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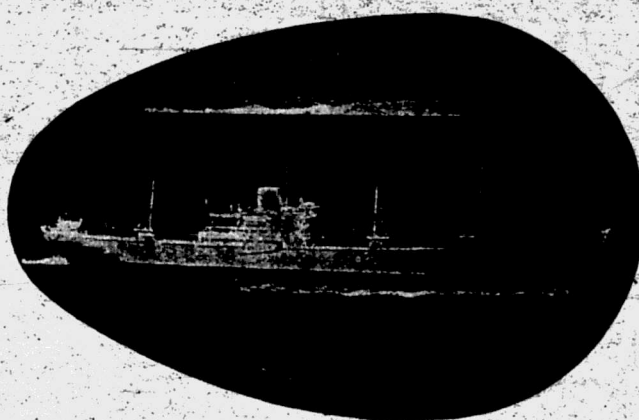
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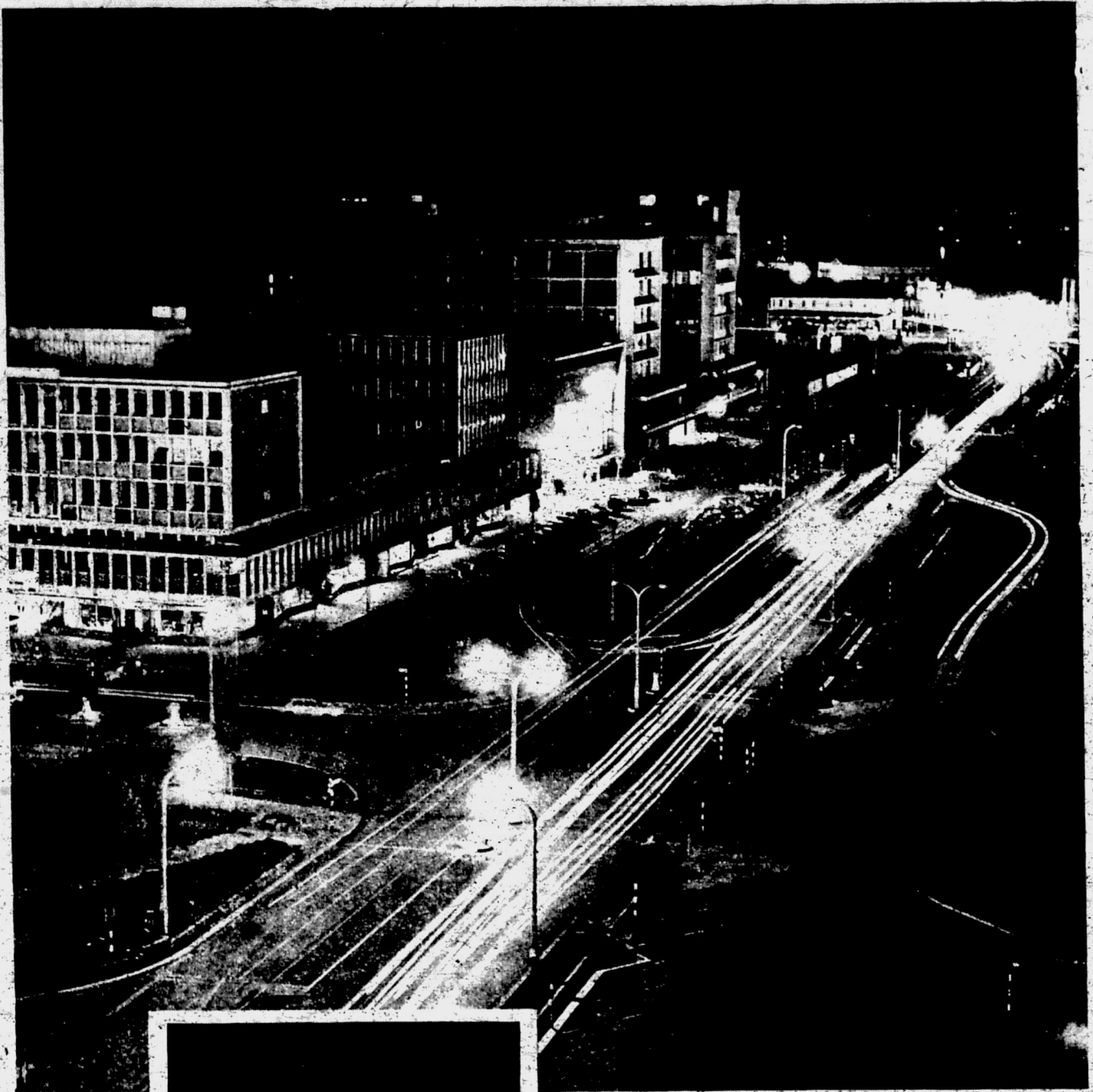
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

MR. R. A. BUTLER, who as Minister for Central African Affairs must have been the most harassed member of the Cabinet during the past week, should have reflected that the Rhodesian crisis with which he and others **Disastrous Drift In Central Africa.** less culpable have to grapple is primarily the product of the weakness, vacillation, fear, faithlessness, and general folly of British politicians, and the obvious consequences of such witlessness in Africa, especially lack of confidence among Europeans and brash arrogance among African politicians. Confused by a long-continued barrage of misrepresentation and misguidance, the public in Britain does not even now understand the weight of blame resting upon the Macmillan Government, which, as Sir Albert Robinson emphasized in the address reported in other columns, has to its discredit so manifest an attitude of neutrality to the Federation that the Monckton Commission (of which he was a member) deemed it to have been a major factor in the development of African opposition, to which spineless commentators in Parliament and the Press suggest unconditional surrender. That mood is the culmination of the process of dither and slither which began with the Prime Minister's fatalistic wind-of-change speech, and which the High Commissioner described more politely as "creating Constitutions in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland designed to hand over power to the pan-Africanists, then awaiting their demands for secession, and then saying that there is nothing that can be done but to comply with those demands". That uncomplimentary summary exactly describes the disastrous drift which has brought Britain's trusteeship in East and Central Africa to the point of collapse many years before the wards are capable of managing their own affairs.

Ministers can make no valid reply to the above-mentioned accusation of the Monck

ton Commission—which was so grievously incautious elsewhere in its report that other passages have been used to excuse and expedite the very process which it condemned as detrimental to the general well-being of Central Africa. The inevitable results of craven submission to the subversion of a tiny minority of African agitators (who were almost always incited by left-wing fanatics in the United Kingdom and the United States) have been emphasized in this journal for years. It was quite obvious that to give African politicians the idea that Britain had doubts about the permanency of the Federation and could be bluffed or bullied out of support for the State which it had created was bound to encourage propaganda and other activities to its detriment, and thereby give such people and their backers outside Central Africa an ever-developing vested interest in plans for the destruction of a constitutional instrument which was intended to promote inter-racial harmony and co-operation. Everybody knew that a non-racial society could not be established overnight, that the rigidities of law and custom could be relaxed only gradually, and that the pace of change must largely depend upon confidence. Yet, as a consequence of the lack of faith in the House of Commons, the supply of confidence has at all times been far below the need of it.

The first and worst culprit was, of course, the United Kingdom Government, whose record in Central Africa in the past decade has been far shabbier than the greatest pessimist could have imagined a decade ago at the time of the conferences which preceded the establishment of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It is but fair to

Faithlessness of Both Political Parties.

recall that the Parliamentary Opposition has been as blameworthy throughout the whole period as the Cabinet and the Conservative Party: though pledged by Mr. Attlee, the then Socialist leader, to do all in its power to make the Federation a success, it has deliberately disregarded that undertaking from the day on which it was given. Greater culpability rests upon the Tories, of course, for they have had the power of office and the responsibility of fulfilling the many solemn and explicit promises given by their leaders. As time passed the damage done first by Tory apathy and then by manoeuvres so devious that Lord Salisbury had to denounce them as unscrupulous became more and more alarming; but even then there was no sense of trusteeship, of duty, or even of elementary honour. Drift, double-think, double-talk, and downright dishonesty became the characteristics of the official Conservative attitude, which paid no heed to the certainty that there was no surer way of undermining faith and fostering fear, the most malign enemies in any society.

If there were confidence within the races, between the races, and between Central Africa and Great Britain, Mr. Butler's task in these last few days would have been a

pleasant formality. Instead, he must have seemed **No Sympathy For Mr. Butler.** to be facing a series of blank and unscalable walls, each erected to protect one section of the community, whereas the whole population can flourish only if inter-racial and inter-territorial concord be maintained by agreement that there shall be progressive changes, social, economic and political, each leading to further advancement, and all being conditioned by checks and balances which fair-minded men can recognize to be for the general good. That the African parties in Northern Rhodesia reject that kind of compromise was demonstrated on Monday by their withdrawal from the London talks on the ground that they had been refused an immediate promise that their country might secede from the Federation. The daily Press naively considered that action to be so surprising that most newspapers made it their main news story. Far from being unexpected, the act was merely the fulfilment of a plan arranged weeks ago. Mr. Butler deserves no sympathy on the score of this piece of brinkmanship by Mr. Kaunda and Mr. Nkumbula, for he had encouraged it by cynically agreeing to grant the right of secession to Nyasaland without the consent of the Federal Government, though that was required by the Federal Constitution.

Jockeying for position continues as these words go to the printers. It will temporarily elate or depress this or that group of the political tacticians concerned, but it will not weaken the determination of the quarter of a million whites in Southern Rhodesia

not to abdicate to aggressive pan-Africanism. They will stand firm in defence of freedom and civilization, even if Britain, having grossly betrayed her trusteeship elsewhere in Africa, and most disastrously and despicably in Kenya under MacBlundellism, makes another ignoble surrender to clamour and intimidation. Sir Roy Welensky and Mr. Winston Field are at one in their resistance both to local terrorism and to a war of nerves from Westminster and Whitehall. Their staunchness is not, of course, exclusively in the interest of the whites, as is persistently pretended in many quarters in the West. Its purpose is to safeguard their countries in general, to uphold responsibility in all aspects of affairs, and so to ensure for the mass of Africans a future much more attractive than any which could possibly be derived from the premature transfer of political power to pan-Africanist extremists. Nor is it true, as most newspapers declare, that Mr. Field desires the dissolution of the Federation. He would far prefer its maintenance, but in modified form; and that is what Sir Roy himself advocates. For the United Kingdom Government to set itself to dismantle the Federation would be to commit an act of dishonour so deep as to rank as treachery.

Statements Worth Noting

"Tanganyika spends £1½m. each year on the maintenance of almost 30,000 miles of main road"—Chief Erasto Mang'anya, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Communications in Tanganyika.

"The Salvation Army School for the Blind in Thika is possibly the largest of its kind in the Commonwealth, and magnificent results are being obtained"—Mr. J. K. ole Tipsi, Minister for Social Services in Kenya.

"A U.N.O. true to its Charter would give Katanga self-determination by a plebiscite supervised by some uncommitted body like the French-speaking African-Madagascar Union"—Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M.P.

"The conception of a multi-racial Commonwealth has had little appeal as a substitute for the Empire. We have lost the guiding light of our national effort for the last 100 years and don't know where we are going. The result is uncertainty and apathy"—Sir Ivo Mallett.

"Mr. Simon Kapoepwe, the new Minister for African Agriculture in Northern Rhodesia, wears a spectacular top with 'End Federation' embroidered in it. He complained to me that it was difficult to make a rousing maiden speech when you had to introduce a Cattle Purchase and Export (Repeal) Bill"—Salisbury correspondent of the *Financial Times*.

Federal Prime Minister Will Not Accept British Imposition

Prepared for Basic Alterations: Southern Rhodesia Seeks At Least Economic Ties

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, who arrived in London on Monday afternoon from Nice, stated in Salisbury before his departure on Friday that it was not mere chance that his delegation would be the last to arrive for discussions with Mr. Butler, the Minister for Central African Affairs.

That arrangement was an expression of the British Government's old game of divide and rule. "The British Government would be happy to present me on arrival with a *fait accompli* that agreement had been reached between Northern and Southern Rhodesia. But it is not going to prove quite as easy at that. I am not used to going into a fight on the basis that I shall lose. I shall punch every head that rises".

Political Ties Indispensable

Sir Roy re-emphasized that it would be impossible to maintain links between the territories of the Federation without political ties. He was prepared to accept even "drastic" alterations in the present federal arrangements. He did not accept the suggestion that all three territorial Governments were opposed to his policy. He believed that the Southern Rhodesian Government wanted to retain political as well as economic links and had not accepted the dissolution of the Federation.

The prospects of a full conference on the future of the Federation were "quite rosy" if Mr. Butler handled the situation correctly. Peace and stability had to be restored to Central Africa.

The Prime Minister added that if a Labour Government were to assume power in Britain and wished to impose its views on Rhodesia, it would have to remember that Britain had no military or civil servants there with which to enforce them.

Multitude of Associations

At London Airport on Monday afternoon Sir Roy gave the warning that destruction of the Federation "would be one of the worst things that could happen in Central Africa", adding: "I don't believe that the British Government could contemplate an action like that without consulting my Government. But the very fact that I was brought over last of all, when my Government was more concerned than any other, is a clear indication of the British Government's thinking".

Mr. Butler had the skill to see that a great deal could be done for the Federation if Britain were anxious for it to continue. "If I thought there was no hope I would not have come". He was prepared for basic modifications in the Federal structure; they could be radical without giving up the political ties between Northern and Southern Rhodesia. Those countries had grown up together economically, had been linked politically in 1953, and were now joined by a multitude of ties such as had never existed with Nyasaland; its secession was "poles apart" from the similar demand now being made in respect of Northern Rhodesia.

Sir Roy would not accept the suggestion that he wanted to maintain the Federation at any price; but the British Government had a responsibility to the Europeans and the Africans who had supported its creation.

Asked about using the Federal Army to prevent secession by Northern Rhodesia, he said: "The only time one would use force would be to maintain law and order. One would not stand by and see things smashed. But if you are asking whether I would use force to keep the two Rhodesias together, the answer is 'No', because it would not work".

The Federal delegates had their first meeting with Mr. Butler on Tuesday.

Mr. Winston Field, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, stated when he arrived in London last Thursday that he did not consider that there was any future for the Federation in its present form, but he hoped that a form of association could be worked out which would embrace not only the two Rhodesias, but also Nyasaland, at least in economic terms.

The three security Bills introduced by his Government had been given their third readings just before he left Salisbury.

He denied that their object was white domination in the Colony, since they applied to all races.

"Our task is to stop people throwing petrol-bombs and the like, in exactly the same way as the British Government had to stop sabotage on the railway in Northern Rhodesia. We have taken a leaf out of the British Government's book".

On Sunday police with tracker dogs searched a European suburb of Salisbury for two Africans who had thrown petrol over a 47-year-old African woman and set her alight as she was returning from church to the house at which she was employed. The woman, a mother of three children, was admitted to hospital in a critical condition.

Next day Mr. Field had lunch with the British Prime Minister, whose other guests were Mr. C. W. Dupont, Minister for Justice, Law and Order, Mr. Butler, Mr. Duncan Sandys, the Colonial and Commonwealth Relations Secretary, and Sir Albert Robinson, Federal High Commissioner in London.

Mr. Field spent part of the week-end at Mr. Butler's home in Essex, and had further talks with him this week.

The Northern Rhodesian Coalition Government delegation arrived in London on Saturday. The U.N.I.P. leader and Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, and the A.N.C. president and Minister for African Education, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, told journalists that they would insist on a declaration from Mr. Butler that Northern Rhodesia's "right" to secede from the Federation be accepted. They were "very hopeful" that that would be accorded. It would then be possible for the commission on Nyasaland's secession under Sir George Curtis to include Northern Rhodesia in its assessments.

As a Coalition Government the group would then be prepared to discuss economic links with Mr. Field's Government, though Mr. Kaunda said that his party as such would not want to meet what it considered an "unrepresentative" Southern Rhodesian Government.

Three-Legged Crab

The secession demand would be one prong of an attack to break up the Federation "in accordance with the wishes of the electorate"; the other would be to ask for a new territorial Constitution to be introduced towards the end of this year, with fresh elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

Mr. Kaunda complained that the Protectorate was being treated like a "political Cinderella". There had been no conference for Nyasaland's secession. "Why should we suffer these expensive and time-wasting conferences? Each week without a decision only hardens the feelings of the people against even economic associations".

The country's present constitutional arrangements were such that it could advance only "like a crab with three legs—U.N.I.P., the A.N.C., and the Colonial Office forming the three legs".

Mr. Nkumbula said that it was recognized that the Federation was dying, and that the new African Government had been receiving inquiries from would-be investors in Britain, Europe, and America, who were, however, not prepared to commit themselves until they were sure of the Government and until present uncertainties had been removed; the investors would prefer an independent Northern Rhodesia that was out of the Federation.

Three Territories Opposed

All three territorial Governments were opposed to Federation, about which the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia had now changed their minds. Only Sir Roy Welensky was left—"and he could be thrown off like that", declared Mr. Nkumbula, with a flick of his fingers.

"Who is he?" Mr. Kaunda interjected. "He is floating like an island without any earth underneath him. The British Government have the right to undo what they did; we can produce documentary evidence to prove this. Since Sir Roy stays in Broken Hill, out of respect for him we can create him 'Lord Broken Reed'".

Mr. Nkumbula said that the Federal Prime Minister was in London "just to keep his job. Why should he come here, we know that is what he is going to say".

Asked if he would make representations to Mr. Butler on Mr. Nkomo's behalf about Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Kaunda replied that it was not for him to interfere.

On Sunday the Commonwealth correspondent in London of the *Scotsman* reported that Mr. Kaunda had told him that he might not press for secession if a new Constitution were granted to give Northern Rhodesia fully representative Government.

After attending a luncheon given for them by the Prime Minister, the Northern Rhodesian delegation had its first meeting with Mr. Butler on Monday. They walked out two hours later "as a result of Mr. Butler's failure to give a categorical assurance at this stage that Northern Rhodesia can and will secede from the Federation". Mr. Kaunda stated afterwards that "if we have to go back home without assurances we are going to make it impossible for the Federal Government to operate in Northern Rhodesia".

He said that the Protectorate could make itself independent of the Kariba Dam by building its own hydro-electric station on the Kafue. It could also ship its copper via Lobito in Angola instead of through Southern Rhodesia to Beira.

The delegation remains in London "awaiting Mr. Butler's next move".

Political Advancement Rushed Prematurely

Sir Frederick Leith-Ross wrote in *The Times* on Tuesday:—

"H.M. Government appear to be pursuing two inconsistent and probably irreconcilable aims—namely, to promote at the same time the political and the economic advancement of the Natives. Both aims might be achieved if political advancement were kept within the bounds of educational progress, but political advancement on the basis of one man, one vote, as demanded by the local leaders, inevitably creates a feeling of insecurity among the white population through whose capital, enterprise and power of organization these countries have been reclaimed from the jungle.

"If the principle of one man one vote is conceded, there will very likely be a flight of capital—as in Kenya—while new investment will be discouraged. The British Government will then be pressed to step into the breach and provide loans or grants in aid for development, which would not have been needed if political advancement had not been rushed so prematurely.

Contrary to African Interests

"Demands are now being made that the British Government should insist on providing new Constitutions for the Rhodesias which would put power completely in the hands of the black population: it is to be hoped that H.M. Government will resist such pressure and impress on the Native leaders that this would be contrary to the interests of their own people.

"For whereas the Native leaders may ignore economic factors and get facile cheers from their excitable followers for political demands of the most sweeping character, their victory will be a hollow one if it is followed by economic recession. In that event the only recourse for their people will be to migrate and seek a livelihood under the 'repressive' regimes of Southern Rhodesia or the South African Republic, which already attract hundreds of thousands of Natives from other areas".

Mr. Nkomo's Visit to Mr. Butler

Demands New Constitution for S. Rhodesia

MR. JOSHUA NKOMO, former leader of the banned Zimbabwe African People's Union of Southern Rhodesia, met the Minister for Central African Affairs, Mr. R. A. Butler, on Wednesday last week. He told a Press conference next day that he wanted a simple "yes" or "no" to his request that the British Government should convene a conference to formulate a new Constitution for Southern Rhodesia.

"Mr. Butler said that Britain has the power to legislate for Southern Rhodesia, but that there is a long-standing convention that she cannot do this without the consent of the Southern Rhodesian Government. At last we have the answer: Britain has the power to legislate. I told Mr. Butler that a convention that frustrates the aspirations of the people is dead. The myth of white liberalism has disappeared.

"Britain must say 'yes' or 'no'. If the answer is 'no', she must be prepared for a rude shock and an embarrassment.

"She can see that the African people support me. We have tried to avoid trouble, but the people cannot be left at the mercy of vicious legislation. When Sir Edgar Whitehead was in power, Britain could make the excuse that he had said there would be African self-government in 15 years and that

he would repeal the Land Apportionment Act. But Mr. Field is straightforward: his view is that the white man must control Southern Rhodesia for as long as possible. But we are at the end of that era.

"Thousands of our chaps are being arrested under these vicious laws, and now our young men will be hung, not because they have thrown bombs but because the police have planted them. We cannot wait months for Mr. Butler to decide. I may be jailed next week for 20 years for speaking to-you here".

Mr. Nkomo alleged that a cache of explosives had been planted by the police in the house of his party's former publicity secretary and that when police captured a masked man running away from a store in a Salisbury African township after a stone had been thrown through a window they had discovered that he was a policeman; a dummy inquiry had been held and nothing more heard of the matter.

Told that Southern Rhodesia's Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Field, had said on his arrival in London that morning that he would be prepared to have talks with Mr. Nkomo, the latter rejoined: "I do not recognize him, and I will not meet him while he is here. I will meet him only as the leader of the Rhodesia Front party at a constitutional conference, not as Prime Minister".

Europeans Would Have to Get Out

Asked what would happen if Mr. Butler decided in Z.A.P.U.'s favour but found that the Europeans in the Colony rejected his adjudication, Mr. Nkomo said: "Then they must get out!" Pressed to state clearly whether he meant that the Africans would "throw out" the Europeans, he just repeated that they would "have to get out".

He did not think that Mr. Field's Government would resort to military opposition to Britain, but would fall in with the changes, as, Mr. Nkomo claimed, Sir Roy Welensky had done on the Federal issue.

European businessmen who had formerly supported the United Federal Party were, he said, "fed up" and were moving to Northern Rhodesia. "They must approve of an African Government, then, and they want one in Southern Rhodesia too to give them security". Before his party's proscription last year, "big" European businessmen had had consultations with Z.A.P.U. The U.F.P. had "seen the light" and was changing its policy.

Economic Links Can Wait

Mr. Nkomo would not commit himself explicitly in favour of economic ties with Northern Rhodesia. Asked to state his views "because British investors want to know", he replied that they could wait until the African Governments concerned had discussed the possibilities. He agreed that he was a pan-Africanist and as such would welcome links with any other African country, but he would not accept a link with Northern Rhodesia that had been negotiated by the present Government under Mr. Field. "Anyway, Mr. Kaunda has made it clear that he will discuss the matter only with a Government in Southern Rhodesia that it is of the people".

His efforts had, he claimed, 100% support throughout Africa, and from countries in Asia, including Commonwealth nations. "That is why Britain will be embarrassed if she says no to us".

Mr. Nkomo said that he had met the new Labour leader, Mr. Harold Wilson, who had re-affirmed that, were his party in power, it would grant Southern Rhodesia a new Constitution.

Asked to state his own programme for Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Nkomo said: "We must get a Constitution first from our colonizers before we can become the Government. Then we shall have our policies. Any person accepting majority rule will be a citizen like anyone else. We do not talk about a 'multi-racial' country".

In New York at the week-end, where he spoke to the U.N., he said he had given Mr. Butler 24 hours to effect the repeal of Southern Rhodesia's security amendments—"otherwise Britain will be responsible for violence and bloodshed".

Mr. Nkomo, who is on £100 bail, is due back in the Colony next Monday for judgment at Rusape on charges under the Law and Order Maintenance Act.

"Potentially, the Southern Region is richer than any other part of Tanganyika. Unless the people go to sleep it will within the next five years become one of our wealthy regions".—Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, Vice-President of Tanganyika.

Sir Albert Robinson on the Challenge to Mr. Butler

Britain's Lack of Constructive Policy in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland*

A TURNING POINT in the affairs of Central Africa has been reached and major decisions must now be taken.

The African nationalist parties in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council have, by 21 votes to 15, called upon the British Government to allow Northern Rhodesia to secede.

Mr. Winston Field, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, has said that he will not take the initiative to break up the Federation, but he wants an early decision. He has expressed the view that a break-up seems likely, and, if this is so, should be effected quickly.

Sir Roy Welensky, pledged to maintain a constitutional relationship between the two Rhodesias, is willing to examine changes, even radical changes, to the present arrangement, but holds that a total break-up would be disastrous. Believing that economic association would not succeed, he has pledged himself to use all his endeavours to prevent separation.

The British Government has no proclaimed policy. Until 1960 it adopted a completely neutral attitude. When the Federation was established in 1953 Colonial Office civil servants in the northern territories were instructed not to take a positive attitude in regard to federation, and the Monckton Commission found that this was a major factor in the build-up of anti-federal feeling among Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Deeds Speak Louder Than Words

After 1960 Mr. Macmillan started the policy which has led to the present situation, a policy which may be described as an attempt to accommodate Afro-Asian pressures coupled with a determination to quit Africa as quickly as possible. In five years Britain has handed independence to most of the homogeneous African countries for which it was formerly responsible. Now there remain the multi-racial problem areas of Kenya, Central Africa, and the High Commission Territories.

The policy line that H.M. Government has been following in Central Africa for the past three years has never been openly proclaimed, but the deeds performed speak louder than any words. The plan has been to create Constitutions in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland which were designed to hand over power to the pan-Africanists, then to await their demands for secession, and then to say that nothing can be done but comply with these demands.

There has not been a single attempt by the present British Government to initiate talks or to take any other positive line with a view to preserving the Federation and all the great benefits that have flowed from its creation.

Hazard to Northern Economy

Nyasaland is about to move into isolation with massive financial aid from H.M. Government, and will not be involved in the immediate constitutional future of the two Rhodesias.

Division of the two Rhodesias would place in potential hazard the entire economy of Northern Rhodesia, which depends for the bulk of its Government and private income on the production and sale of copper. From the moment Northern Rhodesia becomes independent its economic survival will depend upon the world price of copper. The price is now artificially sustained at about £234 a ton.

Due entirely to Russia offering chrome at cut prices to the United States, Southern Rhodesia's important chrome industry faces the possibility of complete collapse. This shows what can happen to a country's economy if it is based on a product

the price of which is determined by the outside world. Northern Rhodesia would go forward with all the uncertainties of a fluctuating world price of copper, which in the nine years of Federation has fallen as low as £160 a ton and risen as high as £433.

By association with Southern Rhodesia the Northern Rhodesian economy would be insured against such risks. The two economies are complementary, and make up a stronger base for the economic future of the territories than would be the case if they were divided. In 1957 and 1958, when the price of copper declined, the effect was well cushioned by the broader-based economy of the Federation as a whole. From 1954 to 1962 Southern Rhodesia contributed £244m. and Northern Rhodesia £173m. towards Federal revenue.

What Trade Barriers Would Mean

Northern Rhodesia, if granted independence, will seek to diversify its economy, and the only way this could be done is by the erection of tariff barriers around the territory. The Federal Minister of Commerce and Industry has said that the establishment of a number of light industries will give the policy an appearance of success. But the consumer market of Northern Rhodesia is so small that only a limited range of very light industry can be sustained. The total number of Africans in employment in Northern Rhodesia is only 240,000.

Since 1953 more than £100m. has been invested in the establishment of commercial and industrial enterprises in the two Rhodesias. These enterprises are geared to supply the whole Federal market. If trade barriers are raised on the Zambezi, with consequential loss of part of the market, many of the companies would have to close down, reduce or remove their operations from the Rhodesias. It is therefore vitally important to secure a continuing customs union between the two Rhodesias, not only in the interests of the enterprises concerned but, more important, to provide employment for Africans and a rising standard of living for all the inhabitants of the two territories.

The total debt of the Federation exceeds £280m. Approximately £50m. is directly guaranteed by H.M. Government. A final break-up could only mean the assumption by Britain of many millions of public debt, plus all the consequential costs of a break-up, which include provision for civil servants entitled to abolition of office if their employers are changed for reasons beyond their control.

The British Government is liable for the loss of work and prospects that civil servants in Nyasaland will suffer because it is the policies and decisions of H.M. Government that have brought about the present situation in that country. My plea is that the same position should not develop in Northern and Southern Rhodesia.

Threat of Disaster

If the ambition of the African nationalists in Northern Rhodesia can be realized and they are given independence, there will no longer be any incentive on their part to work with Southern Rhodesia. On the contrary, they would do all in their power to bring about the downfall of the Southern Rhodesian Government, with a view to securing African majority rule forthwith. They would be backed by P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A., the United Nations, and the Afro-Asian group in particular. The size of the disaster that might follow for Southern Rhodesia is incalculable.

What constructive policy can H.M. Government adopt in regard to the future of the Federation?

The first proposition I make is that the British Government should take active and positive steps to try and retain a constitutional relationship between the two Rhodesias. That should be its declared aim in the present talks. The alternative is to allow the process of erosion to continue until we witness in Central Africa a total break-up of this great political union and experiment in race relations. Instead of being involved in an expenditure of tens of millions of pounds to meet the costs of a break-up, some of this money should be used to back a new constitutional arrangement which will preserve the great achievements of the past.

Secondly, if agreement is reached between the parties concerned, then H.M. Government should back this agreement with substantial capital funds.

Forward-looking policies would mean that everybody, from the British High Commissioner in Central Africa and the Governors down to the official Ministers and civil servants in the northern territories, would be imbued with a single new purpose. At present they are obliged to adopt purely negative

* In an address in London last Thursday to the Commonwealth Writers of Britain.

or neutral attitudes because there is no constructive British policy. They appear to accept the inevitability of the triumph of pan-Africanism.

I cannot believe that H.M. Government wishes to promote a situation in which it will be proved that it is impossible for persons of different races to live alongside each other in harmony. This will certainly occur if the present policies of drift and disintegration are allowed to go on unchallenged. A new and forward-looking attitude by H.M. Government would make a tremendous impression on all concerned in Central Africa.

Mr. Butler is the one member of the Government who could win the support of all sections in the Federation. He now faces the challenge to produce the triumph of a negotiated settlement.

In recent times we have seen successful negotiations conducted by H.M. Government in conditions far more critical than exist in the Rhodesias. Mr. Julian Amery remained in Cyprus for nearly six months in continual negotiation until he secured an agreement. In Southern Rhodesia Mr. Duncan Sandys secured agreement between the U.F.P. and the National Democratic Party in respect of the new Southern Rhodesian Constitution. That the N.D.P. subsequently repudiated the agreement does not detract from the initial success of the negotiations.

Mr. Butler has devoted the past year to detailed examination of all the problems of the three territories. He knows the views of the political leaders and has himself indicated that certain threads give rise to a measure of hope for the future. I trust that he will act promptly and firmly to take advantage of these possibilities.

Charter of Race Relations

It is also the duty of the racial communities and Governments in Central Africa to do things to create a better atmosphere if we are to maintain a constitutional relationship between the Rhodesias. I believe we should adopt a charter of race relations, having as its aims a true and full partnership of the races. This involves the elimination of racial discrimination in all sectors of our national life. This should be achieved with an urgency and determination that will have a profound and favourable effect upon African opinion; and its successful working would lessen the fears of Europeans. Elimination of discrimination would remove a source of friction and be the first step in the direction of creating a new nationhood in Central Africa.

The next step is the elimination of paternalism in our system of government and our social and economic life. Spoon-feeding of communities undermines the dignity of the individual and curbs his freedom to achieve the highest office that his talents will permit. All our political and other institutions must be re-shaped where necessary to eliminate this outmoded social system.

Local government requires complete reorganization. The European community brought the urban system to Central Africa. Over the years Africans have been encouraged to settle in townships alongside Europeans. To create healthy urban community relationships it is essential to share the power of government in this field.

In the commercial, industrial, business, financial and civil service spheres the time has come to promote crash programmes of training and education, so that persons of all races can be seen to be enjoying the benefits and opportunities of a non-racial society.

Westminster Pattern Unsuitable

In the political sphere I think we shall have to find alternative constitutional arrangements to the unsuitable Westminster-type instruments that govern our affairs at present. These instruments do not provide the machinery for true racial partnership. They are instruments of racial domination when placed in the control of those who reject racial partnership.

To secure freedom from fear for the various communities we require a genuine sharing of power, with adequate entrenchments to prevent race dictatorship or domination.

Is it not possible for the leaders of the racial communities to join hands at this late hour to create in the Rhodesias new territorial and national political institutions that may be acceptable to the various racial communities that make up the population? The people of Central Africa are entitled to a supreme effort to secure a harmonious solution to the present difficulties. This will not be achieved by policies of drift on the part of the British Government or of rock-like inflexibility on the part of those from Central Africa.

If given the right lead, Africans and Europeans can be expected to make a practical reality of the preamble to the present Constitution, which envisages a society in which partnership and co-operation are fostered in the interests of the security, advancement, and welfare of all the inhabitants of Central Africa.

A great deal has already been achieved, and the final goal could be won if there is a will to accept inter-racial co-operation in a non-racial society as the basis of our political way of life in the Rhodesias. Above all, it is H.M. Government, exercising as it does the supreme power in Central Africa, who should take the lead and clearly display the will for positive and constructive nation building in the Rhodesias.

This is the challenge. Can Mr. Butler meet it?

Southern Rhodesia and South Africa

Mr. C. W. Dupont's Statement

MR. C. W. DUPONT, Minister for Law and Order and Justice, made the following statement in the Parliament of the Colony just before leaving for London last week:—

"Mr. Speaker, my speech last night in reply to the third reading debate on the Law and Order (Maintenance) Amendment Bill was incorrectly summarized by those who were responsible for reporting it, and this has given a wrong impression to the public. This, I am glad to say, has been corrected by those concerned at home and I hope by now overseas. In case, however, any other members of the Press have been given a wrong impression, I would like to repeat what I did say.

"I refer first to the report which quoted me as saying so far as overseas friends were concerned the only country which faced the same problems and pressures as Southern Rhodesia was South Africa. It had been suggested that economic links with the Republic should be kept, but there should be no political links. Mr. Dupont said this was the most stupid approach to the problem he had yet heard.

"What I actually said in this House was:—

"Further, on the question of who our friends overseas are, I would like to ask the Hon. Members opposite: Who is it that understands our problems? Who is it that are actually facing the same world pressure as we are at the same moment? Who is it who are living under the same conditions and by our standards? Of course, they are our immediate neighbours, and yet—and this is something which really astonishes me—during this debate from Members opposite has come the innuendo that to seek closer ties, even economically—no question of politically at all—is something dishonourable or undesirable and not to be considered at any price. This is the most stupid approach to our problem which I have heard yet.

Subversive Propaganda

"As I say, there is no question of any political tie; but there is the question of economic ties which would be well worthy of consideration. There has never been any suggestion that we should subjugate ourselves politically or become a province of the Republic, and there never has been.

"This country wants its independence, and it is not prepared, following upon what I said just now, to exchange one form of dependence for another, so the question of becoming subjugated to the Republic of South Africa does not arise.

"Hon. Members will note that by undue condensation a totally inaccurate impression has been caused. I would also draw attention to two other inaccuracies. First, I did not refer to South Africa only, but to our 'immediate neighbours'. Secondly, there has been another very relevant omission in reporting. Also during my speech I said when referring to 'Press difficulties' that the Government's main concern was to prevent the Press from being used for subversive propaganda, not just 'propaganda', as reported. That would be beyond the powers, or, indeed, the duties of any Government.

"We are prepared to live with propaganda, but we do not have to tolerate subversive propaganda."

Rhodesia in Colour

SPLendid PHOTOGRAPHS in colour taken for the British South Africa Company by Mr. Adolf Morath are now on display at the Ceylon Tea Centre in London. Many aspects of life and activity in the Rhodesias are represented. There is exceptional brilliance in a picture of molten ferro-chrome being poured; there are exceptional panoramic views of estates near Melsetter; there is striking light and shade in scenes in the Imbeza Forest; there is great character in some of the African faces; and humour in shots from a festival of African art in the Rhodes National Gallery. Better large-scale photographs of Rhodesia cannot have been seen in London.

Vital Economic Association Better With Political Links

Mr. Winston Field Expects Britain to Implement the Right Decision

ECONOMICALLY, the Federation has been "quite wonderful" for Southern Rhodesia and the other territories, the Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Field, told members and guests of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club in London on Tuesday night at a dinner in honour of Sir Ronald Prain, president of the Rhodesian Selection Trust, and Lady Prain.

"Continued association in the economic sense is vital to all three present constituents," Mr. Field continued. "And if we have the one, it would be better to have the other, political, tie too. It is not possible in some cases to have both, but I pray that we can."

"Future benefits would not be restricted to Southern Rhodesia. There are certain developments in Northern Rhodesia that will not take place unless Southern Rhodesia is economically associated."

"It is Britain's task to make the right decision and to see it through to its logical conclusion."

Unemployment First Task

Mr. Field said that his Government's most immediate task — politics and race relations notwithstanding — was unemployment. There was no short cut to its solution nor to finding land for people without any; "we couldn't afford the luxury of the British system of unemployment benefit because if we introduced it we wouldn't have a worker of any sort at any time! But though we do not have the poverty that other African countries have, we feel that we should take time by the forelock and provide solutions before the problems come upon us."

The Kafue polder scheme in Northern Rhodesia and the Sabi Valley project in Southern Rhodesia were two good examples of how to establish primary agricultural industries which led through processing of their products to secondary industries. "We are short of money, but our approach is not 'can we do it?' but that 'we must'. Our solutions will offer the whole continent a most important example. We should not be wrapped up in wholly constitutional affairs; we have had too many referendums and conferences."

"But if the agricultural research services in our three countries — and we have some of the best anywhere — are split, what benefit will be derived from them? Sales of agricultural commodities will increase long after Northern Rhodesia's copper is dead. There should be common selling services; we have the Tobacco Export Promotion Council (Tepcorn); beef output will expand, possibly even to overtake tobacco. It would be tragic if the three territories competed to sell these items."

Mr. Field denied that the Colony's recent security Bills were oppressive. "There is no worse crime than throwing petrol bombs. We have an excellent precedent in Northern Rhodesia, where the British Government introduced a mandatory death penalty for railway sabotage — which ceased from that day. It is not unreasonable that we, with something worse to stop, should deal with it likewise."

Preventing Intimidation

"Under the Preservation of Constitution Bill, we expect our citizens, no matter what their colour, not to indulge in treasonable activities when they go abroad and then to return home with a smile and get off scot-free. We won't have such things and have taken steps to see that we won't. That is not unreasonable. Civilized countries — and we Rhodesians are civilized — follow the same path."

"If a political party does not behave within the law and the Constitution, we need no longer ban it, but bring the offenders before the courts for prosecution in the normal way. We are not ruthless racialists. These measures are not oppressive but are reasonable and enlightened means for bringing law and order into our land so that our people can lead the way of life they want to with whom they like, without intimidation."

Sir Ronald Prain (who announced that he would retire at the end of the week after 20 years as president of the R.S.T.) said that the copper industry in Northern Rhodesia was a classic example of the impact of a highly complex industry on a primitive native community.

What was possibly unique was the fact that without the discovery and development of the Copperbelt there

would not have been any such political development as the creation of the Federation, which was based on the reciprocity of interest between the north and the south. The industry had had, unlike most, its effect on the political circumstances of the times, and on the history of British colonialism and African nationalism.

"We learned that an adventure of this sort could not be confined to simple engineering considerations, but began to involve us unwittingly in social obligations with political overtones, leading us into fields far removed from the normal disciplines of production and marketing."

"We learnt that many of the factors were transitory. Colonial Secretaries came and went, Governors came and went, employees came and went, and nobody except the copper companies themselves had the responsibility for making decisions with which they would have to live for years afterwards. The only other permanent feature on the landscape was the African population which at that time was not asked to make any decisions."

"With the coming of Federation in 1953, the copper industry has been engaged in an effort to expand and to lend its support to the development not only of Northern Rhodesia but also of the other territories. Its influence has spread into the fields of education, agriculture, commerce and secondary industry throughout the territories, and the copper companies have associated themselves with the development not of one country but all three, based on the principles of multi-racialism."

"The published reserves of copper in Northern Rhodesia at present considered economic represent about the same proportion of total world reserves as do the oil reserves of Kuwait. When one considers that not all reserves are published, and that many more are as yet undiscovered, one is left with a feeling that there can be few countries possessing such a heritage of future wealth. During its short life the industry has produced copper to the extent of about 8½m. tons with a historical value of about £1,400m., or at today's prices, a value of about £2,000m."

"On a *per capita* basis the exportable values of Northern Rhodesia are the highest in Africa; they are actually above the exports *per capita* of the United States, Italy or Japan. The absolute validity of Northern Rhodesia copper exports is also the highest in Africa, with the exception of gold from South Africa, and it comes above the values of cotton from Egypt, cocoa from Ghana, or groundnuts from Nigeria. This illustrates the unique position occupied by Northern Rhodesia among those countries of Africa which are controlled by African Governments."

"The copper industry of Northern Rhodesia is one of large scale and great complexity requiring skills which the Africans have not yet acquired."

European Fears

"On the Copperbelt there is the largest concentration of Europeans to be found in any country of Africa with an African Government. What is more, nowhere else, except possibly in Kenya and the Katanga, where the white communities are smaller, is the white employee confronted with such doubts as to his economic future, as to his way of life, and as to his political security. I am not suggesting that these doubts are well-founded; nevertheless they are a fact of life which has to be taken into account."

"The Europeans and Africans in positions of responsibility will have to balance up the conflicting claims of the mineral heritage of an African people, the fact that political power will rest with Africans, while the technical skills will rest for many years with the Europeans; that jointly black and white have to work out a new accommodation which does justice to all these considerations; and bearing in mind always their collective responsibilities to the communities of Africa and the copper industry of the world."

"I have little doubt that this accommodation will be arrived at with sense, sensibility, and sensitivity. Nowhere else in Africa is there quite the same number of checks and balances built into the situation, making for a new type of partnership. The identity of interest is so great that it will result in Northern Rhodesia being developed, not only as the most powerful of the native states of Africa, but also we hope as a model which, also, it may be difficult for others to emulate, for the basis of this argument is that Northern Rhodesia has the wealth, the viability and the responsibilities which go with them, which do not, unfortunately, apply to all African territories. The basis of that viability is the copper industry of Northern Rhodesia."

Labour Party Demands Secession for Northern Rhodesia

Attacks on "Ruthless Racialists" and "White Dictatorship" in Southern Rhodesia*

MR. JOHN STRACHEY (Lab.) was certain that there had been assurances, promises, or pledges.

"I am not a supporter of Sir Roy Welensky, but I was in the Federal Parliament in Salisbury when he made his famous tirade against the British Government. It was rather naïve of him to believe assurances of Ministers on pledges which they were in no position to give since they could not possibly pledge away the right of Parliament to decide. Apparently he did believe all this, I suppose because he wanted to believe it—he is a very shrewd politician; that, I suppose, is the only explanation. This is a profoundly discreditable incident: those pledges or assurances were given.

The First Secretary made only one real announcement—that negotiations on the secession of Nyasaland should go on between the Nyasaland Government, and, I suppose, H.M. Government in the U.K. and the Federal Government. It seems to me quite disastrous to give the only people who wish to delay a decision on the winding up of the situation—the Ministers of the Federal Government—endless powers of obstruction. That decision will have disastrous reactions in Northern Rhodesia, where, surely, exactly the same process must be gone through.

Startling Omission

The First Secretary's first startling omission was that he made no acknowledgement of the right of Northern Rhodesia to secede. What is the object of keeping silent on this matter? Having granted the right to Nyasaland, how can he possibly deny the same right to Northern Rhodesia? Would it not be a thousand times better to acknowledge that here and now and put doubt out of the minds of the Northern Rhodesian African movement? Merely because he does not want to face the opposition of some of his hon. friends he omits to make that clear statement. But he has to make it sooner rather than later, and will face just as much opposition from behind him when he does make it. It carries with it the obvious corollary that he admits that the Federation is at an end and must be dismantled. All three Governments which compose the Federation desire that it should cease to exist.

"One thing on which everyone is agreed is that decisions should be reached quickly. The main impression from the First Secretary's speech was of extreme dilatoriness, that he was hanging out and hanging up all these decisions as long as he possibly could. That is a terribly dangerous policy to adopt.

"Waste of Breath"

"With clear black majorities from now on in the two northern territories, and so long as there is white dictatorship rule in the southern territory, it is a waste of breath to talk about any possibility of a political federation between the three territories even if the economic advantages were twice what they are and even if the price which had to be paid for the dissolution of the Federation were far greater even than it is. Everyone is in favour of the best and closest degree of economic co-operation between these Governments which can be obtained, but we feel intensely that any attempt to retain by pressure or suasion a political link which all three Governments reject is the high road to preventing there being any possibility of keeping economic co-operation going.

"Do not let us exaggerate the difficulties. Sovereign independent Governments can trade with each other. They can sell electricity to the one, carry the copper of the other, and send their labour from one territory to another. The inevitable dismantling of the Federation which must follow from the fact that none of its constituent parts wishes it to continue in no way precludes sensible trading arrangements between the three territories.

"One brighter aspect is the position in Northern Rhodesia. Both in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland there is at any rate hope. I happened to be in Lusaka when the new Government was formed and I saw the new African Ministers a day or two before they became Ministers and again a day or so afterwards. They were just the same after they became Ministers. They did not seem to have their heads turned in the very slightest. We are very fortunate in having in Mr. Kaunda one of the outstanding African leaders of today. There is I believe in Northern Rhodesia the possibility of building a

multi-racial society. It may be said that there is a better chance of a harmonious multi-racial society there than anywhere else in Africa—subject to the British Government making up their minds quickly on two things.

"The first is to acknowledge frankly the right of the Northern Rhodesian Government to secession. The second is acknowledging that sooner rather than later there must be a new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia.

"Some rather hard words have been said about great capitalist tycoons. From such contacts as I had with the great copper companies they seemed to be by no means the least progressive forces there. They seemed to have a very long-sighted view and to be very willing to take part in what must be an experiment, and they consider a hopeful experiment, of working under and working with an African Government.

"I do not see how anyone could visit Southern Rhodesia today without feeling the most profound tragedy there: it is not a question of bad men or good men. I got the impression of men of both sides and all races caught in the terrible situation of racial antagonism, and, I fear, race hatred, but, worst of all perhaps, a blank incomprehension between the races. If nothing is done to alter that situation, how can it do anything but first drift and then drive towards disaster?

"Whatever one may think of the new Rhodesia Front Government—and it has hopeful features; the character of the Prime Minister has been referred to by my hon. friend in flattering terms, and I share that view—the election campaign was a terrible thing to see. People there considered that by far the most effective piece of propaganda by the Rhodesia Front was a simple poster called the 'legs' poster.

Election Propaganda

"It showed a picture of the white legs of a white child and the black legs of a black child going into the same school, and under it was some such caption as 'Is this what you want to see for your child?' with the clear implication that the education of white children in the same school as black children was unthinkable, humiliating, something which the white population must avert at all costs. It was that spirit which got the Rhodesia Front their majority.

"I do not know whether the pleasant personal character of the Prime Minister, and I dare say some of his colleagues, can alter the spirit of racialism. That sort of propaganda evokes a racialist spirit on the other side. I saw Mr. Field on several occasions: I agree that he is a most agreeable gentleman. He seemed to have a warmly paternal attitude to the African population. But is it not many years too late for a paternal attitude? Is there any chance of that approach, however sincere, however warm-hearted, however excellent his relations with some African leaders, Dr. Banda and the like, having much effect?

"This was not the attitude of many members of his Government. I have to characterize them as determined, able, and ruthless racialists who know very well what they are. They ought not to be dismissed as cranks. They are men determined that the white hegemony or dictatorship in Southern Rhodesia should be maintained at all costs and for all time. This was the position at any rate of a substantial fraction of the Rhodesia Front Government.

Contest of Views

"It would be quite wrong to say that it is the universal attitude among the European population in Southern Rhodesia. Of course it is not. There are much more liberal elements than that inside the present Government, and certainly outside it. The fate not only of Southern Rhodesia, but very likely of the whole of the southern part of Africa, depends on the contest between the types of opinion which exist in Southern Rhodesia today.

"It is the measure of the situation in Southern Rhodesia that a man with somewhat conservative views, but who has a feeling for racial equality, earns himself banishment. I find this incident and the forced resignation of men like Sir Robert Tredgold, together with the developments in the legal situation, all of a most ominous prospect.

"I refer again to the measure undertaken by Mr. Field's Government in which the death penalty is to become mandatory for offences against property. Can anyone defend that? We hold different views on the question of capital punishment. Some of us are against it altogether and others believe in it for the crime of murder. But can anyone really defend capital punishment for crimes against property in which no harm may be done to anybody?

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

"No one condones or excuses violence, but we should blind ourselves to all historical experience if we supposed that if we cut off all constitutional and democratic outlets for the vast mass of a population we should not get violence. In this country before there was a democratic vote how did the mass of the population make itself felt in public life? By means of riot and rick burning.

"Let the United Nations see as closely as it can what is happening in Southern Rhodesia. It would see, not only the things to which I object, but the realities of the situation, the narrow limits to what the U.K. Government can do directly. The U.N. would have to face the situation; then perhaps it would stop passing pious resolutions and help us avert the terrible disasters which otherwise impend.

Economic Sanctions

"Let the Government refuse independence to Southern Rhodesia until the country is well on the way to a genuine democratic Government. In the financial settlement—and it will be no easy one—our whole attitude should be governed by whether or not the Southern Rhodesian Government are moving in that direction. There must be no more grants or loans on easy terms of £34m. to a racist Government. [An Hon. Member: Economic sanctions.] Economic sanctions if you wish to call it that: economic pressure, economic persuasion. This is the real way in which the British Government can make their influence felt in Southern Rhodesia.

"Otherwise, like Pontius Pilate, we must wash our hands of the situation because those are the only powers remaining. We shall be told that if we do that Southern Rhodesia will at once declare her independence and join up with South Africa. I do not know whether that is so. I do know that the British Government cannot allow themselves to be black-mailed by that threat."

MR. HUMPHRY BERKELEY (Cons.) thought it unhelpful to impugn the Government's good faith.

"I am not deeply worried about Northern Rhodesia. I feel a deep sense of depression about Southern Rhodesia. I was in Salisbury for a few days in the New Year and I had a lengthy talk with Mr. Winston Field, a charming, sensible, realistic, and honourable man. In his attitude towards the Federation and the two northern States he seems to me to be utterly reasonable. Where his Government seem bound in the long run to flounder, however, is that it is not possible to talk to Africans as equals and colleagues.

"Mr. Field and Dr. Banda got on extremely well. I believe that Mr. Field is on friendly terms with Mr. Kaunda. If however, he is arresting Nkomo and the Z.A.P.U. leaders and providing them with no constitutional outlet I do not believe that this sort of co-operation between the three territories can last long.

"The people who talk about Southern Rhodesia simply declaring itself independent are the very people who condemn Z.A.P.U. and Nkomo for unconstitutional action.

"I could not vote in favour of a measure that would give independence to Southern Rhodesia on its present Constitution. I would regard this as intolerable and disastrous. That Constitution is riddled with deficiencies.

Federal Wreckage

"We must try to devise amid the wreckage of this Federation something which will last. Probably a direct political association is now out of the question. Whoever is in power in Salisbury, even if there is a black Parliament, the concept of political control from there has become immensely disliked. Even if Mr. Nkomo, Mr. Kaunda and Dr. Banda were the respective Prime Ministers I do not believe that the Nvasas would be prepared to be ruled from Salisbury. Future relations must be in terms of an economic association, a common services association, or something of that type. It must be the servant of the three territorial Governments, not the master."

MR. DONALD WADE (Lib.) believed that pledges had been given and broken.

"The most practical step for Nvasaland and Rhodesia is to create some kind of common services organization—for the postal services, airlines, roads and health service.

"Are we to recognize that the people of Northern Rhodesia have the same rights as Nvasaland? I listened very carefully to the rt. hon. gentleman, and the answer was not at all clear. Surely it does not pay to be vague and to make statements which have one meaning for one side and another to another side. In view of the experience in Central Africa surely it would be better to be quite frank about Northern Rhodesia."

MR. G. M. THOMSON (Lab.) said that last summer he was impressed with American activities in Central Africa.

"One of the great challenges facing this country and the

United States is to arrive at a means of co-operating constructively in bringing help to the new African nations. It would be a great pity if Britain because of her Colonial past felt that the United States was usurping her obligations; it would be equally a pity if the United States felt that, because of their dislike of our Colonial past, they could not be associated with us in the projects in Africa.

"Most people believe that the Federation has come to an end and think that in that sense the issues across the floor of the House are a little less sharp. If the poor attendance at this debate were to be taken as a sign of complacency and a feeling that the problems of Central Africa were now gradually being put behind us, it would be unbelievable smugness, because although Nvasaland and Northern Rhodesia, moving towards self-government and self-determination, have a reasonably sure future, although they have difficulties, the more I think about the future of Southern Rhodesia as part of the whole southern tip of Africa the gloomier I become. It is impossible to feel that there is now any peaceful way out of the political impasse which has been created in South Africa. Southern Rhodesia will go the same way as South Africa unless there is a change in policies there. There is still time. The influence of this country and of this Government may be crucial. I pray that it may not be too late."

MR. JOHN STONEHURST (Lab.) said that it was astonishing to be asked to have faith in Ministers guilty of such deplorable mistakes, hypocritical acts and evasions, Ministers who have brought the country into disrepute.

"Stooges"

"The First Secretary gave a mournful, funeral oration on the Federation, although he did not actually pronounce the corpse dead. We have to wait for Dr. Banda to produce the death certificate. Once Malawi has left the Federation it no longer exists. If there is an overwhelming demand in Malawi for secession, how can anyone deny that there is an equally overwhelming demand in Northern Rhodesia?"

"This Federation is coming to an end, and everybody's plans for the future must be based on that. Northern Rhodesia must have a new Constitution which will allow universal adult suffrage and be allowed internal self-determination at a very early date.

"Southern Rhodesia is ruled by a white dictatorship. The black members of the Southern Rhodesian Parliament do not represent their own community. They are 'stooges,' and they do not in any way express the opinions of the large majority of black people who have not participated in the elections to their House and have no representative there. The Constitution must be revised to enable the wishes of the people of the country to be fairly expressed.

"If the Government of Mr. Winston Field continues in power there will be not only a continuing decline in the faith of the economic future of that territory but a development towards a political situation which could well lead to violence and bloodshed on a very large scale. It is only by revising that Constitution and allowing the mass of people there who are now unrepresented to express themselves that there is any chance whatever of bloodshed being avoided.

Apartheid Alleged

"Mr. Field has been represented as a Liberal and a progressive. I do not accept that this is true. His action so far since achieving power show that he is determined to maintain apartheid. We have a continuation of the Land Apportionment Act. According to a news release of the Federal High Commissioner, European land ownership will be maintained, and only in restricted degree and in special circumstances will any land be set aside for occupation by any race. Almost all the land will continue to be allocated to separate racial groups.

"The Act which is not to be amended allocates over half the total land area to the tiny minority of Europeans in the territory, forming less than 10% of the total population—an area larger than England and Wales combined allocated to a population about 250,000 strong. This is a terrible economic injustice. It denies the African population a fair share of land resources and an opportunity of participating also in economic activity in the towns, where this discrimination also applies.

"In Southern Rhodesia the African continues to be regarded as a second-class citizen. While this situation continues there is bound to be growing resentment by Africans. Whether their political parties are allowed to exist or not, they will organize themselves, will develop their forces, and one day they will strike and demand the rights which they are entitled to have. None of the sweet, soothing words that we hear from the First Secretary will prevent that occurring.

(Concluded on page 649)

PERSONALIA

MR. COLIN LEGUM is revisiting Kenya.

MR. W. D. CHIMWAZA is now Registrar of Trade Unions in Nyasaland.

MR. C. S. MCLEAN has joined the board of Anglo American Corporation.

THE REV. K. D. FRANCIS, of Mporokoso, Northern Rhodesia, is in London.

MR. A. J. B. OGILVY has joined the board of the British Central Africa Co., Ltd.

MR. J. G. RUTHER has retired from the board of Eileen Alannah Mining Co., Ltd.

MR. MUSTAPHA, Sierra Leone Minister of Trade and Industry, has been visiting the Federation.

MR. and MRS. GRANVILLE ROBERTS have returned to London from a visit of several months to Lusaka.

MR. I. B. DILLON (R.F., Shabani) has suggested that Southern Rhodesia should "encourage a gold rush".

SIR ALGERNON RUMBOLD, Permanent Secretary to the Commonwealth Relations Office, is visiting East Africa.

MR. L. A. SIMPSON has been appointed managing director of Mobil Oil Company of Southern Rhodesia, Ltd.

MR. J. J. SIMUKONDA, Federal M.P. for Kafue, Northern Rhodesia, for the past five years, has resigned from the U.F.P.

DR. HASTINGS BANDA has asked for proof of the statement that Nyasaland has received £41m. under the Federation.

DR. DENIS REBBECK, who has been appointed deputy chairman of Harland and Wolff, Ltd., will continue as managing director also.

MR. ALBERT JEFFERSON MKANDAWIRE, from Nyasaland, is the first African to be admitted to the faculty of advocates of Scotland.

MR. IAN SMITH, Minister of the Treasury in Southern Rhodesia, is acting as Prime Minister while MR. WINSTON FIELD is in London.

MR. DOUGLAS THORNTON, managing director of a company building office blocks in London, was at one time a missionary in Uganda.

On medical advice the RT. REV. TREVOR HUDDLESTON, Bishop of Masasi, who is now in England, has had to curtail his engagements.

MR. AIDAN CRAWLEY, M.P., spoke on Africa on Monday at a luncheon in London of the Overseas Employers' Federation. A report will appear next week.

MR. C. A. KALLAGHE, Commissioner for Local Government in Tanganyika, is in Accra for a meeting of an African Conference of Local Authorities.

MR. VICKERS HAVILAND, proprietor of Zanzibar Hotel, recently offered a trophy for the best-kept Arab door in the town. The award has gone to the donor.

MR. J. W. LAIDLAW, an establishment officer in Northern Rhodesia, where he has served since 1947, has been appointed Deputy Director of Establishments in Aden.

MR. C. D. GEE and MR. W. J. H. GEORGE have for medical and personal reasons retired from the board of Thompson, Smithett & Ewart, Ltd., the Nairobi tea brokers.

SIR RONALD PRAIN, chairman of the Rhodesian Selection Trust group of companies, is to address an informal meeting of shareholders in London on Thursday morning next.

MR. ACIMOVIC, deputy general manager of the Yugoslav Bank for Foreign Trade, signed a credit agreement in Dar es Salaam last week with MR. PAUL BOMANI, Tanganyika's Finance Minister. MR. SAVA OBRADOVIC, Yugoslav Ambassador, was present.

LORD BROOKEBOROUGH, who had been Prime Minister of Northern Ireland for almost 20 years, resigned on Monday on medical grounds. He visited Kenya not long ago.

MR. VICTOR MKELLO, who was recently rusticated to Sumbawanga for two months by Government order, has resumed duty as president of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour.

MR. A. M. PRATT, previously a member of the coffee research team in Kenya, is now in Southern Rhodesia on a three-year Government contract to advise on local cultivation of coffee.

MR. H. CHIPEMBERE, Minister of Local Government, and MR. K. CHIUME, Minister of Education, Social Development and Information in Nyasaland, will be in the United States until May 12.

SIR GEORGE CURTIS, chairman of the working party making detailed arrangements for Nyasaland's secession from the Federation, has estimated that the work will take about nine months to complete.

MR. PAUL BRISTOL, chairman of the Tory research group called the Monday Club, who has visited the Federation and Katanga, is about to visit the Middle East, including Saudi Arabia and the Yemen.

MR. A. SINIREMERA, Vice-President of the National Assembly of Burundi, and MR. L. NIMUBONA, Minister for External Affairs, called on the PRESIDENT OF TANGANYIKA when recently in Dar es Salaam.

MR. JAMES S. GICHURU, Finance Minister in Kenya, has arrived in London for discussions at the Colonial Office on financial, development, and settlement matters. He is not expected back in Nairobi until mid-April.

New Parliamentary Secretaries appointed in Nyasaland are MR. G. KUMTUMANJI (Natural Resources), MR. M. CHIBAMBO (Works and Housing), MR. Y. CHISIZA (Labour), and MR. R. CHIDZANIA (Trade and Industry).

MR. A. MAZULA, regional education officer in the Southern Highlands of Tanganyika, has complained that parents in the Njombe area are sending their children to work on wattle estates instead of to school.

On March 30 the League of Empire Loyalists will hold a reception for MISS LESLIE GREENE, for some years its general secretary, who has married MR. RICHARD B. VON GOETZ, an American living in London.

MR. A. B. C. QUICK, a former director of East African companies in the Mitchell Cotts group, who last year joined D. A. Stuart Oil Co. (G.B.), Ltd., of Wolverhampton and London, as general manager, has been appointed to the board.

MR. HARRY NKUMBULA, Minister of African Education in Northern Rhodesia, stated when touring the Southern Province recently that he would resign if he could not obtain the money required to expand secondary schools and provide university bursaries.

MR. ANTHONY FELL said in the House of Commons last week that Africans in Elisabethville feared to go to work after midday, since by that time the Ethiopian troops of the United Nations were mostly drunk and completely out of the control of their officers.

MR. E. F. MARTIN has resigned from the East African Office in London to take up the appointment of agricultural economist with the Department of Technical Co-operation in connexion with the United Kingdom/Ghana mutual technical co-operation scheme, which is part of a Ghana seven-year development plan covering expenditure of some £80m.

THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, and MR. ANGUS OGILVY, fiancé of PRINCESS ALEXANDRA and a director of numerous Rhodesian companies, have received bequests in the will of MAJOR-GENERAL SIR RICHARD HOWARD-VYSE, Gold Stick in Waiting to the QUEEN. The DUKE, "from whom I have received many kindnesses", was left antique silver, and MR. OGILVY, a grandson of SIR RICHARD, £250.

COUNT WACHTMEISTER has given notice that he will move in the Swedish Upper House that the Swedish Government should call for a judicial inquiry into the actions of the United Nations forces in Katanga.

DR. JAN BEFFINGER, who told the International Tobacco Trade Congress in Salisbury that modern Virginia tobacco processing methods were clearly connected with lung cancer, refused to allow a delegation from the meeting to visit the research institute which he directs in Kenya.

MR. J. G. DUNCAN, Federal Education Minister, saying that disturbances in Northern Rhodesia if the Federal link were maintained would be nothing like those resulting from its destruction, estimated that at least 90% of the white teachers would leave if the Federation were dismantled.

Silverware was stolen last week from Trafalgar House, near Salisbury, the home of LORD CHANDOS, who has appealed to the thieves to return articles of sentimental value, including a Georgian bowl and ash-tray presented to him on his marriage by his fellow officers of the Grenadier Guards.

At the end of this month MR. E. D. SCHLUTER will leave the board of Edm. Schluter & Co., Ltd., London, in order to devote his whole time to Produce Importers & Distributors, Ltd., which will then cease to be a subsidiary and will take over the services hitherto performed by Schluter's Liverpool office.

MR. WINSTON FIELD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, MR. CLIFFORD DUPONT, Minister of Justice, MR. C. M. GREENFIELD, Secretary to the Treasury, and MR. G. B. CLARK, Secretary to the Cabinet, were the guests at luncheon on Monday of SIR CYRIL HAWKER and the directors of the Standard Bank.

EARL DE LA WARR, chairman of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign in the United Kingdom, and former chairman of the Joint East and Central African Board, was one of two men present when LADY DOROTHY MACMILLAN gave a housewives' tea party at Admiralty House last week to mark Freedom from Hunger Week.

MR. C. E. COUSINS, Minister of Land and Natural Resources in Northern Rhodesia, will spend 10 days in Israel on his way back to Lusaka from the present London talks. He served in Israel for six years under the British Administration, latterly as Deputy Director of Labour. He will also spend two or three days in Kenya.

MR. CHU KUANG, leader of the Communist Chinese cultural delegation which toured Tanganyika last December, has sent a message to the Minister of National Culture and Youth, MR. L. SIIAONA, expressing the hope that "under PRESIDENT JULIUS NYERERE Tanganyika may win greater achievements in opposing old and new colonialism".

THE REV. DAVID JENKINS, for the past nine years rector of St. Luke's, Salisbury East, Southern Rhodesia, who has given part of his time to public relations work in the Diocese of Mashonaland, has been appointed whole-time director of a new Church Information Office. A third-generation "citizen of Africa", he speaks five African languages.

A luncheon in honour of LADY BADEN-POWELL, World Chief Guide, and SIR CHARLES MACLEAN, Commonwealth Chief Scout, was recently given at State House, Dar es Salaam, by MWALIMU NYERERE, President of Tanganyika. Among the guests were SIR NEIL PRITCHARD, British High Commissioner, MR. SOLOMON ELIUFUO, president of the Tanganyika Boy Scouts Association and Minister for Education; MRS. ELIUFUO, president of the Tanganyika Girl Guides Association; DR. LEADER STIRLING, Chief Scout in Tanganyika; and MRS. B. N. KUNAMBI, Chief Guide Commissioner in Tanganyika.

MR. MAX HEINRICH, chairman of the African brewery syndicate in Nyasaland which will have to cease operations in that country in consequence of the Government's prohibition of beer-halls, has said that his group will invest some £500,000 in "more stable" Northern Rhodesia on a number of projects, including a new national daily newspaper "liberal in policy".

MR. R. H. FISHER is supervising American aid to Nyasaland from the A.I.D. for education and rural development. DR. J. M. BOND, a former president of the University of Liberia, is to lead an educational survey team later this year. DR. K. E. TIEDKE, a community development specialist with experience in Iraq and Nepal, is to study the country's rural, social and economic patterns, governmental rural services and local government working.

Passengers who arrived in London last Friday in the KENYA include MR. P. BETTERIDGE, surveyor in Mombasa to Lloyd's Registrar of Shipping, and MRS. BETTERIDGE; MR. F. MACLEOD, lately branch manager in Mtwara of the Standard Bank, and MRS. MACLEOD; MR. W. F. PORTER, a director of the Booker Organization in Nyasaland, and MRS. PORTER; MR. D. J. TABOR, assistant manager in Mombasa of Barclays Bank D.C.O., and MRS. TABOR; and MR. E. R. WOOLCOCK, Deputy Commissioner of Customs and Excise in East Africa, and MRS. WOOLCOCK.

Passengers for East Africa in the KENYA CASTLE, which sailed from London last Thursday, include the REV. & MRS. R. CHAPMAN, MR. & MRS. G. A. CLARKE, MR. & MRS. C. E. CLARKE, the REV. N. DELANEY, MR. & MRS. J. M. DICKSON, MR. C. J. G. DUTTON, MR. & MRS. L. J. HART, MR. & MRS. H. W. LEGG, MR. & MRS. H. MAINPRICE, CAPT. & MRS. W. NORTH, MR. & MRS. H. A. E. PAGEOT, the REV. L. C. PHILBRICK, MR. & MRS. H. ROYSTON-SMITH, MR. & MRS. R. A. SPARKS, MR. J. N. STONE-WIGG, MR. & MRS. R. T. SUDBURY, and MR. & MRS. R. H. SYMES-THOMPSON, for Mombasa; MR. & MRS. R. R. BUSHELL, MR. W. H. EDMONDS, MR. & MRS. R. G. IBBOTT, and MR. & MRS. B. J. RICKARD, for Dar es Salaam; and MR. H. C. GARBETT, MR. H. J. CUNNINGHAM, the REV. & MRS. W. M. JACKSON, the REV. & MRS. D. MCCONAGHY, DR. & MRS. OSTEN, MR. & MRS. L. F. SMALE, and SQDN.-LDR. & MRS. F. WELBURN, for Beira.

Obituary

GENERAL SIR READE GODWIN-AUSTEN, K.C.S.I., C.B., O.B.E., M.C., who has died aged 73, commanded the British troops in Somaliland in their withdrawal in August 1940 before overwhelming Italian forces, upon which they inflicted heavy casualties while themselves suffering only slight losses. Six months later Godwin-Austen and the 12th African Division were back in Somaliland to help in Cunningham's great drive into Ethiopia, in which 1,700 miles were covered in 57 days. Godwin-Austen was later transferred to North Africa to command the 13th Corps.

GENERAL SIR HUBERT GOUGH, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., who has died in London at the age of 92, had been keenly interested in East African affairs for many years, and was a past president of the East African Group of the Royal Overseas League. One of his daughters married MAJOR E. A. T. DUTTON, who was for many years in the Colonial Service in Kenya and Zanzibar.

LIEUT.-COLONEL CEDRIC ALSTON, O.B.E., T.D., has died at his home in Kent, aged 70. A memoir will appear next week.

Infected with Defeatism

"E.A. & R.'s" Criticisms Endorsed

ENDORISING a recent leading article in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA which criticized the defeatism spread by misleaders of the public, City Press has described it as "the authentic voice of the true Englishman", adding:—

"We have a Government which has not only abdicated from responsibility all round the world but now proposes to abdicate from the responsibility of governing its own people and to hand it over to a bureaucracy in Brussels. In all history there has never been anything like it."

It published on its leader page the following extracts from EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA:—

"A staggeringly high proportion of public men in Britain and at least an equally high proportion of newspaper and radio commentators on African affairs have infected the minds of millions with their own defeatism.

"A Government which long ago abandoned principle for expediency has shown not the slightest inclination either to check a public despondency damaging to the national honour and interest or to set a dutiful example of moral strength. The consequence has been surrender all along the line.

"At the height of Britain's greatness Lord Tennyson wrote: 'Pray God our greatness may not fail through craven fear of being great'—which couplet the Royal Over-Seas League adopted long afterwards as its motto.

"The craven fear of being great (in the finest sense of the word) has destroyed the influence throughout the world of this country, the greatest mother of nations in all history.

"That influence has been cast away by nerveless Ministers and other betrayers of a great trust, not by any means merely selfish from the standpoint of Britain, but likewise crucial for the hundreds of millions of Africans and Asians who have relied upon British guidance throughout the further decades needed to bring them to the stage at which they could assume the duties of government without grave risks, social, economic, political and military.

"Ministers in Britain, abandoning care and caution, have within a decade and a half wrecked the Empire and imperilled the Commonwealth. With a few honourable exceptions like Lord Home, it is to such Ministers overseas as Mr. Menzies and Sir Roy Welensky that men of robust mind must now look for courageous leadership."

Foreign Press Can Be "Wiped Out"

Should Not Exaggerate Africans' Mistakes

NEWSPAPER OWNERS with their origins in European democracies might feel in the new African States in which opposition to the Government was weak or nonexistent that they should assume such a rôle, but noble though that aim might be, it constituted a risky investment. Mr. A. A. Nakyin, Uganda's Minister of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, told a conference in Mbabane on "Newspapers in a New Nation."

The Press is a very important instrument and it will be foreign-owned for some time. It should be kept open to public accusations of being a catalyst of colonialism and imperialism. Distortion, hatred and suspicion would result and would lower both the standards and the status of the whole people of publication. The Minister alleged that in some countries some papers were being influenced from abroad to indulge in subservience to the Government.

The new nations generally had comparatively young and inexperienced leaders who were anxious to win their people as quickly as possible, and were bound to take advantage of the "dynamic" drive towards raising living standards. Newspapers should help them by not exaggerating their errors, but by the duty of the Press to assist the Government in the difficult task of nation-building.

It would be the height of folly to suppose that the people could be kept in a state of ignorance by restricting progress in other directions, and that which were really beneficial. Any such policy would be a failure. The press should be free to report the truth, and to help the Government to correct its mistakes without having to be afraid of criticism.

Lukiko Violating Uganda Constitution

Attempt to Flout High Court Ruling

THE BUGANDA LUKIKO has approved the appointment of a director of public prosecutions and a solicitor-general to deal with criminal cases in the kingdom independently of the Uganda Director of Public Prosecutions.

This action was taken after the Uganda High Court had ordered the release of Mr. Eriabu Lwebuga, leader of the "common man movement" in Buganda, who had been arrested by the Kabaka's Government for sedition in connexion with his campaign for the payment of revenue from certain land in the kingdom into the Buganda Treasury instead of to the Kabaka's chiefs. The Uganda D.P.P. ordered the discontinuance of the proceedings against Mr. Lwebuga in Buganda's Principal Court.

The Uganda Minister of Justice, Mr. Grace Bbingira, told the National Assembly that the Lukiko's proposal purported to confer on a D.P.P. of Buganda powers which derogated from the complete control of all prosecutions throughout Uganda vested by the Constitution in the Public Prosecutor of Uganda. "This is in complete violation of the Constitution which we all accepted and agreed to observe." Measures were in hand to ensure that the powers of the D.P.P. were not "usurped by unconstitutional means."

The Minister added that the acting prosecutor had been invalidly summoned to appear before the Buganda Principal Court to explain his decision on the Lwebuga case. He recalled that at the constitutional conference in London preceding independence the kingdom's principal legal adviser had argued "in the most emphatic manner that the D.P.P. must be an independent person not controlled by the Attorney-General or by any member of the Government. It is most astonishing that the same people who argued that this Government should not control the D.P.P. have now wrongly alleged that it is our Government which is directing him and are attempting to diminish his authority by appointing their own prosecutor."

Minister's Reprimand for Mayor

City Council Not A Shop Parliament

A SHARP REPRIMAND has been addressed to the Mayor of Dar es Salaam by the Minister for Local Government in Tanganyika who expressed his concern that some councillors were trying to wrest from Government the final decision on issues of policy. The letter continued:

"It is difficult to understand how the council has found it fit to judge whether Government's provision of school meals at primary schools is a waste of money. This is a Ministry of Education matter and the council would do better not to meddle with it, except for the reason that the council is provided any money itself. The school meals are proving their value and are being discontinued in some schools as a result of this."

The Minister said that the council should not be a shop where councillors go to buy and sell their votes, but a forum where they discuss and decide on issues of policy. He said that the council should not be a shop where councillors go to buy and sell their votes, but a forum where they discuss and decide on issues of policy.

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Tourist Attractions of East Africa Eightfold Increase in Visitors in 14 Years

AN EIGHTFOLD INCREASE since 1948 in the annual number of visitors to East Africa is recorded in the report for 1962 of the East African Tourist Travel Association. Written some weeks before the end of the year, it estimated that the total for 1962 might reach 66,000. In the previous year the number of visitors had been 57,083, an increase of 12.7% on the 50,652 of 1960.

An interesting graph shows a sharp rise from 7,570 in 1948 to 40,000 at the time of the outbreak of the Mau Mau rebellion in 1952. Even when the Kikuyu gangs were at their worst there was, surprisingly, scarcely any decrease in the number of overseas visitors, the total for 1953 being 39,518; and in the next year there was a rise of 2,000, and a gain of 10,000 in 1955. But the aftermath of Suez flattened out the graph for 1956. A year later it climbed again to 60,171, to fall back to 50,652 in 1960 in consequence of the Congo troubles, which were assumed by many people, especially Americans, to make a visit to East Africa unsafe.

Holiday and Business

In the first half of last year there were 11,246 visitors from the United Kingdom, 4,874 being on holiday, 2,037 on business, and 4,335 in other categories, together labelled "short term".

Next came arrivals from India and Pakistan, the respective figures being 6,151, 2,185, 286, and 3,680.

Americans followed with a total of 3,765 for the half-year, of whom 1,578 were on holiday, 675 on business, and 1,512 short term.

The German total of 1,185 marked a sharp increase on the 886 for January-June, 1961; 583 of them were on holiday and 173 on business.

From Belgium came 1,078, of whom 477 were on holiday, 92 on business, and 509 short-term visitors.

Italy's numbers for the half-year were 961, 371, 151 and 439, and France was not far behind with 819, 327, 130 and 362. The figures for the Scandinavian countries were 637, 321, 131, and 185.

The highest total apart from Britain was from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, with 4,705, of whom the somewhat surprising figure of 789 for the half-year were on business. Those on holidays numbered 1,502.

Of 2,864 from the Republic of South Africa, 494 had come for business purposes.

£8m. Income

Last year's income from the tourist industry is computed at a minimum of £8m. In 1961 it had been about £6.5m. from documented visitors and another £650,000 from undocumented arrivals.

The report expresses satisfaction that East Africa has at last aroused the tourist interest which it deserves, and records that the splendid example set by the Uganda Government and the Uganda Development Corporation and its subsidiaries is now being followed in both Kenya and Tanganyika.

Facilities Improved

Uganda has long its own Tourist Association and Tanganyika a new National Tourist Board, and Nairobi and Mombasa having set up their own publicity associations. E.A.T.T.A. can now concentrate on developing tourist traffic from the United Kingdom, the Continent of Europe, the United States and Canada and other countries offering good potential.

tribute is paid to the many improvements in the national parks of the three territories and the better hotel facilities in all three territories. One hotel in Tanganyika is described as a "garden's paradise".

Roads have improved so much in recent years that it is now possible to motor the 350 miles from Mbarara in Uganda to Nairobi in Kenya the whole way except for a short stretch in Kenya which is now being brought up to standard.

Mr. J. H. Collier Wright, chief commercial superintendent of East African Railways and Harbours, is chairman of E.A.T.T.A. whose general manager is Mr. D. O. Mathews and deputy general manager Mr. W. J. D. Wadley. The London representative is Mrs. V. C. Young.



IN 1862, while the first South African railway was being built, the Standard Bank opened its first branch in Africa.

A century later the Bank has over 900 offices throughout South, Central and East Africa. Behind this network is a forward-looking organisation making full use of new business techniques, and able to provide accurate and comprehensive advice on all aspects of trade in the areas which it serves.

THE STANDARD BANK 100 YEARS IN AFRICA

HEAD OFFICE: 10 CLEMENTS LANE, LONDON/EC4. OTHER LONDON OFFICES: 63 LONDON WALL EC2, 9 NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE WC2 AND 117 PARK LANE W1.

Africans Sensitive to "Hurtful Truth"

American "Tip-toe Diplomacy" Denounced

FIVE CONDITIONS should be laid down by the United Nations for a dependency seeking independence — that it should have trained leaders; enough trained manpower for basic tasks; a pool of trained civil servants; an adequate primary and secondary school system; and enough resources to make for a balanced economy.

These points were suggested in Washington recently by Mr. Allen Ellender, the Democratic Senator, who last year was banned from Tanganyika, Ethiopia, Uganda and the Somali Republic, for saying that he had not seen a single place on the continent where European help had not been needed. He denied that he had also said that such assistance would be required for another 50 years; "but otherwise I have absolutely and positively no apologies to make for anything I said in Africa; it was the truth, but the truth that hurts."

"In most cases the leaders in the 34 African countries I visited were thin-skinned politicians, with little or no experience, who could not accept criticism. The minute you try to say the whites are a little ahead of the Negro, it is like shaking a red handkerchief before a fighting bull."

Mr. Ellender did not agree with the sentiment of "Africa for the Africans", as enunciated two years ago by the American Under-Secretary for African Affairs, Mr. Mennen Williams. He was critical of the U.S. Government's "tip-toe diplomacy" that was scared of offending Africans.

Aid to Africa was primarily a European responsibility, since Europeans were reaping economic benefits, but, except for a little technical assistance, "not one dime" of American money should be spent in Africa, which was outside the American sphere of influence.

The Senator felt that Britain had not done enough for her Colonies in the past and was now attempting to hand over aid programmes to the U.S.A.

Nyasaland should not have been allowed by Britain to secede from the Federation because she could not possibly "make a go of it".

Labour Relations More Stable

Fewer Strikes in Tanganyika

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING on an industry-wide basis dominated labour relations in Tanganyika and introduced an element of stability into an otherwise fluid situation, states the annual report for 1961 of the Labour Division.

Stoppages of work decreased from 203 in 1960 to 101, involving 20,159 workers as against 89,495 previously, making for a loss of 113,254 man-days compared with 1,494,773. Thirty-one of the stoppages occurred in the tea and sisal industries.

Forty-three trade unions were registered at the end of the year, including 15 employers' associations. Of 286 joint consultative committees operating, 60 represented some 60,000 Government and E.A.C.S.O. employees, and the remainder a further 210,000 workers. An approximate enumeration of the total number of employees gave a figure of 459,539. There were 6,397 registered employers, compared with 6,592 in the previous year.

Recruitment of labour for agriculture declined "drastically", exemplified by the decrease from 5,779 to 379 recruits from Western Province, normally the reservoir from which the other areas of the country draw. Migratory labour was markedly reduced.

More Urban Workless

Increasing unemployment was observed in urban areas, particularly Dar es Salaam, Tanga, and Mwanza, the total figure being roughly 13,500, with a further 11,500 underemployed. Industry by industry, 5,365 factories employed 88,408 workers. Factory premises registered increased by 428 to 4,915.

Excluding domestic servants, there were 46,735 immigrant Africans working in Tanganyika (1960, 51,953), with Mozambique at 19,656 and the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi at 12,813 supplying the largest contingents. Other figures were: Kenya, 6,224; Nyasaland, 3,436; Northern Rhodesia, 3,386.

There were 24,894 women in employment, compared with 22,242 in the previous year, mainly in light agricultural work, but with more becoming domestic servants or entering light industry and commercial undertakings. No serious problems have yet arisen from their employment.

"In the sisal and tea industries in particular increased wages have obliged many employing concerns to rationalize their processes with a view to improved labour utilization. With substantial decreases in labour forces on plantations, greater efficiency and individual output have been called for from both cultivation workers and factory operatives. The problem of absenteeism in the sisal industry continued to cause concern."

There were 79 provident fund schemes in operation among the 164 members of the Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association.

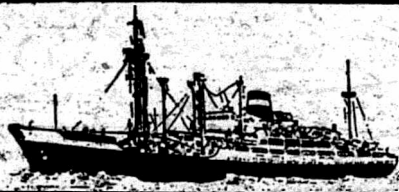
Of 14 field offices of the department, 10 were in charge of African officers at the year's end, compared with three at its start.

"Rwenzururu" White Paper

BWAMBA AND BAKONJO demands for secession from Toro Kingdom in western Uganda to form a separate "Rwenzururu" district on the Ruwenzori foothills have been rejected by the Uganda Government in a White Paper published on Monday. Some suggestions from the commission appointed last November to investigate the arson of schools and Toro administrative centres since August have been accepted, including the recommendation that county councils be empowered to levy taxes for local purposes. An educational plan to give the mountain people's children instruction in their own language has been promised, and increased coffee cotton and cocoa growing and more road and irrigation projects are planned. Three companies of the Uganda Rifles have been in the region for about two months, following the declaration of a state of emergency in Bwamba and Busongora counties. A Uganda M.P. was kidnapped by the secessionists and wounded. The "Rwenzururu" leader has since sought refuge in the Congo.

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Royal African Society Sir Charles Ponsonby to be President

COLONEL SIR CHARLES PONSONBY has been nominated by the council of the Royal African Society for election as its president at the annual general meeting on April 25, and Lord Milverton has been similarly nominated for the Chairmanship. Lord Robins and Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, the president and chairman, both died during the year.

Membership totals 965, of whom 458 are overseas members, 73 life members, and 51 honorary life members (who include the recipients of the society's bronze medal). Income amounted to £3,641 and expenditure to £3,738.

At the suggestion of Dr. Roland Oliver, a conference between representatives of the society and of African study centres at United Kingdom universities is to be held in the summer. On April 23 and 24 there is to be a two-day course on Africa in London.

Dedicated Service to Africa

The annual meeting will be asked to approve the award of the bronze medal "for dedicated service to Africa" to five persons recommended by the medal committee, namely, Miss Edith Durlinger Green (Northern Rhodesia), Sister Lia (Tanganyika), the Rt. Rev. A. B. Akinyele (Nigeria), Mr. Ernest B. Haddon (Cambridge), and the Rev. A. Sandilands (Bechuanaland).

Miss Green went to Mansa Mission, Fort Rosebery, in 1927, and six years later moved to Lwela, a new station. While on home leave she learnt Braille and on her return started the first blind school in the Northern Province; it has now more than 50 pupils. Miss Green made teaching of the blind her life's work, "and the blind school in particular is an outstanding example of her devotion to duty in Africa".

Mr. Haddon was P.C. of the Northern Province of Uganda when he retired in 1929, and for the next 10 years he lectured in Swahili at Cambridge University. He was in Uganda during the whole of the 1939-45 war and did important work. "Through personal contacts and correspondence he has acted as friend and wise counsellor to innumerable Africans and Europeans working in Africa and gained universal affection

and respect. His house in Cambridge has been a rendezvous for all and sundry. He has done important work as a teacher and as a research student of African language. His 'Swahili Lessons' was published in 1955. He is now over 80 years of age."

Sister Lia, who was born in Bavaria in 1915, took a two-year course for overseas teachers in London in 1930-32, became a Benedictine nun in 1934, and in 1949 went to Ndanda Hospital, Tanganyika. Since 1951 she has been in charge of the leprosy colony at Mwena-Ndanda. Until the middle of 1957 she was in sole charge, being helped only by African nurses.

Leprosarium for 600

"Sister Lia has to attend to the housing, clothing, meals, medicines, and medical treatment of the 500-600 patients; and spends most of the night writing letters to Europe and America asking for contributions to supplement the small Government grant. Only by this means can she maintain the leprosarium. Thanks to her energy, zeal, initiative and dedication, she, together with her faithful helpers, has made the leprosarium a place where the horror of the terrible disease is banned. Every year an average of 130 patients are discharged as being cured."

The Rev. A. Sandilands took a course in electrical engineering at Glasgow Technical College, joined the Royal Artillery in 1915, was awarded the M.M. and bar in France, and later trained as a pilot in the R.F.C. He entered New College, London, in 1923, gained a diploma in theology three years later, and thereupon became a missionary in Bechuanaland. In the last war he was on service in the Middle East and Italy with Bechuana troops, whose units were scattered from Syria to the Western Desert. He was awarded the M.B.E. (military). "Mr. Sandilands's work is of consistently high standards. He became a very accomplished Setswana linguist, and is the author of 'An Introduction to Tswana', in addition to numerous other school textbooks in the vernacular". He was a great pioneer and missionary. His retirement in 1960 after 34 years of dedicated service was sorely felt by all races."

Thirty-one members of the Malawi Youth League of Nyasaland have been sentenced in Salisbury on charges of public violence in Highfield township. Fines ranged from £30 to £15.

Officers and other ranks of the Tanganyika Rifles are to have pay increases of 17½% back-dated to February 1.

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ISTANBUL GENEVA MARSEILLES

E.A. and the European Common Market "Foot in the Door" for Trade

MR. WILFRID HAVELOCK, Minister for Agriculture in Kenya, told journalists in London last Thursday before leaving by air for Nairobi that the representatives of the East African Common Services Authority who had just had talks in Brussels with Dr. Hallstein, two other members of the Commission of the European Economic Community and the ambassadors of the six Common Market nations, had made it quite clear that Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar were not interested in any form of association with the E.E.C., but were eager for trade agreements. They had been sympathetically received, and some of their number had gone on to Bonn, the Hague, Paris and Rome for discussions with the individual Governments.

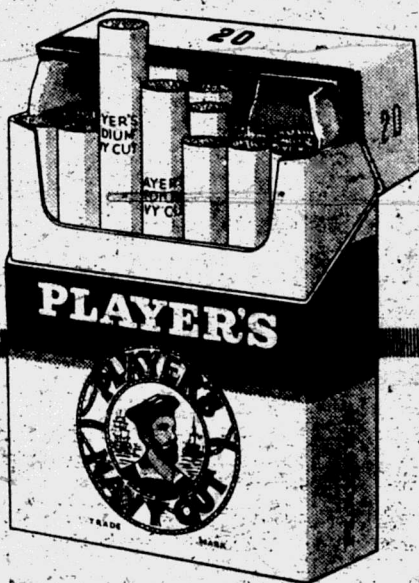
Both the Six and the 18 members of the ex-French community in Africa had strongly urged the delegation to accept full association, but that idea had been completely resisted.

The best prospect of establishing satisfactory trade relationships appeared to be under Article 238 of the Treaty of Rome. A second, but lesser possibility was by partial use of Article 58. They had at least got a foot in the door.

East Africa, if it could establish a trading basis, would provide an important precedent for other African States with similar economies. There had therefore been consultations with Nigeria's permanent representative in Brussels, Australia, New Zealand, and some other Commonwealth countries would be likely to be interested in whatever East Africa might achieve.

The main issue was to secure fair terms of entry for processed goods, such as canned fruits and meats, dairy produce, and sisal rope and matting.

Immediately on its return the mission would report, but decisions could obviously not be taken until after Kenya's general election at the end of May. Because some new tariffs were already being fixed by the E.E.C., any loss of time might be disadvantageous.



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Kenya Somalis to Boycott Elections Chiefs Resign and Refuse to Meet Governor

SOMALI LEADERS in the Northern Frontier District of Kenya met for four days in Wajir last week and then announced that it had been decided to take no part in the forthcoming general elections and to reject the offer of a separate Somali Region. Secession from Kenya and union with the Somali Republic remained their demand.

Mr. Abdi Rashid Khalif, who represents the area in the Legislative Council, said after the meeting that 60 political leaders, chiefs, and tribal elders had attended, and that it had been decided to send a delegation to the Somali Republic, to decline discussions with the Governor of Kenya unless Britain changed the decision to form a Somali Region, and to call for the resignation of all Somalis from the Legislative Council, African district councils, African courts, and Muslim religious courts.

Whereas the Somali Region was to consist of the Wajir, Mandera, and Garissa districts, the Somalis also claimed the other three districts in the N.F.D., namely Moyale, Marsabit, and Isiolo.

On Sunday 33 of the 35 chiefs in the district presented their resignations to the D.C. When the Governor, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, arrived unexpectedly a few hours later, they refused to meet him. About 400 armed Somalis had congregated in Wajir.

Somali tribesmen on the Walu-Mkowe route last week manned makeshift road-blocks and threatened the drivers of two oil company lorries, throwing a spear at one of them.

Mr. Macmillan's Broken Promise

Kenyatta, president of the Kenya African National Union had a few days earlier sent to Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for the Colonies, a protest against the creation of a Somali Region, coupled with a statement that Kenya, when it became independent, should not permit secession of any part of the N.F.D. to the Somali Republic.

Reports from Mogadishu emphasize that the rupture of diplomatic relations with Great Britain over the Somali areas of the N.F.D. is regarded in Government and Opposition circles alike with deep regret, but there is general anger at the non-fulfilment of the promise given by Mr. Macmillan last year to the Somali Prime Minister that the Somalis would not be held within Kenya if the inquiry about to be made showed a strong majority for union with Somalia. The commission reported virtual unanimity in favour of that course, and the creation this month of a Somali Region, consisting of half of the N.F.D., is therefore seen as another broken British promise.

Recalling the agreement nine years ago under which Ethiopia received British recognition of title to grazing grounds in the Haud and Ogaden which had been used from time immemorial by Somalis of the then British Protectorate, Somali leaders interpret the breach of Mr. Macmillan's undertaking as due to pressure by Ethiopia, and perhaps also to representations from the United States, which is training pilots for the Ethiopian Air Force and supplying arms and equipment to the Emperor.

Military Alert

Conscription has been introduced in the Somali Republic and a para-military youth defence force is being mobilized. Somali citizens are forbidden to travel to Britain, Kenya or Aden. Aden Airways may continue inward and outward flights, but R.A.F. planes have been diverted over Ethiopia.

During the National Assembly debate, which ended last week with approval by 74 to 14 votes for the Government's intention to break off diplomatic relations with Britain, the Opposition leader, Mr. Mariano, suggested that a satisfactory move would have been to obtain a reservation by Britain in the new Kenya Constitution that it would be the British Government's exclusive responsibility to decide the future of the N.F.D. before Kenya's independence and to effect such a decision. He feared that a diplomatic rupture might push the Republic into a situation which it could not handle.

Because of the Somali-Ethiopian dispute the Republic has declined an invitation to attend the meeting in May in Addis Ababa of the heads of independent African States.

The Kenya Government has announced that the new North Eastern Region of Kenya will comprise "the eastern part of the N.F.D. embracing the Mandera and Wajir districts together with the Adjuvan area of the Moyale district, and the Garissa district, less the area occupied by the riverine people and the Orma".

Somali Region Decision Not Final

Reference to "Built-in-Cause of War"

IN the House of Commons on Monday the Lord Privy Seal said that the decision about the Somali Region was not final.

Mr. Patrick Wall had asked for a statement about the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Somali Republic.

Mr. Heath: "On March 18 the Somali Prime Minister handed to our Ambassador a note informing him that the Somali Government had decided to break off diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom because of the recent decision to create a seventh region in Kenya consisting of the eastern part of the Northern Frontier District.

"This was designed to give Kenya Somalis a greater opportunity for the expression of their racial and religious identity. The Somali Government apparently takes the view this decision is final. The Somali Government has been informed that the decision is not a final determination.

"As the Commonwealth Secretary pointed out in his statement on March 12, the British Government, while not wishing to exclude future consideration of any method of settling this problem, did not think that at this juncture a more radical solution would be justified."

Mr. Wall: "While the final decision must be made by the Kenya Government, is it not clear it would be impossible to keep these areas inside Kenya against the wishes of their inhabitants?"

Mr. Heath: "We do not wish to exclude any future consideration of any method of settling this problem. Naturally we regret that the Somali Government should break off relations with the British Government."

Mr. Kershaw: "By not grasping this nettle now are we not leaving a built-in cause of war between Kenya and Somalia?"

Mr. Heath: "We shall do our utmost to find a solution together with the Government of Kenya."

Kenya Regiment Suspended

THE KENYA REGIMENT has been suspended "with great reluctance" because the Kenya Government cannot continue financing it. The cost this financial year would have been £122,000. A final parade will be held over the week-end May 10-12, when the regimental colours will be laid up in All Saints' Cathedral, Nairobi. The regiment, which was formed in 1937 to provide a reserve of European officers for the King's African Rifles in war time, currently comprises 15 permanent staff and nearly 400 Territorial volunteers. It was opened to members of all races in 1961. It played an outstanding rôle during the Mau Mau emergency. Should future financial circumstances be favourable, the regiment may be resuscitated.

British Gifts to Tanganyika

ANOTHER PAYMENT to Tanganyika, this time of £800,000, has brought Britain's contributions to the current Development Plan to almost £6.4m. A total of rather more than £9m. has been promised. The latest payment will finance 37 schemes. Education will receive £244,550, communications £132,000, and agriculture, forestry and game projects £152,513. £13,500 is to be spent on Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation staff training and a similar sum on its news editing unit. A film unit will receive £12,300.

Dr. Banda's Responsibilities

THE NYASALAND GOVERNMENT has given notice that Dr. Banda, the Prime Minister, has responsibility for the following subjects: the Cabinet Office, the public service (including localization and training), provincial and district administration, Native authorities, public order, police, constitutional affairs, official visitors, the allocation of office accommodation, the provision and allocation of Government quarters, inter-territorial movement of persons, elections, and registration of voters.

Animals 12 Million Years Old

Origin of Man Still Unknown

DR. L. S. B. LEAKEY said in Washington on Friday that he had found near Fort Ternan, Kenya, fossils dating back 12 to 14 million years of at least 26 new species of animals, including the remains of what may have been the ancestor of the hippopotamus. The discoveries were sealed in five distinct layers separated by volcanic ash. He thought that the beasts might have been drinking at a water-hole when during an earthquake sudden bursts of highly poisonous gases killed them.

He denied that his findings at Olduvai Gorge, Tanganyika, or elsewhere contradicted the Book of Genesis, which he had studied most carefully. The origin of *homo sapiens* was still largely unknown. Indeed, less was known about the origin of man than about that of the horse, dog, or cat. Research needed to be made over a great area, stretching from Africa through the Middle East to Mongolia.

Importance of Criticism

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, Governor of Kenya, said in Nairobi a few days ago when opening the first international training course in Africa for journalists that his first earnings were as a free-lance journalist, when 40 years ago he interviewed dance-band leaders, musical comedy actresses, and other genial folk for a rather vulgar but popular magazine; he soon realized, however, that he could not stand the journalistic pace, and so he turned to a less reputable profession—by which he meant membership of the House of Commons! Criticism of men in high authority was, he continued, absolutely essential to a free society, and he had his share of robust and violent criticism in Asia, "where some of my best friends, the head-hunters of Borneo, indicated that they would with the greatest pleasure perform the trivial service of slicing off the heads of my critics". The training course, which will last six months, is being directed by Mr. Tom Hopkinson, a former editor both of *Picture Post* and *Drum*.

Chastened Politician

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH has published the following paragraph under the heading "Chastened Politician": "Mr. Clement Lubembe, the young Kenya politician, is returning home much chastened from the International Confederation of Free Trade Union's executive meeting in Brussels. For no apparent reason he denounced Mr. George Woodcock, general secretary of the T.U.C., for his 'hypocrisy'. Mr. Woodcock may not be everyone's favourite, but he is certainly not a hypocrite. The American union chief, Mr. Walter Reuther, as well as Mr. F. L. Walcott, the Coloured leader from Barbados, leapt to Mr. Woodcock's defence and lambasted Mr. Lubembe in words he is not likely to forget. Successor to Mr. Mboya as Kenya delegate to the I.C.F.T.U., he draws attention to himself by odd mannerisms and a large white fur hat."

£22½m. for Kenya Land Schemes

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for the Colonies, told the House of Commons last week that H.M. Government had agreed to provide over the next five years loans of almost £12m. and grants up to £9m. towards land settlement schemes in Kenya, and that the Colonial Development Corporation was to lend £1½m. By the end of June £4½m. from British Government sources would have been spent.

Mr. de Courcy's Rhodesian Schemes

Plan for Township Costing Over £1m.

OF 23 CHARGES mentioned by the prosecution last week at Marylebone magistrates' court, London, against Mr. Kenneth de Courcy, of Cerney House, North Cernéy, Gloucestershire, several related to a project to build the New Cerney township near the capital of Southern Rhodesia and to buy five blocks of flats, the estimated total cost being £1,021,800.

In November 1957, said Mr. John Buzzard, prosecuting, a circular was issued about New Cerney, and there were two further circulars in July 1959. Overseas Land Purchasing Trust, Ltd., controlled by Mr. de Courcy, had invited subscriptions in June 1956 for the purchase of Marwood Estate near Salisbury, valued at £121,500. Accounts in July 1960 showed subscriptions totalling £92,400, including £1,620 from the Purchasing Trust.

In 1957 de Courcy and two others had agreed to form a Southern Rhodesian company to build blocks of flats in Salisbury for £408,500. Later the Purchasing Trust proposed to pay £184,800, double the subscriptions received for the estate so that the subscribers would double their capital. They were invited to reinvest that doubled capital in the scheme outlined in the New Cerney circular, and some who did not accept were paid out in cash at twice their original subscription. Several thousand houses and business premises were proposed to be built without raising further capital on the basis that the first 300 houses sold would provide enough money for the project to evolve.

Subscribers Restless

Mr. Buzzard quoted from a document: "If by any chance subscriptions should not amount to 50% of the total required, thus creating the need for a mortgage in excess of 50%, you will be given the option to withdraw and have your purchase money refunded."

In January 1961 it came to light that the subscriptions had not totalled 50%. Purchasers should therefore have been given the option to withdraw, but the money was not there to be refunded. Indeed, subscribers had become very restless by the summer of 1960, and building was very much behind schedule. In fact, only 16 houses were ever built, and only one block of flats was completed. Work on New Cerney ceased in mid-1958, though some work was done later by other contractors.

Mr. de Courcy had arranged for stock to be allotted to a secret nominee of his, the stock not being paid for.

On the second day's hearing Mr. Buzzard said that in August 1962 an undertaking not to wind up a trustee company was given to Lord Mansfield, who was a guarantor for large sums, but in the following month de Courcy's solicitors admitted an underwriting debt of £61,350 from the Purchasing Trust, which in the same month petitioned for the winding up of the trustee company in Southern Rhodesia.

There had been several letters from de Courcy to Baron Peter von Danneberg in Düsseldorf about the winding up. He had disregarded requests to burn the letters, one of which said: "We are up against clever, ruthless, and dishonest people, we must on our part be equally clever, or we shall never get our money back." Baron Danneberg said in evidence that de Courcy, a distant relative, had asked in 1958 to be put in touch with a German banker and building entrepreneur. He (Danneberg) had been invited in 1960 to become a director of New Townships, Ltd. and had agreed.

Fair Shares in African Chaos

Socialists Who Disregard Intimidation

MR. HAROLD SOREF has written in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*:

"Mr. Harold Wilson's debut in Trafalgar Square as Leader of the Opposition was ominous. Addressing the Communist-infiltrated Anti-Apartheid Movement's rally, he supported a diplomatic and strategic boycott of Britain's best customer and only independent and reliable ally in the entire African continent, on the grounds of his disapproval of its domestic politics.

"Mr. Wilson and Mrs. Barbara Castle, who accompanied him, are apparently less squeamish over their interpretation of such abstractions as 'injustice' and 'civilization' on other platforms. They seek the recognition of East Germany, the promotion of trade with Soviet Russia and her satellites, and are anxious to welcome Red China to the United Nations. Whereas nobody seeks to immigrate to the lands of Communism and emigration is forbidden, more than a million alien Africans choose to settle and work in South Africa because it provides a future for them.

"It is significant that those who sponsored Sunday's gathering in the guise of humanitarians are less fastidious in their friends, and in their attitude over events elsewhere in Africa including the Congo and Kenya. Never was a voice raised from this source against the series of massacres starting with Mau Mau at Lari, since when black terrorist secret bodies have endeavoured to terrorize and intimidate those Africans who are not their allies in the creation of Africa solely for black Africans. Those opposed to this black crusade are not to be allowed by Mr. Wilson and Mrs. Castle to defend themselves.

"Mrs. Castle was far less squeamish over events in Kenya and Cyprus than over Sharpeville. The Poqo Secret Society, which seeks to exterminate the white people and terrorize the black in South Africa, has not aroused her disapproval. The massacres it staged in Paarl and elsewhere have been largely ignored in this country.

"It would appear that Mr. Wilson, who speaks the language of the Afro-Asian bloc, would have Britain fellow-travelling in their direction. Socialist foreign policy has traditionally auctioned Britain's interests to the lowest bidder, it is now endeavouring to sell short our few remaining allies to ensure fair shares for all of chaos, anarchy, and poverty under the auspices of the United Nations".

Mr. Nkumbula on Discipline in Schools

MR. HARRY NKUMBULA, Minister of African Education, issued the following statement last week:—

"I have read with dismay the recent Press statement by Mr. Martin Kaunda, president of the Northern Rhodesian Union of Teachers. It is apparently his view that the principal and members of staff should not have the normal powers of disciplinary control over their pupils which are exercised in every well-developed country. While stating that he does not wish schools to be come hotbeds of indiscipline, Mr. Kaunda's remarks are exactly calculated to make them just that. I should like the authorities at all schools to know that as long as I am Minister I shall fully support them in all reasonable disciplinary action which they may feel called upon to take, including the right of the head of a school, when dealing with extreme cases of misconduct, to expel a student.


"At this time students are naturally excited by the many changes taking place in our country, and it is necessary for their teachers to take account of this and to exercise tact, sympathy and understanding in dealing with their pupils. Students, themselves, however, must realize that the most important thing for the future of our country is that as many as possible should get high educational qualifications and benefit from vocational training.

"Indiscipline in schools will not only interrupt the process of education and training, but will make it very difficult for us to recruit the many new teachers whom we must get from overseas to enable us to carry out our development plans. Strikes at schools and colleges can only do harm. If students have complaints about conditions at their school they should make representations in an orderly manner to the school authorities."

In addition to each other at the time, the Rhodesia Front and the United Federal Party in Southern Rhodesia have formed new youth movements called "Young Rhodesians".

Of 222 students (123 more than last year) at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 168 are Africans, as against 54 in 1962.

NORTHERN RHODESIA



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Southern Rhodesian Dangers

(Concluded from page 639)

"There is a grave possibility that, with the dangers of violence growing in Southern Rhodesia and the failure of Mr. Field, whose forces are not particularly strong, to cope with this situation, Southern Rhodesia will be absorbed into South Africa and become a province of Dr. Verwoerd's. That must be prevented by the Government here acting with great firmness and demanding a new Constitution. If they fail to get the agreement of Mr. Field and his colleagues to a round-table conference today, they must use the powers which they undoubtedly possess to suspend the Southern Rhodesian Constitution and impose a solution that will take into account the desires and the wishes of the broad majority of the population.

"The intention to use a compulsory death penalty against offenders who use petrol bombs is an example of the sort of madness that is almost inevitable when a European minority is given political power against the wishes of the black majority. This shows how desperately serious the situation will get in future unless the Government here impose their rule and make sure that a decent, honourable Constitution is devised so that people can express their own intentions".

MR. RONALD RUSSELL: "What punishment does the hon. Member suggest for arson; or is he trying to justify it?"

MR. STONEHOUSE: "I am saying that if political dictatorship is imposed on the black majority, if they are denied elementary human rights, they will eventually resort to unconstitutional measures to make their feelings known. This was true in Cyprus and Kenya. It will be true in Southern Rhodesia, as it was in Algeria. Unless the Government have the sense to impose their will to prevent the situation getting worse, undoubtedly bloodshed will occur as a result of illegal acts.

"Situation Demands Violence"

"I deplore that the people who aspire towards the rightful expressions of their point of view should have to turn to these ways of expressing their opinions, but the situation demands that of them. If they act in this way the law will have to be applied; but to use the death penalty for arson goes far beyond any sense of justice.

"I hope the Government will do their best to persuade Mr. Field to agree to a round-table conference with the intention of devising a new and honourable Constitution, then it will be enabled to move towards independence, in the same way as Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. But independence with white dictatorship would be wrong, not only for the black majority; it would not be in the interests of the white minority. They can expect no permanent security if their livelihood and the future of their children depend on maintaining the dictatorship of less than 10% of the population over the rest of the community.

"Southern Rhodesia, like Northern Rhodesia, Kenya and Tanganyika, is an African country, and Africans will rule it. The longer we delay the emergence of a Constitution that will give the black people of that country the chance to play their full part in running it in association with Europeans—who will, naturally, play a minority part because they are a minority community—the more dangers there will be in the situation.

Sweep Away Humbug

"Now we have the recognition that African rule in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland has come to stay. Let us sweep away the humbug and acknowledge that Southern Rhodesia will have African rule before many years have passed, and that it will be in the best interests of all concerned if we plan for it within the next few months rather than delay it for some years.

"I hope that it will be possible for these territories to remain in some economic association, but we should be deluding ourselves if we thought that association could be maintained with the continuation of a white dictatorship south of the Zambezi. Provided there is development towards a democratic Constitution fairly soon in Southern Rhodesia, I think that there is the hope that the political leaders in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland will agree to a continuation of some economic association.

"Then, indeed, it may be possible for the Federation to be re-created—not just as a federation between the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, but one which will take in Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda and perhaps Zanzibar as well, creating a strong federation stretching from Kampala to Nairobi right down to Salisbury. I look forward to the day when this is achieved, but it cannot be achieved unless Southern Rhodesia itself has a democratic Constitution".

SIR JOHN HOBSON, the Attorney-General, devoted his speech to recapitulating the White Paper on the pledges.

British Marksmen Visiting Rhodesia

Triangular Match for Rhodes Trophy

A STRONG RIFLE TEAM representing Great Britain left London Airport on Friday for a two-day visit to Nairobi on their way to Northern and Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, from which they are due back in London on May 6.

The captain is Mr. S. F. Wheeler, the vice-captain Lieut. Colonel D. A. G. Horton-Smith, the adjutant Major D. L. Scott-Langley, and the Armourer Mr. R. W. Jennings. The other members of the team are Group Capt. K. P. Lewis, Capt. I. A. McClure, Flt-Lieut. R. S. Hassell, and Messrs. G. F. Arnold, A. J. Clark, R. W. Fieller (G.C.), R. J. Fitch, B. I. J. Gilson, A. C. Grant, and K. M. Pilcher. Major R. A. Fulton, G.M., travels as reserve.

A match against a Kenya and Uganda side in Nairobi was won by 1063 points to 1025.

On Monday the team arrived by air in Ndola, where there was a civic reception on Tuesday. They are to shoot against Northern Rhodesia on the Mufulira range on Saturday, having previously met the Ndola, Kitwe, Nchanga, and Luanshya rifle clubs and visited copper mines and a refinery. From Lusaka they will visit the Kariba Dam and a game reserve, and shoot against the Midland Rifle Club and Mazabuka.

After three days at the Victoria Falls they go to Salisbury for a week, during which they will meet a Federal rifle team. In Bloemfontein in the latter part of next month there will be a triangular match between Great Britain, South Africa, and Rhodesia for the Rhodes Centenary Trophy.

It is 10 years since a British rifle team visited Africa.

Tanganyika's Air Space

THE TANGANYIKA GOVERNMENT has addressed the following protest to the United Nations: "In the evening of March 12 an armed Portuguese aircraft illegally entered the territory of Tanganyika. This shocking outrage is but another in Portugal's long history of complete disregard for international law. A formal protest is being prepared for delivery to the Salazar régime, together with a warning that Tanganyika will take such steps as are necessary to prevent the future occurrence of such international criminal behaviour".

Charged by Buffalo

A BUFFALO, which had been wounded by Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, charged a car in which his wife and he were then sitting, drove a horn through the front seat, and shook the vehicle so violently that the driver and two other Africans were ejected. Lord Montagu leapt out, put the muzzle of his rifle against the beast's neck, and shot it. The Mukama of Toro, host of Lord and Lady Montagu, witnessed the incident and commented that it was a long time since a hunt had provided so much fun.

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Company Report

The British Central Africa Company Limited

Factors Governing Disappointing Tea Prices

Improved Current Trends

MR. DONALD C. BROOK'S REVIEW

THE THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA COMPANY, LIMITED, was held in London on March 21, Mr. DONALD C. BROOK, F.C.A., the chairman of the company, presiding.

The following is an extract from his circulated statement:—

The consolidated net profit for the year under review ended September 30, 1962, was £47,078, compared with the previous year's figure of £108,502. The fall in the price level for tea to which I referred in my statement last year was chiefly responsible for this decrease.

Tea

The output of tea from our factories during the year was 3,013,224 lb., as compared with 3,032,081 lb. in the previous year. The natural increase in crop which we were entitled to expect was prevented by cool night temperatures commencing in February, two months earlier than usual. The Chisunga Estate, situated on high ground near the Cholo mountain, was affected more than the other estates, which showed little change from the previous year. Our new Deluli development was plucked for the first time.

The all-in cost of production for the year was 24.84d., against 25.03d. per lb. for 1960-61, which reflects the unrelenting efforts made by our staff to keep down expenditure in face of rising costs of labour and materials.

Sales realized an average of 29.76d. per lb. against 39.45d. per lb. during the year ended September 30, 1961. The disappointing prices were mainly due to the following facts: in 1959 and 1960 reasonable equilibrium was maintained between world consumption and production with the total world crop running at 1,359 million. As happens whenever apparent supply much exceeds probable consumption, prices fall and the drop is invariably greatest for all teas produced from the most rapid growths of leaf. Owing to our climatic conditions in Nyasaland, this company unavoidably produced about two-thirds of its crop in five months, and in 1962 nearly one-third of our crop was harvested in the two months of January and February.

Improved Standard of Manufacture

Following recommendations made by Mr. P. B. Leahy (a partner of my colleague, Mr. G. S. Napier-Ford) during our visit to the factories in March, 1962, energetic steps were taken to improve the standard of manufacture which have resulted in much better prices being received later in the year, but too late to have any marked effect on our profits for the season.

Since the close of the financial year the demand for our tea has continued to be good, and prices received have been appreciably higher than during the corresponding period of the previous year. This has enabled us to make some forward sales at prices which should reinforce our results for the current year. Sales for the four months to January 31, 1963, were 515,920 lb. at an average price of 39.5d. per lb., compared with

662,895 lb. at an average price of 31.0d. per lb. at the same date last year.

In the current financial year the rains not only arrived later than usual but were preceded by a very dry period, with the result that at the end of January, 1963, our output for the four months was 860,867 lb., some 465,642 lb. less than the 1,326,509 lb. in the corresponding four months of the previous year. The lack of rain, and the intensity of it when it did arrive, hampered our planting programme of 250 acres of new tea land, but great efforts by our staff and labour force have enabled 225 acres to be planted, bringing our total planted acreage at today's date up to 3,088 acres.

Other Activities

Our revenue of £34,601 from activities other than tea compares with £44,078 in the previous year.

I have referred in recent years to the good work we were doing in developing the Chikwawa cotton area and to the benefits accruing from fresh water supplies, training in cultivation, and the money put into circulation in that area by purchase of cotton from our tenants. Last year I indicated evidence of reluctance by many tenants to continue their co-operation with the company. During my visit in March, 1962, it was obvious that, despite successful legal proceedings against a few of the trespassers taken as test cases, the unwillingness of many of our tenants to renew their special tenancy agreements had not been overcome, so that a large number of those occupying our cotton plots automatically became trespassers. The position which would have faced us when the crop was ready for ginning would have been intolerable, for we could not have purchased cotton from those who were previously tenants but had in fact become trespassers.

The matter was discussed with the authorities, the Government indicated as a solution that it was interested in the acquisition of the area. It was decided to accept the offer to acquire the property and buildings thereon at a price of £60,000, which was paid forthwith. Whilst in many ways we were reluctant to give up the development work we were undertaking, which was equally beneficial to our tenants and to the economics of the country, your directors were of the opinion that acceptance of the Government's offer was the wisest course to pursue, thus avoiding possible friction and substantial loss to the company. Subsequently, we co-operated with Government in continuing to supervise the cultivation and ginning of the cotton crop at the end of the season on a cost basis.

Coffee and Sisal

The coffee growing experiment has not been extended, but the areas already planted are being continued for a time for further observation, since yields should improve as bushes become more mature. It is however disappointing that despite our security measures a significant weight of the beans disappeared during the drying process.

Our subsidiary company produced 428 tons of sisal and tow during the year, as compared with 379 tons in the previous year, an increase of 49 tons, brought about by an easing in the shortage of labour for cutting leaf. The profit for the year after all charges, therefore, rose from £2,239 to £5,552, and this in spite of our sales being effected at an average of approximately £3 per ton lower than in the previous year. From August, 1962, onward there has been a steady improvement in the market price of this product, and if the present level is maintained we can expect a further rise in profit. The finance of the subsidiary enabled a dividend to be declared, resulting in a payment of £9,950 (gross) to the parent company.

Land

During the year compensation was received for 5,110 acres of land, mainly in the Lunzu district, acquired by Government for African re-settlement, and the surplus thereon and on the estates at Chikwawa was transferred to capital reserve, which then showed a balance of £123,981. As the company has more than adequate funds available for the third tea factory (estimated to require £100,000) and for other foreseeable commitments, the board have decided to recommend a cash capital distribution to the members of £56,062 10s., equivalent to 3d. per 2s. unit of stock, this payment being not liable to income tax.

Accounts and Dividend

The gross profit for the year from estates, plantations, etc., was £132,646, against the previous year's figure of £233,234. The addition of dividends, interest and transfer fees, amounting in all to £12,964, brings our total income to £145,610, compared with £247,904 last year. After deducting administration expenditure, depreciation and taxation, the group profit becomes £47,078, compared with £108,502, a reduction of £61,424. From this sum of £47,078 the directors have written off a further sum of £5,000 from coffee estates expenditure, leaving a balance of £42,078. To this must be added the amount brought forward from the previous account of £53,560, making in all £95,638 available for distribution.

An interim dividend of 5% (less income tax) was paid on November 20, 1962, absorbing £13,735, and a final dividend of 10% (less income tax) payable on March 29, 1963, will be recommended to the annual general meeting. This will require £27,471, and leaves £54,432 to be carried forward to next year.

Balance-Sheet Items

The consolidated balance-sheet shows African estates reduced by the book amount of the states, already mentioned, which have been acquired by Government. Expenditure (less sales) on buildings, plant and machinery amounted to £18,121, whilst £21,986 was spent on estate development, making a total of £40,107, compared with the previous year's expenditure of £42,507. Current assets at £651,187 exceed the current liabilities of £260,515 by £390,672, as compared with an excess of £388,176 in the previous consolidated balance-sheet.

Capital commitments estimated at £16,000, include the purchase of Rotorvane rollers and ancillary equipment for the modernization of our tea factories.

The year under review has not been an easy one for our general manager, Mr. A. C. W. Dixon, C.B.E., and his team in Nyasaland. To them we tender our thanks for their work during the year, and hope that the efforts they have made will be reflected in improved

results in the current year. To the secretary and his staff in London we also convey our thanks for their loyal services.

Board of Directors

As recently announced the London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Group has acquired a substantial holding in your company's capital, and this has resulted in certain changes in the board.

We accept with regret the resignations of Mr. Oury and Sir John Huggins, who have served on the board of the company for 24 years and nearly nine years respectively. They have rendered most valuable service to us, and we are most grateful for their assistance.

We welcome Mr. Ball, Mr. Rowland, and the Hon. A. J. B. Ogilvy to the board.

The report and accounts were adopted.

British Central Africa Company Meeting

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING in London last Thursday of the British Central Africa Co., Ltd., Mr. Donald C. Brook, the chairman, said that he had just paid a quick visit to the estates with his new colleagues. When he was there in November drought conditions had been severe, but there had since been heavy rains and the estates were in first-class condition.

The company's faith in the country was evident from the decision to put a further 275 acres under tea during the next planting season. Time and money were saved by raising seedlings in polythene tubes and planting them direct into the ground six months later.

The new Government under Dr. Banda was firmly in control, and the company's future was very much in their hands. Because of its secession from the Federation Nyasaland must have a period of financial stress; it was to be hoped that the tea industry would not suffer unduly, for it represented a valuable source of employment and revenue which the country could not afford to lose.

The text of Mr. Brook's annual statement to the shareholders appears in this issue.

The reconstituted board consists of Mr. Donald C. Brook (chairman), Mr. A. H. Ball (deputy chairman and joint managing director), Mr. R. W. Rowland (joint managing director, with Mr. F. A. Butcher as alternate), Mr. G. S. Napier-Ford, and the Hon. A. J. B. Ogilvy (with Mr. J. A. G. Mills as alternate).

Bandanga

BANDANGA, LTD., tea growers in Nyasaland, report profit after tax for the year to September 30 at £73,194 (£72,463). A 15% dividend is proposed. Issued capital is £64,004. Fixed assets stand at £87,350 and current assets less current liabilities at £16,497. There are 736 acres under tea in full or partial bearing. Mr. W. R. T. Picton-Warlow is the chairman, and his colleagues on the board are Cdr. J. G. Arbutnot, R.N. (Retd.) and Colonel D. G. Dickson.

A tea industry wages council has been established in Nyasaland.

Tung oil production in Nyasaland in the year to May last totalled 1,236 long tons, compared with 1,095 tons in 1960-61.

The Industrial Promotional Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has registered Industrial Holdings, Ltd., with an authorized capital of £250,000, to operate as an investment trust.

The United States, the world's largest tobacco producer, was not officially represented at the International Tobacco Trade Congress in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, but American tobacco merchants attended.

A £300m. "sort of five-year plan" proposed by the Federal Government on condition that the two Rhodesias remain together would provide 170,000 new jobs, the Federal Minister for Commerce and Industry has stated.

Booker Bros. McConnell & Co., Ltd., a group with large trading interests in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is to enter the self-service store business in the U.K. The group already has about 60 food stores, which are being rapidly converted to self-service.

Successful experiments by the Agricultural Department of Nyasaland encourage hopes that cocoa may become a new export crop from that Protectorate, where it has been grown under irrigation at the experiment station at Makanga, near Elephant Marsh, in the Southern Province.

Company Meeting

The Uganda Company Limited

A RECORD RESULT

THE SIXTIETH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE UGANDA COMPANY, LIMITED, will be held on April 9 in London.

The following are extracts from the circulated statement of the chairman, the RT. HON. EARL DE LA WARR, P.C., G.B.E.

Overall trading for the year has resulted in a profit before taxation of £348,905, which is a little better than last year's figure of £337,034 and indeed the highest figure ever attained by this company. The profit after taxation shows an increase of £105,000 over last year's result, which improves the cover for the dividend—10% less tax.

Regarding the prospects for the current year, I feel that, provided the weather does not turn against us, we have a good chance of showing an improvement on last year's figures.

Private Investment

There are a number of general points that are fundamental to Uganda obtaining sufficient capital for commercial and financial development, and even to the maintenance of her present standard of living. Indeed, unless these are faced by all the inhabitants of Africa, independence can mean little more than the freedom to be poor.

Firstly, private investors are just ordinary people who directly, or through banks and other institutions, have decided to save instead of to spend. They make this decision in the hope of future benefit. If, therefore, a country is unstable or speaks of investors as being exploiters, the remedy of those investors is simple. Their savings are lent elsewhere and are used to develop either their own or other countries.

Comparatively Bright Spot

If East Africa in general and Uganda in particular, wants to develop, it must attract investment from people who, though prepared to lend their money, have every right to lend it wherever they like, and are not unnaturally anxious for its safety. That is why it is so important for Uganda that she should continue to show the responsible attitude towards the problems of government which she has shown since independence; and this in its turn is one of the main reasons why Uganda is such a comparatively bright spot in the otherwise gloomy investment picture presented by so much of Africa today. It is perhaps relevant here to say that I attribute very largely to this factor the increased value which the market has lately been placing on our shares.

Secondly, there is a considerable amount of private wealth in Uganda. It would, I believe, help to increase confidence amongst overseas investors if citizens of Uganda showed confidence in their own country by investing in Uganda. Your directors would be very pleased to see a greater proportion of our shares in African hands. The Uganda Company has many African shareholders, but, through no fault of its own, the majority of its shares are held in this country including many that were issued in the especial hope of encouraging African investors, but which were not in fact taken up by them.

Commercial Brevities

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., is to pay a net dividend of 6d. per share (the same).

United African Explorations, Ltd., are to raise £75,000 by a one-for-one rights issue of shares at par.

Development and Finance Co. of Rhodesia (Pvt.), Ltd., has been registered with a nominal capital of £100,000. The offices are in Salisbury.

For the year ended March 31 Selection Trust, Ltd., has declared an interim dividend of 3s. per stock unit, less tax at 7s. 9d. in the £1.

A 13-member delegation from Sweden is about to visit Tanganyika to investigate trade and industrial prospects. Three leading banks will be represented.

Every European household in the Rhodesias was listed for a sampling campaign for a new toothpaste manufactured in the Salisbury factory of a Lever Brothers subsidiary.

The International Development Association, an affiliate of the World Bank, has extended a development credit of 13m. dollars to Ethiopia for its road development programme.

De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., report group profits for 1962 at £24,544,311 after payment of tax exceeding £10.6m. In 1961 the profit after tax was £24.8m. Dividends total 15s. against 14s.

Southern Rhodesia's Electricity Supply Commission had a net surplus of £32,864 for the year ended June 30 last. In the previous year there was a deficit of £133,922. There had been deficits each year since 1953.

Dividends received from M.T.D. (Mangula), its Southern Rhodesian subsidiary, by Messina (Transvaal) Development Co., Ltd.; in the year to September 30 amounted to £339,500. Messina is paying 20% for the year.

Workers on Kenya tea estates have had an 8% increase backdated to October 1. The Tea Plantation Workers' Union in Uganda has agreed on a 48-hour working week and that productivity should be increased.

The Union Carbide Ore Company of America, whose president, Mr. F. L. Shanklin, has just visited Southern Rhodesia, has decided to adhere to its chrome production schedules despite large U.S. purchases of cut-price ore from Russia.

Rhodesian Vanadium Corporation's general manager, Mr. C. A. Bott, has said in Salisbury that it would cost about £50m. to build in the Colony a ferro-chrome plant capable of treating all the chrome ore produced in Southern Rhodesia.

David Whitehead & Sons (Holdings), Ltd., cotton spinners with a Rhodesian subsidiary, announce that pre-tax profit for 1962 was 43% lower at £446,005. Net profit after tax was £367,179, a drop of £88,142. The 27½% dividend is maintained.

London & Rhodesian Mining & Land Co., Ltd., which recently offered to purchase all the shares in Hall Holdings, Ltd., Nyasaland, for cash of 2s. 6d. per share or by the exchange of two Lonrho shares for every seven Hall shares, has already received acceptance in respect of 98% of the issued capital.

Frost Consolidated Investment Co., Ltd., made a profit in 1962 of £119,621 (£117,743), subject to tax of £52,435. An 11% dividend takes £57,994. Quoted investments standing in the books at £869,183 have a market value of £1,576,922, and there are unquoted holdings valued by the board at £26,327. Cash, £44,121. Current liabilities, £82,309.

Sugar Sales (Pvt.), Ltd., Southern Rhodesia, has been registered to market raw sugar produced in the Colony. The nominal capital is £10,000. Mr. G. E. Evans-Brown, chairman of the Rhodesian Sugar Association, is the chairman and the three main producers, the Triangle, Moppe Valley and Chirundu Estates, are all represented on the board.

British American Tobacco Co., Ltd., of which the East African Tobacco Co., Ltd., is a subsidiary, reports group net profit to September 30 of £31.2m. (£31m.) Trade investments of a book value of £7.4m. have a market value of £8.1m. There are unquoted investments of £29.2m. and a 30% stake in Wiggins Teape in the past decade £14.7m. have been ploughed back into the business. The retention this year is £19.6m. Dividend is raised from 25% to 25½%.

Ball Brothers, Ltd., a group with large East African interests, report consolidated profit after tax for the year ended August 31 of £125,334, against £93,565 in 1961. Ordinary shareholders notwithstanding receive 10% against 5% and A shareholders just over 30% (11%). The issued capital is £3.7m. Interest on subsidiaries appears at £1.2m. trade investments at £3.1m. current assets less current liabilities at £4.1m. and fixed assets at £788,004. Mr. David Francis is the chairman.



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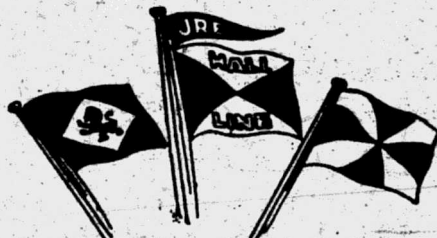
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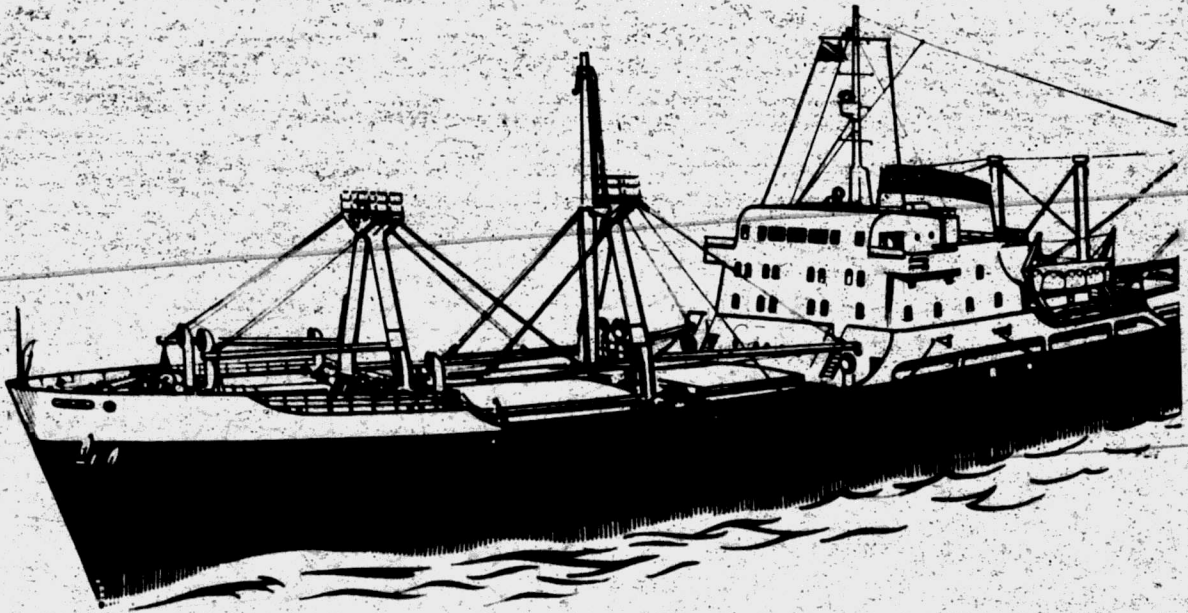
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

APPEASEMENT of the pan-African extremists in Northern Rhodesia by the Macmillan Cabinet has been repeatedly prophesied by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, whose regular readers will therefore not have been surprised by the disastrous decision announced on Friday by Mr. R. A. Butler, Secretary of State and Minister for Central African Affairs. When he returned from his second visit to the Federation a month ago, we emphasized that, despite the contrary impression created in innocent minds by his characteristic ambiguities, evasions and other subtleties, the tricks and trifling of the Government in which he is Deputy Prime Minister had in the past year achieved nothing in the direction of that inter-racial and inter-territorial co-operation which was its declared objective, but that Mr. Butler had broken faith and prepared for further abject surrender by promising Dr. Banda that Nyasaland might withdraw without the constitutionally prescribed consent of the Federal Government. Though he had publicly denied giving similar assurances to the African politicians in Lusaka, they were generally believed when they asserted again and again that unequivocal promises had been made by the Minister and that only the timetable remained to be settled. Last week they were satisfied in that regard also.

The record in Africa over the past three years of this feeble, foolish, faithless Government, which has specialized in light words and dark deeds, had proved its inability to

Britain's Feeble and Faithless Government.

resist the clamour and violence organized by careerist African demagogues, the pressure of a few men acting in the high-sounding names of pan-African movements, expression of concern from a Disunited Nations Organization which had

exhibited its gross incompetence in the Congo, or hints from a United States Government impatient for the destruction of the Commonwealth in Africa. An Administration so false to British—and African—interests and to its own pronouncements could obviously not be trusted to discharge a duty demanding resolution. In the words of Mr. Kalulu, acting president of U.N.I.P. in the absence of Mr. Kaunda, it preferred "humiliation into final surrender"—to a party so irresponsible that not long ago more than two thousand of its members were jailed for crimes ranging from murder and attempted murder to the burning of churches, hospitals, dispensaries and schools, petrol bomb attacks on dormitories in which black and white children slept, and all kinds of physical violence. It is considered bad form to recall this disgraceful record, but it should be recognized that it is for a movement of this type that the Macmillan Cabinet has sacrificed a Federal Government with standards of administration equal to its own and with principles far higher.

Mr. Butler was in such a hurry to capitulate that he did not even ask the Federal Prime Minister what plans he had for the conference which it was intended to hold in Africa in the summer.

No Wish to Eat With Betrayers.

Sir Roy Welensky's proposals were in his pocket when he was abruptly told of the Cabinet's decision to yield to the threats of the Africans—which, other things apart, meant that he, Mr. Field, and their Ministers had been brought to London on false pretences, for they had been assured that the sole purpose was to agree an agenda for a later gathering. A staged walk-out by Mr. Kaunda and Mr. Nkumbula sufficed to frighten the stalwarts of Macmillanism. Had they not given way at Lancaster House even to Mau Mau? This time the scurry to surrender has wrecked a greater work than that done in Kenya. Incidentally,

its impulsiveness deprived the Government of the real help which it would have received from a programme of Sir Roy Welensky which represented such drastic changes from the Federal structure that it should have been acceptable as a basis by all reasonable men. Now that the Federation has been betrayed that plan will never be put forward. Mr. Butler asserted on Friday that the week's discussions in London had been "very helpful in clarifying the broad views of the Governments concerned". So far as the Federal Government is concerned, that was untrue. There can be no excuse for falsity in an official document on so momentous a matter, whether it be due to careless drafting or something worse. In normal circumstances the Federal representatives would doubtless have required publication of a correction. They were too disgusted to bother—so disgusted that Sir Roy asked Mr. Butler to tell Mr. Macmillan that he and his colleagues would not attend the official luncheon which the Prime Minister had arranged for them less than two hours later. His reason was explicit: that they did not wish to eat with those who had betrayed them. There could have been no greater snub from one Commonwealth Prime Minister to another.

* * *

The United Kingdom Government still expects a conference to decide on the measures for the dissolution of the Federation. It thereby shows itself to be remarkably sanguine,

Timid Tories In the Commons.

not to say naïve, for if Southern Rhodesia is not now promised independence Sir Roy and Mr. Field will decline to attend or send representatives, and if an assurance of independence is given the Northern Rhodesians will absent themselves. Mr. Butler's dilemma is of his own making. If, as Lord Salisbury said of Mr. Macleod's antics in Northern Rhodesia, he was unscrupulous and too clever by half, Mr. Butler was too quick by a long chalk in accommodating the U.N.I.P. and A.N.C. leaders and rejecting the Prime Ministers of the Federation and Southern Rhodesia. He counted on the complacency of the scandalously apathetic Conservative back-benchers in the House of Commons, who have demonstrated their readiness to accept almost anything from their unprincipled leaders. The front-bench record in regard to Africa since the wind-of-change speech could not possibly be worse; and that of the Tory back-benchers is very little better. A few of them have from time to time felt so nauseated that they were stirred to public protest, but on no single African issue has their professed indignation lasted. Consequently it has

neither embarrassed nor checked the Government. We were told at the week-end that the Tories in Parliament were so bitterly angry at the murder of the Federation that perhaps two hundred of them would sign a motion insisting that Southern Rhodesia should become independent on the day on which that status is granted to Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia. Our reply was that we would believe that prognostication when the names were on the paper. As these words were sent to the printer only about fifty signatures had been obtained—and a Tory motion in favour of the Cabinet had half as many supporters. In the unlikely event of a large-scale revolt, for how long would the attack on Ministers be maintained? Not even the knowledge that many of them will lose their seats at next year's general election will embolden a majority of the Conservative Parliamentary Party to register their displeasure (though most of them are bitterly critical in private).

* * *

Had the Federation not been established, Southern Rhodesia would have become independent long ago, and it is fantastic to think that the Colony will be content to remain in any sense dependent while Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are rushed

Southern Rhodesia Will Protect Herself.

to premature independence. If Britain does not respond satisfactorily to Mr. Field's request, his Government will be reluctantly constrained to make its own declaration of independence. Whatever this Government, the United Nations, or any Afro-Asian or pan-African organization may say, Southern Rhodesia will not scrap the Constitution which, with Britain's blessing, came into force only five months ago. It gives fifteen Africans the chance to work their passage in Parliament, and if they act responsibly there is every prospect of an increase in their numbers in four or five years, but certainly not on the one-man-one-vote franchise which would destroy the country. Meantime there is urgent need for more of them, many more, to gain experience in local government, a two-way traffic which will equip the best of them for higher responsibilities and provide the Government with evidence of the aspirations and genuine grievances of Africans. Suggestions of an impending clash between the races are nonsensical. The vast mass of Africans are delighted to have been released from the intimidation which had made life miserable and dangerous. They appreciate firm government, for it was traditional in tribal life. The Field Government increased the penalties for subversion, not from any re-

pressive complex, but because there had been scores of petrol-bomb attacks by Africans on Africans, and because members of African political movements had been arrested while in possession of sub-machine guns, revolvers, explosives, and other sabotage equipment. Such anarchic activities demanded condign penalties.

* * *

It may be taken for granted that Southern Rhodesia will take over from the Federation the Royal Rhodesian Air Force, the white battalions of the Regular Army, the para-

The Federal Defence Forces.

troopers, armoured cars, and artillery, and of course retain the white Territorials. Defence Force costs will require eight or nine million pounds annually, a staggering burden for such a country; but if the strain should prove too heavy help will unquestionably be offered by South Africa, which sees Southern Rhodesia as its outpost against militant pan-Africanism. The overwhelming majority of white Rhodesians want to remain within the Commonwealth, though the proportion must have been sadly lessened of late by the general sense that the country has been betrayed by Britain. Links with their southern neighbour must inevitably increase. Forty years ago Mr. Churchill, then Colonial Secretary, tried to force Southern Rhodesians into the Union. They preferred to govern themselves, and that they have done most successfully ever since. It is ironic that they should now be driven to look southwards by the Government in Britain which bears much of the blame for forcing South Africa out of the Commonwealth. The Rhodesian Front Government—which we still think likely to give way later to a Government of National Unity—will put first the interest of its own peoples, and in that quest will be ready for such economic and other relations with her neighbours as they will accept.

* * *

At first, at any rate, Northern Rhodesia will want such contacts to be minimal, confined to Rhodesia Railways, Kariba, and one or two other common services. Not to include

Dependence On Copper.

the excellent and profit-earning Central African Airways would be absurd. It is to be feared, however, that the common currency will disappear and that tariffs will be erected against Southern Rhodesia's secondary industries, which now sell one-third of their output across the Zambezi. Northern Rhodesia has yet to learn that its restricted market will not for many years support extensive and diversified manufacturing enterprises, and, indeed, that to build

a customs frontier against its neighbour may do itself great harm. Until last week there was a project for an eight million pound fertilizer factory at Livingstone, most of the output of which would have to be sold in Southern Rhodesia. Is it likely that that outlet will be guaranteed if the Kaunda Government (for it is almost certain that the U.N.I.P. president will soon be Prime Minister) adopts an attitude of maximum non-cooperation? A scheme of great importance to Northern Rhodesia will therefore probably be dropped. There is an airy assumption that that country's affluence, based almost entirely on copper, is unassailable. It is an unsafe premise. The metal has been pegged for months on the London market at £234 per ton only because the producers have cut their outputs by 15% and also buy whenever necessary to keep up the price. Production costs continue to rise, and that trend will certainly not be reversed under an African Government. An industry which has immensely benefitted the country could in adverse local or world conditions again traverse a period of grave difficulty. It is sincerely to be hoped that it will never again suffer as it did during the world slump of the 'thirties, but the risks of a mono-economy are not to be disregarded.

* * *

What, basically, caused the Macmillan Cabinet to take, and the political parties and the country to accept with scarcely a murmur, the decision to destroy a Federation

Sir Roy Welensky.

which, given reasonable time, could still have been made a credit to itself and the Commonwealth? Is it merely failure of nerve in high quarters, or moral degradation in public life and much wider areas of the nation? Principle has ceased to count in political circles, and neither Press nor people rebel against pretence, expediency, deceit, broken pledges, and other forms of dishonour. Architects of one disaster after another remain in office, and in the name of democracy Ministers create dictatorship after dictatorship. The proximate reasons for the collapse are dithering and slithering by Cabinet Ministers, their unwillingness to resist threats and violence by pan-African extremists, their fear of the United Nations, and their determination to heed the wishes of the United States. So Macmillanism has surrendered all along the line. It has been enormously helped by the B.B.C. and by an appeasement-minded Press — which, having attacked and denigrated the Federation for years, has suddenly praised it in its hour of doom. But not one daily paper in the United Kingdom which we have seen has given anything like a truthful account of the basic

reasons for its destruction. What many have done is to pay tribute to Sir Roy Welensky's courage in adversity; and journalists who attended his last Press conference so far departed from their tradition of non-involvement as to clap him heartily as he retired. It was a most unusual compliment. Before leaving London Sir Roy emphasized his determination to quit public life when the intricate business of winding up the Federation is

completed. Having borne a heavy burden since he became Prime Minister in November 1956, he needs a rest; it ought to be sufficiently lengthy, and preferably be taken outside Rhodesia. But we profoundly believe that an insistent call for his great qualities will arise and refuse to be stilled. The graver the problems, the greater will be the demand for his incomparable experience, unquenchable courage, and natural leadership.

Notes By The Way

Barotseland Betrayed

MR. GODWIN LEWANIKA, a member of the Federal Government's delegation, asked Mr. Butler at the final talk on Friday if his statement implied that the United Kingdom Government had decided to dishonour the treaties made by his father with Queen Victoria's Government. I have been told—specifically for publication—by one who was present that the First Secretary's reply was "merely a cloud of words". Mr. Lewanika having repeated his question and received an equally evasive answer, Sir Roy Welensky said to Mr. Butler: "Why don't you tell him candidly that your Government has decided to sell his country down the river? It will be just one more betrayal".

Talked Out

THE MOST IMPORTANT STATEMENT made at last week's dinner of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club in London was the declaration by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia that the best course would be to maintain both political and economic links between the Rhodesias. Unhappily, it went unreported in every newspaper, for the simple reason that the previous speeches had been so lengthy that the words most worthy of record were not spoken until well after 10.30 p.m., at which late hour they stood no chance of dislodging much less significant but earlier news which had already been paged up. More than once in the past I have noted similar failure at East and Central African functions to give elementary attention to the mechanics of newspaper production: though anxious for some publicity, in proof of which they invite news editors to send representatives, they deprive them of the opportunity of getting reports published by starting their speeches too late and failing to restrict their length.

Boycott

LAST WEEK'S DINNER was arranged before it was known that the date selected would find representatives of Southern and Northern Rhodesia in London at Mr. Butler's invitation. All the delegates were invited, and most of them accepted, but Mr. Kaunda and Mr. Nkumbula, presidents of the United National Independence Party and the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia, declined on the rather childish ground that their presence would imply recognition of the Federation. Mr. Chad Chipunza and Mr. Godwin Lewanika, two Africans who are Parliamentary Secretaries in the Federal Government, attended the banquet, apparently enjoyed themselves, and had, I know, very useful discussions. They obviously did not approve the extension to such a social occasion of the principle of boycott to which so many African politicians resort almost instinctively.

Into the Discard

NAME CHANGES are inevitable in African territories becoming independent, but it is interesting to note their nature. Princess Margaret Hospital in Dar es Salaam, being situated in the Mhimbili area, is to be renamed Mhimbili Hospital, and its Twining Block, which commemorated Lord Twining, last British Governor but one, becomes the Kibasila Block, in memory of one of the chief leaders of the Maji-Maji rebellion waged early this century against the German authorities; he and Kilinani, his co-leader, were hanged with others from mango trees in Dar es Salaam. In Tabora the Livingstone Hospital has been given the name of Karunde, an outstanding woman chief of Unyanyembe in early German colonial times.

Jamhuri

TANGANYIKA's four new Republic Day postage stamps are most attractive. That of 30 cents, in green, shows Dr. Nyerere wielding a pick to inaugurate a self-help scheme. The 50 cent stamp depicts the hoisting of the flag on Kilimanjaro on Independence Day. The 1s. 30 cent denomination is of the Presidential device of a shield flanked by elephant tusks. The 2s. 50 cent stamp, in blue, black and red, shows the independence monument in Dar es Salaam. The Swahili word for Republic is evidently "Jamhuri", for each stamp bears the date December 9, 1962, and at the foot in capital letters JAMHURI YA TANGANYIKA. Incidentally, when the country became a republic Swahili was made the official language. English is no longer used in the National Assembly.

Without Acknowledgement

WHEN SIR ALBERT ROBINSON opened an exhibition of Rhodesian photographs in the City on Monday, he said that he had read a critique which seemed to him to summarize the pictures. The writer had said: "There is exceptional brilliance in a picture of molten ferrochrome being poured; there are wonderful panoramic views of estates near Melsetter; there is striking light and shade in scenes in the Imbeza Forest; there is great character in some of the African faces; and humour in shots from a festival of African art in the Rhodes National Gallery. Better large-scale photographs of Rhodesia cannot have been seen in London". That description appeared in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. Had it been published by *The Times*, would not the name of the paper have been mentioned? If Sir Albert had himself given that description, would he have expected it to appear as that of an anonymous Rhodesian? The great offenders in this respect are of course M.Ps.

Macmillan Government Destroys Central African Federation

Supine Surrender to Threats from Northern Rhodesia

THE MACMILLAN GOVERNMENT announced officially last Friday that it had decided to destroy the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland—for that was the clear meaning of the following statement from the Central African Office:—

“H.M. Government consider that the objective of any constructive policy on Central Africa must be to evolve an effective relationship between the territories which is acceptable to each of them. They recognize that the present situation cannot continue unchanged, and they have therefore sought in the recent discussions with the Governments concerned to evolve a basis for a conference at which a new relationship could be worked out. These discussions have been very helpful in clarifying the broad views of the Governments concerned.

“In the light of these views, H.M. Government have had to consider what is the best course to pursue in the interests of all concerned. They accept that none of the territories can be kept in the Federation against its will, and they therefore accept the principle that any territory which so wishes must be allowed to secede.

“But if a fruitful and constructive future is to emerge for these territories H.M. Government consider it necessary that, before any further changes are made, there should be renewed discussion in Africa not only on the transitional arrangements required but also on the broad lines of a new relationship.”

The decision was, of course, that of the Cabinet, made on the advice of Mr. R. A. Butler, First Secretary of State and Minister for Central African Affairs.

Sir Roy Welensky's Press Conference Protest Against H.M. Government's Diktat

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation, immediately held a Press conference, at which he said:—

“My colleagues and I were invited to London to prepare an agreed agenda for a later conference on the future association of the two Rhodesias. I welcomed the visit; I have repeatedly and publicly said that I looked forward to the discussion of constructive proposals for the solution of our problems in Central Africa. I have accepted the need for changes and acknowledged that they might have to be considerable. Above all, I have argued the urgent need for an end to uncertainty in our affairs.

“It was in this constructive spirit, and prepared to reason and co-operate, that I came to London on Monday; but shortly after my arrival I learned that the Northern Rhodesian elected Ministers had notified Her Majesty's First Secretary that so far as they were concerned there would be no discussion, not even of the agenda of the conference, unless and until their demand for the right of Northern Rhodesia to secede from the Federation had been met. They then walked out of their discussions with British Ministers.

“This is a technique which has been used before by nationalist leaders in their dealings with H.M. Government, and, as before, it has been accompanied by threats of civil disruption and disorder.

“My colleagues and I had our first meeting with Mr. Butler and his advisers on Tuesday afternoon, to learn

that the whole basis of our coming to London had been transformed. Instead of initiating discussion of the agenda for the conference, Mr. Butler confronted us with a request that we put forward a way out of the position in which he had been placed by the action of the Northern Rhodesian elected Ministers. He had no solution to offer.

“I strongly maintained that the right of Northern Rhodesia to secede was a proper matter for discussion at the conference itself. I said that I was prepared to put no limitation on the agenda for that conference, but that I believed that no preliminary positions should be taken up. Nevertheless, Mr. Butler did not allow the discussion to go beyond this problem; the agenda for the conference was not touched upon and has not since been discussed. Matters then stood still for two days so far as the Federal delegation was concerned.

Decision Taken Under Threats

“Late yesterday evening my colleagues and I were summoned to appear at Mr. Butler's office at 11.30 this morning, and were told that H.M. Government had decided its attitude and the course of action it would follow. Mr. Butler would hold a Press conference this evening. He would say that any constructive policy in Central Africa must be aimed at working out an arrangement between the two territories of Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia which was acceptable to them, and that no territory could be kept in the Federation against its will. Each would therefore have the right of secession. There would, however, be further discussions—preferably at a conference in Africa—before any changes were made in the present association.

“Under threat from Northern Rhodesia elected Ministers, the United Kingdom has, before any discussion has taken place about future relationships between the territories of Central Africa, decided one of the massive questions which are for consideration. This prejudging of a basic matter is inconsistent with the responsibilities of the other Governments in the Federation, and in particular, with the great range of responsibilities which the Federal Government discharges in respect of Central Africa.

Violence Pays, Says U.N.I.P.

“While H.M. Government were reaching their decision on the right of secession, a decision so fundamental to the future of the people in Central Africa, I was in London and available for consultation. I have my own thoughts and suggestions to make on this as on other issues. I was ignored.

“I have spoken of the yielding by the British Government to threats. Let me remind you of the terms of a few of the recent threats which have been made.

“It was widely reported in the Press that at a U.N.I.P. rally held in Lusaka on Sunday, March 17, 1963, Mr. Kaunda said: ‘If the language of peace and co-operation fails, the British Government will be held responsible’. He went on to declare that if the Northern Rhodesia delegation failed in its mission, there would be a policy of non-violence and non-co-operation with the Federal Government. Mr. Kaunda said: ‘We will make it impossible for any Federal departments in Northern Rhodesia to operate—I repeat impossible . . . impossible . . . impossible’.

“In the journal known as the *Voice of U.N.I.P.* for March the slogan was printed in big type—‘VIOLENCE PAYS: PEACE DOES NOT PAY’.

"Finally, I remind you of the terms of the telegram sent by Mr. Kalulu, acting president of U.N.I.P., to Mr. Kaunda after he walked out of his conference with the First Secretary of State. Any retreat now disastrous. We shall use all our power in Government to harass Federal and British Governments until they are humiliated into final surrender."

"My own attitude is the same as that with which I responded to the invitation of H.M. Government to come to London to discuss what topics should be gone into at a conference. My responsibilities are to the people of Central Africa, all of them, and my concern is for their welfare and progress at the fastest possible rate.

Knuckled Under to Threats

"I firmly believe that the British Government, knuckling under to each threat as it successively appears, creates an insurmountable obstacle to progress on a general basis. I am therefore returning to the Federation, where I must consider the consequences of the policy now openly adopted by H.M. Government, and must consider what action I must take in the light of that policy.

There are other issues of the greatest importance to large numbers of people who live in Central Africa, all of which are prejudged by the British Government's decision.

I refer, in particular, to Southern Rhodesia's position in relation to decisions which have now been taken in respect of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia; the position of Barotseland, where British protection, based on solemn treaties, is likely to be withdrawn as a result of today's decision; the economic advantages to both Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia of the maintenance of their historical links.

Gains Hurlled to the Winds

"The possibility of free and reasonable discussion of such important matters as these has been eliminated by today's decision.

"Association of the territories has brought advantages to all of them. Wealth has been increased. Racial barriers have been broken down. Political advances have been made. General social welfare has improved. But now, three months after its decision in respect of Nyasaland, a decision has once again been taken unilaterally by H.M. Government, in respect of Northern Rhodesia. These two decisions hurl to the winds all the advantages which I have mentioned.

"I come back to the point that these decisions have been taken by H.M. Government under threat from men who seek power. The people of Central Africa, black and white alike, are being betrayed to these men. This act of betrayal brings no credit on H.M. present Ministers in the United Kingdom.

"The Federal Government will clearly find it difficult to co-operate with H.M. Government in the light of today's decision to break up the Federation. I say this on grounds that have been carefully thought out. I am not motivated by anger or disappointment at the collapse of a great venture in racial partnership in Central Africa, although I am aware that this will be the charge of our enemies and critics; and one might well be excused for displaying such emotions.

Southern Rhodesia Must Become Independent

"I prefer at this grave moment in the history of Rhodesia to adopt a constructive attitude. I have always acknowledged that H.M. Government has the legal right to dissolve the Federation by an act of the British Parliament, even though that contravenes solemn pledges and conventions that have been entered into in the past.

"If, therefore, the Parliament at Westminster is prepared to endorse the decision of H.M. Government to break up the Federation, I am left with two alternatives. I can act irresponsibly and resort to unconstitutional measures. I have rejected this. The second course is to declare to H.M. Government that I will not co-operate in the dissolution of the Federation unless the vital interests of the people of Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia and Federal citizens in Nyasaland are taken care of.

"These are the vital interests, and I do not state them in any special order of priority:

(1) That Southern Rhodesia be granted its independence;

(2) That the new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia protects the interests of the European community, the various regional interests of the African communities that make up that territory, and in particular the special status of Barotseland.

"When I have had assurances on these matters my Government will work to bring about the new order that must now take the place of the present Federal arrangements. The full details of my Government's attitude to the present grave crisis that has been precipitated by the British Government's capitulation to the threats of pan-Africanism will be outlined to the Federal Parliament which will meet in Salisbury on Monday, April 8.

"I want the peoples of Northern, Southern Rhodesia, and Britain to know that in this hour of crisis I shall continue to work for the maintenance of the standards we have built up and the security of all the peoples of Central Africa, whatever future constitutional pattern may emerge."

Situation Not Explosive

Answering questions after making his statement, Sir Roy Welensky said that his delegation had brought to London a "fairly full scheme" of suggestions for a conference agenda which would have met the basic problems of the desire for secession; he had been willing to discuss any germane topic at the conference table for the well-being of the Federation.

But first he had wanted to know whether Britain was going to give in to the Northern Rhodesian demand for secession—"though of course I could have taken it for granted that Britain would, as always, give in to threats; but I had hoped she would make a stand for a change".

He had not been given an opportunity to present his Government's proposals—which he now intended to lay before the Federal Assembly—for the discussions with Mr. Butler had never got beyond the hurdle of Northern Rhodesian secession.

The Federation was well on its way to being broken up. He had not discussed his list of priorities with the Southern Rhodesian Government but hoped to collaborate closely with it.

Different Kettle of Fish

He could naturally not indicate what form his Government's non-co-operation with Britain might take, but he denied that any action taken could be compared with the Northern Rhodesian Government's threat to impede the Federal Government's operations in the Protectorate by non-violent non-co-operation. Mr. Kaunda threatened, despite his official ministerial position, to break up institutions already established by the British Government. It would be a wholly different "kettle of fish" when Britain sought to introduce new arrangements in place of the present Federal structure.

Sir Roy wanted all Northern Rhodesians, not just the Europeans, to be protected by something better than a Bill of Rights, if that were possible, something enshrining in their Constitution all legal rights for every kind of citizen under the safeguarded power of the courts.

He rejected the suggestion of the United Nations that an "explosive" situation existed in Southern Rhodesia. There could be no justification for interference by the United Nations in that Colony. The Congo was one of many real danger spots that U.N.O. would do better to tackle.

Mr. Winston Field's Comments

MR. WINSTON FIELD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, told another Press conference:

"I have the First Secretary of State's permission to release my interpretations of a verbal statement he made to us at 10.30 a.m. today: (1) Objective of talks to find an acceptable relationship between the two Rhodesias; (2) that a conference should be held for this purpose; (3) that H.M. Government has accepted that no territory can be kept in Federation against its will, and my

comment to the First Secretary was that this means that it has been accepted by H.M. Government that Northern Rhodesia can secede; and (4) that no secession can be implemented till after the conference.

"Nyasaland has been promised secession and independence. This means that Northern Rhodesia will take the same course. Southern Rhodesia will have been seceded from and the Federation is at an end.

"We consider that this means that we are entitled to the independence we would have had by 1955 had Federation not come about. To us this issue of independence becomes an integral part of any future conference, and we can make no decision to attend such a conference until we have been satisfied in this respect.

"I would add that in present circumstances the Southern Rhodesia Government does not hold itself responsible for any consequential matter arising from H.M. Government's decision.

"It was confirmed by the First Secretary that the British Government had no intention of attempting to interfere in our domestic affairs."

No Connivance with Federal Government

Mr. Field denied in reply to questions that there had been any connivance or bargaining with the Federal Government on Southern Rhodesia's independence, but the two Governments would, he said, co-operate with the full support of all Southern Rhodesians.

It had never been his party's policy to make an issue of secession, nor were they seeking it. "We have been seceded from", he reiterated. Until final decisions were taken, the Federal Government would continue its official rôle.

Independence would be called for under the new Constitution, under which his Government was pledged to work for the life of its present Parliament. That Constitution had been designed partly by Britain, and had been accepted at the time by Mr. Nkomo. Had Mr. Nkomo not subsequently

repudiated his signature to it, he and his associates would today have been the official Opposition in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament. Mr. Field said that he was prepared to meet Mr. Nkomo at any time.

Economic ties with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were definitely desired. They should not be limited to communications and the Kariba Dam, but should cover general trade for the mutual benefit of all. But the undertakings he required for Southern Rhodesia would have to be settled first.

His Government had not made any request to Britain for protection against outside interference in the Colony's internal affairs.

Considerable economic ties existed with the Republic of South Africa, and they should be improved. Southern Rhodesia was one of the Republic's best customers, and it was to be hoped that the Republic would become one of Southern Rhodesia's best buyers. But there was no question of political links.

"New Era"

The Northern Rhodesia coalition Government Ministers, Mr. Kaunda (president of U.N.I.P.) and Mr. Nkumbula (president of the A.N.C.), issued a statement recalling the "sacrifices" made by their parties' followers, including the "loss of many lives in the emergency of 1961". A "new era" was dawning for the territory.

Mr. Kaunda said that if the conference Britain still hoped to hold later this year were "obstructed, and the liquidation of the Federation is unreasonably delayed, we should liquidate it ourselves by taking over the various Federal Ministries in Northern Rhodesia, beginning with revenue collection". With co-operation, the orderly transfer could be completed by the year's end, with finance and defence proving the hardest to change over. Distribution of the Federal debt would have to be based on benefits received and on expenditure in Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. Nkumbula thought that the Federation could be dismantled within three months by a commission which he expected Britain to set up.

The Ministers said that Mr. Butler had told them they could begin discussions on constitutional changes when the Governor, Sir Evelyn Hone, returned to Lusaka this week.

How British Press Reported the News

"Inevitable" Concession: "Surrender and Humiliation": "Tragic Failure"

MOST NEWSPAPERS treated the Government's decision about the Federation as the main news item last Saturday.

The Times gave three-decker heads across two columns, reading, "Mr. Butler Concedes Right of Secession; Break-up of Rhodesian Federation in Sight; Sir R. Welensky Says Britain is Yielding to Threats". *The Telegraph* also led with three captions: "End of Rhodesia Federation; Sir Roy Calls Right to Secede 'Betrayal'; Refusal to Lunch with Premier". A two-column report in the *Guardian* was headed "Federation Fails in Rhodesias; Mr. Butler's Decision Ends Hope of Unity; Sir Roy Snubs Premier".

Across six columns of the *Daily Mail* (which has been strongly biased against the Federation) was the prominent heading "K.O. for Sir Roy". A two-column story in the *Daily Express* had the banner, "Sir Roy's Dream Crumbles; 'Betrayal', He says". An article by Mr. Harry Franklin on "Bargaining over the Body" was featured by the *Spectator*.

The *Scotsman* (consistently anti-Federation) gave most of its front page to reports headed, "Federation Caves in At Last", and, "Act of Betrayal, Says Sir Roy".

Most emphatic of the Sunday newspapers was the *Express*, which gave pride of place on the front page to a report by Mr. Douglas Clark of an interview with Sir Roy. The heads, run across seven of the eight columns, were: "A Commonwealth Statesman Says History Will See the Premier as the Liquidator of what was the Greatest of Empires; Wrath of Welensky; Eat with Macmillan? I Should have Choked on his Food".

Apart from a short leader, the *Sunday Times* had four articles, headed respectively, "S. Rhodesia Asks Butler for Pledge", "Fight for Independence Looms in S. Rhodesia", "Brave Old Bull in the Strand", and "Rhodesian Goose that Lays the Copper Egg". *The Sunday Telegraph* also had four stories, which were entitled, "Conservatives Face Crisis on Rhodesia", "The Whites Have the Guns", "Mr. Field Flies Home", and "Rhodesia Ready to Set Date". Across three columns of the front page of the *Observer* ran the allegation, "Welensky Making New Bid for Power; Out to Control S. Rhodesia".

Editorial comment on the Cabinet decision to destroy the Federation appeared in all the leading London newspapers and many in the provinces. Pressure on space makes it possible to give only very brief extracts from the leading articles.

That in *The Times*, headed "Coup de Grace", said: "Mr. Butler has destroyed the Federation. It was inevitable that after Nyasaland got the right to secede Northern Rhodesia should get it. Mr. Butler, however, expected to bargain this concession for acceptance of economic and even some minimal political links with Southern Rhodesia to take the place of federation. In this he has totally failed."

"Mr. Winston Field has inevitably moved in with his counter-demand for independence. It is his turn to say that he will attend no conference unless he gets prior agreement in principle. And now it is the British Government's turn to say that it cannot use force to coerce a white Government in Africa from getting its independence. Mr. Field's demand transfers the Government from the frying pan to the griddle. Sir Roy must bravely face the fact that his long and courageous fight is over. Overwhelming forces have defeated him and the federal idea."

"Danger and Anger" was the caption to the *Daily Telegraph's* comment: "It is most unhappy that the British Government should have seemed to erase the Federation under a threat of violence. If Mr. Kaunda's ultimatum was to be expected, the Federal Prime Minister should have been told before coming to London that the Northern Rhodesian delegates made right of secession a prerequisite to any talks. Mr. Kaunda's followers asked their leader to exact 'surrender and

humiliation. Any ultimatum therefore should have been flatly rejected. Mr. Nkomo may now feel that threat will help him too. The economic realities may induce the two Rhodesias into some sort of contractual relationship, but only if Mr. Butler makes clear beyond all doubt that he will tolerate no outside interference with Southern Rhodesia. Britain cannot allow the United Nations to botch the situation in the Commonwealth as they did in the Congo. She must not be pushed headlong out of Central Africa.

The *Guardian* said: "The Federation still holds great powers and properties and cannot die in peace until it finds heirs for them. It is permissible to hope for a quiet subsidence as the best escape from a tension becoming unbearable. Yet relief must be blended with a tragic sense of missed opportunity. The conception of a great federation of peoples in Central Africa is anything but ignoble. It failed because it was unwisely exploited and hurried into premature existence while its component units were still undergoing changes so great that any superstructure built on their old selves was doomed to suffer destruction by earthquake if made rigid and inflexible. Racial co-operation was not given time (or in some quarters much encouragement) to come.

"Sir Roy Welensky is a man of great force of personality,

at heart imaginative and even generous, and endowed with a marked streak of realism. He and Mr. Field will make a fighting withdrawal, saving what they can of their supporters' position and of their own prestige. It will not do to underestimate their resources."

The *Scotsman*, pleased at "defeat for Sir Roy and victory for Messrs. Kaunda and Nkumbula", said that to Northern Rhodesia secession "means temptation and opportunity; she could now quickly become rich without the deadweight of the South. The African political desire for secession and the European desire for economic expansion both lead away from Salisbury. . . . Mr. Nkomo will read his own defeat in what has happened. His next move is obvious. He will try to call in the U.N. Tanganyika will help him. Future relations between Messrs. Nkomo and Kaunda may hold the key to the whole situation."

Condemning "Surrender to African Demagogues", the *Daily Express* pointed to the danger that "because of political feebleness in London, great areas of Central Africa may sag back into the condition in which Rhodes and Livingstone found them. The dream of a great African State under British inspiration, with equal rights to all civilized men, whatever their colour, is shamefully abandoned."

Independence for Southern Rhodesia

Rhodesian Leaders Return to Salisbury

SIR ROY WELENSKY told journalists before he left London on Sunday evening that he would support the Southern Rhodesian Government "100%" in its demand for independence.

"It is almost beyond my comprehension that the British Government can hesitate for a moment to grant this, in the light of their craven attitude towards the demands of the nationalists of Northern Rhodesia". The Colony's claim was based on its record of good government and support for British institutions. Most of its people would undoubtedly want to remain within the Commonwealth.

"I leave Britain with mixed feelings. Whatever quarrels I may have had with the Macmillan Government, I want to express my gratitude to the people of this country for their support and loyalty shown not only to me but to their kith and kin in the Rhodesias.

"I am not retiring", he continued. "I have been kicked out. I have no intention of entering territorial politics in Southern Rhodesia. That doesn't mean that if I see the ship about to sink I wouldn't step in and do something."

Do Not Care

More than 1,000 people at the airport cheered and sang 'For He's a Jolly Good Fellow' when the Federal Prime Minister returned to Salisbury on Monday. Southern Rhodesia could not afford not to obtain independence now, he said. "It is the duty of everybody, white and black, to see that this is done. There has got to be a closing of the ranks. Nobody here can look for protection to the British Government. They have sold out on us. I do not think they care what happens to us. One must have no illusions about the future."

Because of the British Government's discourtesy, he had not been given an opportunity to present the plan that his Government had prepared regarding secession and the preservation of economic links and the armed forces. Mr. Butler had told him at their first encounter of the Northern Rhodesian refusal to continue discussions until secession had been accorded.

"I made it very clear that the issue of secession could be put at the top of the agenda at the conference and that I should be willing to attend. Mr. Butler listened, but at that time I had no idea of the British Government's intentions.

"Typical of the depth of humiliation inflicted upon me is that two days before I was brought in à la Hitler and told exactly what our fate was to be, I had been discussing with Mr. Butler the name of a new Governor-General". It was after that summons that he had refused the British Prime Minister's lunch invitation; "I was not prepared to eat food with a man who had betrayed me and the people I stood for."

Another plan which he had shown Mr. Butler during the latter's visit to Central Africa in February for an attenuated form of Federation had since been ignored. While he was still Prime Minister the Federation would continue. Britain could expect "no collaboration whatsoever" in breaking it up.

Asked how Southern Rhodesia might fare for independence were Labour in control in the U.K., Sir Roy replied that the Socialists "cannot deal with us any worse than we have had in the last five years. At least they might stab us in the

breast and not put their arms round us and find a soft spot to stab us in the back."

Hundreds of Europeans greeted Mr. Field when he landed at Salisbury Airport on Sunday. He told journalists that he was not satisfied with the outcome of the meetings in London, which had been "inconclusive"; one stage of uncertainty had ended, but a number of loose ends remained to be tied up.

Before leaving Britain on Saturday he had made a written application to the British Government for a declaration that Southern Rhodesia would have independence simultaneously with the secession or independence of either Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia. The Minister of Justice, Law and Order, Mr. Dupont, would remain in London for Britain's answer, and Mr. Field said that he would himself fly back if there was delay.

He repeated that there had been no connivance between himself and Sir Roy Welensky in the demand for Southern Rhodesia's independence. The Federal Prime Minister had, he believed, supported that request because he was convinced that it was right and just for Southern Rhodesia. Opposition to such an advance came largely from ignorant people who were unaware how slender was the apron-string still binding the Colony to H.M. Government.

External forces would doubtless attempt to engineer a breakdown in security in the Colony, but they would be dealt with. A refusal by Britain to grant independence under the present Constitution would also be dealt with as needed.

Speaking to the Commonwealth correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, Mr. Field said that he did not foresee a national Government formed by "moderates" in his Rhodesia Front party and members of the United Federal Party. "We won the elections, we have a clear mandate to run the country, and we are perfectly able to do so. My party is united. We have no extremists. We got rid of them a long while ago."

The Southern Rhodesian Minister of Mines, Mr. John Gaunt, gave a warning that if Britain did not fix a date for the Colony's independence, the Southern Rhodesian Government would do so. "Nothing less than force of arms can prevent Southern Rhodesia from getting its independence."

The Labour Party spokesman for Commonwealth affairs, Mr. John Strachey, welcomed the news of the Federal dissolution but stated that it would be a "gravely irresponsible act" for Britain to grant independence to any territory which was not at least "well on the way" to the establishment of a democratic Government, responsible to an electorate of the citizens of all races.

The Conservative Monday Club considered that Southern Rhodesia should be given its independence immediately, in view of its 30 years' apprenticeship in self-government.

Fear of the United Nations

Mr. Patrick Wall, vice-chairman of the Conservative Commonwealth Affairs Committee, said on Friday when addressing the Clapham Conservative Association Dinner Club:

"The Federation, created by a Conservative Government in 1953, has had faults but has also great achievements to its credit. It has been killed today. We now face a major crisis in this explosive area.

"Publication of the Monckton Report in 1960 was the beginning of the end. That commission recommended concession of the right to secede to the three territories in spite of

(Continued on page 669)

Russia Active in Every State in Africa

Money for Nationalist Extremists: Manipulating Trade Unions

IN THE NEXT FIFTEEN YEARS Africa will be the main battlefield in the cold war, MR. AIDAN CRAWLEY, M.P., told an informal lunch party in London of the Overseas Employers' Federation. He said, *inter alia* : —

"It is most difficult to get people to take a detached view of Communism. Anyone who suggests that it should be seriously regarded is accused of being a witch-hunter, and in Africa the tendency is to pooh-pooh the idea that the Communist Powers are likely to be able to do anything effective. We need to grow out of this attitude; and we should have at our universities more people making a serious study of Marxism.

"Eighteen months ago my wife and I ended an eight months' tour of Africa during which we visited every country except five of the smallest territories. Our aim was to assess the achievements of Communism.

"The Russians have made extraordinary progress since 1956, when their only direct contact was through the Russian Hospital in Addis Ababa. Now Russia has 15 embassies in Africa, and she is waging an official and unofficial offensive in every African State.

"The official campaign consists of aid and propaganda through the embassies. The aid is much less than Russia could wish, but the propaganda increases daily, and in many respects it is much better than anything we produce. France alone can in any way compete in this matter with the Russians and the Chinese.

Three-Pronged Under-Cover Attack

"In every country, however small, we found evidence of a three-pronged under-cover attack.

"The first step of the Russians was to establish contact with some of the more extreme African nationalists. If you want to know how much they have paid to, say, Odinga or Kenyatta, you have only to ask Paul Ngei, who as treasurer of the Kenya African National Union handled the money. Everyone in Uganda knew that a politician who is not now in Parliament received many thousands of pounds.

"In every nationalist party in Africa there are some members in touch with the Iron Curtain countries and receiving from them funds either overtly or covertly. Many prosecute the Communist Party line openly and make no secret of being paid.

"The importance of most of the African trade unions must not be exaggerated, but, although their numerical strength is low, it is dangerous to underestimate their power. They are being used by the Russians.

"In a dilapidated house in a back street in Zanzibar, for instance, we visited a trade union headquarters which had on its walls pictures of Khrushchev, Mao Tse Tung, and other Communist leaders. There we met a young man who had been both to Moscow and Peking and has made himself quite a political force in Zanzibar.

"Much the most important aspect of Iron Curtain activities is that of attracting students. The Foreign Office estimate is that at least 3,500 African students are now behind the Iron Curtain. I put the figure at about 5,000.

Sub-Standard Students

"Nearly all are sub-standard, for the first choice for education abroad of almost every African would be Britain or France. Their second choice would be the United States; third would come some university in Scandinavia or elsewhere on the Continent; fourth a university in Africa outside their own country; and only fifth an institution in Russia. It is important to remember that it is the sub-standard students who are going in ever-increasing numbers to Communist countries, from which few have yet returned.

"Among those who have graduated in Russia are a fair number of African doctors, dedicated men, and among them some of the best of the Africans. Possession of a Soviet medical degree is in itself proof that the holder has convinced the Russians of his devotion to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, for if he had not satisfied the authorities in that way he

would not have been allowed to qualify professionally. Doctors are among Africa's potential political leaders.

"Students arriving behind the Iron Curtain spend at least the first 18 months learning the language. Then they get a great deal of Communist party training, but little of what we should consider education. Much more time is given to instruction in party management and the techniques of sabotage.

"In three or four years there will be a steady stream of Africans returning home, some disillusioned, but a proportion of them indoctrinated, trained, and ready to work on Communist Party lines.

"The real struggle between the two ideologies will occur seven or eight years hence.

Puzzled by African Nationalism

"Meanwhile China can do little in Africa except by propaganda. Her goods are pathetically poor. The social manners of the Chinese, however, are more ingratiating than those of the Russians, whose physical presence is not usually to their advantage. In Cairo, Aswan, Ghana and elsewhere they are segregated, quartered in separate blocks of flats and travelling in separate buses. Their goods are not comparable with those of the Western world. They are puzzled by African nationalism, and by Nkrumah and Nasser. So we should be able to keep alive the tradition of individual freedom and effort.

"In any event, it is a profound mistake to think that one can buy political allegiance with technical aid. It must be given on humanitarian grounds.

"We have to learn to make friends. I have been a great admirer of the British Empire, but there is still an incredible gap between Europeans and Africans in Africa. We must take a genuine interest in the black man. I was staggered to be told in perhaps nine out of ten of the African homes I entered that they had never previously had a European visitor. Any European employed in business still tends to be an object of suspicion if he has African friends visiting his house. That is all wrong. I would not invest a penny in a company which took that view.

"Private investment is the right answer, provided Africans be properly trained and the right ones be taken into partnership. That is the only way to start a property-owning class. Unless there is such a class, how can you have African enterprise? And without free enterprise you will not have private liberty. Great risks are involved, and Government ought to underwrite some of them.

"Our greatest hope is that many more Africans may come to this country and France for training and experience in the conviction that they will be better treated than anywhere else. We must make friends with these peoples and their countries. *Per contra*, our business enterprises should take the greatest pains to find the best people for their staffs overseas.

Letter to the Editor

Slide, Yield and Betray Morally and Spiritually Wrong

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Sir,—A policy of "slide, yield and betray" is morally and spiritually wrong.

History and Divine justice will surely condemn those who acquiesced in such weakness.

Fontmell Magna,

Yours faithfully,

Dorset.

ROLF GARDNER

Freedom From Hunger Stamps

A SPECIAL ISSUE of postage stamps, to be known as the Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda Freedom from Hunger Commemorative Issue, will be on sale in East Africa until May 31. The stamps will be of four values, 15, 30 and 50 cents, and 1s 30 cents, all being 1½ inches by 1.1 inches in size. An unusual feature is that the 15 and 50 cent stamps have the same design of tractor work, and that the other two both show maize picking. The colours of the different denominations, of course, differ.

PERSONALIA

MR. CECIL BURNEY is in London from Ndola.

MR. D. M. BARBOUR, of Salisbury, is now in London.

MR. J. Z. SAVANHU has arrived in London from Southern Rhodesia.

MR. H. ST. L. GRENFELL has returned to London from a visit to Australia and New Zealand.

MR. ALEC ROSS has succeeded Mr. J. GIBSON JARVIE as chairman of United Dominions Trust, Ltd.

MR. C. LODER has this week succeeded Mr. J. N. KIEK as investment manager of the Chartered Company.

DR. H. P. OJAMBO is the first Kenya African to qualify as a member of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh.

MR. J. H. ALLEN, general manager of Rhodesia Railways, and MRS. ALLEN are due tomorrow in the CAPE-TOWN CASTLE.

MR. RASHIDI KAWAWA, Vice-President of Tanganyika, left Dar es Salaam on Sunday to visit the United Arab Republic and then Guinea.

MR. R. H. M. DRAKE, chairman of Drake & Gorham, Ltd., and MRS. DRAKE have arrived in London from Southern Rhodesia.

MR. D. M. BALFOUR and MR. R. H. R. MCGILL, directors of Balfour, Beatty & Co., Ltd., have joined the board of Power Securities, Ltd.

MR. F. S. JOELSON broadcast on Monday evening in a B.B.C. General Overseas Programme a commentary on the destruction of the Federation.

On Monday LORD CHANDOS announced his retirement from the chairmanship of Associated Electrical Industries, Ltd., at the end of the year.

SIR GEORGE TOMLINSON, sometime Assistant Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office, left £7,838, on which duty of £470 has been paid.

MR. C. E. DYMOND, lately Principal British Trade Commissioner in Kenya, has been appointed Senior British Trade Commissioner in Nigeria.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, is to receive the honorary degree of LL.D. from Sheffield University.

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, Governor of Kenya, was on Sunday advised by his doctor to cancel his immediate engagements and take a short rest.

MR. JOHN CREASEY, the author of many crime novels, who recently visited the Federation in the course of a world tour, has had a serious operation in Australia.

SIR JOHN LOCKWOOD, lately Vice-Chancellor of London University, is visiting Lusaka this week to discuss the proposal to establish a university in Northern Rhodesia.

A memorial service for Sir CHARLES ARDEN-CLARKE was held at St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, London, last week. He had been president of the Royal African Society.

On the initiative of Lord LYTON, who served in the King's African Rifles for five years, the House of Lords yesterday debated the Kenya-Somalia problem. A report will appear next week.

Mr. P. V. EMMYS-EVANS, president of the Chartered Company, left London on Friday for Rhodesia with Sir FREDERICK CRAWFORD, resident director of the company in Central Africa, who had been in London on business for about a week.

Mr. R. A. BUTLER, First Secretary of State, was host at a Government luncheon at Lancaster House last week at which the guests were Messrs. J. BRYCE-CRAWFORD, M.P., C. E. CHURCH, R. C. KAMANDA, J. E. MURIELLO, F. B. CHURCH, E. H. K. MUYENGA, A. N. I. WONG, R. E. LEY, M. D. THOMAS, N. D. WATSON, J. P. MURRAY, A. LIND, and GEORGE JAMBUQU.

CHIEF ERASTO MANG'ENYA, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of External Affairs and Defence, has been nominated Tanganyika's Permanent Representative at the United Nations.

SIR CYRIL HAWKER, chairman of the Standard Bank, is sheriff for the County of London for the ensuing year, and SIR GEORGE ERSKINE, a director of the Union Castle Line, is sheriff for Surrey.

MR. H. G. BALFOUR, who is reducing his business commitments, has retired from the boards of Power Securities Corporation, Ltd., and Balfour, Beatty & Co., Ltd., and their subsidiary companies.

"Kenyanization" is the Government's unambiguous policy, not "Africanization" or "localization", SIR ERIC GRIFFITH-JONES, the Deputy Governor, told the annual meeting of the Kenya Civil Servants' Union.

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR UGANDA and MRS. BAZARRABUSA were the guests at luncheon last week of SIR JAMES ROBERTSON and other members of the central council of the Royal Over-Seas League.

THE MARQUESS and MARCHIONESS OF SALISBURY have arrived in Southern Rhodesia. LORD SALISBURY is to lay the foundation-stone of the new School of Medicine at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

MR. JOSEPH YINZA, Director of Information Services in Tanganyika, is this week attending a Unesco conference in Tunis which is to consider the development of national news agencies and information services in Africa. Twenty-five African States are expected to be represented.

MR. B. E. B. FAGG, who served for four years in East Africa during the last war, and is now Director of the Department of Antiquities in Nigeria, has been appointed curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. Two years ago he was elected president of the Museums Association of Tropical Africa.

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LADY ALEXANDRA METCALFE, chairman of the Overseas Health and Welfare Committee of the Save the Children Fund in London, attended the laying of the foundation-stone of a children's centre in Nairobi by SIR EDWARD WINDLEY.

SIR ANDREW COHEN, Director-General of the Department of Technical Co-operation, addressed the Commonwealth Section of the Royal Society of Arts last week on "New Work and Ideas in the Field of Technical Co-operation".

MR. F. M. THOMAS, Chief Secretary in Northern Rhodesia, was appointed Deputy to the Governor for the period between the departure for London of Mr. R. E. LUYT, the Acting Governor, and the return of SIR EVELYN HONE, the Governor.

MR. YUSUFU MALULU, the 33-year-old president of the Tanganyika Dockworkers and Stevedores Union, has been nominated by the President of the Republic, MWALIMU NYERERE, to be a Member of Parliament. He is a mechanical equipment driver.

SIR RONALD PRAIN, for the past 20 years president (or managing director) of the Rhodesian Selection Trust group of companies, relinquished that office on Monday. He remains chairman and chief executive officer of the group. The new president is Mr. F. E. BUCH.

MR. JUSTICE UDO UDOMA, aged 46, a High Court judge in Lagos, Nigeria, who has been appointed the first African Chief Justice of Uganda, is likely to take up his appointment early next month. The last British holder of the office, SIR AUDLEY MCKISACK, retired in October.

MR. JUSTICE I. A. MAISELS has denied that he intended to resign from the High Court of Southern Rhodesia. The *Guardian* had given great prominence to a report that he was about to resign in protest against the new law providing the death penalty for petrol-bomb attacks.

MR. S. J. NTIRO and MR. D. L. MFINANGA, Tanganyika's High Commissioners in London and India, and MR. A. K. TIBANDEBAGE, Chargé d'Affaires in Bonn, have been summoned to Dar es Salaam for consultations with MR. OSCAR KAMBONA, the new Minister for External Affairs.

SIR EVELYN HONE, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, who is returning to Lusaka this week, pleaded guilty a few days ago to driving a car in Kensington without due care and attention. Granting an absolute discharge, the magistrate referred to SIR EVELYN'S extremely good driving record and said: "I take into account that you have been serving abroad and that things have no doubt altered very much since you were driving in the United Kingdom".

WING COMMANDER A. F. CHISNELL, has succeeded WING COMMANDER PETER PASCOE as air attaché at Rhodesia House, London. Born in Rhodesia, he joined the Southern Rhodesian Air Unit (now known as the Royal Rhodesian Air Force), was attached to R.A.F. Coastal Command during the last war, and went back to Rhodesia in 1947. Wing Commander Pascoe is returning to Salisbury to take up a senior staff post in the R.R.A.F.

MR. NIGEL FISHER, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, presided on behalf of H.M. Government at a luncheon in Lancaster House one day last week in honour of the Kenya financial delegation. The guests were MR. J. GICHURU, Finance Minister, MR. B. R. MCKENZIE, Minister for Land Settlement, MR. JAN MOHAMED, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, and MR. J. H. BUTTER, MR. S. CAREY-JONES, MR. G. R. HENDERSON, SIR WILLIAM GORELL BARNES, MR. W. B. L. MONSON, MR. A. GALSWORTHY, MR. F. D. WEBBER, MR. D. J. KIRKNESS, MR. P. V. DICKSON, and MR. M. L. WOODS.

Obituary

Colonel Cedric Alston

LIEUT. - COLONEL CEDRIC ROWLAND ALSTON, O.B.E., T.D., B.A., who has died at his home in Kent at the age of 70, was for many years managing director and later chairman of the Manica Trading Co., Ltd., on whose behalf he had travelled widely and repeatedly in Central Africa.

He was educated at Dulwich College and Jesus College, Cambridge, and on the outbreak of war in 1914 was commissioned in the South Lancashire Regiment, with which he served in the Dardanelles. He transferred to the Royal Flying Corps in 1916 and to the Royal Air Force on its formation. On demobilization he flew for a time for the Handley Page Company, and then became public relations officer with William Beardmore & Co., Ltd., of Glasgow, with whom he spent a decade.

His father had been one of four partners who had formed the Manica Company to trade in Portuguese East Africa, the others being Sir Donald Currie, Captain George Briscoe (afterwards the chairman), and Mr. Peter Dawson. His father was chairman from 1896 to 1927, when the son became managing director. In 1958 he was elected to the chair. He was also on the boards of the Beira Boating Co., Ltd., and Beira Engineering Co., Ltd. Under his direction the Manica Company greatly extended its interests in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland as shippers and agents. He resigned the chairmanship almost two years ago owing to ill-health, but remained a director.

Alston had a host of friends in the City and in Central Africa, and will be widely remembered as a man whose word was his bond.

In Honour of Mr. Emrys-Evans

MR. P. V. EMRYS-EVANS, president of the Chartered Company, was the guest of honour last week at a luncheon given by the Federal High Commissioner in London. The other guests were Sir Roy Welensky, Mr. R. A. Butler, Mr. Winston Field, the Acting Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Mr. J. M. Caldicott, Mr. J. M. Greenfield, Mr. C. W. Dupont, Mr. C. M. Chipunza, Mr. G. A. M. Lewanika, the Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia, Earl De La Warr, the Hon. Hugh Vivian Smith, Sir Frederick Crawford, Sir Archibald Forbes, Vice-Admiral Sir Peveril William-Powlett, Sir Athol Evans, Sir Richard Costain, Sir Ronald Prain, Sir Colin Coote, Mr. Robert Annan, Mr. T. J. Bligh, Mr. R. S. W. Clarke, Mr. J. S. Crossley, Mr. L. F. A. d'Erlanger, Mr. Edmund de Rothschild, Commander H. F. P. Grenfell, Mr. H. St. L. Grenfell, Mr. E. D. Hawkesley, Mr. Kenneth Keith, Mr. J. N. Kiek, Mr. J. S. Lodge, Mr. H. M. McDowell, Mr. P. J. Oppenheimer, Mr. W. S. Parker, Mr. Granville Roberts, Mr. W. M. Robson, Mr. Roy Thomson, and Mr. T. V. R. Barbour.

Standard Bank Luncheons

SIR CYRIL HAWKER, the chairman, and the directors of the Standard Bank entertained to luncheon last week Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister; Mr. J. M. Caldicott, Minister of Public Services; Mr. H. M. McDowell, Secretary for Finance; and Sir Albert Robinson, High Commissioner for the Federation. On another day their guests were Sir Evelyn Hone, Governor of Northern Rhodesia; Mr. K. Kaunda, Minister for Local Government and Social Welfare; Mr. Kamanga, Minister of Labour and Mines; Mr. Nkumbula, Minister for Education; Mr. C. E. Cousins, Minister for Land and Natural Resources; and Sir Evelyn Hone, Governor of the territory.

Statements in Both Houses of Parliament

Mr. Butler Quibbles About Northern Rhodesian Independence

ENDEAVOURS to procure a Commons debate before the Easter recess on the Government's decision were defeated on Monday, when the Speaker ruled out two such applications.

MR. BUTLER'S short statement on last week's talks had been followed by a brief exchange of questions and answers. He had said:

"The object of the talks was to find a basis on which a conference might later be held. I should make it clear that H.M. Government took no decision on these complex matters until all the Governments concerned had had an opportunity to put forward their views. In the light of the views expressed it was necessary for H.M. Government to consider what was the best course to pursue in the interests of all concerned. H.M. Government have accepted that none of the territories can be kept in the Federation against its will, and they have therefore accepted the principle that any territory which so wishes must be allowed to secede.

"H.M. Government are convinced that this decision was essential before further progress could be made towards their declared objective of policy in Central Africa, that is to say, the evolution of an effective relationship between the territories which is acceptable to each of them.

New Relationships Sought

"Because that is their objective H.M. Government have also clearly stated that they consider it necessary that before any further changes are made there should be renewed discussion in Africa not only on the transitional arrangements required, but also on the broad lines of a new relationship.

"I have this morning received a letter from the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia asking for certain assurances about the future granting of independence to Southern Rhodesia. This will require close consideration by H.M. Government, and I cannot at present take the matter further. I will, however, keep the House informed of any developments that may occur."

MR. STRACHEY (Labour): "Is the First Secretary of State aware that we on this side welcome his acceptance of the principle that any territory which so wishes must be allowed to secede from the Federation? Does he agree that this question of secession is an entirely different question from that of independence for any of the territories? While we are all anxious to see these territories become independent members of the Commonwealth, we consider that none of them should become independent until it is well on the way at any rate to a democratic system with a franchise which gives effective representation to all races.

"Would the rt. hon. gentleman also agree that no one, by any stretch of imagination, could describe the present Southern Rhodesian Constitution as fulfilling that condition, and that neither, for that matter, does the Northern Rhodesian Constitution fulfil that condition? Would he therefore agree that the next step for both territories should be the preparation by this House of a new Constitution containing a broader franchise and better representation? Will he therefore give an assurance that he will not consider independence for these territories until and unless they have new Constitutions based on a substantially broader franchise than at present?"

Noble Conception

MR. BUTLER: "The question of the Northern Rhodesian Constitution is a matter which I also discussed with elected Ministers of the Northern Rhodesian Government, and it is agreed that we shall carry these discussions further after the first round of discussions about future relationship—that is to take one thing at a time.

"As for the Southern Rhodesian Government, I cannot go further than my statement that H.M. Government have now under consideration the request of the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister."

SIR T. MOORE: "Is it not a tragedy that this great and noble conception of a multi-racial community should be at an end? Will my hon. friend, in his decision on a possible alternative, therefore see that the same ideals that Sir Roy Welensky had in mind are maintained?"

MR. BUTLER: "Yes, sir. The Federation in its day achieved a great deal, and we are all aware of the services rendered by Sir Roy Welensky and the Federal Ministers. What H.M. Government had to come to a conclusion about was whether we could keep people in the Federation against their will. We came to the conclusion that one can never build up a satisfactory relationship in Central Africa unless and until it is by consent and agreement."

MR. GRIMOND: "Does the rt. hon. gentleman agree that the end of Federation will require legislation and an Order in Council, and that the future of common services will then become the responsibility of H.M. Government? Will he ensure that the economic services are continued and the economic links at any rate are maintained between the three territories? Will he make clear that H.M. Government do not intend to abdicate their responsibilities for seeing that there is constitutional progress in Southern Rhodesia?"

MR. BUTLER: "The answer to the first part of that supplementary question is, 'Yes, sir'. Legislation will be required.

So Important

"The answer about economic links is that they will have to be discussed, I hope, between the Northern and Southern Rhodesian Governments, in whose two interests the economic links are so important. Naturally, H.M. Government will play their part in helping to work out the economic links.

"On the point about abdication in relation to Southern Rhodesia, both under the late Southern Rhodesian Government and the present Southern Rhodesian Government we have never hesitated to put forward our view of the advantage of representative Government."

MR. WALL: "Is it my rt. hon. friend's intention to negotiate future economic links between three sovereign independent Governments? If so, will he resist pressure from the Opposition, the United Nations, and the United States, and concede the principle of independence to Southern Rhodesia which is now practically conceded to Northern Rhodesia?"

MR. BUTLER: "The principle of independence has not in fact been conceded to Northern Rhodesia. All that has been agreed is that there shall be future talks about the future Constitution of Northern Rhodesia which Northern Rhodesians hope will lead towards independence in the end. The important issue of Southern Rhodesian independence is now under consideration of H.M. Government."

MR. A. HENDERSON: "Can the rt. hon. gentleman say what steps H.M. Government propose to take to safeguard the repayment of £114m. worth of Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland stock which was subscribed by people in this country with the blessing of H.M. Government?"

MR. BUTLER: "That is one of the many very difficult matters which will come up for consideration."

SIR G. NICHOLSON: "While welcoming what my rt. hon. friend has done up to now, may I ask whether he is aware that two facts stand out a mile? The first is that our responsibility towards Southern Rhodesia is moral rather than statutory, but that that moral responsibility knows no difference of race, creed or colour?"

MR. BUTLER: "I would accept that we have moral responsibility towards all the territories in Central Africa and not just one."

Independence at "Future Date"

MR. BROCKWAY: "May I ask the rt. hon. gentleman whether he can confirm that Mr. Winston Field has indicated that he will not take part in a conference for the reconsideration of the Federation unless his Government are granted independence? Is he aware that there will be the strongest opposition both in the House and more particularly in Southern Rhodesia if the rt. hon. gentleman gives recognition to a minority Government against the wishes of the great majority of the people of that territory?"

MR. BUTLER: "I think that Mr. Winston Field's representations relate to independence at a future date, namely, in relation either to the secession or the independence of one of the territories. He is most anxious that other territories should not go ahead without getting what he wants. That is a more literal representation of what he feels. This must be considered very carefully by H.M. Government."

MR. BERKELEY (Cons.): "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that he has the sympathy and support of the overwhelming majority of members of this House in the most difficult decision which he has had to take, and that there are some hon. members at least on this side of the House who could not agree to the granting of independence to Southern Rhodesia on the existing constitution?"

MR. BUTLER: "I am obliged to my hon. friend. It certainly has been a very heavy responsibility, and I have regretted very much some of the personal disagreements that have had to take place in the course of accepting this decision. I express my regret not only to the House but to others who are outside. On the second point I can only answer that H.M. Government have this under consideration."

MR. STRACHEY: "Will the rt. hon. gentleman go at least as

far as recognizing that it would be an act of great irresponsibility on the part of H.M. Government to, in the First Secretary's words, give Mr. Field what he wants without the most determined effort to get the situation in Southern Rhodesia back on to a constitutional and parliamentary basis under a Constitution which makes it possible for the two races to be represented effectively in Parliament?"

MR. BUTLER: "I will take note of what the right hon gentleman has said."

MR. PATRICK WALL: "I beg leave to move the adjournment of the House under Standing Order No. 9 for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the request by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia for the immediate grant of the principle of independence."

Disruption Filling Power Vacuum

"This matter is of obvious public importance, Mr. Speaker, as it affects several million of Her Majesty's subjects. As for its urgency, last Friday the Government conceded the right of secession to Northern Rhodesia and decided to call a conference on Central Africa to discuss not only the dismemberment of the Federation but the setting up of a new association between the three component territories. At the same time the Prime Ministers of the Federation and of Southern Rhodesia made it clear that they would not attend the conference unless the principle of independence to Southern Rhodesia were granted."

"In my submission, a power vacuum now exists in Central Africa and a very explosive situation is developing. The Federal Government's authority has now been undermined in the area; and I suggest that H.M. Government have little direct authority in Southern Rhodesia under the existing Constitution. The forces of disruption and subversion are, I believe, already gathering in this area of the world, and I believe that an immediate decision should be made by H.M. Government."

"In submitting this request it is not my intention to ask for a debate or post-mortem on the Federation. The decision is made and must be accepted. The Government must, however, have expected this request from the Southern Rhodesian Government, and it is clear that as we are to have the budget on Wednesday, and the debate upon it is to be continued nearly until the Easter recess, the House will have no opportunity of debating this vital subject before the recess. I therefore submit, Mr. Speaker, that because of the situation in that area, the House should have a chance of expressing its opinion before the Executive makes the final decision to answer Mr. Field by either a 'yes' or a 'no'."

MR. SPEAKER: "The hon. Member asks leave to move the adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely the request of the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia for the immediate granting of the principle of independence. I cannot hold that to be within the standing order. My information is that any change in the *status quo* one way or the other requires legislation."

MR. FELL: "I ask leave to move the adjournment for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the grant by H.M. Government to the Government of Northern Rhodesia of the right to secede from the Central African Federation."

Catalyst of Disruption

"The slight difference between this request and the application which has just been declined, Mr. Speaker, is simply that the catalyst of the disruption of the Federation was the grant of the right to secede to all three territories. That was taken late last week, and my fear is that this may lead to the premature disintegration of the Federation before its responsibilities are over, and secondly, to a consequent threat to public order in the Federation."

MR. SPEAKER: "I am afraid that, catalyst or no, the point is the same. It would require legislation."

LORD DILHORNE, the Lord Chancellor, read in the House of Lords the text of Mr. Butler's statement in the Commons.

THE EARL OF LISTOWEL: "My lords, I say for the Opposition that we are very glad that the Government have now accepted this principle which we have begged them to accept for many years, that any territory that wishes to secede from the Federation may do so."

"I ask the Government whether they do not agree that it is out of the question to give Southern Rhodesia independence under its present unrepresentative Constitution, and whether such an action would not almost certainly produce a situation which would border on civil war."

LORD OGMORE: "We on these [Liberal] benches welcome the Government's decision. Will the Government do all in their power to persuade the territorial Governments to agree to set up a common services organization, and will they

agree to take no action on the political future of Southern Rhodesia until Parliament has had an opportunity of considering the matter?"

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: "I cannot properly go beyond the statement made by the First Secretary, who has said that the request from the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia will require close consideration by H.M. Government. Therefore it would not be right for me to attempt to answer now either of the questions put on that topic."

"It is of course hoped that the conference foreshadowed in the statement will be attended by representatives of all the territories and of the Federal Government, and that then together they can work out the links and forms of future association and their future relationship."

VISCOUNT STUART OF FINDHORN: "Does this mean that the Federal Government, which I have always supported strongly—and I believe firmly in the Federation—ceases automatically?"

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: "The Federal Government will no doubt continue to exist for some considerable time. All that the statement recognizes is that H.M. Government have accepted that none of the territories can be kept in the Federation against its will. The territories will have an opportunity, if they so wish, of saying they wish to secede, though some time must elapse before secession can actually take effect."

Contrary Tory Motions

Mr. P. Wall has obtained some 50 Conservative signatures for a motion asking that Southern Rhodesia be granted full independence now, as it has been internally self-governing for 40 years. Half as many Conservatives have supported a motion from Mr. H. Berkeley urging that independence be accorded neither of the Rhodesias until "more representative Constitutions have been negotiated" for both.

Three Labour M.P.s. who have visited the Federation, Mr. R. Mason, Mr. A. Roberts and Mr. G. Bellenger, have tabled a motion noting Mr. Butler's "failure" to obtain black and white co-operation on Central Africa's future and urging continued economic association between the Rhodesias to "halt the drift of Southern Rhodesia into South Africa and of Northern Rhodesia into the pan-African block, thereby averting strife between all races in Central Africa."

Nyasaland's Money Needs

"THE MAJORITY of my people do not know that the Government has no gold mines, no copper mines, no diamond mines. They think it has all the money it wants piled up somewhere in Zomba or in London. I want to teach them that the Government has no money apart from what it gets from the people themselves. We mean to develop our country by working, producing more cotton, tobacco, rice, coffee and other things. Once we have done that we shall be in a position to appeal to the people in the United States, in Britain, in Western Germany to come to our aid, so that in three, four, five or six years we can stand on our own economic and financial feet without expecting the British Exchequer to subsidize us"—Dr. Banda, Minister of Natural Resources and Surveys, addressing the Nyasaland Legislative Council.

Illegal Collection of Funds

THE REGISTRAR OF SOCIETIES in Tanganyika has issued the following warning: "The People's Democratic Party is selling party cards and collecting funds up-country in the name of unregistered party branches. I have been directed to state in no uncertain terms that this is an illegal practice before applications for registration are finally approved. Warning is hereby given that very firm measures will be taken against all those who are indulging in this practice of collecting funds on the sale of membership cards. Only the Dar es Salaam headquarters is registered, and no other branch applications have yet been approved. In view of the foregoing, those who so willingly subscribe must realize the full implications involved and the risks undergone."

Cannot Rely on U.K. Government High Commissioner's Stinging Words

SIR ALBERT ROBINSON, Federal High Commissioner in London, disregarded diplomatic conventions in order to comment bluntly on last week's events when he opened on Monday at the Royal Exchange in the City an exhibition of colour photographs taken in Central Africa by Mr. Adolf Morath for the Chartered Company. He said:—

"Although this is a non-political occasion, you would regard it as strange if I did not comment on the events of last week. When the history of our times is written I have no doubt that it will be shown that Mr. Macmillan's Government decided in 1960 to abandon the cause of non-racialism and inter-racial co-operation in favour of supporting African domination in the multi-racial territories in Africa. A great adventure in race relations was abandoned by the British Government when Mr. Macmillan made his wind of change speech.

"As one who believes in the non-racial concept and who has worked with all the energy I possess to bring about solutions which would allow Europeans and Africans to share the power of government and the social and economic order in Central Africa, it is a bitter disappointment to me that we are now set upon a course in which black and white seem to be withdrawing into their respective compartments and will so remain for many years to come.

"The task is now to build new bridges between the communities, and I hope that the political leaders in Africa will attempt to do this themselves, because they certainly can never rely upon the Government of this country to take an impartial and helpful attitude. I say these words with the deepest regret, but in the knowledge that these are the facts of the present situation.

"The British South Africa Company will, I am sure, do all in its power to promote the economic well-being of the Rhodesias. It has played a great rôle, and although the political future looks uncertain, I believe it is right for all those engaged in mining, commerce, industry, and in business generally to reaffirm their faith in these great countries and to do everything possible towards uplifting the social and economic standards of its peoples".

Evidence of Sir Victor Raikes Mr. K. de Courcy's Rhodesian Schemes

SIR VICTOR RAIKES, who lived in Southern Rhodesia for some time in connexion with the land development schemes of Mr. Kenneth de Courcy, was a witness at Marylebone magistrates' court last week when evidence continued on 23 charges concerning business transactions, including some in Southern Rhodesia involving rather more than £1m. He said that for some thirty years he had known de Courcy, who early in 1956 suggested that he should go to Salisbury for the Overseas Land Purchasing Trust, Ltd.

He had known nothing about a contract by that company in connexion with the New Cerney scheme. "I should have had a fit if I had known anything about this; and if I had known more I should naturally have thought again about my stake being re-invested in another scheme", he said.

Mr. P. G. Smith, a director of a company dealing in stocks and shares, said that early in 1959 de Courcy told him that he wanted the use of their name for approaches to some of his friends who might buy shares. He had agreed.

Mr. C. M. Young said that after leaving Cambridge University in 1959 he worked as a sub-editor on the *Intelligence Digest*, and that some months later de Courcy appointed him to the board of New Townships Management Committee, Ltd., saying that he did not want his own name to appear as a director.

Tobacco Crop Estimate

THE PRELIMINARY OFFICIAL FORECAST of the flue-cured tobacco crop for the 1962-63 season for Southern Rhodesia and the north-western growing areas of Northern Rhodesia is 220m. lb. from about 235,000 acres planted. Figures for the north-eastern region of Northern Rhodesia are not yet available.

INVEST

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WHERE gross domestic product has increased by £200 million or over 55% between 1954 and 1961—

WHERE the output of manufacturing industry has increased by 80% between 1955 and 1961—

WHERE mining, banking, distribution, transport and other important sectors of the economy continue to register expansion.

An impressive list of manufacturers includes the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in its development schemes. Some of the recent newcomers with busy factories are listed on the right.

THE BRITISH MOTOR CORPORATION

THE METAL BOX CO. LTD.

DUNLOP RUBBER CO. LTD.

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If your company is seeking new investment, it could with profit add its name to this list. Information on business conditions and prospects in the Federation of Rhodesia and



Nyasaland are yours for the asking from: The Office of the High Commissioner, Rhodesia House, Strand, London W.C.2.

Britain No Longer Interested

(Continued from page 662)

Mr. Macmillan's promise that that question would be outside its terms of reference. Then, during the long-drawn-out battle in Parliament over the Northern Rhodesian Constitution, the Government's policy vacillated with the pressures placed upon it. Next came the recent battle of the pledges between the British and the Federal Prime Ministers.

"The Government's plan to hold a conference after Easter in Central Africa to determine the future of the Federation was upset by Mr. Kaunda's insistence that he would not attend unless the principle of secession was immediately conceded.

"The second alternative was to grant Mr. Kaunda's request and at the same time announce Southern Rhodesia's right to full independence—a course which would not have the official support of the Labour Party and would incur the wrath of the United Nations.

"The last alternative was to give in to Mr. Kaunda but to deny Southern Rhodesia her right to independence. It seems almost inconceivable that a Conservative Government could adopt this course. Yet this appears to be the choice of the Government. They are seemingly prepared to grant secession—meaning independence within the next year or two—to the black Governments of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, though one has not yet a Prime Minister and the other has had control of its internal affairs for only a few months. Yet apparently they will deny this right to Southern Rhodesia, which has been internally self-governing for 40 years.

Sense of Betrayal

"The only explanation can be fear of the United Nations. The U.N. are still deeply involved in the chaos that was the Congo. They have defeated but not yet destroyed Mr. Tshombe in Katanga, and are far too heavily in debt to intervene positively in Rhodesian affairs. Indeed, a committee is considering how the U.N. can pay for its existing peace-keeping operations. If the present rate of expenditure continues the U.N. faces financial collapse.

"Most Conservatives would support Southern Rhodesia's demand for full independence. Britain has not the power to take any positive action in Southern Rhodesia. Today's news will make every white man in Africa believe that Britain is no longer interested in his future. This sense of betrayal is bound to have repercussions in Africa and in Britain."

MR. J. P. McDONAGH has written in the *Financial Times*:—

"H.M. Government is the ultimate guarantor for £7.9m. of the Federal Government's external funded debt and for £49.8m. of funds borrowed directly by statutory boards and commissions and guaranteed by the Federal Government. Thus the U.K. taxpayer has the prospect of assuming a further direct burden of £57.7m.

"It would be a glib over-simplification to assume that the rest of the Federal Government debt, amounting to about £275m., in itself, would offer no particular problem if the Federation were to be dissolved. The whole is greater than the constituent parts, and the territorial Governments cannot be expected to be willing or able to take over their allocatable proportions of the Federal Government debt.

"Servicing of the debt of such Federal agencies as the Federal Power Board or Rhodesia Railways is directly related to, and therefore dependent on, the level and rate of growth of economic activity in the Federation. Already Rhodesia Railways are experiencing difficulties as the result of declining business.

"Whatever the complexities of the situation may be, the U.K. taxpayer is entitled to know at least something of the financial implications of further disintegration of the Rhodesias."

Southern Rhodesian African Comment

The *Daily News*, of Salisbury, an African-edited paper, said in a leading article last Thursday:

"Use of security legislation must be made unnecessary by creating political conditions in which the law of the land will be universally respected. This is not likely to be possible until and unless the franchise is made sufficiently liberal for more and more Africans to take part in the running of the country.

"It is the racial incompatibility of Southern Rhodesia that is directly responsible for the determination of the other two partners in the Federation to secede. Were it not for this there would have been no need to end what could have been a unique political experiment in Africa.

"Even if the London talks end in winding up Federation the causes of the break-up, which are mainly rooted in Southern Rhodesia, will remain. When Southern Rhodesia is seceded from, we shall be left to plod our lonely and dismal path.

"Unless steps are taken soon to get rid of those aspects of

our political life that are driving Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland away from us, the prospect of this becoming a happy country will remain unpromising. Liberalize the franchise and remove racial discrimination, and what remains is a Southern Rhodesia with a happy and contented non-racial outlook. Without this cure the future is bleak and cheerless."

Southern Rhodesia's Independence

Question Repeatedly Pressed, Says Mr. Dupont

MR. C. W. DUPONT, Southern Rhodesian Minister of Justice, said in London on Monday:

"There appears to be an impression in the United Kingdom that the question of the independence of Southern Rhodesia was raised with H.M. Government only immediately prior to Mr. Field's departure from London. That is of course quite untrue. Southern Rhodesia has been pressing for independence for a number of years. Indeed, this received prominence in the talks with Mr. Duncan Sandys leading up to the Constitution which came into effect on November 1, 1962.

"This Constitution has been in operation for five months and was agreed not only by H.M. Government and Southern Rhodesia but also signed by Mr. Joshua Nkomo. It contains adequate safeguards for all peoples by its Bill of Rights and Constitutional Council. The present Southern Rhodesian Government has given pledges that it will not be altered during the life of the present Parliament.

"After H.M. Government's unilateral decision at the end of last year to accede to Nyasaland's demand for secession and subsequent independence the question became more acute, as apparently H.M. Government considered that Nyasaland was fitted for complete independence after a very short period of self-government—in comparison with Southern Rhodesia's highly successful period of 40 years.

Government Misled by United Kingdom

"During Mr. Butler's visit to the Federation this year Southern Rhodesia's independence was again discussed at some length, and it was understood, certainly by the Southern Rhodesian Government, that this question and that of Northern Rhodesia's secession would be the major items at any conference held to consider the future relationship between the two Rhodesias.

"The Southern Rhodesian delegation came to London under the impression that the consultations with H.M. Government were for the purpose of deciding the agenda for such a conference, in which it was obvious that these two questions would take pride of place.

"The decision taken by H.M. Government after the walk-out of the Northern Rhodesian delegation to agree to the demands of Northern Rhodesia for the right to secede and obtain independence not only had the effect of the final disruption of the Federation but also pin-pointed the necessity for an early decision on Southern Rhodesia's independence. Formal application for this was immediately made and subsequently confirmed in writing before Mr. Field's departure.

"An added reason for urgency is now apparent in that there is an impression abroad that the few remaining constitutional ties between the two countries give H.M. Government the right to intervene in Southern Rhodesia's internal affairs, with the result that certain elements outside our borders are seeking to cause unrest in Southern Rhodesia with the object of creating incidents which would enable them to call on the U.K. under those ties to intervene and even to suspend the existing Constitution. Despite H.M. Government's repeated statements in the United Nations and elsewhere that it has no right of intervention in Southern Rhodesia's affairs, it remains urgent and important that any doubts that still exist in other quarters on this question should be dispelled.

Situation Not Explosive

"I deny emphatically that there is any explosive situation in Southern Rhodesia. In fact, racial tension is considerably lower than at any time during the last nine months; but while these ties remain there is always the danger of deterioration.

"We welcomed Mr. Kaunda's statesmanlike declaration that, now that the principle of secession was accepted, we have no objection to economic links with Southern Rhodesia. These links are of vital importance to both countries, but it is equally clear that the position of Southern Rhodesia must be clarified immediately so that she may know what constitutional position she is expected to negotiate.

"Mr. Butler's statement in the House of Commons today carried the matter no further. I am therefore taking immediate steps to ascertain when the decision which Mr. Butler says is under urgent consideration may be expected."

U.N.O. Intervening in S. Rhodesia

Mr. Nkomo Talks of "Another Algeria"

THE UNITED NATIONS "ANTI-COLONIAL" COMMITTEE decided last Thursday to send a small delegation to London for talks with the British Government on the "explosive situation which exists in Southern Rhodesia", the chairman, Mr. S. Coulibaly (Mali), announced in New York after the 24-nation special committee had debated a petition from the former leader of the banned Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, Mr. Joshua Nkomo.

Mr. Coulibaly said that the committee considered that "if immediate measures are not taken the evolution of the present situation in Southern Rhodesia may in the very near future constitute a real threat to peace and security in the world".

It was disturbed that the General Assembly resolutions passed last year on the Colony had not been implemented. The secretary-general of the U.N. had then been asked to lend his good offices to achieve a conciliation.

The British delegate on the committee, Mr. Cecil King, had told it during the previous week that its discussion of Southern Rhodesia was *ultra vires*.

Not "Administering Authority"

"We cannot answer for what we do not control. We have nothing to do with the internal administration of the territory and cannot accept the title of 'administering authority'. Southern Rhodesia cannot be considered in isolation. It is part of a wider complex of problems concerning the future of the Central African Federation which is receiving my Government's close and earnest attention".

Mr. Nkomo returned to London on Wednesday last week from New York *en route* for Southern Rhodesia. He told journalists: "The British Government has rejected our final appeal for intervention. I was hoping to find a letter from Mr. Butler giving us a straight 'yes' or 'no'. I have found neither a letter nor an invitation to visit him. We accept that decision as final and shall act accordingly. My country is now moving swiftly towards an Algerian-type situation. I expect that the U.N. Security Council will be called upon to intervene within the next few weeks. Only the U.N. can act now".

U Thant, the secretary-general, had granted an interview in New York to Mr. Nkomo, who was on £100 bail at the time; it was the first occasion on which the head of the U.N. had received a non-governmental petitioner. Mr. Nkomo said that U Thant took "an extremely serious view" of the Southern Rhodesian "crisis" as a potential threat to world peace.

In London Mr. Nkomo met the U.N.I.P. leader, Mr. Kaunda, before continuing his journey to Dar es Salaam for talks with the President of Tanganyika, Dr. Nyerere.

The Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr. Field, was prepared to meet Mr. Nkomo on his return from the U.N., but the latter had stated that he would meet Mr. Field only as leader of the Rhodesian Front because he did not recognize him as Prime Minister.

Jailed for Assault

Mr. Robert Mugabe, former Z.A.P.U. publicity secretary, was arrested in Southern Rhodesia last week and charged with making subversive statements at a rally on March 16. He has been remanded on bail until April 18.

On Monday Mr. Nkomo was sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour for assaulting, resisting or obstructing the police in an incident at Rusape in February in which Mr. Nkomo was said to have poked a European police officer with a stick after he had been knocked down by Mr. Maurice Nyagumbo, a former restrictee, who has been sentenced to three years' imprisonment with hard labour. Also sentenced was Mr. James Chikerema, another detainee, for six months with hard labour. Half of each man's sentence has been suspended for three years on condition that he is not convicted for a similar offence during that time. All have appealed.

The magistrate said that they had behaved like hooligans. He was convinced that the defence witnesses had "concocted" their evidence and that it was false.

Ignorant Interference

The Earl of Dundee, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, speaking in Edinburgh at the week-end, complained of "ignorant interference" by the U.N. Colonial Committee of 24.

"We are anxious that the sort of situation which arose in South Africa should not develop in the Rhodesias. We want to get a solution which will enable the different races there to live together in friendship and co-operation. I do not think the

Colonial Committee of the U.N. has been at all, helpful in this matter.

"I was in New York when it was set up. I said that we would do our best to help it by giving information, but that we might have to withdraw if it attempted to interfere beyond its proper legal functions with our colonial administration. We have not withdrawn, but it did interfere beyond its proper function. Its ignorant interference in matters which do not concern it has encouraged racialism in these countries.

"It is a question now of whether we can preserve the Federation. We want to get fair self-government in all parts of the Federation, whether they are federated or not. We want enough co-operation between the races to enable the economic prosperity of the Rhodesias to advance, so that we may have a really prosperous, progressive community, and so avoid the terrible tragedies which have taken place in the Congo".

A London representative of the proscribed Z.A.P.U., Mr. John Chirimbani, told the annual meeting of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, at the week-end, that the British Government "must intervene" to convene a new constitutional conference to discuss the future of the three Federal territories. "If Britain gives independence to Southern Rhodesia or if the Southern Rhodesian Government resorts to violence there is no reason why we should not resort to unconstitutional methods as well. We shall set up a government in exile to carry on the struggle, and we shall ask other Commonwealth Governments to recognize it".

Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., said that world opinion would oppose Britain were she to support a minority Government. Democracy had to be established in the two Rhodesias and independence introduced as soon as majority rule was operative, and the "democratization" and independence of Nyasaland had to be completed. "Repressive" legislation in Southern Rhodesia was creating conditions for a head-on social conflict. The good offices of the U.N. should be welcomed by Britain for the sake of the Europeans no less than for the Africans.

"Draconian" Repression

Mr. Brockway, presiding at the National annual conference in Birmingham of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, said that this year would witness unprecedented disaster in Africa unless the boldest action were taken to meet the democratic claims of the African peoples in the Rhodesias and to end the abhorrent system of *apartheid* in South Africa.

Southern Rhodesia's Constitution was in effect a white dictatorship, which was enacting Draconian laws of repression. Conflict was inevitable if that continued. Dismemberment of the Federation would necessitate changes in the constitutional powers of Southern Rhodesia. Mr. Butler should insist on the democratic enfranchisement of the African majority.

A sharp attack on Mr. Nkomo was published last week by the *African Daily News*, Salisbury, which represents moderate and realistic African opinion in Southern Rhodesia. The leading article said:—

"Mr. Nkomo is in London and New York to fight a lost cause. He has been to those places more than once with the purpose of foiling a new Constitution for Southern Rhodesia. We then said, as we say now, that Mr. Nkomo was ill-advised.

Fruitless Missions

"He was one of the first people to go overseas to ask for federation—a matter that had a great influence on the constitutional advancement of Southern Rhodesia. He was one of those Africans who attended the country's constitutional conference and agreed to give a trial to the agreed constitutional proposals. If Mr. Nkomo and his then National Democratic Party delegation had point-blank refused either to take part in the conference or to give a trial to the suggested proposals, the British Government would have been forced not to grant the Constitution which is now in operation. We now see no sense in attempting to have abrogated a Constitution which Mr. Nkomo helped to negotiate, in the same way that he helped negotiate for Federation.

"Besides, because the Constitution had been agreed upon at a widely representative conference at which Mr. Nkomo himself was an outstanding member, the United Nations could not successfully persuade Britain to have it halted or changed.

"What is needed is a realistic approach to overcome the political hurdles Mr. Nkomo has himself helped to create. Rather than spend time and money on fruitless missions, he must decide whether he will now attempt to have the Constitution changed by working from within or give up the battle. No other course holds any hope for the African people of Southern Rhodesia".

African Settlers Exceeding Forecasts

Kenya Seeking Another £8m. for Development

BECAUSE RE-SETTLEMENT OF AFRICANS under the 1m. acre programme in Kenya had gone faster than expected in some areas, the Minister for Land Settlement, Mr. Bruce McKenzie, has asked H.M. Government to accelerate its payments, bringing forward about £750,000 to enable an additional 170,000 acres to be dealt with in 1963-64. He hopes that the overall £26m. project may be completed in three years instead of five.

Giving this news to journalists in London on Friday, Mr. McKenzie said that the first year's new tenants on former European farms within the high-density scheme had proved the "dismal Jimmies" wrong by achieving an average 20% greater production value than had the previous European owners, some of whose land was found to be slightly understocked or not as developed as expected because they had lacked capital.

Money for Basic Needs

Each African plotholder was given £100 development money, of which only £5 was to be spent on living accommodation; the remainder was to buy a couple of cows, half a dozen sheep, small numbers of other stock, seeds and fertilizer. It had not been realized that the greater attention which a peasant was able to give to such small herds would enable him to obtain more than he might previously have done with more animals. The same applied to the larger small-holding schemes, the success of which had also been underestimated; they were already making double in net cash terms the profit which had been expected.

About 55% of the high-density settlers were making an annual profit of £70 after feeding themselves and repaying their development loans. No comparisons could be made with their former standards of living, which had "shot straight up: they move in penniless and in rags, and within three months, once they have begun to grow their own food, they are earning about £40. It makes new men of them".

Priority to plots was accorded to former farm employees with four or more years' engagement (later reduced to two

years at Kikuyu insistence), and some 50% of the labour was being retained. With the addition of their various relations and others whom they employed, the land now catered for 25% more people than formerly. Contrary to expectations, the Kalenjin tribes in Elgeyo-Marakwet were employing Kikuyu workers.

Farming was done individually, but purchasing and selling were conducted co-operatively. Some commercial companies were establishing branches in the settlement areas as primary co-operatives to buy produce at floor prices for marketing, with the intention to set up co-operative unions after three years. Though the Africans had changed some products, such as wheat, they were providing exportable items, including wool, butterfat, and potatoes. There was a marked difference in the output of such hard-working tribes as the Kikuyu and that of "one tribe in particular which I will not name".

Water supplies would be a constant problem, but the former European farmers had lessened the difficulties by articulating various paddocks and pastures. Where those facilities did not exist simple rain catchment dams were being provided. A four-member W.H.O. - F.A.O. team had just arrived to advise on the problem.

The Minister said that he had discussed the "compassionate cases" of Europeans who were not being treated under the 1m. acre project, and the Nandi Salient, the African district council of which demanded a 15% disturbance allowance; that had been refused by the Kenya Government, and an approach was being made to Britain for a grant. He expected an "amicable solution".

Another item of discussion had been a request for from £800,000 to £1m. in place of £700,000 for the Land Bank, so that interested Africans might purchase European land not included in the resettlement scheme. Except for the Nandi Salient money all the funds were being sought on loan terms.

Mr. James Gichuru, the Finance Minister, said that there were indications of improvement in the Colony's economic position, with rising property values and increasing inquiries from would-be investors overseas, a number of whom had bought farms. Kenya Asians, who had been sending their money out a year or so ago, were now recalling it "at a fairly good trickle", and quite a number of Europeans whose farms had been bought out in the Rift Valley were seeking land in other parts of Kenya. Stocks and shares in Nairobi of nearly every category were rising gradually — at about 4s. in the pound—from the "rock-bottom" level of last November.

"We are doing our best to economize without damaging services. If I get the money from Britain that I want, I hope to be in the happy position of balancing the budget without hurting the taxpayer.

"Our development budget, however, is giving us trouble. We consider the World Bank's recommendation of £9m. a year too high and have set it at £8m. Britain is morally obliged to help us out in our difficulties, and we are asking for just over £6m. The other £2m. I expect to get elsewhere".

It would not be in Kenya's interest to introduce foreign exchange control, he added.

Sudanese Liberation Movement

SOUTHERN SUDANESE now living in Dar es Salaam, where they have established the headquarters of a Southern Sudanese Liberation Movement, have sent to the United Nations a letter charging the Sudan Government with deliberately practising discrimination and oppression against all who are not Arabs and Muhammadans. The letter also alleges that Northern Sudanese officials stationed in the Equatoria, Bahr el Ghazal, and Upper Nile provinces have been guilty of rape, slave-trading, and torture. The petitioners want the United Nations to ask for a plebiscite of the peoples of the Southern Sudan on the proposal for a federal system of government, with autonomy for the non-Arabs in the south.

Somalis in Wajir at the week-end killed an African constable in the Kenya General Service Unit and badly injured another policeman.

U.N.I.P. has called for the dismissal of the Chief Secretary in Northern Rhodesia, Mr. F. Thomas, and of the Commissioner of Police, Mr. E. Halse, for alleged "breakdown of discipline and efficiency" in the country, stating that a party member in the police would assume responsibility for security in Lusaka. The A.N.C. countered with an expression of full confidence in Mr. Halse and hoped for complete success in "putting down anarchy and violence".



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Tanganyika Development Corporation

Chief Fundikira First Executive Chairman

ALHAJ CHIEF A. S. FUNDIKIRA has resigned the portfolio of Justice to become executive chairman of the newly formed Tanganyika Development Corporation, the main purpose of which is to encourage investment in industrial and other projects likely to promote the country's economic development.

The corporation, which is wholly financed by the Government, holds 33% of the shares of Tanganyika Development Finance Co., Ltd., which was launched in December with an initial capital of £1½m. The Colonial Development Corporation and the West German Reconstruction Loan Corporation (Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau) each holds 33% of the capital.

Chief Fundikira's colleagues on the board are Mr. P. M. Wise, of the C.D.C. and a director of the Tanganyika Development Finance Company; Mr. J. A. Budge, regional manager of the Standard Bank; Mr. G. Ishengoma, manager of the Bukoba Co-operative Union; Mr. H. Nsefya, manager of the Songea Co-operative Union; Mr. J. H. Molenveld, managing director of Lehmann's (East Africa), Ltd.; Mr. C. de N. Hill, Permanent Secretary to the Treasury; and Mr. Edward Hatwenge, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

Swedish Trade Mission

AN ELEVEN-MEMBER MISSION, under the chairmanship of Mr. Bengt Odhner, head of the Division for International Assistance in the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, has just visited Tanganyika to investigate prospects of developing trade and industry. Among the members were Mr. Lennart Kolm, of the Sveriges Kreditbank; Mr. Claes Nyman, of Stockholms Enskilda Bank; Mr. Hans Sweberg, of Skandinaviska Banken; Mr. Tor Lindquist, of the General Export Association of Sweden; Mr. Arne Stein, of Telefon AB L.M. Ericsson; Mr. Torsten Wijkstrom, of A.B. Skanska Cementgjuteriet; and Mr. Sven Rosen, of A.B. Svenska Skolasfabriken. Trade between the two countries now amounts to about £400,000 annually, Sweden exporting paper and pulp products, matches, and machinery, and Tanganyika sending little but sisal.

Tanganyika Mining Outputs

MINERAL PRODUCTION in Tanganyika last year was worth £7,117,053, compared with £7,505,159 in 1961. Diamonds dropped from £5,780,078 (684,855 carats) to £5,424,801 (647,464 carats). Gold realized £1,270,405 for 101,597 oz., as against £1,249,076 for 99,574 oz. Tin concentrates at 294.69 long tons were worth £185,994 (231.71 tons, £152,342). Sheet mica at £92,134 (£87,805) and rough ruby and sapphires at £16,700 (£15,531) were higher, as were gypsum at £4,445 (£517), artstone at £1,710 (£1,508), and kaolin at £1,084 (£839). Chrysoprase, mined for the first time, brought in £980. Tungsten concentrates fell from £3,138 to £83, salt from £127,552 to £108,712, and lime from £1,426 to £952. Output of copper ore, lead concentrates, magnesium bentonite, magnesite, meerschau and ruby-bearing corundum, was discontinued (their 1961 values came to some £76,751).

Bid for Kilifi Plantation Shares

F. O'B. Wilson, Ltd., Extending Ranching at Coast

F. O'B. WILSON, LTD., Nairobi, the company owning the well-known cattle farming properties in Kenya established in 1910 by the late Sir Frank O'Brien Wilson, and now directed mainly by his two sons, Messrs. Richard and Denis Wilson, has offered to buy at par all the 747,000 shares of 2s. each in Kilifi Plantations, Ltd., which are not now owned by them.

Arbuthnot Latham & Co., Ltd., owners of 165,000 shares, and directors who together hold 14,000 shares, intend to accept the bid and advise other shareholders to take the same course.

From September last until the day of the announcement that an offer was to be made the middle market price of the shares on the London Stock Exchange had never been above 1s. 3d., and for most of the period ranged from 7½d. to 1s. 1½d.

In the circular letter to the shareholders the directors state:

"It has been increasingly clear to your directors that Kilifi is too small a unit to be run economically except when the price of sisal is high. During the last 10 years the majority of the few other sisal companies whose shares are quoted in London have been able to pay dividends almost every year, but Kilifi has been able to declare dividends only intermittently and losses have been made in six of those years.

"The recent sudden rise in the price of sisal started in October, 1962, but this was too late in the year to make much difference to the results for the year ended 31st December, 1962. It is too early to be precise about these results, but it is expected that a crop profit on sisal of about £2,300 will be shown, but that after depreciation and other expenses there will be a loss on sisal in the region of £6,400. Against this there was a surplus of about £1,600 from the sale of certain fixed assets. In addition, total expenditure of about £2,000 was incurred as Kilifi's proportion of a pilot cattle scheme that was started in 1962 jointly with Wilson. Some of this expenditure was in respect of capital items, but about £1,300 of it was current expenditure. The overall result for last year therefore is likely to be a loss in the region of £6,100. In these circumstances the directors would not recommend the payment of a dividend for 1962.

"The price of sisal is now at the highest level for over 10 years, and this should result in a reasonable profit for 1963. However, on past experience, it cannot be expected that the present price will continue indefinitely, and should it fall to the level generally experienced in recent years, then Kilifi, as a small producer, would be one of the first to meet difficulties in making profits. It must be realized that wages and other expenses can be expected to continue to rise.

"With political uncertainties in Kenya, agricultural properties are hard to sell, and although some sisal properties have changed hands recently owing to the present high price of sisal, it cannot be expected that opportunities for selling sisal estates such as Kilifi are likely to recur very often."

At its Dar es Salaam factory the East African Tobacco Co., Ltd., now provides a mid-day meal for its workers.

Tea estates in the Kericho district of Kenya owned by the Brooke Bond group and the African Highlands Produce Company together employ some 14,000 Africans on 26,000 planted acres, which average an annual outturn of 11,000 lb. per acre.

The Minister for Labour in Tanganyika has peracted a request by the Federation of Labour for termination of the membership of the Tanganyika Railway Union; which the congress of the T.F.L. decided in mid-January to expel. That decision was, however, not taken by secret ballot, as the rules prescribe.

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I cannot foretell when shipping will pick up again, but this does not mean that I have any doubts that it will. World trade is steadily increasing and it must still move by sea. You are not Stockholders in an obsolete industry. You are Stockholders in an industry which has recently been too popular.

Cargo Liners

The experience of cargo liners differs from trade to trade—better in some, and worse in others, but still poor overall. Whilst the Indian and Australian trades have shown better results by the efforts of all lines in the trade to give the same service with fewer ships, the New Zealand trade, hitherto a model of efficiency in this respect, has been disrupted by an incursion from outside.

Tramps

Tramp market rates—day to day rates at which tramps are chartered—have been lower than at any time since the war, and these determine much more than tramp earnings alone. British tramp owners have taken the lead in trying to work out a scheme for international acceptance, through which a levy paid by the ships in operation would offer compensation to induce other ships to lay up. But this is no easy job. The scheme needs international support.

Passenger Ships

The role of passenger shipping is changing to meet the challenge of air transport. The attraction of the passenger ship is not diminishing—I believe it is definitely increasing. As air travel has become a common compulsion, so it has lost its glamour. As sea travel has become an option, so it has found it. What you have to do is seldom as attractive as what you choose to do.

Tankers

Our tankers, fixed in better days, are doing well for us. Current rates for tankers are still very lean, but conditions look better than they did a year ago. We are reorganising our tanker operations, so that the future fleet of 19 ships will fall under a single management—Trident Tankers, Ltd., which is being staffed from within the Group.

The Company will be receptive to other investment opportunities outside shipping. Any growth in this direction is, however, not to be hurried. The right opportunities do not open up every day. Nor, indeed, is the liquid position of the Company yet easy. But the Board expects to be in a position over the next few years to devote material resources to other suitable forms of investment if they offer good prospects.

These are points from the Address to Stockholders by the Chairman of yesterday's Annual General Meeting of the P & O Company. Copies of the full text together with the Annual Report can be obtained from the Secretary of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, 122 Leadenhall Street, London, E.C.3.

Company Report

The British South Africa Company Federation's Problems

Restoration of Confidence a Vital Factor

MR. P. V. EMRYS-EVANS REVIEWS CURRENT POSITION

THE SIXTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY WAS HELD ON MARCH 28TH at The Chartered Insurance Institute, 20 Aldermanbury, London, E.C.

MR. P. V. EMRYS-EVANS (the President), who presided, said:

Ladies and Gentlemen, in the course of my statement which accompanied the directors' report I have dealt fully with the activities of the Company and the constitutional developments which have taken place in the Federation during the last year.

Political Situation

The political situation has not changed materially during recent weeks, and I have therefore little which I can add to the information which has already been laid before you, but the Prime Ministers of the Federation and Southern Rhodesia, and the leaders of the Majority parties in Northern Rhodesia, accompanied by the Governor, are meeting Mr. R. A. Butler in London.

All those who have the interests of Central Africa at heart are anxiously hoping that it will be possible to reach an amicable settlement of the outstanding questions which divide the Governments. Such a settlement would restore confidence, the lack of which alone stands in the way of a further and rapid progress. The stakes are high for such an agreement, to which all parties would have to make a contribution, and would mean much for the happiness of all the peoples of Rhodesia.

Valuation of Group's Investments

In accordance with the practice which has been followed in recent years, an up-to-date valuation of the Group's investments has been made for the information of stockholders. At the date of the balance-sheet which is before you, 30th September, 1962, we showed an overall value, including unquoted investments at directors' valuation, of £57,994,000. The calculations made last week show that the current value of the portfolio is in excess of £64 million, an increase of some £6 million. Further investments made since the end of September, 1962, amount to about £11 million, the balance of the increase is due to substantial rises in market values, particularly in the quotations for South African mining and finance shares.

"Rhodesia in Colour"

You will all have received notices of the exhibition of photographs by Adolf Mierath "Rhodesia in Colour" which we have organised. Apart from being outstanding examples of the photographer's art, they give a very good idea of what Rhodesia is like, and I strongly recommend you to pay a visit. Today and tomorrow you can see them at the Cadogan Tea Centre in Lower Regent Street, and next week they move to the City and will be on view in the Royal Exchange.

No further outstanding matter affecting the affairs of the Company has arisen during the last few weeks

which calls for comment at present, but if any members here today have any questions they would like to ask me I should be pleased to do my best to answer them.

Directors' Overseas Visits

Before I sit down, however, you may care to know of the numerous journeys which the directors have made during the past year to keep in touch with our interests in Rhodesia and elsewhere.

Mr. Grenfell, Mr. H. V. Smith, Sir Keith Acutt and Mr. Robson have visited Rhodesia and South Africa. Sir Frederick Crawford has made frequent journeys to this country from Rhodesia, and Mr. Oppenheimer has been available for consultation during his visits to this country and in Africa, and Lord Malvern came to this country at the end of last year. Mr. Grenfell returned last week from a tour of Canada, New Zealand and Australia, where he visited concerns in which the Company is interested, and I am leaving for Rhodesia tomorrow with Sir Frederick Crawford, who came over especially for the annual meeting.

Tribute to Officials and Staff

Finally, I should like to pay a tribute to the Company's officials and staff. The variety of our interests calls for men of different qualities and training, and the success of our enterprise depends on the loyalty and ability of those who serve the Company, whether European or African. We are fortunate in having a staff of high quality, both in this country and in Rhodesia, who have served the Company faithfully. I am sure that the shareholders will be pleased to know how the board values their work and their loyalty.

In conclusion, I should like to say that this is the last occasion Mr. Kiek will attend this meeting as investment manager, for he will retire at the end of this month, and I should like to say how much we shall miss him and how grateful we are to him for his great services to the Company, which he has served so well for 38 years.

The report and accounts were adopted; the retiring directors, Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, Sir Charles J. Hambro, K.B.E., M.C., and the Hon. H. V. Smith, were re-elected, and the other formal business duly transacted.

A second exhibit of 113 letters to 24 lines was recently registered in Beira.

Shore mines have brought the water-level at the Kariba Dam to within 20 feet of the top of the wall.

The special work of the post of Beira a credit of £125,000 has been granted to the Portuguese Government.

The railways in Portuguese East Africa are to receive £15m a year in compensation for loss of freight containers upon construction of the oil pipeline from Beira to Lusaka.

Portuguese Africans have been selected to attend the first staff training course for the Anglo-American Corporation's copper mines in Northern Rhodesia. It opens with three months' work at the Chartered Royal Mountain School in the Chartered Group in Northern Rhodesia, to be followed by two months at a staff training school in Mozambique and further training at the mines.

Company Meeting

London and Rhodesia Mining and Land Co.

An Eventful Year

MR. A. H. BALL'S STATEMENT

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF LONDON AND RHODESIA MINING AND LAND COMPANY, LIMITED, will be held on April 4 in London.

The following is an extract from the statement by Mr. A. H. Ball, chairman and joint managing director:—

The financial year which ended in September last and the months which have followed have proved to be an eventful period in your company. Willoughby's Consolidated Company, Limited, The Chicago-Gaika Development Company, Ltd., and Halls Holdings, Limited, have been brought into the Group as subsidiaries; the Beira to Umtali oil pipeline concession agreements have been signed; the African housing scheme at Sizinda, near Bulawayo, has been completed; the Wiltshire and Lancashire ranches have been sold to Government for extension of African farming; substantial holdings have been acquired in both Nyasaland Railways, Limited, and The British Central Africa Company, Limited; and a record dividend has been declared for the year.

Review of Main Interests

The Group's main interests may now broadly be divided under six headings, namely: mining, ranching, motor trading, railway operating, pipeline operating, and investments in other companies connected with Central and Southern Africa.

The Company's mining operations have always provided steady profits when ranching and other activities have had their bad years. At the present time we administer five mines in Southern Rhodesia.

Willoughby's Consolidated is essentially a ranching company and its four ranches extend over $\frac{1}{2}$ million acres. Following upon the sale of Lonrho's Wiltshire and Lancashire estates, some 4,300 head of the best breeding stock on Wiltshire were sold to Willoughby's in order to improve the cattle on Central Estates, and, in turn, to enable the poorer grades on the latter ranch to be culled. In spite of adverse climatic conditions in the current year, I am confident that we shall this year show a Group profit on ranching operations of something in excess of £100,000.

Next I will deal with the operations of our motor trading subsidiaries. The Norton Development Company, Limited, continues to expand its Mercedes-Benz sales and, with the recent addition of the Auto-Union agency, the company's profits for the current year should comfortably exceed last year's figure of £53,000 after provision for depreciation. Consolidated Holdings (Private), Limited, continues to expand its sales of motor accessories.

As operations of both Norton Development and Consolidated Holdings have been restricted to Southern and Northern Rhodesia, your board welcomed the opportunity which occurred during the year of expanding the Group's motor trading interests into Nyasaland. The acquisition of Halls Holdings, Limited, brings in several important franchises—including Austin, Jaguar, Chrysler, Rover—in Nyasaland and will enable us also to extend Consolidated Holdings' motor spares business into that territory.

Reference is made in the annual report to the Group having purchased a substantial holding in The British Central Africa Company, Limited. When in Nyasaland

I had the pleasure of joining the chairman of that company, Mr. Donald Brook, in a tour of the extensive tea estates and other properties, and I can say without hesitation that I consider that this new investment will prove most beneficial to the Lonrho Group.

During this visit I was able to inspect the Nyasaland Railways' headquarters at Limbe and to see something of the railway operations. Our investment in Nyasaland Railways, Limited, is, to my mind, a most challenging one.

Oil Pipeline

The next item of importance to which I would like to refer is the crude oil pipeline to be constructed from Beira to Feruka. On December 17 last the main agreement for the concession to construct and operate the pipeline across Mozambique was signed in Lourenco Marques. In the meantime tenders were invited from major construction and pipe-manufacturing companies and earlier this month the contract for construction was awarded to The Hume Pipe Company (South Africa), Limited, in association with Costain and Press (Overseas Services), Limited, and Morrison-Knudsen of Africa, Limited (including River Construction Corporation of America).

Construction work will start in Beira at the beginning of April and is due to be completed by the end of June next year in order to be ready for the anticipated date of the opening of the refinery at Feruka in September, 1964. There is no doubt in my mind that the establishment of this major oil industry in Southern Rhodesia will bring inestimable benefits to the country, and progressively increasing profits to this Group.

Portfolio of Investments

Based on market values on 18th March, 36% of the investments are in companies operating in Central Africa, 40% in South Africa, 21% in the United Kingdom, and 3% in Canada, America and elsewhere. On an industrial basis, the split is as follows: mines and mining finance, 55%; railways, 6%; tea, 14%; commercial and industrial, 16%; and miscellaneous, 9%.

Whilst the expansion which we have carried out in the past year will not result in increased revenue to us in the current year—and in the case of the pipeline for four or five years—I can nevertheless forecast confidently that we shall be well able to maintain in 1963 the record 15% dividend which we have declared for the past year.

Many times recently when events in Africa have received much criticism in the Press in England, I have been asked why this Company continues to put capital into Rhodesia by investing in new projects and expanding its existing business. My answer is invariably this: members of this Company when they buy or hold their shares do so in the knowledge that they are investing in a company which, while it has the advantages of trustee status in the Stock Exchange and a head office in the City of London, is nevertheless primarily concerned with business in central Africa. Over the past 54 years we have played our part in developing this part of Africa, and we are confident that we can continue to work in close harmony with whatever Governments are in power, because we are assisting economic progress in no small way but always with due regard to the lawful aspirations of all people.

Company Meeting**Blantyre and East Africa, Limited****MR. ALLAN R. STARK'S STATEMENT**

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF BLANTYRE AND EAST AFRICA, LIMITED, was held in Edinburgh on Monday, April 1, 1963.

MR. ALLAN R. STARK, Chairman of the company, had circulated to the shareholders with the report and accounts for the year ended September 30, 1962, a statement from which the following are extracts:—

The company's tea crop for the year amounted to a record total of 3,254,602 lb. compared with 3,097,120 lb. in the previous year, an increase of 157,482 lb., viz. 5.08 per cent.

Exceptionally good climatic conditions were experienced from the beginning of the season until the end of April. Thereafter low rainfall and temperature reacted unfavourably until the conclusion of the crop year.

Expenditure on tea account showed a further rise, but due to the increase in crop the cost of production reflected a decrease compared with the previous year's figure.

As mentioned in my last statement, prices at the auction for our class of teas had suffered a severe decline. Unfortunately there was little improvement during the remainder of the year and our gross average selling price at 35.25d. showed a decline of 5.27d. per lb. against last year's average.

Tea Factory Improvements

At Lauderdale factory satisfactory progress was made with alterations and an extension to the rolling room, thus providing further working space. The scheme includes the provision of new drives and clutches to the rollers, the addition of two new rollers, and the laying of a reinforced concrete floor. This work has now been completed.

The installation of new steam alternator sets and a boiler along with three new rollers, with the necessary factory alterations, was completed at Glenorchy.

We have been very satisfied with the results from the trough withering systems at Lauderdale and Limbuli, and since the end of the year an extension of this type of plant was provided on the latter estate. Recently we installed a Rotovane machine at each of these two factories and have been most encouraged by the experimental results from this new type of tea processing machine.

In August work was commenced on the erection of a factory and staff bungalow at Pwazi, and this was completed in November. The bulk of the machinery for the factory has been shipped, and we hope that installation, electrical wiring, etc., will be completed for next season's crop.

Sale of Estates

I stated in my last report that negotiations were in progress for the sale of our tobacco estates at Zomba to the Nyasaland Government. The sale has been completed and includes our tung areas which were on a care-and-maintenance basis and did not provide an economical return. Several other blocks were sold to Government and to private individuals—total sales of land comprised 14,044 acres.

In view of administrative difficulties and poor returns,

your directors, after careful consideration, decided to sell Zoa estate, and the sale was negotiated after the close of the present year.

Expenditure on buildings, machinery, etc., totalled £40,323, but only a very small proportion of this amount was on Pwazi account as the erection of the factory, etc., as previously stated, did not commence until August.

Although we had a record tea crop, this did not compensate for the less favourable market prices, the result being reflected in the profit and loss account which shows a net profit, before taxation, etc., of £127,495, a decrease on the previous year's profit of £48,828. We have set aside £39,300 for taxation, and allocations have been made to the following accounts—special reserve account for buildings and machinery, £48,000; staff contingencies account, £2,000.

It is proposed to pay the usual preference dividend and a dividend of 12½ per cent to the Ordinary Shareholders, in both cases less tax.

If the dividend proposals are approved, the available balance of £3,460 will be added to the carry-forward of £39,488, making a total of £42,948 to be carried forward to next year, subject to directors' fees, etc.

Effect of Delayed Rain

With regard to the current year, delayed rains combined with insufficient rainfall prior to the commencement of the season has seriously affected our tea crop. For the first quarter there has been a decrease of 479,950 lb., viz. 33 per cent compared with the same period last year, excluding Zoa. Prices for our offerings at auction have shown a slight improvement for the better types of grades. In view of the shortage in crop one cannot be optimistic regarding the outcome of the present year.

In conclusion I would like to convey to the general manager in Nyasaland, Mr. H. U. McKay, and the home and overseas staff, our appreciation for the loyal services they have rendered to the company during the year.

The report and accounts were adopted, and the retiring director, Mr. J. A. Meston, was re-elected.

"African" is to replace "Native" in all Southern Rhodesian statutes.

The Kafue polder in Northern Rhodesia has been flooded after the discovery of a breach in part of the dyke wall.

Federal postage rates may soon be raised. Though revenue last year totalled £111m. there was a surplus of only £48,000.

Beer halls are to be closed in Nyasaland and production of *chiperoni* to cease, because "there must be no Al Capones", said the Prime Minister.

The first works organization training school in Northern Rhodesia has been opened in Lusaka with an intake of eight African assistant work supervisors.

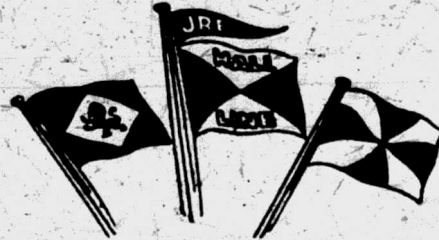
Two U.N.I.P. organizers were killed recently near Fort Jameson in clashes between supporters of that party and of the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia.

Electricity supplies in Northern Rhodesia for Mongu, Abercorn and Fort Rosebery are now the responsibility of the Northern Electricity Supply Corporation, which has operated on the Copperbelt for the past year.

Local government legislation enacted in Northern Rhodesia only six months ago to increase substantially African representation on municipal councils while leaving the majority with Europeans is to be scrapped. Africans are not to have fewer representatives than Europeans and Asians combined.

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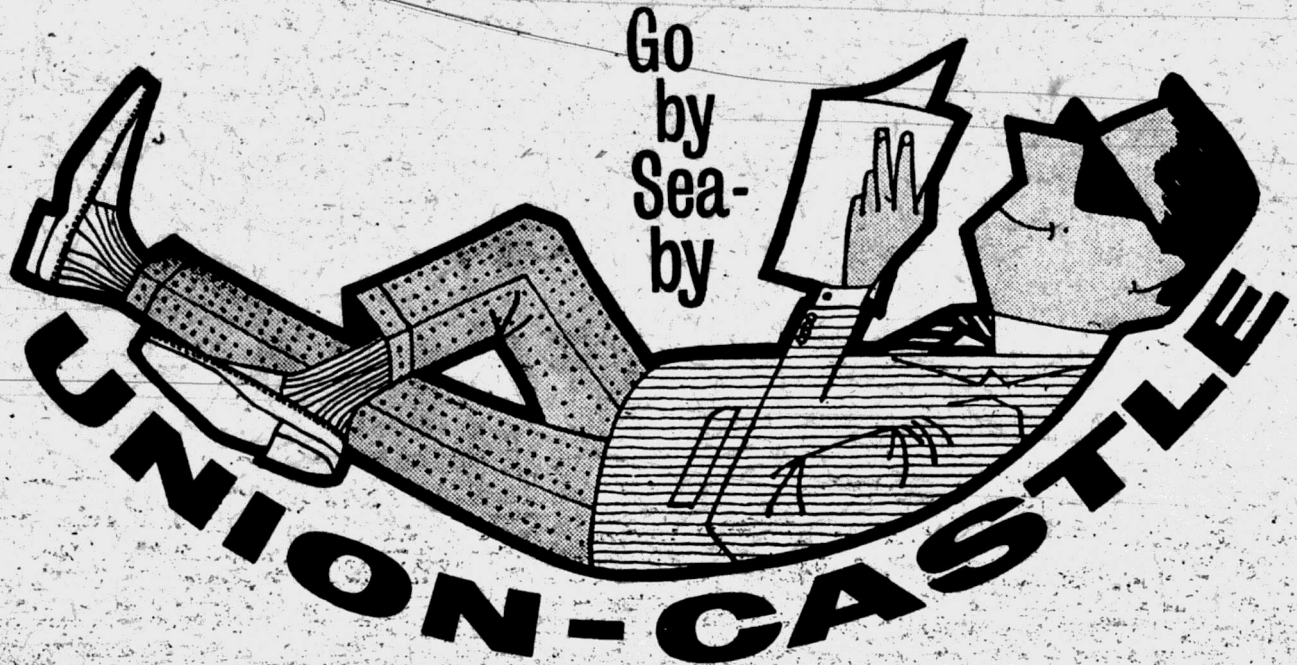
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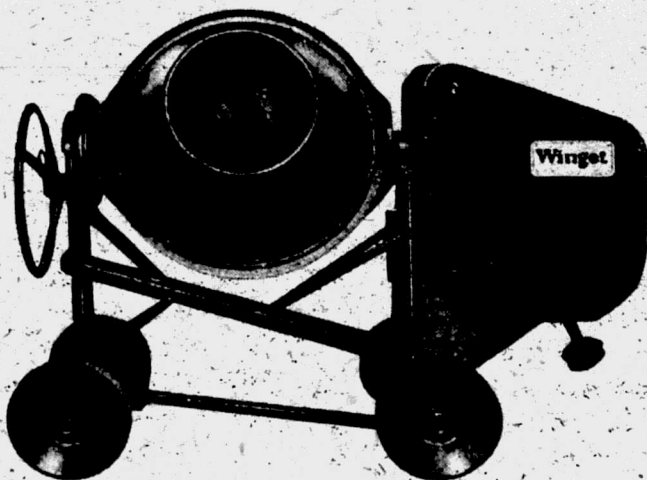
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