded my house at half past four, right in clear daylight, and I was saved by my own supporters.

INTERVIEWER: I think U.N.I.P. has denied this attack on you.

MR. NKUMBULA: Well, they couldn't. That's so clear.

INTERVIEWER: You have said that the Coalition Government is in danger of breaking up, and at this rate would you not say that this now seems very probable?

Tribal Split

MR. NKUMBULA: "I don't think it will be probable at the moment. I have got to play my game. I entered into coalition with U.N.I.P. as I said earlier, to save the country from damage, and I think it would be wrong at this time for the Coalition to break up. If it breaks up it will mean that the United Federal Party will come into power; and what happens then? Well, the A.N.C. will remain alone. I will not join the United Federal Party—that I have made clear.

INTERVIEWER: That is definitely out?

MR. NKUMBULA: Yes. Then what will happen? U.N.I.P. by itself, and A.N.C. by itself, and U.F.P. with a majority of two. And that will lead to bloodshed.

INTERVIEWER: Could you comment on the reported tribal split within U.N.I.P. ranks?

MR. NKUMBULA: There is a tribal split. You know—I don't know whether this is right to say now—but Mr. Sipalo has been to my house after he was discharged from the hospital and he told me quite a few things which I am not prepared to tell the public now. There is a split.

INTERVIEWER: You have said that the possibility of an

A.N.C.-U.F.P. coalition is definitely out, but it was rumoured at the time you entered into coalition with U.N.I.P. that you had done this only because they offered you more. Cabinet seats than the U.F.P. were prepared to give.

MR. NKUMBULA: That's not true, because the United Federal Party gave me more ministerial posts, and they did even say that they were going to make me Leader of the House. I got from U.N.I.P. only three ministerial positions and about four Parliamentary Secretaries. U.F.P. said four plus Parliamentary Secretaries—and leadership.

INTERVIEWER: Could you comment on Mr. Frank Stubbs' absence from the rally today in Mufulira, which is, after all, his constituency.

MR. NKUMBULA: I don't think he knows anything about it really. I met him last night at Charter Hall where there was a reception for Mr. Butler, but we didn't discuss it.

INTERVIEWER: Would it not have been normal to invite him to a mass rally in his constituency?

MR. NKUMBULA: Quite normal. Yes, I mean I would have done it; but I thought he knew.

INTERVIEWER: Yes.

MR. NKUMBULA: But I don't think he does.

Mr. Butler's Offer

INTERVIEWER: You also said—at this rally this afternoon, I think—that Mr. Butler in your talks with him had given you to understand that should the Coalition Government continue to demand the break-up of Federation and Northern Rhodesia's secession it would be unrealistic to continue to refuse it.

MR. NKUMBULA: Yes, he said that.

INTERVIEWER: So you have virtually the assurance from Mr. Butler that he would allow Northern Rhodesia's secession?

MR. NKUMBULA: What he actually said—although I am not supposed to say it—was that he was not prepared to impose any scheme on us again. He will not go against our own wishes. You see, if we didn't want Federation, well, he can't stop it; he can't stop us from refusing it, and we wanted a new Constitution; he can't stop us.

INTERVIEWER: Finally, Mr. Nkumbula, it has been suggested that since you have reached Cabinet position in an African Government you have lost your enthusiasm for politics. Could you comment on that?

MR. NKUMBULA: Well, I don't think so. I think I am getting even more enthusiastic than before.

INTERVIEWER: You don't feel that this is all now something of an anti-climax after your years of battling?

MR. NKUMBULA: Well, it is very difficult indeed to say that I can carry out the same activities as I used to before I was appointed to Government.

INTERVIEWER: Do you see yourself as well suited to Cabinet responsibility as you were as an African nationalist leader in opposition?

MR. NKUMBULA: O, I see myself more suited to a nationalist organization.

INTERVIEWER: In opposition?

MR. NKUMBULA: In opposition, yes.

INTERVIEWER: But working for Government?

MR. NKUMBULA: Yes, yes.

INTERVIEWER: Thank you very much indeed, Mr. Nkumbula, for coming along tonight.

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*The interview was on January 25, when Mr. Butler was in Northern Rhodesia.

British Government Not Final Arbiters

Passive Isolation No Defence

IT IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL for the safety of Southern Rhodesia and the continued presence of the white man in Africa that the association of the Rhodesias should be maintained, "and I will go on fighting for it and resisting its disruption", the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, told Fort Victoria Chamber of Commerce in Southern Rhodesia on Friday. He continued (in part):—

"We are under pressure from the extremists in the African nationalist movement in every part of the Federation. These people will continue to apply pressure and will continue in their practice of surring up strife and trouble until they succeed, not only in breaking up the Federation, but in installing extreme nationalist Governments in its component parts. They have already achieved a measure of success, and their tactics—coupled with the vacillation and indecisiveness of the British Government—have led to the recent decision to excise Nyasaland from the Federation.

"Insofar as they have succeeded and may be allowed to succeed in the future, commerce and industry will have to adapt themselves to a situation over which they can have little influence, since the extremists amongst the African nationalists have proved themselves in favour of a one-party system of government under a dictatorship and not in favour of the political, social and economic practices we enjoy in the Federation at present.

African Nationalism Denies Second Chance

"This state of affairs has already arisen in much of Africa, and today it is a direct threat to us in the Federation. Any passive inclination to try to live with a situation such as this or to believe that it is possible to isolate your activities as a chamber of commerce from its influence is a delusion, one which holds seeds of danger to our future. No second chance is allowed by an extreme form of African nationalism. Once it gains control it sets out to govern in its own way, and its idea of controls which the Government should exercise goes well beyond the parliamentary, industrialist or businessman: you either toe the line or you suffer for it.

"To suggest as some are doing that it will be possible to isolate the people and life of Southern Rhodesia from extreme African nationalism is totally unreal. What grounds have we for believing that the extreme nationalists will stop at Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland? We know that their declared intention is to 'liberate', as they call it, the whole of Africa from white rule.

"We have learnt from the recent conference in Moshi, Tanganyika, that Russia is prepared to offer aid of all sorts in this operation of so-called liberation and now openly says so. We know there are over 3m. Africans in Southern Rhodesia and know, above all, that whatever the inclinations of the nationalist leaders of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland as individuals might be, however saintly and well intentioned they might appear, they are not their own masters in these matters. So why should they stop at the Zambezi?

Record of Bad Faith

"On the contrary, I believe they will do everything in their power as speedily as possible and with all the weight and deviousness they can command, first, to make it thoroughly difficult and uncomfortable to live in Southern Rhodesia, and then to break the Government in order to make a way step by step, as was done in other parts, for a Government of their liking.

"For this reason if for no other, those who believe that commercial relations—absolutely vital to the health of some of our industries and to the very existence of others—could be preserved in some lasting economic association with the northern territories and that those markets for Southern Rhodesia products could be kept open, should think twice. I doubt that this is even a possibility. As to any promises which may have been made, any protestations of good faith and good in-

tentions, why should they be relied upon in the case of Southern Rhodesia when the record elsewhere is one of bad faith and little more?

"I am firmly convinced from most bitter experience that because of the nature of this movement you have to go out to meet it in order to contain it. To be passive in opposing it, to withdraw into some *laager* before it, to accept its inevitability—all invite certain defeat.

"It is true that the burden of resistance is considerable in terms of costs of defence alone, and it would be wrong if I did not again warn that the burden might well become intolerable if Southern Rhodesia were to stand alone. Southern Rhodesia's resources are great, but I doubt that she could avoid depression and loss of many Europeans as emigrants were she to be subjected to an economic boycott or to the imposition of trade barriers at the Zambezi.

High Cost of Security

"Nearly £5m. yearly is today being spent on the police forces. The Federal Government is spending just on £9m. annually on the Army and Air Force. This expenditure together is no more than enough to meet the contingency of violence in the future—and I ask you to remember that waves of violence are part of the pattern of progression of extreme nationalism. The threat will grow, not lessen, if Southern Rhodesia were to stand alone, and though I hear it said that this or that figure could be managed for defence, remember that in these matters it is an emergency that determines expenditure, not expenditure the size of the emergency.

"All this lies behind my continued resistance against attempts to break up the Federation. Additionally I cannot accept that any part of our country must necessarily be allowed to slip back in history, as other parts of Africa have slipped back. I cannot accept that we must be condemned to racialism. I cannot believe even now that we should draw back in fear from what has been no more than a war of words, albeit a successful one.

"I believe it is absolutely essential, not only for the safety of Southern Rhodesia but also to the continued presence of the white man in Africa, that the association of the Rhodesias should be maintained, and I will go on fighting for it and resisting its disruption. The people of this country seek leadership in men of courage and initiative; but part of the quality of leadership is to face issues squarely, and it is neither courageous nor wise to draw back into the *laager* to which I have referred.

"All the facts and implications of what would happen should the Rhodesias be separated are being put to the Government of Great Britain through the First Secretary of State, and as soon as the full story is prepared it will be put to the people of this country. I believe it will convince you that I in no way exaggerate in what I have said today.

"My own position in the last few years has not been enviable. I have no personal axe to grind and no political ambitions to fulfil. I am also quite aware of the fact that for a considerable time there has been a desire in certain fields—not mainly here, I might add, but elsewhere—for my removal from the political scene. I mention this because it is the prelude to what I have to say in my final words.

Britain Blamed

"I do not accept that it is the right of the British Government through their Mr. Butler to decide the fate of the two Rhodesias. I believe it is Mr. Butler's rôle to try to negotiate some kind of reasonable and workable arrangement to keep the two Rhodesias together, but the decision is not his nor his Government's alone.

"I contend that I am just as capable as any member of the British Government of seeing the dangers which face us all in this part of the world. And when I say 'all' I mean the people of every race—white and black. I do not concede for one moment that the British Government have any greater desire than I have to find a solution of our difficulties here.

"In fact, I blame them for many of our troubles. Had they had the courage to see this great adventure through, had they the courage to have backed it in the initial stages, we should not be facing the crisis we are facing today.

"I hope Mr. Butler will provide some kind of reasonable solution for us to consider. It is time the British Government came forward with some constructive proposals; but I repeat that I do not accept that they are the final arbiters of our fate."

Southern Rhodesia's New Government

No Claim to Secede from Federation

NO ACTION will be taken by the new Rhodesia Front Government in Southern Rhodesia to contribute to the demise of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland as it at present exists, the Governor of the Colony, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, announced in his speech from the Throne at the opening of the tenth Parliament in Salisbury on Tuesday of last week.

"In the forthcoming review of the Federal Constitution the aim of my Government will be, among other things, to secure a settlement which will provide Southern Rhodesia with a more equitable allotment of financial and taxing resources.

"They will honour and uphold the Southern Rhodesia Constitution and have undertaken not to alter it without reference to the country.

"My Government have not advanced the right to secede from the Federation and have not and will not take any action which will contribute to the demise of the Federation as it at present exists. But at the same time my Ministers are prepared to be realistic in today's conditions and hope that the First Secretary of State will give early and final decisions so that the Governments affected here may proceed to reappraise their positions and settle between themselves the nature of their future association.

African Agriculture Will Be Fostered

"My Government have accepted the aims and philosophies of community development, and during the year courses on new techniques to be applied to community development will be inaugurated. Education will play a great part in community development, and my Government hope that future expansion will be decided by the communities in the rural areas. My Ministers are very conscious of the large sums of money required to maintain development and progress in African education, and they will employ every means to find money for this purpose.

"The vital rôle played in the country by African agriculture will be fostered. A practical policy to meet the needs of the African farmer and of the national interest will be effected. Legislation will be placed before this House to provide common machinery for dealing with settlement and the sub-division of land for all farming purposes. It will provide for the requirements of all types of farmers according to their capital resources.

"The development of productive irrigation schemes for the benefit of employment and settlement will be intensified. My Government is very concerned with the problem of the resettlement of many thousands of Africans who have been living on privately-owned land. My Ministers will accordingly submit a formal request to the Federal Government for the return to territorial control of full responsibility for all major irrigation works in Southern Rhodesia and for the financial resources required to develop them.

Greater Responsibility for Local Authorities

"My Government will enlarge progressively the functions and responsibilities of local authorities, and propose to provide them with the additional financial powers required to meet the new obligations to be undertaken. Local government will be extended to the rural areas as soon as possible and when finance permits. My Ministers will also endeavour to create in urban areas local authorities based on community interests and to give them responsibility for providing for the needs and requirements of their residents. My Ministers will propose measures to make it possible—financially and otherwise—for an African to provide living accommodation of his own choice in Government townships.

"The present system of industrial conciliation will be continued, but any anomalies discovered in the Act will be the subject of proposed amendments. As soon as practicable an unemployment assurance benefit scheme will be introduced.

"My Government will continue to provide for a non-racial public service, but in the administration of that policy will place emphasis on the essential factor that there will be no lowering of standards of qualification or of conduct.

"A number of important amendments to the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act and to the Unlawful Organizations Act will be proposed during the present session. The object of the amendments is to remedy omissions in the existing security laws which experience has brought to light. It will be pro-

posed that certain penalties be increased in order to reinforce respect for life and the property of the individual.

"An amendment to the Inter-Territorial Movement of Persons Control Act to provide power to remove prohibitions previously made against certain persons where it is deemed expedient to do so will be placed before the House".

Prime Minister's Speech

The Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Field, said that dissolution of the Federation would bring hardship to all three component territories in the immediate future, "but we have to overcome the difficulties which will arise, and we should prefer one operation rather than two.

"The courses open to us are that either the two Rhodesias stagger on with a deteriorating political association until the final break-up of the Federation and the loss of all possibility of friendly relations between Southern Rhodesia and the two northern territories; or now to make a clean break and open up the way for negotiations on an equal footing as fully independent States and to attempt to reach agreement for the operation of various common services, and with trade and economic agreements too.

"I must stress that this is not a desire for Southern Rhodesia to go it alone; it is facing hard reality, and it is quite time we did this.

"No one will deny that Southern Rhodesia has benefited economically from the association of the three territories, and we would have liked at least that part of the association to continue. Politically we have not benefited, as we have delayed our real independence for these economic benefits. Nor will anyone deny that the economic association is best supported by a political tie-up, but these political ties are disappearing whether we want them to do so or not.

"The decision of the British Government unilaterally to give Nyasaland permission to secede has raised the question whether this creates a precedent for the other two territories to assume that they have the same right—a right, not a privilege. Today Nyasaland is as good as gone; Northern Rhodesia wants to go, and as far as can be seen, nothing short of force can stop her.

Any Political Tie Must Be Durable

"Many reasons can be advanced for the continuance of the closest association of the three territories, but the fact has to be faced that apparently all these added together are not good enough or weighty enough to cause the peoples or leaders in the north to change their minds. These points and more have been put to them again and again in an effort to keep the Federation together, but the answer is just the same—'No'. So the question of Southern Rhodesian secession will not arise: we shall have been seceded from.

"Originally the main purpose of attempting to form the Federation was for economic and common services purposes, and a political link was forged for the easier working and control of these services and economic ties. Now the question is whether if one is lost the other can be retained. I cannot give an answer to that, but we must try. This I must stress because I hear from so many people that you cannot have one without the other. But we must not allow ourselves to be conditioned into a defeatist attitude.

"When Mr. Butler and I met for talks I stressed that while the Southern Rhodesian Government did not want to dissolve the Federation, as only Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia were now involved, if there was to be any political tie it must be a durable one. It is no use agreeing to political ties that would be cut within a short period; failing adequate guarantees of such durability, then we must assume that Northern Rhodesia would follow the same path as Nyasaland and that the British Government would not stop this. This would mean that the two northern territories having seceded, Southern Rhodesia would be left on its own.

"I emphasized to Mr. Butler the need for ending uncertainty by making a firm decision now. It is not a question of whether this side of the House considers that the Federation should not continue and the other side that it should. That question does not arise. We are faced with a situation which is plain for all the world to see. No useful purpose would be served by discussing the possibility of the two Rhodesias continuing as a Federal unit. We shall leave that until the situation arises, if it ever does.

"Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia have had very good personal relations, even if at times they have not been on the most friendly terms in the political sense. Dr. Banda is prepared to give certain undertakings regarding any future association with Southern Rhodesia, but he cannot commit his

Government until he is in a constitutional position to do so. Neither can we, insofar as the matters we should have to discuss are the functions of the Federal Government. However, I am convinced that nothing but good can come from these discussions and contacts.

"Our most urgent task is to seek an early answer to constitutional problems which will enable us to engage in that development and progress which will ensure that Southern Rhodesia shall prosper again to the lasting joy of all who have made this land their home."

Mr. Field added that his Government would not favour attending a conference similar to the Federal review talks held in London in 1960, which had been a "dreadful waste of time". Talks should be held in Rhodesia on a Government-to-Government basis, with perhaps only agenda discussions in Britain.

Political Link Vital

The former Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, now Leader of the Opposition, said that the most intense efforts should be made to preserve a political link with Northern Rhodesia because that was vital to the Colony's future. Should the Zambezi become an international frontier, it might turn into an "iron curtain".

Land hunger among some 3,600,000 Africans was the country's worst problem. It was the major cause of discontent in the rural areas. African nationalism would not have made such tremendous strides had it not been that its passage was

aided by landless people. Hopes that industrial expansion would absorb the overflow had been belied by uncertainty over the future of the Federation. The rate of industrial growth had dropped from 9% to 10% yearly to 4%.

"If you have young people who cannot earn a living on the land and cannot get employment in the towns, they are the easiest prey it is possible for the extremist agitators to find". A second irritant was the lack of educational facilities in the rural areas, coupled with the insistence of many industrialists on a minimum of Standard VI schooling for their semi-skilled labour.

A clear-cut plan was needed, one which would enable the major grievances of the African people to be removed, so that agitators would have less fertile ground on which to work. An error in the past had been that Europeans, with their superior civilization, training and knowledge, had decided on all the country's major questions. "I do not believe that in 1963 these decisions can any longer be made by members of one race only. I hope that the Government will realize that there are Rhodesians of all races who are capable of making important decisions.

"Uncertainty among the Europeans is understandable. It will be allayed once a solution of the Federal problem, on a basis which allows the continuance of the great benefits it has brought, is made as early as possible."

Sir Edgar told the House that the original discussions on the Federation had been solely between the Southern Rhodesian and British Governments, with the northern territories represented not by Africans but by their Governors under orders from the British Government.

Stark Future if Rhodesias Split Hopes in Pan-African "Miracle" Misplaced

ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS alone between the three territories of the Federation will not be durable and will be quite ineffective in securing for them the economic strength and other advantages which they currently enjoy, the Federal Minister of Commerce and Industry, Mr. J. A. Clark, warned in Salisbury when he appealed at a meeting of the Executives' Association of Central Africa for steadfast support of the Federal Government in its determination to hold the Rhodesias together as a single unit.

"The train of thought which holds that the great and undoubted benefits of federation can be preserved by the mere adoption of certain trading or economic agreements between the three territories of the Federation, leaving them to dissolve into three unrelated political units, is faulty. Such agreements would be likely to be short-term in character and become instruments of political duress upon renewal—if indeed there were any renewal at all.

Economy Threatened

"If they split in unrelated territories, the immediate effect on Northern Rhodesia would be to bring its entire economy into potential hazard, because it is so largely dependent for the bulk of governmental and private income on the production and sale of copper. Assuming that Britain would permit Northern Rhodesia to go the way of Nyasaland, its economic survival would be placed in external hands. It should be remembered that the price of copper even today is artificially sustained—it is not related to free supply and demand.

"We all know from bitter experience the plight in which Southern Rhodesia's chrome industry finds itself due to the action taken by Russia, aided and abetted by the U.S.A. Southern Rhodesia has lost a major part of its external market for chrome ore, a mineral for which she was one of the Western world's two main suppliers. This alone shows how unwise it is to base a country's economy on a single mineral.

"It appears that some of Northern Rhodesia's Ministers, being aware of the appalling risk inherent in a mono-economy if Northern Rhodesia is divorced from Southern Rhodesia, are preparing plans for the erection of tariff barriers around the territory to encourage the establishment of manufacturing industry behind that tariff wall, thus diversifying their economy. Such an attempt will fail. Its immediate effect will be the establishment of a number of light industries which will give the policy an outward appearance of success, but

the consumer market of Northern Rhodesia is so small that only a limited range of very light industry can be sustained. The total number of Africans in employment in Northern Rhodesia is only about 240,000.

"While this is taking place Northern Rhodesia would be obliged to exist on the knife-edge of uncertainty, continually threatened with a substantial fall in the price of copper which would plunge the country into hardship or even chaos. Don't think for a moment that I want to exaggerate this risk, but one can hardly be reassured when one sees on all hands that the present world trend of commodity prices is downwards.

"In bright contrast to this melancholy picture is the fact proven by 10 years of association in the Federal state that Northern Rhodesia is at present insured against such risks by virtue of the partnership in duo-economy with Southern Rhodesia. The two economies, each with certain weaknesses when isolated, are complementary in making up the whole which is considerably stronger, sounder and more diversified than the sum of their parts. This was amply demonstrated in 1957 and 1958 when the severe decline in the price of copper was well cushioned by the more broadly based economy of the Federation. It should be clear even to the most elementary student economist that no mere trade agreement, no customs union and no free trade area scheme could give Northern Rhodesia the same degree of security it enjoys today, and which it must have.

Buying Trade for Political Purposes

"I have grave doubts about the feasibility of Southern Rhodesia being able to enter into a durable trading agreement with Nyasaland. If Nyasaland should leave the present common customs association it must be inevitable that she would revert to the provisions of the Congo Basin Treaty and the well-known impediments attaching to it. If this should come about, Japan, India, Hong Kong and other highly competitive manufacturing countries would all have equal access to the Nyasaland market and would lead to an unprecedented scramble to supply that country. In such a scramble the Rhodesias would have no preferential position. Some of the countries which might wish to deal with Nyasaland may have ulterior political purposes in buying its trade by offering financial aid. Nyasaland will be so much in need of aid—she has so little to offer in exchange for anything—that it seems likely her internal market will be bartered assistance in some form or another.

"In such a situation Southern Rhodesia would be a poor competitor. In the first place she is unlikely to match the low-level prices offered by the East, secondly she could not afford to make an offer of a subvention in the form of fiscal payments, other than at a very modest level.

"What industry is attracted to the North, however small, is not likely to be complementary to that already in operation in the South but rather a type producing light consumer goods and therefore in direct competition with much of what already exists in the South. In the same way the commercial services at present rendered by Southern Rhodesia to the

North are likely to be replaced by establishments based in Northern Rhodesia.

"Pan-African arguments against a deal with 'white' Southern Rhodesia are probably stronger in Northern Rhodesia than in Nyasaland. After all, Mr. Kaunda is president of P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A. and it will hardly be consistent for his Government to sustain Southern Rhodesia. Whilst he might agree to allow Southern Rhodesia preferential trading conditions as a short-term measure to avoid the disruption of life in the North, he is hardly likely as a long-term measure to exercise discretion in favour of a country which the Pan-African organization seeks to disrupt.

"All the responsible statements made by politicians in Britain and in this country at the formation of the Federation and for more than half its life have been that the Federation was not an experiment or a short-term entity; it was here to stay and the main purpose of the 1960 review was to ascertain how the Federation could advance constitutionally towards independence as one unit — not for its disintegration to be arranged!

"Secure in that knowledge it is natural that commerce and industry should be attracted to this young robust country. The extent of its attraction was measured in the establishment of commercial and industrial enterprises, involving capital investment exceeding £100m. Those enterprises geared their size and operation to supply the whole of the Federal market. A very large section in this sector of the economic life of the country cannot survive the loss of substantial parts of that market. Such a loss would mean that many establishments, including some large ones, would be obliged to close down or remove their operations from the Rhodesias. Consequent upon this would be large-scale unemployment of Africans, Europeans and Coloured people. Many Europeans would leave the territory, the private sector of the economy would be badly damaged and Government revenue would fall alarmingly.

Recession Could Result in Revolt

"As far as Africans are concerned, large scale urban unemployment would be highly dangerous, for it could flare into open revolt and although the issue might be clouded by political ideologies, nevertheless the real cause would be personal hardship stemming from recession in the economy of the country. No Government could hope to cope with such a situation, particularly with a falling European population. A major problem peculiar to the Federation arises from the fact that some inhabitants live within the money economy while others live entirely in the subsistence economy. This means that the cash economy has had to provide governmental services such as education, health and so on not only for those within the cash economy but for all those in the subsistence economy.

"It is imperative for the Federation to have a constantly expanding economy in order to provide governmental services and employment opportunities for the whole of the population. If there was a recession instead of development, as would happen if the two Rhodesias were to be split, the failure would be stark and the future dismal indeed.

"The British Government cannot place their own political considerations above the practical needs of the inhabitants of the Federation. It must be remembered that the ordinary untutored Africans — including the majority of those who have a vote — have no conception of the issues involved. They have been led to believe that by some miracle there will be an improvement in their material well-being if the established Governments were replaced by African nationalist Governments. To use such ignorance and misconception as justification for yielding to the clamour of nationalism would be a betrayal of responsibility.

Secession and New Constitution Wanted

Uproar During Northern Rhodesian Debate

ROWDY SCENES marked a week-long debate in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council on a motion proposed by the A.N.C. leader and Minister of African Education, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, that the Protectorate be allowed by Britain to secede from the Federation. The motion was adopted by 21 votes to 14, and the U.N.I.P. leader and Minister of Local Government, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, said that it opened the way for the British Government to act.

Mr. Nkumbula had argued that the Federation was invalid because it had been formed without the consent of the people. The 1953 pledges revealed by the Federal Prime Minister when he accused the British Government of "ratting" were dismissed by Mr. Nkumbula as "back-door" agreements.

Mr. S. Kapwepwe, Minister of African Agriculture, described the Federation as a thorn in the flesh of the African people. "This satanic scheme should be done away with", he said.

Later in the debate, after a series of sharp exchanges between the Minister and the U.F.P. member for Kitwe West, Mr. Hugh Stanley, accompanied by angry shouts from other members, Mr. Kapwepwe threatened to "beat" Mr. Stanley. The Speaker, Mr. T. Williams, did not hear this threat because of the noise, as he explained to the House the next day when Mr. Kapwepwe withdrew his remark and apologized.

Government's Emotionalism

Moving an Opposition amendment to the secession motion and calling for condemnation of the breach of the 1953 pledges made by the British Ministers concerned, Mr. C. Burney (Luanshya-Kansera) accused the Government of sheer emotionalism on a subject which ought to be treated dispassionately and analytically. "We cannot concede that the African in Northern Rhodesia is oppressed under Federation. Such an assertion does not bear examination." He referred to the "free" African States of Ghana, Togo and Liberia, in which came into operation only last year, was "unethical on the lives of the other two.

The lag in Northern Rhodesia's development over the past three years was attributable to the growth of African nationalism in the territory. Moreover, the new Government was refusing to negotiate on the Federation. Many people in the country did not understand what its dissolution would mean.

A motion calling for Britain to grant a new "one-man-one-vote" Constitution was passed also by 21 votes to 14. Proposing it, Mr. Kaunda alleged that the present Constitution, which came into operation only last year, was "unethical, undemocratic and unpolitic" as under it the territory's 25,000 Europeans had the same representation in the legislature as had more than 3m Africans. That was contrary to the United Nations Charter.

£2m. Housing Loan

A new Constitution would contain a Bill of Rights. Any legislation presented to the House which infringed that Bill could be blocked by the High Court. He accused Europeans and Asians that the Africans wished to rule by human principles and to safeguard the rights of the individual. Co-operation from both sides was needed to solve racial problems.

Announcing that the British South Africa Company is to lend £2m. for African housing schemes, the Finance Minister, Mr. A. Lewis, added: "Notice has been served on large investors all over the world that the new Northern Rhodesian Government has been judged by a great international finance house to be a good risk for a very large loan."

Disturbances in Eastern Province

Mr. Kaunda has flown to Lundazi in the Eastern Province where police had to break up an unauthorized U.N.I.P. meeting with tear gas and make two baton charges to quell disturbances. He is accompanied by the M.I.C. for the Eastern constituency, Mr. Wesley Nyirenda, who is reported to have threatened to resign from the party unless a European official is dismissed from the Government.

The president of the Teachers Union, Mr. Martin Kaunda, has complained about incidents in some schools, one girl's school has been closed and nine girls have been expelled from another.

In unspecified areas youths are said to be roaming through beerhalls and going to football matches and public meetings to try to cut the hair of Africans who have straightened their normally fuzzy hair.

NORTHERN

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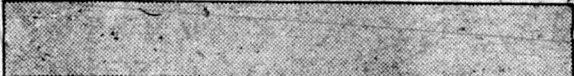
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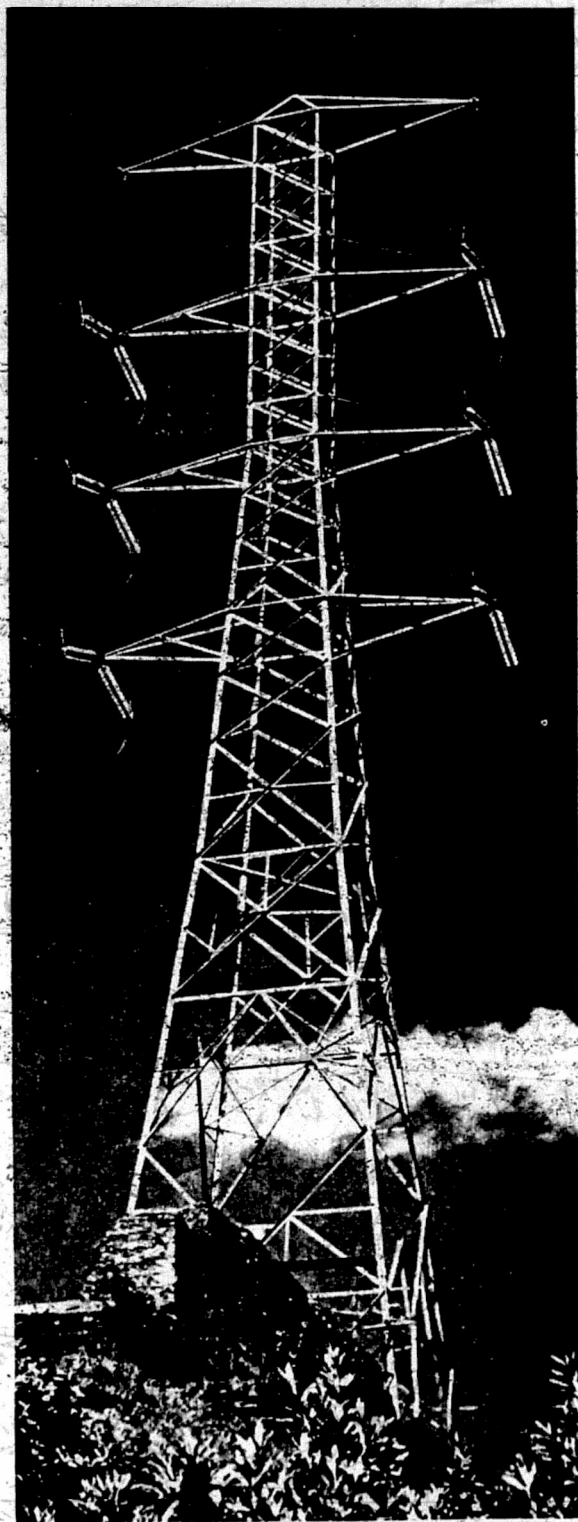


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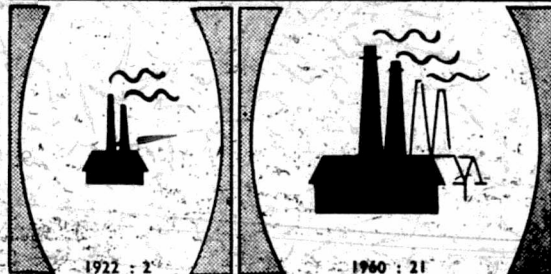


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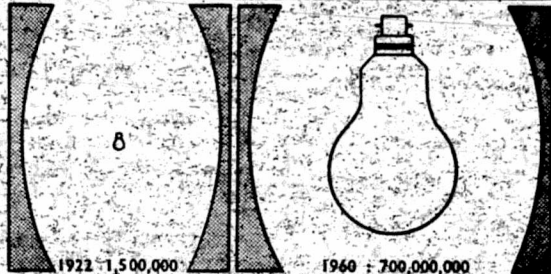
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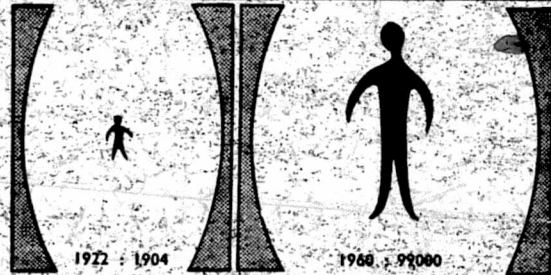
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Dr. Nyerere on "Second Scramble"

Plea for Non-Interference in Internal Affairs

MWALIMU JULIUS NYERERE, President of Tanganyika, spoke of a Second Scramble for Africa when he opened the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference in Moshi on February 4. He said, *inter alia*:

"Colonialism, under which we have suffered in the past, is on the way out. But the hand of imperialism still grips the peoples of Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, Kenya, Zanzibar, South-West Africa, and many other smaller areas. This colonial domination must go. There is no room for it in the Africa of 1963.

"Neither can we be expected to sit back quietly while our brothers in South Africa suffer under brutal oppression. The racialism and denial of human rights which our brothers are suffering simply because they are not white is intolerable. We cannot rest until this indignity is wiped out, until the Government of South Africa is replaced by one representative of the people of that country regardless of colour.

"No one anywhere can be neutral on this issue. The brunt of the struggle is being borne by our brothers in that unhappy land, but an effective trade and diplomatic boycott would greatly assist them in overthrowing the present tyranny. Yet many countries which claim to support the cause of freedom and equality in practice sabotage all our efforts in this direction. Let each of us here make sure that his own country cannot be accused of betraying the South African people in this manner.

"The forces of colonialism are in retreat. Our job is to oust them from their remaining strongpoints and prevent them from regrouping for a counter-attack.

Scramble Not Confined to Capitalist Powers

"Events in the Congo have demonstrated that it is possible for a Colonial Power to leave by the front door and for the same or different external forces to come in by the back. Make no mistake: as we are emerging successfully from the first 'scramble for Africa', we are entering the phase of the Second Scramble for Africa, and, I believe, for Asia.

Foreign Powers have no intention of fighting each other in this Second Scramble. They will incite African to fight African, Asian to fight Asian, but always in their interests. The imperialists, old and new, will exploit the differences within African nations and between African nations, within Asian nations and between Asian nations.

"Neither should we allow ourselves to think of this new imperialism solely in terms of the old Colonial Powers. Imperialism is a by-product of wealth and power; we have to be on guard against incursions by any one. Indeed, I wish I could honestly say that I believe that the Second Scramble for Africa or Asia is going to be a scramble only between capitalist Powers. Much too often the weaker amongst us are regarded as no more than pawns in the cold war conflict.

"Yet the success or otherwise of this Second Scramble depends on us, on whether we allow ourselves to become dupes of other people—or of the slogans which we used in our struggle for freedom from colonialism. Outside Powers will be able to use us one against the other only if we allow them to do so. If we are united, all their intrigues will fail. The future of Africa and of Asia depends on our unity as free peoples.

"The first essential for the maintenance of this unity is that no one of us should try and do what we so justly accuse the imperialists of doing: the moment any of us begins to interfere in the internal affairs of another free country, or to intrigue with dissident groups, or tries to effect the establishment of a puppet Government that we can handle, at that moment our greatest safeguard against the new imperialism and our greatest asset in the economic struggles ahead is endangered.

"Differences of opinion, disputes or misunderstandings between us must be discussed and settled as the members of one family settle their differences—in private and on the basis of our basic unity. This can be done only while each of us accepts the right of the people of every country to have the Government they want. We may think they are

mistaken; we may believe the leaders they elect are wrong-headed or worse; but this is irrelevant and certainly does not authorize us to intervene in any way.

"It is too easy to attack the imperialists and leave it at that; every child at school can do this. We must not develop a fixation about imperialism, as some of us seem to be doing. Our job is to see that there is no opportunity for outsiders to exploit differences between us, to see that we act in such a manner as to maintain and strengthen our unity; and the one certain thing is that public attacks on each other will not help to achieve that unity we need and desire.

"When we attack each other those who wish to control us for their own purposes jump for joy. What do they care whether we attack our brother Government on the grounds that it is an 'imperialist stooge' or a 'Communist stooge'? All that matters to them is that we destroy our unity and stop thinking for ourselves, using slogans as a substitute.

"We used many different roads to independence; we shall probably need many different routes to the one goal of economic and social well-being for our peoples. It is not up to any one of us to imagine that we have a God-given answer for all places, all circumstances, and all stages of a national struggle. Each country must work out these things for itself.

Not Jumping Jackasses

"We do not carry on what is in many cases a long and bitter fight for freedom in order to become jumping jackasses which wait to see what a Western or an Eastern Power will say about an idea before automatically doing likewise or taking the opposite line. We must treat ourselves with the respect we demand from others. This means that we must answer argument with reason, settle differences by discussion, and do these things on the basis of friendship and equality.

Most of us at this conference believe that it is only through some sort of Socialist organization that we shall overcome the poverty which oppresses millions of our people. All of us—with varying degrees of success—are trying to build a classless society within our own country.

"The moment wealth is divorced from its purpose—the banishment of poverty—there develops a ruthless competition between individuals; each person tries to get more wealth, simply so that he may have more power and more prestige than his fellows. Wealth becomes an instrument of domination, a means of humiliating other people. The very basis of Socialism is the rejection of this use of wealth, and within Socialist countries personal wealth is not, and should not be, a symbol of power or prestige.

Even between Socialist countries the class divisions are getting greater. There are now not only rich capitalist countries and poor capitalist countries. There are also rich Socialist countries. The Socialist countries, considered as individuals in the larger society of nations, are now committing the same crime as was committed by the capitalists before. On the international level they are now beginning to use wealth for capitalist purposes—for the acquisition of power and prestige.

Inevitable Clash Between Rich and Poor

"Yet whatever the internal policies, the use of national wealth for any purpose other than the banishment of poverty wherever it is found can have only one result: the class struggle will be transferred from a national to an international plane. Karl Marx's doctrine that there is an inevitable clash between the rich and the poor is just as applicable internationally as it is within nation States.

"It is at gatherings of peoples from predominantly poor and uncommitted nations such as this that this coming international 'class struggle' can most fruitfully be discussed. All of us accept that Socialism and the maintenance of inequalities are incompatible; that Socialism and an attempt to dominate economically or politically are contradictions which cannot be reconciled."

A few days earlier when opening in Dar es Salaam the 18th session of C.C.T.A., the President said:—

"Each of us knows that the boundary of our own national State is ethnological and geographical nonsense: it is impossible to draw a line anywhere on the map of Africa which does not violate the history or the future needs of our people. It was indeed from a partial recognition of this fact that the idea of the Commission first sprang. It was an acknowledgment that south of the Sahara disease is not confined by national frontiers, nor do technical developments leave surrounding areas unaffected.

"Technical development and politics are but two aspects of the same thing—the betterment of the day-to-day life of the African people. The work of C.C.T.A. will therefore become part of the total effort for African development."

"Lasting Edifice" Expected

(Concluded from Page 527)

regarding secession. On September 21, 1960, in a letter to Mr. Macmillan, he quoted the extract of this statement from the 1953 Conference recorded by Lord Swinton which is produced in the British White Paper. On June 1, 1962, Sir Roy in a letter to Mr. R. A. Butler quoted many of the other extracts. The Federal Government therefore rejects Mr. Maelood's statement.

SIR GILBERT RENNIE, who was Governor of Northern Rhodesia when the Federation was created, wrote in a letter published by *The Times* on Monday:

"I was one of the six signatories to the report by the Conference on Federation held in January, 1953, and I was present at all the pre-federation conferences in 1951, 1952, and 1953.

"Like Sir Roy Welensky, I never doubted that the contracting parties to the act of federation took part in a solemn undertaking to create a lasting Federation, or at least to preserve it until the four Governments within the Federation, together with the British Government, agreed otherwise.

"It is true that no provision to this effect—and to that extent no pledge—was included in the Federal Constitution, but the preamble to the Constitution makes it very clear that the four Governments concerned thought that they were constructing a lasting edifice.

Full Commonwealth Membership

In particular, the reference in the preamble's last paragraph to the new association's enabling the Federation, when those inhabitants so desire, to go forward with confidence towards the attainment of full membership of the Commonwealth shows clearly that all four Governments looked forward to a progressive, lasting Federation. The rejection by the 1952 conference of a proposal to provide in the Constitution for secession showed the same attitude.

Moreover, in April, 1957, the United Kingdom Government still looked upon the review to be held in 1960 as providing an opportunity to consider, among other things, a programme for the attainment of such a status as would enable the Federation to become eligible for full membership of the Commonwealth.

"As regards the question of breaking up the Federation, the delegates at the conference in January, 1953, were well aware of the constitutional power of the United Kingdom Government to act unilaterally in this respect, but since they knew that there could be no Federation without the agreement of all the four Governments concerned, they concluded, especially after the statements made by the U.K. Ministers at the conference, that the question, if ever it arose, of breaking up the Federation would also be one for discussion and agreement between the Governments concerned. That this was the U.K. Government's own view in 1953 is clear from their reply to the British Council of Churches, which was quoted by Sir Godfrey Huggins in the Parliament of Southern Rhodesia in September, 1953.

Unconvincing Assumption

"I find the U.K. Government's White Paper on this subject unconvincing—in particular § 7. I am extremely doubtful about the correctness of the assumption there that, in referring to 'all four Governments' conducting the review, Lord Swinton had in mind only the three territorial Governments and the Federal Government. It is, in my view, more likely that he was thinking of the four Governments then existing, namely, the three territorial Governments and the U.K. Government, forgetting, as some of us at the conferences were inclined to do at times, that after Federation came there would be a fifth Government.

"If my interpretation is correct—and there is much evidence in the verbatim record quoted in the White Paper to support it—then Mr. Lyttelton's later references to the agreement of 'all four Governments' included that of the U.K. Government, and the basis of most of the argument in § 7 of the White Paper is swept away.

"To sum up, I cannot reconcile the U.K. Government's action in unilaterally accepting in principle that Nyasaland should be allowed to withdraw from the Federation with the statements made by H.M. Ministers at the January 1953 conference or with the understanding reached then.

MR. K. M. GOODENOUGH, a former High Commissioner in London for Southern Rhodesia, had previously written:

"I was present throughout the conference in January 1953 which agreed upon the details of the Federal Con-

stitution, and therefore speak from personal knowledge of its proceedings.

"During the discussions the question of possible secession was raised by Mr. R. O. Stockil, the Leader of the Southern Rhodesian Parliamentary Opposition, and immediately quashed both by the United Kingdom's constitutional advisers and by all the delegations to the conference.

"Finally, when all the details of the federal scheme had been worked out, it was unanimously agreed that another conference should be called at a date not less than seven and not more than ten years from the inauguration of the Federation for the purpose of reviewing the working of the Constitution in order to make any adjustments thereto which might appear desirable in the light of experience, but that no major changes should be made without the consent of all the Governments concerned.

"Surely, therefore, such a major change as the contemplated secession of Nyasaland, if effected by the unilateral action of the U.K. Government, would be a flagrant breach of faith."

Unilateral Amendments "Indefensible"

SIR ALBERT ROBINSON, Federal High Commissioner in London, has written:

"My attention has been drawn to a letter written by H.M. Government in 1953 to the British Council of Churches which unambiguously pledges the British Government not to act without the agreement of the Central Africa Governments concerned.

I quote an extract from the Southern Rhodesian Parliamentary *Hansard* dated September 30, 1953, Volume 34, Columns 1896-97. The then Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins (Lord Malvern), said:

"The note I have here was an answer given by H.M. Government in the U.K. to the British Council of Churches, and every word of this is very important. Amendments to the Federal Constitution may be made either by the ordinary procedure for constitutional amendment set out in § 144 of the Federal Scheme (which would require a two-thirds majority of the Federal Legislature) or, as in the case of the Constitution itself, by an Act of the United Kingdom Parliament. The U.K. Parliament would not be precluded by law from amending the Federal Constitution without the consent of the Federal or territorial Governments; but as the Constitution will be based on a scheme which has been agreed between the four Governments concerned and will itself be so agreed, it seems to H.M. Government that it would in any foreseeable circumstance be morally and politically indefensible for Parliament to enact amendments which had not been similarly agreed.

"If amendments to the Constitution were enacted by the U.K. Parliament with the agreement of the other Governments concerned, the Government of the Federation in agreeing thereto would act in responsibility to the Federal Legislature; but amendments so agreed would not require also to be submitted for the approval of the Federal Legislature.

"I think that most emphatic statement given to the Council of Churches at Home bears out what I told the country over and over again during the Federation campaign: that having once granted a Parliament to any dependent part of the Empire, the U.K. Government would refrain from interfering in their domestic affairs. That is the position as it now is."

Kenya Talks

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Colonial Secretary, arrived in Nairobi last Friday for talks with the Kenya Council of Ministers in order "to clear up a number of constitutional points still outstanding and to do everything we can to clear the decks for an election at the first possible moment; I am hoping we can do all this in about ten days or a fortnight". At the week-end a *communiqué* stated that "a large majority of disagreements (between K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U.) have now been defined; one or two matters of major importance remain to be discussed". That a third constitutional conference should be held before independence was mooted by Mr. Ngala and Mr. Mboya, but rejected by other African politicians. A Kenya Government spokesman said there seemed to be no alternative. As Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Sandys is to visit Tanganyika and Uganda next week, after a brief visit to Zanzibar to discuss the Kenya Coastal Strip with the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Lords Debate White Paper

(Concluded from page 524)

"Therefore the Government must face the fact that once they have agreed that Nyasaland should be allowed to secede and I think there is no undoing that and now that it is becoming again an independent State, either the standard of living must fall or H.M. Government will have to foot the bill for the Civil Service, for some of the spending departments, and possibly accept some responsibility for the future of the Federal national debt. I do not see how the Rhodesians can be asked to pay for an imbroglio which is not of their own creation.

"There was a time, in 1952 and 1953 when others outside Nyasaland would have been quite glad to have a right of secession written into the Federal Constitution notably Southern Rhodesia. But it was made abundantly clear by H.M. Government in the talks that preceded federation that they would be strongly opposed to that.

"The White Paper makes what I regard as a rather unworthy point: that whether or not statements of Government policy were made, and I think it is difficult to deny that — yet, because they do not appear in any published document, they cannot be regarded as binding. I do not think it is surprising that the Rhodesians should not have insisted on a specific provision against unilateral secession being inserted into the Constitution. Their situation at that time was in one respect quite different from what it is now: the Rhodesians, I say this with no desire to offend, made a straight statement of fact at that time still had absolute faith in the good word of H.M. Government.

Strange Distinction

"They had heard British Ministers say that they were strongly opposed to unilateral secession. It never occurred to them that what had been said was not binding. They would not have understood the rather strange distinction between public and private declarations of policy to which the White Paper of last week apparently attaches so much importance.

"H.M. Government rely greatly on the 'sanctity' of the meeting of January 18, 1953. They describe this as the basic document, and deduce from it that if H.M. Government were bound at all they were bound only within narrow limits.

"If they had pursued their researches rather thoroughly they would have come to quite a different conclusion. They would have found that in the 1952 talks and the 1953 talks were really only a continuation, largely with the same delegates, the whole broad question of unilateral secession was examined with no reference to any review conference at all. The idea of that had never occurred to anyone at the time. I was in the chair at that particular meeting.

"In the course of discussion reasons were given by certain delegates from Southern Rhodesia why they thought it desirable that provision should be made in the final Federal scheme to permit the members of the Federation to secede from it if they wished. But they got no real support from any quarter. Speaker after speaker in effect said that to insert such a provision would be to destroy all confidence in the Federation and, as it were, strangle it at birth. Eventually an appeal had to be made to the 'delegation in question to withdraw their proposal, and they agreed to do so. That, surely, and the equally firm statement which was made by the British delegate at the beginning of the 1953 talks ought, if any, to be regarded as the basic documents.

Basic Statements

"If I am told that assurances were given in public and therefore were not valid, and I say this to Lord Osmore in particular, who said that they should not bind Parliament, I refer him to statements made by the then Colonial Secretary, Lord Chandos, on the Committee stage of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Bill in the House of Commons on June 24, 1953. He said: 'It all comes back to whether there is a right of secession under the present scheme. My advice is that there is not.' He repeated this at a later stage on the same day. 'There is no right of secession under the scheme. Indeed, if there were, I think it would be thoroughly retrograde.' Why do not the Government quote those passages?

"Are not those basic statements? I should have thought they were. To call the discussions of January 18 'basic' seems to me mere bunkum.

"What may well be true from the purely legal point of view is to my mind entirely irrelevant. The point, surely, is not whether the United Kingdom Government could do what they have done. The point is that they said they would not do it, and yet have done it. Whether you call that a pledge or not I really do not know, but there is no doubt that the U.K. Ministers did make unequivocal statements which influenced the other Governments to join in the Federation. That is the gravamen, and the only gravamen, of the charge against them.

The Government have since then shown definitely Ministers committed themselves in 1952 against unilateral secession when they were who cannot be held to have been conflicting pledges to Dr. Banda last year. That is quite understandable, even if unfortunat. But it must be the case surely it would have been better to have said frankly and to have called together a conference of all concerned to try and resolve things out.

"It would not have been contrary to what had been decided in 1953, for I do not hold that what was decided at that time meant that each of the four Governments concerned had an absolutely permanent very unjust change of any kind for ever and ever and ever. One cannot put political change in such a straitjacket as that.

Gamekeeper Turned Poacher

"It was always envisaged, and the Government will see that references to this possible situation even at that time, can be found that in spite of all our endeavours, the Federation might run into very rough weather indeed. Then there would have had to be joint consultation on the new situation. What was never envisaged was that H.M. Government, after all they said would themselves without any prior consultation with the other signatories, announce unilaterally the secession of one of the members. Then, after the gamekeeper should become the poacher on such a very large scale. No one expected that one would be so much more than a grievous blot on the Federation.

"It is, I think, one can see from the way in which the Government are handling these affairs, to be disappointed that what ought not to have been done has been done. It is a pity that one would have thought the Federal Ministers would have done all in their power to prevent this.

"The Government have been victims of their own policy. It is a pity that the more the H.M. Government, having followed their own policy, the more they are prepared to do to prevent the Federation from having a way out of the situation. It is a pity that not only Nyasaland, but also Southern Rhodesia, are being treated in this way.

"I do not think it is fair to say that the Government have been victims of their own policy. It is a pity that the more the H.M. Government, having followed their own policy, the more they are prepared to do to prevent the Federation from having a way out of the situation. It is a pity that not only Nyasaland, but also Southern Rhodesia, are being treated in this way. I do not think we ought to ignore the importance of the different because it is very important and it is a great deal as the creation of the African Union. It is a pity that the Government have built up these vast apparatus in the wilds of Africa from which the Africans themselves are being excluded. As the Government point to the fact that they are doing this in reaching their decision over Southern Rhodesia, I say they just ought to walk out, with all any efforts and leave it to its fate.

Very Real Tragedy

"It is a pity that the Government have not asked Mr. Butler and the Government to be clear on the decision of the Government and the future of the Federation, not only the future of Southern Rhodesia, but the future of the copper industry, there but the very existence of the Federation itself, and maybe the whole future of the white man in Central Africa.

"It is a pity that the Government have not asked Mr. Kaunda to seriously to think of the many respects in which Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia are indissolubly linked: the railways, the Kimberley project, the trade that passes to and from across their borders. We have seen the declarations of Mr. Kaunda and Mr. Winston Field that they, in effect regard the Federation as at an end. That would be a very real tragedy. The creation of a great State in the very middle of Africa as Britain the Union and actuated by British ideas was one of the great imaginative conceptions of the 20th century. If it dies before it reaches maturity the world will be very much the poorer.

"Even should it die in the present form, something I am sure is between Northern and Southern Rhodesia, must be found to take its place.

"While breaking old links may not be easy, joining them together again is infinitely more difficult still. There are all the members of national unity and national pride which stand in the way. But I think that if I submit will be to precisely what we are looking for, and means of strengthening them and breaking them. There is no doubt a task which Mr. Butler's working committee will be applied. But I fear of time not to let them be too long about it. It is far too long in the case of Mr. Kaunda believe will be too late."

New Powers for Tanganyika President

Authority to Impose, Vary, or Remove Taxes

A Bill to be presented to the Parliament of Tanganyika under the Provisional Collection of Taxes and Duties Act is intended to give statutory effect for limited periods to orders of the President imposing any new tax or duty or rate of tax or duty, creating any new allowance, or varying or removing any existing tax or duty, or any such rate or allowance, and to repeal the Customs and Excise Duties (Provisional Collection) Ordinance. It provides that:

If the President at any time approves of the introduction into the National Assembly of a Bill whereby if such Bill be passed into law any tax or duty, or rate of tax or duty, or any allowance in respect of such tax or duty, would be imposed or created, or whereby any such tax, duty, rate or allowance would be varied or removed, he may, subject to the provisions of this Act and notwithstanding the provisions of any other written law, make an order that there shall be charged, levied and collected the tax or duty which would become payable if such Bill were passed into law in lieu of the tax or duty to which it would otherwise be payable. As the case may be, that there shall cease to be charged, levied and collected any tax or duty which would cease to be payable if such Bill were passed into law.

Any order under the Act must subsequently be submitted to Parliament.

A back-of-the-envelope of objects and reasons states that the Government needs the right to impose increases in taxation before a stamp-making such changes comes into operation, and that while such powers exist in respect of customs and excise duties, they are lacking in regard to income tax and other taxes and duties.

[Continued in Notes by the Way.]

I don't believe that because Uganda is independent, therefore everything should be black-ized. Mr. A. Rwamwaro, M.P.



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THE WORLD'S
BEST LIKED CIGARETTES

"Nonsensical" Charges Against Farmers

Allegations of Kenyatta's Private Secretary

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS and European settlers have been accused by Kenyatta's private secretary, Mr. Richard Achieng Oneko, of supporting the Land Freedom Army when it began operations in the Rift Valley area of Kenya about a year ago. Saying in Nairobi that L.F.A. oath-administrators had been able to move freely from farm to farm, he declared that that would have been impossible without the "connivance" of European farmers; they were prepared to aid an organization which was inimical to Europeans as a means of promoting sympathy for themselves by raising the alarm overseas that they were in danger.

He also accused K.A.D.U. of having a "master-plan", drawn up with European help, under which only the Masai, the Kalenjin tribes, and Europeans would be permitted to reside in the Rift Valley. Kikuyu would not be allowed to buy land, and some 5,000 of them now living around Nakuru were to be expelled. Mr. Oneko claimed to have discovered evidence of this "anti-Kikuyu plot" during a two months' personal inquiry in the region.

Mr. Ronald Ngala, Minister of State, and leader of K.A.D.U., promptly dismissed the allegations as "nonsensical". Government was, he said, ready to examine any specific complaints about L.F.A., which was a danger to any party and should be condemned by all.

Harsh Realities

MR. MASINDE MULIRO, Minister for Commerce and Industry in Kenya, and vice-president of K.A.D.U., said recently when addressing the annual meeting of the Royal Agricultural Society of Kenya: "Whichever party comes into power will have to grapple with the hard realities of life in Kenya and see that political stability and economic reassurance are restored after independence. Independence without wealth is worth nothing. This reality is dawning on various States as they emerge from colonial status to independence. Kenya is bound to suffer temporarily from this economic instability, but I am sure that after the general elections things will come back to normal."

Uganda Emergency

OVER 100 Bamba and Bakonjo tribesmen have been arrested in western Uganda as police and troops assisted by spotter-planes have combed the Ruwenzori foothills in the Kingdom of Toro, where a state of emergency has been declared in two counties. Lawlessness instigated by a "president" Isaiia Mukirane has increased in the past six months in support of Bamba-Bakonjo demands for secession from Toro in order to avoid alleged discrimination, a charge which a commission of inquiry last year found to be justified to some degree.

By-Passing the D.T.C.

MR. G. B. K. MAGEZI, Minister of State in Uganda, has announced a decision of the Government that recruitment from overseas countries other than Britain shall henceforth be made direct by the Uganda Public Service Commission and not through the Department of Technical Co-operation in the United Kingdom. One reason was that the Government would avoid paying additional money as an inducement to people to serve in Uganda. From countries other than Britain offers had been received from people willing to work in Uganda on local salary rates.

Parliament

Opposition Attack on White Paper

Pledges Limited Powers of Parliament

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS MR. DENIS HEALEY called attention to statements in a leading article in *The Times* that the Government's argument in the White Paper on the Federation "fails lamentably" and that pledges could not be denied. He continued:

"What concerns us on this side of the House is not so much that H.M. Government should now have broken pledges made in secret by earlier Ministers which contradict Constitutions presented to Parliament and ratified, but that these pledges should ever have been made by H.M. Ministers, limiting as they do powers which are vested in this House, and that they should have concealed these pledges from the British Parliament and people until they were revealed in another place 10 years later. Does the rt. hon. gentleman really think that this sort of conduct is compatible with the responsibilities of H.M. Ministers?"

Related "Only to Review"

In the absence through illness of MR. BUTLER, MR. MACLEOD replied:—

"I do not accept that I have no direct knowledge of these matters, but I have studied them very carefully indeed. I do not accept what is said in *The Times*. We always quote *The Times* when it happens to agree with our own point of view. I entirely disagree with it.

"I think that the White Paper makes entirely clear that the discussions related, and only related, to the review and what amendments might be brought about through the review, and it has never been suggested at any time, either to Parliament or anywhere else, in the whole of these 10 years, that a pledge of the nature which the hon. gentleman suggests existed."

MR. HEALEY: "But is the rt. hon. gentleman aware that the three ex-Ministers concerned all stated in another place in a recent debate that they had made pledges with the same significance as was given to them by Sir Roy Welensky? How can he maintain the position he has just put to the House in view of the statements made in another place by the noble Lords, Lord Chandos, Lord Boyd and Lord Swinton?"

MR. MACLEOD: "There is to be a debate in a few days in another place in which Lord Chandos and Lord Swinton will speak. I cannot anticipate what they will say."

HON. MEMBERS: "They have already said it."

MR. MACLEOD: "That was before the publication of the White Paper. I am certain that at no time has any pledge been given, nor could one have been given, that would limit the freedom of this House."

MR. HEALEY asked the First Secretary of State if he would now convene a conference to revise the Constitution of Northern Rhodesia, and MR. GOODHEW asked what plans he had for a new Constitution.

MR. MACLEOD: "When my rt. hon. friend was in Lusaka last month a joint delegation of the United National Independence Party and the African National Congress presented proposals for a new Constitution, but he entered into no commitments at this stage."

Another Secret Pledge?

MR. HEALEY: "Is the rt. hon. gentleman aware that yesterday in Central Africa the Northern Rhodesian Parliament voted by an overwhelming majority to secede from the Federation, or expressed the desire to secede from the Federation, and that on the same day the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia said that it would be wise to make a clean break with the Federation now? As all the territorial Governments now wish to end the Federation, and any hope of economic co-operation between the constituent parts depends on recognising the end of Federation, can the rt. hon. gentleman tell us why his rt. hon. friend is still delaying and dilly-dallying on this matter? Is there some other secret pledge yet to be published if we take some other step?"

MR. MACLEOD: "That is a very unworthy comment. Of course I am aware of what has been happening in Central Africa. The general election to which the hon. gentleman refers was, after all, completed only on December 10, and whatever the shortcomings of that Constitution, for which I have been a good deal criticized, it has at least produced a Government which reflects the majority held in the Legis-

ture by the African parties. I think that what is in the mind of people at the moment is really the future disposition of the territories. That is the present concern, and not perhaps the question of immediate constitutional change."

MR. GOODHEW: "Does not my rt. hon. friend agree that if there is to be any stability in this type of territory, any new Constitution should at least be given some time to prove that it works properly? Does not he also agree that the most urgent thing to do at the moment is to call a conference in Africa, and not in Lancaster House, in order to discuss the whole future of the Federation?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I agree with the general tenor of my hon. friend's supplementary question but the question of the venue of such a conference, if one is called, is a matter for the First Secretary."

MR. HEALEY: "Will not the rt. hon. gentleman accept the fact that any hope of a fruitful association between these three territories—as many hon. Members on both sides of the House believe—is extremely important, and that it will depend on accepting that the Federation was a mistake, allowing it to be dissolved, and allowing the constituent Governments to get into contact with each other from a clean sheet?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I cannot altogether accept that suggestion, although I accept parts of it. Everybody knows the position in relation to the Federation at present, but I think I am right in saying that in most people's minds the immediate question is not so much one of constitutional advance for any given territory—although that will come—as the future of the association and what form it should take between these territories."

CAPTAIN KEENE asked the Colonial Secretary how many paid appointments to posts outside the Civil Service he had in his patronage, and the nature and salary of each appointment.

MR. SANDYS: "I think I have no appointments to the board of the Colonial Development Corporation. The board consists of a chairman, deputy chairman, and not less than four or not more than 10 members. At present there are six members. Their salaries are: chairman, £5,250; deputy chairman, £1,500; members, £1,000."

Bird & Co. (Africa), Ltd., declared on Monday this financial dividend of 4% in respect of the year to June 30 next.

Mineral output in Northern Rhodesia last year was worth £117,242,244, a decrease of £3,574,460 from the previous year.

Southern Rhodesian exports of chrome to the U.S.A. have averaged about 10,000 tons a year. Now a leading American consumer has bought 200,000 tons of chrome ore from Russia for about £13m.

The Kenya Building Society is to be reconstituted as a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Commonwealth Development Corporation. During the past three years when away from the society have exceeded £1m.

A three-day conference of Massey-Ferguson representatives in East, Central and West African territories will open in Salisbury next Monday. Mr. Charles Cross and Mr. Harry Furrminger, of the group's Coventry headquarters, will act as joint chairmen.

Sisal Outputs in January—Bird & Co. (Africa), Ltd.: 1,741 tons, making 12,433 for July-January; East African Sisal Estates, 397 tons, making 2,582 for seven months; 2,352; East African Sisal Plantations, 242 tons, making 1,548 for seven months; Dwa Plantations, 317 tons (1,811).

F. W. Woolworth & Co. report consolidated net profit before tax in 1962 of £34,955,308, an increase of 27% over the 1961 figure of £32,586,783. By an extraordinary dividend reported the 1957 and 1958 net profits were £11,389,273 and £12,108,983. The figures should have been £11,289,286 and £12,108,988 respectively.

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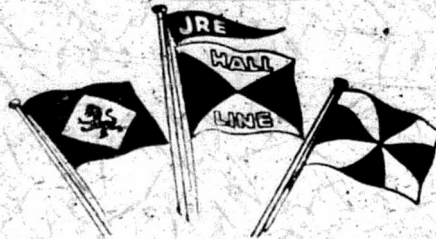
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	Closing Glasgow	South Wales	Birkenhead
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CITY OF NEW YORK	Mar. 6	Mar. 11	Mar. 19
ADVENTURER	Mar. 20	Mar. 25	Apr. 2

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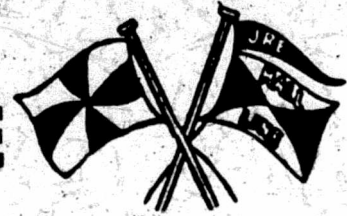
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Vessel	Glasgow	*S. Wales	Birkenhead
INTERPRETER	Mar. 12	Mar. 15	Mar. 23

*If inducement.

† Closing 2 days earlier for Mauritius.

DURBAN, LOURENCO MARQUES and *BEIRA (Also Inhambane, Chinde and Quelimane with transhipment)

Vessel	Glasgow	*S. Wales	Birkenhead
CITY OF GUILDFORD	Feb. 27	—	Mar. 8
TACTICIAN	Apr. 1	—	Apr. 9

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