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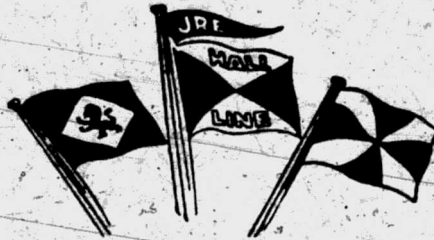
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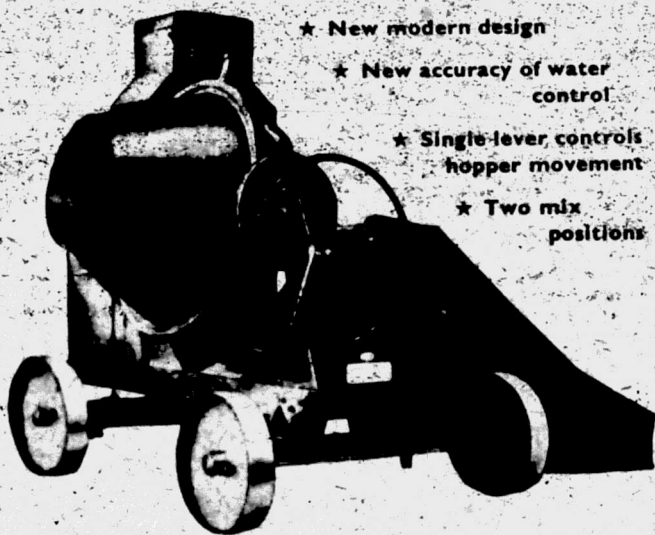
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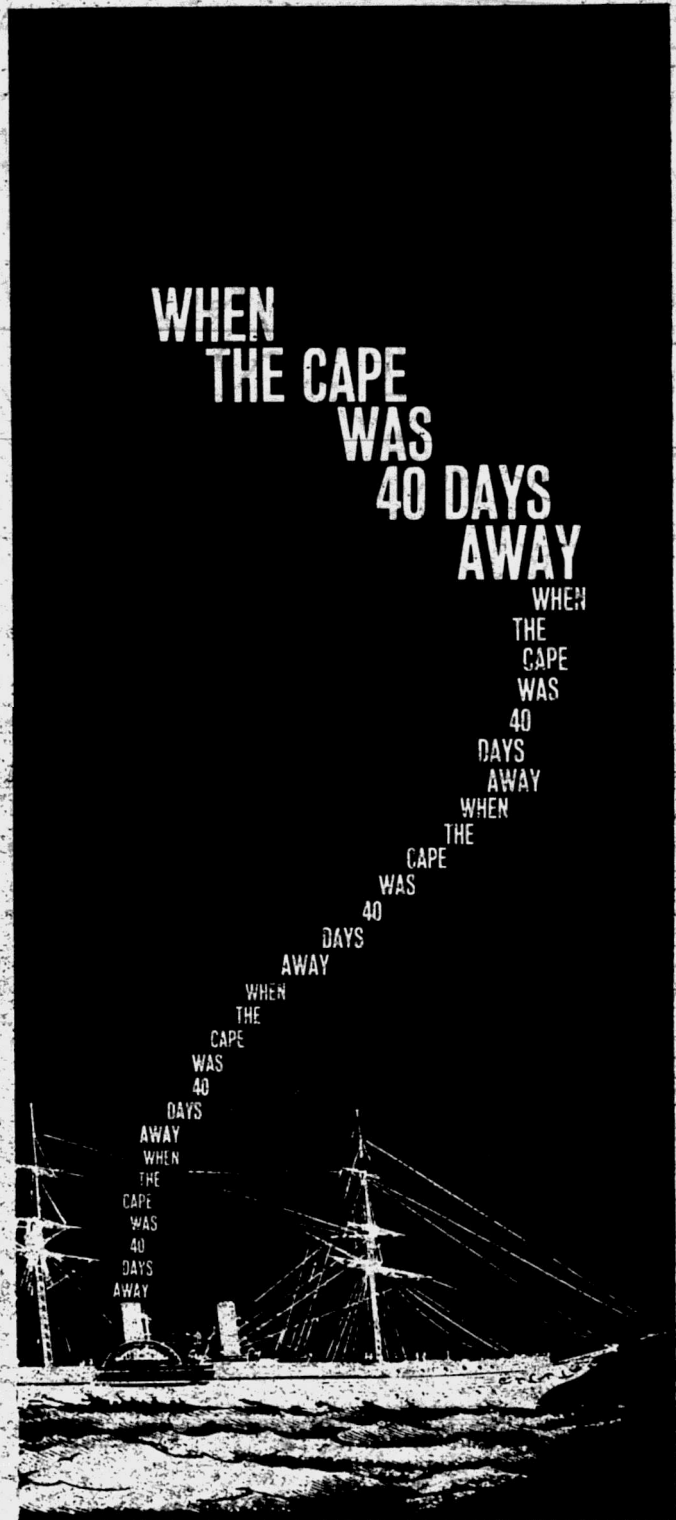


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Principal Contents

	Page		Page
Notes By The Way	544	Mr. Sandys in East Africa	552
Sir Roy's Anger Justified	546	Ominous Silence in Katanga	554
Rhodesian Art in London	548	Mr. Butler's Promise to Northern Rhodesia	556
Southern Rhodesia Pilloried	549	Parliament	557
Personalia	550	Mining Reports	559

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1963

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

PRESIDENT NYERERE said when he opened the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference in Moshi that a "Second Scramble for Africa" was to be expected and that it would not be only capitalist Powers which would incite Africans to fight other Africans. That was a clear warning that the African States which have been in so inordinate a hurry to gain the independence which none of them is capable of defending are now threatened by Communism, for the only non-capitalist Powers of importance which have shown interest in Africa are Soviet Russia and Republican China, the two leading Communist countries in the world. Neither makes any secret of its policy of training Africans to subvert the Governments of the countries of their birth, or that the subversion, starting doctrinally, proceeds to embrace modern techniques of propaganda, sabotage, and rebellion. At this moment there are in training in Russia and China several hundred Africans from the Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, all of them territories which now have or shortly will have African or African-dominated Governments, and which have deprived themselves or soon will deprive themselves of the British security and defence services which would have safeguarded them when the plans now maturing behind the Iron Curtain are put into operation. The Communist Powers are not employing the time and talents of able instructors and spending large sums of money for any purpose but their own determination to cause maximum mischief within and between African States in the expectation that the consequent chaos can be capitalized (to use a word which would not be approved in Moscow or Peking).

In informed circles there will be less sympathy with President Nyerere's denunciation

of interference by one African State in the internal affairs of another—not because the principle of non-interference is invalid, but because there has been deliberate and continued breach of it by President Nyerere himself. It was presumably to justify by implication Tanganyika's intervention in the affairs of its neighbours that his remarks about such trespass were limited to intrusion upon "another free country". While that limitation was obviously convenient to the speaker and the majority of his hearers, it can have no ethical warrant, especially among members of the Commonwealth. The basic principle underlying Commonwealth co-operation is that no member may intrude upon the domestic concerns of any other member State; and it was on that ground, not in extenuation of the deplorable practice of *apartheid*, that millions of liberal-minded men and women objected to the proceedings in the last Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference which caused South Africa to resign because it would otherwise have been expelled. Ever since it attained independence Ghana—which then worked hard to South Africa's detriment—has openly engaged in subversion in other Commonwealth territories in Africa, not least in East and Central Africa, so many of whose African politicians have received substantial subventions, as well as advice from Accra.

Both the President of Tanganyika, Dr. Nyerere, and the Vice-President, Mr. Kawawa, have helped African extremists in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia in their activities against their own Governments, and in the general elections in those countries the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation persistently supported the Malawi Congress Party and the United

National Independence Party. It is ingenuous to expect to be excused such intrusion merely because neither territory was "free" in the sense that it was still a Dependency of the Crown. Somebody outside Tanganyika might similarly excuse mischievous activity to its detriment by the plea that in a one-party State the opponents of T.A.N.U. cannot be free. President Nyerere had, however, to argue as he did because a few minutes earlier he had spoken of "ousting the

forces of colonialism" from Kenya, Zanzibar, the Rhodesias, Mozambique, and other territories—which have in fact owed their emergence from savagery to those "forces of colonialism" in their missionary, administrative, educational, medical, commercial and other forms. More recognition of the benefits derived from the West and less pretence and pretension from African nationalist leaders would make their declamations more reliable and also more creditable.

Notes By The Way

Sycophancy

TRUCKLING to a dictator—whether a Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, or one of today's many African copyists—is contemptible at home and even more odious abroad. That self-evident truth has, unhappily, not prevented exhibitions of obsequiousness in the Western world to visitors with wretched records. On his last two visits to London, for instance, politicians and other people greeted Kenyatta as though Mau Mau had never practised its indescribably foul iniquities. That toadying in Britain should in fairness be recalled when criticizing Dr. J. G. Kiano, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of State for Constitutional Affairs and Economic Planning in Kenya, for having told the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa in Leopoldville last week that he was "the representative of Mr. Kenyatta and of the Kenya Government". This Kikuyu Minister thus gave the Kikuyu leader precedence over a Government in which the portfolios are shared equally between K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. While Kenyatta, avid for flattery, will doubtless have been pleased, Mr. Ngala, Mr. Muliro and the other K.A.D.U. leaders should be concerned to prevent a repetition of such inversion (or subversion).

High Cost of Political Folly

FEW AFRICAN COUNTRIES, if any, enjoyed a rate of economic expansion equal to that of Kenya until the latter part of the last decade—in other words, in the pre-MacBlundell era—said Dr. Kiano. He proceeded: "This remarkable upward curve of our economic growth has tended to flatten out, partly as a result of a dropping off in the level of world trade generally, partly through a reduction in world prices for primary products, and partly through the cutting back of investment projects stemming from the political uncertainty felt particularly by our non-African investors and entrepreneurs". The truth is that Kenya's dire straits are the direct result of Mau Mau and the witless appeasement of the most extreme African agitators by the Macmillan Government, with the indispensable aid of Mr. (now Sir Michael) Blundell and his close associates. For several years before the MacBlundell policy took shape private capital formation in Kenya increased annually by about £30m. The almost immediate result was to reduce the total to £20m. Moreover, between mid-1960 and mid-1961 the number of Africans in employment fell by more than 30,000; by mid-1962 it had declined by a further 50,000, and since then the situation has further deteriorated. Dr. Kiano's attribution of these stresses and distresses to trade factors outside Kenya's control is completely unconvincing: they are the consequence of the destruction of internal and external confidence by political follies in Kenya and in

Britain, in particular by Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod and an inexcusably submissive Parliament and party.

Deplorable Example

EXPULSION from the Federation of Dr. Terence Ranger, of the staff of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has angered academics in Rhodesia, the United Kingdom, and doubtless elsewhere, and has caused the country much unfavourable publicity in Britain. When his appeal to the Federal Supreme Court was dismissed last week *The Times* sharply criticized the Federal Government for wielding "this tyrannical weapon" and for "apparently setting no higher standards than any other State in Africa devoted to tribal conformity", ending with the statement that the extradition "does a disservice to the white community in Southern Africa". Since the Federal Government has followed the normal course of withholding the reasons for its decision, no outsider can judge whether what has been done is a service or a disservice to the community. He ought surely to give the benefit of the doubt to the Government. Ejection is not necessarily tyrannical; if a country has sound reasons to rid itself of a non-national, the Government would do no more than its duty by returning him whence he had come. *The Times* headed its leading article "A Deplorable Example". That is what the paper gave by jumping to the worst conclusion without knowing the evidence.

Pledges Were Broken

NEXT DAY, however, it played fair with the Federation by publishing an emphatic half-column reminder that an issue of honour, not of policy, was involved in the exchanges between the Governments of the Federation and of Great Britain. The last paragraph of the commentary read: "The verdict rests on the reading of the verbatim record of the private talks printed in the White Paper. Let anyone of average intelligence—indeed, anyone of the meanest intelligence—read this conversation-piece for what it says and see if he gets any impression other than that the Ministers gave a firm general pledge that secession would not be allowed without agreement of all the Governments concerned, an undertaking which was not narrowly confined to decisions in the proposed constitutional review conference. The Ministers admitted that they could not stop Parliament 'going off its head'. That they pledged the Government, whether they intended or not, short of being overridden by Parliament, is the only plain sense the words can bear. And Parliament has not been involved in the Nyasaland decision yet—only the Government. Lord Salisbury's verdict holds: 'The point 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 they have done it". The heading was "If Words Mean Anything".

Influential Misguidance

THE SUNDAY TIMES, which in the past two or three years has given millions of Britons misguidance about East and Central Africa, has strikingly revealed its ignorance about Kenya by writing in a leading article "K.A.D.U. under Kenyatta is the stronghold of the Kikuyu; fear of the Kikuyu is the strongest cement of K.A.N.U. under Ronald Ngala". A few days later Sir Stephen King-Hall committed the same monumental howler in his *Newsletter*, which described K.A.D.U. as Kikuyu-dominated and centralist and K.A.N.U. as the regionalist party. These elementary pieces of misinformation in publications which had had a great deal to say about Kenya are worth noting.

Two Voices

AFRICAN POLITICAL PARTIES have frequently sought to mollify Europeans through the words of their leaders while their official journals incited the masses against non-Africans. That disturbing dichotomy was practised for several years by the Tanganyika African National Union, whose newspaper indulged in outrageous anti-European propaganda while the creator and leader of the nationalist movement, Mr. Nyerere pleaded for inter-racial harmony. In Nyasaland Dr. Banda has often mixed friendly overtures with angry warnings. His *Malawi News* now declares in a leading article: "The more friendly the white man is, the more dangerous he can be. If a white man is close to you, he learns more about you; he can use what he learns about you and your country to destroy you. Sup with them with a long spoon". Did the Ngwazi authorize publication of that diatribe? If not, what action does he intend to take?

Forecast of Bloodshed

IN NEIGHBOURING Northern Rhodesia *Voice*, the journal of U.N.I.P., has suggested simultaneously that there will be bloodshed if H.M. Government does not grant a new Constitution and permit the country's secession from the Federation; U.N.I.P.'s followers are warned to be ready for "action" at any time, and June is mentioned as the deadline for a new Constitution, with a hint that lives will be lost if that demand be not conceded. Not having before me the full text, I cannot judge whether the phraseology might be held to be seditious, but the abbreviated telegraphic report does not exclude that possibility. For a party which claims to be non-violent the language is at least reprehensible.

Putting His Foot In It

SIR HUGH FOOT has written in the new quarterly magazine *Aspect*: "I don't know if Mau Mau in Kenya is properly described as a rebellion"; but, characteristically, he makes no suggestion of the description which he would himself apply. The Oxford Dictionary defines rebellion as "organized armed resistance to established government; open resistance to any authority"; and by both those definitions Mau Mau was unquestionably a rebellion. It was born in intrigue and sedition, nurtured in maliciously false propaganda and agitation, prepared for action by subversive activities of all kinds, and imposed upon almost the whole Kikuyu tribe by terrorism, the foulest imaginable ceremonies, and oaths so depraved as to be unpublishable. For what purpose does Sir Hugh Foot imagine that Kenyatta and his associates organized this foul movement if not as a challenge to duly constituted law and order? Cannot he understand how his remark—written, presumably after full consideration, not spoken in the heat of debate—will be used by the apologists for Mau Mau?

Sir Hugh Foot, they will say, who after 31 years in the Colonial Service was the United Kingdom's representative on the United Nations Trusteeship Council, has declared that Mau Mau was not a rebellion, and so exposed the lies of the United Kingdom and Kenya Governments. The next step will be to claim that it was just a little local trouble malignantly magnified out of all reason by "imperialists" and "colonialists", who are by definition untrustworthy in all things. It was against their low standards, we shall hear, that high-minded, self-sacrificing Kikuyu patriots held high the torch of truth and honour! Sir Hugh has certainly put his foot in it.

2,000th Issue

FROM THE MESSAGES which continue to arrive referring to our recent publication of the 2,000th issue of this paper, two further brief quotations must be given. One of Africa's outstanding public leaders has written: "I do not believe that anyone in the United Kingdom has a grip on East and Central African affairs equal to that of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA". One of the most widely respected men in Kenya, a subscriber from the first issue, writes: "The paper has been of immense value to Kenya; but your criticism of what is wrong and your support for what is right have obviously not been too popular with a large portion of the British Press". The friendly letter containing that passage came from a whole family—and in quite a number of other cases the correspondent said that he was also writing on behalf of his wife, "who, like me, reads the paper from cover to cover". That phrase often occurs in correspondence.

I'm a Square

IN MATTERS OF ART I am a "square" (to use the ugly contemporary colloquialism), for I like a painting to be recognizable and pleasurable, poetry to have rhythm and meaning, and music to be musical; and such eccentric preferences are now considered antediluvian and almost indecent. Not sharing the current enthusiasm (for in many cases pretence) for abstracts and conundrums in paint, or for grotesque but recognizable exaggerations, it was from a sense of duty that I went to the opening in the Commonwealth Institute of an exhibition of New Art from Rhodesia. Some of the pottery is attractive, and the carvings and other *objets d'art* are well worth seeing (though, of course, not comparable in quality with the same kind of work from parts of West Africa), but the pictures gave me no thrill. Some doubtless deserve wall space in a gallery, but it would have been difficult to choose one which I should wish to face day after day in my home or office. Where modern art is concerned I am content to be with the iconoclasts.

Shipping-Wise

A NEW HORROR has come out of Kenya—the word "shipping-wise", which was used by Mr. Muliro, Minister for Commerce and Industry, in connexion with trade between the Colony and Japan. Addressing a business audience, he said that Kenya was "well placed shipping-wise" to serve Japan. Though the voice was his, the word may, of course, have been that of a British official in his Ministry who prepared a script and so committed his political master to an abomination of American origin. The other day I read in a report from the United States the word "communications-wise", which meant precisely nothing, for it was followed with the words "I report": the sense would have been exactly the same if the double-barrelled opening word had been omitted. For "fashion-wise", now much used in advertising to women, there is at least the excuse that they may be persuaded that it would show wisdom to follow the vogue.

Sir Roy Welensky Entitled to Feel Aggrieved and Enraged

Left in the Lurch by United Kingdom Government, Says Lord Chandos

IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS DEBATE on the White Paper concerning pledges to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (the first speeches in which were reported in last week's EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA), LORD CHANDOS (who was Secretary of State for the Colonies as Mr. Oliver Lyttelton) said that he had told Lord Boyd of Merton what he proposed to say and found that he held the same views. Lord Chandos proceeded:—

"I believe the claim advanced by Sir Roy Welensky that H.M. Government were pledged not to legislate for Central African Federation matters save with the agreement of the other four Governments goes too far. Such a pledge would have given to any of the four Governments a perpetual veto upon the actions of H.M. Government. Such a pledge was not given.

"Lord Listowel asked whether in the conversation 10 years ago when I referred to four Governments, I meant the four existing Governments or H.M. Government and three others. I really cannot remember.

Cement Became Gellignite

"Having said that, I say that I regard Sir Roy Welensky as entitled to feel aggrieved and injured, and even enraged. I think no hint was ever dropped at the conference that the British Government would themselves dream of breaking up the Federation. Nothing could have been further from our thoughts.

"All our preoccupations were centred upon preventing one of the three provincial Governments from having the right to secede without the consent of the other two and of the Federal Government itself. Everything we said in public or in private at the conference seems to bear this out. So far were we from expecting action against the Federation to be taken here that we regarded H.M. Government as the cement to bind together the emerging Federation. We never dreamt that H.M. Government would turn out to be the gellignite to blow it up.

"Sir Roy was left in the lurch by an act of policy, and not by the breaking of a legal pledge.

"I find all this very distressing because there seems to have been an obvious course that H.M. Government could have steered—before any act of secession was taken. That was to call a conference of the five Governments concerned. There are reasons for supposing that the Rhodesians would have consented to the secession of Nyasaland, and even if the Federal Government had sought or demanded guarantees which could not have been given, at least the whole subject could have been discussed with sobriety. For example, the very real difficulties concerning the Federal debt and that part of it incurred for the benefit of Nyasaland, could have been resolved, as could many other questions besides.

Not a Firebrand

"I think that Sir Roy Welensky would have helped at that conference. It is quite ridiculous to regard him as a firebrand; he is a very far-sighted man. If that conference had been called, and if the Federation had had to be buried, it at least would have had a decent funeral without the mourners being seen squabbling around the grave as they now are. Whether these hopes would have been dashed or realized is, of course, mere conjecture. The act of secession has now been taken, and it appears futile to rake over the embers of the past.

"No student of African affairs would deny the massive advantages that the three States of the Federation have gained—and none as much as Nyasaland, the poorest of the three, and the one most in need of the help, the money, the credit, and the skills of the Federal Government.

"Under the Federation the advances in industry, agriculture, power generation, and education have been truly striking. It is therefore our duty to see whether any new association can be built upon the ruins of the old. I should not despair of success. Another attempt must be made if the damage to our conscience is to be repaired."

LORD WALSTON suggested that there had been little British vitality in Central Africa in recent years.

"The main complaint of practically every one of your lordships apart from the question of pledges has been the dilatoriness, the need for action now, and the disastrous effect upon the economy of the three territories if things are allowed to drift as they are drifting. There is a clear example of lack of vitality, lack of energy, of nothing getting better, of things becoming worse at an ever-increasing pace.

"The Federation, and Southern Rhodesia in particular, is suffering from a lack of investment, a lack of confidence, and even a withdrawal of existing investments. That can mean only an arresting of the standard of living, which should be rising, and further discontent, further political unrest, and a further desire to change Governments by whatever means are in the power of the people.

"Not only H.M. Government but this country as a whole is now looked on by the outside world as a country whose word cannot be trusted.

"Breaking up the Federation we on this side consider right, but there are ample grounds for criticism of the way in which this has been done. One cannot escape the conclusion that the impression given to the other signatories of the original agreement—Lord Malvern, Sir Roy Welensky, and the others—and the impression intended to be given at least by some of H.M. Ministers who signed that agreement, was that the Federation should not be broken up—certainly not if it were humanly possible to avoid it—by any act of H.M. Government. Therefore there is surely a very serious charge that can lie against the Government in respect of the way they have handled this matter.

Government Should Resign

"If the Monckton Commission was able to discover that dislike among the vast majority of people in two of the three countries was not only widespread, sincere and pathological but also of long standing, surely no responsible member of H.M. Government in 1953 could possibly say today that the conceivable break-up of the Federation was unforeseeable. So at the worst on this ground the Government stand convicted of a breach of faith, and at the best they stand convicted of a highly reprehensible lack of foresight. Better Governments than this one have resigned for less serious reasons than either a breach of faith or lack of foresight in a matter of such great importance."

LORD MOLSON thought that in 1953 nobody could foresee the speed of the European withdrawal from Africa or the narrow and illiberal policy that would be followed in the Federation.

"Only five African States were independent in 1953; in 1963 it is five which are still dependent and not on their way to independence, chiefly the Colonies of Portugal and Spain.

"The second thing is the failure of the Federal Government to practise that partnership upon which Federation was founded. The only kind of partnership was that which was described in an unfortunate witticism by Lord Malvern, when he was Prime Minister, as the partnership of a rider and his horse. The blame which rests upon the United Federal Party as a whole especially rests upon Sir Roy Welensky. His first public work was as secretary to a white railway trade union, and one of its main objects was to reserve all skilled work to white Rhodesians. That union was largely responsible for a most unfortunate event—the importation of Europeans, many of whom could not speak English, into the Federation to work as stokers in order that Africans should not be trained for that skilled work.

"Great Black Majority"

"As a politician he has been responsible to primarily white constituents. We all know in this country how a trade union official is somewhat inclined to regard economic problems from the point of view of his union; and we have all, especially if we have sat in another place, found ourselves tempted to regard political problems a little from the point of view of our own constituents.

"While I think it is true to say that Sir Roy Welensky is a far-sighted statesman, I believe that he suffers from the optical handicap of colour blindness, and is not as well aware of the great black majority as he is of the white minority upon whom he is dependent for his political power.

"The passing of the Federal Franchise Act in 1957 was generally regarded by Africans as a deliberate attempt to alter

the franchise in order to delay their advent to political power. The view taken by the African Affairs Board was that it was discriminatory against the Africans. I regard it as an error on the part of H.M. Government that they supported the Federal Government and overruled the African Affairs Board. So far from considering that H.M. Government have been insufficiently sympathetic to the Federal Government, I think they have erred on the other side.

"I do not believe that Sir Roy Welensky has ever understood the Monckton Commission's proposals. The word 'secession' was like a red rag to a bull; and anger is not normally conducive to lucid thought. No attempt has been made to apply the proposals that we made for amending the Federal Constitution in order to make it more acceptable to African opinion.

"On the contrary, the Federal Government quite openly attempted to interfere with reforms which H.M. Government proposed to introduce into Northern Rhodesia. Sir Roy Welensky asked for a gerrymandered Constitution, and said that he considered the British Government should not introduce a Constitution which would be inimical to the preservation of the Federation. The only recommendation introduced was the courageous effort of Sir Edgar Whitehead in Southern Rhodesia to do away with colour discrimination. There the disastrous result has been his dismissal from power.

Economic Catastrophy

"I fear that that disruption of the Federation which we so earnestly sought to avoid is probably inevitable.

"H.M. Government should convene a conference of the Governments in Africa; and they would of course take a leading part in the deliberations. It would have to decide what functions should remain at the centre and what kind of reorganization would be required to administer it. Would it be necessary to go back to the Central African Council? I look to the East African High Commission in an improved form as the best model.

"In Central Africa we must try to preserve a customs union, a single system of taxation and Consolidated Fund, a single currency, a single reserve bank—and I should like to see the interest on the national debt a first charge on the Consolidated Fund.

"When nearly all the spending departments have been transferred to the territories it will naturally be difficult to maintain this degree of unity. But not to have it would be disastrous, and would, I am sure, result in a quite catastrophic economic decline in that area.

"Perhaps the best we can get is an *ad hoc* central legislature representative of the three territorial legislatures, which would be responsible for dealing with the financial matters. It is the old confederacy; and if it is not possible to have a federation, then a confederacy may be the best alternative.

"One of the most difficult problems will be the treatment of the Federal civil service. I hope that the mistake will not be made that has been made in so many Colonies reaching independence of paying civil servants more generously to go than to stay.

Protracted Deathbed

"This prolonged uncertainty in Central Africa, must be ended as soon as possible. Nothing could do more harm than a protracted deathbed for the Federation. The three territorial Governments must be made to face the grim realities of disrupting the Federation, but they must be free to take what action they wish, be it wise or unwise. No new arrangement can succeed unless it obtains the support of African opinion.

"Nor must the Federal Government be left in a position to bargain away its powers under the old Constitution. It has had its chance to do that and has rejected it. That entails a plain statement from H.M. Government that the Government will invite Parliament to repeal the 1953 Act and will make new arrangements for Central Africa."

LORD COLYTON disagreed with the remarks about Sir Roy Welensky, emphasizing his devotion to the ideals of a non-racial or multi-racial society:

He continued, *inter alia*—

"I regard the White Paper as inaccurate and misleading and the arguments contained therein as inept and in certain respects disingenuous.

"At the 1953 conference the extreme European nationalists in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament pressed for the right to secede. The British Government and the moderate Europeans of Northern and Southern Rhodesia strongly resisted. At that time there had been no question of a constitutional review. That came much later. The more detailed assurances quoted in the earlier part of the White Paper were given long after the principle that there could be no question of secession had already been accepted by all concerned. In this respect the White Paper is misleading and rather disingenuous.

"In my view the reference to four Governments was changed

to five Governments when the secretariat, when they were writing the minutes, took up the point that the Federal Government had been omitted.

"Although no provision against secession was written into the Constitution, although no formal pledge may have been given, there is no doubt in the minds of all who attended the conference that the agreements there reached were on the basis that there would be no changes in the Constitution, or at any rate no abrogation of it, without the consent of all the parties.

"Of course everyone accepted the fact that in the last analysis the British Government by Act of Parliament could repeal the Federal Constitution or dissolve the Federation. They could equally repeal the Statute of Westminster or the British North America Act. But no one has ever suggested that they do so. I feel quite satisfied that H.M. Government made a great mistake by not admitting that these assurances existed but explaining that a new situation had arisen and saying that, after all efforts to find a solution by agreement failed, they would be bound in spite of these assurances to act unilaterally.

"Sir Roy Welensky has been criticized for revealing the contents of confidential proceedings. He had been informed that H.M. Government intended to announce a unilateral decision in violation of what he regarded as solemn undertakings given by that Government. Was not this breach of undertakings at least as liable to damage Commonwealth consultation as the revelation of confidential but certainly not secret documents?

"The position of the Federal Prime Minister has been much misunderstood. He is responsible not to the British Parliament or British Government, but to his own Parliament and electors. He was appointed to his office by the Governor-General acting on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen. It is his duty to be as vigilant in regard to the interests of the people of the Federation as it is the duty of H.M. Government to be vigilant in regard to the interests of the people of this country.

Enthusiasm Waned

"The reason I so deplore the action of H.M. Government is that it reflects an attitude which has bedevilled our relations with the Federal Government for three years. I do not maintain that the Federal Government has always been wise or right. I deplore, for example, the recent restriction on Mr. Kaunda's movements at Salisbury airport; I suspect that it was the fault of individual immigration officers at the airport acting on their own initiative. But pinpricks like this serve only to exacerbate the situation and render solutions more difficult to achieve. Unfortunately, the actions of the British Government towards the Federal Government have often gone further than pinpricks.

"H.M. Government in 1953 gave enthusiastic support to the principle of federation. That was acclaimed in the country as a whole. It was reflected in speeches in both Houses during the passage of the necessary legislation. Even the then Leader of the Opposition, Lord Aulic, who opposed federation, said at the conclusion of the second reading debate: 'If this becomes the law of the land it is the duty of all of us to try to make it work to the best of our ability'. I regret that no genuine effort was made by many members of his party to carry out that undertaking. Nor indeed was the enthusiasm of the British Government fully translated into effective action in the Federation itself.

Negative Attitude

"Prior to the establishment of the Federation, in 1951, under the Labour Government, Colonial civil servants in the two northern territories were instructed not to take a positive attitude towards federation. In spite of instructions to the contrary given by Lord Chandos and myself when I was out there, this attitude persisted in many quarters after the Federation had been established. The Monckton Commission found that this was a major factor in building anti-Federal feeling in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. We in the Government at that time were perhaps to blame for not making quite sure that this policy in relation to the two northern territories was changed. H.M. Government can also be blamed for not having taken more positive steps to bring their influence to bear informally on the Government of Southern Rhodesia to make a reality of partnership.

"In spite of what Lord Molson has said, I do not believe that that applied to the Federal Government, or in particular, to Sir Roy Welensky. In this matter of anti-discrimination in Southern Rhodesia, while it was politically and practically impossible to go too fast, it was impossible to go too slowly. But public opinion in Southern Rhodesia was moving in the right direction.

(Continued on page 555)

Socialist Spokesman On Colonies

Mr. Bottomley Succeeds Mr. Healey

FRONT-BENCH CHANGES made by Mr. Harold Wilson, the new Socialist leader in the House of Commons, have removed Mr. Denis Healey, who has dealt with Commonwealth and Colonial Affairs for the past 15 months, to Defence, and given Mr. Arthur Bottomley responsibility for Colonial Affairs. Mr. Strachey will deal with the Commonwealth.

Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, who was Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in the last Labour Government, undertakes Foreign Affairs (the portfolio which Mr. George Brown, deputy leader of the party, had publicly said that he wanted). A new appointment, entrusted to Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, is for Disarmament and the United Nations.

Mr. Gordon Walker and Mr. Healey were two of Mr. Gaitskell's closest and most trusted colleagues, and it was generally thought in the party that Mr. Gordon Walker would have been his successor if he could have made the appointment.

Mr. Bottomley, who acted as campaign manager for Mr. Callaghan during the recent contest for the leadership, was a colleague of Mr. Wilson's at the Board of Trade some years ago. At that time he visited Africa, and on his return he spoke appreciatively about Southern Rhodesia in particular.

When the House of Commons debates Central African affairs this afternoon, two speakers for the Opposition will be Mr. Healey and Mr. John Strachey, who has just returned from the Federation.

Exhibition of New Art From Rhodesia

Paintings, Sculpture, Pottery Brought to London

PRINCESS MARGARET opened last Thursday in the Commonwealth Institute, Kensington, an exhibition of "New Art from Rhodesia".

Her Royal Highness was invited to open the exhibition by Sir Albert Robinson, High Commissioner for the Federation.

Accompanied by Mr. Frank McEwen, director of the Rhodes National Gallery in Salisbury, she inspected the paintings, some from Europeans, but most from Africans in their twenties.

Many of the abstracts are highly colourful, and the pottery and other objets d'art are attractive. Among well-known Southern Rhodesian Europeans represented in the exhibition are Sir Cyril Hatty and Mr. Colin Kirkpatrick.

An introduction to the catalogue by Mr. McEwen says:—

"The African is drawn from a once exciting past by the drum-beat of a fabulous machine age. No ancient traditions bind Central African artists, and they have not, as in West Africa, to suffer the impositions of a great artistic heritage. Often their only snare lies in too much artistic freedom, with no necessity of fighting for it. On the other hand, they confront public indifference, and their work must possess striking power to attract attention.

"Four main patterns of mind remain which in this country (Rhodesia) modify the approach to creative art. One belongs to persons born of generations of white inhabitants. Their inbred culture consists of intuitive remains from the Greco-Victorian age, but no urge from Africa. They have fought to remain 'white-minded'—resisting rhythms of the sun.

"Recent immigrants, with notions of neo-African influences which came to Europe in the 20th century, make more natural contact with the soil. Their expression of the surreal is exalted by it. They may conquer certain frustrations, or Western inhibitions, and approach the relaxed nature of the Africans with whom they have so much to exchange. Maybank, a bricklayer from Britain, is an example. The tropical sun is a ferment to his blood.

"African artists occupy the remaining mental groups. Charles Fernando is typical—third generation Catholic,

originally from Mozambique. He has severed direct contact with the past and, more like a European, his mind follows logical parallel lines.

"A natural jazzman, he is a player of many instruments. His neo-African music returns from the Americas. He says he 'would die for jazz', and the only African part of him is the trance-like ecstasy to which he attains when 'sent' by his music. This he 'sees' in terms of colour and paints from memory. He is deeply religious, a purist, constantly sacrificing himself to the cause of pure art. He quarrels with friends who tend to compromise with public taste: he would rather allow his fragile little soul to float ecstatically from the world. Charles's tense spirit belongs to a human category in which many artists may be found.

Ancient Lore

"Thomas Mukarobgwa is of the other group of more expressionistic artists. The logic of straight lines has not deformed him. His mind evolves in true African spirals. His contacts are unbroken: they increase as he explores his childhood memory in quest of ancient lore. Unlike tormented Charles who would suffer Christian sorrow, Thomas is relaxed, among the relaxed people of the world, with a smiling, solar visage. He loves the countryside, but sentiment does not debar him from the peasantry and its cunning ways. He is chief attendant at the National Gallery and also a farmer. His desire is to return to the land, to increase his crops, and, as he once proclaimed spontaneously on TV, to paint and 'follow the rolling motion of the hills'. His pantheistic love of Nature generates emotion.

"Traditional African art explored styles and combinations of styles ranging from ideal realism in life to diabolical violence in Congo fetish dolls or bloody Kofuquedio from Ivory Coast. Expressionism dominates this ancient world, and a phenomenon, the 'discovery' of African art by Brucke after 1904, using paint as a medium, is reflected today in Africa. Today African artists 'discover' paint as a medium and produce somewhat similar expressionism—but they have had no encounter with originals, or reproductions of German art.

'Airport Art'

Neo-African carving, that empty mimic of an irretrievable past of tense religions and fantastic rites, has been exploited for the tourist trade: this is the mass-produced, lathe-made 'airport art'. It diverts a world of talent.

"Another demolisher of artists is the Europeanized art school. Missionary-promoted neo-Christian effigies form another path of distortion with emaciating effects. These destructive agents have wrought havoc with talent, but Africa is so endowed that there is always force to spare.

"Some African artists may escape the draw of airport carving by the use of a new medium—paint. Inversely they resemble those Westerners who resisted paint because of its vulgarization by countless abstractionists and who took to iron sculpture as a 'new' art form. But there was nothing 'new' for Africa: Dahomey, Dogon, Yorubaland, and others produced it long ago. Even wood carving cannot be entirely spoilt. In fact, 'airport' often retains some fascination, more in fact than its Western equivalent of 'pavement' and 'chocolate box' art or the latter day neo-academic production.

"With all the education in the world it will be difficult to crush the creative instincts of Africa where rhythm is a pulse of life."

The Rhodes National Gallery, opened five years ago, has staged 43 exhibitions, mainly from other countries in Africa and from Europe, America and Asia. A year ago it started a workshop school, which provides free tuition for students and exhibits and sells their work.

Mr. P. H. A. Brownrigg is chairman of the National Gallery's board of trustees, whose other members are Sir Frederick Crawford, Rabbi M. Konviser, Mr. A. E. Lewis, Mr. C. P. J. Lewis, the Mayor of Salisbury, Sir Ronald Prain, Mr. B. C. J. Richards, Mr. N. M. Samuyarra, and Mr. B. G. Paver. There is a London Committee consisting of Earl De La Warr (chairman), Sir Keith Acutt, Mr. Chester Beatty, Mr. G. Cookson, and Captain E. G. Spencer-Churchill.

"On several occasions at the House of Commons I met M.Ps. whose ignorance of Kenya and East Africa was similar to that of the coal miners I visited in various parts of Britain".—Mr. T. J. Mboya, Minister for Labour in Kenya, in the *Sunday Times*.

Africans Support Death Penalty S. Rhodesia "Grotesquely Distorted and Pilloried"

THE GREATEST SUPPORT for the introduction by the new Southern Rhodesian Government of a mandatory death penalty for petrol-bomb offences "comes from the African section of the community", the Minister of Justice, Law and Order, Mr. C. W. Dupont, told Parliament in Salisbury last week. "This is probably natural", he added, "as it is Africans who have suffered most from such attacks.

"They are becoming an all-too-common feature of life in Southern Rhodesia. The perpetrators are usually extremely difficult to detect, but the tools of their trade are easy to come by.

"A minimum penalty must be introduced to protect the public from this inhuman and cowardly offence. Its effect is so terrifying that the mere threat of it is one of the most effective weapons of intimidation yet devised. It is not akin to murder, a crime committed in the heat of the moment or under strong emotion; it is carefully planned in cold blood. A petrol-bomb is not carried for self-defence.

"The Government insists on a mandatory death sentence as punishment for certain of the offences under this Law and Order Maintenance (Amendment) Bill. It is the most effective way of rooting out this evil. It will be imposed where petrol-bombs or inflammable liquid or explosives are used against persons; any residential premises not owned, occupied or leased by the person convicted, whether or not they are occupied at the time; and against residential premises and any other building, vessel, vehicle or railway stock in which there were persons at the time of the offence, irrespective of the fact whether the criminal knew of their presence or not.

"Filthy Crime"

"Provision has been made for penalties other than death to be passed in cases of pregnant women or youths under 16; and in cases of criminals between the ages of 16 and 19 the death sentence is discretionary. I should warn the House that should it be proved that those who plan this filthy type of crime are using women and youths to carry out the actual offence, the Government may be forced to reconsider this latter proviso.

"Legislation over the past four years to maintain security and law and order has shown a mounting tempo of unrest in this country. The deterioration of race relations has gone hand in hand with political unrest and uncertainty. Southern Rhodesia today is one of the focal points in a global struggle, but, unlike a bone over which two dogs are quarrelling, we have no freedom of choice. We are being attacked by pan-Africanism, but we have not even the inherent right to be heard at the United Nations while our mode of life is being grotesquely distorted and pilloried and our future being discussed.

"But we do have the right to protect our status as a partially independent autonomous State, and arising from that duty, to protect the lives, well-being, and prosperity of every citizen. This House may rest assured that we do not intend to appease anybody, either in this country or overseas, in carrying out what we deem to be our duty."

Killed for Attending Football Match

Mr. Dupont said that the previous Government's temporary ban on political meetings on Sundays and public holidays had been an excellent measure and was to be extended permanently. Before its introduction life in the African townships had been rendered miserable for everyone, with interference in church services and the tragic death of an African assaulted merely because he attended a football match instead of a Z.A.P.U. meeting.

The Minister's predecessor, Mr. A. R. W. Stumbles, said that the Opposition viewed the mandatory death penalty with extreme distaste.

The former Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, agreed that in some conditions a death sentence was merited for petrol-bombing, but said that experience had shown that extenuating circumstances occurred. One political party had habitually sent gangs of youths to townships where they were unknown; there they would intimidate some unemployed youth into committing an offence, and he would often be caught, while the real criminals escaped. If the Government would drop the mandatory death penalty, the Opposition

would not divide the House on the second reading, but otherwise his party would fight the Bill clause by clause to the bitter end.

He also criticized the decision to make the political meetings ban permanent. Had his party been returned at the last election it would have retained the prohibition for some further time, but the country would not remain in a permanent political *laager*, and political trouble must end some time.

Mr. Dupont announced last week that Mr. Joshua Nkomo, former president of the proscribed Z.A.P.U., and other African nationalists, would be allowed to form a new political party. If they behaved unconstitutionally they would be ordered to resign, failing which they could be fined up to £1,000 or imprisoned for up to five years, or both.

Under the former Government, it had been stated that ex-officials of a banned party would not be able to form another one, but the Minister claimed that a "ludicrous" situation could arise under which the leaders of a banned organization could line up a series of similar groupings and as each was banned move on to the next.

Mr. Nkomo is reported to have said that he will not form a new party because "Z.A.P.U. is in the heart of the people and cannot be banned".

The British *World Marxist Review* and *The African Communist* (of South Africa) distributed from London, and the *Voice of Africa*, of Accra, have been banned from the Colony.

Dr. Terence Ranger Deported

Member of Two Proscribed African Parties

DR. TERENCE RANGER, a 33-year-old history lecturer at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland since 1957, has been deported from the Federation following a Supreme Court ruling last week that he had not acquired the necessary citizenship rights which would exempt him from being declared a prohibited immigrant.

A deportation order was served last month, but Dr. Ranger was granted a temporary interdict against expulsion and applied to the Supreme Court to have the order quashed on the ground that as a resident of the Federation he could not be deported.

He and his wife applied for Rhodesian citizenship in 1960 but were refused. At that time he had resigned from the multi-racial Central Africa Party to join the since proscribed National Democratic Party, then considered by the Government to be the banned African National Congress under another name. When the N.D.P. was also banned Dr. Ranger joined the successor Zimbabwe African People's Union and became an officeholder in its Salisbury branch. When Z.A.P.U. was proscribed last year he was among those of its members restricted for three months.

In 1961 he was described by several speakers in the Federal Parliament as a danger to race relations, and his deportation was requested by the Southern Rhodesian Government. His Citizens Against the Colour Bar Movement was particularly active at the time.

After the Supreme Court decision Dr. Ranger stated that he would not appeal to the Privy Council. He would make a short stay in Tanganyika, spend about nine months at Oxford University completing a book on European settlement in Southern Rhodesia, and then return to Central Africa, for by that time he thought that the Federal immigration laws would no longer operate.

His expulsion has been criticized by the principal of the University College and by academicians in Britain and Sierra Leone.

It was announced at the week-end that the Federal authorities had acted in response to an approach from the Southern Rhodesian Government while Sir Edgar Whitehead was Prime Minister.

Royal African Society

THE ROYAL AFRICAN SOCIETY is offering an award of 50 guineas for the best essay on the most suitable way of adapting British democratic practices and institutions to the needs of newly-independent African countries. The competition is open to undergraduate students from African countries, irrespective of race, who are registered as full-time students at recognized universities in the United Kingdom and Eire. Essays must be submitted by September 1 next. Details may be obtained from the secretary of the society at 18 Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.2.

PERSONALIA

THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT is visiting Kenya.

LORD HALEY'S 91st birthday fell last Friday.

LORD COBHAM has joined the main board of Lloyds Bank.

MR. NORMAN J. CARR, the former game warden in Northern Rhodesia, is in London.

MR. J. C. G. KEVIN, Australian Ambassador in South Africa, has paid a brief visit to the Federation.

MR. J. P. MURRAY, Commissioner in London for Northern Rhodesia, is revisiting the territory.

SIR PATRICK RENISON has been elected president of the East Africa Dinner Club for the current year.

MR. PAUL NGEI, president of the new African People's Party of Kenya, has arrived in London.

MR. R. P. FAWCUS, Resident Commissioner in Bechuanaland, and MRS. FAWCUS have arrived in London.

MR. K. R. F. KHILNANI, High Commissioner for India in East and Central Africa, is visiting the Federation.

SIR GLYN JONES, Governor of Nyasaland, and LADY JONES are on their way to this country for two months' leave.

MR. HARRY FRANKLIN, lately Minister of Transport and Works in Northern Rhodesia, is in London on a short visit.

LADY WELENSKY, who is suffering from a recurrence of heart trouble, has been ordered complete rest for a month at least.

The first African ambassador to Uganda, MR. ELNUR ALI SULEIMAN, has presented his credentials as Sudanese Ambassador.

MR. DOUGLAS CLARK, for some years political editor of the *Daily Express*, has transferred in the same capacity to the *Sunday Express*.

The first official visit to Ethiopia by an Italian Minister since the last war has just been made by SIGNOR PRETI, Minister for Foreign Trade.

THE RT. REV. TREVOR HUDDLESTON, Bishop of Masasi, was interviewed by MR. WILLIAM CLARK in a television programme on Sunday evening.

MR. S. SAWYER, chairman of the United Federal Party in Southern Rhodesia, has announced the complete re-organization of the party in the Colony.

COLONEL LAURENS VAN DER POST'S new book, "The Seed and the Sower", deals mainly with the East, of which he had experience as a prisoner of the Japanese.

MR. A. MILTON OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, will fly to Khartoum on Saturday to visit the Sudan at the invitation of the President, GENERAL IERAHIM ABOUD.

MR. G. ST. L. D'ADHEMAR has been elected president of Nairobi Chamber of Commerce in succession to MR. R. J. HILLARD. The vice-president is MR. F. B. D. MOGER.

DR. J. M. HYSLOP has resigned as principal of the Royal College, Nairobi. He will leave for South Africa in August to become Vice-Chancellor of Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

MR. E. C. CORDY, chairman of Rhodesia and Nyasaland Tobacco Co., Ltd., announced last week in Lusaka that the group would manufacture cigarettes in Northern Rhodesia.

MR. B. M. GECAGA has been appointed chairman of the governing council of the Royal College, Nairobi, in succession to SIR PHILIP ROGERS. The new deputy chairman is MR. E. T. JONES.

MR. G. C. BRUNTON, managing director of Thomson Publications, Ltd., who has visited East and Central Africa, has joined the board of the parent company, Thomson Organization, Ltd.

Only a few days after taking up his appointment as principal of Nyatsime College, Southern Rhodesia, MR. N. SHAVA has resigned following "sharp" differences with the board of governors.

MR. EDWARD BARONGO, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture in Tanganyika, attended a meeting of the International Red Locust Control Service Council in Salisbury last week.

MR. KENNETH KAUNDA, leader of U.N.I.P. and Minister of Local Government in Northern Rhodesia, flew to Barotseland at the week-end for discussions with the Litunga, SIR MWANAWINA LEWANIKA.

MR. J. A. LEMKIN, a London solicitor, who was at one time chairman of the Conservative Bow Group, has been chosen as prospective Liberal candidate for Cheltenham. He has twice visited the Federation.

MISS LUCY LAMECK, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Co-operative and Community Development in Tanganyika, is attending a meeting in New York of a group of experts on community development brought together by U.N.E.S.C.O.

SIR ERIC MILLBOURN, who has been appointed chairman of an administration council set up to control Malta dockyard, is ports adviser to the Ministry of Transport, and has for years been concerned with harbour questions in South and East Africa.

LORD DALHOUSIE, Governor-General of the Federation, whose five-year term of office was extended at the joint request of the United Kingdom and Federal Governments, will retire on May 7, on which date LADY DALHOUSIE and he will return to Britain.

MR. J. G. DUNCAN, Federal Minister of Education and Minister for the Public Service, is visiting Nyasaland this week to ascertain how many of the 4,000 Federal civil servants there are prepared to work for the Nyasaland Government after independence.

A Uganda M.P., MR. E. BWAMBALE (Toro West), has been admitted to hospital with spear wounds after being kidnapped, beaten by supporters of the illegal Rwenzuru separate district movement, and abducted to a hideout in the foothills of the Ruwenzoris.

MR. JOHN MARGETSON, Second Secretary in the British Embassy in The Hague, who was for some time in the Colonial Service in Tanganyika, and MISS MIRANDA COLDSTREAM, daughter of SIR WILLIAM COLDSTREAM, principal of Slade School of Art, are to be married in May.

MR. WARNER KAPINGA, president of the African Co-operative Alliance and secretary-general of the Co-operative Union of Tanganyika, is in Mauritania for a fortnight to attend the first executive meeting of the Alliance, of which the headquarters are to be in Dar es Salaam.

LORD ALPORT, British High Commissioner in the Federation, has stated that continued association with Britain is essential if Central Africa is to get through the difficulties ahead. Equally essential is a clear and frank understanding of Britain's political and economic position.

MR. JOHN SCOTT MACLAY, M.P. for Renfrewshire West, who resigned from the board of the P. & O. Line in October, 1956, when he was appointed Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, has been re-elected a director. He was Secretary of State for Scotland from the beginning of 1957 until July last.

MR. ROGER SWYNNERTON, agricultural adviser to the C.D.C., and a former Director of Agriculture in Kenya, and MR. A. R. MELVILLE, the present director, presented papers on farming developments in Kenya to the recent U.N.O. conference in Geneva on the application of science and technology to under-developed countries. MR. MELVILLE contended that African farmers were unlikely to show responsibility unless they were fully involved in policy-making.

MR. BASIL DAVIDSON, who has often been critical of the Federation, has written in the *Daily Mirror* that the Government's White Paper in reply to SIR ROY WELENSKY'S charges of breach of undertakings is "one of the shiftest documents to have come from a Tory Government in many years".

MR. MAURICE LAING, deputy chairman and managing director of the John Laing Construction group, which has large Central African interests, has been appointed a director of the Bank of England. Now 45, he is the youngest director. He is also a member of the National Economic Development Council.

MR. GEORGE THOMSON, Socialist M.P. for Dundee East, said in Scotland early this week that KENYATTA, the Kenya nationalist leader, had told him that he opposed surrender of an inch of Kenya territory to the Somalis. "There is colonialism among Africans as well as Europeans", MR. THOMSON commented.

THE REV. ANDREW HAKE, industrial adviser to the Christian Council of Kenya, is chairman of a board set up to inquire into the dispute between the Kenya Quarry and Mine Workers' Union and Macalder-Nyanza Mines, Ltd. MESSRS. TOMAS OKEELO-ODONGO and JOHN M. ONFANDO are members of the board.

MR. J. M. COLTART, managing director of the Thomson Organization, is to speak on "The Influence of Newspaper and Television in Africa" at a joint lunch-time meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies on Thursday next, March 7. SIR HILARY BLOOD will preside.

MR. J. E. S. GRIFFITH, who has been for the last three years on the staff of the East African Office in London, is leaving today to take up an appointment with the Royal Institute of Public Administration. He is succeeded at the East African Office by MR. T. P. FORDE, lately an immigration officer in Tanganyika.

MR. CHARLES HOBSON, who was Assistant Postmaster-General in the last Socialist Government, has been nominated as Labour candidate for South Leeds, MR. GAITSKELL'S old seat. MR. HOBSON, who has visited East Africa, has been for some years a member of the Council of the Joint East and Central African Board.

SIR GEORGE CURTIS, Chief Land Registrar, who was for seven years in the Treasury, has been appointed by MR. BUTLER, with the agreement of the Governments of the Federation and of Nyasaland, to be chairman of the working party which is to consider the detailed arrangements for Nyasaland's withdrawal from the Federation.

Passengers for East African in the BRAEMAR CASTLE include MR. & MRS. W. J. C. MCPHERSON, MR. & MRS. W. J. POLLARD, MR. & MRS. C. A. PRESCOTT, DR. & MRS. D. J. C. SIMMONS, MR. & MRS. R. C. SNAPE, and MR. & MRS. V. C. THORNTON for Mombasa; MR. & MRS. C. B. KENDALL for Zanzibar; and the REV. R. A. ANDERSON and DR. & MRS. R. S. MACARTHUR for Beira.

LORD MONCKTON, who presided over the Monckton Commission on Central Africa, underwent an operation in London last week for the removal of a kidney. On the same day LORD JUSTICE DEVLIN, who led the inquiry into disturbances in Nyasaland a few years ago, and LADY DEVLIN suffered minor injuries when a car which he was driving south of San Francisco overturned and was wrecked.

MR. DANIEL GATANG'I has arrived in London this week to understudy the Kenya Agent's assistant public relations officer, MISS J. THURSBY-PELHAM, who will retire later this year. MR. GATANG'I, aged 24, formerly with the *East African Standard* and *Buraza* in Nairobi, has spent the past nine months in Kisumu as assistant Press officer with the Government Information Department. He has visited Norway.

When MR. CLIFF RICHARD returned to London a few days ago from a month's visit to Africa in which he and his party did 22 concerts in eight cities, he told reporters that the trip had been "fabulous", that MR. MBOYA had thanked him for giving a concert for 10,000 Africans in Nairobi, that SIR ROY WELENSKY had "joined his fan club", and that Rhodesians were getting their problems licked.

MR. PETER KIBISU, acting general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour, rejecting warnings from the Minister of Labour, MR. T. J. MBOYA, that trade unionists should abstain from politics, has announced that the federation will sponsor and support suitable candidates at the next elections. "The Minister himself gained personal popularity through the labour movement and has been a trade unionist and a politician simultaneously for a long time", Mr. Kibisu added.

MR. J. W. PHILLIPS (R.F., Bulawayo South) has suggested in the Southern Rhodesia Parliament that, should the Federation be dissolved, distribution authorities in the two Rhodesias should assume control of all transmission lines and receiving stations from the Kariba hydro-electric scheme in their respective territories, with Southern Rhodesia also taking over the south bank power station. The dam itself might then be controlled by a company with an international financial expert as chairman.

MR. G. MENNEN WILLIAMS, United States Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, admitted during his recent three-day visit to the Rhodesias that "the situation here is an extremely complicated one and I don't think it will be helpful for me to comment at this time". Communism, though a threat in Africa, had so far received little in return for its efforts and monetary expenditure. One-party Governments in the new African States were not "monolithic as under Hitler and the Communists, as there is a reasonable degree of interchange and discussion within the parties".

MR. LEONARD BASUDDE, acting Katikiro of Buganda, having accused the Uganda Government of "following the British policy of divide and rule", the Prime Minister, MR. OBOTE, denied the charge with the reminder that the Government was composed of Kabaka Yekka members, as well as U.P.C. followers. He added: "It will not do for Buganda Government Ministers deliberately to disregard the workable arrangements arrived at between this Government and yours and to wait for meetings of the Lukiko to make wild charges to bury their own failures."

Obituary

MAJOR SIR GEORGE ALBERT second baronet, who has died in Johannesburg, aged 57, was chairman of General Mining and Finance Corporation, Ltd., and a director of the Anglo-American Corporation, Barclays Bank D.C.O., and other companies. Born in Johannesburg, he was educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge. During the last war he served in the Imperial Light Horse and was demobilized as a major.

SIR ROBERT DRAYTON, C.M.G., who has died in a hospital in Surrey at the age of 70, was called to Bar in 1934, went to Tanganyika as Attorney-General, and five years later to Ceylon as Legal Secretary.

LADY CAMERON, widow of SIR DONALD CAMERON, sometime Governor of Tanganyika, who died in 1948, has died in Pinner, Middlesex. She was the daughter of Mr. D. O. Giffens, of Barbados. The marriage took place in 1903.

MRS. JEAN MAISTRE, the wife of a fireman on Rhodesia Railways, was killed when her motor car rolled from a parking space over the edge of the Victoria Falls.

Kenya, Zanzibar and Somali Problems

Mr. Sandys's Visit to East Africa

A DATE FOR ELECTIONS in Kenya is expected to be announced next week after the Commonwealth Relations and Colonial Secretary, Mr. Duncan Sandys, has returned to Nairobi on Monday for final talks with the coalition K.A.D.U.-K.A.N.U. Government, which has accepted the position that, because the two parties have failed to reach agreement after discussions lasting many months, the Minister should make decisions on "fairly fundamental areas of disagreement", though these are "very limited in relation to the whole".

A *communiqué* issued by the Council of Ministers at the week-end expressed "their very clear view that the Constitution would not be an imposed one". A Government spokesman added later that the Colonial Secretary's decisions should be regarded as "arbitration, not imposition".

Before flying to Zanzibar on Sunday, Mr. Sandys said that the new Kenya Constitution was complex, and would embody entirely novel principles; "it lies somewhere between a federal and a centralized system".

Mr. Sandys was jeered at Zanzibar airport by hundreds of African supporters of the Opposition Afro-Shirazi Party; they shouted and waved banners demanding "General election and independence", "British Resident must resign", and "British troops quit Zanzibar now".

In the town thousands of other demonstrators, including Arab followers of the ruling Zanzibar Nationalist Party screamed "Down with the British" and "Down with imperialism", and waved placards demanding "Date of independence this year".

Before his departure from London it had been announced that Mr. Sandys was to have discussions with

the Sultan of Zanzibar about the Kenya Coastal Strip, which for 68 years has been administered as a British Protectorate on the Sultan's behalf.

On Monday this week changes were made in his programme in order to allow for additional meetings with the Executive Council and for separate talks with the political parties, including the Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples Party, the minority group which forms a coalition with the Z.N.P.

The Afro-Shirazis have asked for one-man-one-vote elections by July under "independent impartial supervision" and for independence in September.

Mr. Sandys spent yesterday in Dar es-Salaam at the invitation of the Tanganyika Government. Today he will fly to Uganda.

Somali Riots

In Mogadishu, capital of the Somali Republic, thousands of demonstrators on Sunday stormed the British, Ethiopian, French and American embassies and had to be dispersed by police with batons and water hoses. Officials stated that the riot was a protest against the arrest during the previous week of about 40 Somalis in Kenya's Northern Frontier District at Garissa, where Africans and Somalis clashed when a K.A.D.U. meeting was about to be held. Riot police were flown in from Nairobi and a curfew has been imposed. Police and demonstrators were injured.

The Somali Ambassador in London, Mr. Mahmoud Abdi Arraleh, who last week had consultations with the Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, and is believed to have given a warning that the Republic would take "international proceedings" against the British Government, has been recalled to Mogadishu and leaves today. A special session of the Somali National Assembly has been convened for next Tuesday in order to consider relations with Britain over the N.F.D.

The Somali Vice-Consul in Nairobi, Mr. Abdulkadir Mussa, has expressed his Government's alarm at the military exercise being staged north of Archer's Post in the N.F.D. with more than 4,200 British troops, some from Aden, with R.A.F. and Kenya Police Air Wing support. Mr. Mussa said that the British Government could not have chosen a more significant and provocative time and place to carry out military manoeuvres, "which are always used as a cover for other more sinister motives". He added that if the British Government would not carry out its pledges to respect the will of the people of the N.F.D., "it must presumably suppress it with force".

Kenya Ministers have been invited to watch the manoeuvres.

Just Asking

"THE LAST BATCH of farms designated for purchase by the Land and Settlement Board in the Cherangani area in some cases have been chosen for their potential as a tea growing project; or so I am told by an official of the board. Yet this very district was investigated at great length by the commercial tea growing companies only a few years ago and found to be unsuitable. Does it mean that tea will now grow where a few years ago it would not? If so, will the outgoing farmers be paid tea land prices? Or does it mean that the incoming African settlers are being put on land that has any plantation crop possibilities irrespective of the prospects of monetary success? Or am I being cynical?"
—Kitale correspondent of the *Kenya Weekly News*.

Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club in London will be held on March 13. Vice-Admiral Sir Peveril William-Powlett has been chairman since the death last July of Lord Robins. The other members of the committee are Messrs. T. V. R. Barbour, J. C. Budd, Bernard Cayzer, Julian Crosslev, E. D. Hawksley, J. H. Lascelles, J. P. Murray, Michael Payne, W. R. T. Picton-Warlow, and R. E. Williams.



PLAYER'S
please
THE WORLD'S
BEST LIKED CIGARETTES

Public Debt of the Federation

£223m. of £281m. Relent to Territories

THE PUBLIC DEBT of the Federal Government on June 30, 1962, was £281,295,701; against £259,273,558 a year earlier.

The annual report of the Controller and Auditor-General, Mr. D. J. Morris, issued in Salisbury last Thursday, records that a high proportion of the money borrowed by the Federal Government was on behalf of the three territorial Governments, Federal statutory corporations, and other bodies. While £281m. represents the total debt for which the Federal Government is responsible, very little of that liability was directly related to the Federal Government itself. Balances on amounts re-loaned to and recoverable from the territorial Governments, statutory corporations and other bodies amounted to £223,367,902, leaving a net balance of public debt directly attributable to the Federal Government of only £57,927,799.

On June 30 last the Federal Government had available assets of £21,714,986 towards the redemption of debt, leaving a balance of £36,212,813. To that must be added an adjustment of £1,454,183 for participation by the territorial Governments in Federal sinking funds which have been used in part to reduce the public debt by cancellation. The balance of public debt for which redemption was to be provided directly by the Federal Government was thus £37,666,996.

Briton Marries Zulu in N. Rhodesia

MR. WILFRED GRENVILLE-GREY, the 32-year-old son of Colonel and Mrs. C. E. Montague Grenville-Grey, of Blewbury, Berkshire, and Miss Edith Dhlamini, a 30-year-old Zulu, were married last week in a private chapel on an estate near Kitwe. Because Northern Rhodesia's laws do not recognize marriages between Europeans and Africans as "Christian" they had undergone a civil ceremony in Nyasaland three weeks previously. Mr. Grenville-Gray was educated at Eton and read theology at Oxford and Yale universities, but decided to enter the Colonial Service instead of being ordained. After a course at Cambridge he was posted to Nyasaland. Latterly he has been on the staff of a merchant group in Northern Rhodesia. After the honeymoon in Cyprus he will teach at the Ecumenical Centre in Kitwe. He is a brother of the Countess of March, who flew with her husband to Central Africa for the wedding.

"It is wholly unreasonable to expect the European community of Southern Rhodesia to abdicate authority at this stage to African politicians whose power rests mainly on the skilful management of violence"—*Dail Telegraph*.

Too Much Africanization, Says Minister

Dar es Salaam City Council Errors

MR. J. LUSINDE, Minister for Local Government in Tanganyika, has told Dar es Salaam City Council that it was a mistake to part so quickly with so many of its European officials.

At a recent meeting with the council he said:—

"The most efficient council can get nowhere without good and qualified officers to serve it. It is here that I feel some mistakes have been made over the past year or two, prompted I am sure by a very praiseworthy desire to see more Africans and local people occupying the key posts in the council's service.

"The city's affairs are very big business indeed, and the departure of qualified officers in recent years has gone on at a disturbing rate. We have not yet trained up all the local officers needed to fill these highly specialized posts; and while this remains the position we cannot help employing at least some expatriates who have the right qualifications and experience.

"Even now you are bringing in fresh officers from other countries to provide the skills which are needed. It would have been more to the city's advantage if some of those who have served here for many years and understand the work had been retained to bridge the gap. To employ an unqualified man or one who has insufficient experience simply means that public money is wasted, and the job not properly done."

Council expenditure this year is estimated at 29% above the 1962 total. The Minister said that investors might be scared away if the rate levied could not be stabilized at 4% for some years.

K.A.N.U. Election Choices

K.A.N.U. HAS ANNOUNCED some of its Lower House candidates for the Central Region and Kisii in the Kenya general election expected to be held in the summer. In the Kiambu area of the Central Region they include Kenyatta (Gatundu-Thika), the party leader and Minister of State for Constitutional Affairs and Economic Planning in the K.A.N.U.-K.A.D.U. Coalition Government; Mr James Gichuru (Limuru), Finance Minister; Mr Peter Mbiyu Koinange (Kiambaa), general secretary of P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A.; Mr Waira Kamau (Githunguri); and Mr. Joseph Gatugata (Kikuyu). In the Murang'a (Fort Hall) area they include Dr. J. G. Kiano (Kangema), Parliamentary Secretary for Economic Planning; Mr. J. Mulgai (Kandara), Kenyatta's brother and a supporter of Moral Re-armament; Mr. J. G. Mwangi (Kiharu); and Mr. K. Njiri (Kigumo). The Upper House candidate is Mr. T. Mwaru. In Kisii the candidates will include Mr. Lawrence Sagini (South Kitutu), Minister for Education; Mr. T. Mung'are (North Mugirango and Masaki); Mr. J. Nyameia (Nyaribari); and for the Upper House, Mr. J. Kebaso. Kenyatta has said that these selections were not made according to his wishes but reflected those of K.A.N.U. supporters in the constituencies concerned.

NORTHERN RHODESIA



For Information
APPLY TO

The Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia

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Africa in State of Seizure

U.N. and American Blunders

A GRIM PICTURE of Katanga has been painted in the *Daily Telegraph* by Mr. Stephen Hastings, M.P., who first went to that part of the Congo a year ago and has just returned to London from a second visit.

He has written (in part):—

"One condition of the amnesty was that Mr. Tshombe should be allowed two companies of gendarmes to protect him, but when he arrived in Elisabethville he was told that applied only in Kolwezi. The acting United Nations representative in Elisabethville admitted to me a fortnight ago that contingency plans existed should Mr. Tshombe disappear, and there can be no doubt that he is in great danger.

"Yet neither the U.N. nor the U.S.A. can escape the fact that the situation in Katanga is deteriorating alarmingly, and in precisely the way they have so often been warned it would.

"The danger—and it will become immediate if Mr. Tshombe is eliminated—springs first from the Central Government troops; secondly from the dissident Baluba, principally from North Katanga; favoured by the U.N. and bitterly opposed by the Lunda and associated tribes of the South; and, lastly, from the Katanga gendarmerie, some 20,000 of whom melted into the bush during the last U.N. offensive, and many of whom remain there, armed and without pay or leaders.

"The U.N. force, even at present strength, is inadequate for a full-scale security task, and when the Indians leave in March the position could degenerate completely.

"Of course, the subjection of Mr. Tshombe would appear as a temporary feather in Mr. Adoula's cap, and might take the heat off his economic difficulties for a while; but an accommodation could in the long run be of greater advantage to the Central Government.

"Mr. Adoula himself told me that Mr. Tshombe had seriously considered the Vice-Premiership when he was offered it recently. My impression is that it is not so much Mr. Adoula or his Government but rather the United Nations and American officials in Leopoldville who are emotionally committed to Mr. Tshombe's overthrow.

"Nor could I detect any sign of magnanimity now that they have him more or less at their mercy. Lumumba was forgotten a fortnight after his death", said a senior American to me. "It would be the same with Tshombe."

"No doubt the U.N. would like to sweep Katanga quietly under the mat; no doubt the unfortunate British Government, wearied by pursuing a Congo policy which exposes it to remorseless pressure from the whole of Afro-Asia backed by the United States, and now shocked by the European setback, would also welcome a little silence in equatorial Africa.

"It is a vain hope. The African continent is in a state of seizure. It is racked by three maladies: the tragic racial confrontation exacerbated by Afro-Asian emotion and expansionism; the incipient and elemental struggle for power between African and African; and the ominous and rapid spread of Russian and Chinese subversive control.

"Whatever the motive, the United Nations is supporting one African régime against another by force of arms. It has killed. It has occupied. It has carried out direct political propaganda among Africans. It cannot avoid the consequences of its actions. Unless it is to blunder into worse dangers, we should do well to subject it to searching analysis.

"There may for the moment be silence in Katanga, but it is a silence full of omen not only for the Congo but for all of Africa."

Zanzibar

ZANZIBAR'S DEFICIT for 1961-62, which had been originally estimated at £103,000, was, it is now known, no less than £524,400. Clove export duty collections were £297,000 under the estimate, and measures necessitated by the state of emergency cost £186,000. For 1962-63 the Government expects a deficit of about £283,000. The authorities hope to interest a financial group in the construction of a high-class hotel specially designed to cater for tourist needs. H.M. Government has promised £2,000 to the mayor of Zanzibar's relief fund for those who suffered from the floods last April.

News Items in Brief

Egypt has offered Tanganyika 15 scholarships.

Price control of bread has been removed in Northern and Southern Rhodesia.

Senior civil service posts held by Africans in Kenya now number 1,564, against 1,098 a year ago.

Some 4,000 British and African troops are now engaged in an exercise in the Northern Frontier District of Kenya.

Kenya lost 6,762 permanent European residents in the first nine months of last year, during which period there were 3,124 new European immigrants.

For possessing three sub-machine guns, two revolvers and ammunition, two Africans in Southern Rhodesia have been gaoled for seven years and three years.

To increase Nairobi's water supply from 8m. to 10m. gallons daily, the C.D.C. is to make a ten-year loan of £125,000 towards the estimated cost of £280,000.

Italy will lend Ethiopia £5m. under an economic and technical co-operation agreement covering the provision of Italian personnel and agricultural and mineral prospecting machinery.

The Karuma Falls road bridge over the Nile, completed at a cost of £100,000 to link southern with northern Uganda, marks the end of a £2.3m. major road construction programme.

Sudanese school children are to be instructed in fruit and vegetable growing and poultry-raising under an F.A.O. scheme financed by the Canadian Junior Red Cross to the extent of \$125,000.

The Southern Rhodesia Constitutional Council, which is to act under the new Constitution as a "watchdog" to safeguard rights previously subject to British Government reserve powers, held its first meeting on Monday.

Emigrants from the Federation to South Africa last year numbered 2,790, but some 4,000 immigrants from the Republic went to live in the Federation during the same period. The number of people from Kenya who settled in South Africa in 1962 is given as 181.

For keeping watch while two accomplices threw petrol-bombs into the homes of two employees of Central African Road Services who had ignored a strike call, Vincent Musonda, a trade union secretary, has been sentenced to five years imprisonment in Northern Rhodesia.

An Ethiopian and a Somali are among African students who were beaten and arrested by Bulgarian authorities in Sofia last week for attempting to form an African students' union. Most of the 350 African students there are expected to leave because of racial discrimination and Communist indoctrination.

The Commonwealth Institute will today publish the first issue of a magazine which is sent free to Government departments, universities, technical colleges and schools within the Commonwealth. The special purpose is to keep teachers and planners abreast of Commonwealth educational, economic, political, and social developments.

An African mother of eight children and grandmother of 30, who in 1920 was at school for one year only, and is now 60 years of age, is attending a night school in the Southern Province of Northern Rhodesia, "so that I may know how to speak English and be able to mix freely with people away from my own district who do not speak my language."

Indiscipline in most Government hospitals in Tanganyika, allegedly the result of poor relationships between senior expatriate staff and junior local staff since the beginning of the year, has caused the Ministry of Health to threaten "drastic action against these misdeeds so that patients can see the difference between the past and present in our health services."

Three Bakonjo tribesmen have been killed and a soldier of the Uganda Rifles has been spared to death in disturbances in Toro kingdom, where a state of emergency has been declared in Busongora and Bwamba counties following continuing lawlessness over the past five months in support of Bamba and Bakonjo demands for a separate "Rwenzururu" district; 332 arrests have been made.

Baganda women refusing to pay taxes imposed by the Lukiko have demonstrated outside the Bulunge, called for dismissal of the present Buganda Government, and threatened to "boycott the men and let them make love among themselves and take over the responsibility of producing children", because in introducing the taxation of women they have "betrayed the mothers of the land".

Nyasaland trade unions will be forbidden to receive money or other aid from abroad without Government approval under a Bill to be presented to the Legislative Assembly next week. Its introduction follows reported offers from the Communist World Federation of Trade Unions in Warsaw of £1,500 for a car, £500 for office equipment, and regular monthly payments to the Nyasaland Transport and Allied Workers' Union.

British Lip Service to Federation

(Continued from page 547)

"The tragedy is that at the very moment when Southern Rhodesia began to translate into practical action the changes of view which had swept through the people, the British Government—having been in the main neutral towards the federal idea—began to turn their back on it. This is the only way in which one can interpret their actions in the past three years. They paid lip service to the idea of federation but were never prepared to stand up strongly against the forces of pan-Africanism, both within and outside the Federation, which were seeking to destroy it.

"When the First Secretary of State became responsible for Central Africa I was convinced that we should see a new approach to this whole problem. I am disappointed by some of his actions. H.M. Government are still committed to the principle of federation so far as Northern and Southern Rhodesia are concerned. Yet when a week ago a motion advocating secession was introduced in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Assembly the official Members, who act under instructions from the Government, and indirectly from the First Secretary, were apparently told to abstain. Consequently the motion was carried.

Radical Changes

"Surely, while federation remains the law of the land, and while the whole issue is under discussion, it was the positive duty of the official Members to vote against a motion for secession. Any action of this kind, which is bound to be interpreted as an act of bad faith, or at any rate of ill-will, is bound to have its repercussions in Salisbury.

"The First Secretary has said that in his discussions with the new Governments of Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia he was encouraged to find a widespread disposition to think constructively. Mr. Winston Field, the new Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, visited Nyasaland and had what he described as a most cordial reception from Dr. Banda. Mr. Chipembere, the former Malawi extremist who has just been released from two years in prison, said the other day: 'I now lay down my arms and abandon my hostility to the Europeans'. Even Mr. Kaunda, in spite of some sinister threats to the European-owned newspapers who reported a split in his party, has said: 'We intend to establish a truly non-racial society'. We must take these statements at their face value.

"Sir Roy Welensky is willing to consider changes, even radical changes, in the forms of association between the territories. The Federal Government are prepared to participate in preliminary talks between the Governments, and, if the talks show some sign of general agreement, to participate in a conference. But until it is found possible to agree on a new arrangement to replace the existing pattern of federation, the Federal Government insists that no changes should be made in the present constitutional relationships of the two Rhodesias. They feel that to be constructive we must start from the basis of what is already in operation, modifying it if necessary, and not by beginning to break it up and then trying to put the pieces together again.

Sheer Illusion

"It is sheer illusion to think that a purely economic form of association would succeed. Some form of central political authority must be retained. It was entirely for the reason that a Central African Authority in the form of a Government and a Legislature did not exist under the old system of the Central African Council that that system failed and had to be scrapped.

"The economic break-up of the two Rhodesias would be disastrous to both of them, but particularly to Northern Rhodesia, with its single commodity economy based on copper and a limited consumer market. We have just witnessed the tragedy of the Southern Rhodesian chrome industry; due entirely to a Russian offer of chrome, the American purchase of Rhodesian chrome has been completely cut off, and this important Southern Rhodesian industry faces complete collapse. It shows how unwise it is for any country to base its economy on a single commodity. Southern Rhodesia would, of course, suffer from a break-up, though to a lesser degree.

"In the long run it would not be the Europeans who would be the sufferers—after all, if necessary, they can leave; in the long run it would be the millions of Africans who would suffer from a collapse of this sort.

"I do not think it possible to maintain the existing unity of the Rhodesias in the absence of a strong political authority at the centre. Let us go back to the recommendations of the Monckton Commission. Let us see which powers the commission felt should be retained at the centre. Defence, external affairs, customs, communications, immigration, income tax perhaps seem to me the essentials. Then let us look again at the

form of Central Assembly which the commission proposed and see whether we cannot bring something about on those lines.

"I do not believe that if H.M. Government were prepared to make positive, constructive proposals and with a real determination that they should be accepted, it would be impossible to reach an agreement."

LORD HEMINGFORD considered it tragic that no Minister at the conferences in 1952 or 1953 had reflected that the future of the Federation would lie in the hands of its African majority in each territory and that their representatives would not be bound by pledges upon which they had not been consulted.

"If pledges were made they will certainly be swept away, as were those nice questions whether the Devlin Commission exceeded their terms of reference or the Monckton Commission had any right to consider secession. Having perched a three-roomed pre-fab on the crater edge of a volcano you may argue about notices to quit, but your conclusion is unlikely to affect events.

"Lord Swinton said that none foresaw what would happen. But other Members of your lordship's House did foresee that federation would not last. There were the late Lord Iovitt, and the late Bishop of Chichester. Lord Listowel also warned the Government what would happen to a federation imposed on people contrary to the wishes of the majority.

"On July 7, 1952, I borrowed words from Burke and applied them to the federal scheme, saying that it was 'a tessellated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone and there a bit of white—indeed a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch and unsure to stand upon'. All through the debates I would jump up and oppose—because I was a Conservative, because I believed in caution, because I believed in history, because I believed in keeping in touch with reality. Lord Chandos never foresaw that the gelignite would be provided by the United Kingdom. Has it been? Surely the gelignite has come from the African peoples.

Common Services

"Southern Rhodesia must be told that she will not be granted independence until she has a Constitution that truly represents all her people and that this country will give no further economic aid until a democratic Constitution has been created. Northern Rhodesia should be assured of her right to secede and given a fully representative Government.

"When a conference is called there should be representatives not only of the Governments of Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia, but also of the Africans of Southern Rhodesia whom the present Government of Southern Rhodesia do not in fact represent.

"If these things are done there is a chance that the conference would make representations about the organization of common services between the three territories."

LORD MILVERTON was convinced that there had been an honourable understanding, and that it had not been observed. No one would have thought worse of the Government for admitting it and saying that in the changed circumstances of today it could not be kept. That attitude would have been forgivable.

"But one cannot move about Africa today without stumbling over broken promises and broken pledges—not only those of almost every African leader.

"Lord Listowel said that we are engaged in winding up the Empire. 'Winding up' surely implies some deliberate plan. Planned action has been eminently absent from the drifting of the British Government over the past few years.

"The people with the greatest say in the matter should be those who live in Africa and understand it. I shall never forget the speech of the Duke of Montrose in our last debate. He flew from Africa to make it, and it did not receive half the attention it warranted.

Ignorant Electorate

"Emphasis is laid upon what Southern Rhodesia must do in relation to the racial question, to the franchise, and the way in which she runs her Government. Is there nothing at all to be said for the sort of security we must ensure for the Europeans who have built that country? What about the Copperbelt? What is going to be done to enterprises of that kind when adult suffrage does arrive?

"The greatest enemy of democracy is an ignorant electorate. We should always remember that in dealing with Africa. Almost everything Lord Ogmores said underlined the recklessness of agreeing to the secession of Nyasaland without proper consideration of the immense administrative difficulties of dealing with secession. I agreed most heartily too with Lord Salisbury when he emphasized the impossible divorce which seems to be contemplated between finance and responsibility for policy. You cannot successfully run a country where they are divorced.

"Three Governments have declared against continuation of federation. Surely the way to deal with that situation would have been belatedly to have a conference of the heads of these Governments with the representative of the British Government to talk about what will happen if the Federation is dissolved. It is easy to break old links but terribly hard to replace them. This conference should take place at the earliest possible moment.

"Sir Roy Welensky has had very considerable reason to complain of his treatment, and I sincerely hope that in future conferences he will have reason to say that he and his Government have at last been recognized as somebody who must be consulted.

"I emphasize the tragic failure of this policy of drift—if you can call it a policy. The kind of uninspired opportunism which has passed for policy in the management of the British Government in Africa over the past few years, has been rather a public exhibition of a lack of any policy. If it is a policy it is one of deliberate leaving to chance what you should try to settle by planned wisdom.

"One of the curses of Africa has been excessive control from this country. If you want people to be responsible—and I am referring not only to Africans; I refer to Europeans as well—you must give them a fair share of the authority to shape their own lives. The Europeans who have made Africa their home have only too often been handed down instructions and orders about their affairs or hampered in their own administration by well-meaning but relatively ignorant people in this country. In the very difficult circumstances which we now face it should always be remembered that a large part of the responsibility and the authority should be given to the people on the spot. The vacillation of the British Government over recent years has been a major cause of the growing intransigence of the African leaders. The practice of real partnership has been severely handicapped by this vacillation and by the sort of drift which was so noticeably practised by the successor in office of Lord Boyd of Merton [i.e. Mr. Macleod.—Ed.].

"Action is urgently needed and we look for some of that wise understanding which has been so lamentably missing. All of us who have our criticisms of the mess into which we have got in Central Africa wish Mr. Butler the very best success in solving the problems which have been handed to him and which are none of his making."

The Earl of Lucan and the Lord Chancellor also spoke.

U.N.I.P. Wants Independence This Year Mr. Butler Did Give that Promise, Says Mr. Chona

MR. MAINZA CHONA, general secretary of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, told journalists in London on Monday evening that while he was in Lusaka Mr. R. A. Butler, Minister for Central African Affairs, had definitely promised the African leaders a conference in London in March—a statement which Mr. Butler explicitly denied a few days later in Nyasaland after the alleged promise had been publicly revealed by Mr. Nkumbula, leader of the African National Congress, and a Minister in the Northern Rhodesian Government.

U.N.I.P.'s general secretary was emphatic that the promise had been given, adding that Mr. Butler had indicated that he wanted the conference to deal with the Federation rather than with a new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia.

"Rotten" Constitution

Mr. Chona said that he had just telegraphed to his leader, Mr. Kaunda, that he understood that Nyasaland having been granted the right to secede, the conference would apparently concern only the Governments of the Federation and of the two Rhodesias. He thought the United Kingdom was seeking to delay Northern Rhodesia's secession, and stated that unless satisfactory assurances on that point were given now his country might boycott the conference; it would have nothing to do with a conference intended to rubber-stamp a continuation of Federation in the new form.

The Federation could be dissolved immediately, and ought certainly not to be continued beyond June 30, the end of its financial year.

Northern Rhodesia's Constitution was "rotten". It had been condemned by Mr. Butler himself. How could it be otherwise when after a general election and by-elections in 10 constituencies eight of the 45 seats in the Legislature still remained unfilled? The new Constitution must establish the one-man-one-vote principle.

The two African parties which now form the Coalition Government also demanded independence by the end of this year. Those who had advocated such changes had hitherto been denounced as irresponsible agitators. Now they spoke as members of the Government.

Bloodshed

Asked why the current issue of his party's official journal threatened bloodshed unless withdrawal from the Federation was permitted, Mr. Chona evaded the question with the remark that words were often taken out of their context, and that he was confident that what was necessary would be done before the end of June.

He did, however, expect Mr. Butler to announce in this week's debate the date of the opening of the promised March conference. March 1 was only four days away, and the date should therefore have been given already.

It seemed to him impossible for Northern Rhodesia to have economic links with a Southern Rhodesia under a white Government; his party and the A.N.C., both being pan-African, must do all in their power to help the African majority in Southern Rhodesia gain political power.

Mr. John Stonehouse, M.P., who was in the chair, said that as soon as Dr. Terence Ranger arrived he would be admitted a member of the Federal Prohibited Immigrants Society.

Zambezi Barge Service

A CONVOY OF VEHICLES left Bulawayo last week with the first of a number of specially designed barges for the Zambezi river transport service. The craft, 70 ft. long and with a beam of 21 ft., has a displacement of 90 tons, carrying a 60-ton payload with the minimum of man-handling. Constructed in five sections, it was carried by three vehicles to Mambova, where it is being assembled. Two of the sections are 14 ft. wide, so that when the convoy crossed the Victoria Falls bridge there was only 18 inches of clearance on either side. A daily goods service from Livingstone to the river port of Katima-Mulilo will soon be started.

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Parliament

Questions About Dr. Ranger Special Study of Barotseland

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY asked the First Secretary of State on what conditions he contributed to the finances of the Central African University.

MR. MACLEOD: "H.M. Government undertook to provide Colonial Development and Welfare grants to the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland subject to the usual conditions attached to the issue of such grants for higher education purposes. These include a requirement that H.M. Government should be satisfied about the constitution and autonomy of the administering body. It was also a condition that the full recurrent costs should be guaranteed from other sources."

MR. BROCKWAY: "Did these conditions include any safeguard concerning British citizens on the staff of this university? Is he aware that Dr. Terence Ranger, a member of the staff of this university, was deported because he engaged in inter-racial activities when a lecturer at an inter-racial college? Ought not our Government to stand for the elementary liberties of British citizens in a university to which the Government contribute?"

MR. MACLEOD: "Although I understand the feelings of the hon. Member, that supplementary question is quite a distance away from his main question. The position is that the constitution of the college establishes—as he knows; he has been there, as I have—that the college shall be multi-racial. The supplementary question surely goes outside the provision of C.D. and W. grants to this university."

Indignation

MR. DINGLE FOOT asked the First Secretary of State whether during his visit to Central Africa he discussed with the Federal authorities the alteration of the Constitution in regard to responsibility for immigration.

MR. MACLEOD: "No, sir."

MR. FOOT: "Did the First Secretary at no time discuss with the Federal authorities the operation of the immigration laws, the long series of arbitrary expulsions from the Federation of a person with whose political views the Federal Government did not agree? Did he at no time make any representations about the widespread indignation felt among all parties in this country about the treatment of Dr. Ranger?"

CAPTAIN KERBY asked the First Secretary of State what representations he had had from Sir Mwanawina Lewanika invoking the formal Anglo-Barotse Treaty of 1900 and indicating that Barotseland wished to remain a British Protectorate; and what steps he was taking to ensure that full British protection was to be provided for the Barotse people, in view of the deteriorating situation in Northern Rhodesia.

Pressure Against Litunga

MR. BUTLER: "When I visited Northern Rhodesia last May a delegation representing the Litunga and National Council of Barotseland handed me a memorandum which affirmed their continued wish to remain under British protection. I have since set in hand a special study of the issues between H.M. Government and Barotseland."

MR. MASON asked if the First Secretary of State would order an inquiry into illegal pressures which had been brought to bear upon tribal chiefs during the Northern Rhodesian elections, particularly the extent to which threats of withdrawing protection from the Litunga of Barotseland were made if he actively intervened in the elections.

MR. BUTLER: "My information does not show that any such pressures were brought to bear on the tribal chiefs, or that there were any such threats to withdraw protection from the Litunga; should he intervene in the elections."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked the policy of the Northern Rhodesian Government regarding freedom of the Press.

MR. MACLEOD: "Northern Rhodesia has a free Press, and it is the policy of the Government to maintain this freedom. The Legislative Council recently debated and unanimously adopted a motion affirming its determination to maintain the freedom of the Press."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked if the Government was aware that private armies were being organised in the Congo for attacks on Portuguese territory, and if it would ask the United Nations to concern itself with such threats to peace and security.

MR. PETER THOMAS, Joint Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs: "I understand that a number of Angolan nationalists are training in the area to the south of Leopoldville. This area, however, is not controlled by the United Nations."

Hypocritical and Disreputable

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "Since the U.N. has probably stifled Papuan self-determination by imposing Indonesian administration; and has attempted to deny Katanga self-determination while conceding self-determination to Rwanda and Burundi and demanding it for other dependent and former dependent territories, does not my rt. hon. friend think that this selective and hypocritical application of the principle is disreputable? If there is to be a revision of the U.N. Charter should it not be considered whether the principle of self-determination should be abandoned?"

MR. THOMAS: "I cannot accept that it is selective. The application of the principle of self-determination must, of course, depend on the circumstances of each case."

SIR W. TEELING asked the Lord Privy Seal if, in view of the Congolese Government's refusal of the United Kingdom's offer of financial aid, the lack of police co-operation in defending the U.K. Embassy in Leopoldville when attacked, and the unwillingness of U.N.O. to accept U.K. advice in regard to policy in Katanga, he would suspend payment to U.N.O. of the sums normally contributed by the U.K. to U.N.O. expenses in the Congo and also the amount paid normally to U.N.O. which was being passed on indirectly to the Congo.

MR. P. THOMAS: "There has been no assessment of United Nations member Governments for the cost of operations in the Congo since June 1962. The question of suspending H.M. Government's contribution does not therefore arise. The only U.N. funds available to the Congo Government are the U.N. Fund for the Congo, to which H.M. Government contributed \$3m. in 1960, and the U.N. global technical assistance funds. It is not open to contributors to the latter to specify what country shall or shall not benefit from their contributions."

MR. GOODHEW asked the First Secretary of State what action had been taken in Nyasaland against the persons responsible for the publication of an editorial article in the *Malawi News* of Friday, 21st September, 1962, calling for violence against the person of a British journalist, Alan Hart.

MR. BUTLER: "This is a matter for the Attorney-General of Nyasaland. I am, however, making inquiries and will communicate with my hon. friend."

Malawi Intimidation

MR. GOODHEW: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that this matter happened some time ago, and that there is considerable concern in Nyasaland whether the Attorney-General is prosecuting this sort of case as he might do? Will not my rt. hon. friend have another look at this, because if it is allowed to go on unchallenged—a direct incentive to violence against the person by a newspaper—it will be thought that the Government are paying no regard whatever to law and order in Nyasaland?"

MR. BUTLER: "Yes, sir. I am awaiting the report, and I will communicate with my hon. friend."

MR. THOMSON: "Without wishing to comment on the incident to which the hon. gentleman's question refers, may I ask the First Secretary if he will bear in mind that the *Malawi News* is performing a very notable service in trying to create a more stable and constructive future for Nyasaland?"

SIR ARCHIBALD HURD asked what instructions the Attorney-General in Nyasaland had given to the police when dealing with cases of alleged political intimidation; and how many such cases the Attorney-General had authorized to be brought before the courts in the past six months.

MR. BUTLER: "The former Attorney-General in Nyasaland directed in March 1962 that all prosecutions for certain types of offences should be referred to him for his directions before being taken to court. Intimidation, but not specifically political intimidation, was one of the offences listed. In the six months ended January 31, 1963, prosecutions were authorized in six cases of intimidation. Since February 1, the powers of the Attorney-General have been assumed by the Director of Public Prosecutions. The direction of March 1962 is still in force."

MR. BROCKWAY asked the Commonwealth Relations Secretary what discussions had taken place with the Governments of Tanganyika and Uganda regarding the establishment of a federation of East African States.

MR. TILNEY: "None. H.M. Government understand it to be the view of East African leaders that it will be for the independent Governments of East Africa to consider such a possibility."

MR. BROCKWAY: "Is the hon. gentleman aware that Mr. Nyerere in Tanganyika very earnestly desires the completion

of the Federation, and with Mr. Obote, the Prime Minister of Uganda, is now in Nairobi discussing this matter? In view not only of its great significance for East Africa, but the possibility of its being broadened so as to resolve the problem of Central Africa, is it not very important that H.M. Government should give the greatest encouragement to these moves?"

MR. TILNEY: "I am sure the hon. gentleman will agree that it is for the Africans to fashion their future in accordance with their own aspirations and that it is for us to offer our good will."

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Is the hon. gentleman aware that great concern is expressed in Tanganyika and Uganda that the prospects of this great federation may be imperilled because the Secretary of State is holding up the date of the elections in Kenya?"

MR. TILNEY: "That is entirely a matter for the Secretary of State for the Colonies, not for Commonwealth Relations."

Land Freedom Army

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked the Colonial Secretary what recent reports he had received of large-scale oath-taking in Kenya by the Land Freedom Army.

MR. SANDYS: "The Governor is keeping me closely and regularly in touch with the security situation, and in particular with the activities of the Kenya Land Freedom Army. The Kenya Government have taken rigorous action against this organization from time to time, culminating in the recent drive to disrupt its activities in the Rift Valley and Nyanza provinces. At 19th November 736 persons had been convicted in magistrates' courts for offences in connexion with the Kenya Land Freedom Army and another 105 cases were pending. In addition, 1,312 persons have been convicted in African courts for similar offences of lesser degree."

MR. R. A. BUTLER said that Northern Rhodesia's Natural Resources Development College had cost about £500,000 and would train staff to diploma standard. Monze Agricultural Training Centre was to be reconstructed, and four farm institutes would be completed this year and another four or more by June 1965.

Africanization

MR. NIGEL FISHER stated that there were about 10,000 civil servant posts in Kenya above the clerical level. Whereas in July 1960 there had been 637 Africans in such posts, the figure last month was 1,564. In addition, 22 assistant secretaries in Government departments were Africans, and six were soon to be made under-secretaries. More than one-third of the districts were now in charge of African district commissioners, and 15 district officers were taking courses in Britain. By April the number of African district officers and assistants would be 220 out of an establishment of 400.

Posts localized by East African Railways and Harbours totalled 1,820 at the end of 1962, and the number would be increased this year by another 899.

MR. VOSPER said that the Department of Technical Co-operation continued to recruit candidates for the Uganda Government and would this year pay for the training in Britain of about 120 Ugandans, many of whom were to occupy posts formerly held by expatriate officials.

MR. SANDYS said that H.M. Government had agreed to provide an additional £200,000 this year for the Land and Agricultural Bank of Kenya to help it buy land outside the settlement areas. A request from the Government of Kenya for the sum to be increased was under consideration.

A treasury spokesman said that economic and technical assistance from the U.K. Government to Commonwealth and Colonial territories had totalled £74.7m. in 1958-59, £97.3m. in 1959-60, £117.4m. in 1960-61, and £140.1m. in 1961-62. In those periods there had been loans, grants and technical assistance to other countries of £11.3m., £13.1m., £13.4m., and £15m., so that the grand totals had been £86m., £110.4m., £130.8m., and £155.1m.

Asked what sums H.M. Government had promised to the U.N. Expanded Technical Assistance Programme and to the Special Fund, MR. VOSPER said that \$6.25m. and \$3.75m. had been provisionally promised in the two cases, compared with \$5m. and \$3m. in 1962.

"A boy was once asked by Mr. Carey Francis, headmaster of the Alliance High School, Kikuyu, what career he hoped to take up. The boy said he would like to be a Bishop: did Mr. Francis know of any good courses for Bishops?"—Mr. L. J. Sagini, Minister for Education.

Falcon's Higher Profits and Dividend Improvement Found in Ore Reserves

FALCON MINES, LTD., reports a net profit for the year to September 30 of £246,869 (£206,044). Dividends totalling 27½% took £137,306. After appropriating £132,636 (£64,714) against expenditure on fixed assets and mine stores, the carry-forward is £39,413. The issued capital is £499,293 in 5s. shares. Fixed assets total £1,563,490 and current assets less current liabilities £43,603.

At the Dalny mine 57,122 oz. gold were recovered from 263,650 tons milled, the working profit being £258,433. Ore reserves at the end of the year were 814,600 tons of an average value of 6.3 dwt. over a width of 88 inches. Two years earlier the ore reserves were considerably lower at 681,000 tons and the average value was only 5.04 dwt.

The chairman of the company is Mr. F. L. Wigley (extracts from whose annual review appear on another page), and the other directors are Messrs. G. Abdinor, S. F. Dench, J. F. Ince, L. A. Jones, P. A. Jousse and T. C. O'Brien. There is a London Committee of Messrs. H. R. Mitchell and S. H. Robinson.

Some 150,000 African growers produced 2,700 tons (26%) of Kenya's pyrethrum crop last year.

The Magadi Soda Co., Ltd., is to spend £155,000 on a housing scheme for its employees in Kenya.

Wool-producing sheep are to be introduced to the Njombe district of Tanganyika, which an F.A.O. expert will shortly visit.

A pay rise of 22s. 6d. a month, accepted by the Railway Workers' Union, will cost Rhodesia Railways £270,000 annually.

Uganda's estimated cotton crop has been reduced from 387,000 to 348,500 bales in consequence of unseasonable rains last month.

United Kingdom exports to Kenya in 1962 had a total value of £29,593,439, according to Board of Trade figures. Imports from Kenya amounted to £15,219,652.

Salaried clerks have been awarded between 40s. and 60s. monthly increases by the arbitrator in a dispute with the Landing and Shipping Co., Dar es Salaam.

The Metal Box Company of East Africa, Ltd., is to make extensions costing £170,000 to its Thika can-making plant. Improvements at the Dar es Salaam factory will cost over £30,000.

Kilembe Mines, Uganda, last year produced 15,331 long tons of blister copper worth £3.58m., a rise from the previous year's 13,163 tons at £3.03m. and the 1960 output of 14,515 tons valued at £3.43m.

Arbuthnot Latham & Co., Ltd., report group profit for 1962 after tax at £73,394 (£66,645). The 9% dividend is being repeated on capital increased by a one-for-three rights issue. The carry-forward is £72,621 (£76,963).

Business houses in Kenya have been reminded by the Government that a "foreign-controlled company" may not obtain financial assistance by borrowing or obtaining finances or external credit without the consent of the Treasury.

Rhodesia's best customer for maize in the year to June 30, 1962, was the United Kingdom, which bought 104,341 tons. Next came Italy with 51,645 tons, Japan with 46,379 tons, West Germany with 46,024, and the Netherlands with nearly 40,000 tons.

For the year to November 11 the Charterhouse Group, Ltd., of which Sir Nutcombe Hume is chairman, reports profit after tax at £787,003, compared with £402,985 in the previous year. The dividend is increased from 6% to 8%, taking £298,360. The carry-forward is £1.9m. (£1.4m.).

Union-Castle Line has asked for tenders from nine British and 11 Continental shipbuilders for two new 12,000-ton cargo vessels for delivery early in 1965 for the South African run. Two-thirds of the 600,000 cu. ft. of cargo space will be refrigerated. With a speed of 22½ knots the ships will reduce the passage time from 13½ days to 11½ days.

Because African growers of coffee in the ex-French West African territories are producing less, France has recently had to buy some 5,000 tons of coffee on the London market, with the consequence that the market has risen to 186s. per cwt., not far short of the record established four years ago. Last week prices rose 10s. per cwt. for delivery into July.

Double time for Sundays and public holidays and an increase of 29.76s. a month for a 173-hour working month (with a further rise of 12s. monthly should a 186-hour working month be introduced) have been recommended by the arbitrator in the dispute between the Dar es Salaam branches of the Tanganyika Port Employers' Association and the Dockworkers' and Stevedores' Union. The awards have been backdated to December 1.

Anglo American Acquisition Share Exchange with Chartered Subsidiary

ANGLO AMERICAN CORPORATION OF SOUTH AFRICA, LTD., is to acquire for 1,200,000 of its shares the 2½m. shares of £1 each now in issue by New Rhodesia Investments, Ltd., a Southern Rhodesian company owned as to 50% by Cecil Holdings, Ltd., a wholly-owned subsidiary of the British South Africa (Chartered) Company, and as to the other 50% by Brenthurst Investment Trust (Pty.), Ltd., which is the property of Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer.

N.R.I. and its two subsidiaries, Blue Skies (Pvt.), Ltd., and Appraised Securities, Ltd., hold securities in finance, diamond, gold, copper and coal mining companies which at the end of last year had a market value of just over £10.5m., and the consolidated net valuation of N.R.I. and its subsidiaries was then £12.1m. The net profit after tax for each of the last two financial years was about £700,000, and that for the year to June 30 next is expected to be about the same.

On December 31, when N.R.I. assets were valued, the market price in Rhodesia of Anglo American shares was 173s., which would make the 1,200,000 shares worth £10,380,000, or 83s. per N.R.I. share, which is a discount of approximately 14.3% on the net asset value of £12.1m. Morgan Grenfell & Co., Ltd., the merchant bankers, who were consulted by both parties, consider the proposed terms of exchange fair and advantageous to the shareholders of all three companies.

Anglo American intends to declare a final dividend of 6s. per share, making 10s for the year to December 31 next, and the directors consider that the increased rate of distribution can be continued on the enlarged capital.

If the proposals are accepted at an extraordinary general meeting in Johannesburg on March 15 the transaction will take effect as from January 1 last.

Offer for Alamas Diamond Company

WILLIAMSONS DIAMONDS, LTD., have offered £80,000 for the mining lease and other assets of Alamas, Ltd., a subsidiary of Tanganyika Diamond and Gold Development Co., Ltd. Its Mara mine claims are excluded from the proposed transaction.

During the past two years Alamas's operations have not been profitable, and even remission by the Government of half of the royalty liabilities has not offset higher operating costs. Being short of capital for the replacement of earth-moving equipment and power units, the company would not expect to earn £80,000 in the remaining two and a half years of its lease. Moreover, pressure from creditors could result in forced liquidation, in which event sale of the assets would be unlikely to produce anything like the price now offered. The Williamson property adjoins that of Alamas, and the intending purchasers are considered to be the only company which could make and justify such a bid.

The transaction would involve loss to Alamas's creditors, but most of them are directors or associates of the parent company, and they have undertaken not to act in a way which would prejudice possible reconstruction of the company.

Imperial Tobacco

THE IMPERIAL TOBACCO CO. (OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND), LTD., which has large interests in the Federation, reports group profit after tax for the year to October 31 of £15,724,632, against £14,944,607 in the previous year. Trading profit before tax was up from £21.5m. to £22.6m. Dividends totalling 22½% (the same) take £8.8m. The issued capital is almost £73m., loan capital totals £55m., and bank overdrafts and other borrowing amount to £36.3m. Fixed assets stand in the books at just under £48m., quoted shares have a market value of £119.8m., and unquoted shares costing £464,047 are now valued at £4.5m. Current assets less current liabilities exceed £190m. Lord Sinclair of Cleve is president of the company, Mr. R. S. W. Clarke chairman, and Mr. E. J. Partridge deputy chairman.

Kenya-Japan Trade

MR. MASINDE MULIRO, Minister for Commerce and Industry in Kenya, said recently that Japanese exports to Kenya had risen from under £2m. in 1952 to almost £8½m. in 1961, when Kenya's exports to Japan were still only £1½m. For balance-of-payments reasons it was most important that Japan should buy more from Kenya, especially dairy products and the other raw and processed foodstuffs which she now imported from the temperate zones.

M.T.D. (Mangula) Ltd.

M.T.D. (MANGULA), LTD., incorporated in Southern Rhodesia, reports net profit for the year to September 30 at £797,061, against £823,724 in the previous year. Dividends of 6.6d. per 5s. stock unit are repeated, requiring £550,000, and the capital reserve is increased by £250,000 to £475,000. Issued capital is £5m. Mining assets stand in the books at just over £6m. and interests in a subsidiary at £250,000. Current liabilities exceed current assets by £101,260. The production amounted to 12,776 short tons of copper (11,408 long tons), and ore reserves are computed at 26.7m. short tons averaging 1.27% copper. Commander H. F. P. Grenfell is the chairman.

Rhodesian Corporation

RHODESIAN CORPORATION, LTD., made a profit after tax in the year to September 30 of £85,370 (£92,825). A dividend of 4d. per 3s. 4d. share requires £66,203 (the same), £24,362 was written off quoted investments, and the carry-forward is £31,114 (£35,375). The issued capital is just over £1m. Investments stand in the books at £540,736, fixed assets at £526,532, mining claims and properties at £128,902, and current assets less current liabilities at £60,446. The chairman is Mr. C. J. Burns.

London and Rhodesian Mining and Land

LONDON AND RHODESIAN MINING & LAND CO., LTD., reports that in the year ended September 30 the holding company had a group profit after tax of £236,979, compared with £114,757 in the previous year, the sum left after deduction of outside interests being £192,705 (£113,631). The distribution to shareholders is to be 15% (12½%), taking £126,328 (£76,563). United Kingdom and Rhodesian taxation amounted to £231,844 (£43,020). Lonrho's own profit after tax was £170,793 (£108,521).

F. W. Woolworth Results

F. W. WOOLWORTH & CO., LTD., the great stores group (which does business in Rhodesia), reports consolidated profit after tax for 1962 at just over £16m., compared with £14,984,734 in the previous year. Taxation took nearly £18.8m. Holders of the 5s. stock units received 1s. 10½d. in dividends, requiring just over £11m. The general reserve was increased by £3.5m., bringing it to £12m., and the carry-forward is £9.8m. The issued capital stands at £52.2m., fixed assets at £78.4m., net current assets at £15m., and investments at £3.8m.

North Charterland

NORTH CHARTERLAND EXPLORATION CO. (1937), LTD., reports net profit for 1962 at £10,296, against £19,480, but the dividend is raised from 2d. to 2½d. per 1s. share, totalling £9,587 (£7,670). On the realization of investments and fixed assets there was a surplus of £80,557, which has been added to the capital reserve. The annual report will be posted on April 11.

The Hotel Association of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has announced a 15% wage increase for some 5,000 African hotel workers.

Rhodesia's first major overseas sugar consignment, of 20,000 tons, is to be exported to Canada, the newly-formed Rhodesia Sugar Association has announced.

A Commonwealth Trade Conference will open in London on May 24 under the auspices of the Federation of Commonwealth and British Chambers of Commerce.

Eight African technical assistants in the Ministry of African Agriculture in Northern Rhodesia have been promoted supervisors at a salary starting at £910 and rising to a maximum of £1,815.

Two African girls and four boys from secondary schools in Tanganyika have left for Wellington on New Zealand Government scholarships to study for the Higher School Certificate and then to take university courses. The first six Tanganyika Africans left for New Zealand last April.

German investment in East Africa, Dr. Fritz Berg, president of the Federation of German Industries, said in Nairobi last week, was decisively influenced by the idea of maintaining and strengthening the common market now existing in East Africa. The delegation of investigation which he led would recommend investment in East Africa by German industrialists and financial aid by the Government of Western Germany.

Consolidated Mines Selection Co., Ltd., reports profit after tax for the year ended December 31 at £964,941, compared with £330,311 in 1961, the issued capital having meantime risen from £1.2m. to £3½m. by the issue of more than 5m. shares for assets worth about £10.6m. Dividends again total 2s. 6d. per share less U.K. tax, but this time on much increased capital. Income from investments was up from £384,219 to just over £1.5m.

Company Report

FALCON MINES

THE FIFTY-THIRD ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF FALCON MINES, LIMITED, will be held on March 29, in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia.

The following is an extract from the statement of the Chairman, Mr. F. L. Wigley, circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended 30th September, 1962:

The net profit for the year was £246,869, as compared with last year's profit of £206,044.

Your directors were pleased to be able to utilize almost the whole of the additional profit for dividends, and the declarations made in March and September, 1962, were raised successively from 6d. per share to 7½d. and 9d. per share respectively. The total dividend distribution was thus increased by 4½d. per share (7½ per cent.).

Capital expenditure for the year, less recoupments, totalled £112,705. Of this amount £58,541 was expended on the new subvertical shaft from 13 level on the Dalny section and £29,715 on the Arlandzer section. The cost of capital works planned for the current financial year is not expected to exceed that of 1962.

Dalny Mine

At the Dalny Mine the tonnage milled was slightly less than that of the previous year but the average gold recovery was increased from 3.90 dwts. to 4.33 dwts. per ton. The higher recovery was more than sufficient to absorb an increase in working costs of 1s. 10d. per ton milled and the working profit at the mine rose by £37,194.

In my additional remarks at the last annual general meeting I gave details of the good development results obtained in the first five months of the year when announcing that, because of these gold recovery and monthly profits would be higher as from the beginning of April, 1962. Members will be aware from the quarterly reports issued subsequently that percentage payability in all sections of the mine has been maintained at a high level and with excellent values. The figures for the year illustrate this encouraging trend.

The higher development values enabled gold recovery to be increased progressively from July onwards, and the yield for September, 1962 was returned at 4.9 dwts. This has been followed by a further increase to a little over 5 dwts. in the current year, and the improved development results are being maintained.

The development results are reflected in the ore reserve, which at 30th September, 1962, was estimated at 814,600 tons valued at 6.36 dwts. over a width of 88 inches. Compared with the previous year, the tonnage rose by 105,000 tons, the value by 0.9 dwts., but the width increased by 23 inches.

Outstanding progress was made during the year with the sinking of the new subvertical shaft from 13 level on the Dalny section, and all concerned with this work are to be congratulated on their achievements. Early in November, 1962, the 19 level horizon was reached after 1,015 feet of sinking and the cutting of the station was commenced. When this has been done the shaft will be carried to a depth of 1,250 feet from 13 level, i.e., 150 feet deeper than was originally planned. The crosscut to the reef from 19 level has been started and development work on reef will probably commence in the second quarter of the current year.

Prospecting

Prospecting work was carried out during the year on the Turk's Head and Brancepath claims, but work on the former had to be suspended so that the water made in these workings could be used for the mill.

The Brancepath workings were dewatered, and the shaft sunk some years ago to 4 level was recommissioned. This level was originally developed on a dyke contact. Since the year-end three diamond drill holes have been put down from surface, and one of these sited 400 feet west of the shaft intersected reef at a depth of 333 feet. The reef assayed 9.67 dwts, over a width of 62 inches. No. 4 level is now being developed towards this intersection.

The Whistlecock claims are also being explored from a crosscut put in from Pixy 4 level, and the initial results are encouraging.

An examination of the area between Dalny and Colne has disclosed that the surface is overlain by dyke, and this section will be explored from underground by pushing out the Dalny 15 level drive to the west.

In order to consolidate the mining area and to facilitate surface prospecting, the Chadshunt mine farm has been purchased since the year-end.

General

Regarding taxation, the higher profits now being earned are rapidly exhausting the accumulated capital allowances. The estimate of capital expenditure makes it unlikely that any tax will be payable in respect of the profits of the current financial year. When the accumulated allowances have been exhausted the full tax calculated in accordance with the provisions applicable to mining companies will be payable, but current capital allowances together with the depletion allowance will serve to reduce the tax payable by the company on its mining profit to a rate appreciably below the standard rate.

In the field of labour relations, the agreement with the Mine Workers' Union expires in May, 1963, and under the aegis of the National Industrial Council of the Mining Industry exhaustive discussions on the terms of a new agreement have taken place between the employer and employee representatives. Every effort has been made to reconcile the views of the two parties but without success, and the dispute will now be submitted for arbitration. The relationship between management and labour at the mine continues to be good.

Columbus McKinnon Rhodesia (Pvt.), Ltd., of Salisbury, are doubling their production of steel chains.

The Rothman cigarette factory in Southern Rhodesia is to double its capacity in a bid for export markets.

Strongweave Textile Mills, Ltd., of Salisbury, have bought a textile mill in Preston to use as a distributing centre to Europe for Southern Rhodesian cotton goods.

Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co., Ltd., which has large Rhodesian interests, has declared a dividend of 174 cents (1s. 9d.) per share for the six months to December, 31.

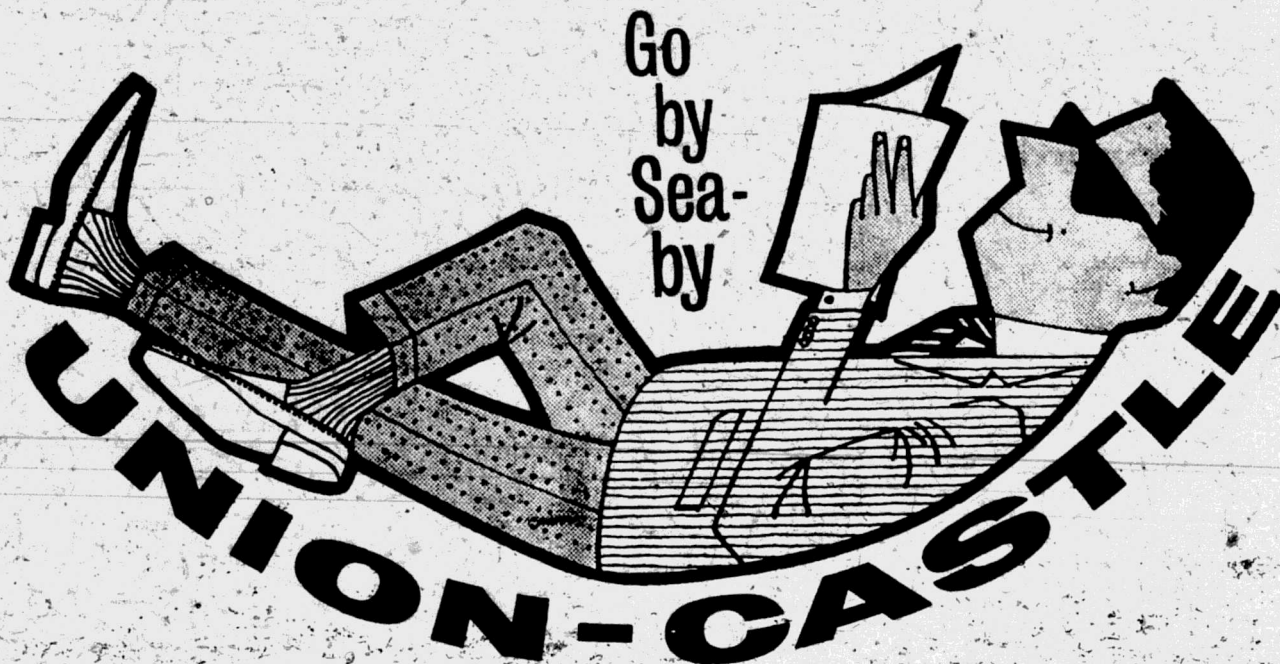
Cargo handled at the Port of Beira in 1962 amounted to 3,313,269 tons, compared with 3,289,570 and 3,209,297 tons in the two previous years. Last year 1,059 ships called at the port.

Rhodesia Railways expect a revenue shortfall of about £1½m. owing to continued traffic decreases. Economy measures include fewer services, reduced staff, and postponement of new works.

Rhodesia's first sugar shipment to Canada is to be made in April. Production in Southern Rhodesia in the next year is thought likely to exceed 100,000 tons, leaving a substantial surplus after domestic demand has been met.

A board of inquiry is to investigate labour disputes at the Mufulira copper mine, Northern Rhodesia, where 260 Europeans have stopped work because of disagreements about bonuses and 255 African ticket-paid workers at the smelter and concentrator walked off suddenly but have since returned.

Tobacco growers in the Federation, for whom the United Kingdom market is important, will be concerned at a Tobacco Advisory Committee's report that the manufactured weight of all kinds of tobacco sold in the U.K. last year at 266.6m. lb. showed a 4% drop from the 1961 total. The consumption of plain cigarettes was down 12%, sales at 178.1m. lb. being the lowest total for 21 years, but filter-tipped sales rose 29% to 52.8m. lb., a record. There was a slight increase in pipe tobacco consumption.



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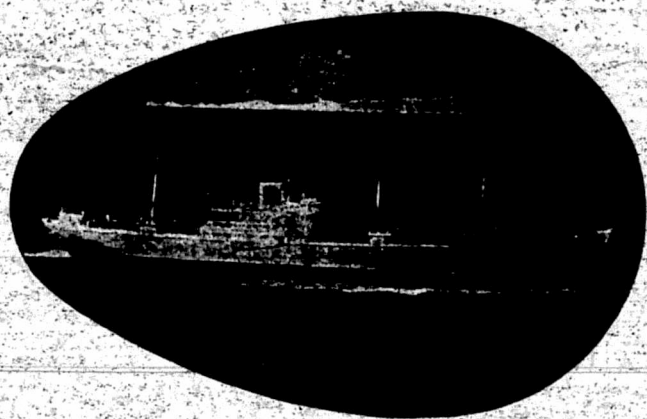
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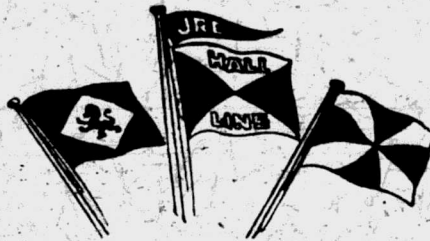
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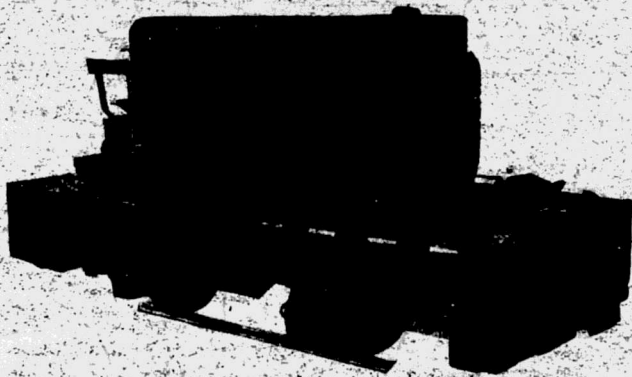
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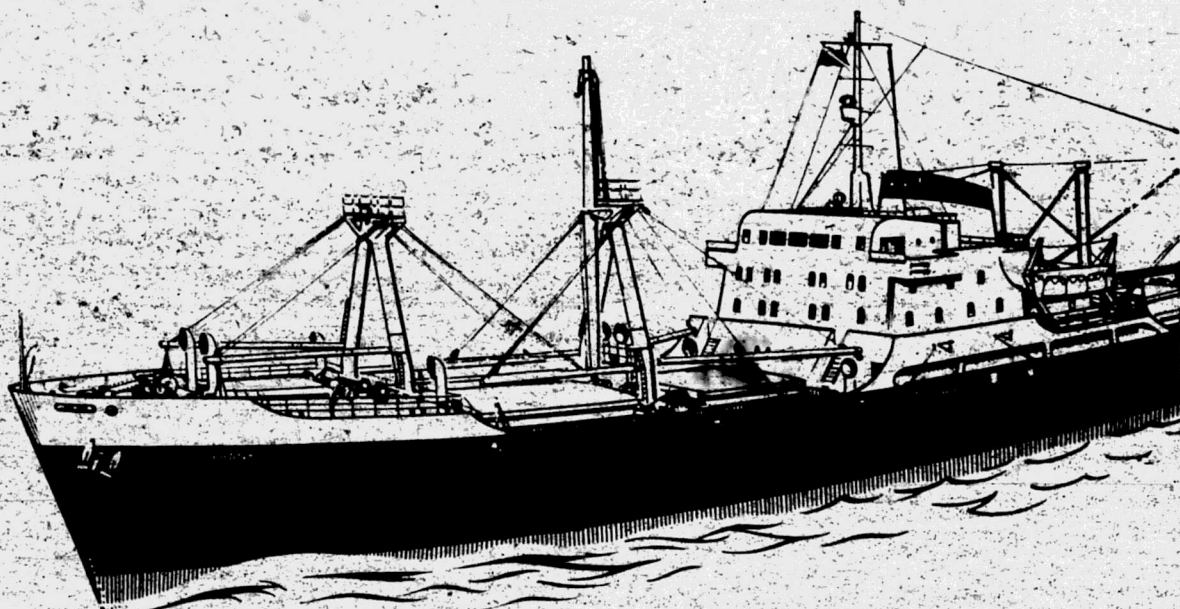
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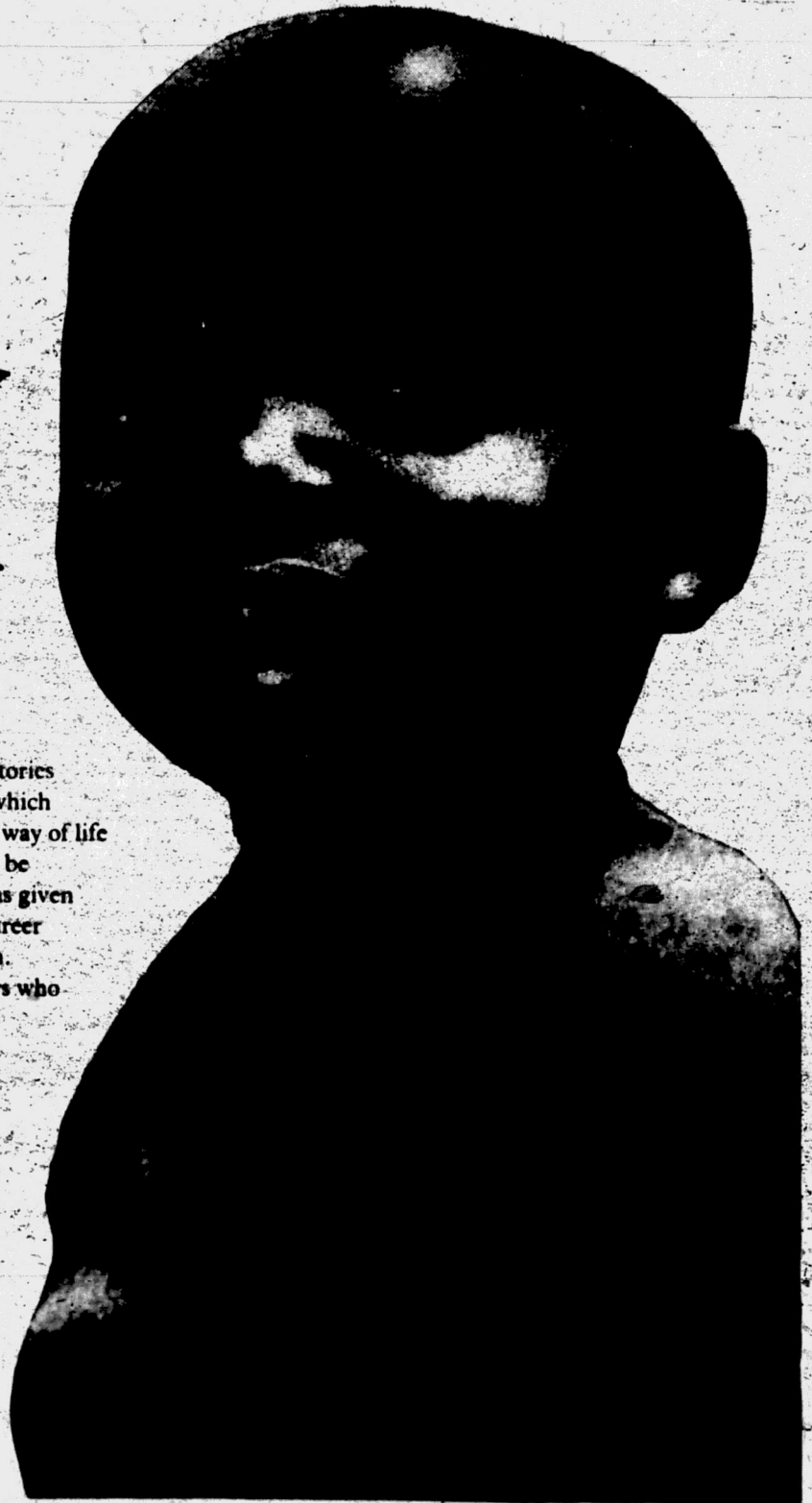
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Principal Contents

	Page		Page
Notes By The Way	565	Personalia	574
Federation Sacrificed to Appease Violence	566	Mr. Sandys's Last Week	576
Mr. Butler's Travel Diary	568	World Bank Report on Kenya	578
Mr. Ngei's Hopes in Kenya	571	Katanga May Topple Congo Government	579
Nyasaland Now Foel's Paradise	572	National and Grindlays Centenary	582
Letters to the Editor	573	British S. Africa Co. and the Rhodesias	585

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, MARCH 7, 1963

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

FOR ALMOST A YEAR the Minister for Central African Affairs, Mr. R. A. Butler, who is also First Secretary of State and Deputy Prime Minister, had used one device

Was It Mr. Butler's Worst Speech?

after another to explain or excuse continued delay in getting to grips with the desperately urgent problems which he was appointed to solve because they had been so mishandled by the Colonial and Commonwealth Relations Offices. When he assumed an admittedly unenviable responsibility in March of last year it was reasonable to ask for patience until he could visit the Federation (with the difficulties of which he had had close concern in Cabinet and in personal discussions with Sir Roy Welensky, Sir Edgar Whitehead and others); and when his visit brought a plea for further delay in order that a four-member mission (not surprisingly nicknamed the four wise men) might assemble facts which were or should have been already available in Whitehall, and could certainly have been supplied by the Federal and territorial Governments, it was tolerantly conceded that nobody should criticize this means of gaining further time for Government in the United Kingdom which was at its wit's end to escape from the dilemma produced by its procrastination, prestidigitation, pronouncements, and prevarications. The assumption in Mr. Butler's entourage was that his political experience and skill would enable him to persuade the African nationalist leaders to agree to changes which would permit a continuance of the Federation in a form still acceptable to Sir Roy Welensky, his Cabinet colleagues, and the European community in general. Less sanguine judges, among them EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, forecast further appeasement of the pan-African extremists. Unhappily, that pessimistic expectation has proved justified, though that fact is still shrouded from the public by the Minister's

characteristic ambiguities, evasions and other subtleties—which are more appreciated by his fellow practitioners in the House of Commons than by the people in Central Africa whose lives and livelihoods are jeopardized by the tricks and trifling of the Macmillan Government.

Lurching from Crisis to Crisis

Almost everyone whom Mr. Butler saw during his recent second trip to the Rhodesias and Nyasaland must have said that much too much time had already been lost, that the lack of decision had undermined confidence, reduced business activity and greatly increased unemployment, and that an already grave situation would be made worse by further delay. The Prime Ministers of the Federation and of Southern Rhodesia have said publicly that that was their attitude, and so have spokesmen for the African political parties and European enterprise. They might have kept silent for all the attention Mr. Butler has paid: his speech in last week's Commons debate, surely the worst he has ever made on an African occasion, said only that he still wants more time. In the year already granted him he has achieved nothing in the direction of the inter-racial and inter-territorial co-operation which the Government in which he is the second senior member has declared to be its objective. On the contrary, he broke faith with the Federation by promising Dr. Banda that Nyasaland might withdraw without obtaining the consent of the Federal Government, and, despite his denial that he gave somewhat similar assurances to African politicians in Lusaka the other day, they keep repeating that unequivocal promises were made and that all that remains to be settled is the time-table: while they want self-government, a new Constitution and independence at the earliest possible moment, the Minister prefers rather less haste. The

conviction widespread in Central Africa that further surrender is intended will certainly not have been weakened by the speech reported in other columns. Much of his time was wasted by Mr. Butler in repeating denials—which nobody believes—that Ministers in this Conservative Government have grossly deceived the Federation. His legalistic hair-splitting and that of the Attorney-General merely make a gross offence—called by a Socialist front-bencher speaker a “stench”—still more reprehensible. A poorly attended debate was somewhat restored by the few Members on both sides of the House, particularly Mr. Patrick Wall, who spoke with a sense of realism and insisted on describing the iniquity, folly and dangers of the United Kingdom Government's lurch in Africa from crisis to crisis.

Since the above paragraphs were written Sir Roy Welensky has made a “state of the nation” broadcast which is published in full in this issue. The faith, vigour, directness,

Defeated by their Own Defeatism.

and practical common sense of his appeal and challenge contrast strikingly with the despondency, deviousness, languor and fatalism of Mr. Butler, who in a television interview on Monday evening said yet again that he wants more time for discussion. Nothing in Africa is in shorter supply than time, and there has been more overproduction of committees, commissions and conferences than of any merchantable commodity. Very understandably, Rhodesians want an end to the waffling (for much that has passed for discussion deserves no more complimentary a word). While the politicians in Britain have been defeated by their own defeatism, not by factors in Africa which were irresistible, the Federal Prime Minister has fought faithfully and fairly, not for maintenance of the Federation in its original form, but for at least a continuing association between the Rhodesias which will keep them together as a constitutional and political entity. Anything less would be unsatisfactory, for all the talk of reliance on mere economic links ignores the world of today.

Those who propose to substitute for the Federation a Common Services Organization similar to that created in East Africa deliberately disregard the fact that the African leaders of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika are dissatisfied with that organization except as a temporary expedient, and are unanimous in their support for the establishment of an East African

Federation when Kenya has achieved independence. Mr. Obote, the Prime Minister of Uganda, has, indeed, had the courage to say publicly that it is absurd of Africans in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland to want to destroy the Federation; they should recognize that Africans to the north of them, who intend to establish their own federation, cannot consistently oppose continuance of a similar political arrangement in Central Africa. What the Africans of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland should do, Mr. Obote has wisely said, is to use their opportunities for political advancement to bring about changes. With that advice no reasonable person can quarrel. If H.M. Government had adopted that approach it would have had to meet the anger and obstructionism of the pan-African extremists, but it would have had the support of the mass of moderate-minded Africans and of almost all Europeans—and it would not have had to tear up pledge after pledge and thereby make itself distrusted and despised.

After the end of June, Sir Roy Welensky has now said, the Federal Exchequer will refuse to spend the money of Rhodesian taxpayers in Nyasaland, which, he emphasized, must look for financial aid to the Government in the United Kingdom

Britain Must Propose A Plan.

which, without the agreement of the Federal or Rhodesian Governments, authorized Nyasaland to withdraw from the Federation. Federal taxpayers have been subsidizing the Protectorate to the extent of some five million pounds annually, and there is not the slightest reason why they should continue that aid. If Britain is foolish enough to set up an independent Nyasaland prematurely with Dr. Banda calling the tune, it is she who should pay—not merely the annual gap between revenue and expenditure, but the substantial and repeated sums for medium-term and long-range development programmes which will be demanded. Though United Kingdom Ministers have abandoned the idea of inter-racial partnership and violated Federal integrity in order to appease extreme African nationalists, they have still proposed no plan, not even in the barest outline; “and as the British retreat in the face of violence has brought us to the difficult situation that now confronts us, it is up to them to propose some positive and durable plan which will secure a reasonable future for all the inhabitants of the two Rhodesias”. Who can dispute the reasonableness of that retort to the surrenderists and wreckers of the Macmillan Administration?

Notes By The Way

Another Malawi Threat

LAST WEEK I ASKED if Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of Nyasaland and president of the Malawi Congress Party, had authorized the publication in its official journal of a leading article which stated: "The more friendly the white man is, the more dangerous he can be. If a white man is close to you he learns more about you. He can use what he learns about you and your country to destroy you. Sup with them with a long spoon". On the day after EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA had called attention to that passage in the organ of a man who often professes friendliness towards Europeans, London newspapers received cables from Central Africa reporting that the issue of *Malawi News* for last week contained a leading article announcing that all motorists and cyclists of all races must stop when Dr. Banda's car approaches. The statement proceeded: "Those who do not stop and give way will be insulting our Prime Minister and will incur the wrath of the people of Malawi. Excuses that people did not know Dr. Banda's cars or that they did not know he was approaching would not be accepted. Every motorist and cyclist should make it his business to know our Landrovers and the Prime Minister's cars. We do not want to do any unpleasant things to anybody. We therefore hope that everyone in the country will co-operate with us in this very serious matter".

Halt for the Ngwazi

WAS THAT EXPRESSION of dictatorship published by the Ngwazi's direction or with his knowledge? If not, what action has he taken in regard to the leading articles in two successive issues of the party paper? If he says nothing and does nothing he must not complain if people of all races draw the conclusion that, while purporting to wish Europeans to remain in Nyasaland, he will in fact be glad to see many of them leave the country. No European Prime Minister in Africa would have dreamt of ordering that all traffic should halt when his car appeared. Had any white man shown himself so vain and foolish, he would have been ridiculed, and of course disobeyed, by his own community—and rightly denounced by the Movement for Colonial Freedom, which is unlikely to run true to form now that such action would condemn Dr. Kamuzu Banda, the so-called Ngwazi (Conqueror).

Malicious Guess

"MY GUESS is that nearly all the political groups employ violence to some extent; in present circumstances Southern Rhodesia is inevitably a violent country", Mr. Paul Johnson has written in the *New Statesman*. For that execrable suggestion, made in extenuation of the terrorism which forced the Government to proscribe the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, he offers no evidence at all except the allegation that some leaders of the Rhodesian Front had hinted that United Federal Party youth groups may have been involved in acts of violence; and since that statement is separated merely by a semi-colon from reference to damage by petrol bombs at the home of an African whom he describes as "a stooge candidate for the extremist Rhodesian Front", the writer must not complain if readers

assume that he believes that youthful adherents of the U.F.P. were to be numbered among the petrol bomb throwers.

Z.A.P.U. and U.N.I.P.

NOT FOR A MOMENT do I believe that, or the suggestion that violence is deliberately practised by the political groups in general. The paragraph contains repeated references to Z.A.P.U., the U.F.P., and the R.F., and none to any other political group. Since large numbers of Z.A.P.U. officials and other members have been jailed on charges of terrorism, there can be no doubt how deeply that party has been implicated in violence. But not one adherent, white or black, of the other parties—which are inter-racial, not merely European—has, so far as I know, been charged with assault or worse forms of violence, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that the innuendo is baseless. At the very least, it is a gross and grave exaggeration. There can be no justification for the device of bracketing the political groups in a general reference to the use of violence. In the Rhodesias the only parties in which large numbers of members have been jailed for violence are Z.A.P.U. and U.N.I.P.

What the Public Wants

TO REMAIN in business newspapers must print what the people want to read, and nobody wants to read bad news, Sir Walter Bromley-Davenport, Conservative M.P. for Knutsford, said when the House of Commons discussed collapse of the negotiations for Britain's entry into the European Common Market; and there was no interjection to suggest disagreement with this cynical, all-too-prevalent and obnoxious idea. Millions of people admittedly buy for entertainment publications which print what the thoughtless mass of the public likes, but nobody respects a paper which for unworthy reasons omits news which ought to appear or which doctors the facts to make them acceptable to bring them into line with the editorial policy. In an age in which a large majority of M.P.s. of both parties fail conspicuously in their duty to practise and demand high standards in public affairs it is not surprising to find them excusing newspapers for faithlessness—for that was what was meant. Public men, public bodies, and public prints should, however, be blamed for failure to do and say what they know to be right. But, I repeat, not one Member of the House of Commons raised his voice in defence of high standards when acceptance of reprehensible practices was condoned. Whatever the faults of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, it can at least claim never to have omitted news because it would be likely to offend many readers or to have used unworthy matter because it might titillate part of the readership. Honest independence in judging events is the only reputable policy for any paper and the only guarantee for its readers that they are being fairly served.

E.A.R.-Marked

COMPLAINING of deliberate religious discrimination in Uganda against Muhammadans, Mr. Ali Kisekka said in the National Assembly: "Government closes its offences on Christmas Day, but only closes its eyes on Id".

Sir Roy Welensky Hopes H.M. Government Will Choose Reason*

Britain's Responsibility to Propose Durable Plan for Association of the Rhodesias

I WAS OPPOSED to the secession of Nyasaland, and I believe that the British Government's unilateral decision to allow that territory to secede was wrong and will prove detrimental to most of the people living there. I believe that the verdict of history will uphold my stand.

The decision has been taken and the British Government must now set about implementing it. For this purpose there must be an enabling Act of the British Parliament under which an Order in Council will be made. Under this the Constitution of Rhodesia and Nyasaland will be amended by cutting off Nyasaland and making the other necessary consequential changes.

Dr. Banda is anxious for this to be done as soon as possible; in fact, he would like the legislation completed by July 6, an anniversary which he wants to celebrate. I think all parties will agree that if the British Government's decision is irrevocable the sooner it is implemented the better.

There are many problems to be settled before the Bill can be passed and Nyasaland be severed from the Rhodesias. Mr. Butler has already announced the setting up of a working party to examine the detailed arrangements which must be made. My Government is willing to co-operate in this work and will appoint representatives to the working party if acceptable terms of reference can be agreed.

No Rhodesian Subsidy After June

Perhaps the most important problems arising from this exercise are the future of the Federal public service and apportionment of the public debt. The Federal Government is vitally concerned to see that justice is done to the civil servants and other Federal citizens and that their rights and future are properly protected. In this connexion we have not as yet been able to get agreement with the British Government about the working party's terms of reference, a point still at issue being the provision of guarantees to safeguard the rights of civil servants and others.

Another important aspect of the secession of Nyasaland is the effect of the British Government's unilateral announcement of December 19 upon the Federal budget in our next financial year. It is the considered view of the Federal Government that from July 1, 1963, the taxpayers of the two Rhodesias should no longer be called upon to bear any of the cost of maintaining services in Nyasaland in excess of that territory's contribution to the Federal revenue. I have conveyed this view to the British Government. It is neither reasonable nor just to expect Rhodesian taxpayers to continue to subsidize Nyasaland after June 30.

Mr. Butler has on several occasions given high praise, and I am sure it is well deserved, to the realism of Dr. Banda and his Malawi Ministers in regard to the imposition of taxation in Nyasaland. Indeed, I have good reason to believe that Dr. Banda does not expect Rhodesian taxpayers to subsidize Nyasaland, nor would he welcome contributions from this source after June 30.

Britain Should Pay the Piper

In any event, the decision to allow Nyasaland to secede was made not later than the beginning of November, and so by the end of June the British Government will have had eight months in which to arrange for the necessary financial provision. They called the tune, and it is not unreasonable that they, in place of Rhodesian taxpayers, should help Dr. Banda to pay the piper. The payment will exceed £5m. a year if the present rate of services is to be maintained.

Subject to suitable guarantees for the civil servants involved, the Federal Government is willing to carry on the services we now provide until the Nyasaland Government is in a position to take them over. But from July 1 I am not prepared to tax Rhodesians to subsidize the cost of these services; nor do I think the Prime Minister of Nyasaland would want or expect it.

* This broadcast talk was given on Monday evening from Salisbury by the Prime Minister of the Federation.

Following the announcement of December 19 many people, and many newspaper editors, have jumped to the conclusion that the Federation of the three territories is about to be disintegrated completely. All too many people seem ready to assume that Britain intends to proceed with the separation of the two Rhodesias as soon as the separation of Nyasaland has been effected, if not before that event, and that the people of Rhodesia will meekly allow this to happen.

As a Rhodesian and as Prime Minister of the Federation I can assure you that I have made no such assumption. What is more, I am determined to devote all my energies and efforts to ensuring that the Rhodesias will remain linked together as a constitutional and political entity.

Let me remind you that Mr. Butler said when he made his announcement of December 19 about the secession of Nyasaland: "I should explain that such a withdrawal does not mean that the present constitutional relationship between Northern and Southern Rhodesia is thereby broken".

"We Shall Be Behind You"

Mr. Butler went on: "There is no reason why the decision regarding Nyasaland need impair the basic economic strength of the rest of the area which rests on its agricultural, mineral and other resources. These resources will continue to provide a good foundation for a stable and expanding economy. It is, of course, very important that credit should be maintained and that private enterprise should continue to invest in the area. In seeking a solution to the political problems of Central Africa it will be H.M. Government's aim to co-operate with the Governments concerned in maintaining confidence, especially over the period of transition".

Let me also quote what Mr. Butler said to the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club on July 10, 1962: "Many of you here tonight have played a great part in the development of the industries in the Federation. I am glad to note the initiative of the Rhodesian Selection Trust in the new Chambesi mine in the Copperbelt. This is an example of faith in the future of the Federation for which I and H.M. Government stand, and we want you to understand that if you put your money into the Federation we shall be behind you".

These are surely not the words of a man who is bent on breaking the relationship between the Rhodesias, and I therefore attach great importance to these statements of Mr. Butler.

During his recent visit to this country Mr. Butler was concerned to discuss the future relationship of all three territories, and in particular the relationship between the two Rhodesias, but he made no announcement during his tour about changes in the constitutional relationship between the two Rhodesias. Together with several of my Ministers I had lengthy discussions with Mr. Butler, and I can tell you that he put forward to us no plan, not even in the barest outline, for any new form of association.

Since his return to England Mr. Butler has spoken about the possibility of individual discussions between himself and the Governments concerned, followed perhaps by a general conference to discuss the future relationship between the two Rhodesias.

Appeasement of Extremist Minority

During the Federation's short history we have had the sorry spectacle of the British Government retreating step by step in the face of extreme African nationalism. They have bowed to the threats of a relatively small minority of extremists, and, whatever they may claim to the contrary, in their appeasement of the extremist section they have ignored the interests of the rest and exposed the great mass of law-abiding citizens to the threat of lower standards, financial loss, and in many cases ruin and even danger to life and limb.

The ideals of racial co-operation and partnership upon which the Federation was founded have been sacrificed on the altar of appeasement. By violating the integrity of the Federation in the excision of Nyasaland they have placed in jeopardy the historic relationship of the two Rhodesias, and with it the security and prosperity of all their inhabitants. All that has been built up in the last 70 years is now at stake.

In this situation I am constantly being pressed to

produce a plan for the re-arrangement of the Constitution as between the Rhodesias. It is the British Government that has initiated the retreat in the face of violence which has brought us to the difficult situation that now confronts us. It is up to them to propose some positive and durable plan which will secure a reasonable future for all the inhabitants of the two Rhodesias and not one section only.

I am willing to co-operate in every way in producing such a plan and bringing it into effect. I am, of course, fully aware of the machinations to get rid of me—the references to the fact that there is no place for a Bismarck in Central Africa, all directed at me. The view is widely propagated, again emanating from certain sources, that I am an obstinate man, blindly refusing to face reality, standing four-square in the way of change. This of course is utterly untrue.

I have made it clear on many occasions to the British Government that I am willing to consider changes, even radical changes, in the Constitution. Indeed, I should welcome some changes. But I emphasize that the way to set about improvement is not to scrap everything already established and start from scratch in order to find some new agreement.

Pan-African Intrigues

I am fully alive to the intentions and intrigues of the pan-African movement. It seeks to destroy the Federation. I regret to say there are some among us who delude themselves into believing that if we appease the extremists by giving away the present Federation they would be willing to reach agreement about economic links which will safeguard the future.

Practical experience of the methods of the pan-African movement compels me to warn my fellow Rhodesians that the isolation of Southern Rhodesia would begin from the moment the Federation was broken up. From that moment she would face the pan-African campaign alone. Her defence would be withdrawn to the Zambezi, every effort would be made to apply trade boycotts, and violence would be stirred up within her boundaries.

Even Drastic Changes

I have made it clear that I am willing to consider changes even of a drastic nature, and for that purpose to have discussions with the British Government or to attend any conference they may call, but I shall never be a party to allowing the Rhodesias to be disintegrated in order to pursue the will-o'-the-wisp of mere economic links.

I believe it to be the duty of all those who have faith in the future of the Rhodesias to recognize that before the present constitutional instruments that make up the Federation are destroyed they are replaced by something that is workable.

I will not willingly see the Defence Forces wound down for lack of funds or to appease the fires of nationalism. I know—and, let's face it, we all know—that violence will be used on an increasing scale by the African racialists in their endeavour to gain their ends here in Central Africa. Their aim is clear: it is domination by one race and one race alone.

In short, I am satisfied that the separation of the two Rhodesias would have the most serious results on the future of all Rhodesians, both north and south of the Zambezi, and it is my plain duty to make you and the British Government aware of this and to do everything in my power to ensure that separation does not occur.

Disaster Threatens

I am not an alarmist. I speak to you as a responsible Prime Minister and a Rhodesian who has devoted the greater part of my life to an endeavour to serve my country. I believe that the well-being of the inhabitants of the two Rhodesias is at stake in the present negotiations with the British Government. Would that we could trust them to stand by us in the hour of need, as we have stood by them in wars gone by!

I do not level any criticism at the British people. My quarrels have been with the Government of Britain; and I believe that the present policy of H.M. Government towards countries such as ours is extremely distasteful to many of the people in Britain.

Week by week my overseas mail tells me this. Many people have written to me saying that they cannot understand how their Government can be a party to the forcible integration of the Katanga with the Congo while at the same time submitting to pressures, mainly from the United Nations, for the forcible disintegration of the Rhodesias.

Many also have asked why the British Government should strive so hard to obtain entry for Britain into a European common market and yet take the lead in destroying the common market which we have already established in Central Africa.

What am I and the Federal Government going to do to

avert the disasters which threaten us? My colleagues and I have devoted ourselves unstintingly to the task of holding the Federation against assaults from within and without. Nyasaland is being lopped off, but I pledge myself now to devote myself entirely to the cause of maintaining those links between the Rhodesias which I consider essential to our survival.

I don't want to re-open the battle of the pledges, but I cannot accept that the breach of these pledges in the case of Nyasaland gives the British Government the right to repeat the offence by separating the two Rhodesias without our consent.

It is not only the Federal Government that is entitled to a say in the matter. The Southern Rhodesia Government is also fully entitled to refuse her consent to a splitting of the Rhodesias. Southern Rhodesia, as a self-governing country in 1953, was a high contracting party at the conferences which led to the creation by Britain of our Federation. Lord Malvern has told us that he would not have signed the documents but for the pledges that British Ministers gave him of the permanence of the Federation.

Let me also remind the British Government that Lord Swinton, who gave those pledges, speaking in Salisbury in 1953, said that they constituted a solemn treaty. That treaty was between Britain and Southern Rhodesia. It was only after a referendum in Southern Rhodesia that Federation was finally agreed to.

No Rough-Shod Force

I am determined to continue my stand against any dictation by the British Government affecting the future of the Rhodesias, and I call upon you all to join me in my resolve to resist the imposition of a settlement which is unacceptable to the constitutionally elected Governments of the Federation and of Southern Rhodesia.

I am having a document prepared for issue to the public which will set forth some of the consequences which would flow from a break-up of the present bonds uniting the two Rhodesias. I believe that when you have studied this document you will back me in the stand I am making, and I ask you to do so.

Many of you have relatives or friends in Great Britain—I am sure that you can persuade them to take up our cause with their Members of Parliament. This is a positive way in which we can all help to dissuade the British Government from pursuing their present disastrous policy.

Grit Versus Defeatism

The issues before us transcend party and political affiliations, and our cause can be supported by people of all races. I ask for that support in further negotiations with the British Government, for I firmly believe it would be wrong not to persevere in negotiation, and I believe that the British Government may yet be persuaded to substitute reason for rough-shod force in their dealings with us. The choice will be theirs, but with your help I believe that we can persuade them to choose reason.

Meanwhile the Federal Government is going forward with its plans on the basis that strong links between the Rhodesias are going to be retained. I ask you to go ahead with your own plans in the same way and in the same spirit.

We are all in this together, and in this period of uncertainty which is bedevilling our lives I suggest to you that defeatist talk will get us nowhere. Instead, determination, grit, and courage and the knowledge that our cause is a just one will be the best assurance of winning through to better days.

Critical Reactions to P.M.'s Speech

THE DAY AFTER Sir Roy Welensky's broadcast, the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Field, told Parliament in Salisbury that "outbursts from certain Ministers of another Government prophesying economic doom" for the two Rhodesias following a break in their political links "cannot be calculated to strengthen the federal case. We must not be misled by wild and alarming statements. No one can forecast the outcome because negotiations are still proceeding; threats will not influence them except for the worse".

In Zomba, Dr. Banda told the Legislative Council that he saw no reason why Nyasaland should compensate "so-called Federal citizens" or pay for Federal buildings which had been erected "on our land against our will. If those people don't want us to use the buildings they can demolish them. Compensation for Federal citizens doesn't even deserve argument and I dismiss it with contempt".

Mr. Butler Tells Parliament of His Visit to Central Africa

Speaker After Speaker Disbelieves Government Denials About Pledges

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS debated Central African affairs for more than six hours last Thursday.

MR. R. A. BUTLER, First Secretary of State and Minister for Central African Affairs, said in the course of a speech of 44 minutes:—

"Allegations have been made that in accepting that Nyasaland should withdraw from the Federation H.M. Government have not held to undertakings given in 1953. This matter has been dealt with in the White Paper.

"The British Ministers referred to the undeniable power of this Parliament to legislate in whatever way it might think fit for the Federation which was then being established. The discussion was in somewhat colloquial terms, and it may be that the informal nature of the language used has given rise to later misunderstanding.

"No Pledge" to Fetter Britain

"But what I regard as a matter of the greatest significance is that the two Secretaries of State who took part in this discussion have made it clear that they did not regard themselves as having given a pledge of the kind which the Federal Government claims has been given. The Secretaries of State freely acknowledge that the Federation was founded in a spirit of hope that the new society being created in Central Africa would prosper and endure, but they insist that nothing in that discussion was intended as a pledge so as to fetter the powers of the United Kingdom Parliament.

"The conference was followed by the Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Federation) Act, which authorized the making of the Federation of Rhodesia (Constitution) Order in Council, 1953. It provided that the Order in Council might authorize the amendment or revocation of any of its provisions, but went on to use the following words: 'but save as may be so authorized, that Order in Council shall not be capable of being revoked or amended except by Act of Parliament'. That removes any doubt that the U.K. Parliament could revoke or amend the Constitution Order in Council.

"Neither the verbatim record nor the formal instruments which were enacted as a result of its report support the assertion that any undertaking limiting the powers of the U.K. Parliament was given. Such an undertaking would have amounted virtually to a pledge of indissolubility and permanent veto, which I do not think was envisaged by anybody.

"Continuous Consultation"

"One other claim is that the Federation Constitution made no provision for secession from the Federation, and the then Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1953 endorsed the view that no such provision should be made; but it is borne out quite clearly in the White Paper that it cannot be argued that the omission of a provision for secession itself implies a guarantee of permanence.

"The really important point to bear in mind in this context is the one in §14 of the White Paper—that the responsibility of H.M. Government for the inhabitants of Nyasaland as a territory under the special protection of Her Majesty remained unimpaired by the establishment of the Federation. Given the express wish of the majority of the inhabitants of Nyasaland to withdraw from the Federation, it would, in the Government's view, have been a breach of their obligations to the people of the Protectorate to disregard that wish.

"During recent public discussion it has been said that whatever were the obligations of H.M. Government, the acceptance that Nyasaland should withdraw from the Federation ought to have been made as a result of consultation and agreement. Ever since I became the Minister responsible for Central Africa I have been most careful to keep the Federal Government informed of my view. As long ago as May, 1962, I made it clear that H.M. Government recognized that the Malawi Ministers were not prepared to remain within the present Federation.

"In my first visit to the Federation that month I put this

point to the Federal Government. This emerges in the White Paper which the Federal Prime Minister laid before the Federal Assembly on December 19. The White Paper constitutes a record—although an *ex parte* record—of a continuous process of consultation over the whole period which led up to my announcement about Nyasaland on December 19. It must be rare for a Minister to find himself quoted with such accuracy in a document published by another Government, and find nothing to which to object in that document. For §54 I am recorded as having informed Sir Roy Welensky, in discussions which took place in London in September of last year, that as I had told him previously, 'opinion in the Federation had to accept that Nyasaland was already virtually an African State and that it was therefore a special problem'.

"I am on record then as having gone on to express my hope that if the emotional issue of secession could be buried the present Nyasaland leaders might be persuaded to adopt a constructive attitude towards the retention of trade and other links with the two Rhodesias, but that I did not think that there was any hope for this unless the right to secede was granted.

"In §77 of the White Paper published by the Federal Government there is a reference to the fact that for virtually the whole week immediately preceding that in which I made my statement in the House I was in consultation with three Federal Ministers who came to London specifically for that purpose.

"If there was consultation on this scale, it is natural to ask why H.M. Government had to take action without obtaining the Federal Government's agreement. During the consultations—particularly those which immediately preceded my statement on December 19—the Federal Government made it quite clear that they would not be prepared to accept any announcement which conceded secession to Nyasaland unless it incorporated what they would regard as satisfactory guarantees for the continuance of a strong political and economic association between the two Rhodesias. That is brought out quite clearly in the Federal Government's White Paper.

"Duty to Nyasaland"

"Anyone who has studied this subject must be well aware of the importance and the merits of such a strong and continuing link between the Rhodesias, but it was not within the power of H.M. Government to give a firm guarantee on the lines required by the Federal Government. We were not in a position to give that promise. We consulted, we tried to reach an agreement, but were unable to do so. My duty to Nyasaland remained, and I acted according to my duty.

"Since then the Legislative Assembly has met in Southern Rhodesia. Their Government, as is healthy, is facing a vigorous Opposition—unlike our Opposition—which includes the first Africans ever to sit in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament. Hon. Members may criticize very strongly certain pieces of legislation proposed by the Southern Rhodesian Government. In particular, I have had a great deal of correspondence on the subject of the amendments to the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act which are under consideration and which provide for a mandatory death penalty for certain offences involving the use of petrol bombs and explosives. The real forum for discussion of these matters is the Southern Rhodesian Parliament.

"When I was in Southern Rhodesia I was able to meet Mr. Nkomo and his main associates and lieutenants, and other representative people, and I took every opportunity of passing all their views to the Government concerned.

Mr. Nkomo

"I shall no doubt be asked about Mr. Nkomo and the incident in which he and his companions were concerned at Rusape on February 9. The proceedings in which they were involved led to their arrest for an offence under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, and they are also appearing in court on an alternative charge of common assault. The case has been postponed until the end of March, and therefore is still *sub judice*.

"No restriction on Mr. Nkomo's general political activities is intended. Indeed, Mr. Dupont, the Minister of Justice, has said: 'It is not the Government's intention in any way to stifle opposition or to prevent the creation of political parties provided that those parties act constitutionally; the amending Bill places no obstacle whatever in the way of the formation of those parties'. He went on to say that such parties should

act without intimidation and without violence. I hope that Mr. Winston Field's Government are prepared to see Mr. Nkomo and his associates return to active political life, provided they act constitutionally. I put this point of view to Mr. Nkomo.

"I do not doubt that reference will be made to the granting of independence to Southern Rhodesia. This issue is not at present before us. If it does come up I shall have to discuss it with the Governments, and I shall naturally have to listen to this debate before I can take up any further position.

"I am sure that the case of Dr. Ranger will be raised. His deportation was not initiated by the present Southern Rhodesian Government but by the previous one. A deportation order was served on Dr. Ranger on January 11. He had at that time recently completed a period of restriction following the banning of Z.A.P.U. Dr. Ranger appealed, but the Federal Supreme Court has recently ruled that the Federal Government acted lawfully in declaring him a prohibited immigrant. I understand that Dr. Ranger has been granted a year's sabbatical leave from the University College.

"When the decision on the appeal became known to me I arranged that the High Commissioner should convey to the Government concerned the depth of feeling there is in this country on this subject. The Federal and Southern Rhodesian Governments have now informed the High Commissioner that they would wish Dr. Ranger to make application to return to the Federation on the termination of his sabbatical year, and they have gone so far as to say that his application will then be considered on its merits.

Tour of The Federation

"I undertook my tour because I wished not only to carry forward the arrangements for the secession of Nyasaland but also to meet the two new Governments recently elected in Northern and Southern Rhodesia and renew contact with the Federal Government.

"I visited all three territories and met a great variety of persons and organizations. I met Mr. Nkomo and his principal lieutenants and representatives of the Pan-African Socialist Union and of liberal organizations. I managed fairly widely to meet both those who agree and who disagree with the régimes in existence.

"In Nyasaland I met representatives of the opposition United Federal Party, the Settlers' and Residents' Association, and the tea planters, who naturally discussed the question of safeguards for the European minority. I discussed with them the proposals for a Bill of Rights which had been agreed at the Nyasaland Constitutional Conference. They were particularly concerned about the security of freehold title, on which Dr. Banda made a reassuring speech on the occasion of his assuming the office of Prime Minister on the last Friday of my visit.

"In Northern Rhodesia I met the Litunga of Barotseland, who travelled from his capital of Mongu to meet me in Lusaka. There are two main features of the Barotse problem: first, the question of its internal administration, and, second, the question of Barotseland's future relations with H.M. Government and with Northern Rhodesia. On internal administration I encouraged the Litunga to pursue measures of internal reform which were already under consideration, but which had not been carried very far. I also recommended him to appoint a new Prime Minister. Whatever the future of the country, it is important that the internal administration should be brought up-to-date, and with this the Litunga agreed.

Barotse Development

"I also pointed out the importance of establishing a development plan for Barotseland, since its economic future must depend upon its own efforts as well as upon its contacts with Northern Rhodesia. The more one sees of the place the more one realizes the importance of those contacts owing to the size of the economy and the size of the country. The major problem, the constitutional future, is under study, and further discussions with the Litunga and the Northern Rhodesian Government will be necessary. It is one of the matters which will have to be resolved as part of the future constitutional pattern of the region.

"In Northern Rhodesia I met members of the United Federal Party opposition as well as members of the Government. I never intended during the tour that final decisions should be reached, since it was essential to ascertain differing points of view as to the course to be adopted in the future. They vary considerably. I did, however, find a general disposition among all the Governments to look to the future and not simply to live in the past. I found that invariably to be the case.

"As regards Nyasaland, I discussed with the Federal and the Nyasaland Governments the setting up of a working party.

This, I hope, will shortly be able to start its work, after further discussions to be undertaken with the Federal Government about its terms of reference, to carry out an examination of the various practical aspects of the secession exercise. The working party will be presided over by a United Kingdom chairman, Sir George Curtis, and will consist of representatives of the Federal and Nyasaland Governments, backed by the necessary territorial and other experts.

"To the extent that matters affecting Southern and Northern Rhodesia arise, arrangements will be made in consultation between the chairman and the Governments concerned for representatives of those Governments to take part in the discussions as necessary. I have been asked by the Federal and Nyasaland Governments whether matters of first-class importance which arise will be referable to the respective Government as necessary as the work goes on. This, of course, will be the best way to resolve the major issues.

"We shall attach the necessary technical, official and other advisers to the team necessary to carry out the work of the working party. A great deal of hard and intricate work will have to be done. The whole range of financial and administrative problems will have to be covered.

No Secession Date Yet

"There is the question of the adjudication of a fair proportion of the Federal debt which can or should be apportioned to Nyasaland. There is the question of the transfer to Nyasaland of the great services at present carried out by the Federal Government, such as the health service. These services employ a great many public servants, European and African. We are very anxious about their future, and are anxious that the transfer of such officers shall be effected in the most sensible manner possible, both in regard to the future of the services and of the officers. It is important that this aspect of the work should be carried out in a just and humane way.

"There is a great deal of pressure for a date to be given for the final secession of Nyasaland. It is impossible to fix a date at present. The work must be thoroughly and conscientiously done and, whatever arrangements are made, we must keep our minds open as to the final date when secession can be formally effected.

"The financial effects on Nyasaland of withdrawal are bound to be very serious, but I believe there is a readiness on the part of Malawi Ministers to face their problems in a realistic way. Until the consequences of withdrawal have been worked out in detail it is not possible to judge to what extent and over what period the Nyasaland Government may need financial help in addition to their own efforts to bridge the gap. Our approach to this aspect of the question when it is reached will of course be sympathetic. So much for the work of the Nyasaland secession exercise, which is likely to be laborious and difficult.

"On the problem of the two Rhodesias, the attitude of H.M. Government is to do all we can to secure an acceptable form of association in the future which will preserve the very real benefits which past association has procured. It would be short-sighted not to attempt to secure really valuable links for the future in the interests of all races.

Rhodesias in Jeopardy

"The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Winston Field, has said in his own Parliament that the decision of the British Government to allow the secession of Nyasaland and the accession to power of the new Coalition Government in Northern Rhodesia brought the whole question of the future of the Federation to the fore. Little as Southern Rhodesia wanted to become involved in more constitutional crises, it was obvious that I, as the First Secretary, would attempt to find a solution to the problem of the future of the three territories, or at any rate two of them, probably with a looser arrangement for the third, Nyasaland.

"Mr. Field went on to say that he had never made any proposals to take Southern Rhodesia out of the Federation or to break it up, and that he had worked hard to make the Federation succeed. However, it was his duty to say openly that for various reasons the Federation was not working smoothly, as became obvious to him in each of his tours of the northern territories. He said that an economic association is best supported by a political tie. Nevertheless, he questioned whether, in the light of the attitude of political leaders in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, the political association between the two Rhodesias should be allowed to deteriorate until the final break-up of the Federation was arrived at, with the loss of all friendly relations between the territories.

"He asked whether the maintenance of the economic association and future economic links should not be a matter of direct negotiation between the Governments concerned, and stressed the importance of handling these matters without delay in the interests of the certainty which is so much desired

not only by the business world but by the Governments and by members of all races in Central Africa.

"Mr. Field had already met Dr. Banda. I am in the priceless position of having had a report of the conversations from both of them, and the reports tallied very closely as to what happened. I am sure the conversations were very useful. I do not doubt that Mr. Field will be ready to engage in talks with the leaders of the Government in Northern Rhodesia.

"When I met the members of the Executive Council in Northern Rhodesia the elected Ministers made their views very plain to me. These views were expanded and made even plainer at a meeting which I had with representatives of the A.N.C. and U.N.I.P. following on a caucus-meeting which lasted four hours, the whole of that morning. I was able to meet many of the Parliamentary Secretaries, and I was struck by their vigour and enthusiasm.

"They made it plain that they did not wish to continue with the Federation, and that they wanted a new territorial Constitution providing for universal adult suffrage, an enlarged Legislative Council, and a considerable reduction in the powers of the United Kingdom in relation to the territory.

"These views were embodied in resolutions which have since been carried in the Legislative Council—by the elected members, the official Ministers refraining from taking part in the debate, and remaining thereby outside. These were the views of the elected members as passed by two resolutions through the Legislative Council.

More Experience First

"Everyone recognizes that the present Constitution is very complicated, but it has produced a legislature which reflects the main shades of political issues, and also a new African Coalition Government which is setting about its tasks in a constructive manner.

"Opportunity should be given to the new Constitution to work and establish thereby the experience necessary for further advance. At the same time, the House must be in no doubt that the aspirations of the new Government towards future constitutional advance are pressing upon us.

"I was informed that, subject to the views which they expressed, elected Ministers were prepared to attend a conference to be followed by the appointment of a commission to work out new links between the two Rhodesias. H.M. Government have been giving careful consideration to the points of view of both Rhodesian Governments, and I will maintain contact with these Governments. H.M. Government would like to see the best possible association negotiated. It is also important that the Federal Government should have full opportunity to express its own views about the future, and to that end I am also maintaining contact with the Federal Government.

"The House may ask whether I have a conference in mind. I shall be glad to obtain the voices and views of the House, but I think it will agree that our objective should be to bring the parties together so that they may, with us, plan their future association together.

Temper Urgency with Patience

"We can obtain a lasting settlement only if it is acceptable, and this makes it all the more important that the parties principally concerned should meet each other. We should bring them together on as constructive a basis as possible. I think there is a general feeling in Central Africa that, given the difficulties of the problems, some preparatory work will be necessary before any formal conference can be held. This I think is a sensible way of proceeding. I am therefore at present urgently considering the initiation of such preparatory talks. The difficulties being as they are, a sense of urgency must be tempered with patience if we are to achieve results. I wish to hear the points of view expressed by hon. Members before I take the next step.

"We have been accused of yielding to pressure, of dilatory tactics, and even of not carrying out our duty in the territories. These accusations and complaints have no foundation whatever—and the one which has the least foundation is the allegation that the difficulties are due to H.M. Government and H.M. Government alone. This is quite untrue. The difficulties of association which now face us spring from the realities of the situation. They spring from facts which the House must meet and face. They spring from the complete alteration in the whole attitude of Africa itself, which has grown particularly strong in the last few years.

"In saying these things, I do not wish for one moment to underrate the great achievements which have been accomplished in the last ten years; particularly on the fiscal and economic side, they have to be seen to be understood. When they are understood, all praise goes to those leaders who have brought them about.

"When I said that there is a feeling of looking into the future, I included all the Governments. I believe that there is a general realization today that it is reasonable to look at some new form of association. Because the facts spring from the Central African situation itself and not from any par-

ticular mismanagement on any side. I believe that we can have a generous approach to this problem, and, with the aid of the House, perhaps a constructive settlement. I appeal for a constructive attitude".

MR. DENIS HEALEY (Leeds, East), who opened for the Opposition, said that the First Secretary had a political style and personality which were rare on the Government benches and that afternoon he had added more Butlerisms to the treasury.

Only a Travelogue

"Nevertheless, the speech was very disappointing. We had been given to believe by him two months ago that his tour would make it possible for him to take certain decisions as to the Government's policy on the future of the Federation; decisions very long overdue. Yet he gave us little beyond a travel diary; he told us a great deal about what other people had said to him and virtually nothing about what he said to them.

"He gave no clue as to how the Government propose to exercise their very important legal powers and responsibilities in Central Africa. In spite of his concluding remarks, the exercise of these powers and responsibilities will be absolutely decisive on whether the peoples of Central Africa are to live in peace or whether the whole area is to fall into political and economic chaos.

"I well understand that the First Secretary did not want to spend a great deal of time on the affair of the pledges. He is dealing with a situation totally different from that which obtained when the Federation was set up in 1953. He cannot personally escape responsibility for the decisions taken in 1953 or for the pledges, if pledges were made by Ministers at that time. He was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I must presume privy to and a party to the statements made by Ministers in the discussions which led to the Federation being set up. He cannot escape responsibility for those errors of judgment any more than he can escape responsibility for Suez or for the mismanagement of the whole affair of Britain's relations with the Common Market.

"The question of the so-called pledges is not just a matter of historical interest. The House should insist on establishing the facts in order to know, not only whether H.M. Government have behaved wisely or foolishly, but also whether they behaved honestly or dishonestly. I do not believe that anybody can read the White Paper without deciding that pledges were given by Ministers. Those pledges were binding in common honour and decency and they were given in that sense.

"Read the paragraph quoted by the White Paper, which runs as follows: '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 United Kingdom, it was unlikely that investors would consider the proposed review clause a reflection on the permanence of the Federation'. Every British newspaper, in commenting on the Government's own White Paper, has admitted that, right or wrong, the White Paper shows that pledges were given which have later been broken.

Cowardly Secrecy Over Pledges

"Indeed, the pledges were confirmed in the House of Lords debate in December 19 by all the ex-Ministers concerned. They were confirmed by Lord Ghandos, who was Secretary of State at the discussions; by Lord Colyton, who was Minister of State at the discussions; by Lord Malvern, the leading representative of the Central African territories and later Prime Minister of the Federation; by the Marquess of Salisbury, who was Secretary of State when the Federation was being set up; by Lord Boyd, who was Minister of State at that time and later became in turn Secretary of State himself. Only 10 days ago those Ministers who took part in the discussions under review confirmed that pledges had been given, although one of them maintained that the precise juridical status of the pledges was not quite so unassailable as he had earlier imagined.

"There is not the slightest doubt that Ministers did express their intention not to change the Constitution of the Federation without the concurrence of all the four Governments in Central Africa, and I believe that Lord Salisbury's verdict holds, namely, that 'the point is not whether the United Kingdom could do what it has done; the point is that the Government said that they would not do it and yet they have done it'.

"Why were these pledges kept secret? Why has it taken 10 years to bring out the truth? The White Paper rather naively makes the point that if a pledge of such vital importance was given there was no reason for secrecy with regard

(Continued on page 580)

Mr. Ngei's Visit to London

Constructive Work Instead of Mud Slinging

MR. PAUL NGEI, president of the African Peoples' Party, who flew back to Nairobi on Tuesday after a week in London, told a representative of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA at the week-end that he was confident of winning 17 seats in the forthcoming Kenya elections.

"If we had enough funds for our election campaign we could wipe out one of the other parties", he added, without naming the party he had in mind. Nine of the 17 "safe" seats are in the Eastern Region, and two each in Nairobi, Nakuru, South Nyanza, and at the Coast. Other A.P.P. candidates will stand elsewhere, but it is party policy not to oppose serving M.L.Cs. who are regarded as able men.

"We are not interested in mud slinging. It is time now for constructive work. 'Imperialism' has gone; Britain has already surrendered to Kenya.

Better The Devil They Know

"Private investors inside and outside the country do not know where they stand; they are worried about nationalization and confiscation. This uncertainty must be ended soon, and the period of self-government after the elections must therefore be shortened so that we can have independence by the end of this year. Better for the traders and private capital the devil they know than the one they don't!"

Mr. Ngei—a former associate of Kenyatta, who was gaoled with him on Mau Mau charges—formed the A.P.P. last November in protest against Kenyatta's dictatorship in K.A.N.U. "He has failed to give that party effective leadership, and the whole organization lacks cohesion", Mr. Ngei said. "Mr. Odinga and Mr. Mboya always oppose each other, and Kenyatta listens to one of them one day and to the other man another time. There is no such thing as a national executive making decisions.

"Kenyatta has failed as a Minister too. His Ministry of Economic Planning has not produced a single plan to restore business confidence or to deal with the unemployment problem.

"He would not tell the country whether the Land Freedom Army existed or not, although everybody knows that such crimes in Kenya are committed mainly by one tribe.

"Now he says that there will be no regionalism for Kenya because he did not sign the constitutional agreement at Lancaster House! How can he make such a claim? That system has been agreed upon, and now we must make it work under a strong central Government.

Kikuyu Tribe Disintegrating

"Cairo and Accra hate me because I have left Kenyatta, but I am an independent character; I would feel ashamed to ask for money from others. I do not fear K.A.N.U. or the Kikuyu.

"The Kikuyu are finished as a tribe whose domination others still fear for no reason now. Before Mau Mau they were united and were a force to reckon with, but since then they have been split right down the middle. Now the loyalists seek revenge on those who were Mau Mau; the former Mau Mau followers think they should be leaders and want to get rid of the loyalists; and then there are the educated ones who want to be an *élite* separate from everyone else."

If K.A.N.U. attempted to intimidate his supporters they would retaliate in kind. Because K.A.D.U. "behaved" itself, his group was not wholly opposed to it. The result of the elections would be extremely close.

His visit to Britain for talks with M.Ps. had been satisfactory. His purpose had been to stress that the A.P.P. was not merely a Kamba tribalist organization centred on Machakos and Ukambani but that it stood for progress for Kenya as a whole.

"We are not anti any race. We are anti-justice to any person living in Kenya. We do not like privileges because of

race, whichever way it works. We believe in merit and intelligence."

The party claimed over 70,000 African members, including Luo, Baluhya, some Kalenjin, and dissident Kikuyu—whose numbers would grow—as well as Kamba; there were also at least 2,000 Asian and more than 200 European followers, mainly in Nairobi, who supported the A.P.P. "because they know we mean what we say."

Mr. Ngei disagreed with Somali claims for secession of the N.F.D. to the Somali Republic, and said that there would be no hesitation on Kenya's part in fighting to defend her frontiers.

He was critical of the million acre land settlement scheme for African peasants because their smallholdings carved out of the European farms were sure to be uneconomic, since each plowholder would do just as he liked with his patch of land. A better idea would be to establish a co-operative system which would maintain large acreages as one unit.

Asked how he would describe himself politically, Mr. Ngei replied that he was not to be identified with any ideological label.

Practicality The Criterion

"I am a realist, not a Socialist, a Communist, a Fabian, or a Conservative—not even a pan-Africanist. I cannot accept political slogans in the way others do, who swallow them down without chewing them over and then are unable to digest them properly. Before supporting it I must examine a political viewpoint to see if it is practicable. A nation must be formed out of the worth-while traditions and culture it already possesses, as contributed to by the whole community, not by political indoctrination and the imposition of someone else's alien way of life.

"That is what the Communists are trying to do, but I have been to Moscow and seen how dead everything is, how poor in quality everyday things are. London is so different; people are alive. I have never seen such a free society. The same holds for business; we must have the competitiveness of private enterprise, which ensures that services to the public are improved all the time as each commercial undertaking tries to beat its rivals and make better profits."

Lack of Accommodation Loses Tourists

222 Beds in Game Parks for 50,000 Visitors

FOR ABOUT 50,000-ODD VISITORS expected to tour Kenya there were only 222 beds available in the game areas—104 in official lodges, 62 in unofficial permanent residences, and 56 in unofficial tentage accommodation, Mr. Arvind Jamidar, Minister for Tourism, Forests and Wild Life, said when he opened a new gate of Nairobi National Park.

"The accommodation problem in our parks and reserves has reached saturation point. There cannot now be further expansion of tourism unless we increase accommodation. This happens unfortunately at a time when many air lines and travel agents have been persuaded to launch an all-out drive to attract more tourists to Kenya, and when my Ministry has already achieved spectacular success in its work of tourist publicity.

"In the earlier part of the month two plane-loads of tourists had to be told that they could not come out here during the European winter as there is just no accommodation for them in the national parks or reserves. Besides this, one important tourist firm has already doubled its number of tourists and diverted 300% more tourists to Uganda and many to Tanganyika.

"Money will have to be found for this accommodation. International sources of finance will not take us seriously until we take ourselves seriously. We may have to consider increased taxation and even the use of some rather unorthodox methods of raising money to give a start, but it can be no more than a start. The real effort in this direction will have to come from private enterprise."

Referring to the Nairobi park in particular, Mr. Jamidar said that it was held by experts to be one of the most outstanding faunal sanctuaries in the world. More than 120,000 people a year visited it.

Europeans in A Fool's Paradise

"Law or No Law"

EUROPEANS who do not realize that the Nyasaland Bill of Rights is "just a piece of paper" are living in a fool's paradise, the Prime Minister, Dr. Hastings Banda, has stated. "The real Bill of Rights here for non-Africans is the goodwill of the people of this country".

On land titles, he expostulated: "I am not going to allow any stupid estate owners to uproot maize on the pretext that these people (Africans) are trespassing when they are planting maize on that estate, and I am not going to send a single policeman to do anything about it. If any estate owner thinks my people are trespassing on his land, this is my advice to him: go and see the local branch chairman of the Malawi Congress Party; he will see to it, not the district commissioner or the police, because today in this country all you have to do to infuriate my people is to go to the D.C. and the police."

"What do you think I am here for? To protect my people—and I mean protect—law or no law. Law is what the people themselves approve".

The Prime Minister said that his Government expected to take over two battalions of the K.A.R. as well as the public services of health, posts, telecommunications, customs and excise.

British army officers would be retained if they had not made themselves undesirable, but he would not accept South African or Southern Rhodesian officers. In any transfer of Federal civil servants he would not have anyone imposed on him.

"Minister of Deportation"

Mr. Henry Chipembere, the recently-appointed Minister of Local Government, claimed a few days ago that he was also "Minister of Deportation"—a title which the Government Press officer subsequently dismissed as a "joke".

Mr. Chipembere said that Europeans who were "good" and ready to serve under an African Government could stay in Nyasaland; "but those who have been cruel in dealing with people, sending them to prison, have no future in Malawi. We shall throw out undesirable Europeans. I shall in person escort such Europeans to the airport and see them off, making sure they have left our beautiful Malawi". [The Minister was released recently from prison after serving part of a three-year sentence for sedition.—Ed.]

Missions would not be allowed to erect new secondary schools because they had neglected those parts of the country in which Moslems predominated or where there were few Christians.

The Nyasaland Government advisers who are to work with Mr. Butler's working party to study the arrangements for Nyasaland's secession from the Federation are the Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. P. Yousens, the recently acting Finance Minister, Mr. N. Walker, and the chief establishment officer, Mr. G. Fricker.

The Federal Minister of the Public Service, Mr. J. G. Duncan, who has been visiting Nyasaland for discussions with civil servants, has given a warning that should political links be broken between the Rhodesias, pan-Africanism would gain rapid control of the north and drive out the Europeans; a politically-motivated economic boycott of Southern Rhodesian goods would follow; and eventually Southern Rhodesia would become bankrupt, with an exodus of Europeans and huge-scale African unemployment as a result.

TV Programme on the Federation

No Country Has Gained from Universal Suffrage

THE PANORAMA PROGRAMME of the B.B.C. Television on Monday evening contained short interviews with Mr. Butler, Minister for Central African Affairs, Mr. Winston Field, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Robert Tredgold, former Chief Justice of the Federation, and two leading Southern Rhodesian African nationalists, Mr. Robert Chikerema and Mr. George Nyandoro.

Mr. Butler said that the important economic achievements of the Federation must be preserved, he hoped by more than economic association or links. It was impossible to thrust a plan made in Britain down the throat of Central Africa, and an attempt must therefore be made to work out with the Governments something which would, he hoped, still link Nyasaland with the Rhodesias. The problem was the heaviest responsibility he had ever had; indeed, he was now devoting his life to Central Africa. He took pride in the ideal which had created the Federation and pride in its achievement.

Sir Robert Tredgold, interviewed in Salisbury, described as "an anthology of horror" the Bill now before the Southern Rhodesian Parliament to increase the penalties for petrol bomb throwing and other serious offences against law and order.

Qualifications for Evolution

Mr. Winston Field—whom the interviewer described as a benevolent equire and a relative moderate—denied that his Government wanted permanent white mastery; it wanted the country to be governed by people best qualified for the responsibility.

Nor was its aim to smash African nationalism, but to protect the mass of the people from a small minority of trouble-makers. Many Africans had asked for stronger legislation which would give them better protection. Many of the bomb outrages had no political origin, but had been undertaken to work off private grudges.

As to the principle of one man one vote, he knew of no country which had been improved by that system; and in Rhodesia the bulk of the people had no conception of the system. He wanted evolutionary, not revolutionary, progress.

Mr. Chikerema declared: "We Africans are quite ready to rule ourselves". Asked if he expected to come to blows with the Government, he answered: "Certainly", adding that the trouble would be short and sharp.


An anonymous European whose opinion about independence for Southern Rhodesia was asked said: "It would have the advantage that we should no longer be mocked about by English politicians".

The commentator for the B.B.C. asserted that "the whites in Rhodesia are becoming slowly afraid of the blacks".

"Self-government does not mean loafing. It does not mean money raining on our heads and shudders like manna from heaven. Self-government means hard work. This is our country and we have to pay for it."

—Dr. Hastings Banda, leader of the Malawi Congress Party.

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Letters to the Editor

Tanganyika: President and Parliament

Comments on Notes By The Way

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR,— May I be allowed space in your esteemed paper to comment on two topics which appeared on page 522 of your issue of February 21:—

(a) The fact that the President of the Republic of Tanganyika has power to impose, vary or rescind any tax or duty does not mean that he is going to dictate his decisions, because, as you stated in your own explanation, he would require to refer any such decisions for subsequent approval by Parliament. That is a very important point to bear in mind.

There is no reason to suspect that, because Tanganyika is a one-party State, Members of Parliament would feel considerable reluctance to disagree publicly and forcefully with the Head of State. To prove this, all that you need is to attend a meeting of the Tanganyika National Assembly and see for yourself how freely Members debate. They are not "yes-men" to the President. The President has never misused his powers, and there is no evidence to show that he is going to do so. Therefore fears about dictatorship are utterly unfounded, and arise either from lack of first-hand knowledge or from refusal to know the true situation as it obtains in Tanganyika today.

(b) On the question of nomenclature, it would appear that you purposely wanted to make our Ministers look like a laughing-stock. It would also appear that you have not kept yourself up-to-date with the history of the Legislature of the Republic of Tanganyika.

When Tanganyika gained full internal self-government in May, 1961, the constitutional status of her Legislature was raised from that of Legislative Council to that of National Assembly. That is the time when M.N.A. was used after the names of the Members. When Tanganyika attained Independence on December 9, 1961, the status of the Legislature was raised to Parliament, and since that date Members became M.Ps. Our Ministers do not merely want to call themselves M.Ps.: they are entitled to be called so.

While the Legislature of Tanganyika is a Parliament, when Members meet as a House they meet as the National Assembly of Tanganyika. The National Assembly met as a Constituent Assembly only on one occasion; that was in November, 1962, when it met to change the Constitution of Tanganyika from a monarchy to a republic. Although the National Assembly met as a Constituent Assembly, on that occasion, Members remained M.Ps.: M.C.A. has never been used in Tanganyika.

Yours faithfully,

K. S. MWALIMU.

Principal Information Officer,
Tanganyika High Commission.

London, W.C.2

writer of the note intended "to make Tanganyika's Ministers "look like a laughing-stock". Our correspondent evades the point that, as the original paragraph stated, "within half a page of a recent supplement to the *Tanganyika Gazette* three different terms were used: first, Constituent Assembly, then Parliament, and a few lines later National Assembly". Everyone knows that the Legislative Council became the National Assembly and then Parliament. The point of the comment was that the correct term, "Parliament", is still not the term exclusively used, not even in the *Gazette*.—Ed.]

Title of President of Tanganyika

"Mwalimu" the Swahili Equivalent of "Dr."

SIR,—Your recent paragraph about the Tanganyika President's use of the title "Mwalimu" sounded a little critical. But to many people who worked in Tanganyika the prefix may appear well chosen.

Apart from relief at a departure from the dubious doctorates decorating other parts of Africa, the title brings affectionate memories of many often humble men who, by putting their little learning at the service of their less advanced fellows, often in uncomfortable circumstances, did much towards raising living standards throughout the country.

Benson,

Oxfordshire.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN J. TAWNEY.

[We greatly hope that readers in general did not regard the reference to Dr. Nyerere's choice of title as critical. There was no such intention in the mind of the editor, who wrote the short paragraph. He entirely shares Mr. Tawney's sentiments, including his reference to "dubious doctorates" (almost all from the United States). In a country which has adopted Swahili as the official language it is natural that the President should have decided to use "Mwalimu", the equivalent of "Dr".]

Commission Not Told of Pledges

Prime Minister's Admission in Parliament

THE PRIME MINISTER has admitted in the House of Commons that the Monckton Commission was not told that British Ministers had given undertakings that the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland could not be dissolved except by agreement between H.M. Government, the Federal Government, and the Governments of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Mr. MACMILLAN answered with the one word "No" a question from MR. ROBERT JENKINS, who asked whether at the time of appointment of the Advisory Commission on the Review of the Constitution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, or during the work of the commission, its chairman, Lord Monckton, and the members were made aware of the statements by British Ministers and other delegates at the 1953 Conference on Federation, and now published in Command Paper 1948, that any proposal to ferment the Constitution could be put into effect only with the concurrence of the Federal Government, all three territorial Governments, and H.M. Government in the United Kingdom.

Subsist plague has caused deaths in the Port Herald-Chromo area of Nyasaland.

Despite a walk-out by the Opposition, who demanded fresh elections, the Uganda Parliament has passed a special Bill validating the Constitution of the Busoga Lukiko and its election of the Kiyabazinga. The High Court had ruled that the Lukiko was not properly constituted and could not elect the Paramount chief, and suggested that the resulting stalemate should be solved by new elections or by legislation.

[There is a world of difference between free discussion of public questions in the House and outright opposition to public affairs taken by the executive President of a country. The suggestion was made that Dr. Nyerere had refused to provide or had any intention of so doing. That is quite true, but the concluding sentence of the note, which reads: "It is to be noted that the authority about to be given to the President will be used sparingly and not as the general means of settling disputes in state and nation. Throughout the free world with that reserve is usually debated by Parliament." It is obviously better that the responsibility should generally be given to the Chief of Government, and that the President be seen to be a party to every controversy and not merely to those of importance.]

PERSONALIA

MRS. ELSPETH HUXLEY is revisiting Kenya.

MRS. MICHAELA DENIS is due in London this week from Kenya.

MR. T. C. GARDNER, Finance Minister of Northern Rhodesia, is in London.

MR. HAROLD SOREF is convalescing after a month in the London Clinic.

SIR ALBERT ROBINSON will tomorrow attend the annual dinner of the Camborne School of Mining.

MR. E. W. LEACH has been appointed assistant general manager (staff) of Barclays Bank D.C.O.

MR. WALTER KAMBA, Southern Rhodesia's first African attorney, has been admitted to practice in Salisbury.

MR. A. J. BEEBY is now Finance Secretary and MR. N. V. REDMAN Development Secretary in Bechuanaland.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL and LADY DALHOUSIE today begin a round of farewell visits to towns throughout the Federation.

MR. M. MUIR, a director of the American magazine *Newsweek*, is due in Southern Rhodesia on March 25 for a short visit.

MR. T. GREY, chairman of the Rhodesia Railways Board, is to resign. He went to Rhodesia 43 years ago as an engine driver.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY was the guest at dinner a few nights ago of the political council of the Junior Carlton Club.

Visitors to London from Lusaka include MR. W. CHAMBERS, MR. and MRS. J. O. FORESTER, and MR. and MRS. T. E. JONES.

MR. DEREK BRYCESON, Minister for Agriculture in Tanganyika, has been in Rome for a few days to attend a conference on hard fibres.

DR. W. L. BARTON has been promoted Director of Medical Services in Zanzibar, with DR. W. G. JONES-HUGHES as Assistant Director.

MR. J. S. RHODES, Nyasaland manager for the Imperial Tobacco Co., Ltd., and MRS. RHODES sailed last Thursday in the PENDENNIS CASTLE.

EARL DE LA WARR called attention in the House of Lords on Monday to the problems of hunger and malnutrition in many parts of the world.

MR. EDWIN TOWNSEND-COLES, lecturer in charge of the Institute of Education of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is in London.

THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER will visit Jordan from March 15 to 20 at the invitation of KING HUSSEIN. On their way home they will spend two days in Cyprus.

MR. EUGENE BLACK, lately president of the World Bank, has been appointed special consultant to the secretary-general of the United Nations in connexion with its financial crisis.

MR. ANTHONY CAYZER, deputy chairman of the British and Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd., is to be president for 1963-64 of the Institute of Shipping and Forwarding Agents.

American Metal Climax, Inc., which has large interests in Northern Rhodesia, has nominated MR. E. T. ROSE to the new post of vice-president responsible for foreign investments.

MR. R. A. BUTLER, First Secretary of State and Minister for Central African Affairs, and MRS. BUTLER were the guests at luncheon last week of the Foreign Press Association in London.

DR. WALTER ALEXANDER has been re-elected speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Southern Rhodesia, and MR. J. J. WRATHALL has been elected Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees.

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, Governor of Kenya, last week visited Wajir in the Northern Province to hold an Id-ul-Fitr *baraza* to mark the end of Ramadhan. He opened a new mosque in the township.

SIR BERNARD DE BUNSEN, principal of Makerere University College, Uganda, is to be made an honorary doctor of laws at a graduation ceremony at St. Andrew's University, Scotland, on July 20.

MR. G. M. BEBB is now Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Animal Husbandry in Kenya, and MR. K. SARGENT Under-Secretary (Field Services) in the Ministry of Natural Resources in Nyasaland.

MR. PAUL BOMANI, Finance Minister in Tanganyika, who led the Tanganyika delegation to the fifth session in Leopoldville of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, was elected vice-chairman.

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, was the guest at luncheon last week of SIR JAMES ROBERTSON, chairman of the Royal Overseas League, and members of its central council.

MR. J. A. MHAVILE, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Communications, Power and Works in Tanganyika, has arrived in Cairo for a visit of about a fortnight in connexion with a railway conference.

MR. KANYAMA CHIUME, Nyasaland Minister of Education, Social Development and Information, and MR. HENRY CHIPEMBE, Minister of Local Government, will fly next week to the United States for a two months' visit.

DR. H. H. EVERS, of the scientific staff of British American Tobacco Co., Ltd., from 1927 until his retirement last year, has arrived in Salisbury to take up duty as the first director of the new Elia Salzman tobacco research institute.

MR. W. LIONEL FRASER is to resign the chairmanship of Trans Europe Investment Trust, Ltd., and MR. CHARLES H. VILLIERS, who has also been interested in African affairs for many years, will succeed him. MR. FRASER is also resigning the chairmanship of Broadstone Investment Trust, Ltd.

MR. A. G. T. CARTER has been appointed Acting Director of the East African Statistical Department, MR. L. W. CLARKE having left to take up a post in Iran under the United Nations. The Acting Deputy Director is MISS O. JONES, the first woman to hold the appointment. She is a B.A. of the University College of North Wales.

ALHAJ TEWA SAIDI TEWA, Minister for Lands, Forests and Wildlife in Tanganyika, and MR. J. W. L. MAKINDA, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry, are spending nearly a fortnight in Kenya to study land tenure and consolidation matters and to visit some of the game reserves with MR. ARVIND JAMIDAR, Kenya's Minister for Tourism, Forests and Wildlife.

THE RT. REV. L. C. USHER-WILSON, Bishop of Mbale, Uganda, has consecrated the first part of the new Cathedral of St. Andrew. The BISHOP OF CENTRAL TANGANYIKA preached the sermon, and the ARCHBISHOP OF UGANDA gave the primatial blessing. Nearly every cathedral in England sent a stone from its fabric for incorporation in the new building, the gift from St. Albans being a Roman tile thought to have been made about the time of CHRIST.

MR. GODFREY BINAISA, Uganda's Attorney-General, who is also an official in the Buganda branch of the Uganda Peoples Congress, has stated that his party will no longer "kneel to the Kabaka Yekka" party and does not need its further support. That contention, which was echoed by the branch chairman, MR. PAULO MUWANGA, has been rejected as unrepresentative of the views of the (Coalition) Government, the U.P.C. Parliamentary group and the party's national executive, by the Acting Prime Minister, MR. FELIX ONAMA.

MR. LESLIE T. C. CARLIN, of Abercorn, and MR. LESLIE MITCHELMORE of Ndola, are at present in London.

MRS. INGA THORSSON, adviser on international assistance projects in education to the Swedish Foreign Affairs Ministry, has been visiting East Africa.

MR. SERAPHINO ANTÃO, Kenya's Goan sprinter, has been chosen "Africa's greatest amateur sportsman of 1962" by the Helms World Trophy panel in Los Angeles.

SIR RICHARD WOODLEY, chairman of the governing council of the Kenya Cultural Centre, has said that lack of money may cause the closure of the National Theatre in Nairobi.

MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES HARRINGTON, who commanded the 49th Independent Infantry Brigade in East Africa in 1955-56, has been appointed Commander-in-Chief to the Middle East.

When MR. PAUL NGEI was received by the Governor of Kenya, MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, he asked that his African Peoples' Party should be recognized as a national political party and be consulted on the country's future.

MR. SORI COULIBALY, of Mali, has been elected chairman of the U.N. special "anti-colonial" committee, which has enlarged its membership from 17 to 24. Ethiopia and Tanganyika are among the countries represented.

MR. SALVADOR DALL, the painter, said in New York recently that he hoped to have a Coptic marriage in Ethiopia to his Russian-born wife, whom he married in a civil ceremony in Paris in 1935 and again in a Catholic marriage in 1958.

MR. ALAN HARRIS of Bulawayo, Rhodesian motor-cycling champion last year, has arrived in London to prepare for entry as a professional into world-class events in this country and on the Continent when the racing season opens next month.

When opening the new £200,000 headquarters in Nairobi of the Coffee Board of Kenya and the Kenya Coffee Marketing Board, MAJOR C. M. TAYLOR recalled that when he began coffee growing in 1909 Kenya exported 9½ tons. This year's estimate is 38,000 tons.

MR. D. MACDONALD, a retired octogenarian farmer in Kenya, who sold his farm at Ndalat, near Eldoret, on condition that he be allowed to remain there for the rest of his life, has since purchased a plot on the 6,000-acre smallholder scheme there for Nandi tribesmen following the re-sale of his land to the Government, who have acceded to his request.

SIR RICHARD COSTAIN and MR. R. M. TAYLOR, of Richard Costain (Africa), Ltd., contractors for Lilanda housing estate, Lusaka, visited Northern Rhodesia a few days ago. The Costain group and the Chartered Company are partners in developing the estate, which offers Africans freehold houses costing between £960 and £1,245 payable over 25 years.

MR. RICHARD CHIKOSI, a 40-year-old African journalist, has joined the staff of the British Information Services in Salisbury, as assistant information officer. For several years he was headmaster of the Methodist Church School in Umtali, and since 1957 had been on the staff of African Newspapers, Ltd., of Southern Rhodesia, first as a reporter and latterly as an editor.

SIR CHARLES H. HARTWELL is chairman of the board of inquiry appointed by MR. R. C. KAMANGA, Minister of Labour and Mines in Northern Rhodesia, to investigate a dispute at the Mufulira copper mine. The other members of the board are Messrs J. D. JOHNSON, general manager (mining) of Rhokana Corporation, MR. J. H. RITCHIE, an official of the Roan branch of the Northern Rhodesia Mineworkers' Union and MR. R. C. P. ELGOOD, a Government labour officer, who is secretary to the board.

Obituary

LADY LE GROS CLARK, wife of SIR WILFRID LE GROS CLARK, has died suddenly.

LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. D. FAITHFUL, O.B.E., R.A.S.C. (Retd.), formerly of Kenya, has died in England, aged 66.

MR. LEONARD MACINTYRE ELLIS, of Arundel, Sussex, has died in Kampala at the age of 86 while visiting Uganda.

MRS. CONSTANCE PATERSON, widow of COLONEL STANLEY PATERSON, C.B.E., died in London last Thursday after a long illness.

MR. H. F. BARGMAN, widely known in East Africa as "Bargie", has died in England in his 80th year. A memoir will appear next week.

LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN CULLEN ("IAN"), MACKINNON, whose death in Kenya is announced, was born in the Colony in 1910. At one time he commanded the 4th Bn. The King's African Rifles.

MRS. M. R. L. SHARPE, who has died in Uganda, had recently completed a translation of the Prayer Book into Lwo. She was the wife of the principal of a Church training college in the diocese of Northern Uganda.

MR. ALBERT BOLTON COOLEY, who has died in Kenya, had lived in the Colony since 1913. He served in the Intelligence Corps in the "German East" campaign of the 1914-18 war, and later bought the seed business in Nairobi of Simpson and Whitelaw, Ltd. He sold it some years ago.

SIR HARRY LINDSAY, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., who died on Saturday, aged 81, was from late 1934 until 1954 Director of the Imperial (now Commonwealth) Institute. During that time he visited East Africa. He had served on the councils of the Royal Empire Society and the Royal Society of Arts and as president of the Royal Geographical Society. He was the author of a privately printed book of devotional verse.

MR. ARTHUR EDWARD FERROUR SELFE, M.C., who has died in England, retired from Kenya only a few months ago after 41 years in the Colony. He served in the 1914-18 war in the Artists Rifles, the Bedfordshire Regiment, and the Coldstream Guards, in which he was a captain when he was awarded the M.C. in 1917. In the last war he served in the East African Ordnance Corps. He founded the Nakuru branches of the Royal Society of St. George and of the Over-Seas League, and Mrs. Selfe, who had acted in London in Sir John Martin Harvey's company, had been prominent in the work of the East Africa Women's League, the Girl Guides, and other societies. When they left Kenya they gave their home to Nakuru County Council for a museum and game sanctuary.

RAS BITWODED MAKONNEN ENDELKACHEW, who has died at the age of 71, married Princess Tichacha Worq, a niece of the Emperor, and before the Italian invasion of 1936 he had been governor of Addis Ababa, Minister of Education, and Ethiopian Minister in London. When the Emperor visited London in 1924 he was made an honorary O.B.E. In the struggle with the Italians he led guerrilla forces with courage, success and pertinacity, and after the restoration of the Emperor he became successively Minister of the Interior, President of the Council of Ministers, and Prime Minister. When he relinquished that office in 1957 he was given the highest Ethiopian title, that of Ras Bitwoded, and made President of the Senate. He retired from that appointment in 1961. His son, Lij Endelkachew Makonnen, had come to London as Ambassador in the previous year; he is now Minister of Commerce and Industry.

Serious Security Dangers in Kenya

■ Britain "Just Keeping Fingers Crossed"

MANY EUROPEANS are prepared to risk staying in Kenya but feel they are being abandoned by the British Government despite its frequent assurances in past years. Mr. H. McAllan, vice-chairman of the Convention of Associations, said on Tuesday after he and the chairman, Mr. C. Oates, had a meeting with the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Duncan Sandys, who returned to Nairobi from Uganda on Monday for final talks with the Kenya Council of Ministers before announcing the date for elections later this year.

"We were not encouraged by the interview", Mr. McAllan continued. "There seems to be a complete lack of willingness to understand the very serious security dangers which exist in Kenya today and which may be accentuated by independence. The British Government is just keeping its fingers crossed and hoping for the best".

The Convention has asked that African resettlement on European farms be expedited, and complained that both European settlers wishing to leave the Colony and African would-be buyers were being handicapped by lack of adequate funds from the Land Bank.

Zanzibar Self-Government

Before leaving Zanzibar for Dar es Salaam last week Mr. Sandys said that "as soon as the Government of Zanzibar inform me when elections can be held, the British Government will take the decision on the date of internal self-government and final preparations for independence, which, if peace and good order are preserved, should follow soon thereafter.

"We have no wish to delay Zanzibar's independence by a single day longer than is avoidable. Britain wishes to see Zanzibar as soon as possible take her place and play her full part among the free and sovereign nations of East Africa. We have absolutely no interest in prolonging the British Protectorate. The sooner we can honourably be relieved of our administrative, military and financial obligations, the better we shall be pleased. But we feel that after all these years we have a duty to the people of Zanzibar to make sure as far as possible that the transfer of power is effected in a smooth, peaceful fashion".

There was no administrative reason why internal self-government could not be granted within a very few months, but the advance towards independence had been delayed by differences between the main parties, particularly on whether fresh elections should precede or follow self-government. Expatriate officers from the mainland would be seconded to supervise the elections.

The governing Zanzibar Nationalist Party, with its small coalition partner, the Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples Party, issued a statement promising all possible co-operation to facilitate the expedition of elections, but complained that Mr. Sandys had not granted their demand for independence this year, a date for which it was most important for the British Government to fix without further delay.

The Opposition Afro-Shirazi Party said that the Colonial Secretary had missed the main point that an election must be held before self-government. He was being "deliberately ambiguous and confusing".

Arab "Colonialism"

An A.S.P. memorandum presented to Mr. Sandys a day earlier had asked for elections on July 1 with independence by September 30 this year. Outside supervision of the elections was requested in order to make sure that "this time all the electoral arrangements are fair and above board".

Under the Z.N.P. administrative posts were, it said, being "Arabized" to maintain the supremacy of the Arabs under the guise of "Zanzibarization".

"It would be a great irony of fate that the British, who came to Zanzibar to abolish slavery in the 19th century, did so only to leave political servitude in the mid-20th century", the A.S.P. alleged.

During the one day he spent in Dar es Salaam Mr. Sandys met President Nyerere and the Vice-President, Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, for a "free exchange of views on subjects of mutual interest concerning East Africa and the Commonwealth, together with world affairs".

On arrival in Entebbe next day for talks with the Uganda Government the Minister was greeted by a small demonstra-

tion by the Uganda Peoples' Congress demanding independence for Kenya and Zanzibar and dissolution of the Central African Federation.

The appointment as chairman of the Kenya Central Land Board of General Sir Geoffrey Bourne was cancelled at the week-end because of a decision to reallocate the board's functions between the Central Government and the regional authorities, which means that only a part-time chairman will be needed. The regional authorities will be responsible for selecting African landholders for the settlement schemes on European farms in their areas and in preparing land usage projects in concert with the Central Government. The Land Board will just select and buy the land.

Land Board Powers Reduced

Sir Geoffrey, who was due to fly to Kenya on Monday, said that he was "deeply disappointed" at the sudden reversal both of his plans — he had been prepared to spend the next four years in Kenya and had accordingly relinquished his post as director-general of the British Aluminium Federation and the Aluminium Development Association, which had since been filled — and of the working of the Land Board. On his first visit to the Colony in January, he had been convinced of the need for co-ordinating the various resettlement activities under one body, but now the board had been "carved up" into about three compartments. It had also been somewhat insulated from party changes, but the new arrangements would place land questions "slap back in the political arena".

Lord Delamare, president of the Kenya National Farmers Union, and Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck, leader of the Kenya Coalition Party, regretted the change and dissociated themselves from any attempt to reduce the board's powers. "We have been let down on every single subject on which we thought we had reached agreement at Lancaster House", Sir Ferdinand complained. "The Land Board is now going to be of no consequence whatsoever".

The K.A.D.U. leader and Minister, Mr. Ronald Ngala, favoured the new proposals as likely to generate satisfaction and confidence in the regions. K.A.N.U. also expressed their support for the revised plans.

Commonwealth

THE LONDON LETTER of the *Guardian* a few days ago contained this item: "A Londoner boarded a No. 53 bus in Whitehall. The conductor, as usual these days, a West Indian, approached the seat where a poorly-dressed black man was looking up apprehensively. This proved to be an African who mumbled miserably about being a labourer on a building site, being discharged, and having no money. 'Take my name and let me pay later' was the plea. The Barbadian hesitated, then ran off a ninepenny ticket and said: 'Forget it, friend, this is on me'. Observing this incident was a Canadian who moved down the aisle in the wake of the conductor, slipped half a crown in his hand, and said: 'Give the change to our friend there', and stepped off outside Canada House".

New Stamps for Tanganyika

DESIGNS for a new definitive issue of postage stamps for Tanganyika are to be selected from entries submitted by residents of Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar in a competition sponsored by the Ministry of Communications, Power and Works. The themes are to be Tanganyika's tourist attractions (wild life, scenery, and so on), its buildings of historical or archaeological interest, and development efforts based on self-help. Entrants may submit up to 12 designs on each theme in the form of photographs, drawings or paintings. For each adopted design £25 will be paid. Entries must reach the Director (Tanganyika) of the East African Posts and Telecommunications Administration, Box 9070, Dar es Salaam, not later than March 15.

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Kenya Wants £56m. for Development

Proposals of World Bank Mission

RETENTION OF EUROPEAN FARMERS by Kenya is "essential"; in the view of the World Bank Mission whose 270-page report was published in Nairobi last Friday. The Government's views on the recommendations are to be given later.

The report, which suggests a £56m. development programme for the four years 1963/4 to 1966/7, states: "In preparing development programmes for the coming years the Kenya Government starts from a situation of great advantage in that so much has been done. The standards of some services are equal to the best in Africa, and agricultural extension and African education have been greatly expanded in recent years. But an insufficient number of Africans have been trained to assume major rôles in economic life.

"During the next few years emphasis should be placed on improving African farming in the non-scheduled areas to provide the expansion of production to support all other forms of development, and on secondary and specialist education to train the manpower to replace expatriates in the future. Expansion of manufacturing should also be encouraged.

"But Kenya's greatest immediate advantages lie in agriculture, and it is critically important that present production, particularly in the scheduled areas, should continue.

"To attain these aims the retention of the services of many expatriates is essential, but the prospect for doing so is uncertain. The market outlook for many of Kenya's exports is also unfavourable and may restrict the possibilities for expanding incomes even if output increases. The financial position, especially of the recurrent budget, will limit the Government's development effort.

"At this time of transition to independence Kenya should adopt realistic and stable policies to maintain current pro-

duction and to provide an obviously firm foundation for future expansion".

The report stresses that the next few years will be a period of reconstruction as much as of development and that a considerable effort will be necessary to prevent a run-down of the economy.

Outlining policies likely to establish economic conditions which would promote development, the mission advocates a clear statement of policy toward private investment, including reassurances about interference by the State with private undertakings and freedom to transfer earnings and repatriate original capital. It stresses the need for opportunity to make reasonable profits and advises against tax holidays, which are only one factor in the profit situation.

Quick Returns

The mission recommends a programme of projects which place the main emphasis on quick economic returns, and it counsels restraint in basic and social services.

Communications are regarded as generally adequate for present needs, with the exception of roads for moving agricultural production. It advises against a reconstruction of the Mombasa-Nairobi road until more essential projects have been undertaken. Railway capacity is deemed sufficient for the present, and the report sees no need for major railway development works in the next few years.

Emphasis is placed on the development of secondary education, but the mission advises against a network of technical secondary schools.

Development planning should be the responsibility of a Minister with a central or co-ordinating rôle in the Government; he should maintain close contact with the Ministry of Finance if not located in that Ministry. The need for more consultation and co-ordination in planning with the East African Common Services Organization is stressed.

The report sees no immediate need for a central bank, but recommends progressive development of the East African Currency Board towards that ultimate end. It proposes the appointment of an expert on currency and banking matters to advise the three East African Ministers of Finance and the establishment of an agricultural credit corporation.

Tax Proposals

Budgetary policies, which should be marked by "financial prudence" should be directed to reduce expenditure, raise taxation, and seek external assistance for the revision of specific services.

The mission rejects a general turnover tax. In direct taxation a more progressive structure is recommended at middle levels, as are higher levels of graduated personal tax above the present ceiling of £400. Higher income tax allowances are not advised, but a move towards P.A.Y.E. is suggested.

Increases in customs and excise duties are proposed, together with the restoration of export taxes, but with safeguards against penalizing production for export.

Reimposition of estate duty is advised; a passenger tax on journeys by rail and air is suggested; and also a review of the system of charging for trade licences.

The report favours continuation of the expansion of local government responsibilities and finances, with an increasing proportion of local government receipts coming from local revenues rather than from the Central Government.

Kenya Farmers Trapped

MR. MACONOCHE WELWOOD has said in a letter to the *Economist*: "You may wish to know the latest action taken in London to prevent any market in land outside the one million acre scheme for African settlement. For many years the Kenya Land Bank has operated as a revolving fund, and debts owing to it on mortgage reverted to the fund for further lending to new purchasers when a farm was either sold or the principal paid off by the owner. The British Treasury now insists that all debts to the bank repaid when land is bought by Government in the settlement areas shall revert, not to the bank, but to the British Treasury. This means that virtually no money is available for lending to would-be purchasers of land outside the scheme. The sum involved is relatively small, possibly some £3m., and the intention is clearly to hinder sales of land by European farmers to Africans or others who wish to start farming on larger acreages than are envisaged in the settlement schemes. This may clarify the Governor's optimistic statement at London Airport that 'the majority of farmers will remain to see it through'. Many will do so because they have no choice".



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Katanga Subjugation No Help to Congo Thousands of Armed Gendarmes Still at Large

THE AFRICA CORRESPONDENT of *The Times*, who returned to London from the Congo at the week-end, has described as "ludicrous" the situation whereby the ending of Katanga's secession, previously regarded as indispensable for the unification of the country under the Central Government in Leopoldville, now seems likely to cause the total disintegration of the Congo.

"The military victory scored for the Central Government by the United Nations in January should have been followed by political consolidation. This has not happened, and the honeymoon atmosphere is evaporating with distressing speed".

Personal relations between the Central Government's representative in Elisabethville, Mr. Joseph Ileo, and the Katanga Ministers, led by Mr. Evariste Kimba in President Tshombe's absence, are friendly, but the central and provincial Governments are divided over the U Thant plan for reconciliation.

The Central Government regarded it as a means to end Katanga's secession and now stands firmly by the old *loi fondamentale* and waits for the new Constitution to be ratified; this means in practice that, though the Katangese Government is recognized, efforts are being made to reduce its power to vanishing point. The Katangan Ministers maintain that they accepted the Thant plan on the understanding that it would serve as an interim Constitution.

Incompetence of Notional Control

"The Central Government's approach would be justified only if it were capable of administering Katanga as efficiently as the Katanga Government did before. It is manifestly not capable of doing so. Indeed, its hold on various areas of the rest of the Congo is so tenuous as to be almost notional.

"The ludicrous situation exists therefore in which the ending of Katanga's secession, which was depicted as the essential step to be taken before the Central Government could get to grips with the grim realities before it, is likely, unless there is a quick change of heart, to bring still nearer the total disintegration of the Congo.

"Further trouble in the shape of pressure to reunite north and south Katanga comes not from Mr. Tshombe but from Mr. Jason Sendwe, leader of the Balubakat Party, who was appointed by the Central Government as its commissioner in Albertville after the creation of the new province (he had been one of the main proponents). The president of north Katanga, Mr. Prosper Mwamba Ilunga, has recently refused to obey his master's voice, and Mr. Sendwe finds himself suddenly deprived of his sphere of influence. He has moved to Elisabethville and forged a close relationship with the South Katanga Government—until the ending of secession his deadly foe.

"The maintenance of law and order in the Elisabethville area presents a difficult problem. Of the two companies of Central Congolese Army troops in the town under the overall command but not in the control of the U.N. area commander, one is almost entirely undisciplined.

"In the bush in South Katanga roam large bands of gendarmes, in uniform and carrying guns but receiving no pay,

who have failed to respond to the call to enrol in the Central Army. Exactly how many they are no one knows, but estimates by the U.N., the Central Government, and the Katanga authorities agree that they are to be counted in thousands, not hundreds.

"Tension has been increased by clashes, resulting in deaths, between Congolese Army soldiers and Katanga police. In Elisabethville the notorious camp of Baluba refugees is full once more with a warlike crowd of tribesmen armed with bicycle-chain coshes. They have made occasional forays to set up road-blocks.

"Perhaps the greatest potential cause of trouble is that the administrative and commercial machinery hovers on the brink of complete breakdown, though the Union Minière mining operations are continuing without trouble.

"If Mr. Sendwe's demand for a reunified Katanga is accepted by the Central Government, a reunited Katanga would be once more potentially a large and powerful economic unit and a constant threat to the weak authority of the Central Government. If his demand is not acceded to, serious trouble can be expected from his Baluba followers. Mr. Sendwe is quite frank about this.

"To complete the confusion, no one is sure what President Tshombe's intentions are. His lieutenants insist that he will return to Elisabethville soon. Other people may maintain that he is a spent force. But the longer the Central Government delays in taking a strong initiative towards a genuine reconciliation, the more readily will the people of Katanga turn towards their own President, who, whatever his shortcomings, certainly does not lack skill in presenting himself to the public. A Tshombe-Sendwe alliance could be more than an embarrassment to Leopoldville".

Mr. Adoula in Belgium

The Central Congolese Prime Minister, Mr. Cyrille Adoula, completed discussions in Brussels with the Belgian Government last week. Three commissions have been set up to arrange for Belgian technical assistance within a framework of multilateral financial aid, to deal with the transfer of shares in Congo concessions previously held by the Belgian Congo administration, and to dispose of other financial settlements. The World Bank plan for the recuperation of the Congo's economy will be the basis for general compensation arrangements.

Before his arrival in Belgium Mr. Adoula had toured Katanga. Baluba tribesmen greeted him enthusiastically in and around Elisabethville, but in some African areas he was booed and cars in his entourage were stoned.

He said that Europeans who felt nostalgic for the "good old days of colonialism and secession" were not needed and could "pack and go".

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EAST AFRICAN AIRWAYS carried 188,241 passengers during 1962, an increase of 8.3%, and the average journey length of 954 miles was 9.2% above the 1961 figure. Cargo traffic at 3,438 tons was only marginally above the previous year's total, but mail at 890 tons showed a rise of 8.5%. Passengers on internal East African services numbered 127,796, an increase of 5.4%, and mail at 571 tons was up to 4.8%; cargo, however, dropped 5.1%. On the international routes of E.A.A. passengers, cargo and mail were all about 15% over the 1961 totals.



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"Experiment" in Central Africa

(Continued from page 570)

to it. The plain fact is that the Government felt it necessary to give these pledges in order to persuade the African politicians to agree to the Federation, and I believe that they gave the pledges in good faith. However, they were too cowardly to admit to the House of Commons that these pledges had been given, because they knew perfectly well that the House would not have given a second reading to the Bill to set up a Federation if it had known that it was setting up something which the Government intended to be unconditionally indissoluble in all circumstances.

The White Paper quotes statements made in the House which emphasized that the Federation was being set up as an experiment; after seven or eight years, if it turned out not to be working properly we could think again about it. Ministers emphasized again and again in the debates that setting up the Federation did not derogate in any way from the powers of H.M. Government or of Parliament. They emphasized that the Protectorate status of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would remain unaffected.

Appalling Moral Standards

"This surely is the answer to the question so naively asked in the White Paper as to why the pledges were kept secret—because the Federation would never have come into existence if the people of all the territories concerned and of this country and if the House of Commons had known that H.M. Government were not attempting an experiment in constitutional co-operation in Central Africa but were intending to create a fact which would be totally irreversible.

"Ministers, not for the first time in the last 11 years, have said one thing in private and another in public. In private they have declared their intention to renounce the sovereign rights vested in this House, and in public they have said nothing about it whatever. They have chosen in the end to honour pledges made in public rather than those made in private.

"What an appalling commentary that is on the moral standards of the Government under which this country has been administered for the last 11 years. Indeed, Sir Roy Welensky pointed out, when commenting on the Government's White Paper, that it was all very well for the Government to argue now that their responsibilities to the inhabitants of Nyasaland demanded that they should allow Nyasaland to secede from the Federation. The plain fact is, as Sir Roy said in Salisbury, that H.M. Government knew in 1953, just as well as they know today, that the overwhelming majority of the population of Nyasaland was as opposed to the Federation then as it is now. My hon. friends welcome the fact that, even though it has taken 10 years, the Government at last are prepared to face the facts in Central Africa.

Noisome Odour

"There is no essential difference in the attitude of the Africans now compared with their attitude 10 years ago. What an appalling commentary that is, not only on the British Government's moral standards but on their political foresight! The way they have behaved in this matter—and we should never have known of the Government's behaviour had it not been for the accident of a situation developing in which Sir Roy Welensky revealed the pledges—is bound to create anxiety about the pledges which Ministers may have made on other occasions on other issues—perhaps at Rambouillet, perhaps in the Bahamas, or perhaps in Brussels.

"Did I hear the First Secretary say 'Nonsense'? If it can happen once it might happen again. I give notice that if, when we take office, we find that other secret pledges have been made by this Government which contradict their public obligations, we shall feel it both our right and our duty to ignore them.

"I pass to the future—although it is difficult to get the stench of this particular episode out of one's nostrils.

"The First Secretary has repeated this afternoon that any solution of the problems of Central Africa must be acceptable to the peoples of the territories. If he takes that view he must surely admit that the Federation is dead. Nyasaland has already been promised independence and is prepared to face the economic consequences.

"The people of Northern Rhodesia—even the small number of them who were permitted to express their view at the last general election—voted 88% for independence and a new Constitution. If the rt. hon. gentleman is prepared to let the people of Nyasaland have independence when they want it, in spite of the economic dangers which certainly that country will incur through independence, he should be doubly ready to concede it to Northern Rhodesia, because, as he knows, Northern Rhodesia has had a net loss of between £5m. and £8m. a year as a result of being in the Federation. She would have nothing but economic gain as a result of leaving it.

"We have the statement of the new Prime Minister of

Southern Rhodesia that there should be 'a clean break now'. There is now unanimity in the elected Governments of all the territories, broken only by Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, who was elected by 10,000 votes out of nine million, the leader of a party which has been rejected by Europeans and Africans alike in every territory over which he claims authority. Surely the First Secretary, if he is prepared to act on the principle which he has put to us today, must accept this verdict and not continue this dithering and shilly-shallying. Delay can only increase the risk of violence on the spot and do nothing to make the inevitable decision more palatable to his own back-benchers.

"It seems absolutely absurd from the First Secretary's speech today that he should continue this delay. It is ridiculous that the Government of Nyasaland should be negotiating with the phantom Government of Sir Roy Welensky about its relations with the Federation which everyone knows is doomed when it secedes. How much better to accept Mr. Winston Field's advice and allow the three Governments now to discuss with one another as independent countries the disposal of the assets of this constitutional corpse. The longer the rt. hon. gentleman delays in taking this long overdue decision the more danger he has of an abuse of power by the Federal authorities.

"He referred to the shocking case of Dr. Ranger, who after six years' service to the peoples of Central Africa as a lecturer at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has been declared a prohibited immigrant. I am speaking of a man whose devotion to the area has been so great that he applied for citizenship almost as soon as he arrived in 1957, a man against whom no charge has been laid. He has been declared a danger to the security of the Federation simply because he is a nuisance to Sir Roy Welensky and because he chose to exercise his legal right to be a member of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union when it was a legal organization.

Federation A "Fiction"

"His university has protested against his expulsion. This man is not a Communist. He is not even a Labourite. I understand that he is a supporter of the party opposite; and all credit to him for the courage he, like a few hon. Members opposite, has shown in pursuing the genuine ideal of racial co-operation in Central Africa rather than a false one. The only complaint against Dr. Ranger is that he tried to bridge the gulf between the races and that he was successful. The African people of Southern Rhodesia went to bid Dr. Ranger farewell at the airport when he left for Tanganyika, Mr. Nkomo offered to admit him as soon as an African majority holds power in that State.

"There is no real case whatever to continue with this fiction of the Federation. If the First Secretary is sincere—as I am sure he is—in saying that he wants to save as much as possible in the economic field from the wreck of the Federation, I beg him to accept that the only chance of saving anything is to declare the right of secession for Northern Rhodesia now. There is no chance of any serious discussion taking place between the African Government in Northern Rhodesia and the Government in Southern Rhodesia until the Federation is absolutely out of the way.

"There is no chance of rapid progress in Northern Rhodesia until that territory is given a Constitution to replace the trick Constitution which has two years late performed unexpectedly its only real function, which was to allow an African majority to scrape into the Legislative Council in Lusaka.

Delay Will Raise Tension

"Further delay increases the danger of terrorism, of tension between the Africans. The rt. hon. gentleman has not the slightest desire to see a situation develop in Northern Rhodesia as unhappily faces us in Kenya. The best guarantee against that situation developing is to give Northern Rhodesia a Constitution now which will allow the true weight of African opinion to be expressed in the Legislative Council. Is there any chance of the authorities in Barotseland acceding to the wishes for constitutional reform which the Minister expressed to them?

"The economic future for Northern Rhodesia is bright. One of the most striking developments is the way in which the economic centre of power in the Federation has shifted from Salisbury to Lusaka. The great mining company on whose activities the prosperity of the whole area, not only that of Northern Rhodesia, depends, has so much confidence in the future of Northern Rhodesia that it has given £2m. to improve African housing on the Copperbelt. Northern Rhodesia is much less dependent on Southern Rhodesia now than it was, because the end of secession in Katanga means that if the Southern Rhodesia Government try to throttle Northern Rhodesia's economy by cutting off its sources of energy or preventing the passage of its goods to the outside world there is now an alternative source of electric power,

and there is an alternative route to world trade open to the Government of Northern Rhodesia.

"Economic co-operation between Northern and Southern Rhodesia now depends, first, on the right of secession being immediately acknowledged by H.M. Government, and, secondly, on some prospect of political advance for the African majority in Southern Rhodesia. Sir Edgar Whitehead lost the election not because he was too keen on African advance but because he had not the courage of the convictions which hon. Members opposite had attributed to him. If he had not transferred 3,500 African votes from the old common roll to the B roll he probably would have won a majority. If he had accepted a simple qualification for African voters on the B roll he would have had a number of African representatives who were really representative in the new Parliament in Salisbury and prepared to co-operate with those forces among the Europeans in favour of progress to move Southern Rhodesia in the same direction as Northern Rhodesia. He did not show that courage, and he paid the price when the Rhodesian Front swept him out of power.

Tide of Racial Prejudice

"All of us were surprised at the victory of the Rhodesian Front—by 38,500 votes, 1% of the total population. All of us are puzzled to try to predict the course which Mr. Winston Field is likely to follow.

"I fought alongside Mr. Winston Field in Italy over 20 years ago and I remember him well as an able and courageous soldier and an honourable and straightforward man. I know from talking to African leaders from Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and Southern Rhodesia that they have found him very much easier to work with as a man than they found Sir Edgar Whitehead. They have found him straightforward in his dealings and betraying far less sense of racial superiority than his predecessor as Prime Minister. Many of the things which he has said and done since he has been elected have given some of us at least a spark of hope that he may succeed in moving the European community, which alone he represents, in the direction which Sir Edgar Whitehead may have tried to lead them but certainly failed.

"We have to face the fact, however, that Mr. Field and his Government were elected on a tide of racial prejudice and that there has been a great deterioration in European behaviour towards Africans in Southern Rhodesia since he was elected. Some of the other leaders of the Rhodesian

Front would be much more at home with Dr. Verwoerd than with Sir Edgar Whitehead or with the First Secretary. We all welcome the release of Mr. Nkomo and the Z.A.P.U. leaders who had been even longer in gaol, and also his offer to allow Africans to form a new party.

At the same time we have the deplorable and inexcusable new hanging and flogging Bill. Although some of its more Draconian and barbaric provisions are now likely to be amended, it is still likely to impose a mandatory death sentence for arson except where the accused are pregnant women or youths under 16. It is likely to make a 10-strokes whipping an additional penalty for offences under the Law and Order Maintenance Act. Above all, it is likely to prohibit all public meetings on Sunday, the only day when Africans in the townships find it possible to meet in large numbers.

We note with sorrow that the new Minister of Labour seems determined to keep the minimum African wage at £9 15s. a month, instead of increasing it by 50% as his predecessor intended. We note the shocking insult to the chief African Minister of Northern Rhodesia when Mr. Kaunda was kept under restriction for seven hours at the airport, and the cat-and-mouse treatment of Mr. Nkomo and nine other Z.A.P.U. leaders who are now being tried on trivial charges which would not stand up for five minutes in an English court of law.

Irremediable Complications

"I cannot help feeling that some of these events are due to administrative incompetence rather than design. It seems that neither Mr. Field nor the Minister of Justice knew that Mr. Nkomo was to be arrested or knew of Mr. Kaunda's treatment at the airport. We are sometimes misled into believing that this is a great State analogous with other great States in the European world. We forget that we are talking about a European population of a quarter of a million, with political leaders and standards not very different from those obtaining in cities of that size in Britain.

I suggest that the rt. hon. gentleman should make a public declaration that there will be no independence for Southern Rhodesia until there is majority rule. I could understand though I could not sympathize with his reluctance to make such a statement so long as Sir Edgar Whitehead was in charge. I do not believe that he could ever excuse himself in his own conscience if he took a step in giving independence to a régime such as that which now exists in Salisbury.

If, as a result of an act of the British Government, or, indeed, as the result of an act in defiance of the British Government, the régime in Salisbury becomes independent or declares itself independent, it is certain that there will be set up an African Government of Southern Rhodesia in exile, perhaps in another Commonwealth country in Africa. The right hon. gentleman and all hon. and rt. hon. Members know how irremediably such a development could complicate the problems which we now face in the area.

Outlook for Southern Rhodesia

"Our ability to influence what is happening in Southern Rhodesia is severely limited. As the months pass—this development will take place in months rather than years—it will become painfully apparent to the European population in Southern Rhodesia that their economic survival depends on achieving better relations with their neighbours in Africa and that they can achieve such better relations only if they are prepared to concede to the Africans in Southern Rhodesia the same rights and privileges as Africans have achieved in most other parts of that continent.

Already there is the prospect that an independent Northern Rhodesian Government will end the customs union with Southern Rhodesia and so reduce, if not cut out, 30% of the territory's existing imports. Already European business is moving day by day and week by week from Salisbury to Lusaka. Already private investment is dying away in the territory.

Southern Rhodesia has a national debt of £200m. and has to pay £12m. a year in interest alone, which is nearly 20% of its potential tax revenue. There is certain to be a catastrophic fall in the living standards of the European population unless they can bring themselves to face the fact that it is no longer possible to maintain a privileged status for a tiny minority in any African State. The only alternative to majority rule in Southern Rhodesia is domination by an Afrikaner dictatorship, followed by bloodshed and ultimate defeat for the whole European population.

I do not claim that it will be easy for the Europeans on the spot to face these very unpalatable facts, or for any British Government to persuade them to face these facts, but the First Secretary knows as well as we do on this side of the House what must be done in Central Africa if the peoples of those territories are to have any chance of a peaceful and prosperous future. I pray that even now he will find the courage to do it."

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Company Meeting**National and Grindlays Bank Limited****"A Proud and Vigorous Centenarian"****Year of General Expansion of Business****MR. J. K. MICHIE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS**

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF NATIONAL AND GRINDLAYS BANK, LIMITED, will be held on April 2 at 26 Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

The following is the statement of the Chairman, MR. J. K. MICHIE, circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended December 31, 1962:—

To quote the editor of our quarterly Review, this year makes us "a proud and vigorous centenarian", for on 29th September, 1863, the National Bank of India was registered in Calcutta.

A history of our first hundred years is now being completed by Mr. Geoffrey Tyson, C.I.E., and we are expecting to publish it later this year.

The increases in capital both authorized and issued agreed to by you a year ago are reflected in the balance sheet, which shows a general expansion in our business. Total assets at 31st December last at £277,468,847 are higher by £26,184,257. Profits are £70,457 higher at £714,730, but the increase did not arise from our overseas operations where generally speaking conditions were more difficult than in 1961. The sum of £150,000 has been placed to reserve account. As you see, we have also felt justified in transferring the sum of £387,365 from inner to published reserves, bringing the total of the latter inclusive of share premium account to £5,250,000.

A Centenary Bonus

In accordance with present-day practice we have discontinued making allocations to premises out of published profits but have appropriated a sum for this purpose out of amounts placed to inner reserves.

The half-yearly dividend proposed is unchanged at 7%, making 14% for the year as forecast.

To mark the Centenary of the Bank the directors recommend the payment of a centenary bonus

dividend of 2%, leaving £316,941 to be carried forward to profit and loss account.

On 30th September to celebrate the Centenary date we propose to pay an appropriate bonus to the staff of the Bank.

NATIONAL AND GRINDLAYS FINANCE AND DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION.—The net profit for the year was somewhat higher at £21,348. This sum is being retained in the business, and is reflected in the balance carried forward in the consolidated profit and loss account.

EXPORTERS' REFINANCE CORPORATION.—The Corporation has made an encouraging beginning, but the volume of business accepted is still on a moderate scale.

BOARD.—To replace those members who resigned after the last annual general meeting we have been fortunate in recruiting Sir John Muir, Bt., Mr. G. W. Gemmell and Mr. J. R. Vernède, F.C.A. chairmen of James Finlay & Co., Ltd., Alex. Lawrie & Co., Ltd., and Walter Duncan & Goodricke, Ltd., respectively.

Individually and collectively they have large interests in and great experience of the industries which we help to finance and the territories in which we operate, and I strongly recommend that their appointments be confirmed by you.

India

The economic situation of India and its future policy are overshadowed and dominated by the emergency caused by the recent Chinese invasion of Assam and Ladakh.

It is true that proposals put forward by the "Colombo Conference" for reaching a settlement of the Indo/China border problems are now under discussion and it is to be hoped these will end in success. Nonetheless it would be unrealistic to expect otherwise than that a great deal more of India's resources

will be channelled into expenditure on defence, with a consequent slowing up of development under the third five-year plan, an additional strain on her economy, and a need for further aid to buttress her vulnerable reserves.

I am writing before the publication of the budget but have little doubt that taxation in some form or other will be increased while a deficit budget is being advocated and indeed may well be impossible to avoid. One source of finance the Finance Minister hopes to tap is the large amount of gold held privately in India, variously estimated at from £1,400,000,000 up to £4,000,000,000—a wide variance presumably due to the equally wide difference between the external and internal values. It is now illegal to hold gold except in the form of ornaments, and the price has fallen from its previous level of roughly double the international price but there seems to be no rush to take up Gold Bonds at Rs.62.50 per tola. It is estimated that a cessation of imports by smuggling in itself would save £30,000,000 of foreign exchange per annum.

Mounting Pressures

The Reserve Bank of India rate has recently been raised from 4% to 4½% and the bill discount facilities extended to commercial banks are being both reduced and made more expensive, but with the proviso that they may be expanded in special cases albeit at penal rates. Call money in Calcutta has recently fetched as much as 7% per annum.

Although it will not come into operation until September, 1964, an Act has been passed whereby the proportion of assets which scheduled banks have to hold in Government securities has been substantially increased, and this, failing a very large expansion of deposits, will undoubtedly tend to restrict bank lendings. Meantime the pressure for additional finance by commerce and industry, including many new and necessary projects, continues unabated, and as Government spending increases, and Governments being notoriously slow payers, it seems inevitable that this pressure will mount.

It is therefore somewhat difficult to see how the situation will be met by the banking system, though met it must be.

Pakistan

The State Bank rate has again remained at 4% throughout the year.

"Aid" is a recurrent question and conversations are now in progress in Washington concerning the next two years' requirements under Pakistan's overall plan. The Indus Basin projects are being revised to include the Tarbela Barrage, which would add very materially to the cost.

The jute trade on the whole has had a successful year and the same applies to cotton.

The tea crop was a relatively small one and latterly a ban on exports has been imposed to prevent a shortage for internal consumption.

It has been recently announced that a refinery will be established in East Pakistan with an initial capacity of one million tons of crude oil per annum and it is expected to come into production in 1965. The total cost is estimated at Rs. 7 crores and 70% of the capital will be held by Pakistani investors. A French company Régime Autonome des Pétroles, will be their technical associates.

Industrial expansion generally is progressing well, and the "tax holiday" for new industries has been further extended.

Ceylon

Imports are now being restricted and some improvement in the economic position of the country is evident, aided by the good prices obtained for tea and improved prices for rubber. For the period January/November, 1962, there was a favourable trading balance of Rs.180 millions, against Rs.29 millions in the comparable period of 1961, and an adverse balance of Rs.118 millions in 1960.

The aid which Ceylon normally receives from the United States of America has just been cancelled in consequence of the action of the Government of Ceylon in nationalizing part of the oil selling organizations of American companies without settling terms of compensation.

The outcome will be watched with interest.

Burma

Exports of rice and rice products in 1962 reached approximately 1,800,000 tons, a higher total than expected, and prospects for the present crop are stated to be good, connoting a larger surplus for export.

Recently the Government acquired from their oil company partners the balance of 49% of their holdings in Burma Oil Co. (1954), Ltd., also the oil companies' marketing facilities. Government-sponsored commercial bodies are also steadily acquiring much of the remaining British commercial and industrial assets in the country.

While going to print, information has reached us that all private commercial banks in Burma have been nationalized as from 1 p.m. on Saturday, 23rd February, and officials have been nominated to manage our branch.

It is stated that compensation will be given for fixed assets and for foreign capital brought into Burma, and that settlement will be made within three months.

Aden

The amalgamation of Aden with the Federated States was completed by the signing of a treaty on 17th January of this year, and it is hoped that this will help to expand the general economy on progressive lines.

The revolution in the Yemen has interrupted the normal trade from that country through Aden, but recently there have been signs of its revival.

The expansion of the oil bunkering facilities in the harbour is now under way and when completed will greatly facilitate the handling of ships calling at the port.

Our business is well maintained.

Small Republics

While our operations have been in one way restricted by coming to be bankers to the Government, the general volume of trade continues to develop and this has helped to compensate.

East Africa

Last year it was Uganda's turn to achieve full independence. The official celebrations were held at Entebbe in October, and we were represented by Lord Twining.

This year it is Kenya's opportunity, and it is to be hoped that the joint efforts and wisdom of the Secre-

tary of State, the new Governor Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, and the political parties in Kenya will result in an early election being held and in a peaceful settlement of the present impasse.

One strong reason for a settlement is the need to get the Common Services Organization firmly based and working smoothly, for there can be no question of the necessity for a continuance of this body in the interests of all.

Kenya Land Settlement

European and Asian capital is still leaving the territories but in smaller volume. On the other side of the balance-sheet, in place of last year's floods and droughts weather conditions for crops have been favourable throughout East Africa.

The plans for land resettlement in Kenya are now under way and are meeting with a considerable measure of success, as is progress in the agricultural development areas where *inter alia* an increasing percentage of tea is being planted. Surveys are showing that there is a very large acreage of land suitable for tea in Kenya, and this is likely to be one of the major developments of the future. The planting of coffee is automatically restricted by the international agreement which has allotted definite quantities for export to each subscribing country.

Tanganyika's President, Mr. Nyerere, has recently declared that his country will be a "one party" democracy, an experiment which will be watched with interest. It is at least already proved that countries achieving independence require above all firm and stable governments, and this may well be one method of obtaining that most desirable end. There are also the inevitable consequent risks.

In Zanzibar the political temperature has subsided and the "state of emergency" has been ended. The marketing of the clove crop and stocks is still proving to be a slow process. The 1962/63 crop is a small one of only 5,000 tons, but a much larger one is expected in the current year.

The Rhodesias

The continuing uncertainty about the future Constitutions and "the shape of things to come" in general inevitably affect economic growth and much will depend on Mr. Butler's awaited conclusions. Nevertheless, a considerable favourable trading balance was again achieved in 1962, and recently the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland reduced its discount rate from 5% to 4%.

Our own business continues to make moderate progress.

The Government's Part

This is National Productivity Year, and it is sincerely to be hoped that these three words will be no mere headline but will be translated by co-operation and imagination into fruitful action.

The coming budget should disclose the part the Government are prepared to play taking into account that our long-drawn-out negotiations for entry into the European Common Market have been rendered abortive. A reappraisal by both Government and the N.E.D.C. of our future international economic plans is now imperative. As I mentioned last year, certain Commonwealth Countries — and these included India and Pakistan — were apprehensive about our possible entry not only on economic grounds, and for varied reasons they may well be relieved by the outcome.

However, the pattern of the overseas trade of

Commonwealth countries is steadily changing, in many cases in directions other than towards the United Kingdom, and it will be interesting to see if they or any of them will now be willing to open their doors more widely to British goods in exchange for the relatively free entry into our market. I have my doubts if only because of their own plans for industrialization and export.

It is obvious that the problem will have to be considered on a very wide basis; otherwise it may well be that our "aid" will in future be tied far more than in the past to purchases in this country—where heavy industry is hungry for orders.

Bank Rate

A 4% Bank rate and a fairly firm pound sterling coupled with a considerable amount of money being pumped into the economy by the Chancellor of the Exchequer should result in a revival of trade this spring, but it is exports that we want and must have, not merely home consumption.

So far as this bank is concerned the reduction in the Bank rate will affect our earnings in this country but we hope to improve on last year's overseas results.

Nevertheless, I must draw your attention to the continually mounting costs of providing banking services. Over the past two years these have risen materially throughout our sphere of operations, and had we not been able to increase the volume of our deposits from the public, the results would have been much more apparent and unpalatable. These twin aspects of our business are having the unremitting attention of our general management.

You will have noticed that the larger banks are turning increasingly to automation to deal with the rising volume of paper work. Our own problem is relatively a small one but it has been under close study, and we have decided to instal in London a computer of suitable capacity which primarily will serve our London business but which in due course will be able to cope with a wider field in such ways as storing information gathered from our whole system of branches.

Tribute to Staff

Once again I wish to thank our general manager and his staff throughout the Bank for their unstinted service to the interests of the Bank.

During the year Mr. Gillespie and his colleagues have visited most of the territories in which the Bank operates. The directors too have done their share—Lord Aldington visited Kenya and Uganda; Mr. Owen has just returned from a tour of our Rhodesian branches, while Lord Lloyd is at the time of writing on a comprehensive tour of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon. In the course of business tours Mr. Vermede visited a considerable number of our branches in India, Pakistan and Ceylon, and Sir John Muir made similar visits in Southern Rhodesia.

Advisory Committee

Mr. Wadia is continuously in touch with our management in India, and Lord Twining is on an extended visit to East Africa, where we have established a small advisory committee under his chairmanship.

In September, accompanied by the general manager, I attended the annual meeting of the World Bank and The International Monetary Fund, and thereafter Mr. Gillespie called on our principal correspondent banks on the Eastern Seaboard of the United States and in Montreal and Toronto.

Company Report

The British South Africa Company

Pre-Tax Profits Over £1m. Higher

Provisional Acceptance of Offer From Anglo American Corporation

The Rhodesias Still Primary Field For Investment

Group's Major Contribution To Progress in Central Africa

MR. P. V. EMRYS-EVANS ON COMPANY'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL CHANGES

THE SIXTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY will be held on March 28 at The Chartered Insurance Institute, 20 Aldermanbury, London, E.C.2.

The following is the statement by MR. P. V. EMRYS-EVANS (the President), which has been circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended 30 September, 1962.

During the year the Company has suffered a grievous loss by the death of Lord Robins, the late President.

Lord Robins was the first Rhodes Scholar to come to Oxford from the State of Pennsylvania. After a distinguished military career in the Middle East during the first war he was appointed some years later as general manager of the Company in Southern Africa, with his headquarters in Salisbury, and became resident director on 11 January 1934.

During the 29 years he lived in Rhodesia, and after he returned to this country as Vice-President, and later as President, he gave devoted service to the Company, and the Rhodesias owe him a deep debt of gratitude for the active and energetic support he gave to all good causes. He will be greatly missed in wide circles, both here and in Central Africa, and particularly by his colleagues on the board.

The Hon. H. V. Smith has joined the board, and has been appointed an executive director. His intimate knowledge of African financial and mining problems will be of great value to the Group.

Accounts

The group profit before tax shows an advance of just over £1,000,000 on the previous year. This is reflected in an increase of some £600,000 in mineral revenues and a like increase in income from investments, interests and under-writing commission. The latter increase is due mainly to the receipt of a full year's dividend on the holding acquired during 1961 in Rand Selection Corporation, Limited, in exchange for various South African securities.

Under the heading of "charges" you will note that the item "depreciation and amounts written off" has increased by over £250,000. This is due largely to the writing off of £200,000 from our agricultural and forestry estates, which your directors consider prudent.

The group profit after tax comes out at £8,528,739, an increase of £568,327 over the previous year. After deducting £2,447,554 retained by subsidiaries and paying the interim dividend, your directors now recommend the payment of a final dividend of 5s. 6d. per stock unit or share, less income tax, maintaining the total dividend at 7s. 6. per stock unit or share, the same rate as for the previous year.

We have allocated £2,000,000 to general reserve and reduced the unappropriated profits carried forward by £47,678 to £2,705,873.

Current assets exceed liabilities this year by over £550,000. You will note, however, that the group had outstanding commitments of over £3,900,000.

Investments

The table on page 4 of the report, which sets out the various classes of investments held by the subsidiaries of The British South Africa Company, has been recast this year, in order to give stock-holders a more informative geographical breakdown of the group's investment interests. This table includes the investments of The Rhodesia Railways Trust, Limited, which have hitherto been shown under a separate heading.

The book value of the group's investments has increased by over £3,000,000 and the market value by over £5,200,000.

Although the price of copper has been steady during the year and the industry has continued to expand its capacity, the confused political situation in Northern Rhodesia led to some weakness in the price of copper shares. There has been, however, a welcome recovery since the end of the financial year. On the other hand the gold mining share market was generally firmer throughout the year, and there was a rise in the *Financial Times* gold mining share index of 28% during the period covered by our accounts.

During the year The Consolidated Zinc Corporation, Limited, and the Rio Tinto Company, Limited, merged to form The Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation, Limited. The loan to Consolidated Zinc has now been exchanged for 5½% unsecured loan stock 1966/71 of the new company. The second payment of 25% on the £5,500,000 of this loan stock held by the group was made during the year.

One major change is being made in our investment portfolio. We have received an offer from the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Limited, to exchange our shareholding in New Rhodesia Investments Limited, for shares in the Anglo American Corporation on a basis of 12 shares in Anglo American for 25 shares in New Rhodesia Investments.

This offer is made for the whole capital of New Rhodesia Investments, in which we have a 50% interest, the other 50% being held by Brenthurst Investment Trust, a Company in the E. Oppenheimer & Son Ltd. group. Our partners and we have provisionally accepted the offer, which is made subject to shareholders in the Anglo American Corporation authorizing at an extraordinary general meeting to be held on 15 March, 1963, the issue of the new shares necessary to complete the transaction.

Your board consider this exchange advantageous since Anglo American shares are based on a wider spread of assets than those of New Rhodesia Investments. Moreover, we shall receive a quoted for an unquoted security.

The boards of the three companies concerned are of the opinion that the basis on which the shares are to be exchanged is equitable; but in view of the close association between the parties it was thought advisable to obtain an independent opinion on the proposed terms. Morgan Grenfell & Co., Ltd., were accordingly asked to examine the proposals, and they have now advised that, in their opinion, the terms of the deal are fair and reasonable and to the advantage of all three companies.

The negotiations for the projected land investment in Western Canada, to which the President referred last year, have been terminated. We explored the possibility of making a long-term investment in partnership with a British group with long experience in estate development in Canada, but before the negotiations were completed we came to the conclusion that the investment was not going to provide us with what we considered an adequate return on the funds involved. It was with great regret that we decided to break off this connexion. We still have our interest in Coniarum Holdings Limited, a Toronto company, and are considering other proposals. If, however, any investment is made through Coniarum it will not be on the same scale as that originally contemplated for the Western Canada project.

There has been no change in the investment policy of the group. The Rhodesias are, and continue to be, the primary field for its activities, and this has always been so since its formation. In considering new ventures the board has always been guided by this tradition.

In Southern Rhodesia the group has a variety of interests, ranging over such diverse enterprises as milling, baking, forestry, estates, iron and steel, and ferrochrome. In Northern Rhodesia, however, apart from the great copper industry, the field for investment by the private sector has so far been limited, although the group has valuable interests in milling, baking, real estate and cement manufacturing.

Some three-quarters of the group's investments, including those in property, are in Africa, mainly in the Northern Rhodesia copper mines and African mining finance companies.

The investments which the group holds outside Africa, though small compared with its total resources, are nevertheless of considerable importance, and the connexions which have been formed as a result of these outside holdings have undoubtedly strengthened the position of the group, and may very well facilitate future development in the Rhodesias. I regard these investments as "bread upon the waters".

The Search for Profitable Business

The board is anxious to find sound and profitable business in either of the Rhodesias. It is not, however, always possible to find enterprises which fulfil these conditions, and to invest in failures would bring lack of confidence, which in turn would make it difficult to raise funds for projects which deserve support. It has been said with truth that the overseas trade, financial, commercial and industrial, of this country was built up on "one success and a thousand forgotten bankruptcies".

The development of under-developed territories is a delicate operation, and is never such an easy task as it appears to the inexperienced. The resources must be available and investors must be convinced that a project is not only practical but profitable. This type of

operation, moreover, requires the creation of an administration and communications and it alone makes possible the establishment of a modern State, whose resources can be made productive only in peace and security.

If these things are necessary for the success of new enterprises in distant parts of the world, and this, I think, is undeniable, then the group has made and is making a major contribution to the progress in Central Africa. It is easy to forget past services and fail to appreciate new ones, and prosperity often softens in retrospect the harsh realities of work done in long, unprofitable years.

The board has long been considering ways in which it would be found possible to improve the conditions of the African people in Northern Rhodesia. It is normally unnecessary for private concerns to engage in enterprises which are usually the function of Government.

£2m. Loan for African Housing

Some time ago, however, the Northern Rhodesia Government approached the group and asked if it was prepared to make some funds available to help in the development of the country. The Government's approach gave the board an opportunity of putting forward its ideas of the most useful way of making a contribution. It was decided to offer the Northern Rhodesia Government a loan of £2,000,000, to be subscribed over a period of three years, for improving African housing in the territory. I am glad to say that the new Northern Rhodesia Government has welcomed our offer. The group will thus be able to make an important contribution to the social problem created by the shortage of modern African housing in Northern Rhodesia.

On the initiative of the Company the International Finance Corporation, a subsidiary of the World Bank, was asked to examine conditions in Northern Rhodesia in order to make recommendations regarding the organization of the industrial development of the territory. After their representative had visited Northern Rhodesia they recommended that the Northern Rhodesia Industrial Development Corporation should be expanded for the purpose of financing future development. They further advised that the Corporation should be as broadly based as possible, with the Government taking a minority share in the equity capital. Our group has offered to invest £100,000 in the capital of this Corporation.

Apart from the investment in the Northern Rhodesia Industrial Development Corporation, we intend ourselves to set up the Charter Finance and Investment Company of Northern Rhodesia, Limited, which will manage certain of our existing Northern Rhodesia interests and serve as a convenient channel for future investment in the territory. Our resident director, Sir Frederick Crawford, will be chairman of the new company, and our general manager, Mr. E. S. Newson, will be a member of the board; the other directors will be resident in Northern Rhodesia. It is hoped in this way to take full advantage of any opportunities that present themselves for profitable investment in the territory.

In January the group engaged the services of Mr. A. M. Bensusan as a consulting mining engineer to undertake a survey under the general direction of our resident mining engineer of the smaller mineral occurrences in Northern Rhodesia. This survey, which has the full support of the major mining interests in Northern Rhodesia, is being made to see whether any of the territory's known smaller mineral occurrences can be profitably exploited by the small worker, particularly the African, so as to create new employment oppor-

tunities and to make a further contribution to the Northern Rhodesia economy.

We have decided under the terms of our Charter to establish a Local Board in Rhodesia under the chairmanship of the resident director. Our aim here is to provide a greater degree of autonomy for our local management.

In view of the new activities of the group in Northern Rhodesia and in accord with the spirit of the times, it has been decided to strengthen the group's representation in Northern Rhodesia, and Mr. C. P. S. Allen, C.M.G., M.V.O., O.B.E. will be appointed as local director in Northern Rhodesia and will become a member of the above local board. Mr. Allen, who has had a long and distinguished career in the Colonial Service, during which he was seconded for a period to the British Embassy in Washington, was until recently Permanent Under-Secretary of State to the Prime Minister of Uganda. He will take up his appointment in Lusaka early in July.

Mining and Prospecting

The programme of expansion at Mufulira West was completed during the year, and has thereby increased the capacity of the industry by 50,000 tons per annum, and so, despite voluntary curtailment of output and strikes, the production of copper during the year increased to a record 565,000 tons, compared with 537,000 tons in the previous year.

Plans have been made for the opening up of the Chambishi Mine. The first stage is estimated to cost £7,000,000 and to produce 25,000 tons of copper a year. The group will take up its share in this new mining development. Elsewhere in the copper mines capital expenditure continues in order to increase the efficiency of the mines, and Bancroft is engaged in a programme to raise production to 63,000 tons a year.

Mining revenue, after paying £2,680,000 to the Northern Rhodesia Government and £4,289,000 in local taxation, increased in round figures from £6,258,000 in 1961 to £6,619,000 in 1962. Producers have agreed as from 1st July, 1962, to a voluntary reduction in production or sales of 15 per cent. from rated capacity, and consequently we should expect some fall in mineral revenue during the current year.

Last year my predecessor quoted some figures to show that a large proportion of the group's mineral revenue remained in the Rhodesias. There still remains, however, much ill-informed criticism of the group's alleged policy of removing large sums of money from the country while being unwilling to invest in its development. This kind of criticism is particularly rife in Northern Rhodesia, and it may be useful if I give some figures to show what we have actually done.

Investments in Northern Rhodesia

During the past ten years the group has invested in Northern Rhodesia alone over £10 million, or an average of over £1 million a year. In arriving at this figure our loan to Kariba has been arbitrarily apportioned as half to Northern Rhodesia and half to Southern Rhodesia. Apart from the Kariba loan, the figure I have given above includes our participation in new copper ventures, in new moneys raised by existing copper companies, in commercial ventures, and in playing our part in mineral prospecting on which we and our partners have spent about £900,000 in the last year.

In Northern Rhodesia nothing could be more beneficial to the country than the discovery of a new mine or a new mining area. The Company and its friends are very much alive to the importance of these considerations. So far the considerable expenditure of the

group on prospecting has not brought success, and there is no indication that there is another great mining field, but the work will continue until the whole area over which the Company has rights has been fully examined.

Estates

It was a disappointing year for our estates. A long drought during the rainy season reduced the expected yield of maize and affected the quality of the tobacco leaf. The planting programme at the Mazoe Citrus Estate was continued and 36,000 orange and lemon trees were planted during the year. The number of acres under afforestation at Charter Forest Estates was increased by 5,000 acres to 21,000 acres.

Constitutional and Political

During the last year there have been changes in all the three constituent members of the Federation. Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has promised Nyasaland secession and its independence; there is an African majority in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council; and in Southern Rhodesia the Government of Sir Edgar Whitehead has been replaced by a Government of the Rhodesian Front under Mr. Winston Field.

As I write this we now await the results of Mr. Butler's conversations with Sir Roy Welensky and the leaders of the other Governments, and at this stage it would be idle to speculate on the future in Central Africa.

This, nevertheless, is a convenient time to set forth the attitude of the Company towards this experiment in multi-racialism and the attempt to bring together in Central Africa three separate territories. The board has never concealed its view that if a multi-racial State could have been successfully established, something would have been achieved which might well have made the Rhodesias the centre of progressive thought and action. It would, they hoped, have improved race relations and given the Federation an influence far beyond its borders, while at the same time stimulating the economic development of the country.

Whatever view may be taken of the political results, there can be no doubt that financially and economically the Federation has been a success. In its early days the confidence which it created in the world attracted capital, and the impetus it gave to business and to new enterprises made it a favourite field for the investor.

Federation

Without Federation much which has been done could not have been carried out. The Kariba Dam, for example, perhaps its most spectacular single accomplishment, would not have got the necessary finance, nor indeed would the will and the capacity to carry out such a project have been there. The spirit of adventure was abroad.

In the eight years 1954 to 1961 inclusive, gross investment in the Federal area, which includes provisions for depreciation, exceeded £1,000 million, whilst net capital investment, comprising net domestic savings and imported capital, exceeded £500 million. The national income rose from £307 million in 1954 to £474 million in 1961, while wages and salaries increased from £148 million to £250 million.

It is not only on the economic and financial side of the life of the nation that expansion has left its mark. The creation of a multi-racial university is an important advance in education and will it is hoped provide trained men who will be able to take their place in the professions and in business. Towards this great edu-

educational enterprise the Company has made a substantial contribution, as it has made to many others.

Since the Company ceased to govern, its activities have been financial and economic. It was because the board foresaw the great economic advantages of Federation that it has been a supporter of an experiment which fulfilled its hopes in that field.

Because of the great and undoubted economic benefits that the Federation has brought about in Central Africa it must be the concern of those who shape the future that the peoples of these lands should not lose the benefits of the past. A way must be found to continue the general improvement in the standard of living.

These territories of Central Africa will need all the capital they can attract, both from international insti-

tutions and from the private sector, as well as from internal savings. Northern Rhodesia, more perhaps than any other country in Africa, is dependent by the nature of its economy on external finance for the continuance of its remarkable development.

It will be in the interests of all the peoples of these territories for the new Governments to show by their active support that they welcome the co-operation of capital. The British South Africa Company has a very large stake in these territories and has no intention of withdrawing. It has assured the new Governments of its desire to work in close and harmonious association with them as with their predecessors. It will be the Group's policy to continue and expand its activities and to evolve with the rapid changes taking place in this part of Africa.

The British South Africa Company

Group Profit After Tax £8½m.

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY, of which the issued capital is just under £13.5m. in units of 15s., reports group profit to the year ended September 30 after tax at £8,528,739, compared with £7,960,412 in the previous year. £2.4m. is retained by subsidiaries, leaving the parent company a profit of just over £6m. In the previous year it was £7.1m., but then subsidiaries retained only £825,779. Dividends totalling 7s. 6d. are repeated, taking rather more than £4.1m. The general reserve is increased by £2m. to £25m., and the carry-forward is £2.7m.

Investments standing in the books at £47.2m. have a market value of £57.6m.; mineral rights, estates, township plots, and other fixed assets appear at £5.9m. and current assets less current liabilities at £557,978. Capital reserves amount to £5.7m. and revenue reserves to £33.3m.

There are seven subsidiaries registered in the United Kingdom (including Rhodesia Railways Trust, Ltd., Cecil Investments, Ltd., and Cecil Holdings, Ltd.), five registered in Southern Rhodesia, and one in Canada.

Mr. P. V. Emrys-Evans is the president, and the other directors are Viscount Malvern, Sir Keith Acutt, Sir Frederick Crawford, Sir Charles Hambro, and Messrs. Robert Annan, M. F. Berry, L. F. A. d'Erlanger, H. St. L. Grenfell, H. F. Oppenheimer, W. M. Robson, and the Hon. H. V. Smith.

The chairman's annual review appears on other pages.

Consolidated Mines Selection

THE CONSOLIDATED MINES SELECTION CO., LTD., which has large interests in the Federation, has undergone such changes that no real comparison can be made between the results for 1962 and 1961, for in February of last year assets worth about £10.6m. were acquired for shares in the company, the issued capital of which was more than trebled, rising from £1.2m. to £3,748,519.

Share interests in investment-holding subsidiaries are up from £240,000 to almost £11m., and other investments from just over £2m. to more than £4.6m. Current assets less current liabilities appear at £3,884, whereas in the previous year current liabilities had been about £200,000 above current assets. There is outstanding a 6½% convertible debenture stock issue totalling £3m. Revenue reserves exceed £12.5m. (£2m.) and capital reserves by way of share premiums total £8,341,690 (£419,378).

Income from investments rose from £384,219 to rather more than £5m. and profit after tax from £330,311 to £964,941. Dividends of 25% take £823,992, and the carry-forward is £210,513 (£69,564). The general reserve is increased by £250,000.

Sir Keith Acutt is the chairman, and the other members of the board are Lord Balfour of Inchrye and Messrs. E. C. Baring, W. E. Groves, J. O. Hambro, A. E. Leveson, E. D. McDermott, P. J. Oppenheimer, R. H. Oppenheimer, and the Hon. H. V. Smith.

There is a local committee in the Federation of Messrs. P. H. A. Brownrigg, I. M. Cowan, N. K. Kinkead-Weeks, and D. G. Nicholson.

British Central Africa Company

Tea Price Reduces Profit

THE BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA CO., LTD., reports consolidated profit after tax for the year ended September 30 at £47,078, against £108,502 in the previous year, the main cause of the decrease being the fall in the price of tea, the average realized being 29.76d. per lb. against 39.45d. Output was maintained, being 3,013,224 lb. as compared with 3,032,081 lb. in 1961. Tea sales, which had produced £189,156 in the previous year, realized only £98,045 last year. Dividends of 15% require £41,206, and the carry-forward is £54,432 (£53,560).

The issued capital of the parent company is £448,500. Fixed assets total £518,266, interests in the subsidiary company stand at £23,513, and current assets less current liabilities amount to £364,029.

The report gives a 10-year survey, in which period the area planted to tea has increased from 1,860 to 2,863 acres and the output of made tea has almost exactly doubled. The issued capital has risen from £260,000 to nearly £449,000, reserves are up from £320,000 to £492,000, and fixed and net current assets have increased from £580,000 to £941,000.

The directors are Mr. Donald C. Brook (chairman), Mr. Vivian L. Oury (deputy chairman), Sir John Huggins, Mr. G. S. Napier-Ford, and Messrs. A. H. Ball and R. W. Rowland, who were appointed additional directors in February. Mr. Oury and Sir John Huggins do not seek re-election, and each is to receive a retirement payment of £2,500; the former has been a director for 24 years and the latter for nine.

The Hon. A. I. B. Ogilvy is to be proposed as a director at the annual meeting on March 21, in consequence of the acquisition of a substantial holding in the company by the London and Rhodesian Mining and Land group.

East African Sisal Plantations

EAST AFRICAN SISAL PLANTATIONS, LTD., reports a loss for the year to June 30 after providing rather more than £30,000 for amortization and depreciation of £12,728, compared with a profit in the previous year of £10,387, subject to taxation of £285. The carry-forward is £44,926 (£57,439).

The issued capital is £228,000. Fixed assets stand in the books at £359,530, the freehold estates in Tanganyika being valued at £167,319, buildings at £99,414, plant and machinery at £72,650, and planted areas at £20,147. Investments have a market value of £12,825, and bank balances amount to £13,129. Current liabilities amount to £14,412 and sundry debtors to £13,253.

The adverse results were due mainly to five months of rains and floods, which caused a drop of 40% in production, and partly to the low price of sisal during the first half of the year. Output amounted to 1,700 tons, against 1,901 tons in the previous year. During the first four months of the current year output was 836 tons, against 645 tons in the corresponding period of 1961. The price of sisal has also risen sharply.

Uganda Company

THE UGANDA CO., LTD., reports that in the year ended August 31 net profit after tax amounted to £328,574, compared with £223,667 in the previous year, the sharp increase being primarily due to the recovery of £102,712 in tax in Uganda. Dividends again total 10%, taking £146,095. The annual meeting will be held in London on April 9. Earl De La Warr is the chairman.



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