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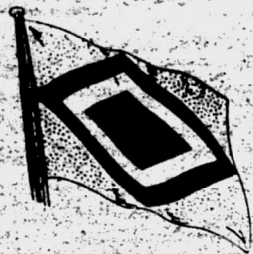
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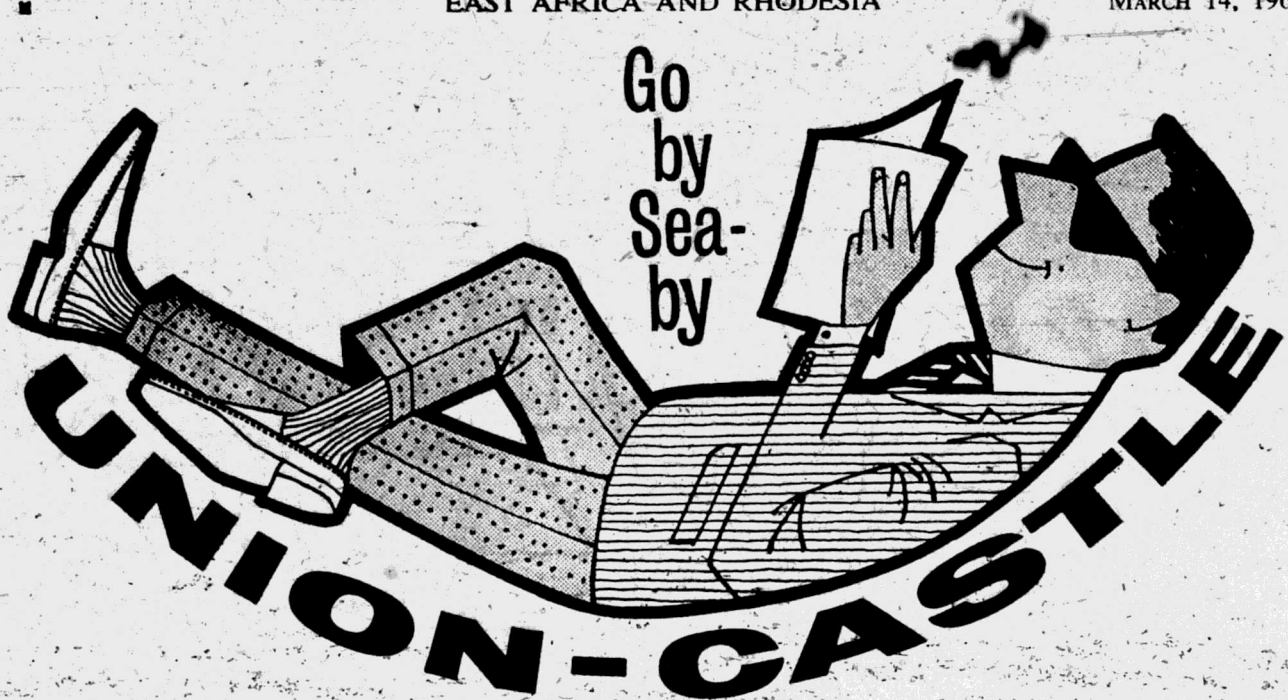
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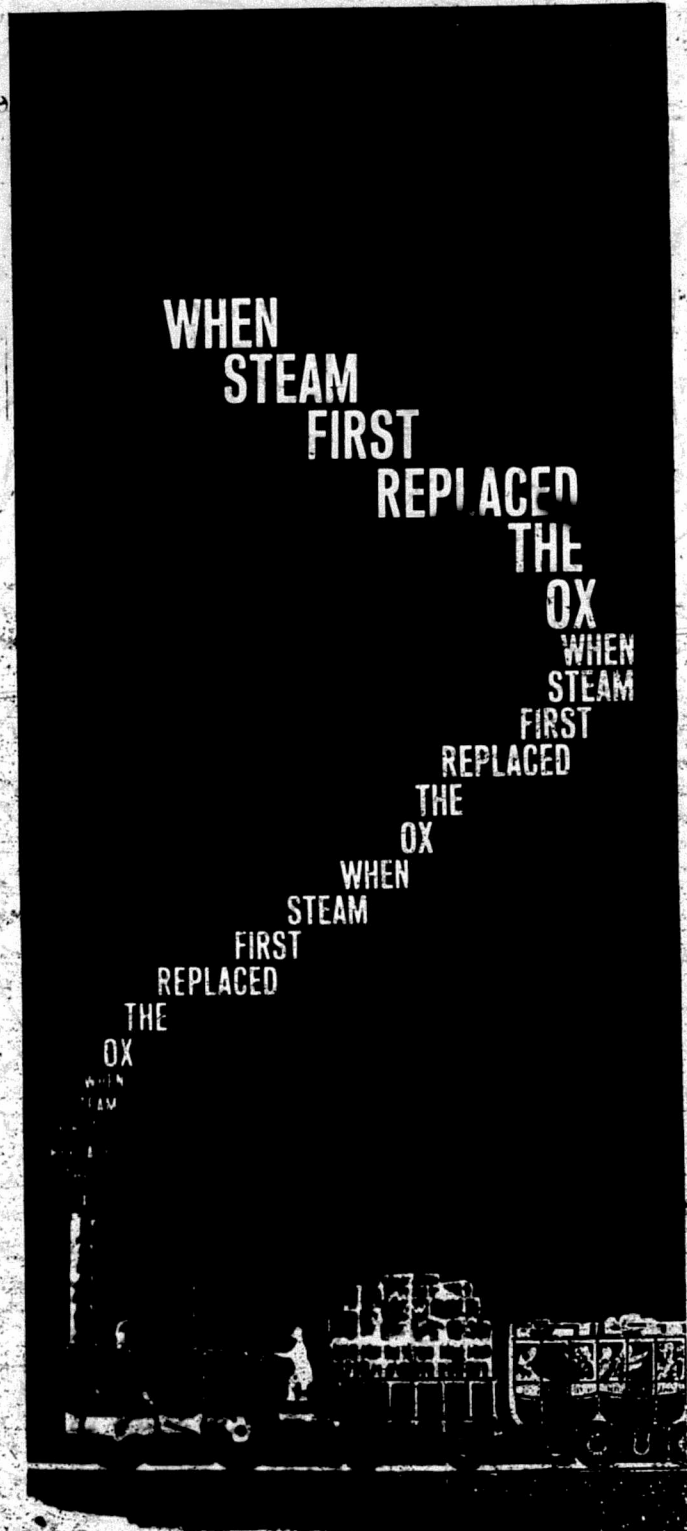
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, MARCH 14, 1963

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

KENYA'S SOMALI PROBLEM will obviously not be solved by the creation of a Somali Region in the eastern part of the Northern Frontier District, as the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governor of Kenya must assuredly recognize. The Somalis are understandably unanimous in demanding union with the men of their blood and religion in the adjacent Somali Republic, which reciprocates their sentiments. The whole issue is indeed a matter of emotion, for on neither side of the border is there any expectation of economic advantage; the republic is poverty-stricken and dependent on external aid, and the Somali area of Kenya yields but a bare subsistence for its nomadic inhabitants. From time to time it has been hoped that oil might be found, but prospecting at high cost by various international groups over many parts has been unsuccessful. This is therefore not a case of a self-governing African State coveting the possessions of a neighbour, but of a proud, volatile, and belligerent people, who look with particular contempt upon the Kikuyu, having resolved to have no truck with a Kenyatta-dominated Government—or, for that matter, with one led by the opposing Kenya African Democratic Union, whose leaders cannot appear more conciliatory in this matter than the Kikuyu-Luo combination lest in the forthcoming election campaign they should be branded as ready to surrender half the country. Yet they probably appreciate better than K.A.N.U. the folly of assuming that the Somali secessionists can be permanently held by force within a Kenya now on the verge of self-government and assured of independence not many months hence.

If Kenya's politicians are wise they will agree to Somali reunion in the near future, and so rid themselves of serious racial, poli-

tical, military and monetary problems before Britain surrenders responsibility for the country's foreign relations, defence and finance. The Kenyattas, Odingas and Mboyas who have for years declared that British bases in Kenya are intolerable may now perhaps regret their intransigence, for the prospect of the disappearance of British forces has certainly inflamed Somali determination. Kenya's politicians should be told quite explicitly that British troops, once removed, would not be sent back. It is poetic justice that the politicians who for years have chanted the slogan "One man one vote" should find that none of the Somalis in Kenya want anything to do with the Kenya African nationalists but are insistent on committing their future to a Greater Somalia. If self-determination is right for the rest of Kenya, why should it be wrong for the Somalis of the N.F.D.? They will certainly continue to look north to Mogadishu, not south to Nairobi.

JUST BEFORE DR. RANGER, a London-born history lecturer at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was deported from the Federation recently the local Association of University Teachers (which means no more than his confrères in Salisbury) announced that he was "merely proceeding on sabbatical leave and remains a full member of the college staff, and the association has therefore no alternative but to continue an unrelenting fight to secure ultimate reversal of this calamitous decision; the summary deportation of one of our members involves a principle which the association can never accept". The protestants might have been thought to have a better case if the new Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Mr.

Winston Field, had not told Parliament that same day that his Cabinet, after examining the facts, fully endorsed the request made by the Whitehead Administration to the Federal Government to declare Dr. Ranger a prohibited immigrant. For obvious reasons, in issues of this kind Governments do not disclose the nature or origin of the evidence in their possession or the grounds for their decisions, but where, as in this instance, two Governments of Southern Rhodesia have reached the conclusion that a non-national ought no longer to be permitted to reside in the Colony and had that view accepted by the Federal authorities, it is unlikely that reasonable people will condemn the guardians of the public weal merely because the man's professional colleagues (who may not know the full facts) protest locally and induce similar action overseas.

Who will believe that Dr. Ranger is "merely" proceeding on sabbatical leave? There was apparently no suggestion of any such interruption of his duties until it became known that his permit to

What Is the "Principle"?

reside in the country was not to be extended. The public should in elementary fairness be given the full facts about this idea of sabbatical leave. Who first proposed it to the college authorities, and in what terms and on what date was it accepted? What, moreover, is the alleged principle which the university teachers "can never accept"? Is it that a person employed in an academic capacity is thereby automatically entitled to preferential treatment by the established Government, which should extend to him latitude and leniency which it would deny to someone else? If that is the astonishing proposition, above whom is the don to be favoured? Is anyone to whom that description might be applied, perhaps loosely, to expect privileges which are denied to lesser mortals? If that is the "principle", it is ludicrous. If the "principle" is not quite so exclusive, where is the line of demarcation, of *apartheid*, to be drawn? Would a minister, ecclesiastical or political, be above or below the line? What about barristers and/or solicitors? Would they be "more equal" or "less equal" than such other professional men as doctors, accountants, architects, or civil engineers? Should merchant princes, directors of banks, chairman of great mining groups, and other outstanding pillars of the economy be rated as within or without the category of the especially privileged? Such obvious questions indicate the absurdity of the postulate that some exceptional rights rest or should rest upon an individual—

perhaps an immature and politically unbalanced young man (of whom many have been employed by universities—for no better reason than that he happened to be on the staff of a college).

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has probably never previously quoted President Nkrumah of Ghana with approval, for those of his statements which have needed to be recorded

Freedom Can Be Perverted.

in this journal because of their bearing on East and Central African affairs have always been concerned with pan-African extremism. It so happens, however, that on the very day on which members of the staff of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland plunged into this controversy Dr. Nkrumah warned the faculties and the students of the University of Ghana against the abuse of academic freedom and against the assumption that a university may claim diminished allegiance to the community or country which it exists to serve. "We know that academic freedom can be perverted and even abused; it can become a dangerous cloak for activities outside academic interests, and where this has happened a grave disservice is done". Thus spake an executive Head of State who is also chancellor of two universities. Will anyone deny the justice of that warning?—though there may, of course, be differences of opinion in any particular case. The dossier which induced Federal action at the instance of the Southern Rhodesian Government is naturally not revealed, but there can be no doubt that it is restricted to the non-academic interests of Dr. Ranger—interests which, in the words of President Nkrumah, can be dangerously cloaked by the plea of academic freedom, and with which a Government may have the inescapable duty to concern itself. If anyone is to plead academic freedom in defence of his words and actions, they must manifestly be restricted to the academic field; the plea would not be very convincing if from an academic who had made himself known to the public almost solely by his political associations and perhaps aberrations.

As in so much else in Africa's politics and neo-politics, there are two standards. Those who have stridently criticized the all-white Government of Southern Rhodesia and the white-dominated Federal Government for the displacement of Dr. Ranger made either no protest or merely a pro forma and quickly silenced reproach when the Government of Sierra Leone

Colour Contrasts.

peremptorily expelled a British citizen on the staff of the local university—incidentally a man who had been for years an adviser on African affairs to the Labour Party in the United Kingdom and had rebuked British Colonial Governments for what he thought their errors of omission and commission. He had and has far closer personal relations with the Parliamentary Opposition and the Press in this country than Dr. Ranger, but the protests on his behalf were little more than perfunctory. Nor were there strictures upon the independent Governments of Tanganyika

and Uganda when by administrative action and without reference to the courts they deported Europeans who had been resident in their territories for much longer periods than the six years which the young man from Oxford has spent in Salisbury. Is it that certain groups are resolved to exploit to the maximum any grievance, however slender, against a white Government in Africa, and equally determined to refrain from comparable conduct when a white man may have been prejudiced by the will, or even the caprice, of a black Government?

Notes By The Way

Dr. Banda's Outburst

IF MR. BUTLER had been sanguine enough to expect Dr. Banda, whom he recently made Prime Minister of Nyasaland, to be reasonable in discharge of the moral obligations inherited from the previous Government, he will have been surprised at last week's outburst of the Malawi leader, who told the Legislative Council that he saw no reason why Nyasaland should pay compensation to "so-called Federal citizens for Federal buildings"; if the Federal Government did not wish the people of Nyasaland to use buildings "put up on our land against our will", they could demolish them. "As to compensation for Federal citizens, the point does not even deserve argument, and I dismiss it with contempt". The "so-called Federal citizens" of whom the Ngwazi (Conqueror) spoke are the civil servants (not all of them white) who are employed by the Federal Government in the discharge of its responsibilities in Nyasaland. Members of the Colonial Service in all the African territories which have been granted independence have all been offered the option of retiring on pension and substantial compensation for interruption of their career. If the Federal Government were not similarly concerned to safeguard its officials in Nyasaland when that country becomes independent, it would be charged with callous indifference. Tanganyika and Uganda, Ghana and Nigeria, for instance, all recognize the obligation which Nyasaland's African spokesman seeks to evade.

First Fruits of Appeasement

THOUGH HIMSELF UNGENEROUS in this matter, Dr. Banda has made it very clear that he expects British taxpayers to treat his country with great generosity. By withdrawing from the Federation it forfeits some £5m. annually, the sum hitherto provided by Federal taxpayers, and the African politicians assume that Great Britain will find not only much of the present and future shortfall between annual revenue and expenditure, but also funds for development projects over an indefinite period. The fact that Nyasaland's new Prime Minister can nevertheless reject the universally accepted principle of compensating civil servants for loss of office suggests that he has been led by the astonishing measures of appeasement extended to him by the United Kingdom Government to think that he can do more or less as he pleases. He should be made to realize at once that his expectations are unreliable, and that aid from Britain will depend upon fair dealing by Nyasaland.

At the Whim of Party Hacks

ANOTHER MATTER which ought not to be tolerated is the Malawi Congress Party Government's attitude to land owned by European companies and individuals, land upon which there has been increasingly serious encroachment by Africans, often at the incitement of M.C.P. agitators. Not long ago Dr. Banda said publicly that an estate owner must not henceforth complain in cases of encroachment to the district commissioner or police but to the local party representative. In other words, the official representatives of the Government are not to be invited to perform their normal functions, but are to stand aside while their duty is usurped by petty politicians. Is it likely that party hacks, thinking of popularity in their own locality and of approval by the hierarchy, will remove illegal squatters and order them not to trespass again on a European plantation or farm? In this connexion also Mr. Butler should say unequivocally that British public funds will not be provided for Nyasaland until there are satisfactory guarantees that the land titles of British subjects and companies will be fully respected.

Sisal Still Rising

NOBODY IMAGINED a few months ago that the world price of sisal would rise so sharply. When it passed the £100 per ton mark for the top grade there was a sense of relief among producers and a hope that that level would persist for some time. When it reached £120 friends in the trade told me that they wanted no further advance, since it might concentrate attention upon possible substitutes and so harm the industry. At £125 I was informed that demand was so inconsistent that it might carry the price still higher. Now, if they could lay their hands on supplies, merchants and brokers in the City could get £146, which is nearly double the price ruling in 1961. Indeed, there would be ready buyers at today's price at least until the late autumn, and some plantations in East Africa have sold forward until the end of this year.

U.S. Stockpile

THIS STRIKING CHANGE in the situation, which brings the producing companies substantial unexpected windfalls, is due primarily to splendid crops all over the world last summer, at a time when baler and binder twine stocks were exceptionally low, and latterly to the negligible carry-over by spinners and a general feeling among farmers throughout Europe that an exceptionally severe winter will be followed by an unusually good

summer, with consequent bumper crops and heavy demand for sisal twine. If the United States Government were to release part of its large stock of sisal, the price would inevitably fall sharply, but fortunately for sellers any such intention has to be notified to Congress by the Administration, which must then allow a stated period (I believe six months) to elapse before it may market supplies from the stockpile. It is this notice period which induces forward buying at today's high price despite an increase in production last year, when Tanganyika's output of sisal rose from 197,968 to more than 214,000 tons and Kenya and Uganda together produced some 59,000 tons, the total for British East Africa rising by 12,226 to 273,062 tons, out of world exports of 551,000 tons. As this page goes to the printers I learn that the Government of Tanganyika has asked President Kennedy to release 10,000 tons from the American strategic reserve in order to reduce the price of fibre and the fear that spinners may switch from sisal to man-made substitutes. The United States stockpile is about 140,000 tons.

Why Copy the Nazis ?

DO THE AFRICAN political leaders who now start speeches, declarations, and even friendly greetings to one another with such a word as *Uhuru* realize that they have adopted the technique of the Nazis, who substituted the ridiculous staccato "*Heil Hitler*" for "Good Morning" and the charming Austrian country improvement "Greeting in the name of God"? I am sure that Dr. Nyerere and Dr. Banda would not consciously have taken such scoundrels as Goering and Goebbels, Himmler and Heinrich as their models; yet when the President of Tanganyika sent a congratulatory telegram to the new Prime Minister of Nyasaland on his entry into that office he opened with the word "*Kwacha*" (dawn). The Malawi Congress Party leader's reply began with "*Uhuru*" and closed with "*Kwacha*". A Nazi, it is true, would not have allowed himself even that measure of nonconformity: "*Heil Hitler*" would have started and ended the communication. Need courtesy between African political personalities follow Nazi practice ?

Kenya Elections in Mid-May for Immediate Self-Government

Small Area of N.F.D. a Seventh Region: Coastal Strip Remains Part of Kenya

ELECTIONS FOR THE regional assemblies and the National Assembly comprising an upper Senate and a lower House of Representatives will be held in Kenya between May 18 and May 26, after which the Colony will immediately become self-governing, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Duncan Sandys, announced in Nairobi last Friday after a final five and a half hours session with the Council of Ministers.

"Kenya is not a rich country", Mr. Sandys said, "and in the hard economic struggle which faces her she will need the loyal and active support of all tribes and all races that have made their homes here".

The Constitution was complex because "in many parts we have been treading entirely new ground" to evolve something which had no precedent. It was a "compromise" Constitution, creating "neither a unitary State nor a federal one".

Small Self-Expansion

The Colonial Secretary also announced that the predominantly Somali-inhabited area of the Northern Frontier District should be formed into a separate seventh region with a status equal to that of all other six regions. "This will give to its inhabitants greater freedom in the management of their own affairs and more effective means of safeguarding their interests and maintaining their way of life."

The British Government and both parties in Kenya understood the desire of Kenyan people to express their own identity, particularly when you get people of one race living in a country with people of another race. But Kenya is a country which depends for its future on being able to recognize people of different races and prove it is capable of providing a home where people of different races can live harmoniously and amicably together.

It was because we recognized the desire of these people to express their own ideas that we decided it would be right to create a seventh region which would comprise those elements in the district who felt most strongly on this issue in those areas which are predominantly inhabited by Somalis and related people. I do trust that it will be received and recognized by them as a sign of genuine and sincere good will on the part not only of the British Government but on the part

of the Kenya Government with its two-party composition."

A joint *communiqué* issued by Mr. Sandys and the Chief Minister of Zanzibar, Sheikh Muhammed Shambi Hamadi, states that after the introduction of the new Constitution, the Coastal Strip should continue to be administered as a part of Kenya. Before independence for Kenya further discussions will be held between H.M. Government and the Government of Zanzibar. "The Government of Zanzibar trust that, prior to these discussions, the people of the Coastal Strip will be given the opportunity to make such representations as they may think fit to the Governor of Kenya".

Mr. Ronald Ngala, Minister of State and president of K.A.D.U. commented after Mr. Sandys' departure that "the regional Constitution has been completed and we have got almost all the powers we asked for. After we win the elections we will strengthen the regional governments and stop K.A.N.U. forming the Central Government".

For K.A.N.U. its general secretary, Mr. T. J. Mboya, claimed that "we have laid the basic foundation for a united Kenya nation. We see our position in the future as based on consolidating and strengthening the central machinery, uniting all our people to gain greater confidence in one Kenya and eliminating the artificial fears generated by self-seeking tribalism." Kenyan, the K.A.N.U. president, and also a Minister of State, said that he was "very happy" with Mr. Sandys' decision.

On Saturday police had to use tear gas to break up a major fight between K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U. supporters after a rally in Kisumu addressed by Kibaki and Mr. Mboya. As they were leaving K.A.D.U. followers were reported to have tossed their cars. K.A.N.U. members retaliated by attacking them with sticks and clubs. Arrests were made and a number of people were taken to hospital.

"Complete Lack of Understanding"

Mr. C. G. Chacha and Mr. H. B. W. MacAlister, chairman and vice-chairman of the Convention of Associations, issued the following statement after seeing Mr. Sandys:

"We have the impression that the British Government is not bringing its policy around and trying for the best to respect the wishes of Kenya.
There seems to be a complete lack of understanding or lack of willingness to understand the very considerable regional divergences which exist in Kenya today and which will be accentuated after independence.
We are convinced that the Government of Kenya has not done its utmost for lack of confidence among the Kenyan community in the governing authorities. The British Government has to

different to their fate and only too anxious to escape from its responsibilities here at the earliest pretext. A considerable number of Europeans who are prepared to take risks dislike the idea of being abandoned, particularly in view of past assurances given by H.M. Government.

"We informed the Secretary of State that the settlement schemes and Land Bank aid were creating a limited market for land in certain areas but that the lack of finance available

to the Land Bank was preventing many potential sales from taking place. We also stressed the urgency of dealing with 'compassionate' farm cases as quickly as possible.

"We were assured that the points we had raised had been noted and that they would be further discussed, but we came away far from satisfied that H.M. Government is really alive to many of the urgent problems which beset our community in Kenya today."

Official Summary of Kenya's New Constitution

Two-Tier National Assembly of 41 and 117 Members

THE CENTRAL LEGISLATURE will consist of a National Assembly of two Houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives. There will be 41 Senators, representing each district and the Nairobi area. The House of Representatives will consist of 117 elected members and 12 specially elected members. Each House will have a Speaker elected by the members.

An Electoral Commission, consisting of the two Speakers, a member appointed by the Governor after consultation with the Prime Minister, and one member representing each region appointed by the Governor after consultation with the president of each regional assembly, will review the number and boundaries of the constituencies for the House of Representatives at intervals of not less than eight nor more than 10 years.

Functions of Senate

The Senate cannot delay a measure passed by the House of Representatives for longer than one year or two sessions. Except for money Bills, any Bill may be introduced in either House. Money Bills can be introduced only into the House of Representatives and can be delayed by the Senate for only one month.

The Senate will never be dissolved, since one-third of its members retire each year. Nevertheless, the Senate cannot normally meet or transact business when the House of Representatives is prorogued or dissolved. Those members of the Senate who retire each year are to be spread evenly throughout Kenya.

The Central Legislature has the residual power to make laws in respect of any matter except those in respect of which exclusive power to legislate is conferred upon the regional assemblies. There will also be a small list of matters on which both the Central Legislature and regional assemblies have power to legislate, but in any such case the legislation of the Central Legislature will prevail. A regional assembly will not be able to transfer to the Central Legislature its law-making function in respect of those matters for which it has that responsibility.

Emergency Powers

The Central Government may proclaim a state of emergency, and thereafter the Central Legislature may make laws even in respect of matters otherwise the exclusive responsibility of the regional assemblies. Such a proclamation may be limited to only a part of Kenya, and it can be made only with the prior authority of a resolution of either House of the National Assembly supported by the votes of 65% of all the members of that House or if it is endorsed by a similar resolution of the other House within seven days. No proclamation of emergency can remain in force for longer than two months unless its continuance is similarly approved and ratified.

In certain circumstances the Central Legislature will be able to assume the legislative or executive authority of a regional assembly if that assembly is impeding or prejudicing the exercise of the executive authority of the Central Government or failing to comply with a law made by the Central Legislature.

The executive authority of the Central Government extends to the maintenance and execution of the Constitution and to all matters which are not specifically conferred upon regional assemblies. The Central Government will be able to delegate any of its functions to a regional assembly, and through

that assembly to any officer or authority, including a local authority, within a region.

The Governor will appoint as Prime Minister the member of the House of Representatives who appears likely to command the support of a majority of the members of that House. Other Ministers will be appointed by the Governor in accordance with the advice of the Prime Minister. They may come from either House.

Governor's Role

The Governor may remove the Prime Minister if a vote of no confidence in the Government is passed in the House of Representatives and within three days the Prime Minister does not either resign or advise a dissolution of the House. The offices of other Ministers become vacant if the Governor acting in accordance with the advice of the Prime Minister so directs or upon the resignation of the Prime Minister.

The Cabinet will be collectively responsible to the two Houses of the National Assembly for any advice which it may give and for everything done by or under the authority of any Minister in the execution of his office.

During internal self-government the Governor will continue to be responsible for defence (including naval, military and air forces), external affairs, and internal security; but he will normally act in all these matters through a Minister. Except in respect of those matters in which the Governor is explicitly empowered to act in his discretion, the Governor must obtain, and act in accordance with, the advice of the Cabinet.

The Attorney-General will continue to exercise unfettered control in relation to the prosecution of persons charged with criminal offences.

Regional Boundary Changes

Kenya will be divided into the Nairobi area and seven regions. Any boundary between one region and another may be amended by a decision by a two-thirds majority of the two regional assemblies concerned and a simple majority of each House of the Central Legislature.

Notwithstanding the above, within six months from the coming into force of the new Constitution any boundary between one region and another may be amended by a decision by a simple majority of the two regional assemblies concerned, provided that the area transferred, together with any other areas which may have been previously transferred, does not comprise more than 5% of the population of the region from which it is being withdrawn.

Each region will have a regional assembly consisting of elected members and specially elected members. The elected members will be elected by constituencies on the basis that each district within a region shall return the same number of members to the regional assembly. The specially elected members will be elected on the same principles as the specially elected members of the House of Representatives and on the basis of one specially elected member for each eight constituency elected members. Each regional assembly will have a president, elected by the votes of two-thirds of its members from among persons who are members or are qualified to be members.

A regional assembly will have power to make laws in respect of those matters which are expressly specified in the Constitution as being within the exclusive legislative jurisdiction of the region or as being within the concurrent jurisdiction of both the Central Legislature and the regional assemblies. The Central Legislature will not be able to divest itself of its legislative power in favour of a regional assembly.

The executive authority of each region will be vested in the regional assembly which will act through a number of committees. A regional assembly will not be able to delegate its executive functions to the Central Government, and it will be required so to exercise its own executive authority as not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the executive authority of the Central Government and to ensure compliance with Central Government legislation...

(Concluded on page 606)

Rhodesian Governments in London

"Patience Wearing Thin"—Mr. Kaunda

SEPARATE TALKS preparatory to a formal conference will start next week when Ministers from the Federal, Southern and Northern Rhodesian Governments arrive in London by air to meet the Minister for Central African Affairs, Mr. R. A. Butler.

The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Winston Field, will arrive next Thursday, accompanied by the Minister for Justice, Law and Order, Mr. Clifford Dupont, the Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. C. E. M. Greenfield, and the Secretary to the Cabinet, Mr. G. B. Clarke.

The Northern Rhodesian delegation, due three days later, will comprise the Minister of Local Government, Mr. Kaunda, who is president of U.N.I.P., and the Minister of African Education, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, leader of the A.N.C.

The Federal Government party, due on the following Tuesday, will be led by the Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, who will be accompanied by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. J. M. Greenfield, and the Secretary to that Ministry, Sir Athol Evans.

"Rude Shock"

Interviewed in Northern Rhodesia last week on the radio, Mr. Kaunda declared that he would have no dealings with Southern Rhodesia until it had a Government elected under universal adult suffrage; but as long as it was clear that he would attend next week's talks to discuss the dissolution of the Federation, he was prepared to meet Mr. Field. The Federal Prime Minister should realize that U.N.I.P. and the A.N.C. had been elected on the understanding that they would dismantle the Federation.

Mr. Butler's report to Parliament in the previous week on his Federal tour had come as a "rude shock", said Mr. Kaunda. U.N.I.P. was "completely fed up" with the British Government's delay in announcing that Northern Rhodesia might secede from the Federation, and Mr. Butler might be courting serious trouble; while Mr. Kaunda did not visualize violence, he said that industry could easily be brought to a standstill. "We do not have a double portion of patience."

He denied that there would be a link with Nyasaland, with a sharing of revenue from Northern Rhodesia's copper mines. Future relationships would be considered when both countries were independent. Northern Rhodesia could "go it alone" successfully.

Asked about the position of Europeans, Mr. Kaunda said: "We have no time for the colour of a person; we look only at his behaviour. There will be more Europeans in Northern Rhodesia after independence, as is the case in India."

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Finance Ministry, Mr. A. Wina (U.N.I.P.), has stated that his party is prepared to consider economic links with Southern Rhodesia on electricity and rail and air communications only when Northern Rhodesia's secession from the Federation has been categorically granted.

Too Contradictory

Mr. Field told the Southern Rhodesian Parliament that Mr. Kaunda's remarks were too contradictory for it to be assumed that the northern Government would not consider economic links with the Colony.

Mr. Kaunda indicated that if the Federation is dismantled it must be left to the peoples of the territories concerned to decide what their future relationships are to be. My Government's declared policy is to talk to the other territories and to work out with them what relationships will have to exist in the event of the demise of the Federation". Mr. Field added that he would not support the use of armed force to maintain links with Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. Field said that although Southern Rhodesia had not been asked to appoint a representative to Mr. Butler's working party to arrange Nyasaland's secession, his Government was in close touch with the Federal Government. He could say nothing about the possibility of an approach to Britain to secure full independence for Southern Rhodesia.

It was impossible to talk yet about amendments to the Constitution because he was still having discussions with different racial groups. His party adhered to its undertaking at the general election—that "dominance by the African of the European, inherent in the Constitution, before the former has acquired adequate knowledge and experience of democratic government, must be avoided".

The Government would assist the British Mission at the

U.N. should it become necessary to intervene there on any debates about Southern Rhodesia.

Mr. A. D. Butler (U.F.P., Highlands South), has suggested that the U.N. must be expected to apply pressure on Britain and give direct economic and physical encouragement to African nationalists in an attempt to influence events in the Colony.

Mr. Dupont last week introduced a new Preservation of Constitutional Government Bill, under which Southern Rhodesian residents convicted of "suggesting the setting up of any group to attempt to coerce the Government", whether organized in the country or abroad, would be subject to up to 20 years' imprisonment. Gaol for from one to 14 years would be the penalty for those in the territory or outside it guilty of threatening or encouraging violence, inciting illegal strikes, or publishing false news. A maximum term of five years is laid down for anyone working for the overthrow of any State.

An Opposition motion that there should be no discrimination against any M.P., particularly with regard to residential accommodation and entry to hotels and shops, was rejected by 34 votes to 30.

Mr. Field Censures Federal "Outbursts"

Results "Must be Known"—Mr. Clark

THE SOUTHERN RHODESIAN Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Field, interrupted business in Parliament to make a "statement of national importance", in which he sharply criticized members of the Federal Government who had recently drawn attention to the economic consequences of a total split in the Federation. Mr. Field accused the unnamed Federal Ministers of irresponsibility.

"The outbursts which are now appearing from certain Ministers of another Government prophesying economic doom for Southern and Northern Rhodesia should there occur a break-up of the federal political association between the two cannot be calculated either to strengthen the Federal case or to make it easy for Southern Rhodesia to face the future with courage. I call them nothing more than outbursts because they are unsupported by proved fact and devoid of responsible judgment.

Sheer Expediency

"The Ministers concerned have shown such irresponsibility in making these statements that I can only think they are indulging in a campaign to divide the people for the sake of sheer expediency. They appear to be inviting the people to take sides in a public dispute between the Southern Rhodesian Government and the Federal Government. This is doubly irresponsible. My Government is in the closest consultation with the Federal Government at all stages. Such statements spread despondency. They also imply that the Southern Rhodesian Government is complacent and unmindful of the effect of the Federal association between the two Rhodesias.

"If a break is to come there may be unfortunate repercussions. That we know and cannot avoid. But we must be prepared and ready to face our tasks—not to frighten people into running away from them. In the final analysis of the situation in which the two Rhodesias part company from the present political association, it will be only the Southern Rhodesian Government that will be in a position to tell the people of this country what the future holds and to give them a policy to lead them out of their difficulties.

"The present tragic situation is none of our doing, and the Government will not take responsibility for it. The facts of the matter are that Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland will have none of the existing political ties. We must prepare ourselves to seek other and alternative ties. How can these people say then that there will be no such ties satisfactory to all the territories when they themselves have not tried to find them and do not enjoy the freedom of negotiation which the territorial Governments will have when the time comes."

Mr. Field said that people continued to have faith in Southern Rhodesia, and that he was positive the country would survive and prosper. Even now investment inquiries continued to reach Government departments from foreign firms with the money and the will to invest in Southern Rhodesia.

"We must be constructive and not be misled by wild and alarming statements. No one can yet forecast the outcome because negotiations are still proceeding between the Governments. Threats will not influence these negotiations, except for the worse. I therefore trust that a certain Minister of another Government will refrain from indulging in any campaign against the Government and people of this country that can have one result only—to make our task harder."

Although Mr. Field did not mention any Minister by name it is believed that he aimed his criticism at the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Mr. J. A. Clark, who had told a meeting of businessmen in Bulawayo the previous day that his Government believed an organized protest from Southern Rhodesia could avert the disaster of the break-up of the two Rhodesias. He offered to organize an action group to work against the break-up. Mr. Clark said that if the two Rhodesias broke apart, 47,000 Africans and 8,000 Europeans would become unemployed in Southern Rhodesia, and there would be an exodus of 50,000 Europeans from the Colony.

Mr. Clark stated afterwards in Kitwe that when he spoke to the Executives' Association in Salisbury last month (reported in our issue of February 21), Mr. Field had referred to his speech in Parliament next day, saying:—

"I cannot quarrel with the whole lot of what he said there. I agree that a tie of the sort we have had from an economic point of view is desirable, and one cannot but expect some of the comments he made regarding what dire results might ensue from a break-up, but I would suggest to Mr. Clark that he should have made his speech in Northern Rhodesia, not here.

"I have not been making such speeches, but I have on occasion had discussions with men of authority in that country, both in the Government and out of it, trying to impress on them exactly what Mr. Clark said yesterday. All I can say is that the facts that he made have been made before both in London at the Federal review conference and in another place in this town in the Federal Parliament again and again; but they should have been made years ago. I tried my hardest for years to put it over but had no authority. I just want to make that point because I am fully aware of it; it was a great pity that that speech was not made in Northern Rhodesia. Do not think there is any necessity for it to be made here. We know the facts that he made in that speech."

"That surely is tantamount to an endorsement by Mr. Field", Mr. Clark continued. "I have therefore gone on in this vein in the knowledge that he endorsed it. I am surprised that he is quite willing for those sentiments to be expressed in Northern Rhodesia but not in Southern Rhodesia. I have the responsibility to make known to the public the dire consequences of a break-up as well as the benefits that could flow from keeping the two Rhodesias together. I cannot go ahead leaving people in ignorance of these events. People must come to grips with reality."

Sudan and Christian Missionaries

JUST AFTER PARLIAMENT had been told that seven British missionaries had had their residence permits withdrawn and had therefore had to leave the Sudan during the last two years, the Sudan Embassy in London announced that a visa had been issued for Mr. John Clayton, of the Anglican Mission Church, to join the preaching staff at Bishop Gwynne Ecclesiastical College in the Southern Sudan, this decision having been declared by the Minister of the Interior, Major-General Sayed Mohammed Ahmed Irwa, to accord with the official policy of Sudanization of education, a policy to be carried out without prejudice to the appointment of missionaries when their posts could not be filled by Sudanese nationals.

The Embassy statement continued: "The Government of the Sudan does not cherish the idea of obliterating the Christian faith, as has been recently alleged". The Minister of the Interior concluded his statement by saying that "the Government does not object to foreign missionaries entering the Sudan provided they do not meddle with politics and that they train their Sudanese counterparts to take their places".

Sudanese Christians have been posted to schools in place of 143 missionaries expelled.

Many of the 97 Roman Catholic priests who have arrived in Rome recently from the Sudan have reported that they were imprisoned before being deported.

Missionaries may no longer engage in educational, agricultural or industrial activities or publish or distribute newspapers, pamphlets, or books without Government approval.

"Astonishing" British Claim Refuted

Sir Roy's Firm Reply on Non-Consultation

THERE WAS "never any semblance of consultation" between the British and Federal Governments about Nyasaland's secession in principle "between September, 1962, when Mr. Butler said that no decision could be taken until he had studied his advisers' report, and the taking of the final decision" by the British Government, Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister, stated in Salisbury in answer to the claim made in Parliament by the Minister for Central African Affairs, Mr. R. A. Butler, when he reported on his Federal tour, that there had been an attempt to get the agreement of the Federal Government on the issue.

Sir Roy said that it was necessary once more to refute "strongly and positively" Mr. Butler's statement, and again challenged the British Government "to produce evidence to substantiate its astonishing claim".

Despite an assurance given by Mr. Butler in London on September 19 last year that the Federal Government would be consulted once the Minister had discussed his advisers' report with the British Cabinet, there had then been "complete silence for six critical weeks", until on November 3 the U.K. High Commissioner in the Federation, Lord Alport, was instructed to inform the Federal Government that a firm and final decision had been made to allow Nyasaland to secede from the Federation.

Lord Alport has told the National Affairs Association in Bulawayo that Britain's policy in Africa is directly affected by the concentration of British forces in other theatres where Communism is an immediate threat. Africa was far less vulnerable to Communist expansion than Europe and Asia.

"Here in the Federation, with the most difficult political problem of all, we established a federal political unit. Whatever the critics might say, we have tried to provide the conditions which would give it a fair chance of durability and success. To attribute all the difficulties in which the Federation now finds itself simply to lack of will-power on the part of the British Government or to the hostility of certain political interests in Britain does not face the realities of the situation here."

Britain's task was to contribute to ensure "the emergence of a political situation to provide the best prospects of security and progress here which are possible within the circumstances of Africa at the present time".

Faith in the Federation

MR. HARRY OPPENHEIMER re-affirmed his faith in the future of the Northern Rhodesian investments of Rand Selection Corporation, Ltd., at the annual meeting in Johannesburg, when he said that he did not believe that the new Government had any intention of nationalizing the Copperbelt mines. He recalled that Mr. Kaunda, leader of the main African nationalist party, had said that he understood the importance of running the mines efficiently and in a manner which would maintain the confidence of the investors. While recognizing that there were obvious risks in times of change, Mr. Oppenheimer stated that he did not wish to withdraw investment from Northern Rhodesia, where the considerable adaptation required from industrialists could, he was confident, be achieved.

Head-On Clash Developing

AFRICAN OPPOSITION is finding it impossible to express itself constitutionally in Southern Rhodesia, where a "violent showdown" may result because there will be no alternative to unconstitutional action of various kinds to resolve the impasse, Dr. Terence Ranger, the University College lecturer expelled from the Federation, said in London on Monday. Britain should try to modify the situation and prevent the "head-on clash which is developing". Dr. Ranger is to spend some months at Oxford as a guest fellow writing a history of the Matabele and Mashona rebellions of 1896-97. In November he will go to Tanganyika to take up an appointment as professor of history at the new College,

PERSONALIA

SIR MARSTON LOGAN was 74 on Sunday.

MR. C. E. M. HARDIE has joined the board of Ralli Brothers, Ltd.

MR. CHARLES WATSON has been promoted Chief Fisheries Officer in Kenya.

SIR CHARLES ARDEN-CLARKE left £19,600, on which duty of £3,413 has been paid.

MR. PAUL BOMANI, Finance Minister in Tanganyika, has just paid a short visit to Israel.

MR. T. COLCHESTER, Kenya Students' Adviser in London, has been appointed Acting Kenya Agent.

MR. J. J. M. NYAGAH, Deputy Speaker in Kenya, has joined the board of the Kenya Farmers' Association.

PRESIDENT TSHOMBE was given a tumultuous welcome when he returned to Elisabethville on Tuesday.

MISS J. WHITTINGTON, director of the Overseas Department of the British Red Cross Society, is in East Africa.

MR. and MRS. LAURENCE ROCKEFELLER and two officials of the Rockefeller Brothers' Fund have visited East Africa.

SIR HORACE HEARNE, who was Chief Justice in Kenya from 1951 to 1954, left £5,644, on which duty of £307 has been paid.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY has promised to lay the foundation-stone of Salisbury's medical school and teaching hospital.

MR. R. STIRRUP, of Triangle Sugar Estate, Fort Victoria, and MRS. STIRRUP have arrived in England from Southern Rhodesia.

MR. J. G. S. BEITH, head of the North and East African Department of the Foreign Office, is to be the next Ambassador to Israel.

Reports that MR. FREDERICK ERROLL, President of the Board of Trade, has arranged to visit Central Africa, are denied by that Department.

MWAMI THERESA NTARE has been sworn in as Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of National Culture and Youth in Tanganyika.

COLONEL R. F. I. GULLIVER, Director of Public Prosecutions in Nyasaland, and MRS. GULLIVER will sail today in the EDINBURGH CASTLE.

MR. SAM NITRO, who has been Acting High Commissioner in London, for Tanganyika for some months has been made High Commissioner.

MR. DINGLE FOOT, M.P., legal adviser to the SULTAN, was in Zanzibar at the time of the visit of the Commonwealth Relations and Colonial Secretary.

SIR ALBERT ROBINSON, Federal High Commissioner in London, is to be the guest of the Commonwealth Writers of Britain at luncheon on March 21.

MR. L. G. T. FARMER, vice-chairman of the Rover Co., Ltd., and MRS. FARMER, who recently visited the Federation, are due back tomorrow in the WINDSOR CASTLE.

MR. JOSHUA NKOMO, former leader of the banned Z.A.P.U. of Southern Rhodesia, has had talks in Lusaka this week with the Northern Rhodesian party U.N.I.P.

SIR GEORGE CURTIS, chairman of the working party which is to consider arrangements for Nyasaland's secession from the Federation, left by air for Nyasaland last Thursday.

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY, Socialist M.P. for Eton and Slough, told the police last Thursday that he had received a telephone call saying: "You are next on the O.A.S. list. You are a nigger-lover. You haven't long to live". His answer, he said, was: "O.K., brother, good-bye".

Fragmentation of the Federation would lessen its "great" industrial opportunities. MR. E. G. HESS, managing director of Cyanamid International, Ltd., has stated in Salisbury.

MR. B. H. LEEKE, manager of the London Wall branch of the Standard Bank, has been appointed manager at head office in succession to MR. P. R. INGALL, who will shortly retire.

The Acting Governor of Northern Rhodesia, MR. RICHARD LUYT, has invited the three main political parties to discuss the most suitable machinery for enforcing a proposed Bill of Rights.

When MR. RASHIDI KAWAWA, Vice-President of Tanganyika, and MR. OSCAR KAMBONA, Minister for Home Affairs, visited a co-operative farm at Kitonga, near Bagamoyo, they both drove tractors.

MR. K. NJIRI, publicity secretary of K.A.N.U., has complained publicly that gin and brandy from South Africa were served at a Government House reception in Nairobi in honour of MR. and MRS. SANDYS.

ALHAJ CHIEF ABDULLAH FUNDIKIRA, Tanganyika Minister for Justice, returned to Dar es Salaam at the week-end from Karachi, where he attended the second meeting of the executive council of the World Muslim Congress.

MAJOR G. J. W. PEDRAZA, lately senior district commissioner in Kenya, has been appointed Elections Commissioner in Zanzibar. The Afro-Shirazi Party had protested against the nomination of MR. M. V. SMITHYMAN.

LIEUT.-GENERAL RAYMOND A. WHEELER, of the International Bank for Re-construction and Development, who has made a survey of communications in Katanga, has reported that 28 road and eight railway bridges need repairs.

MESSRS J. MIRZA and V. L. PARKER, of the Uganda Police, have won the 1962 silver medals in the pistol and rifle competitions respectively held between East and West African police forces under the National Rifle Association of Britain.

THE REV. MICHAEL SCOTT, who has so often intervened in East and Central African affairs in recent years, is one of a party which left New Delhi last Friday with the intention of walking nearly 4,000 miles through Pakistan, Assam and Burma to Peking.

THE MOST REV. LESLIE BROWN, Archbishop of Uganda, has prepared a form of Holy Communion for use in Anglican churches throughout Africa. It will be considered in May when representatives of all the Anglican provinces in Africa meet in Kampala.

Six M.P.s. who left London at the week-end for the Federation at the invitation of SIR ROY WELENSKY were SIR RONALD KABERRY, SIR HARMAR NICHOLLS, and MR. R. H. TURTON (Conservatives), and MESSRS. GEORGE DEER, J. MCCANN, and ROY MASON (Socialists).

NORTHERN



RHODESIA

For Information

APPLY TO

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MR. J. T. MALULUKE has been expelled as a "danger to its smooth running" by the Southern Rhodesian African T.U.C. He is replaced by MR. J. J. DUBE. The financial secretary, MR. M. NZIRAMASANGA, has been expelled for refusing to disclose the contents of a letter sent to him by MR. MALULUKE from Tanganyika. The publicity secretary, MR. T. H. CHIWESHE, has succeeded MR. DUBE as deputy general secretary.

DR. CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN, lately United Nations chief representative in Katanga, and now vice-chancellor of the University of Ghana, has been visiting British universities to discuss staff exchanges and secondments and improve liaison with Departments of African Studies.

When MR. HARRY OPPENHEIMER opened a £1.8m. plant at the Nchanga copper mine, the largest metal producer in the Commonwealth, he said that it was part of a £3.7m. plan to increase the mine's output by about £3m. annually, and proof of the Anglo American Corporation's confidence in Northern Rhodesia.

LORD FURNESS, secretary of the British Association of the Order of Malta, which supports a leper colony in Uganda run by Franciscan nuns, flew to East Africa at the beginning of the week. Lord Furness, now 34 years of age, sold the shipping interests left to him by his father to the Clore group some years ago, reputedly for £4m.

MISS GWENDOLINE NOREEN KONIE, who has been appointed a nominated member of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council, is its only woman member. She was educated at Chipembi Girls' School, obtained a diploma in social science at the University College of Swansea, South Wales, and is an assistant social welfare officer.

MR. GEORGE KAHAMA, Minister for Commerce and Industry in Tanganyika, has this week started a series of visits to Brussels, Cologne, Bonn, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Amsterdam, the Hague, and London. He is accompanied by Dr. J. VON NATZMER, Development Adviser in his Ministry, and MR. R. J. BEGG, senior Press officer.

MR. ALAN C. LEDGER, branch manager in Zanzibar for Smith McKenzie and Co., Ltd., has been awarded the Brilliant Star of Zanzibar, third class, in the SULTAN'S Birthday Honours List. MR. LEDGER, who has been in Zanzibar for his company for about nine years, has done a great deal of public work, for which he was made O.B.E. a couple of years ago.

MR. IVOR ROWSELL, transport officer at the British Embassy in Moscow, who was flown back to London immediately he reported having been approached by Soviet intelligence agents who threatened to disclose "an incident in his private life" unless he worked for them, joined the Foreign Service in 1960 and was a clerical officer in the British Embassy in Mogadishu until May of last year.

MR. W. B. HILEAN, principal assistant secretary in the Tanganyika Vice-President's office, has returned from a visit to Europe during which he obtained offers of aid for the settlement of Rwanda refugees in the West Lake region, including £12,000 from the U.N. High Commission for Refugees, £11,750 from the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, and £5,000 from the Vatican.

Members of the Legislative Council of Kenya have nominated two of their number, MR. TAITA TUBETT and MR. JOHN KIRUMILLAN, as candidates for the vacant Kenya seat in the Central Legislative Assembly of the East African Common Services Organisation, the vacancy being caused by the departure from Kenya of Sir PHILIP BARNES. The election takes place this week, when the Legislature will sit as an electoral college.

SIR GERARD D'ERLANGER, who died in December, left £273,623, on which duty of £194,223 has been paid. He had East and Central African interests, primarily as chairman of Forestal Land, Timber & Railways Co., Ltd. He was a former chairman of B.O.A.C.

SIR CHARLES MACLEAN, Commonwealth Chief Scout, is paying a nine-day visit to Tanganyika. Starting in Bukoba, he flew to Mwanza, Mwadui, Iringa, Songea and Masasi before arriving in Dar es Salaam last Saturday as the guest of the President, MWALIMU NYERERE. At the airport he was met by DR. L. D. STIRLING, Chief Scout of Tanganyika. LADY BADEN-POWELL, World Chief Guide, was in Dar es Salaam at the same time. Before leaving for Arusha and Tanga SIR CHARLES presented the Silver Acorn to CANON LAMBURN.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, was host for H.M. Government at a Marlborough House luncheon on Monday for members of the East African Common Services Organization mission. The guests were MR. C. G. KAHAMA, MR. J. D. NAMFUA, MR. M. ABDULLA, MR. S. J. NTIRO, MR. J. S. MAYANJA-NKANGI, MR. R. J. MUKASA, MR. B. A. BLOMSTROM, MR. T. BAZARRABUSA, SHEIKH JUMA ALEY EL-ABRAWI, MR. TITUS MBATHI, MR. J. C. MACLAY, PROFESSOR B. W. LEWIS, the DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, MR. T. C. COLCHESTER, the MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE, SIR HENRY LINTOTT, SIR ALGERNON RUMBOLD, SIR WILLIAM GORELL-BARNES, MR. C. M. P. BROWN, and MR. J. G. OWEN.

Obituary

Mr. H. F. Bargman

MR. HANS FERDINAND BARGMAN, who has died in hospital in St. Albans in his 80th year, was born in London and educated at Dulwich College. He was for some years on the staff of the Standard Bank, and went to Kenya in 1908.

He was engaged in plantation work when war broke out in 1914, and during the East African campaign he served in the Intelligence Department. After demobilization he spent a year in the Kilo district of the Belgian Congo and then two years with Uplands Banna Factory, Kenya. After a spell of management agency work in Nairobi with a partner, he was for a while employed by Equator Saw Mills. In 1922 he joined the Nairobi Coffee Curing Co., Ltd., which later became the East African Coffee Curing Co., Ltd. He was for 25 years the chairman and managing director. During the last war he was chairman of Nairobi Commodity Distribution Board and of the Commercial Price Control Executive.

He was a past president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Eastern Africa, of Nairobi Chamber of Commerce, of the Coffee Trade Association, and of Nairobi Rotary Club, and it was primarily due to his efforts that the Nairobi Coffee Exchange was started in 1937. After his retirement to England he represented the Nairobi Chamber on the executive council of the Joint East and Central African Board.

In the business in which he devoted so much of his life Bargman showed real personal concern for the welfare of all the employees, and as far as the middle 'thirties he was proud of the fact that the average earnings of hundreds of the African employees were exceptionally high for Kenya. He knew every one of them by name, visited equitably without difficulty because he was so much liked and trusted, and sometimes said that he could not understand why other people had labour troubles. Not many Nairobi business men have been so popular with Africans as "Bogie".

Essential Public Service of Press

Inadequacy of Traditional Teaching Methods

TRADITIONAL MEANS of education are inadequate for the new African States which have to accomplish in years what has taken centuries in the advanced countries. Mr. James M. Coltart, managing director of the Thomson Organization, told a joint meeting in London of the Royal Commonwealth and Royal African Societies when he spoke last week on the influence of newspapers and television in Africa.

"African statesmen, all of them men of great vision, are faced with super-human tasks. When I ask what they need most at this very critical time in their history, they tell me that more than anything they need the means to keep their people fully informed, to integrate them, to encourage and inspire them to new efforts. 'We must be able to speak to our people' they all say. President Nyerere of Tanganyika told me that that was why he relinquished office when he was Prime Minister — because he found that his duties prevented him from keeping in constant touch with his people.

Indispensable Link

"Mass media are needed before the public understanding and co-operation essential for social progress at every level can be enlisted. The Press provides such a link between all segments of the people and the authorities that it can be considered an indispensable part of the system of modern government and an essential public service in any community.

"A local newspaper is a source of international, national and local news; it is a vehicle for disseminating information which will help raise living standards; it can campaign for just causes; it provides an incentive and an instrument for further education; it can guide and harness social forces; it can educate, inform, and create an understanding of community objectives and a civic consciousness which are the basis of democracy and social progress.

"The Press is an instrument of social, political and moral emancipation. Freedom of information is basic to the furtherance and protection of all other freedoms.

"Educational opportunities must be provided to enable every human being to develop his capacity to the highest capability. This is the most urgent task facing African statesmen today. The raising of educational standards in the under-developed countries calls for the dissemination of knowledge of farming and industrial techniques and about health and community development. But when attempting to accomplish in years what has taken centuries to complete in the advanced countries the traditional means of education alone prove inadequate. It is here that the mass media, unsurpassed in speed, range and force of impact, offer the greatest possibilities for effective action.

Unifying A Nation

"Development of these media stands in reciprocal relation to economic development. A certain level of wealth must be reached in any society before it can sustain the development of services not as immediately essential as food and shelter. Information media can markedly stimulate the capacity to create further wealth by enlisting the human, non-physical factors, such as improved skills and better education, more directly in efforts for economic development. A country's economic planners must now consider what part of the national resources must be devoted to development of such media as to contribute most effectively to the general expansion of the economy.

"Statesmen faced with a very high percentage of illiteracy must have effective mass-media now. What hope is there for a statesman to unite a country behind him if he can't keep them informed? No hope at all. There is little chance of integrating an uninformed nation. She just cannot grow.

"They must have newspapers whose first function should be to disseminate information. This is the initial step in creating an informed public, which in its turn is the beginning of a democratic society. Information is news, interpretation of news, guidance on trends and events; the Press should always interpret the content of information in a wide sense.

"Africans have made valiant efforts to establish their own papers, but we have not helped by sending them the poor equipment we wanted to discard. They must have the right printing equipment and then be shown how to run their own

newspapers. This is what the Aga Khan has done in East Africa at considerable cost — not for the Asians there, but for the Africans.

"An informed public is essential in winning support and participation in all tasks. Being part of a developing economy is an invaluable incentive to economic and social expansion. This facilitates more effective planning by Governments and by financial, industrial and other agencies. This development forms part of the transformation of a primitive agricultural economy into a largely industrial economy characteristic of the modern State.

"After 'freedom', most people wonder what is in it for them. Without newspapers, the leaders cannot get the response needed for the benefit of the whole country and cannot prevent the risk of tribalism becoming a more decisive factor.

Television The Answer

"A nation must have radio stations that will speak to the remotest parts of the interior, and, more than anything, television; with such high illiteracy an African country must have a visual medium which will open up the whole world to literate and illiterate.

"So often we put the cart before the horse. We see Africa as the great market of the future, and while this is true there is much to do before she will become that. Our first task is not to win markets, but to win men; and Britain must take the initiative. But as a nation we have a strong antipathy for innovation. We often find reasons for excessive caution in new fields and allow others to take the lead, ourselves remaining out of the race until it is sometimes almost too late to enter it. We have the means, the resources and the men. Despite the sacrifice, we should give the new States the media they need in defence of democracy and for economic developments. But we might be too late.

"We must be sure before we take part in this kind of enterprise that our motives are right, that we go in with new purpose and clear motives, to help the African statesmen to develop their own countries. Some countries have been 'gifted' television because they believe that by doing so they can supply programmes which will ensure that they have a share of future markets. Some countries are very willing to help with the development of mass media, but the price they demand is that they use it for their own propaganda. This is happening, and it is dangerous.

Helpmates to Africa

"As we in the Thomson Organization move through country after country we realize that this is not a profit-making venture, but a service we must render, not as a venture in private enterprise but as advisers and helpmates to African Governments. Our plan has been to design and set up newspapers and radio and television stations, see that they are properly equipped, and select and train the personnel.

"But one thing we never do; we never dictate or interfere with editorial content in newspapers or with the choice of programmes in radio and television. That is not our business. We request the Governments to set up broadcasting authorities, and we operate as advisers to the authority.

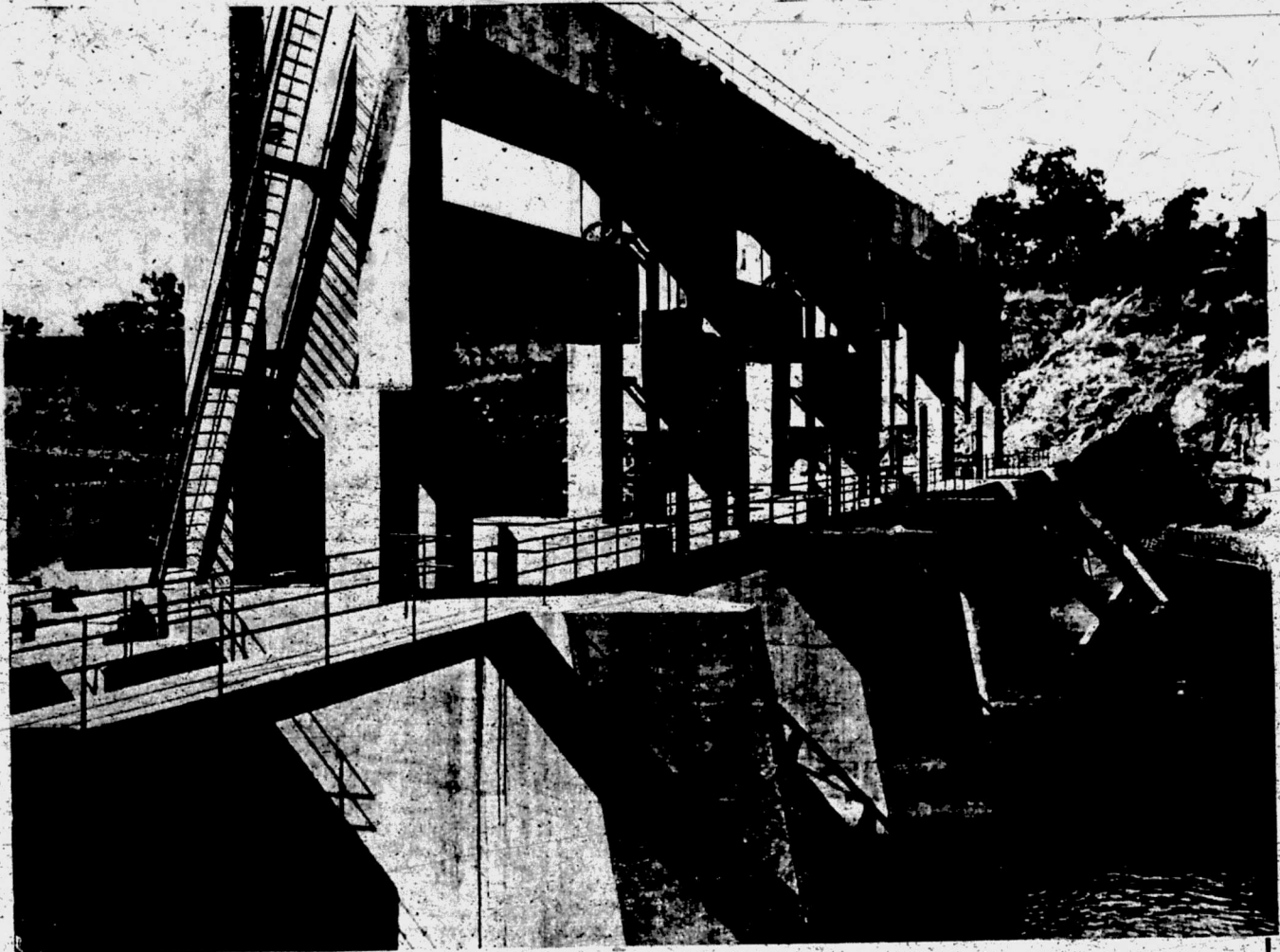
"In the last two years most of our resources have been expended on television. Countries must have it — not the kind we know so intimately, but television in the village square, in the community centres, in the schools — where perhaps 2,000 people gather round listening posts every night and the police have to erect barbed wire to contain them.

"How can the Governments of these countries, with anything up to 90% illiteracy, teach and train any adult population unless by a visual method? If your economy demands that 250,000 who have never been to school move into farming, how can you teach them how to grow coffee, pyrethrum or cotton, how to mulch, or irrigate, how to treat plant diseases, unless you do it visually? How else can you teach motherhood or hygiene?"

To allegations from two questioners that the *African Daily News* (recently acquired by the Thomson group) was no more than a mouthpiece for Z.A.P.U. in Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Coltart replied that it was a paper run by Africans for African consumption. He admitted that he had many difficulties about the issue with his colleagues of both colours: "but you cannot grow up in one day".

He did not think there was much cause for concern with regard to the touchiness of African leaders who threatened to penalize newspapers which had criticized them or their parties. "Understandably, because of less length and depth of experience, they are more sensitive to Press comments and pay more attention to what the newspapers say, particularly about their political opponents."

Asked how television could be provided in areas that had no electricity, Mr. Coltart said that battery sets were already in production, and that Kenya was due to receive some from America. There were also transistorized models.



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Dismissal of General Bourne Official Explanation that "Post Lapses"

SHARP DISSATISFACTION of Europeans in Kenya with the cancellation of the appointment of General Sir Geoffrey Bourne as chairman of the Kenya Central Land Board was reported last week.

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has now received the following statement on the subject from the Government of Kenya:—

"After discussions between the Colonial Secretary and the Kenya Council of Ministers, in which representatives of the Kenya Coalition Party took part, it has been decided to revise the arrangements for the purchase of land in the scheduled areas and the re-settlement of African farmers on land so purchased.

"In particular, it has been decided that when land has been purchased for settlement the decision as to who should be settled on the land purchased should, in the circumstances of the new Constitution, rest with the regional authority of the region in which the land is situated, acting in consultation with the Central Government; and that the practical task of preparing detailed settlement schemes and of helping new farmers to develop their land should be the joint responsibility of the central and regional authorities.

"The Central Government will be responsible for the implementation of settlement schemes in consultation with regional authorities.

"In view of its responsibility for the repayment of external loans for the land settlement, the Central Government will have the right, through regional authorities, to insist upon the maintenance by new settlers of adequate standards of husbandry so as to ensure their ability to make the regular payments due to the Central Government in respect of monies advanced to them.

"It follows that the function of the Central Land Board will comprise the selection of land to be purchased, the valuation of such land, and the payment of the purchase price to the owners. The board will be composed as hitherto proposed (i.e., a chairman, a Central Government representative, and a representative of each region), with the addition of a representative of the farming community of the scheduled areas.

"In view of the greatly reduced functions of the board,

the chairmanship will no longer be a whole-time post. General Sir Geoffrey Bourne had accepted appointment as a whole-time chairman on the basis of the much wider functions and responsibilities originally proposed for the board. Under the revised arrangements a part-time chairman only will be needed, and General Bourne's post therefore lapses."

Somali Republic Seeks Diplomatic Break

Tribesmen Demonstrate Over N.F.D. Division

PERMISSION TO SEVER diplomatic relations with Britain in protest at the creation of part of the N.F.D. as a seventh Kenya region is being sought from the national Assembly by the Somali Republic Government, which complains "that the wishes of Somali inhabitants in the N.F.D. to secede from Kenya have not been met.

The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Duncan Sandys, told Parliament on Tuesday that the creation of a seventh region, embracing the eastern part of the N.F.D., would not fully satisfy Somali aspirations there, but he had been unable to offer the more radical solution of ceding the territory without the consent of Kenya Ministers. Such a decision would have "provoked violent reactions throughout the Colony and would certainly have led both K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. to leave the Government."

Curfews have been imposed in Mogadishu and Hargeisa, following rowdy demonstrations on Friday and at the weekend by Somalis who stoned the British embassy and staged a "lie-down" protest in the capital before the National Assembly, and in the latter town stoned the British and Italian consulates, sacked the British Council offices and damaged British residences. Disturbances occurred in four other towns. British families have been evacuated from Berbera and Hargeisa.

The K.A.R. in Kenya have been placed on a 12-hour alert and hundreds of riot police are patrolling Isiolo, Garissa and Wajir townships. Armed Somali tribesmen on Tuesday pulled down the Union Jack outside the D.C.'s office in Isiolo and shouted anti-British insults at the P.C. In Garissa, 300 Somalis carrying secessionist banners staged a procession. Arrests have been made.

The Ethiopian Foreign Office has stated that Ethiopia will give "independent Kenya all possible help, including the military aid needed, to preserve Kenyan territorial integrity."

In London, the Foreign Office has announced that at an appropriate time, an opportunity will be afforded the Somali and Kenya Governments to state their views on the N.F.D. before Kenya becomes independent.

Cashiered for Nairobi Forgeries

LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN SYDNEY POUND, M.B.E., aged 46, of the Army Educational Corps, was last week sentenced to be cashiered by a court martial held at the Army School of Education, Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire. He had pleaded guilty to eight charges of forgery and false pretences and one of conduct prejudicial to good order and discipline while stationed in Nairobi. He was alleged to have falsely claimed fees, car mileage, and subsistence in respect of lectures which he had not given. Several senior officers testified to his excellent character. It was suggested that he had been upset by experiences in Burma.

Mr. Cole Inherits Irish Earldom

MR. DAVID COLE, who represents North Kenya in the Legislative Council of the Colony, has succeeded to the Earldom of Enniskillen on the death of his uncle. The new peer, who is entitled to a seat in the House of Lords, has recently arrived in the United Kingdom. He owns and manages a cattle and sheep farm in the Naro Moru district of Kenya. He was born in the Colony in 1918, the son of the late Galbraith Cole and Lady Eleanor Cole, who still lives and farms in East Africa.

Cabinet Changes

CABINET CHANGES in Tanganyika will be announced while this issue of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA is being printed.



PLAYER'S
please
THE WORLD'S
BEST LIKED CIGARETTES

Non-Racial Association Only Hope of Avoiding C. African Chaos

Dangerous Complications from Afro-Asian U.N., Palmecca, Communists, and U.S.A. Interests*

MR. PATRICK WALL (Cons.), who had returned only the previous day from a visit to the Rhodesias, said when the House of Commons debated Central African affairs that the main problem did not concern simple politics, or even African nationalism, but an Africanism—the desire of the majority race to have political and economic control immediately irrespective of the consequences—that had strong and dangerous tribalist tendencies.

He said, *inter alia*:

"I believe that in the minds of all who sat in Westminster 10 years ago there was no question of breaking up the Federation. What amazes me is why the Government could not have said quite simply: 'Though no written pledges were given, understandings were reached 10 years ago, but in the light of events in Africa and in the world during the last 10 years they cannot now be implemented'."

Involved Legalisms

"If the Government had said that, it would have been understood by the man in the street, both in Rhodesia and in this country, and by Sir Roy Welensky. Unfortunately, the Government chose to take the legalistic way out, so that we have had long and very involved debates in another place which did not contribute very much to the solution of the problem.

"This misunderstanding between the Federal Government and the British Government over pledges also extends to the Monckton Commission and whether or not its terms of reference should or should not have included discussion about secession. It extends also to the many debates and the many different Constitutions we have had for Northern Rhodesia and to the way in which the secession of Nyasaland was announced. In deciding whether or not pledges were given in 1953 I believe that the man in the street has awarded the issue to Sir Roy Welensky on points.

"I find myself in agreement with critics of the proceedings against Dr. Ranger and of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Bill. I do not agree with Dr. Ranger's views, but as far as one can see he has broken no law and should not be expelled. It is only fair to say that the maintenance of law and order is a territorial function, not a Federal one. If blame is to be attributed, it must be placed on the late Government of Southern Rhodesia rather than on the Federal Government.

"Everyone in this House, and a large number of people in Southern Rhodesia, disagree with the mandatory death penalty proposed. The Opposition in Salisbury is pledged to fight to the bitter end—and the Opposition includes 14 Africans, many of whom have personal experience of petrol bombs. There have been 73 cases of petrol bombing since January. The Government of Southern Rhodesia have already accepted certain amendments about children, pregnant women, and others. One must hope that they will accept further amendments and if possible abolish the mandatory death penalty.

Last Chance

"This may be the last debate in which this House can discuss the future of so many millions of people in Central Africa. The drawback of our Parliamentary system is that the Executive tends to make decisions and we in the Legislature tend to debate those decisions afterwards, when we cannot directly influence them. Therefore I suggest that this debate may be the last we shall have before decisions are taken about Central Africa which will perhaps settle the history of that part of the continent, and possibly of the whole continent, for many years to come.

"I returned from a visit to Northern and Southern Rhodesia only last night. In this House we have heard people speaking from the European point of view or the African point of view, from every point of view except the British. There is a time when we have to consider what is best for this country and its people.

"Between the wars and since the Second World War we heard a lot about pan-Arabism, and in the 1930s, 1940s, and

1950s we saw many countries in the Arab world becoming independent and sovereign. In 1947 the Arab League was formed, with our assistance and support. One felt that as these countries became independent they would come together in the Arab League and speak with a united Arab voice. That has not happened. The more Arab countries became independent the more was there a struggle about who was to lead—Egypt or Iraq, or now Algeria. There is more division in the Arab world today than at any time in recent history; and this might have some bearing on the future of pan-Africanism.

"From south of the Sahara to the Federation is the region where we have black-led States—and I use the term 'black-led' because I want to make my meaning quite clear. In that part of Africa there will be black-led States which will be authoritarian or at least one-party States.

Authoritarian Africa

"Mr. Abdoulaye Diallo, secretary-general of the All-African Peoples Congress, said at a meeting in Cairo at Easter, 1961, which I attended: 'All the workers of a country have the same interests at heart and must organize themselves into one national syndicate of the country, must regroup themselves into one national union—in the same way one political party in each country is more than enough; the existence of several political parties in our newly independent nations could not justify itself except by the existence of several interests; and the interests of the different social levels are practically the same. One youth organization, one women's organization would better answer the necessity of satisfying the economic, social and cultural aspirations of the populations'. That advice is accepted in Africa today. We must face the fact that the black-led States of Africa will be authoritarian, or at least one-party.

"They will have Socialist economies—Socialist in the true sense of the word, where the State owns the means of production, distribution, and exchange. They will be unaligned in the cold war. I do not suggest that these attributes are necessarily wrong. If I were a black African I would argue strongly for an authoritarian Government, for a Socialist economy, and for non-alignment in the difficult world of today. I do not think they will achieve it.

"Another country we know tried to remain unaligned in two world wars, but was soon pulled in. Africa may follow suit. I do not say that the view is wrong. However, from our point of view as Britons it is most unfortunate, because we do not believe in authoritarian Governments, and Socialist economies make it very difficult for us, for our exporters and our firms, and businesses, and non-alignment will not be easy for us when it comes to questions of the defence of Australia and other parts of our wide-flung Commonwealth.

Decision Needed Quickly

"The third section of Africa is the white-led States of Southern Africa. One must admit a number of cases, certainly in South Africa, of authoritarian government, but at least one can say that those forms of government represent the wishes of the voters—I say 'voters' and not 'populations' because one knows that the franchise is restricted—they have free economies (and our trading figures with that part of the world show how important this is), and they are fanatically pro-West. That is the background to the debate.

"The real question is whether we can avoid the division between the black-led and white-led States by maintaining some form of non-racial association linking the two Rhodesias together, and therefore separating the black-led Africa of the north from the white-led Africa of the south. This is a problem we have to face in the next few weeks—for I agree with those hon. Members who have said that, whatever decision is made, it must be made quickly.

"The problem of Central Africa is not that of simple, spontaneous politics, the problem of one-man-one-vote, the problem of balance as we know it in this country, the problem of give-and-take. It is not even a problem of African nationalism. Rather is it a problem of Africanism—the desire of the majority race to take over the political and economic leadership at once and irrespective of the consequences.

"Africanism has strong tribalist tendencies. In Katanga the Lunda tribe still supports President Tshombe; and I am not at all sure that I agree with those hon. Members opposite who think we have heard the last of President Tshombe. We may still find him back in the newspaper headlines. In Kenya the political problem is tribalism: K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. are purely tribal. We have to see that the majority tribe, the

[* Being further extracts from the Parliamentary debate on Mr. Butler's report of his tour of the Federation.]

Kikuyu, which is hated by most of the other tribes, is able to live in peace with them. Exactly the same manifestations are showing themselves in Northern Rhodesia, where the two African political parties, A.N.C. and U.N.I.P., are basically tribal. These tribal tendencies are becoming stronger and more dangerous.

"In Southern Rhodesia the African nationalist parties so far have prevented themselves from falling into tribal divisions and therefore different camps. One reason is that Mr. Nkomo, leader of Z.A.P.U., is a Matabele representing a predominantly Mashona party and therefore provides a unifying link.

"This complicated situation is further complicated by three special factors. The first is Afro-Asian opinion. In the United Nations of 110 members 52 of whom belong to the Afro-Asian bloc, they exert considerable moral pressure on the whole world through the U.N.

"The United Nations can and does pass emotional resolutions which may have great moral effect on the world but which if implemented positively mean either that they will be vetoed in the Security Council—because to impose economic sanctions or eject a member country one has to go to the Security Council—or if the Security Council is by-passed by a vote of the General Assembly it will not be acted on because of the power of the purse, which is fundamental to a consideration of what is happening in Africa, as many people think that the U.N. will not allow us to give independence to Southern Rhodesia, or that the U.N. will insist on Northern Rhodesia doing this or that.

"What are the facts?—that 67½% of the total budget of the U.N. is paid by five permanent members of the Security Council. This is the top end of the contribution scale. At the bottom end 53 nations paid 2.5% of the total cost, and most of those 53 nations are found within the Afro-Asian bloc. The United States paid 32%; U.S.S.R., 17½%; U.K. 7½%; France 6%; and China 4%. Economic and technical assistance is provided mainly by the U.S., which last year provided 64m. dollars, ourselves who provided 14m. dollars, and the Soviet Union which provided 4½m. dollars.

Emotional Resolutions

"These details are relevant to a debate on Central Africa because these strongly emotional resolutions could only be implemented with the agreement of some of the Great Powers, some of the main contributors; and if the U.S.A. did not agree, or if Britain and France did not agree, and if the United States, or Britain and France, withdrew financial support, the whole of the U.N. structure would collapse. This is the last thing that we, and above all the Afro-Asian nations, want, because it is they who draw the greatest benefits from this world organization.

"The money spent in the Congo is relevant, because people are talking about the U.N. moving into South-West Africa and putting military pressure on Southern Rhodesia if it does not get independence or a new Constitution. In December, the Congo operations were costing about 10m. dollars a month. After allowing for the whole of the bond issue of 200m. dollars being taken up, if this operation continued at the same level by December of this year the U.N. would be in debt to the extent of 220m. dollars, which is more than the cost of the U.N. and the agencies. This is important when considering the future of Central Africa, as the veto and the power of the purse limit the practical effect of any U.N. intervention.

"The Afro-Asian group also exercises direct pressure in Central Africa. During the deliberations after the first round of the Northern Rhodesian elections there was talk of a pact between the United Federal Party and the African National Congress. The presence in Luaka of Mr. Koinange, secretary-general of P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A., and the presence of a personal representative of President Nkrumah had a considerable effect in persuading Mr. Nkumbula not to go into that coalition but rather to coalesce with the other African party. Considerable subsidies are paid to African political parties and are often channelled through Accra or Cairo.

Afro-Asian Friends

"One relatively minor political leader in Southern Rhodesia was unfortunately killed in a car crash a few months ago. The following day his wife claimed that he had had £15,000 in his pockets which had been given to him that day for his party funds. That money disappeared. One wonders where it came from in the first place. That is what I mean by pressure exerted by the Afro-Asian bloc.

"I believe in the great importance of the Anglo-American Alliance, but I also believe in straight talking between friends. Since I came back from three months in America people have asked me: 'Is President Kennedy anti-British?' My reply has been: 'Of course he is not; he is pro-American'. If we are not tough enough to allow him to collect parts of the Empire

or Commonwealth, he will take them because he is a good American and it's good business. Why should he not? The responsibility to stop him is ours. It is a pity that the idealism of America's anti-colonial past, her alliance with big business, and our economic situation are leading her to take a great interest in the two Rhodesias, in the Copperbelt, and in Katanga.

"It is said on good authority that one of her consular officers in Nyasaland took part in the victory procession of the Malawi Party after the general election and shouted from his car 'We are in'. I can understand my hon. friend the Member for Lancaster (Mr. Berkeley) wanting to do that, but he is at least a member of the country which has overall responsibility. I take objection to a foreigner taking that kind of action.

"Again, when Mr. Mennen Williams visited Rhodesia only last week I understand that he had a meeting with leaders of Z.A.P.U., which is a proscribed organization. This kind of thing does no good to Anglo-American relations. We do not like seeing these things happening where Britain still has continuing sovereignty.

American Manoeuvres

"American Information Services are showing films stressing non-racialism and non-racial schools in America. Not long ago I asked a question in the House about a certain film in the 'Today' series, No. 46, which was shown 29 times in Rhodesia. The film started with the appearance of President Bourguiba of Tunisia on a State visit to America; he said that he was glad to see the United States fighting colonialism. The next part concerned 'African Freedom Day' and showed President Kennedy and other Government members meeting various leaders of African States. There was then a commentary from a Mr. Herbert Humphrey who referred to the struggle and passion for freedom in Africa and said that Americans welcomed Africans both at home and in their own country and pledged themselves fully to assist Africans. Then there were shots of the independence ceremony in Sierra Leone with various African leaders meeting the American representatives; and finally, and this is the relevant point, a close-up of an inscription on a memorial at Bunkers Hill which read: 'Here on 19th April, 1775, was made the first forcible resistance to British aggression. On the opposite bank stood the American militia, there stood the invading army, and on this spot the first of the enemy fell'.

"This may be good history, but it is hardly a helpful thing to show in the territorial dependency of an ally, particularly when political passions are being roused.

"Seventy-five per cent. of United States aid to the Federation now goes to Nyasaland. One wonders why. The Consul-General's staff in the American Legation in Salisbury was increased from 36 Americans and 71 local members in 1961 to 48 Americans and 86 local members two years later, whereas the British High Commission staff consists of 19 Britons and 33 local representatives—although it is we who are responsible for the area. It is hardly surprising Rhodesians tend to be anti-American—especially when chrome is one of their major exports and America is now buying chrome from Soviet Russia to the detriment of the industry in the Rhodesias.

"There has just been an international tobacco conference in Salisbury, and there has been a threat by America to dump tobacco on the world's markets. That, again, is a threat to damage the exports of the Rhodesias. We can hardly be surprised if the Rhodesians wonder whether this is a softening up process preparatory to a take-over.

Communist Intervention

"The last intervention in the affairs of Central Africa comes from the Communists. It has not yet developed, but it is there. One has only to read the proceedings of the conference held in Moscow and see what is happening in the trade unions. The irony of the situation is that the American anti-colonial bias and anti-Communist complex are encouraging chaos in Central Africa, and that will give Communism its chance.

"The House knows that the cessation of Nyasaland has been agreed, but what it does not know is who is to pay the £5m. or £10m. a year which Nyasaland must have to maintain the present level of its economy. Dr. Banda said last week that he wanted to maintain two hundred of the King's African Rifles. Who is to pay? Who is to pay the compensation of Federal civil servants who will not be wanted by the Nyasa Government? Nyasaland is not credit-worthy and will therefore need United Kingdom grants. What will be the burden on the British taxpayer as a result of the cessation of Nyasaland?

"Are the two Rhodesias to be split? In Luaka I got very few people who believed that they would not be split. They said that the independence of Northern Rhodesia was

assured. If the two countries are to be split, what will be the cost to the British taxpayer of maintaining the defence of Central Africa, which surely the House will agree is very important? The troubles in the Congo could easily spread across the frontier. What is to happen to existing communications by road, rail and air? Who is to settle the debts of the Federal Government and the three components of the Federation?

"Southern Rhodesia is one of the countries most loyal to the Crown. The average Southern Rhodesian would wish to maintain the British presence. I was told only yesterday that this would be impossible for they no longer trust the Government of this country to look after what they feel are their inherited rights. Many people have already said that Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia must be independent and Southern Rhodesia cannot be independent because it has not a democratic Government.

"Can anyone tell us where there is a fully democratic Government of the Westminster style in Africa today? If Southern Rhodesia is not given independence it will take it. That fact must colour our discussions about the future of Central Africa. I hope that if the Federation splits the three territories will be given independence by H.M. Government. I should hate to see this Conservative Government going down to history as one that gave independence to two black-led countries and refused it to one white-led country."

MR. BERKELEY: "Does my hon. friend regard Southern Rhodesia as a white State?"

MR. WALL: "I regard it as a white-led State. I hope that we do not have to decide on the division between black-led and white-led Africa. If the Federation does disintegrate we must act quickly and maintain services, a common market and so on, which are essentials for the future of all the people of Central Africa."

Zambezi Line

"I want this Government to give Southern Rhodesia independence if it gives independence to the northern territories. If not, I say again that Southern Rhodesia is determined to take its independence; and there is nothing we can do to prevent it. But I also ask the House to face the consequences of breaking the Federation. It would mean polarizing race on either side of the Zambezi.

"I believe the line of the Zambezi would endure for a number of years and would be held by force. But this polarization would be disastrous to the Commonwealth. It would probably mean the breaking up of the Commonwealth, and it would force both Britain and the United States in the next three or four years to choose whether to trade and work with black-led Africa in the north or white-led Africa in the south. The result of that decision cannot be doubted for a moment, because both our economic and strategic interests lie to the south, whatever may be the moral considerations. The break-up of the Federation would lead to appalling consequences for Central Africa, for the Commonwealth, and perhaps for the United Nations, because these racial strains once created would continue to develop with disastrous effects to that great world-wide organization.

"Cannot this House, seeing the consequences of breaking up the Federation, try to maintain some non-racial organization in Central Africa, some attenuated form of federation — but for heaven's sake do not call it federation — such as in Australia, where the central Government are responsible for defence, foreign affairs, and communications, and where the territories of Northern and Southern Rhodesia are, other than these three factors, fully independent, voting that sovereignty lies with the central association which must also be independent? I believe that this is still possible."

Covering the Copperbelt

"Provided this new association is independent, Southern Rhodesia will subscribe to it. It is extremely difficult to get Northern Rhodesia to do this. The situation there is, however, more complicated than we think. There are great pressures between the two parties in the coalition and the external pressure of Mr. Koinange and his followers, who have their eyes on the wealth of the Copperbelt for developing their schemes for pan-African association.

"There are the pressures in Swaziland. Is it a fact that there are new pressures being exerted on Swaziland to obtain new elections to the Swaziland National Council? Elections took place only last year. Why should they be asked to have another election? Is it because we want to prevent political parties in Swaziland so that we can make a quiet deal for the Living and the Council to be larger than for Swaziland and are therefore not able to prevent the creation of Swaziland from Northern Rhodesia? These questions, which people are asking in Swaziland, should be answered. It would be very difficult indeed to maintain a link

between the two Rhodesias, but I believe that the only hope for the future of that part of the world — and, indeed, for the Commonwealth, because the alternative will in my view endanger the whole Commonwealth — is to create this new non-racial association. So far it is the extreme views both of black and white that have been publicized. I hope that my rt. hon. friend will now listen to the moderates of both races. This is the last chance in Africa to obtain a non-racial association.

"There is a great need for firm, rapid, and positive action. I hope that my rt. hon. friend will call the conference in April. He has vast experience, and the responsibilities and the future of Central Africa, and indeed of the Commonwealth, are in his hands. I hope that the House will take to mind the dangers that are contingent upon the complete fragmentation of the three countries which we now know as the Central African Federation."

MR. JOHN FARR (Cons.) expected the Federation to change, but believed it so valuable that the framework, radically amended, would be retained for the benefit of all the territories.

Break Into Ruins

"The First Secretary has grasped a hot potato, but I feel that this problem, given common sense and time, will not prove insoluble. The situation in Central Africa is not due to any fault of the Government. The present precarious position is due to the rightful desire of the African people throughout the continent to be more proportionately represented in Government. I should be sad to see the Federation drift apart or break up into ruins.

"Having spent a couple of years in the Federation I am well aware of all the wonderful work which was done by Cecil Rhodes. It seems to me, having travelled in all parts of the Federation, that the three territories are in a very real sense complementary.

"I cannot foresee an association or federation embodying one responsibility for defence. There is a chance of having a federation embodying one responsibility for foreign affairs; but I think it absolutely essential that we retain the fabric of federation in a really close and harmonious economic association beneficial to all concerned."

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New Kenya Constitution

(Concluded from page 595)

Except in respect of taxes, royalties and fees which may specifically be imposed or levied by regional assemblies or local authorities, the Central Government and the Central Legislature retain the residual power to raise taxes.

The Chief Justice will be appointed by the Governor acting in accordance with the advice of the Prime Minister, who will consult the presidents of the regional assemblies and will not advise the Governor to appoint any person as Chief Justice unless the presidents of not less than four regional assemblies concur in the proposed appointment.

The other judges will be appointed by the Governor acting in accordance with the advice of the Judicial Service Commission, which will consist of the Chief Justice as chairman, two other judges appointed by the Governor acting in accordance with the advice of the Chief Justice, and a member of the Public Service Commission appointed by the Governor acting in accordance with the advice of the chairman of that commission.

Court of Appeal

A judge can be removed from office only on account of inability to perform the functions of his office or for misbehaviour, and then only after the matter has been investigated by a tribunal comprising persons who hold or have held office as a judge of a superior court in any Commonwealth country.

Unless and until a Court of Appeal for Kenya is established, the existing Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa will continue to exercise appellate jurisdiction from the Supreme Court of Kenya except in relation to cases involving the construction of the Constitution or allegations that fundamental rights have been abrogated. In such cases an appeal will be direct from the Supreme Court to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Provision is made for the establishment of other subordinate courts, in particular for Khadis' Courts.

The Central Government and the regional assemblies (referred to below as the "employing authorities") should each have its own public service (i.e. eight services). Each of the employing authorities should be free to decide the conditions of employment (excluding pensions) and the composition of the establishment of its own public service.

There should be eight Public Service Commissions with a common element. Each should have seven members, as follows:—

(a) four independent members (including a chairman and deputy chairman), all of whom should be common to all eight commissions; and (b) three representative members appointed by the employing authority.

Maintenance of Standards

The independent members would initially be appointed by the Governor. Subsequent vacancies would be filled by the Governor acting in accordance with the advice of the Judicial Service Commission. No person should be appointed to be an independent member (a) if at any time he has been an elected member of or a candidate for election to either House of the National Assembly or any former legislative council or any regional assembly, or if at any time he has held any office in any political organization which has sponsored or supported candidates for either House of the National Assembly, a regional assembly, or any local government authority; or (b) if he is a public officer.

Each commission should have executive responsibility for appointments, promotions and discipline. All matters relating to discipline or the termination of employment should be dealt with by the independent members alone. Any decision of a Public Service Commission would require the concurrence of a majority of the members entitled to attend. Each commission should be empowered to transfer its functions in respect of any sector of the public service to such officer as may be agreed with the employing authority. Each commission should be entitled at any time to resume any of the functions so transferred.

The commission should have the right to prescribe minimum qualifications for entry into any branch of the public service. The independent members should as far as practicable endeavour to ensure that the standards set are comparable in all eight services.

Officers should be allowed to transfer from one public service to another in accordance with the procedure outlined below. When a vacancy occurs in the public service of the Central Government or of any region, the employing authority concerned should inform its Public Service Commission which would advertise the vacancy; and any officer in any of the public services should be entitled to apply for appointment.

Before any appointment is made which involves the transfer of an officer from the public service of one employing

authority to that of another, the authority which is currently employing him should be consulted. If it objects to his transfer, and if a majority of the independent members consider it to be in the interest of good administration in Kenya that the officer concerned should not be transferred, they should have the right to exclude his candidature for the vacancy.

Pensions should be fixed on uniform principles by the Central Legislature and should be safeguarded by the Constitution.

In order to facilitate the transfer of officers from one public service to another, and to avoid undesirable competition among employing authorities, all such authorities should endeavour to maintain reasonably uniform rates of pay and conditions of service throughout all the public services. These matters should at regular intervals be jointly reviewed by the Finance Minister of the Central Government (acting as chairman) and the chairmen of the finance and establishment committees of all the regional assemblies, who should make recommendations to the employing authorities. The independent members of the Public Service Commissions should attend meetings of the reviewing body in an advisory capacity.

When making appointments and promotions the Public Service Commission of the Central Government should seek to ensure that as far as practicable the public service of the Central Government includes a reasonable number of officers from all regions and from Nairobi. The Public Service Commission of each region should seek to ensure that a substantial proportion of the posts in the public service of that region is staffed by persons of that region, insofar as they are available.

Land Legislation

Part 1 of the chapter on land provides for the establishment, constitution, and functions of the Central Land Board. Part 2 deals with land tenure and confirms all estates, interests and rights in or over land which the Governor on behalf of the Crown has granted or created at any time before the coming into operation of the Constitution. Subject to existing titles, Crown land will vest in the regions, and in the case of Nairobi in the Central Government, while Native lands will vest in county councils. Certain areas of Crown land which are now reserved for the use of specific tribes will also vest in county councils. Provision is made for the acquisition of land for Central Government and for regional purposes and for the disposition of land which is no longer required for such purposes.

Part 3 provides for the control of transactions in agricultural land throughout Kenya, by requiring the approval of a divisional land control board to any dealing in such land. In the case of divisional boards having jurisdiction over Native land there will be an appeal to the county council concerned, while a special tribunal, comprising the chairman of the agricultural appeals tribunal and two assessors, one appointed by each region and one by the Central Government, will hear appeals from other divisional boards. Divisional boards having jurisdiction in the scheduled areas will be able to refuse consent to a transaction only on agricultural or economic grounds.

Six Local Government Bodies

The whole of Kenya must be comprised within the area of some local government authority, of which there will be two basic upper tiers (municipalities and county councils) and four types of lower tier (urban councils and township authorities, and, in the rural areas, area councils and local councils).

Provision is made for the election of councillors and aldermen, and for the appointment and nomination of councillors both by other local authorities and by regional assemblies or other bodies, so as to ensure adequate representation of, e.g., the Central Government and the East African Common Services Organization or any of its services.

Local government is a matter exclusively reserved to regional assemblies, but the procedure for establishing new local authorities or varying existing local authorities is included in this chapter, which also specifically deals with the temporary replacement of a local authority by a commission when a local authority is in financial difficulties or is failing to exercise its functions properly.

The Nairobi area, which will be the direct responsibility of the Central Legislature, will be a municipality administered by the City Council of Nairobi. There will, however, be a standing committee of the Senate, upon which each region will be represented, which will advise generally in connexion with the administration of the Nairobi area.

B.S.A. Company's Spread of Investments

INVESTMENTS held by subsidiaries of the British South Africa (Chartered) Company at September 30 last are thus classified in the annual report, which was reviewed last week:—

	Quoted Investments market value £	Unquoted Investments directors' valuation £
Northern Rhodesian mining and finance companies	8,549,809	2,772,906
Rhodesian industrial and other interests	680,747	6,739,430
Other African mining finance companies	15,120,764	5,000,000
United Kingdom and other investments	8,727,705	2,153,380
United States of America	4,616,773	—
Canada	3,106,908	126,058
	£40,802,706	£16,791,774

The market value is thus £57,594,480, against a book value of £47,180,028, compared against a book value of £44,123,621 in the previous year.

Gross income before tax from the investments was £4,331,839, against £3,576,049 in 1961.

Willoughby's Consolidated Company

WILLOUGHBY'S CONSOLIDATED CO., LTD.—84% of the issued capital of which was acquired a year ago by London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Co., Ltd.—reports consolidated profit after tax for the year ended September 30 at £75,630 (£63,049). A 10% dividend (the same) takes £56,534, and the carry-forward is £148,779 in the accounts of the parent company and £32,715 in that of a subsidiary. The issued capital is £923,004 in 10s. units. Fixed assets total £466,794, current assets exceed current liabilities by £284,013, and quoted investments standing in the books at £402,183 have a market value of £590,362. Outstanding debenture stock amounts to £67,078.

The directors are Mr. A. H. Ball (chairman, with Mr. A. G. Ehins as alternate), Mr. J. N. Kiek, the Hon. A. J. B. Ogilvy, Mr. C. D. Mackenzie, and Mr. R. W. Rowland (resident in Rhodesia, with Mr. J. A. G. Mills as alternate), and Mr. J. A. Caldecott.

Earl De La Warr, Lord Rathcavan, and Mr. H. St. L. Grenfell resigned from the board last May, Earl De La Warr receiving £7,500 and Lord Rathcavan £1,000 as compensation for loss of office. On the day following their retirement Mr. Ball and Mr. Rowland became directors and Mr. Ball was elected chairman. Mr. Caldecott joined the board last month.

Willoughby's (Investment) Ewell, Ltd., and Chicago-Gaika Development Co., Ltd., are subsidiaries. African Investment Trust, Ltd., are the secretaries.

Messina

THE MESSINA (TRANSVAAL) DEVELOPMENT CO., LTD., which has interests in copper mining in Southern Rhodesia as well as South Africa, reports profit after tax for the year to September 30 last at R.2,146,184 (R.2,191,780). Dividends totalling 20% take R.985,000. The issued capital is R.4,925,000. Mining assets and interests in subsidiary companies total R.10,892,119 and other investments R.19,925,000. Current liabilities exceed current assets by R.1,448,412, and there is an unsecured 6½% loan stock of R.2,400,000. M.T.D. (Mangula), Ltd., is a subsidiary, 62% of the issued capital being held by Messina. Commander H. P. P. Grenfell is the chairman and managing director, and Mr. D. E. Cox is joint managing director. The other members of the board are Messrs. P. O'B. Frost, P. U. Rissik, and C. M. Stuart.

Rhokana Corporation, Ltd., is to pay an interim 2s. 6d. less tax per £1 unit in respect of the year to June 30 next, equivalent to 1s. 6d. net. The same interim distribution was made last year, when the final was 5s. 6d. net.

Rhodesian Anglo American, Ltd., is making an interim distribution for the year to June 30 next of 2s. tax free per 10s. stock unit. The same interim last year was followed by a final of 6s. tax free.

New Alamasi (1963), Ltd., has been formed by Williamson Diamonds, Ltd., Tanganyika, to hold the assets acquired from Alamasi, Ltd., a South African company with rights over five square miles immediately adjoining the eastern boundary of the Williamson property.

Bad News from Bancroft Mine

BANCROFT MINES, LTD., have encountered such adverse mining conditions that the copper ore tonnage from the No. 1 shaft, expected to rise to about 160,000 tons a month, must be reduced to 120,000. A severely leached zone in the orebody extends laterally over about 2,000 feet and renders unpayable approximately 750,000 tons of ore in an area in which stoping had been planned.

Production of blister copper for 1962-63 is now estimated at about 45,000 long tons. For 1963-64 it may be down to 40,000 tons, but it is hoped that by 1964-65 it will have risen to 50,000 long tons.

No Dividend for Two Years

Shareholders will receive no dividend for the year to June 30 next and are unlikely to get a distribution in the following year. For the financial year ending in June 1965 the directors expect the position to be "slightly more favourable, but much will depend upon progress at the mine in the intervening period".

Last December the company received £875,000 when the Anglo American, Nchanga, Rhodesian Selection Trust, and Rhokana companies subscribed for 1m. of 2m. ordinary shares of 5s. under option to them at 17s. 6d. each, and a further £875,000 will be raised today, Bancroft having called upon the four companies to take up the remaining million shares. Temporary borrowings will nevertheless have to be undertaken to help finance the capital programme and current commitments, which include interest on temporary borrowings and on a £5m. 6% loan which was due for repayment at the end of last year.

Anglo American and a subsidiary of the Chartered Company, which provided the money, have agreed to extend the repayment date until December 31 next. Until repayment Bancroft may call upon the company to underwrite an issue not exceeding £5m. of 12 to 17-year notes or debentures bearing interest up to 6%, the proceeds being applied to liquidation of the loan.

London & Rhodesian Mining and Land

LONDON AND RHODESIAN MINING AND LAND CO., LTD.—which intends to change its name to Lonrho, Ltd.—reports group profit after tax for the year to September 30 last at £236,979, more than double the 1961 figure of £114,757. Ranching profits have risen from £41,176 to £267,978, profits on motor trading from nothing to £95,574, and profits on realization of shares from £24,643 to £78,709. Tax takes £231,844, against £43,020. Shareholders receive 15%, requiring £126,328, and the carry-forward is £95,116 in the books of the parent company and £74,059 in those of subsidiaries.

Group fixed assets exceed £13m., investments stand at £14m., and current assets less current liabilities total £444,324. Deducting loans and debentures, total net assets exceed £2.8m. The issued capital is £1,375,000 in 5s. shares.

The company's operations have greatly expanded with the acquisition of the Willoughby's Consolidated group in Southern Rhodesia, the Halls Holdings group in Nyasaland, and substantial interests in Nyasaland Railways and the British Central Africa Co., Ltd.

Lonrho sold to the Southern Rhodesian Government for settlement by African farmers two estates totalling 447,929 acres for £600,000, payable in six equal annual instalments. The group's holdings in Southern Rhodesia now comprise 998,847 acres of ranching land and 85,569 of other land, together standing in the books at £336,637. There are also mining and other interests, and since the end of the financial year it has acquired 90% of the capital of Unit Trust Fund Managers (Pvt.), Ltd., managers of the only public unit trust in Rhodesia.

Mr. A. H. Ball is the chairman and joint managing director, Messrs. R. W. Rowland and F. E. O. Davies are members of the board resident in Rhodesia, the first-named being a joint managing director, and the other directors resident in the United Kingdom are the Hon. A. J. B. Ogilvy and Messrs. J. Whitehouse, J. N. Kiek, and J. A. Caldecott.

Southern Rhodesia's mineral output last year was valued at £25,089,245, against £27,161,581 in 1961.

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., sold 219,522 tons of coal and 7,449 of coke in February. The January figures were 226,700 and 5,858 tons respectively.

British India Steam Navigation Co.

BRITISH INDIA STEAM NAVIGATION CO., LTD., reports group net profit after tax to September 30 at £950,788, against £325,049 in the previous year. Operating profits were up from £3.1m. to £3.4m., but depreciation required £2.9m., leaving £502,746, a great improvement on the previous year's £99,630. Investment income amounted to £455,371. Ordinary shareholders receive 10%, requiring £459,375. The general reserve is increased by £500,000 and the carry-forward is £404,225. The issued capital is £7.5m. in ordinary shares of £50 and £2.7m. in preference stock. Fixed assets stand in the books at £36.6m. and current assets less current liabilities at £6.5m. Capital reserves are just over £20m. and revenue reserves £3.4m. The directors are Mr. K. M. Campbell (chairman and managing director), the Earl of Inchcape, Sir Donald Anderson, and Messrs. W. J. Campbell (managing director), A. J. Maitland-Makgill-Crichton, C. A. W. Dawes, J. W. Dixon, and G. B. Sibley.

Blantyre and East Africa

BLANTYRE AND EAST AFRICA, LTD., report net profit after tax to September 30 at £88,195, against £124,123, the tea crop being a record at 3,254,602lb. but the price being substantially lower, the gross average selling price being 5½d. per lb. under that for the previous year. The issued capital is £457,656. Fixed assets stand at £448,558 and current assets less current liabilities total £378,653. Ordinary shareholders receive 12½%. Mr. Allan Ross Stark is the chairman, and his three colleagues are Messrs. J. A. Meston, Alexander Brown, and F. H. N. Walker.

Sisal outputs for February:—Bird & Co. (Africa), 1,398 tons, making 13,822 since July; East African Sisal Plantations, 170 tons, making 1,718 for eight months (1,077); Dwa Plantations, 93 tons, making 210 for two months (274).

British & Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd., announced on Monday that the court has sanctioned a scheme of arrangement whereby new preference shares in the company will be substituted for the preference shares in Cayzer, Irvine & Co., Ltd.

Tobacco auctions in Salisbury were resumed on Tuesday. **Bandanga, Ltd.**, tea growers in Nyasaland, report trading profit to September 30 at £15,038 less tax of £5,085; in the previous year the trading profit was £25,789 and tax liability £10,340. The dividend is reduced from 1s. to 9d. per 5s. share, costing £5,880 (£7,840).

Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., a group with large interests in East and Central Africa, reports net income after tax for 1962 at £36m., against £32.4m., of which £3.2m. is retained in subsidiaries, leaving £32.8m., almost exactly £4m. above the 1961 figure. The dividend is maintained at 2s. 9d. per £1 unit. At f.o.b. values exports amounted to £100.8m. (£97.5m.), exceeding the £100m. level for the first time.

London and Rhodesia Mining and Land Co., Ltd., has agreed to advance to Henderson's Fransvaal Estates, Ltd., £600,000 at 6½% in consideration of rights to subscribe for 800,000 Henderson shares up to March 1966 at prices ranging from 15s. to 20s. per share, payment to be made from outstandings under the loan. Any balance is to be repaid by March 1967.

Northern Rhodesia's largest copper producer, the Nchanga mine, has raised its metal recovery from 88% to 92% by improvements at the metallurgical plant which has already cost £1.8m. and will later reach £3.7m. The new installation is the first of its kind in the world. The general manager, Mr. Mark Rushton, has said that at the present extraction rate the mine should continue for about a century.

The Universal Asbestos Manufacturing Co., Ltd., which is a one-third partner in Universal Asbestos Manufacturing Co. (East Africa), Ltd., reports group profit after tax for the year to September 30 at £496,476 (£589,191). Ordinary shareholders again receive 10½d. per 5s. share. The issued capital is just under £1.7m. Fixed assets stand at £1.4m., net current assets at £862,513, interest in subsidiaries at £229,520, and interest in associated companies at £137,766.

Arbuthnot Latham & Co., Ltd., announce that group net profits in 1962 totalled £73,394 (£66,655). The 9% dividend is maintained on capital increased by a one-for-three rights issue. The balance-sheet shows cash at £1,761,015, Treasury bills £719,369, investments £992,272, advances just over £3m., and deposits, etc., £5,841,374. The Tanganyika sisal estate had another successful year. Through the Kenya subsidiary it is expected to handle substantial quantities of African-grown tea.

Company Report

CABLE AND WIRELESS (HOLDING) LTD

(Investment Trust Company)



CAPITAL (Authorized)	£47,000,000
(Issued)	£13,547,462
5% Debenture Stock	£5,354,514

In his address to the Annual General Meeting of Stockowners held at Electra House, Victoria Embankment, London, on Friday, 8th March, 1963, **SIR EDWARD WILSHAW** reported **YET ANOTHER RECORD YEAR:**

Governor: **Sir Edward Wilshaw, K.C.M.G.**

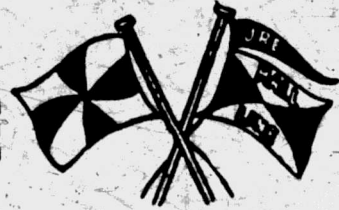
	Year to 31st December	
	1961	1962
CAPITAL (Issued)	£13,547,462	£13,547,462
EARNINGS (Net)	£1,161,876	£1,345,876
DIVIDEND	10%	12½%
RESERVES	£7,086,952	£7,436,904
DEBENTURE STOCK	£5,354,514	£5,354,514
ASSETS	£49,741,235	£50,798,282
INVESTMENTS (Book Value)	£25,360,158	£25,994,006

FUTURE DIVIDENDS The payment of a 12½% dividend for the year to 31st December, 1963, is anticipated.

Over past years there have been frequent scrip and rights issues.

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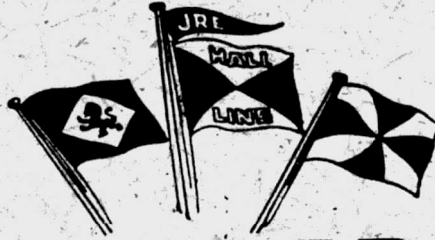
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false PORT SUDAN, ADEN and MTWARA

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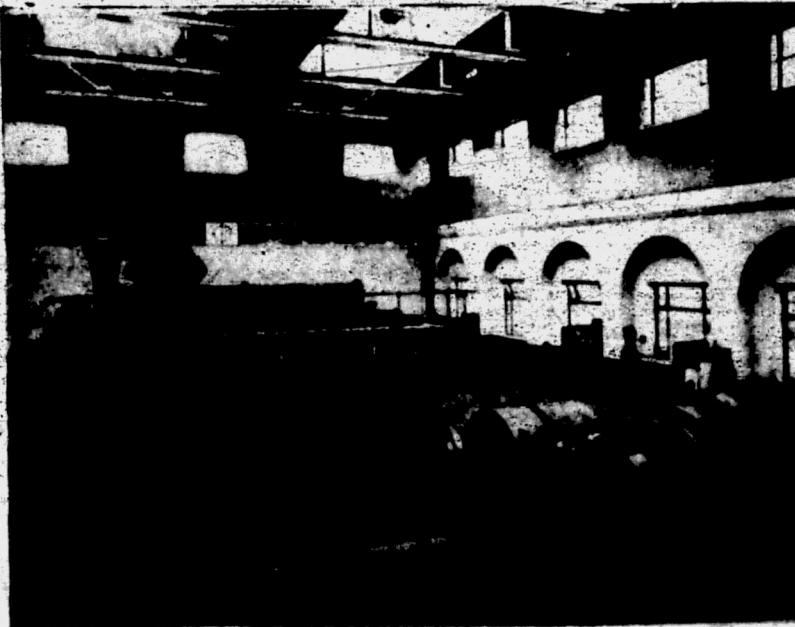
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Thursday, March 21, 1963

Vol. 39

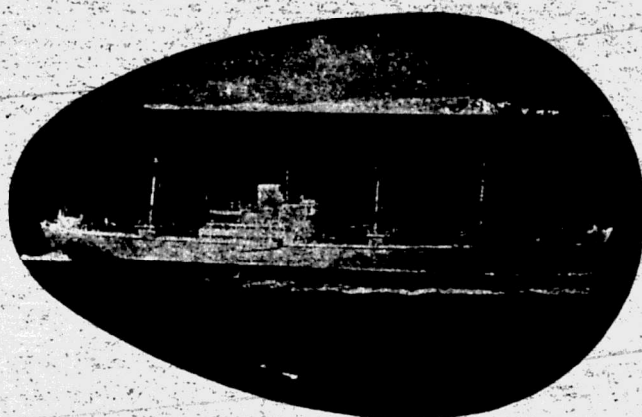
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if inducement MTWARA and NACALA

	Closing	Glasgow	*Sth. Wales	B'head
‡ ADVENTURER	—	—	Mar. 25	Apr. 2
‡ CLAN MACGOWAN	Apr. 3	—	Apr. 8	Apr. 16
‡ CITY OF LUCKNOW	Apr. 17	—	Apr. 22	Apr. 30

*If inducement
‡also PORT SUDAN
also PORT SUDAN, ASSAB, DJIBOUTI and ADEN

also by arrangement,

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

POLITICIANS in the Western world, who preferred short-term expediency to fact-facing and equivocation to principle, have inflamed Somali suspicion over the years, and it is not surprising that the Somali Republic should

Mr. Macmillan Charged With Breach of Pledge.

now have severed diplomatic relations with a United Kingdom Government which it believes to have broken faith. Newspapers in Britain, with one exception, have ascribed the cause to dissatisfaction with the creation of a Somali Region in north-eastern Kenya as a means of preventing the union of Kenya's Somalis with their fellow-countrymen and co-religionists in the adjacent republic. That is the lesser part of the story, for Dr. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke, the Prime Minister, told Mr. Tom Stacey of the *Sunday Times* in Mogadishu last week-end that the British Prime Minister had broken a promise made in London last year that the future of the Somali area of Kenya should depend upon the findings of a commission which was to inquire into the wishes of the inhabitants. That commission having recently reported that they were almost unanimous in asking for union with the Somali Republic, its Ministers had assumed, and assuredly with good reason in the circumstances, that Mr. Macmillan's pledge would be honoured. Instead, they find a new obstacle placed in the way of union. Somalia has therefore joined the list of African States charging the Macmillan Government with breach of its undertakings.

What has not been recalled in this country is that at the end of the last war a Socialist Government in Britain recognized the justice of the case for a Greater Somalia, embracing

Crackpot Decision Of United Nations.

Italian, and Kenya Somalilands, and that

Mr. Ernest Bevin, a realistic and patriotic Foreign Secretary, did all in his power to gain international support for this sensible and eventually inevitable solution to a problem which must otherwise explode in warfare. Years were wasted by international apathy, jealousy, cupidity, ignorance, meddling and muddling, and then the General Assembly of the United Nations recklessly resolved that the former Italian Colony should be thrust into self-government long before it could hope to bear the economic, financial, diplomatic and other responsibilities involved. That folly naturally stimulated claims for self-government from territories which were less unready, and the crackpot decision of the United Nations has consequently been the direct cause of incalculable damage to great areas of Africa which needed another generation or more for the training of Africans before they were pitchforked into tasks of all kinds demanding experience which they lacked.

* * *

As ex-Italian Somaliland approached independence a crash programme of political advancement became inescapable in the British Protectorate, whose people had felt outraged by an Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement in 1954 which without their prior knowledge surrendered to Ethiopia grazing grounds in the hinterland which from time immemorial had been used for about half the year by the Somalis within the British sphere. The sense of betrayal persists, with the consequence that perhaps half of the Ethiopian Army is kept in or within easy reach of the Ogaden (Ethiopian Somaliland), a fact which must increase Ethiopian anxiety at the prospect of Somali expansion on their southern flank also. It must have been in the hope of lessening that risk that the Emperor received Kenyatta in Addis Ababa soon after his release from imprisonment and restriction on Mau Mau charges;

and allegations of Ethiopian payments to the Kenya African National Union or some of its officials have never been publicly denied. Now Kenyatta has said he would choose war rather than surrender Kenya's Somali area. The idea of the Kenyattas, Mboyas and Odingas launching a war against the Somalis is Gilbertian. Their warfare has been and still is against one another.

* * *

All Somalis, including those in the Colony, hold in contempt Kenya's strident African politicians (not one of whom is a Somali), and the Kikuyu in particular, and the leaders of the African political parties would have been wise to agree to the withdrawal of a community with which the other tribes have nothing in common and to the surrender of the desert and semi-desert areas which

Kenya Politicians Should Be Warned.

the African political parties would have been wise to agree to the withdrawal of

make no contribution to the country's economy. Because K.A.N.U. rejected that commonsense policy, K.A.D.U. dared not jeopardize its election prospects by pleading for prudence, and when the Secretary of State for the Colonies was recently in Nairobi the Ministers from both parties threatened to resign from the Government if any part of the Northern Frontier District was to be ceded to the Somali Republic. Mr. Sandys therefore ruled that a new Somali Region should be created, assuredly not in the expectation of its retention by Kenya, but in the hope that, after the elections in May, a new Government may accept the Somali case, if only because it will lack the funds and the military forces to dragoon the Somalis in a vast, distant and inhospitable area. Any such enterprise would be doomed to failure. We repeat that it should be made quite clear to the Kenya politicians now, that British troops would not be available against the Somalis.

Notes By The Way

Aspersions Upon Livingstone

MR. H. B. CHIPEMBERE, whom Dr. Banda made Minister for Local Government on his release from imprisonment for sedition, has told the Nyasaland Legislative Assembly that David Livingstone was a "tourist" and "no more an explorer than I was when I went to Britain for the first time". Did he find in Britain conditions remotely comparable with those described not only by Dr. Livingstone but by all the other early travellers in what is now Nyasaland? They witnessed inter-tribal warfare, slave-raiding and slave-trading, witchcraft, savagery and universal ignorance. Because Livingstone's character, courage, and coolness made an immediate and immense impression almost everywhere, he could pass unscathed where others, especially Africans, would have been stopped and perhaps killed. To speak of him as a "tourist" in consequence is preposterous.

Nyasaland's Incalculable Debt

NYASALAND owes an immense debt to the great missionary explorer. It was of that country that he declared that its outstanding needs were Christianity and commerce. It was in that country that the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, the direct creation of his advocacy, did some of its earliest work, work which has continued self-sacrificingly for a century (one result being that Mr. Chipembere's father is a canon in the Anglican Church). It was Livingstone's exposure of the horrors of the slave-trade that led to the suppression of that scourge of Central Africa. Because of his devotion to Nyasaland, Mrs. Livingstone lies buried where she died while on her way to the locality in which Mr. Chipembere now lives so comfortably — thanks entirely to the labours of the Europeans who established law, order, and communications, conquered tropical diseases, pioneered plantation crops and trade, and made modern Nyasaland. Of the many thousands of fine men and women from Britain who combined to work this transformation, none was braver, truer, or more selfless than Livingstone. Yet he is dismissed as a "tourist" by a

Minister whose outburst serves only to recall that the Devlin Commission made some extremely uncomplimentary comments about his own record.

Jobs for the Boys

ONE ASPECT of the Katanga surrender which nobody appears to have thought worthy of comment is that the absorption of about 18,000 of the Katangese gendarmes into the Congolese National Army — if they come out of the bush to join it, as the Central Government and the United Nations fervently hope — will greatly increase the costs of the army, which already takes about 60% of the total revenue of the Central Government! After the troops, the civil servants, and the politicians in Leopoldville and the provinces have been paid there will be little left for anything else. At the time of independence there were six provinces. Now there are 19 — each allowed a President and ten Ministers; and because politics everywhere has become a quest for jobs, no province is likely to be satisfied with less than its full quota. Indeed, all will tend to buy off opposition by creating new jobs.

Black Market

THE LEOPOLDVILLE GOVERNMENT has paid its way — though many teachers and functionaries have gone unpaid for months — by the simple device of printing more notes with such freedom that in the past two and a half years the currency in circulation has been multiplied elevenfold. It is small wonder that people arriving in the capital from abroad are plagued by touts anxious to rid themselves of their country's money at almost any price. The official rate of exchange for the American dollar is 65 Congolese francs. A friend of mine who arrived recently was approached at the airport and offered 150 francs; his taxi driver offered 200 on the journey to the city; and before the day was out he had been asked to sell at 250. Heavy traffic of this kind appears to be done by Europeans and Africans, some of whom merely cross the Congo for the purpose;

but it is an extremely risky business except for the experts who know the men who should be bribed. That arranged, the givers and takers of the hush-money are pleased that these black market operations should continue.

Mr. Ntiro's Promotion

PROMOTION of modest men gives particular pleasure, and the appointment of Mr. S. J. Ntiro as High Commissioner in London for Tanganyika must therefore be warmly approved. When the High Commission was established on Tanganyika's attainment of independence, he was selected for the post of counsellor to Mr. Dunstan Omari, a High Commissioner who was all too soon recalled to Dar es Salaam to become Secretary to the Cabinet and head of the Civil Service. Responsible people knowing Tanganyika were staggered to hear that his successor was to be Mr. C. K. Tumbo, who, not surprisingly, lasted only a few months; then, after some farcical public exchanges with the Government, he disappeared into obscurity. It was to Mr. Ntiro that most people had turned during the amazing Tumbo interlude, throughout which he discharged difficult duties with a loyalty and capability that won him new friends. After months as Acting High Commissioner he has been advanced to the substantive title. No other High Commissioner in London for a Commonwealth country is a sufficiently good artist to have had a one-man show in a West End gallery. Years before he entered the diplomatic service of his country Mr. Ntiro was so recognized.

Artist and Educationist

HE HOLDS the diploma in education and the certificate in fine art of Makerere College, Uganda, where he was a lecturer in the department of fine art until he came to this country in 1952 on a four-year scholarship at the Slade School of Fine Art of the University of London. He secured his degree in fine art and the London diploma in education, and then returned to Makerere, where he remained until specially selected for the Tanganyika Foreign Service two years ago. He had married in 1958 Ne Sarah Nyendwoha, a Uganda honours history graduate of Oxford University, who is now the hostess on Tanganyika official occasions in London.

Chelsea Tories Trounce Member

CAPTAIN JOHN LITCHFIELD, Tory M.P. for Chelsea, who had attempted a defence of the Government when he addressed the annual meeting of his constituency association, had nothing to say when speaker after speaker bitterly condemned the Cabinet for its betrayal of British territories in East and Central Africa, for its deliberate breaches of pledges made in the name of the United Kingdom Government, and for its appeasement of African political extremists whose parties have used all kinds of violence to gain their ends. For the second time in three years Mr. Harold Soref led the attack; had he not been in Rhodesia at the time of last year's annual meeting he would doubtless have had three consecutive assaults to his credit—and it is to the credit of any Conservative who emphasizes in party gatherings that the Macmillan Government has been so unscrupulous in its dealings with the Federation in particular that it is distrusted and despised in Africa.

Commonwealth Festival

IN HIS OPENING SPEECH Captain Litchfield had suggested a Commonwealth Festival in London next year. That proposal shows how little he knows of Commonwealth sentiment today. Until recently no parts of the

Commonwealth were more devoted to Britain than New Zealand, Australia and Rhodesia. All now are deeply resentful—New Zealanders and Australians because they feel that they were tricked over the Common Market negotiations and Rhodesians because they know that this Government has threatened the very existence of the Federation. There could not possibly be a worse time for a Festival of Commonwealth, for it might well be regarded by millions as an attempt by a Conservative Government which is mistrusted throughout the Commonwealth to use the Queen's overseas realms for its party purposes. That in itself should scotch the idea.

Westminster Model

MR. W. H. INGRAMS, who entered the Colonial Service in Zanzibar in 1919, and was afterwards for many years in Aden, told a good story the other day when he spoke to a London audience among whom were the Ambassadors for the United Arab Republic and the Somali Republic. Recently, he said, he had sat through a four-and-a-half hour debate on Aden in the House of Commons. During that period the number of Members present in the Chamber had varied between 23 and 29. By chance there sat beside him an old friend from Aden, a man who has held a portfolio in its Government. As about a couple of dozen occupants of the benches trooped out to join some 600 colleagues who had heard no word of the discussion but were about to join in the voting, the Adeni inquired: "Did even one of the speeches seem to you to show any understanding of Arab thinking on the subject?" "I had to say 'No'", Mr. Ingrams said; "but some of them had been in Aden, for they told us all about their adventures. And that", he soliloquized, "is British democracy on the Westminster model. How can anyone think that it is likely to appeal to Arabs?"

Patriotism

SIR HUGH FOOT asked recently in a long article in the *Observer*: "What is the duty of patriotism in the new world which we have played a leading part in creating?" His answer was that "that patriotic task must surely be to understand and to help the new nations and the United Nations in which they put so much faith for a better world". The *Daily Telegraph's* diarist, "Peter Simple", who is always watchful for high-sounding absurdity, commented: "I have read this statement forwards, backwards and sideways and upside down, examined it through a microscope, plunged it in formaldehyde, and burned it to ashes. But, admirable though its sentiments may be, I still cannot see what on earth they have to do with patriotism".

Out of Date

THE LATEST ISSUE to reach London of the useful monthly bulletin published by the Department of Trade and Supplies in Kenya has several statistical tables which are surprisingly out-of-date. For instance, mid-year estimates of the civil population cease at June 1961. There should have been no difficulty in giving the estimated figures for June 1962. In the case of commercial air traffic at Nairobi airport, why do the statistics cease with the July figures? The August, September and October statistics must surely have been available—as they are in respect of traffic through the port of Mombasa and for production of the main crops and other useful economic information.

Still Worse

THE COLONIAL OFFICE REPORT on Kenya for 1960—I repeat, 1960—was published in London on March 18, 1963.

Mr. Sandys's Statement on His Visits to Kenya and Zanzibar

K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. Would Have Left Government if N.F.D. Had Been Ceded to Somali Republic

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for the Colonies, said last week in the House of Commons:—

"The primary purpose of my three weeks' visit to East Africa was to finalize the text of Kenya's new Constitution, so as to enable elections to be held and internal self-government introduced. Two weeks I spent in Nairobi, in almost continuous discussion with Kenya Ministers and deputations representing regional, racial and sectional interests.

"I received deputations from the European community. Among other matters, they spoke about the problem facing the aged and infirm, particularly those living in isolated areas. I fully understand and sympathize with their difficulties. I am obtaining further information about these cases from the Government of Kenya, and I hope to be able to make a statement shortly.

"During an interval in the discussions in Nairobi I paid short visits to Zanzibar, Tanganyika and Uganda.

25 Differences for Arbitration

"Thanks to the energy of the Governor, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, and of Kenya Ministers, much the greater part of Kenya's new and complex Constitution had already been settled before I arrived. However, there remained about 25 issues on which K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. Ministers had not managed to agree, and which it fell to me to resolve. On one or two of those questions the differences were eliminated in the course of our talks, and in a few other cases the area of disagreement was narrowed.

"When it was recognized that further discussion would be unfruitful, Ministers of the two parties agreed to refer the points in dispute to me for arbitration and to accept my decisions. I was very glad of this, since it is of the utmost importance for the future stability of Kenya that the new Constitution should be based upon the willing consent of the two main African parties.

Kenya Permeated by Suspicion

"The points of disagreement were mainly concerned with the balance of power between the Central Government and the regional authorities, and with the varied tribal aspirations and fears which are inextricably connected with it. Unhappily, the whole of political life in Kenya today is permeated by inter-tribal rivalry and suspicion; and any Constitution which ignored this hard fact would, from the start, be doomed to failure.

"In coming to my decisions on the points of disagreement I was guided by three main principles: first, to adhere faithfully to the basic constitutional framework agreed between all parties at the Lancaster House Conference last year; secondly, to create governmental machinery which would be efficient and workable; thirdly, to provide a sufficient degree of regional autonomy to safeguard one tribal group from domination by another.

"In addition to the internal issues I had to deal with two problems of an international character. The first concerned the 10-mile-deep coastal strip, including Mombasa, which is part of the territory of the Sultan of Zanzibar but under a treaty of 1895 has been administered as a British Protectorate.

"The Government of Zanzibar might quite well have maintained that H.M. Government were not entitled under the treaty to hand over control of the coastal strip to a self-governing African administration. However, when I discussed the matter with the Sultan and his Government, they at once made it clear that they warmly welcomed Kenya's constitutional progress and wished to raise no objections to the continued administration of the coastal strip as a part of Kenya under the new Constitution.

"It was agreed between us that before Kenya became fully independent there would naturally have to be talks between H.M. Government and His Highness's Government regarding the new situation which would then arise. I am publishing as a White Paper the text of a joint statement by the Chief

Minister of Zanzibar and myself, and I express my warm appreciation of the helpfulness and understanding shown by the Sultan and his Government.

"The other international problem was the demand for the cession to Somalia of the Northern Frontier District of Kenya. The report of the recent commission of inquiry shows that the eastern part of this area is inhabited predominantly by Somalis and other kindred people who wish to be integrated with the Somali Republic. On the other hand, the report indicates that a majority of the inhabitants of the western part of this area are opposed with equal vehemence to secession. The impressions I received from my meetings with secessionist and anti-secessionist deputations from the N.F.D. fully confirm this conclusion.

Irrevocable Step Opposed

"I discussed the whole problem very frankly with Kenya Ministers. They felt strongly that, in the absence of a fully representative Government which could speak with authority for the people of Kenya, it would not be right for the British Government on its own to take an irrevocable step.

"In any case, it seemed reasonable to ask the Kenya Somalis to give a fair trial to the new Constitution, with the wide degree of local autonomy which it will confer. However, in order to emphasize their good will and in order to give to Kenya Somalis greater opportunity for the expression of their racial and religious identity, Kenya Ministers agreed that consideration should be given to the formation of a separate region. They left the decision on this question to H.M. Government.

"We decided to create a seventh region, embracing the eastern part of the N.F.D., as envisaged in the report of the Regional Boundaries Commission. We did not, of course, imagine that this would fully satisfy Somali aspirations, but, while not wishing to exclude future consideration of any methods of settling this problem, we did not think that at this juncture a more radical solution would be justified.

"Even if we had wanted to do so, it was clear that in these circumstances a decision by the British Government to cede this territory without the consent of Kenya Ministers would have provoked violent reactions throughout the country, and would certainly have led both K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. to leave the Government.

"As it was, both parties accepted as fair and reasonable my decisions on this and all the other points of disagreement. The way was thus clear to fix the dates for the elections for the regional and national assemblies. These will be staggered over a period of 10 days and will be completed on May 26, after which the new Constitution will come into force and Kenya will have full internal self-government."

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "While recognising what has been accomplished by the Secretary of State, may I ask whether he is aware that if the Government of which he was a member had accepted the report of the Parliamentary Mission in 1954 — of which, incidentally, I am the only member left in the House — his task would have been easier, and he would have got a much better result?"

Party and Tribal Difficulties

"We know that in the case of Kitale there were some differences between the two major African parties. One wanted Kitale to go to the Western Province. Can the rt. hon. gentleman assure us that apart from tribal difficulties there will not be a development of party difficulties?"

"The second question concerns Somaliland. It would be most unfortunate if the Government allowed the situation to develop where possible differences concerning the Northern Province had to be settled between Kenya and Somaliland when Kenya became independent. That would place a very heavy burden on Kenya and Somaliland — both developing countries. I would have thought that the last thing we would want was to make it difficult for them to look after their internal affairs. I suggest that the Minister might consider asking the African members of the United Nations to appoint a team of experts to look into the matter and make recommendations.

"We welcome the fact that the Kenya Government and the Zanzibar authorities have agreed that the coastal strip shall be a part of Kenya in future.

"Can the rt. hon. gentleman say anything more about the Central Land Board? Hon. Members on this side welcome decentralization, but we would strongly deprecate the board being strengthened by other action."

MR. SANDYS: "Formation of the seventh region does not prejudice the final decision on the Northern Frontier District and does not exclude further consideration of other solutions.

"As to the proposal for an international inquiry into the facts of the situation in this area, we are not short of information. We know the facts. But even after knowing them the problem remains. I do not believe that any further inquiry would greatly help us.

"My difficulty regarding Kitale was that at the Lancaster House Conference a year ago everybody agreed that a boundaries commission should be set up and that all should accept its decisions whether they liked them or not. It was very difficult, therefore — impossible really — for me to reopen this question of boundaries unless there was agreement by the parties who were responsible for the joint decision at the Lancaster House Conference.

"However, on the last day I was able to introduce a new provision into the Kenya Constitution which provides a simple and quick method of transferring territory from one region to another during the first six months after the Constitution comes into force, the idea being to rectify any mistakes which had become apparent, provided that the two regions concerned were agreed. Only their agreement by a simple majority will be needed. I am hopeful that the entire Kitale question will be dealt with in this way if, as we are told, both regions are in favour of this change."

Blow to Confidence

SIR H. OAKSHOTT: "Will my rt. hon. friend allow me to congratulate him warmly on what must have been an extremely exacting mission, but one which may bear fruit in the future? Was not the original idea that there should be a strong central land board with an independent chairman which would inspire confidence in resolving tribal conflicts over land, settle purchases, resettlement, and so on, and will not this rather sudden change, the cancellation of General Bourne's appointment, and the reduction in the powers of the board, damage confidence?"

MR. SANDYS: "Naturally, I gave a great deal of thought to this matter. The original plan for the Central Land Board was made in the assumption that an independent body could probably be entrusted with controversial decisions on the allocation of land as between tribes, and also with the administrative problems of actual cultivation after the land had been resettled. That was the decision which emerged from a unanimous view of the Lancaster House Conference.

"But things do not always look quite the same on the ground as they do around the conference table in Lancaster House, and I think that on further reflection people came to the conclusion that the question of dealing with rival tribal claims for land was much better left to the regional authorities in whose area the land lay and the tribes live. Administrative arrangements for the cultivation of the land should not be divorced from the overall responsibility of the Government for the formulation of an agricultural policy.

"Confidence in the Land Board in particular is a matter for the Europeans, because they are primarily affected in this matter. I should like to point out that the board will continue to be exclusively responsible for all those matters which are of direct concern to the European farming community — that is to say, selection of the land to be bought, the valuation, and the payment of the purchase price. Because of the restriction in the scope of the board and the exclusion from its purview of tribal and other matters, it has now been possible to put on to the board something which the European community always wanted, a representative of the European farming community to watch their interests."

East African Federation

MR. WALL: "I particularly congratulate my rt. hon. friend on obtaining an agreed form of regional Constitution. What degree of financial autonomy are the regions to have? I recognize the difficulty over the Somali problem. Is my rt. hon. friend aware that the decision is likely to create a certain amount of feeling throughout the whole Moslem world? Does not he think that there should be a rectification of the frontier in the context of the new East African Federation?"

MR. SANDYS: "I do not know about a rectification of the frontier in the context of the East African Federation, which is still a long way from existing. The decision to formulate the seventh region does not exclude further consideration of other solutions. The fiscal set-up has been largely determined by a very able report by Professor Tress on the whole of this problem, which we have been able to follow pretty closely."

MR. BROCKWAY: "Is the Minister aware that many of us appreciate the difficult problems with which he has been dealing and that broadly we congratulate him on the Constitution that he has gained? Will he consider a suggestion regarding the very grave issue of the northern frontier and the claims of the Somalis?"

"Will he seek to expedite the conclusion of the East African Federation within which the problems of this area may be settled by incorporation in that wide Federation? Secondly,

Somali Republic Severs Diplomatic Ties

Mr. Macmillan Accused of Breaking Promise

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS with Britain were formally broken off by the Somali Republic on Monday, after the National Assembly had approved the move last week by 74 votes to 14. The rupture is a protest against the decision to make the Somali-dominated eastern sector of the Northern Frontier District a seventh region of Kenya, contrary to the almost unanimous demand of the inhabitants for secession to the Republic.

The British Embassy in Mogadishu will be closed within the next fortnight. Thereafter the United States is expected to act on behalf of Britain, and the Italian Government will represent Somali interests in London and Nairobi.

The Somali Minister, Dr. Ali Shermarke, has stated that he does not wish his country to receive further aid from Britain (expected to be nearly £1m. this year), but that he hoped for Communist or non-Communist aid from other nations. During last week's debate he said that "we will also do everything (in addition to breaking off diplomatic relations) to harm the British, despite our limited strength".

The British Ambassador, Mr. L. F. L. Pyman, obtained an assurance that British lives and property in the country would nonetheless be afforded the "fullest protection". A number of British families have been flown out to Aden and Nairobi.

Kenya Demonstrations

Hundreds of Somali tribesmen in Kenya attacked a police party at Moyale last week, trying to free a fellow tribesman who had been arrested. The D.C., Lieut-Colonel John Balfour, was wounded in the arm by a spear. Disturbances were reported also at El Wak, Marsabit and Mandera, where at least five people were killed. In Nairobi a crowd of African women led by a K.A.N.U. officer demonstrated at the Somali consulate.

Dr. Shermarke told Mr. Tom Stacey, who is visiting Mogadishu for the *Sunday Times*, that "the break in relations with the British Government does not mean the breaking of relations with the people of Britain. I believe that much of informed public opinion in Britain gives us its support. As soon as God illumines the mind of the British Government it will be we who will ask for the restoration of diplomatic relations".

He accused Mr. Macmillan of having broken his word, saying that the Prime Minister had told him in London last year that the future of the Somali area of Kenya must depend upon the findings of the commission which would inquire into the wishes of the inhabitants. Though they had been almost unanimous in asking for union with the Somali Republic, H.M. Government was obstructing their wish, thus breaking last year's promise.

will he encourage the heads of African States — because in the last resort this problem will be settled in Africa and not here — who are shortly to meet in Addis Ababa to offer their arbitration on the problem of frontiers between the different African communities?"

MR. SANDYS: "On the question of Somalia, I doubt whether a conference of the kind which is to be held in Addis Ababa would provide a suitable medium for arbitration, or whether either of the two parties would be very happy to accept it."

"It is well known that H.M. Government want to see any steps taken which are feasible to strengthen the economy and stability of the whole of this area. We welcome the efforts which are being made in East Africa to pursue the idea of a closer association of one kind or another. It will receive all our encouragement and support."

MR. F. M. BENNETT: "Following the question of regional finance, we all agree that Professor Tress's settlement guarantees adequate revenue. What some of us are worried about is whether that revenue is secured to the region in the context of the suspicions existing at present in Kenya."

"As to the Kitale problem, would the Secretary of State agree that his chief problem here is not so much frontier rectification between quarrelling tribes as the settling of agreed frontiers between the regions separate from the interferences of third parties who had no interests in the matter except to try to stir up trouble?"

MR. SANDYS: "I do not want to stir up any trouble. As to fiscal arrangements, the regions are assured in some cases of the general product of certain taxes and in other cases of a percentage of the total product of the taxes of which the regions, can, if they think it necessary, assume a part."

(Continued on page 625)

Kenya's Central and Regional Government Expenditure

Fiscal Commission Has No Confidence that National Income Will Rise

EMERGENT INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES generally have a rising national income, "but unhappily there can be no confidence in Kenya's sharing in that experience in the earliest years", states the Fiscal Commission appointed by the Colonial Secretary in its report issued last week.

"The economy is primarily agricultural and pastoral. The major adjustment in land tenure and systems of cultivation will tend initially to reduce rather than increase the production of the cash economy, both directly and through repercussions on secondary industry and commerce".

Economic progress and revenue growths could be obtained by enlarging Government agricultural and animal husbandry services and from the increased output of those qualified to undertake the country's public and private administrative and technical services, but the immediate consequence would be more public expenditure, not more revenue.

Major Surgical Operation

Education, health, agriculture, and animal husbandry would be the services most effected by the substantial transfer of Central Government services to the new regional authorities, which were likely to assume about one-third of present recurrent commitments. A major surgical operation would be required to provide fiscal measures which would enable the regional and local authorities "to have a life and significance of their own".

Central Government and local authorities' recurrent expenditure for 1962-63 will exceed £42m., and increases over the next two years would amount to nearly £2½m. With expenditure already exceeding revenue by a similar sum, and with reduced receipts, a deficit revenue gap of some £5½m. by 1964-65 could be expected, assuming no changes in taxes and rates.

Higher income tax is not recommended because of its "extremely limited scope" to offset the loss expected from a shrinkage of the tax base. Instead, a new graduated personal tax leviable on all adult males and females other than wives with their husbands, with a £30 ceiling initially (£10 is the present maximum) would be operated entirely by local authorities as an instrument of "lively local government" on the Uganda pattern to provide their main revenue. The prospective yield is put at over £4m., from an estimated 1m. people who would be liable to pay.

Reluctant Taxpayers

This measure would relieve the central and regional authorities of an otherwise "intolerable burden" on their own limited revenues, would "establish the inescapable principle that in an independent Kenya a major part of the cost of additional services must fall directly on their principal beneficiaries", and would "make plain to a reluctant population that taxes are the necessary price of public services and must be paid".

Customs and excise duties would be divided between the Central Government and the regional authorities. It is proposed that the latter should receive those paid on petrol and diesel fuels and 35% at first of the remainder, both measures being subject to review at three- to five-year intervals. Purchase, sales and turnover taxes, if introduced "some long time ahead", should also be split on a 35% basis.

Sources exclusive to the Central Government would include taxation of corporate profits; income tax, subject to the provisions for graduated personal tax; export and produce sales taxes and produce cesses, with particular reference to the monopoly advantages of the restrictive quotas on coffee, pyrethrum and whole milk; motor vehicle and drivers' licences in the Nairobi Area; betting taxation and licensing; game licences; annual capital and wealth taxes, and estate and succession duties; legal and commercial stamp duties; royalties and fees for precious and semi-precious minerals and mineral oils (should the income for any particular item exceed £100,000 in a year, the extra amount would be shared with the region where the revenue arose and divided also in lesser proportion

with all the regions); and receipts from the E.A.C.S.O. distributable pool.

Local authorities would obtain revenue from urban and rural rates; entertainment taxes; from common minerals in their areas, unless the Government designated a particular extract to be of more than local economic interest, in which case the regional authority would benefit; poll rates; and certain produce cesses. Similar provisions would apply in the Nairobi Area.

Regional authorities would be empowered to precept upon the revenues of their local authorities when it was "conscientiously" considered that the expenditure needs of the regional body would be of greater value to the public than additional expenditure by its local authorities. Revenue from motor vehicle and drivers' licences would accrue to the regional authorities.

The Central Government would be required to remit to each regional assembly such sums yearly as would equal half of the costs of the region's police contingents actually incurred that year. Pay and conditions for Central Government and regional police would be determined by the Central Government on the advice of the Police Service Commission; the size and costs of central and regional units would be decided subject to maxima laid down by the national security council by the respective governing bodies.

Regional and local authorities would be allowed to negotiate bank overdrafts for working capital within a general limit, above which Central Government approval would be needed. Internal borrowing would be controlled by the centre.

£3m. Deficit

By 1964-65, when it is suggested these changes should have been introduced, there will be a total public authority deficit of about £3m., the commission states—£2m. falling on the Central Government (9½% of its recurrent commitments) and £1m. spread evenly among the regions (6½% for regional and local authorities).

The commission describes the broad issue facing Kenya as one of increasing revenue in order to reduce its deficit by means other than higher taxation. Two possibilities in this direction would be for the Central Government to make "sharp reductions" in the volume of public expenditure before handing over certain functions to the regions, or to continue to rely on external aid.

The Kenya Government has accepted the commission's recommendations in general and will embody them in the new Constitution.

Education in Kenya

"ABOUT ONE IN TEN of the many thousands of boys and girls in Kenya who complete a full primary school course each year will find a place in a secondary school. Another one in ten enters a teacher-training college or a technical and trades school. Two or three more are probably accepted into other forms of training or commercial employment. But for about half there are no such opportunities. This is regarded by many people as a great misfortune. Surely it ought not to be. Ninety per cent of our people are countrymen. Most of our children are the sons and daughters of farmers. The other five out of ten leavers from the primary schools are or should be the farmers of the future; and even in the advanced countries of the world most people who earn their living on the land start to work there when they are 14 or 15 years old".—Mr. L. G. Sagini, Minister for Education.

Mr. Winston Field to Speak

MR. WINSTON FIELD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, has accepted an invitation to speak at the dinner in London on March 26 of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club. Other members of the Federal and territorial Government delegations who will be in London at the time have been invited to attend.

No Unilateral Decision, Says Mr. Field

N. Rhodesian Government Will Not Compromise

WERE BRITAIN to make any changes in the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia without consulting the Southern Rhodesian Government and obtaining its agreement, those changes would not be recognized by the Colony, Mr. Winston Field, the Prime Minister, told Parliament on Friday.

He said that he would make this position quite clear in his talks in London with the Minister for Central African Affairs, Mr. Butler. He had been asked to comment on a statement made by the Labour Party's new leader in Britain, Mr. Harold Wilson, that a Socialist Government would alter the Colony's Constitution.

Mr. Field said in an interview that Mr. Wilson must have confused Southern Rhodesia with Northern Rhodesia, a Protectorate. "Southern Rhodesia has been self-governing since 1923, and the new Constitution makes us more or less independent. It is made quite clear in the new Constitution—and it is a written convention—that the British Government cannot make any change in our Constitution unless it is at our request or with our approval."

Mr. Field is due in London from Salisbury this morning. He is to be accompanied by the Minister for Justice, Law and Order, Mr. Clifford Dupont, the Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. C. E. M. Greenfield, the Secretary to the Cabinet, Mr. G. B. Clarke, and his private secretary, Mr. J. Edmondson.

Obstructive Policy

The Northern Rhodesian Coalition party will arrive on Saturday. At a rally attended by some 10,000 people in Lusaka last Sunday the U.N.I.P. leader, Mr. Kaunda, said that the delegation was approaching the talks with Mr. Butler "in a spirit of no compromise at all". Northern Rhodesia must be granted the right to secede from the Federation; failing that, "we shall make it impossible for any stupid Federal department to operate in Northern Rhodesia"—this through a policy of non-violent non-co-operation with the Federal Government.

Economic links with Southern Rhodesia would not be considered "unless we are told that we have the same right to secede as Nyasaland and unless the Southern Rhodesian Constitution is changed. If the language of peace and co-operation fails, the British Government will be held responsible".

He told his supporters to remain calm while he was away, alleging that outside interference was attempting to stir up internal disorders so that constitutional advances would be delayed.

Police had had to use tear-gas the previous week-end to break up party clashes in Bancroft (where a curfew has been imposed), Chingola and Mufulira, when police and A.N.C. vehicles were stoned. Arrests were made. A U.N.I.P. supporter died after being ambushed at Kalulushi and shot with arrows.

Party Differences

Speaking to another rally earlier last week, Mr. Kaunda complained that he was "sick and tired" of allegations made by Mr. Harry Nkumbula, the A.N.C. leader, that U.N.I.P. was behind the disturbances. If the A.N.C. decided to form an alliance with the present Opposition United Federal Party (which has denied that such a union is intended), he would dissolve the Government and force another general election. He also accused Mr. Nkumbula of bribing U.N.I.P. followers to join the A.N.C.

A joint caucus of both parties was later held to settle their differences, and both sides pledged their solidarity to stand firm in London in a demand for the immediate destruction of the Federation and the introduction of a new Constitution.

The Northern Rhodesian delegation will arrive in London on Saturday. In addition to Mr. Kaunda and Mr. Nkumbula, Ministers respectively for Local Government and Social Welfare, and of African Education, the members will include the Minister of Lands and Natural Resources, Mr. C. E. Cousins (A.N.C.); the Minister of Labour and Mines, Mr. R. C. Kamanga (U.N.I.P.); the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Works, Mr. F. Chembe (A.N.C.); the Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, Mr. J. E. M. Michell (A.N.C.); the Parliamentary Secretary,

Ministry of African Agriculture, Mr. E. H. K. Mudenda (U.N.I.P.); and the Parliamentary Secretary for Finance, Mr. A. N. L. Wina (U.N.I.P.).

The Acting Governor, Mr. R. E. Luyt, is accompanying the delegation. The Finance Minister, Mr. T. C. Gardner, and the Minister for Legal Affairs and Attorney-General, Mr. B. A. Doyle, both in this country on leave, will be available as required.

The Federal Government delegation will be led by the Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, who will be accompanied by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. J. M. Greenfield, the Finance Minister, Mr. J. W. Caldicott, the Home Affairs Secretary, Sir Athol Evans, the Parliamentary Secretary for External Affairs, Mr. C. A. M. Lewanika, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. H. M. McDowell, and the Prime Minister's principal private secretary, Mr. W. S. Parker.

The former leader in Southern Rhodesia of the banned Z.A.P.U., Mr. J. Nkomo, arrived in London on Tuesday asking to see Mr. Butler, which was agreed to. He is accompanied by Mr. J. R. Chikerema.

Government Pledges on Federation

Mr. Greenfield Contradicts Attorney-General

MR. J. M. GREENFIELD, Federal Minister of Law, wrote in a letter published by the *Daily Telegraph* on Tuesday:

"In winding up the debate on Central Africa on February 28 the Attorney-General made some remarkable assertions. I was present throughout the series of conferences which led to the creation of the Federation—Sir John Hobson was not. *Hansard* quotes him as saying:

"It is true that in 1952, the Government of Southern Rhodesia wished to preserve for each of the three territories the right to be able to secede unilaterally by any territory, as it were, giving notice"

"This is quite wrong. The Southern Rhodesian Government never had any such wish. It was expressed by Mr. Stockil, then Leader of the Opposition in Southern Rhodesia, and other non-Government representatives.

"Sir John makes play with statements I made on January 19, 1953, which dealt simply with the strictly legal position. My first observation provoked both Lord Swinton and Mr. Lyttelton, as he then was, to give the assurances that the British Government would not use its legal powers. Lord Malvern stated in the House of Lords on December 19, 1962, that but for those assurances he would not have signed the report of the conference which was the precursor of the Federal Constitution.

The Spirit of the Law

"Lord Swinton, speaking at a civic lunch in Salisbury on July 30, 1953, described the report as 'a solemn treaty'. In a speech on July 29, 1953, he said about the same document: 'When we put our hand to a bargain we carry it out in the spirit as well as the law'.

"The present British Government persists in evading the issue by relying on the purely legal powers of Parliament while making light of the assurances given by British Ministers that these would not be used.

"As to the Declaration of April, 1957, I entirely disagree with Sir John, but I cannot trespass on your space to give the reasons. My main concern is to deny Sir John's allegation that: 'Between January, 1953, and December, 1962, not one word is ever heard in public or in private from Sir Roy Welensky or Mr. Greenfield or anybody else about the existence of these pledges. I have already pointed out that similar statements made in the British Government's White Paper Command 1948 and by Mr. Iain Macleod are incorrect'.

Commonwealth and Colonies

CIVIL ESTIMATES presented to the House of Commons include: Department of Technical Co-operation, £12m.; Commonwealth Relations Office, £7,530,000; Commonwealth grants and loans, £9m.; Colonial Office, £3,298,000; Colonial grants and loans, £5.9m.; Colonial Development and Welfare grants, £5.8m.; Central African Office, £935,000; Central African Office, Development and Welfare grant, £650,000; British Council, £1,554,000.

PERSONALIA

MR. R. L. SWAN is acting as Director of Roads in Northern Rhodesia.

SIR WILFRID HAVELOCK will leave London Airport this afternoon to return to Nairobi.

When MRS. NYERERE visited Mwanza a procession of 50 cars escorted her from the airport.

MRS. OLIVE GRANGER is now secretary and treasurer of the Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia Missions.

MR. A. K. CHESTERTON, founder of the League of Empire Loyalists, is due back from South Africa at the end of the month.

DR. J. A. E. ALLUM is spending two months in Tanganyika advising on photo-geology of areas to be mapped this year.

LORD MONCKTON, who had an operation on February 20 for the removal of a kidney, left hospital last week and is now convalescing.

ATO GETAHOUN TESSEMA, Minister for Community Development in Ethiopia, has opened the first trade union training course in that country.

MR. SIDNEY HOCKEY, who went to Kenya in 1959 as libraries development organizer, is to become director of the East Africa Literature Bureau.

MR. REUBEN MWIEU, an economist from Kenya, has been appointed acting principal of the I.C.F.T.U. African Labour College in Kampala.

DR. COGGAN, Archbishop of York, who recently visited Uganda, is to receive the honorary degree of D.D. from Aberdeen University on July 4.

SIR DUNCAN OPPENHEIM, chairman of the British American Tobacco Company, has been re-appointed chairman of the Council of Industrial Design.

THE FEDERAL HIGH COMMISSIONER in London will give a luncheon party on Wednesday next in honour of MR. P. V. EMRYS-EVANS, president of the Chartered Company.

MR. A. W. GAMINARA, Administrative Secretary in Northern Rhodesia, where he has served since 1950, has been appointed a nominated member of the Legislative Council.

MR. JOHN TILNEY, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, left London on Friday to visit Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, and Gambia. He is due back on April 3.

When SHEIKH AMRI ABEDI was sworn in as Minister for Justice in Tanganyika before the President of the Republic, MWALIMU JULIUS NYERERE, the Chief Justice, SIR RALPH WINDHAM, was present.

MR. DEREK BRYCESON, Minister of Agriculture, and CHIEF H. M. LUGUSHA, are chairman and vice-chairman respectively of the Tanganyika national committee of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign.

SIR GILBERT and LADY RENNIE received the guests at a small reception given on Monday evening by the Royal African Society on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the birth of DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

When MR. PAUL BOMANI, Finance Minister of Tanganyika, arrived back in Dar es Salaam last week from Israel, he announced that that country would grant credits for £1m. for Tanganyika development projects.

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, Governor of Kenya, who visited the Treetops Hotel at Nyeri on Tuesday to view game, had to "make a hurried ascent" into a tree to elude a "large and irritable" elephant stamping nearby.

MR. ROBERT REMOLE, United States Consul in Nyasaland, "is the only white man who gets around the country to know people, and as a result his Government has a correct picture of the country", DR. BANDA, stated recently. He added: "We not only like and admire Mr. Remole; we love him".

MR. L. G. BAILEY, who has visited the Rhodesian branch of Bailey's Roofing (Bristol), Ltd., has described the Federation as one of the world's largest untapped consumer markets. He added: "We are here to stay".

MR. EZRA OWITI GUMBE, who has succeeded a European as director of social services for Kisumu Municipal Council, Kenya, holds the diploma in social welfare of the University College of Swansea, South Wales.

MR. V. JOYCE, a Federal M.P., has retired from the appointment of personnel officer at the Mufulira mine—with which he has spent 22 of his 27 years on the Copperbelt—in order to live in Umtali, Southern Rhodesia.

When MR. ALI NASORO LAICER, area commissioner for Arusha, asked children at Olkokola School if they wanted to become farm workers none responded. All raised a hand when he asked who wanted to become President of Tanganyika.

THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA arrived in Zurich at the week-end with the Crown Prince, two royal princesses, and two of his granddaughters to visit another granddaughter who is seriously ill and undergoing medical treatment in Switzerland.

THE QUEEN MOTHER, PRINCESS MARGARET, and PRINCESS ALEXANDRA attended the première in London on Monday evening of the film "Sammy Going South", shot mainly in East Africa, with MR. EDWARD G. ROBINSON in the leading rôle.

When MR. SIKOTA WINA, director of publicity for the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, was married on Saturday to an American Negress, the service was conducted by the REV. MERFYN TEMPLE, a European member of U.N.I.P.

MR. J. J. MASINDE, who has been elected to the board of the Kenya Farmers' Association, is manager of Elgon-Nyanza Farmers' Co-operative Union and a member of the Maize Marketing Board and of the advisory council of the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation.

EX-KING KIGERI V OF RUANDA accompanied Mr. J. A. NZUNDA, Parliamentary Secretary in the office of the Vice-President of Tanganyika, when he visited refugees from Ruanda who are settling in the Ngara district. Each refugee family is to have about 10 acres of land.

MR. DEREK DODSON, British Consul in Elisabethville for nearly a year, has been transferred to the Foreign Office as a counsellor. In January the Congolese Central Government demanded his expulsion. He will be succeeded by MR. WILLIAM WILSON, a first secretary at the F.O.

MR. PAUL BOMANI, Tanganyika Finance Minister, told the recent Leopoldville meeting of the E.C.A. that his country, at "considerable economic sacrifice", was restricting timber exports to South Africa "in order to advance the cause of human dignity and racial equality".

When MR. KENNETH DE COURCY, aged 53, of North Cerney, Gloucestershire, was further remanded on bail of £27,500 at Marylebone magistrates' court last week, it was stated that 20 further charges involving large sums of money had been preferred against him that morning.

MR. F. H. WILEMAN, secretary to the Corporation of Secretaries, who has completed a tour of East, Central and Southern Africa to study training facilities, has said that Kenya cannot afford to accept lower standards than those currently operative in commercial and local government administration.

MR. STANLEY BEMBA, formerly a Minister of State in Uganda under the Democratic Party, has won the Naguru seat in the by-elections to the Buganda Lukiko necessitated by the election of Lukiko members to the Uganda National Assembly. The eight other seats involved all went to Kabaka Yekka members.

Stating that the Government would encourage a check-off system in all industries represented by trade unions, MR. FELIX ONAMA, Uganda's Minister of Works and Labour, told Parliament that the country's trade unionists did not know how to negotiate but only shouted and threatened strikes.

MR. P. I. PATEL, Mayor of Kampala, announcing at the recent annual dinner of the Uganda Chartered Institute of Secretaries that buildings worth £1½m. were being erected and that overseas developers were discussing schemes valued at £1m., forecast that the coming year would be a "boom" period for the city.

THE RT. REV. MAXWELL WIGGINS, lately Assistant Bishop in the diocese of Central Africa, was on Sunday enthroned as first Bishop of Victoria Nyanza, hitherto part of the See of Central Tanganyika. BISHOP WIGGINS is a New Zealander and the new diocese is supported by the Anglican Church in New Zealand.

THE EARL OF LISTOWEL has founded a non-political Uganda-Britain Society, one of whose functions will be to enable Ugandans to enter British commercial firms for training. The chairman of the new society is MR. SIGMUND STERNBORG, who visited Uganda earlier this month to arrange the formation of a local branch.

MR. A. K. E. SHABA, the newly-appointed Minister for Local Government in Tanganyika, has been that country's delegate to the anti-colonial committee of the U.N. Last week he urged it to re-examine the situation in Southern Rhodesia, "where the extreme settler régime is making more efforts to entrench its oppressive position and catch up or even outdo South Africa".

In a message marking the third anniversary of the formation of the Uganda People's Congress, MR. A. MILTON OBOTE, the party president and Prime Minister of Uganda, said that although foreign rule had been "overthrown" by independence last year, "we have enemies operating from overseas, with local agents in our country, who want to keep the majority of our people in a state of perpetual poverty as a mere laughing-stock".

DR. VIDA MUNGWIRA, the only African woman doctor in the Federation, who has been working in Lilongwe Hospital, Nyasaland, is to be transferred to Harare hospital in Southern Rhodesia "for her own safety", according to the Federal Ministry of Health. On the previous day the official journal of the Malawi Congress Party had charged her with "rude remarks" against Dr. Banda and "about our secession from Welensky's Federation".

Tanganyika Cabinet Shuffle

MR. OSCAR KAMBONA has been appointed Minister for External Affairs and Defence in Tanganyika in Cabinet changes announced last week by President Nyerere. Mr. Nsilo Swai has been recalled from New York to be Minister for Development Planning, a new portfolio.

Ahij Chief Abdullah Fundikira having resigned to become first chairman of the Tanganyika Development Corporation, Sheikh Amri Abedi, formerly commissioner for Western Region, has been appointed Minister for Justice.

Responsibility for Home Affairs passes to Mr. Job Lusinde, vice Mr. Kambona, and Mr. Austin Shaba succeeds Mr. Lusinde as Minister for Local Government.

Mr. Sebastian Chale is acting as permanent representative at the United Nations in New York.

The new commissioner for Western Region is Mr. J. S. Malecela. Mr. M. P. Mazinge has been appointed commissioner for Southern Region.

Obituary

Mr. John Dugdale

THE RT. HON. JOHN DUGDALE, Socialist M.P. for West Bromwich since 1941, who died last week at the age of 57 after collapsing in the House of Commons while making a speech, was Minister of State for Colonial Affairs in 1950-51, during which time he visited East Africa. It was not a happy period for him or for some of those with whom he was in contact.

While in Tanganyika he caused controversy by walking out of a cocktail party in Arusha arranged in his honour on conditions to which he had explicitly agreed, and his sudden change of mind inevitably provoked ill-feeling. There was also discontent in Kenya because he took an African into a Nairobi restaurant and ordered beer when European intoxicants were still forbidden to Africans.

The only son of Colonel Arthur Dugdale, C.M.G., D.S.O., of Morton in the Marsh, Gloucestershire, who left him a large fortune, he was educated at Wellington and Christ Church, Oxford. After a short time in the Foreign Service and a little journalism, he was from 1931 to 1939 private secretary to Mr. Attlee, then leader of the Labour Party. He unsuccessfully contested three seats as a Socialist before being returned unopposed for West Bromwich at a by-election. He served in the Army from 1940 to 1942, was P.P.S. to Mr. Attlee towards the end of the Coalition Government, and when it was succeeded by a Socialist Government in 1945 Dugdale was made Financial Secretary to the Admiralty.

He had married in 1938 Irene Constance Haverson, granddaughter of George Lansbury, the pioneer Socialist. She and two sons survive him.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES WILLIAM GWYNN, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., who has died in Dublin at the age of 93, served in the Egyptian Army in the Sudan between 1899 and 1904. He was employed in 1903 in delimiting the frontier with Ethiopia, and in 1908-9 he served on the commission concerned with the boundary between British East Africa and Ethiopia, in which connexion he was awarded the Peake Fund medal of the Royal Geographical Society. In 1926 he was appointed commandant of the Staff College, Camberley. His book "Imperial Policing" was published in 1934.

THE REV. WILLIAM GEORGE LEWIN, who has died in Groombridge, Kent, was a U.M.C.A. missionary in the Masasi diocese of Tanganyika between 1919 and 1931. He was Archdeacon of Ruvuma between 1922 and 1926, Vicar-General of Masasi, 1926-31, and then for two years organizing secretary of the mission in the eastern counties of England. He went to South Africa in 1934 as rector of Lydenburg, and from 1941 until 1959 was priest in charge of Irene, Transvaal, and chaplain of Irene Homes.

MR. HARRY ROBERTS, member for Matobo and a founder member of the Rhodesia Front, has died in Southern Rhodesia. He was born in Johannesburg in 1908. He had farmed in the Colony for the past 30 years, where he also engaged in electrical engineering. He had been in the last Parliament.

LORD REAY, Chief of the Clan Mackay, has died in a Nairobi hospital, aged 57. He had spent recent winters in Kenya.

SEYYID SEIF BIN FEISAL, son-in-law of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, has died suddenly.

C. African Transformation Ruined by "Tornado" of Change

Federation Can Continue Despite Readiness to Abdicate to Unscrupulous Nationalists*

MR. ROBERT JENKINS, one of the first Tory M.P.s. to visit Central Africa as a guest of the Federal Government, said that he came back a firm believer in maintaining the Federation. He still did not believe that it was doomed.

"One thing that has astonished me about the debates on Central Africa is that no reference has been made to the magnificent work of those white settlers who left this island and brought order out of chaos throughout the world. In 80 years white settlers have transformed Central Africa from a country composed of barbarians to a reasonably civilized community.

"From the moment the Monckton Commission made its report the grand concept of a multi-racial society began to crumble. Subsequent to that report the Minister responsible for the territories in this House began to give way to the nationalists. The nationalists were inspired to go ahead by the 'wind of change' speech made by the Prime Minister, who never thought that it might result in a tornado going through Africa.

"Those who were present at the 1952 conference, men like Lord Malvern, Sir Roy Welensky, Lord Boyd, Lord Chandos, and Lord Colyton, have all said unequivocally that undertakings and pledges were given. We have no doubt where the truth lies.

No Confidence in British Intentions

"In the Federal Parliament in November, 1960, Sir Roy Welensky said that he would not have agreed to the Monckton Commission had he believed that its terms of reference would include secession. He said: 'I received explicit assurances to this effect from the British Prime Minister in November, 1959'. The Monckton Commission's recommendations sold the pass for the Federation, since after it came out no African nationalist would co-operate with the Federal Government, in the belief that all that had to be done was to persuade the U.K. Government to break up the Federation.

"I was present at the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club dinner on 10th July, 1962, when the First Secretary said: '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 money into the Federation we shall be behind you'. That was less than a year ago. It is therefore reasonable for us to accept that responsible people in the Federation are losing confidence in the future intentions of H.M. Government.

"The Federation has been a great success story, in finance, employment, education, health, the building of hospitals, communications and roads, exports and power. I have never heard anyone say that the Federation was incompetent or inefficient. No charge has been made today that the Federation is being broken up because the Administration is inefficient and incompetent. Yet the Government and many hon. Members are anxious to dismantle it, although it is a fine conception which could have proved to be an outstanding edifice of civilization and multi-racial co-operation.

Concessions to Violence

"In 1960 the Lennox-Boyd Constitution for Northern Rhodesia had been in operation one year. It was intended to last 10 years. In June 1960 the Governor of Northern Rhodesia said: 'In the face of this clear and direct statement of H.M. Government's position on the constitutional future of the territory, I trust that no political leader or leader of any political organization in Northern Rhodesia will continue to mislead his followers into an expectation that radical changes in our Constitution are just round the corner'. In February 1961 proposals for the Constitution were published. In June 1961 those proposals were amended in a statement made by the Leader of the House.

"Later, after intimidation, concessions were made. Although the June 1961 proposals were considered by everybody in this House and in the Federation as being the basis for the final Constitution, continued intimidation caused further concessions, which vitally changed the Constitution and ensured that an African nationalist majority would be elected.

"It seems to me that the Government is about to let down

Sir Roy Welensky's Government, the white settlers, the copper mine workers, the coal miners, and the men from Durham, Northumberland, Yorkshire, Newcastle and South Wales who went out to Central Africa in their thousands, and who, incidentally, when the only copper that we could get for our munitions during the war came from the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia, worked 20 hours a day to mine it for us. The civil servants will also be let down, as they have been let down in most places where changes of this kind have occurred. Industry is beginning to sag.

"Even worse if this process of giving the black Africans the right to govern themselves is allowed to develop too swiftly, and no remedial action is taken within the next two or three years, those responsible black Africans who have trusted us in the past are also going to be let down.

"Power-Sated Black Politicians"

"No one in this House seems to have taken the view that there is still a possibility that the Federation will continue. I take that view because I believe in it. I believe the Government are being prepared—no more than that—to hand over the last bulwark of the British way of life to unscrupulous, power-sated black politicians whose rule will destroy the great edifice of civilization built up during the days of Rhodes and onwards. To withdraw support from Sir Roy Welensky now, when he is on the threshold of achieving a multi-racial society in Central Africa, would be one of the greatest catastrophes in the history of the British Commonwealth and Empire."

MR. ALBERT ROBERTS (Lab.) recalled that of 20 Labour M.P.s. who had visited the Federation 18 returned with the view that a *prima facie* case had been made out for its continuation. The First Secretary was now trying to evolve the theory, 'If you cannot convince, confuse'.

Narrow Nationalism

"A few months ago I was in Angola. I am the only Labour M.P. who has been in the terrorist area of that country. We have to remember what happened in Angola and that it was all engineered inside the Congo. Angola was invaded at 50 places on a 400-mile front. The butchery and slaughter were nauseating. It is time that some of these facts were brought into the light.

"A short time ago in Salisbury on one pleasant Sunday afternoon I watched a football match in which black and white were playing. That was true multi-racialism. On this side of the House we have always advocated multi-racialism, but my hon. friends are now trying to bring about narrow nationalism. We all agree about the importance of the emergence of the Africans, but is not this a question of timing? When we talk about masses of people seeking emancipation we have to remember some of the primitive tribes in the Federation. Economic freedom is far more important than political freedom; if there is economic freedom, political freedom will follow.

Malcolmed Intimidation

"The hon. Member for Walsingham Mr. Well was in Blantyre when I was there with some of my friends. We saw direct intimidation by the Malcolmed Party. We saw houses burning and the tenants of those houses having to seek refuge in the forests where we found them later in the day. We went to the police and were told that the events of that Sunday were never understood. The Malcolmed Party was having a meeting which was secretly attended, and so it went with loud speakers to round up the cattle. Intimidation was made and to encourage the black African element and set fire to houses. The hon. Member for Walsingham must realize that a lot of intimidation has taken place in Nyasaland.

"The Federation is a wonderful concept and the only reason why it has not worked is that mistakes in this Chamber since 1953 have been determined that it should not work. If it had been allowed to continue I am convinced that Sir Edgar Whitehead meant what he said and to some extent we have driven him into the political wilderness when he forecast that the Africans would have control of the Federation within the course of ten decades. What is wrong with that?"

[*Being further extracts from the Parliamentary debate on Mr. Butler's report of his tour of the Federation.]

"The University in Salisbury is functioning well and it is multi-racial, and there are many other institutions in the Federation which function well and which are also multi-racial. We have talked about the slums in Salisbury, and I have seen them. I would sooner live in the slums in Salisbury than in the slums of some of our major cities during the arctic weather which we have been experiencing. If more financial aid had been provided to produce employment opportunities as the Africans were educated, we could have overcome our difficulties more easily.

"It has been said that there is no hope for the Federation. I hope that Northern and Southern Rhodesia will work out some common policy. It is a question of having confidence and political maturity and attempting to conduct affairs properly. It is said that political questions can be solved by giving full control to the black Africans. I am all for that when the time is opportune.

"I am not against Sir Roy Welensky. I have talked to hundreds of people in the Federation who left this country during the slump and went there with their families. There are business tycoons in the Federation, but there are also thousands of decent people who want to develop a truly multi-racial society.

Deceit of Political Independence

"Black Africans in Southern Rhodesia are being deceived. They seem to think that if they get political independence everything will be free and easy. Are we going to allow the economy to disintegrate and then answer appeals for funds to feed the hungry? Are we going to give independence to Nyasaland and then make them dependent on the British taxpayer?

"I am a Socialist and a trade unionist. I want to see these countries come out on top. If Federation could have continued they would have been a shining example to the world. Instead of that we have intervention—and we have had it for a long time—from the Americans, who seem to think that if someone puts a bottle of Coca Cola into the hand of an African he becomes civilized. On the Copperbelt I met rational people who were amazed at the amount of subterfuge in which the Americans are engaged. They are financing people who are working underground and as we go out they will move in.

"We have had far too many debates on the Federation. Had there been more common sense we should have found the right answers".

MR. AIDAN CRAWLEY (Cons.) recalled that when he supported the Labour Government of 1945 they found that they could not honour promises which they had made. He continued *inter alia* :—

"One thing which has hampered the solving of the problems of Central Africa has been the legalistic attitude of the Opposition. They missed a tremendous opportunity through too narrow and dogmatic an attitude towards the terms of reference when they refused to join the Monckton Commission. They missed the chance of playing a positive part in trying to frame the future development of these territories.

Reforms Retarded

"Their legalistic attitude towards Southern Rhodesia has also had severe and tragic effects. Their insistence upon the purely paper rights of H.M. Government to interfere in the affairs of Southern Rhodesia has had a far greater effect than the reasons given by the hon. Member for Leeds East in causing Sir Edgar Whitehead to lose the election. By losing it the Southern Rhodesians have had the clock put back a very long way. Had Sir Edgar Whitehead won that election they would have been within a few years of a reform of their Constitution which would have brought an African majority and enabled Southern Rhodesia much more easily to play its part in the development of Africa and in any association which may be formed. It is fatal because certain paper rights insist for us to threaten Governments over whom we have no control. It is fatal because it simply causes resentment, and resentment brings the sort of result which we now see.

"I had hoped for a little more information from the First Secretary. I am sure he is hoping that the new personalities which have emerged on the Central African stage will establish some confidence between each other. I know Mr. Winston Field and I know that he is a man of very outspoken and perfectly honest views. I do not agree with very many of them, but he leaves me in no doubt about what he thinks and equally in no doubt that he is a perfectly honourable man. It is quite possible that he will reach a degree of understanding with Dr. Banda and Mr. Kaunda which may produce results.

"The Federation is drawing to a close. It is tragic, but it is true. It cannot be brought to an end suddenly, because it is a complicated business. Perhaps the most complicated part of winding up an organization of this kind is its finance. Much of the public debt is in the form of foreign loans. The Federal Government was the entity to whom those loans were made. It could be said that the debt should be divided between the three territories. Then Nyasaland would be ruined before it got on its feet. Some part of that debt will have to be guaranteed by H.M. Government.

"When the Monckton Commission was in Africa a plan was put out by the Dominion Party, which is now in power in Southern Rhodesia, for a Greater Rhodesia. The plan left out Nyasaland and assumed that Southern and Northern Rhodesia under their present franchises and Constitutions might form a single entity. I think that all that has happened since has made this plan totally impractical. It would be reassuring if my rt. hon. friend could tell us that that plan is completely dead, or that H.M. Government would not relinquish responsibility for Northern Rhodesia without making certain that no attempt to put it into force would be made.

"The hon. Member for Leeds East suggested that H.M. Government should not grant independence to Southern Rhodesia until there was an African majority. I wonder what he would do if he were in power and the Southern Rhodesian Government asked for independence. Would he send troops to Southern Rhodesia to take control of the country, or try to? Would he adopt economic sanctions to try to force Southern Rhodesia to remain in the Commonwealth and within the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom? Does he imagine that that would succeed? If economic sanctions were taken against Southern Rhodesia, the country would certainly be ruined, and 3½m. Africans would be ruined at the same time. The only conceivable result of any such action would be to drive the Southern Rhodesian Government into some form of much closer association with South Africa and the whole system of apartheid would be brought much nearer Southern Rhodesian Africans.

Political Bludgeon

"I hope that Southern Rhodesia will not yet ask for independence. I hope that it will be possible for H.M. Government to retain a great deal of influence there—but it will not be attained by using a political bludgeon. The most likely way of helping or of retaining our influence and keeping Southern Rhodesia out of a closer association with South Africa is to try to bring the Federation decently but swiftly to a close and to put in its place a new form of association which will link Southern Rhodesia with the countries to the north and keep it in the main stream of African development.

"This problem will not be solved if we go on indefinitely delaying, and delay might again result in deadlock. If there is deadlock again between the three territories of Central Africa, we shall not get any form of new association, and Southern Rhodesia almost inevitably will ally itself to the territories to the south. This would be a great tragedy".

MR. MICHAEL FOOT (Lab.) did not think Mr. Butler was the best man for the apparently hopeless task in Central Africa, for he was more like a willow than an oak.

"He is presiding over the consequences of the misdemeanours of his colleagues, and because of his slightly morbid political philosophy he derives some satisfaction from the process. He is not as responsible as some of the others and he manages to carry the burden with greater ease. He has been called upon to perform his usual task of making everything appear cool and well under control; that everything can be smoothed over and dealt with in his usual suave and diplomatic manner. Unfortunately, it is not that kind of problem.

Judicial Glens

"The rt. hon. member for Blackpool South described the pledges as a purely academic matter. Surely these understandings represent an extremely serious matter? If one leaves out the judicial glens, undertakings were given. They were not casual undertakings given about side issues, but undertakings—if not pledges—on the absolutely primary matter being debated in the House in the country, and throughout Africa at the time. They were pledges of the greatest importance.

"What is utterly dishonourable is that they were not fully and publicly revealed at the time. For a Government to put through a major Act of this nature affecting the whole future of Africa and to make undertakings of this seriousness and not to reveal them to the country is a gross offence against the proper conduct of business in this House and against democracy. The Government's actions in 1953 were utterly dishonourable.

"I am no defender of Sir Roy Welensky, but Sir Roy has a right to be treated honourably, and he certainly does not feel that he has been so treated. Whatever defender of the Government in respect of these pledges there may be, the only argument we have received from the Government side has been that pledges do not matter. I exclude from that remark the First Secretary himself, who, with his brilliant sophistries, said that the pledge with which he was dealing was not a pledge. Whether or not it was an exact pledge in juridical terms, large numbers of very eminent and worthy people believe that the Government have behaved with the utmost dishonour.

"We read the speeches of the Marquess of Salisbury, who used to be regarded as the best defender of the honour of the Tory Party. The First Secretary succeeded the Marquess of Salisbury at the Foreign Office in 1958 when many people thought that the Marquess had resigned on a point of honour. I do not agree with the Marquess of Salisbury's policy, but nobody questions him as an authority on this question of honour. He says that what the Government have is the gravest blot on our escutcheon. He could not think of anything more devastating than that.

Nothing Constructive Yet

"Not a single newspaper in the country has dared say that the Government has behaved honourably about these pledges. Only the First Secretary in the House of Commons has defended the Government's behaviour.

"The First Secretary was said to have returned from Africa with the germs of a constructive idea. They are the most uncontagious germs I ever saw. If there are any constructive ideas they were not revealed to us today.

"On the critical issues of Southern Rhodesia what did the First Secretary say? That the question of intervening about the Southern Rhodesian situation was not before him at the moment! If I may be blasphemous and ungrammatical, who in the name of all the gods are they before? This is the central issue which we are supposed to be debating; and, as an hon. member has said, this may be the last debate before it is decided what is to be done in Central Africa.

"It is a ludicrous state of affairs. The rt. hon. gentleman has said over many months that he will not take any action to hold up the procedure in Southern Rhodesia. Before the elections he said that he could not take any action. Now he gives not the slightest hint of any action that he will take. It prompts the suspicion that the Government have given further secret undertakings. Have any secret undertakings been given to Southern Rhodesia governing the possibility of any further British intervention? We have every right to be told.

Bloodshed Feared

"The business of Government is to take action in time to prevent the kind of development which will inevitably lead to bloodshed. If bloodshed comes that responsibility will be not only on those who are governing in Southern Rhodesia and on those who are driven to unconstitutional action because they have no other method of redress. It will also rest on the rt. hon. gentleman. The Government have not learned anything from the Devlin Report, which applies to Southern Rhodesia as well as Nyasaland. It said that many people in Africa preferred poverty and freedom to prosperous slavery — a sentiment which has always been regarded as most honourable.

"If people have freedom to govern themselves in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, the demand will be even more clamant in Southern Rhodesia. The First Secretary says that the problem is not before him. Of course it is. It is one of the most grievous problems confronting the Government. If they continue to postpone action month after month and year after year they will pile up a situation in which the explosion at the end will be even worse; and theirs will be the responsibility.

Total Collapse

"The First Secretary, though not directly responsible for the pledges given in 1953, has been a member of the Government longer than almost any other. He bears a deeper responsibility in these affairs than others. I cannot recall a case in modern times when a Government said so persistently, in defiance of all the statements made by the Opposition, and in defiance of all the statements made by leaders of African opinion, that they knew better, that they would push through their plans, because they were better advised by their people in Africa who told them the truth. The Government cannot possibly claim that their foresight was superior to that of those who contested their views.

"Their policy has totally collapsed. Everyone except the First Secretary knows that the Federation is dead. The collapse has left a situation in which there are grievous possibilities of bloodshed in the near future.

"If the Government will not listen to the Opposition here or to the African leaders, will they listen to the United Nations? This country has not one honourable friend in the U.N. on this issue. It is very sad and melancholy, when we have a better record than any other country in the whole world in carrying through the exquisitely difficult task of abdicating from empire, when we have done it so much better in most parts of the world than any other country, that all this should be thrown away in Southern Rhodesia. If the Government persist in their policy they will align this country with Portugal and South Africa."

Economic Success

SIR ROLAND ROBINSON congratulated the First Secretary on his handling of the Central African situation, and continued (in part):

"In spite of its very great economic success, Federation has not worked smoothly in the field of human understanding. The hon. Member for Leeds East sought to prove that the First Secretary was bound by pledges made in 1953. His argument was extraordinary. He seeks to establish that there was a pledge, but not because he wants it kept, since if we followed his line of argument the pledge should be broken immediately."

MR. HEALEY: "Does the rt. hon. gentleman suggest that it is of no consequence to the House, the country, or the Commonwealth whether H.M. Ministers made promises and later broke them?"

SIR R. ROBINSON: "That was not the argument I used. I was pointing out that, while H.M. Government said that there was no specific pledge, it was extraordinary that the hon. gentleman, whose policy it is to say that there should be no pledge of that kind, should seek to establish that there was one. He should take his mind back to the situation in which the new Federation was created.

Situation "Radically" Changed

"Every person who sits round the table at such a time wants the plan to work and will if possible visualize it lasting for ever. With that in mind they try to make their agreement as firm as possible. In the debates following in the House it was made clear that we had not in any way given up this country's sovereignty, which, I think, is the basis of the whole thing. In any case, I consider that the argument about whether there was or was not a pledge is in the circumstances of Africa today purely academic. After 10 years the situation is radically changed. When the Federation was formed, who among those sitting round the table would have thought of the great surge of African nationalism which was to take place?"

MR. HEALEY: "We did. We told the Government so."

MR. JOHN STONEHOUSE: "Blind and stupid."

SIR R. ROBINSON: "I repeat that the great surge of African nationalism was not foreseen by those who were sitting round the table forming the Federation at the time. They did not see the great growth of the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations and all the influence which goes with it. Even if any pledges were given they would be utterly unrealistic today and impossible of fulfilment. The Africa of 1953 has gone and will not return. We must face the Africa of 1963 and see what we can do for its future.

Discourage Extravagant Claims

"My rt. hon. friend's task in Central Africa is to try to reach an agreement on a new form of association which can replace the old federal system. There were many great economic advantages in federation, and in the interests of the people of Central Africa we should try to find a way in which we can keep them.

"A difficult task like this is not helped by speeches from the other side of the House saying that there is no chance of this or that, and that Southern Rhodesia may consider throttling the great copper industry of the north for its advantage. We should not speak in that way or encourage extravagant claims by any party. The future of Central Africa can be settled only in the spirit of give-and-take and by a determination to reach some kind of agreement for their mutual benefit. We should avoid recriminations.

"The position is very fluid. My rt. hon. friend has his teams out working now. The negotiations are delicate. Practically all the political leaders on both sides are a bit prickly. We have to be careful how we handle the situation. Mistakes have been made on both sides, and probably more will be made, but we should go ahead with efforts to try to achieve understanding. I hope for a new kind of association which will be in the interests of all the people in Central Africa. I believe that the Minister can play a part in building a prosperous and happy Central Africa for the future."

Letter to the Editor**Free—Or Not So Free?****Future of Press in Central Africa**

SIR.—On January 21 Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, U.N.I.P. leader and Northern Rhodesian Minister of Local Government, threatened to organize a complete boycott against the *Central African Post* (Lusaka) and warned the paper's editor and staff to be more careful in future. Mr. Kaunda had called a Press conference to deny reports of a major split in U.N.I.P. carried by the *Post* and other newspapers, and said that any racial disturbance caused by the report in Lusaka would result in the destruction of the newspaper's offices. "The *Central African Post* building will go", he warned.

U.N.I.P.'s publicity chief, Mr. Sikota Wina, declared: "Independence of the Press is essential but it must not be abused. I will ruthlessly suppress the Press if there is any more of these stories". Mr. Wina hinted at a review of "the laws governing the establishment of the Press".

Mr. Simon Kapwepwe, U.N.I.P. Minister of African Agriculture, issued an even stronger threat: "If the newspapers here are going to do as they did in Kenya to keep the tribes apart, they can rest assured they are going to be banned".

Next came a threat from U.N.I.P.'s deputy national treasurer, Mr. N. Mundia, to nationalize two Northern Rhodesian newspapers—the *Post* and the *Northern News*. Mr. Mundia, who said he was speaking "in a personal capacity", declared that he would not, however, touch those newspapers which presented "fair reports".

Despite his own strong words against the *Central African Post* a few days earlier, Mr. Kaunda clearly found this publicly declared threat of nationalization an embarrassment to his party. He called a further Press conference to announce: "There will be no question of nationalizing newspapers in Northern Rhodesia so long as I am leader here". Instead, he said, he would launch his own U.N.I.P.-backed but independently-minded newspaper to answer criticism.

Significantly, U.N.I.P.'s threats to Press freedom were roundly condemned by Mr. Harry Nkumbula, Minister of African Education and leader of the African National Congress, which forms a Coalition Government with U.N.I.P. He warned Mr. Kaunda that the A.N.C. would resist any attempts to deprive the Press of their freedom. Mr. Nkumbula said the story of a tribal split in U.N.I.P. was quite true, but he did not intend to capitalize on it. He added: "U.N.I.P. must know that without the independence of the Press the Government will be misguided in its actions. We are not Fascists, and we are not Communists. The Press

expresses public opinion, and it is by public opinion that Government should conduct its affairs".

Few rights in Africa now are more crucial than that of truthful reporting and free comment by newspapers, radio and television. This would hardly need stressing had we not witnessed energetic and to some extent successful efforts to manipulate, distort and suppress both news and comment in more than one emergent African country.

In view of this trend I find U.N.I.P.'s attitude in Northern Rhodesia at this moment extremely disturbing. Hardly less disturbing is the fact that it has been ignored by large and influential sections of the British Press.

Yours faithfully,

London, S.W.1.

JOHN CONNELL.

Points from Letters**Civilizers, Not Just Settlers**

"WE RHODESIANS resent being called 'settlers'—especially when the obvious aim of the United Kingdom Government under Mr. Macmillan is to unsettle all British Africa. Those who will not use the simple term 'Rhodesians' might recognize that we have been civilizers, without whose work all Central Africa would have remained barbarous".

Pseudo-Sagacity

"I READ WITH much pleasure and amusement your scathing and sarcastic blasting down of the high-handed pseudo-sagacity of many United Kingdom publications, whose editors appear to misdirect themselves with frightening impunity when commenting on African matters which are evidently beyond their scope. Are these pieces the manifestations of subtle journalistic oneupmanship beyond my understanding?"

American Interests in the Congo

"THE AMERICANS have brought to Dar es Salaam a troopship load of Indonesians for service in the Congo. Previous arrivals have usually been followed by trouble. Soldiers ignorant of the language of the country can obviously not be of use for administrative or police duties. Evidently these men are to be employed in the name of the United Nations to try to force in Katanga a settlement satisfactory to the U.S.A."

Strange

"STRANGE that there should be so much talk of forcing Katanga into compliance with the will of the Leopoldville politicians, when Katanga has far more in common with Northern Rhodesia than with the Lower Congo, and no talk at all of union between that part of the Belgian Congo and the former French Congo, though they have a great deal in common and are separated only by the river Congo".

Thin Disguise for Mau Mau

"A GENERALIZATION now frequently heard in Kenya is that there is little or no abnormality in the situation west of the Rift Valley. The Kikuyu, cause of most of the country's desperate trouble, are, of course mainly east of the Rift and over much of the valley, but they have also infiltrated west of it in considerable numbers. In the Trans Nzoia recently about 50 Kikuyu have been jailed for Land Freedom Army offences, and quite a number of others await trial on similar charges. People who ought to know are of the opinion that all the Kikuyu in this part of the Colony are infected with Mau Mau under this very thin new disguise".

NORTHERN RHODESIA



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APPLY TO

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Livingstone: Great Servant of Africa Westminster Abbey Service of Commemoration

DAVID LIVINGSTONE'S SERVICES TO AFRICA were commemorated in Westminster Abbey on Monday, the eve of the 150th anniversary of his birth. All the non-Roman missionary societies were officially represented.

The Rev. D. G. S. M'timkulu, of Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia, general secretary of the All-Africa Church Conference, who preached the sermon, described Livingstone as a man of great physical and spiritual courage, of immense endurance, and almost incredible devotion to what he considered his duty. His warm human friendship for Africans was quite without condescension. He had great faith in the ability of Africans to make good by the aid of Christianity, commerce, and civilisation.

That he aroused deep loyalty in his African helpers was proved by the eight months' journey of the little party which carried his body to the coast, a journey described as one of the finest exploits in the history of travel.

What was now happening in Africa had resulted directly from emancipation through the Christian Gospel. African Christians, who had tended to be untouched by national affairs, were now realizing that they must recover their sense of national belonging. Renewal of faith was bringing a new dynamism to the Church in Africa. Evangelization could be accomplished only by a Church which had become truly indigenous.

U.N.I.P. Official Journal Attacks Bible

VOICE OF U.N.I.P., the official journal of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, recently described the Bible as "imperialist introduced" and said that "all imperialist holidays, including the legendary Christmas, will be abolished".

Mr. Sikota Wina, director of publicity for the party, apologized publicly in Lusaka last week, and gave an assurance on behalf of the party that "there is no intention whatsoever of doing away with Christian holidays when this country becomes independent". Some recent articles in the party magazine had, he admitted, been contrary to party policy; he was investigating the conduct of all its publications, which would in future "reflect the responsibilities which our leader, Mr. Kaunda, and his lieutenants have assumed in the running of Government".

The Rev. Edward Nightingale, secretary of the Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia, stated that the article repudiated had come as a great shock to Christians; he was sure that Mr. Kaunda, the son of a Church of Scotland missionary, would not condone attacks on the Bible or the statement in the party paper that "violence pays".

Discourteous Politicians

AN AFRICAN has written in a letter to *Fact*, a monthly publication of the Federal Public Relations Department: "Destructive politicians in Northern Rhodesia, teach us bad manners towards our rulers, elders, and even our employers. Will the presidents of these destructive parties allow anyone who is in his party or any person under him to despise him in public? If the answer is 'No', why do they always speak insulting words to our chiefs or to people who are given authority to look over the Federation? If they say they can be insulted by anyone, even members of their parties, why do they always want people to honour them in every way possible when they are at meetings or on tours?"

Sycophancy in Nyasaland Legislature To Ngwazi Add Mkango and Ngwenyama

MR. KANYAMA CHIUME, Minister of Education, Social Development and Information in Nyasaland, whose public flattery of Dr. Banda has become notorious, said in the Legislative Assembly the other day:—

"We are under the tireless, dynamic, selfless, determined, vigorous and devoted leadership of Ngwazi Kamuzu Banda, life president of the Malawi Congress Party; Minister of Natural Resources and Surveys, and as such the man in charge of the three million people of this country and of all the baboons, crocodiles and birds in Malawi; father and founder of our country, Mkango, Ngwenyama, determined to utilize the freedom, the political freedom, which we have achieved in order to achieve wider freedoms".

A little later he said: "For a long time in this country either through the Churches or through recent literature our people have been subjected to what I described some time ago in this House as systematic brain-washing. In the Churches religious psychological Lifebuoy was used to wash their brains. In Government publications, political psychological Sunlight was used to wash their brains. In newspapers like the *Nyasaland Times* — or shall I call it *Nyasaland Tombs*? — psychological Lux was used to wash their brains".

In his speech Mr. Chiume expressed the opinions that the leader of the Opposition was "sailing on the wrong band-waggon" and that "our people were overdrunk with slave mentality".

Mr. Chirwa, Minister of Justice, declared that freedom had been won by "Ngwazi Kamuzu Banda, the Mkango of Malawi".

Southern Africa Freedom Group

A SOUTHERN AFRICA FREEDOM GROUP, recently formed in London, has issued the following statement:—

"The struggle of Africans for their rights in Southern Africa presents a challenge to the world. In Angola, Mozambique, South and South West Africa and the Central African Federation (particularly in Southern Rhodesia), political equality is denied to the African majority. Where African political organisations are allowed to exist, their leaders are constantly harried by the police and denied reasonable opportunity to express their views and rally their supporters. We deplore the tendency of minority Governments to ban African movements as soon as they offer effective and organised opposition to government policies.

"Money for political organisation, which is urgently required in Southern Africa, must be given, without conditions, in order to (1) assist the people of Southern Africa to gain their freedom by organised political pressures wherever possible; (2) assist exiled representatives, where parties are banned, to continue the struggle from outside and maintain contact with and give help to their people at home; and (3) show that people in Britain wish to see freedom extended throughout Southern Africa".

The statement bore the following signatures: Altrincham, Anthony Wedgwood Benn, Peter Benenson, Mary Benson, Fenner Brockway, D. A. J. Buxton, Peter Calvo-coressi, Jock Campbell (vice-chairman), Barbara Castle, Margaret Casson, L. John Collins, A. Creech Jones, Andre Deutsch, David Ennals (joint treasurer), Dingle Foot (chairman), Thomas Fox-Pitt, Laura Grimond, Hemingford, Jennie Lee, Listowel (joint treasurer), Harry Nicholas, Clifford Parsons, Michael Scott, John Stonehouse, Dick Tavne, George Thomson, Jeremy Thorpe, John Vaizey, and John Woolwich.

U.N. Technical Assistance

MR. DAVID OWEN, executive chairman of the United Nations Technical Assistance Board, said in Kenya a few days ago that about 120 international technical and administrative people from 30 countries were now working under its auspices in East and Central Africa. Among them were, or soon would be, economic advisers in Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and the East African Common Services Organization; teachers in all the countries; irrigation engineers in Tanganyika; and in Kenya a tuberculosis control team, agricultural experts, and statisticians. Funds already allocated for Tanganyika in 1963-64 were rather more than \$1.1m.; for Kenya, \$790,800; for Uganda \$593,000; for the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, \$513,000; and for Zanzibar, \$155,000.

Mr. Sandys in East Africa

(Continued from page 615)

"I made it clear that we wish to see Zanzibar as soon as possible take her place among the free and sovereign nations of East Africa, but that it was our duty, after long and friendly connexion with the territory, to make sure that as far as possible the transfer of power was effected smoothly. I reviewed with them the plans already in hand for holding elections in Zanzibar, and was able to secure agreement on simplification of the arrangements for registration. I also obtained through the Governor of Kenya the services of additional expatriate officers, to supervise the registration of electors. All this should make it possible from the administrative standpoint to hold elections at an earlier date than had previously been contemplated.

Zanzibar Elections

"I announced on leaving Zanzibar that as soon as the Government of Zanzibar have informed me when the elections can be held the British Government will take its decision on the date of internal self-government and the final preparations for independence, which, if peace and good order are preserved, should follow soon thereafter."

In reply to questions Mr. SANDYS added:—

"The Central Land Board in Kenya will be responsible for the selection of land to be purchased, for the arrangements for its valuation, and for the payment of the agreed price to the owner. These comprise all the matters of direct interest to the European farming community, which will also now be directly represented on the board.

"The interests of African tribes are safeguarded by the fact that the regional authorities will be responsible for allocating the land purchased among the new settlers. The regional authorities will also share with the Central Government the task of preparing detailed settlement schemes and of helping the new farmers to develop their land."

MR. BOTTOMLEY asked why troops in Kenya had been on standing orders.

MR. SANDYS: "This precautionary measure was taken by the Governor in case there should be disorders in any part of the country following the announcement of the Government's decisions on the new Constitution".

Blood Will Run

SIR GERALD REECE, Governor of British Somaliland from 1948 to 1953, who had previously had long experience of the Northern Frontier District of Kenya, wrote to *The Times* last week:

"In 1952 Lord Rennell of Rodd (whose father negotiated the British Somaliland Boundary Treaty with the Ethiopians in 1897) wrote 'For one brief period during the war nearly the whole of Somaliland was under British administration. . . If we had been interested enough—and Heaven knows there was nothing to interest us except to see justice done to the people—and if the world had been sensible enough, all the Somalis might have remained under our administration—ours or the United Nations or someone else's until the Somalis had learnt to govern themselves. But the world was not sensible enough, and we were not interested enough, and so the only large part of Africa which is radically homogeneous has again been split up into such three parts as made Caesar's Gaul the problem and the cockpit of Europe for the last two thousand years. And Somaliland will probably become a cockpit of East Africa."

"Once again we have missed a chance of contributing to the inevitable solution of this problem.

"Of course Haile Selassie does not want us to yield territory to the Somalis, for he will not agree to give up his own Somalis in the Ogaden. Of course Kenya African politicians feared that if they surrendered the N.F.D. it might weaken their position in regard to the Coast Province.

"Somalis are virile people and, when educated, exceptionally intelligent and capable. They are determined to be united, and will ultimately succeed: but after how much unnecessary bloodshed?"

MR. A. S. SCAWIN, sometime Commissioner for Somali Affairs in the Somaliland Protectorate, wrote:—

"Britain's record over the Somalis' border problems since 1897 does not bear close scrutiny; it amounts to a series of make-shift decisions for the sake of political expediency to placate one Power or another, but always to the Somalis' detriment.

"To give a comparatively recent example, we had the shabby 1954 Agreement with Ethiopia negotiated without

Somali representation and exacerbated by our subsequent refusal to support the Somalis' plea to refer the problem to the United Nations. The serious troubles that have occurred in the grazing areas handed over to Ethiopia as a result of that Agreement are well known, and are likely to be repeated in the N.F.D.

Overall Border Issues

"You suggest that the N.F.D. problem should be handed to the U.N.; I would go further and say that now is the time for Britain to press for the overall question of the Somali Republic's border problems to be referred to the U.N. To ignore the present depth of feeling in Mogadishu is to invite even more serious trouble in the border areas."

MR. RICHARD LUCE commented:—

"By creating a seventh semi-autonomous Somali Region in the eastern part of the N.F.D., Mr. Sandys has gone only half way to recognizing the special position of the Somalis in that region. The fact that the British Government has not publicly recognized the right of the Somalis to join their own race in Somalia may lead to a grave deterioration in the situation in the Horn of Africa. Once internal self-government is achieved in Kenya, the responsibility for this problem will no longer be within the control of the British Government.

"It is a moral obligation of the British Government to take a firm decision now to grant this small seventh region secession before independence. If this is done, I am sure the Somalia Government will not break off diplomatic relations. The Ethiopian Government can be assured that it would involve only a very small extension of the Somalia boundary and uncontrollable bloodshed could be avoided in the N.F.D."

Not "Self-Determination"

THE SOMALI AMBASSADOR in Moscow has written to the *Economist*:—

"Your statement that the Somali Republic has challenged 'the pan-African canon that lines drawn on the map by the imperialists are sacrosanct' is a misrepresentation. Whenever Africans have met in the past to discuss their problems the burning issue of territorial disputes, bequeathed by imperialism, has received due consideration. The Monrovia conference of May, 1961, recommended the creation of a commission which would look into disputes between African States and find ways and means of settling them. The need for peaceful settlement of such disputes was also stressed by the Moshi conference in February. Your reporter accuses the Somali Republic of challenging something which exists solely in his own imagination.

"The Northern Frontier District has never really been part of Kenya proper; it was incorporated into the Colony for administrative convenience only. Neither war cries by Kenya leaders nor Operation Sharp Panga, whatever its purpose was, nor yet threats of military intervention by Ethiopia, can deflect the inhabitants of this area from insisting on choosing their own future.

"The argument that if self-determination is freely accepted in Africa there is no knowing where it will end does not apply in this case. The N.F.D. tribes do not wish to create an independent State but to join the Somali Republic. This is not balkanization but a re-drawing of the boundary line between two sister countries in order to correct the injustices of colonialism."

Uncompromising Unanimity

MR. CHARLES L. ABERNETHY said in a letter to the *Guardian*:—

"For those who know and admire the Somali people, and have watched their enterprising and democratic efforts at building their own young republic, Mr. Sandys's decision that the N.F.D. will remain a part of Kenya comes as a bitter disappointment. It should be a cause of shame that a British Government can still act with such injustice towards people who through no act of their own are under our authority.

"It is hard to see one single solid premise on which Mr. Sandys could base his decision. There is no doubt of the wishes of the N.F.D. inhabitants. The British Government last year sent a commission to ascertain their wishes and received the report that over half the population, forming a single geographical unit bordering Somalia, wished uncompromisingly to have nothing to do with Kenya. The Somalis and certain associated tribes were virtually unanimous in this opinion and in the wish eventually to join the Somali Republic. There were certain dissensions about the timing of this latter step, but surprisingly few over the main principle.

"It is argued that one secession from Kenya may lead to others and jeopardize its whole future. Apart from the fact that other secessionist movements are far less militant, this

seems to be putting the question upside-down. Surely the lesson of Katanga is that a secession or an attempt at it after independence will have a far more disastrous effect? Surely we do not want to create another Kashmir situation, to exhaust the resources of both countries for years afterwards?

"The Somalis are a proud race, and while they will not demand more than their rights, they will demand those in full. It is surely known to Mr. Sandys that the Ethiopian Government has to use the bulk of its army to maintain its tenuous control over a large tract of Somali-populated territory.

"It is said that the Somalis may be better off economically as a region of Kenya than as part of Somalia. This seems quite improbable. The nomadic pastoral economy of the N.F.D. is identical with that of the Somali Republic, of which it is a natural geographical extension; and it is totally different from the populous parts of Kenya. The Somali Government is used to administering and developing just such an economy; and it is worth noting that the former British Somaliland, which used to be written off, like the N.F.D., as a semi-desert, is now more than balancing its budget, and has greatly increased its exports in the three years since independence.

"The Somali territories, a vast area from Jibuti to the Tana River, are astonishingly uniform in language, race, religion, culture, economy, and geographical features. They were divided into five parts in the late 19th century by the Europeans and Ethiopians. Britain, having ruled at one time or another nearly all these areas, has a heavy responsibility for the present arrangement. We have already more than once betrayed the interests of the Somalis in return for some diplomatic advantages in quite other places.

"You say that Mr. Sandys's decision is 'obviously the last executive action Britain will take'. It need not be so, if the folly and injustice of the decision can be made sufficiently clear in Press and Parliament. To bring into being an independent Kenya with such a substantial and genuine irredentist claim against her, is no kindness; and to provoke the Somali Republic to the point at which it is forced to break off diplomatic relations is to strike at the excellent foundation of mutual respect which the Somalis have cultivated in racial relations, and which has been a source of admiration to their European friends."

"Consternation" of Kenya Settlers Sharp Criticism of Colonial Secretary

SIR FERDINAND CAVENDISH-BENTINCK, a former Speaker of the Legislative Council of Kenya, and Mr. L. Maconochie Welwood, a Kenya Coalition Party member of the present Legislature, have issued the following joint statement about the constitutional talks held in Nairobi during the recent visit of Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

"In our view Mr. Sandys's attitude to the European community in Kenya is the most unhelpful since that of Mr. Macleod.

Not Interested

"We deeply regret that, despite repeated requests from ourselves and others for a statement of H.M. Government's policy towards the European community, Mr. Sandys made no reference to them except to say that 'the vast majority' wanted to remain in Kenya. We had also tried repeatedly to impress on Mr. Sandys the urgency of accelerating land purchase for settlement and the need for further Land Bank funds to enable a market in land to be created for those not in the million-acre scheme.

"All that Mr. Sandys did, however, was to say that he would study papers submitted to him on 'compassionate cases'. Never since Mr. Macleod has a Secretary of State made it so clear that in his opinion H.M. Government is not interested in the future of its own nationals in Kenya.

"Mr. Sandys suggested that most of the Europeans to whom he spoke had 'a quiet confidence in their future'. This is very far from the truth. Mr. Sandys had several interviews with Europeans who displayed to him the greatest possible anxiety—especially mixed farmers.

"In the new Legislative Council to be elected in May there will be no representation of special interests, even though those interests are not of necessity racial. There will be only ten special members elected by the Legislature acting as an electoral college—and it is perfectly clear that these will be chosen by the majority party with no regard to race or special interests.

"The abrupt dismissal of General Sir Geoffrey Bourne as chairman of the Central Land Board and the discontinuation of the functions of the board, combined with the apparent in-

ability to find a suitable successor, leave the European community with no guarantees as to the future at all, and throws the whole issue of land settlement back into the melting-pot of African nationalist politics.

"We hold it to be of the utmost importance that the British public should realize that the Secretary of State has left behind him a feeling of consternation amongst the British minority in Kenya, and that as time passes after his return to the United Kingdom this feeling increases."

Economy Commission's Views on Kenya Proposals to Save £7m. in Three Years

SAVINGS on Kenya's recurrent account of some £7m. over the next three financial years could result from prompt adoption of its proposals, the Economy Commission appointed by the Colonial Secretary last June has reported.

The chief recommendations are for "departmental decentralization to the maximum possible extent" and amalgamation of the Ministries of Labour and Social Services, Lands and Commerce and Industry, and Local Government with Constitutional Affairs and Administration. The number of Ministers would not thereby necessarily be reduced, but there would be four fewer Permanent Secretaries.

Establishment reductions over the next 18 months could abolish 20 administrative and 110 executive posts (to save £145,000), and reduce the number of personal secretaries and stenographers by 151 (saving £130,000). Senior district commissioners and district officers should be decreased to 164 from 202.

Police Reductions

The Kenya Police should progressively dispense over three years with 24 gazetted officers of senior superintendent rank and below, 120 inspectors of all grades, and 1,200 other ranks. Economies of £422,000 would result by 1965, coupled with a £90,000 saving following cuts in tribal police and provincial administration.

An immediate saving of £126,800 could be obtained by abolishing the Kenya Regiment and the Combined Cadet Force.

The subsidy for European and Asian children at primary schools should, it is suggested, be brought down to the level of that for Africans, making a saving after two years of £746,520.

The commission's proposal that the duty and tax refund on mineral fuel oil to farmers be abolished (saving £377,000 this financial year and £503,000 thereafter) had been opposed because it might seem to suggest that European farmers, the main beneficiaries at present, were unwelcome, as well as increasing farming costs and food prices, but the commission considered that the Government could make clear its attitude to European farmers by other means. An addition to farming costs of 1% of the annual value of agricultural and livestock production could be absorbed by an industry which between 1954 and 1961 had increased that output by 16%, largely through Government assistance.

Staff Loans

Other savings proposed include abolition of acting and duty allowances (£41,000); increased rates for Government houses; decreased allowances for non-Government-housed civil servants (initial saving £60,000 then £80,000); abolition of hospital fund grants (£40,000); prisons (£8,000); Labour Ministry (£62,500); Ministry of Tourism, Forests and Wild Life (£10,000); re-organization of Ministry of Commerce and Industry (£50,000); Lands Department (£17,500); and reductions in the Ministry of Works (£261,000) and road savings (£294,000), based on the assumption that building work from this year onwards will not exceed £1.5m.

Individual posts should be so graded that at each level there were no more than could be filled with adequately qualified and experienced people and "without resort, except in the most compelling circumstances, to recruitment abroad on contract terms". Though appropriate gradings should be provided to accommodate candidates with less than the qualifications presently prescribed for posts where there were insufficient fully qualified candidates or where it was held advisable to simplify the work.

At the stage of internal self-government the C. Com. may expect to lose half its permanent European officers and many more in the coming years, the commission says. "The Government will be able neither to afford nor to find replacements for all of them."

London Sisal Association

Dangers of Unduly High Fibre Prices

Mr. J. F. Prideaux, president of the London Sisal Association, presided last week at the annual luncheon.

Mr. George Hawkins, the chairman, said when proposing the toast of the guests that the present very high price of sisal was dangerous because of the risk that it would be substituted by man-made fibres, which, if once used by spinners, would be difficult to displace.

He regretted the tendency to raise prices on the London market by £2 per ton per week, almost never £1 or less, and he hoped that greater flexibility in price changes might be achieved. The structure of the association and its executive committee was, Mr. Hawkins thought, unique, for the members embraced growers, merchants, and spinners.

Mr. Sam Ntiro—whom the president had warmly congratulated on his promotion to be High Commissioner in London for Tanganyika—said that his hosts, by providing a better living for people in Tanganyika, were sharing in the task of the Ministers and people in that republic, who were concerning themselves in practical fashion with development and economic advancement. The first objective was stable government, with people of all races working together.

Mr. Mailer, who represented the Board of Trade at the Rome conference on hard fibres, said that its request to the United States Government for the release of 10,000 tons of sisal from the reserves had received the dusty answer that there was nothing in the stockpile surplus to requirements.

Whereas Tanganyika and the U.K. had been very strongly represented at the F.A.O. gathering, Mexico had sent nobody, Brazil's only delegate was a young man who had evidently not been given much information about sisal, and the United States had relied upon an agricultural attaché from Khartoum (who might nevertheless have been their best man anywhere

in the world). Nevertheless the week had not been wasted, thanks largely to the British trade and Tanganyika representatives.

It was agreed that there was no case to set up a study group, but that the secretariat should undertake long-term investigation of supply and demand prospects, paying particular attention to the influence of synthetics and to changes in agricultural practice which might affect sales of binder twine. In order to improve intelligence all producing countries were asked to supply statistics to the secretariat and to exchange monthly economic data.

The Philippines—which had appeared to believe that a study group would clear up mosaic disease and banish typhoons—was reminded that the London market had for many years pressed for the internal problems of the industry to be tackled. The conference had said very clearly that matters about which the Philippines complained needed attention within that country itself, not by way of external aid.

At the annual meeting before the luncheon Messrs. J. F. Prideaux and A. S. P. Neish had been re-elected president and vice-president respectively, and Mr. G. C. Hawkins and Mr. G. W. Williams had been elected chairman and vice-chairman.

Uganda Company's Record Profits

THE UGANDA COMPANY, LTD., and its subsidiaries made a trading profit in the year to August 31 of £348,905, the highest figure since the parent company was incorporated 60 years ago, and still better results in the current year are forecast if climatic conditions are reasonably favourable.

The balance available after tax was £328,574, of which £152,599 was retained by subsidiaries. The 10% dividend is repeated, and the group carry-forward is raised from £543,415 to £672,389. The issued capital is £2,385,233 in 10s. shares, and there are debentures outstanding for £819,550. Fixed assets have a book value of just over £4m. and current assets less current liabilities total £312,402.

Earl de la Warr is the chairman, and the other members of the board are Sir James Robertson and Messrs. D. A. J. Buxton, E. H. Morland, S. Bolster, and J. K. Dick.

Mr. C. H. Rowe is the general manager in Uganda and Mr. P. W. D. Gilderson the assistant general manager. Both are directors of subsidiary companies, which also have on their boards Messrs. J. Bikangaga, E. K. Kayeyera, S. W. Kulubya, C. Lewis, and E. K. Mukasa.

Rustication Revoked

MWALIMU JULIUS K. NYERERE, President of the Republic of Tanganyika, has revoked the orders under which Mr. David Kidaha Makwaia, ex-Chief Hussein Mwandu Makwaia, Mr. Victor Mkello, and Mr. Shehe Amiri were rusticated. No persons now remain restricted under the Deportation Ordinance. Mr. Kidaha Makwaia was sent to Tunduru last October, when his brother, a former chief, was sent to Chunya. Mr. Mkello and Mr. Amiri, trade union leaders, were rusticated to Sumbawanga in January. Revocation of the orders against them is officially stated to "accord with the prevailing spirit of amity and national unification, and the persons concerned are welcomed back to play their full part in the life of the community".

Sellotape Rhodesia (Pvt.), Ltd., is manufacturing adhesive tapes in a new Bulawayo factory.

Ralli Bros., Ltd., report net profit for the year to August 31 at £577,337 (£938,984). Ordinary shareholders receive 10% (5%).

Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., has increased its authorized capital from £9m. to £10m. in 10s. shares, 1.2m. of which are to be issued to New Rhodesia Investments, Ltd., in exchange for its total issued capital.

In Southern Rhodesia last year 766 new companies were registered with aggregate nominal capital of £5,956,000. In the previous year 786 registrations represented £7,897,000 of capital. In Northern Rhodesia there were 145 new registrations in 1962, with a total nominal capital of £1,167,000, compared with 388 and just over £2m. in the previous year.



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Company Report**THE IMPERIAL TOBACCO COMPANY**

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ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING: CHAIRMAN'S REVIEW

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE IMPERIAL TOBACCO COMPANY was held in Bristol on March 19. The following are extracts from the chairman's statement to stockholders.

The trading profit of the Group was £22,607,341, an increase of £1,716,156 over the comparable figure for the previous year. The increase was due to our having for the whole of last year the benefit of the increase of a ½d. for 10 in the price of some of our cigarettes which became necessary in June 1961; and also to some substantial savings as a result of technical improvements and greater efficiency.

Sales of cigarettes in the United Kingdom were depressed last year by two unfavourable factors—the imposition of a 10% surcharge on the tobacco duty in July 1961 and the Royal College of Physicians' Report on "Smoking and Health" published in March 1962; and total sales of cigarettes to the public in the calendar year 1962 were 3% lower than in 1961.

Player's Gold Leaf Virginia Tipped cigarettes, introduced in September 1961, quickly achieved a leading place in the tipped cigarette market and continued to sell extremely well throughout the year.

New Brand

In September 1962 W. D. & H. O. Wills introduced Embassy Virginia cigarettes and Embassy Virginia Tipped cigarettes with gift vouchers. Initial sales of Embassy were higher than those of any previous new brand in the United Kingdom. Sales have continued to progress satisfactorily, and Embassy Virginia Tipped is now the largest selling tipped brand in this country.

Our sales of tobacco both for hand-rolling cigarettes and for pipe smoking showed useful increases, and there was a further rapid expansion of our sales of cigars.

It has been our practice for many years past to make an annual gift to our employees over and above their normal salaries and wages. This year the gift will be 11½% of earnings in the year ended October 31, 1962, which is the same rate as last year.

Golden Wonder Crisp Company Limited

At October 31, 1961 we had invested approximately £490,000 in a new subsidiary, Golden Wonder Crisp Company, Ltd. The company then had one factory at Edinburgh for the manufacture of potato crisps, and its distribution was confined to Scotland and the North of England. During last year we further invested more than £1 million, mainly in the construction of an additional factory at Widnes, which is, we believe, the largest and best equipped potato crisp factory in the world. The new factory started production in June 1962, and it has been possible to extend distribution to the North West and the Midlands and, more recently, to South Wales and the South West of England. Plans are in hand for the building of two new factories, one in Scotland, where demand now exceeds the capacity of the Edinburgh factory, and one at Corby, Northamptonshire, to widen the area of distribution in England.

Bunzl Pulp & Paper Limited

In September last an opportunity arose for us to purchase 900,000 5s. ordinary shares (representing 15% of the equity) of Bunzl Pulp & Paper, Ltd. Bunzl Pulp & Paper, Ltd. has a number of subsidiaries, of which

the most important is Cigarette Components, Ltd. They are the largest manufacturers of cigarette filter tips in the United Kingdom and also have factories overseas.

United States Flue-Cured Tobacco

Our purchase of United States tobacco leaf from the 1962 crop was not as large as in recent years, but in spite of our smaller orders our leaf buyers had to exercise great discrimination to obtain tobacco of the quality we require.

The best flue-cured tobacco produced in the United States is unequalled elsewhere, but in recent years the proportion of high quality leaf in their crops has steadily declined. This has come about largely because of the system of Government support for tobacco farmers adopted by the American Administration. This system, which is based on control of acreage planted and a guaranteed minimum price for each grade of tobacco sold, has unfortunately encouraged many farmers to produce the maximum poundage per acre without sufficient regard for quality.

The United States Department of Agriculture is aware of the dangers, and last year it appointed a Tobacco Advisory Committee, of which our American director, Mr. G. W. Dyer, is a member, to consider the many problems involved. Certain recommendations have already been accepted by the Department of Agriculture and others are under discussion. Much remains to be done, but the prospects of action to improve the quality of the crops are now more encouraging.

Central Africa

In Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland we operate large tobacco-handling plants and employ over 5,000 men and women at the height of the leaf buying season. It would be out of place for me to comment on constitutional or political changes in these countries; and I wish only to say this. We began operations in Nyasaland in 1908 and in Southern Rhodesia in 1927, and the company has, I believe, contributed in no small measure to the economic development of both countries. I see every reason to hope that the company will continue to play an important part in their future development.

This leads me to refer to the impending retirement of Mr. K. G. Y. Browne, who joined the company's African Organization in 1923 and has been its general manager for the past 12 years. His wide experience of the tobacco industry, his unswerving devotion to our interests, and his deep concern for the welfare of all employees of whatever race, and in particular for the advancement of the living standards of our African employees, have been great assets both to the company and to the countries of his adoption.

Prospects for the Current Year

It is impossible to forecast now with any degree of accuracy the results of a trading year ending next October. It will be disappointing if we do not succeed in maintaining the current level of our sales. On the other hand, we know that our leaf costs will be higher, and it is unlikely that there can be any reduction in selling costs. Nevertheless, taking into consideration all the factors that can now be foreseen, I think we can reasonably anticipate that it will be possible to maintain the dividend for the current year after making adequate transfers to reserves.



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