

The Economist

1962 - August 18-25

V87-CCIV- Nos. 6208, 27



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SECOND CLASS POSTAGE FOR THE ECONOMIST PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y.
Published weekly every Saturday, fifty-two times a year in London, England.

The Economist this Week August 18, 1962

INTERNATIONAL

BETWEEN THE LIGHT AND THE DARKNESS

Nikolayev and Popovich nudged each other happily in space; on earth, the parallel and never-touching lines of Russian and American nuclear programmes lead, at worst, to explosion (p. 589).

The basic rules of spacemanship (p. 590).

One either side of the Berlin wall, the rulers and the ruled of both regimes ponder what comes next (p. 602).

Acknowledging only one God in Ghana has meant expulsion for two Anglican leaders (p. 597).

Suspended in legal metaphysics, Dr Soblen is a persisting embarrassment to both Britain and Israel (p. 595).

BEFORE THE BATTLE

A dark look into the European common market's crystal ball does not suggest that

even now a failure between Britain and the Six need be the end; it all depends on who fails (p. 594).

Things might have gone worse at Brussels if it had not been for the Italians (p. 608).

President Kennedy has decided against asking for a tax cut now in the United States, mainly because he could not get Congress to accept it, but also because a recession does not seem imminent enough to justify it (p. 615 and p. 616).

Argentina's generals care little for each other but even less for civilians (p. 596).

Mr Kenyatta issues warning that Kenya could become another Congo (p. 598).

AFTER THE BALL

With the celebrations over and the British and American caravans departed, Jamaica's new leaders face—or will they?—an arduous and lonely climb (p. 601).

America's liberal Democrats may regret their

filibuster against the satellite communications bill, even though there is some justification for it (p. 617).

When, and if, Chiang Kai-shek dies, can Formosa be turned into a Tibet? (p. 579).

The Gallic soul lives on in former French West Africa; what happens when the African spirit awakes? (p. 603).

IN HOPE

Agreement on Dutch New Guinea is welcome; it is not the time to point to possible new entanglements (p. 595).

Exports are playing the star part in America's international accounts (p. 617). Labour's remedy for unemployment is to shorten hours of work (p. 619).

Nowadays American criminals, like other American workers, prefer white collar jobs (p. 620).

R seems to be the lucky initial for Republicans who aspire to be President of the United States (p. 618).

HOME

KEEPING THE BRIDGE

Mr Thorneycroft's aim at the Ministry of Defence must be to push Britain-with-Europe into a realistically close relationship with America (p. 591).

By killing the Blue Water missile he has taken a first step to cut Britain's effort down to size (p. 591).

HOUSE IN ORDER

The balance of prosperity in Britain is still slipping towards the south-east; the only effective action to check the slide must be taken by the Government and local authorities together, to renew the physical structure of towns outside the charmed corner (p. 592).

Local authorities who have borrowed too much too short should achieve a better financial balance as a result of proposed new rules (p. 631).

In London, where approach roads are at last being planned, everyone welcomes them except those whose property is directly affected (p. 610).

In Leeds, the corporation's reservoirs can provide both water and a lakeside playground for its citizens (p. 611).

UNDER ONE ROOF

British banks have become too hidebound by official supervision and their own dull conformity—but the merger between the District and the National Provincial shows that there is still room for a deal more competition (p. 629).

East meets West in Burmah Oil's bid for Lobitos of Peru (p. 635).

The National Liberal party still refuses to sink its identity within the Conservative machine (p. 596).

Japan and Britain have made substantial progress towards unshackling trade between the two countries (p. 642).

Durham's schools are to be integrated, offering children a better chance of rising on their merits (p. 612).

RAISING THE ROOF

Sir Winston Churchill, brooding over Europe, knows how to deal with military indiscretions—even when perpetrated by a field marshal (p. 595).

The Trades Union Congress is to look at labour relations abroad, and in Sweden it will find that peace is won by the balance of industrial deterrence (p. 596).

The Potato Marketing Board is to take a firmer line with indecisive farmers (p. 598).

The new National Theatre has been given the best possible director—but will his organisation divert cash from other worthy enterprises? (p. 598).

Money is flooding into the building societies (p. 642).

Morris has brought out a new small car with a difference (p. 638).

Detailed contents on page 589



Stress analysis à la carte

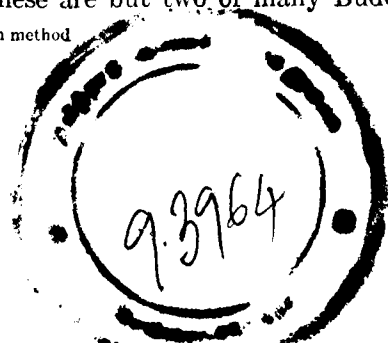


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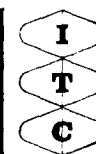
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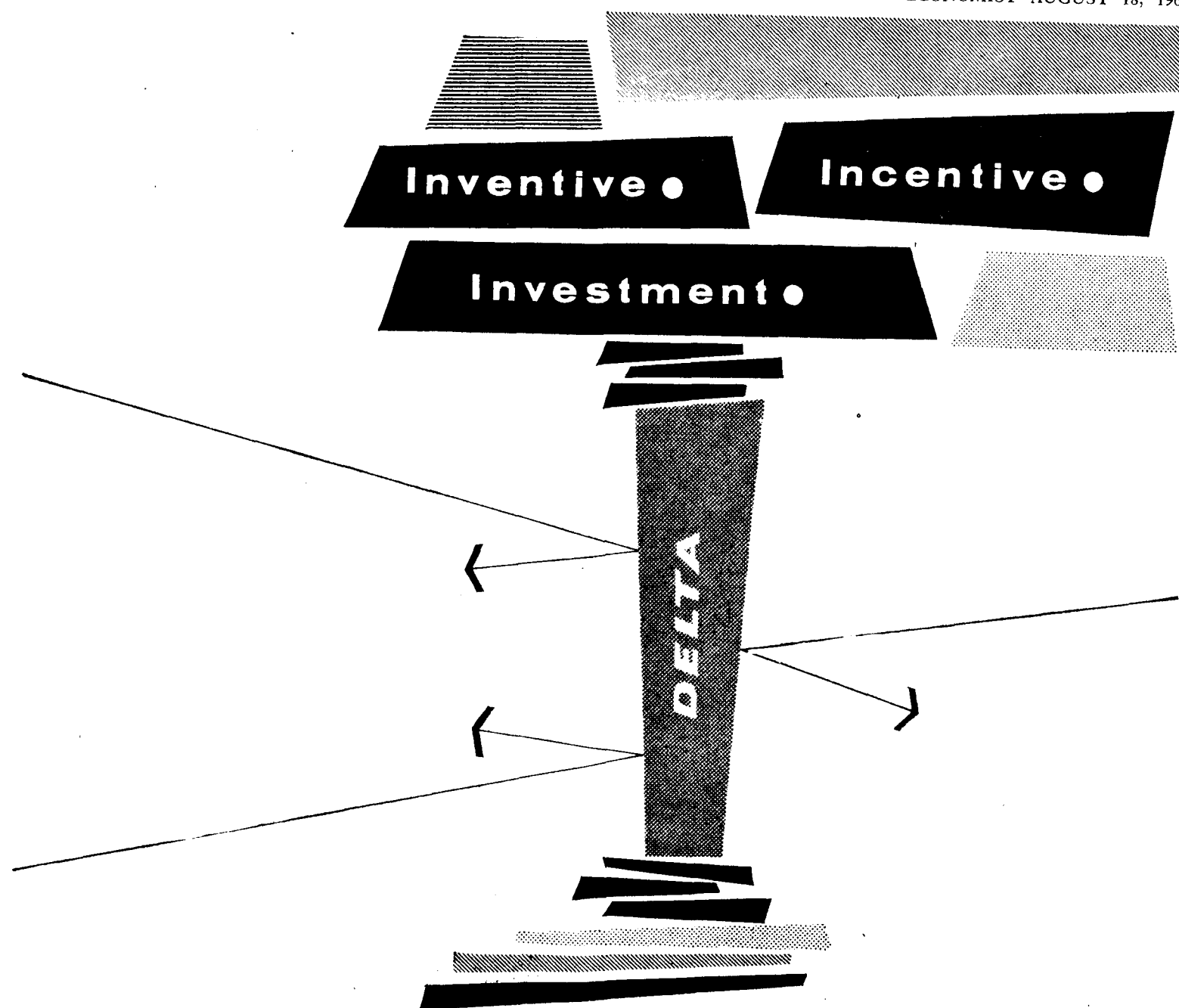
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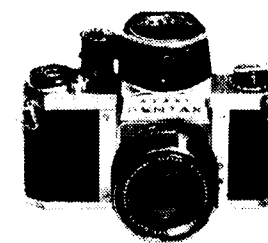


Mr. C. Krogscheepers of Martin Gibbs Ltd., Bloemfontein, South Africa, poses with a huge 10 feet one piece enlargement which he produced from his original 35mm Asahi Pentax negative. This picture is only a portion of the giant enlargement, and the 35mm contact print is shown above his hand.

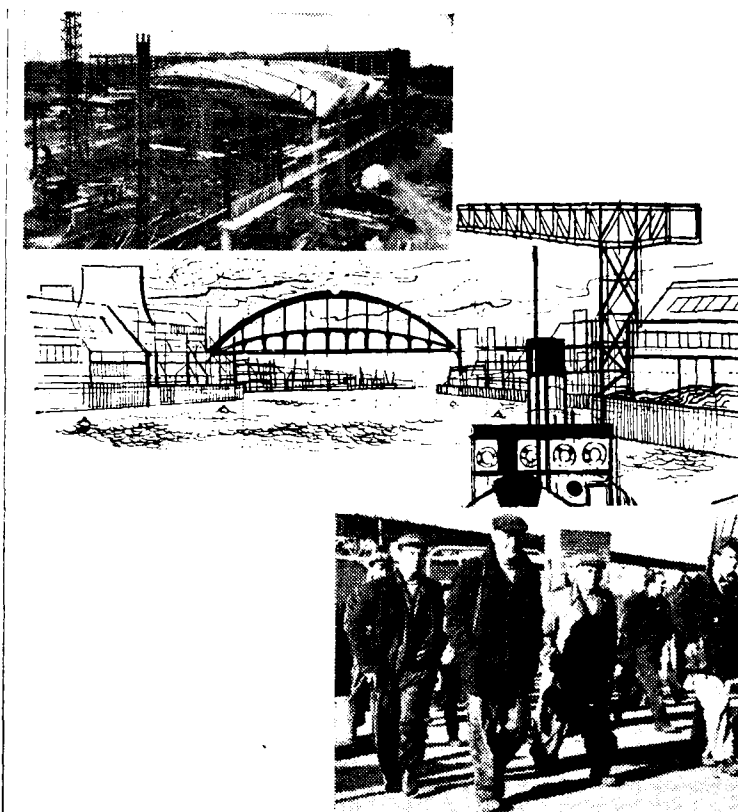
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Italian tunnel crews and Swedish steel conquer Europe's highest mountain

THE DREAM which has fired man's imagination since Hannibal crossed the Alps is now about to become a reality with the seven mile road tunnel through Mont Blanc, Europe's highest mountain. With the break through of the last few feet of rock the Italians can look back after more than three heart-breaking years of rock bursts, roof falls and flood hazards. Working from opposite ends of the mountain, the Italian and French drill crews have brought Paris 194 miles nearer Milan.

A constant fight against nature

The drill teams of the Italian contractors Societa Italiana per Condotti d'Acqua of Rome battled against gigantic natural forces all the way, with rock falls and flooding as everyday obstacles. Several times the rock conditions became so bad that the Italians could only advance with picks and shovels by small heavily-timbered pilot tunnels. Last December, they were almost drowned by a sudden influx of water at 250 gallons a second! Not until February did conditions at last become good. During that month the Italians' skilled handling of their Atlas Copco light-weight rock drills enabled them to achieve a total advance of 807 feet.

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The only constant factor in the Italian operation was the courage and skill of the tunnel crews and the flexibility of their one-man Atlas Copco rock drills. Throughout the project, whether driving the tunnel full-face for a record advance of 807 feet in one month or drilling a pilot tunnel, knee-deep in water, the Italians used Atlas Copco hand-held rock drills fitted with Sandvik Coromant drill steels.

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The Economist

AUGUST 18, 1962

What Goes Up	589
Living In Orbit	590
Interdependent on Whom?	591
The New Cities	592
Well, What If We Don't	594

NOTES OF THE WEEK	595
Sir Winston and Europe; Dr Soblen; New Guinea; Argentina; National Liberals; Trade Unions; Ghana; China; Potato Board; National Theatre; Soviet Union; Kenya.	

THE WORLD OVERSEAS	
Waiting for Busta	601
The 13th Comes and Goes; France on the Ivory Coast; Everyman's Castle in Spain; Colombo the Mediator.	

HOME REPORT	
Traffic Tantrums	610
The Yorkshire Lakes; Going Multilateral.	

AMERICAN SURVEY	
Timing the Tax Cut	615
1—To Help the Economy; 2—To Win Over Congress; Whose Giveaway?; Trade in the Balance; Wooden Touch; Rs for Republicans; Rapid Transit Moves; Less Work—More Jobs?; Crime in a White Collar; Shorter Notes.	

BOOKS	
From the Tsars to Khrushchev	622

LETTERS	627
----------------------	-----

THE BUSINESS WORLD	
Will the Banks Compete?	629
Local Finance—a New Choice	631

BUSINESS NOTES	633
In the Markets; Germany; Defence Production; Exchanges; Retail Trade; Oil; Burmah-Lobitos; Cigarettes; French Prices; New Cars; Unilever; Overseas Trade; Air Licences; Building Societies; Coffee; Trade With Japan; Insurance; Shorter Notes.	

COMPANY AFFAIRS	653
John Brown; Royal Dutch/Shell; Rootes Motors; Richardsons; Westgarth; Avana Associated Bakeries; International Nickel; Canadian Pacific.	

Money and Exchanges	655
Stock Prices and Yields	656
Western Europe	658

Annual Postal Subscription by ordinary mail **UK** and Canada £4 10s; elsewhere overseas £5; by air see page 608.

VOLUME CCIV · NUMBER 6208

What Goes Up

CHASING each other in vast circles, following virtually the same track, now tantalisingly close together and then drawing far apart, Major Nikolayev and Colonel Popovich have served the world this week as symbols both of man's achievement and of his frustration. Their successful endurance of million-mile journeys has helped to open the road to the moon. But the circumstances of their feat were a painful reminder of the barriers that have yet to be overcome on the divided earth.

This would have been true even if their twin orbiting had not coincided—possibly by intent?—with the first anniversary of the building of Herr Ulbricht's wall across Berlin; even if it had not come as a kind of divertissement in the middle of the series of nuclear explosions that Russia began—surely not by intent—on the anniversary of the destruction of Hiroshima, and which has already included several blasts in the same central Asian area from which the Soviet astronauts were shot into space. For the basic characteristics of Russia's intensively publicised space feats still include, paradoxically, an equally intense military top-secrecy.

The Soviet government is insistent on two themes: first, that its achievements in rocketry and sputnikery “show where supremacy lies,” demonstrating not only a lead in these fields but the general superiority of the whole Soviet system; secondly, that its space programme is a wholly peaceful one, unlike that of the United States, which is represented as dominated by military aims. These themes were stressed, for example, in a Moscow broadcast last Sunday by Mr Yuri Zhukov and Mr Nikolai Polyanov, who went on to complain of American failure to co-operate in space research.

It is certainly deplorable that men should be reaching for the moon in a spirit not of co-operation but of suspicious and hostile rivalry. But the Russians are hardly in a position to claim that they have made co-operation easy. Their recognition of American achievements in space has generally been grudging. The United States' first offer of co-operation, made more than five years ago, evoked no response from Moscow until after Colonel Glenn's orbital flight; and the Russians bear at least partial responsibility for the sorry record of inactivity over these same years of the United Nations committees on outer space. When Mr Kennedy, in March, offered Mr Khrushchev a set of direct and specific proposals for joint action and pooling of efforts, the Soviet leader, while agreeing to discuss the possibilities, argued that military considerations were too intimately involved for any pooling activity to be possible before agreement had been reached on disarmament. At the Geneva disarmament talks this year, repeated western proposals for immediate action to prevent the “militarisation of outer space” have met a stubborn Soviet refusal to give priority to this question.

Russia has shown no sign of sharing the West's anxiety to avert the prospect of “orbital bombers”—satellites circling the earth and containing nuclear bombs which could be released at will upon any target. On the contrary, Mr Khrushchev has publicly claimed that Russia could orbit bombs over American territory just as easily as it has sent its spacemen on the same tracks. So long as military secrecy remains the rule of the space road, there is thus cause for concern at the appearance in the sky of any orbiting object whose purpose cannot be identified, and the Americans are already putting a considerable effort into techniques for “scouting” and “neutralising” potentially destructive

satellites. This is one of the things that focus interest on achieving "rendezvous" between two orbiting vehicles.

When Nikolayev and Popovich were reported at one stage to be so close together that one could see the other's craft, it was quickly deduced that the Russians had made sensational progress toward achieving rendezvous. When they swept apart, it seemed there was still some way to go before the problem was licked; no attempt to close the gap by manoeuvring one or both of the vehicles was reported. Rendezvous is of great significance for any attempt at manned lunar flight. Rather than launch a whole rocket with the power and payload for a manned moon journey from the earth's surface, it may well prove easier to send it up into orbit in pieces that can be assembled above the atmosphere.

But it is also clear that the rendezvous problem has a significance of a military kind. And the Russians cannot expect the Americans, or indeed the outside world as a whole, to believe that their space programme is strictly non-military while it still lurks behind curtains of secrecy that can be justified only on military grounds. Space rocketry is in fact a field of activity so ideally suited to the Soviet system in its present stage that Mr Khrushchev must give thanks daily to whatever providence he credits with having opened up the lunar road just when he most needs it. It is not only a matter of directing men's eyes to the heavens and away from the nagging "little local difficulties" of meat shortages, Mao Tse-tung and the marshals. Sputniks also offer an unrivalled combination of maximum publicity with minimum revelation. What other device could have such a universal impact on peoples who can never get within a hundred miles of it?

Unfortunately, when one comes down to earth, this passion for secrecy makes it very difficult to achieve any kind of rendezvous at all. At Geneva, Mr Kuznetsov has replaced Mr Zorin, who was apparently exhausted by the steady stonewalling with which Russia continues to resist any idea of international investigation of signs of nuclear test explosions being carried out; but the new Soviet representative at the disarmament talks has quickly demolished the

speculation that he might prove more flexible than his predecessor. The latest American concessions, so painfully thrashed out in Washington, would cut the amount of possible intrusion on to Soviet soil by an international inspectorate to the barest minimum. It makes no difference. Even if the inspectors were all from non-aligned countries, were restricted to a few tremor-prone (and militarily unimportant) sectors of Russia's territory, were conducted blindfold across all other sectors, always accompanied by Soviet guides and mentors, and limited to making very few visits anyway, they would apparently still be unacceptable.

On Tuesday Mr Kuznetsov once again rejected the western governments' proposal that the scientific experts should get together and study the Soviet claims that all nuclear blasts can be positively identified at a distance by instrumentation; these claims, it seems, have to be taken on trust. Indiscreetly, perhaps, he revealed what looks like a barrier to all hopes of early progress on any sector of the disarmament problem—whether on nuclear tests, on outer space, or on general disarmament—when he alleged that "preventive war" against Russia had been suggested in America, and asked: "Do you expect the Soviet Union to disarm in such conditions?"

After five months at Geneva, there can be few people who expect the Soviet Union to show a serious interest in disarmament in any present conditions. Yet the head of the American Disarmament Agency, Mr William Foster, has hopefully detected a silver lining in the unbroken clouds this week, suggesting that the successes of Major Nikolayev and Colonel Popovich may increase the Russians' self-confidence and make them readier to get down to real disarmament negotiation. One cannot, presumably, expect such a change to show itself immediately. A good many successors to this week's heavenly twins may shoot up out of the deep obscurity of central Asia, flash across our skies, and return to the same obscurity, before Russia rids itself of its obsession with secretiveness, recognises the waste and the perils that it involves, and bestirs itself to make possible a fruitful rendezvous on earth as well as one in the high sky.

Pythagoras, St Augustine, Descartes and Hume, will throw his hat into the air as he cheers Messrs Nikolayev and Popovich, and murmur under his breath "what for?" as he catches it coming down and puts it back firmly on his square, sensible head.

THE BASIC RULES OF SPACEMANSHIP

It is worth repeating, *sotto voce*, what the rules are:

(1) It is cheaper, easier and more economical of human life to put tiny tough instruments instead of big soft men into space to do whatever work needs doing there, civil or military.

(2) The human brain is many times cleverer, more flexible and—most important of all—more reliable than the electronic brain as at present built, so that wherever reliability is the prime requirement, it is preferable to send men rather than instruments into space.

The Americans, for example, have found that men can control and correct their space capsules where instruments alone would have thrown in the sponge. In the present state of the art, manned satellites might do better than robot satellites in such jobs as reconnaissance, orbital bombing, and the mating up of rockets in space to make moon-ships. Russians and Americans seem to agree that a manned moon rocket fired from the earth's surface in one piece is a technical impossibility in terms of sheer size (say 5,000 tons).

But the question why they should want to do any of these things should be directed to the military and the politicians, not to the scientists, who merely advise how to do it.

Interdependent on Whom?

A new impetus towards
Atlantic integration
must be Mr Thorneycroft's
primary aim



MR THORNEYCROFT is due to visit the United States early next month. Just possibly this could turn out to be something of a portentous occasion. Ministers of defence are all professional proponents of interdependence: Mr Thorneycroft, of necessity, has to mean it. In scrapping Blue Water, the army's prospective tactical missile, last week he provided two explanations: that Blue Water was going to cost too much (i.e. other countries had not been interdependent enough to buy it) and that Nato had a plethora of tactical nuclear weapons in central Europe anyway (i.e. Rhine army, which will be given no new nuclear artillery of its own, is going to be forced to be interdependent with the Americans and Germans). This painful British experience should give any minister of defence something purposeful to say in Washington on the organisation of western resources, but Mr Thorneycroft's immediate troubles are only part of the developing strains within western strategy as a whole.

Seen from London, the successive demises of Blue Streak and Blue Water mean a major, and probably permanent, contraction of independent British efforts in serious rocketry. And when Blue Steel, the V-bombers' stand-off bomb, is replaced by Skybolt the British reliance on American nuclear vehicles, strategic and tactical, will be finally apparent. Seen from Washington, in the light of accepted American military thought at this juncture, this cut-off imposed on a separate, and weak, deterrent can be regarded with complacency. But in continental Europe the implication that the European half of the alliance is to be given a purely conventional part to play is held to be politically and economically intolerable. President de Gaulle has committed France to building its own deterrent; even if this effort eventually founders for the same financial reasons that have ended the Sandys strategy here, the political resentment of a Gaullist Europe at over-dependence on the United States will remain to bedevil the alliance thereafter. Now west Germany, in the past fortnight, has both resisted American hints that it should increase its conventional manpower above the army level of 350,000, which is already the largest national commitment in central Europe, and intimated that to assist its own industry it will manufacture more arms at home than it buys from its allies (chiefly the United States).

The military consequences of the abandonment of Blue Water are largely gratifying to those, like *The Economist*, who have argued for a greater conventional effort in Europe and for a greater flexibility in the tactical doctrines of the British forces there. Mr Thorneycroft has recognised the over-kill capability already at Saceur's disposal; he has

decided to speed up the modernisation of conventional equipment, with particular emphasis on increasing Rhine army's mobility; and by entrusting future nuclear support to strike aircraft (initially to the TSR-2, but shortly, it must be hoped, to a vertical take-off plane) there will be a clearer distinction between the forward conventional troops and the big nuclear punch. Instead of Mr Watkinson coming under fire because Rhine army could, allegedly, only fight a nuclear battle, Mr Thorneycroft is already being told from the Tory back benches that the Russians are bound to choose the British sector for any

push because there will not be enough nuclear weapons defending it. Saceur, however, is under the impression that he controls modestly integrated forces, and not a congerie of self-supporting national contingents. In these circumstances the nuclear-naked British are hardly a liability.

But there are two more substantial issues that need examination. The first is that, with the abandonment of Blue Water, Britain's permanent contribution to Saceur's forces for the foreseeable future is likely to stick at a maximum of 55,000 men, plus tactical air support. It may be argued, as it was under the Sandys strategy, that a major war in central Europe is still the least likely contingency that Mr Thorneycroft has to plan for: many more unstable situations exist east of Suez. Nevertheless it should be clear that, by comparison with the other major allies, the British contribution to, and influence upon, defence in central Europe have been steadily declining. The Berlin crisis last year revealed the danger of accepting this situation in perpetuity; another Berlin crisis this autumn (after, perhaps, a Russian peace treaty with the east Germans) could again find the British military response lacking in allied, and particularly American, eyes. The second issue is whether the defence policy that now looks likely under Mr Thorneycroft is going to allow of a national use of such advanced weapons capacity as Britain has already acquired.

Blue Water, on most counts, is a superior missile to the American-built Sergeant, which is, in fact, going to provide the backbone of Saceur's capability in this sphere. (Equally, it is conceivable that there may be French or other European missiles that will have claims to be adopted in the future and—if interdependence remains as sketchy as it now is—will run into Blue Water's financial difficulty.) Britain, too, now has a rapidly growing surplus of fissile material (in spite of the partial closure of some production plants) for which there can be little military potential except as a contribution to the alliance as a whole. It has seemed feasible to argue that the best inter-allied use of Britain's total military capability should take account of this kind of effort, rather than, say, require Britain to double its expeditionary force, with its expensive tail, in continental Europe.

It is from the impression that British and European capabilities are being slowly stultified in the development of allied weapons systems that political pressure is liable to grow, not only in Britain but in west Germany, in favour of a separate European military effort. This pressure, together with the sense of growing European unity, is precisely the boost that could eventually end in a European strategic nuclear force,

LIVING IN ORBIT

The Russian feat of putting a man into space on Saturday, a second man into orbit on Sunday, and bringing them both safely to earth on the following Wednesday deserves to be saluted on two levels. The first is that of sheer human courage. It is one thing to orbit the earth three, four or five times in succession, and another to resist the combined assault of claustrophobia and agoraphobia for days on end; only those who have endured trial runs on the ground in prototype space capsules can have any conception of what this means in terms of nervous strain and sheer physical discomfort.

TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENT

It is difficult to coax a big rocket off the launching pad; doubly difficult to get it to put what appears to be the equivalent in size of a double decker bus into orbit; trebly difficult to make two such buses follow one another along an invisible route through space with a regularity and accuracy of timing that London Transport would find it difficult to match. The Americans can match the first, but not the second or third of these feats. Soviet rocketeers seem able to call on their missiles whenever their political masters command, regardless of the state of the rocket, the weather or all those other elements that make life at Cape Canaveral so unpredictable. But Western Man, instructed by Plato and Aristotle, St Paul and

even to the extravagant extent of duplicating the American deterrent. To declare roundly (as Mr Thorneycroft must be ready to do) that this would be wasteful, absurd and a negation of everything that Nato has stood for hitherto is not to be "a bad European." The one price that this country must not pay in entering Europe economically and politically is, by that very act, to divide the Atlantic alliance into two self-contained halves. The answer to the dilemma of which Blue Water is the latest illustration is not, therefore, to concentrate on European interdependence, useful as this could be (and as Mr Watkinson tried, unsuccessfully, to make it) in expensive conventional arms like tanks. The nub of interdependence, nuclear and conventional, lies in Washington, in the degree of mutual political control that the United States is prepared to give Europeans over strategic weapons systems (e.g. Polaris submarines) on this side of the Atlantic, and in the degree to which the United States is prepared to share major weapons developments, both nuclear and conventional, with other industrial countries of the alliance.

Europe is palpably in no danger of being reduced to a Turkish cavalry role in American strategy; if, indeed, the European allies are to give their existing conventional ground forces the hitting power and mobility required to parry a Russian conventional thrust, and if they are to contribute as they should to the tactical air and naval forces of the alliance, their budgets are likely to be strained for much of this decade

without participating in the nuclear race. For Britain the best military sense of all behind Mr Thorneycroft's cuts is that defence expenditure soaring towards £2,000 million a year would have left precious little for the economic contest with the communist block in Africa and Asia. But the political attitude to alliances, particularly among inferior members, is seldom a matter of entirely logical conduct. As the 1960s advance Europe (we must hope with Britain) will be a visibly rising power in the world and in the alliance. If it is not to succumb to ambitions and resentments, real or imaginary, and attempt to elevate itself into something resembling a self-contained power, the division of responsibility within the western alliance will have to be hammered out in the immediate future. Can, for example, a strategic weapons system of 1970 vintage, and primarily satisfying United States requirements, be partly built and manned by Europeans? Or, failing that, can the United States ever be persuaded to buy conventional European arms in bulk for its own forces? These are old questions, which were easier to ignore when the American military and economic potential was nine-tenths of the whole alliance. It may seem impossible to discuss these matters with President de Gaulle in his mood of nuclear deprivation. It is certainly no time for any public British initiative while the common market negotiation hangs fire. But Mr Thorneycroft, as a potential European, should have a stockpile of pertinent, and awkward, questions to put next month.

The New Cities

Urban redevelopment lies at
the heart of
the most urgent of
Britain's regional problems

EVERY advanced society has its population drift from declining, low-wage, poor amenity regions to booming, high-wage, visibly affluent ones. The Americans have it, the Russians have it, and now people are waking up to the fact that it has been happening in Britain since 1950 with even more vigour than the previous migration to the south-east in the 1930s. Over half a million people have moved from north to south of the Trent in the past decade. New employment is one reason: the social desire to get through the lace-net curtain between the Wash and the Bristol Channel and into the chintzy suburbia of southern England is another. It is now thoroughly fashionable to talk of the two nations: the north-west to be pitied, the south-east to be envied. Or, rather, both to be pitied: the north-west for too much unemployment, too many dingy city centres, too many old schools, too many privies in the back garden; the south-east for too much overcrowding, for over-loaded commuters' trains and jammed roads, for soaring house prices and rentals.

It is not quite so fashionable to declare that the economic forces which have prompted this drift from declining industries to expanding ones are invariably necessary and, in the short-term, wholly desirable ones; that firms need offices in commercial and financial centres like London and Birmingham if they are going to be competitive at all; and that entry

into the common market (plus road communication across the Channel) makes it a much better idea to expand on the south coast than, say, at Jarrow or Dundee. At this stage, the most practicable answer to the problems of the two nations is not to implement the kind of programmes, usually involving the direction of industry, that declining localities, their MPs and their trades councils understandably hanker after. Nor is it to impose rigid physical controls on particular aspects of growth, like office employment, that authoritarian planners demand (which does not mean that there should not be fiscal ones). The essence of the matter is twofold: to cater for the growth industries in the growth areas by relieving congestion on a regional scale, including the release of land for building new, planned communities; and equally to reinforce the viable sectors of the declining areas by improving their amenities and encouraging the establishment of new industries in those regional localities where they are most likely to take root. Both these tasks require the acceptance of the regional concept; they also require greater organisational co-ordination between the Government departments concerned: the Board of Trade, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, and the Ministry of Transport. Scotland, alone of the regions, already possesses some of this co-ordinated infrastructure within the Scottish Office; it is also the region that most

badly needs to adopt a purposeful plan of campaign (along Toothill lines) for economic and social renewal.

The redevelopment of the ageing Victorian cities and towns of Britain lies at the heart of any strategy to assist the two nations. In the north-west it means providing the social facilities that now play a major part in the drift to the south: executive or technical skill will not stay in, far less be attracted to, a dingy Bruddersford, whatever the potentiality of its industrial estate and its pool of unemployed. In the south-east it means relieving central congestion and pressure on housing accommodation both by a dramatic overspill operation and by coming to terms with the motor car, which is a menace in city centres but an invaluable and still largely unexploited asset in linking the suburbs, peripheral shopping and entertainment localities and the new towns beyond the conurbation's outer ring. There are three major needs. First, to concentrate the housing effort, particularly in the north-west, on the replacement of obsolete buildings; at present some 60,000 slums are cleared in Britain each year—and another 60,000 old houses slip into slumdom. Second, to redevelop central areas both as attractive foci for recovery in declining areas and to cope with new growth in growing areas. Third, to take proper account of traffic and parking problems in these urban areas in terms of a doubling or trebling of car ownership in the next generation.

THE experience of local authorities is now at the stage where the difficulties are clearly understood, often for the first time, but solutions for general application have never been scarcer. It is a sign of the times that the Ministries of Housing and Transport produced last month a joint bulletin of advice which gave particular emphasis to traffic. About one-third of urban authorities in England and Wales have plans for central area redevelopment already in active being or under consideration. These range from the extensive Newcastle scheme, a major attempt to provide a modern regional centre for a population of 2½ million, to arrangements of more doubtful benefit under which property developers are allowed to exploit the easiest commercial advantage in a town centre, plus a little road-widening, without much relevance to the needs of the town as a whole. In other cases still, planned redevelopment of any kind is held up because the local authorities simply do not possess the trained staff to deal with it. The Ministry of Housing is now sensibly pressing the idea of county planning teams and the preparation of town centre maps, setting out objectives.

But the biggest problem of all does not lie in town centres, which are always likely to attract investment capital. The real backlog of obsolescence and decay is in the "twilight" residential areas of the inner rings of towns, most of the property still rent-controlled, most of it without amenities like bathrooms, and most of it (particularly in the low-wage north-west) occupied by tenants who could not possibly afford economic rents after clearance and reconstruction. The defeatist answer is (as many councils now have to do willy-nilly) to let the rot continue and eventually treat these areas as official slums. If, as now seems to be the case, parity is approaching between numbers of families and numbers of houses, it should be possible to devote a substantially greater proportion of new building to replacing the worn-out housing stock: the Civic Trust has suggested an increase in clearance from 60,000 houses a

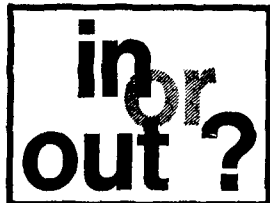
year to 180,000. How can this, or preferably a better replacement figure, be achieved?

It needs to be tackled at several levels. The obvious marriage is again between the local authorities, who have the necessary powers of acquisition, and private developers, who have the capital and the expertise. There are occasions when commercial pickings (e.g., local shopping precincts) will be sufficient to cover neighbouring housing redevelopment as well. These should be exploited wherever possible, just as in actual overspill there is an equally good case for insisting on the extensive use of private development in the next batch of new towns. The second approach is for local authorities to acquire the land and then sell or lease it to private housing associations. But this is just not going to happen unless Sir Keith Joseph breathes some commercial life into the housing association idea; and it is doubtful, too, whether (outside London) there is a sufficiently large middle class that is prepared to put convenient access to the centre before suburban pleasures. But the attempt is certainly worth making for the sake of the growing number of town dwellers whose new incomes and preferences are steadily raising their sights beyond the ordinary council block.

The third approach, in impossible districts, is to set up special development corporations, drawing on Treasury funds but also with a contribution from local rates, and give them a wide and roving franchise to carry out progressive redevelopment as the opportunity occurs (e.g., when streets are declared beyond repair and where it is not worth trying to instal bathrooms and indoor lavatories). One's preference is to make this as much a local effort as possible. The Civic Trust and others have proposed that these development corporations should be modelled on the new town corporations and be given geographical entities to run on their own. It is difficult, however, to see local authorities subscribing to this loss of sovereignty except in sheer desperation; a better solution may be to tie the corporations in with existing local government—provided the local government areas are sufficiently large to give them proper scope for action.

The Civic Trust has itself retreated from the concept of a Land Finance Corporation which would buy all land proposed by local authorities for redevelopment and then re-sell it to private or public agencies at prices reflecting the profitability of each scheme. Equally, the Labour party's idea of a Land Commission to purchase all development freeholds looks a political non-starter (as well as offering serious disincentives to develop at all). The incentive that is needed to get things moving may well have to be a return to specific grants to local authorities for redevelopment, plus provision for deferred payment of interest on local authority borrowing to acquire clearance sites. This can only involve a large outpouring of Treasury funds. But such external aid should not remove financial responsibility from those local authorities whose housing funds and redevelopment plans are in trouble now partly because of a consistent refusal to charge realistic rents (plus rebate schemes) ever since the war. In getting this vast process of regeneration and planned new development under way Sir Keith Joseph has to undertake a backbreaking but increasingly urgent job. It is something that the political pundits are beginning to think there could be votes in it.

Well, What if We Don't . . .



WHAT with the effort to join, and the exertions of those who would rather we stayed out, there has not been much energy left to think about what will follow if the attempt fails. Since the possibility is there and needs thinking about, it is right to ask; but probably wrong, so soon, to attempt categorical answers. One would first want to see just what happened, how, and why.

Plainly a situation in which a revulsion in British opinion pushed the British Government into withdrawing would be quite different from one in which General de Gaulle had barred the way. In the first event, Britain would be back in the deplorable situation it was in from 1957 to 1961—handicapped in all its dealings with the six common market governments, with the people of their countries, and, curiously, with the Americans by the fact that when European union was in the air Britain had chosen to stay out. This would not be all. It might not even be the worst; the truth is—and many British people have grasped this, though the detail and the technicalities of the common market arrangements may escape them—that a self-imposed isolation from its neighbours would be the worst possible thing for the country's domestic health. An enterprise would have been shirked, an adventure left unattempted, a door shut; there would be feelings of inadequacy and a waste of self-justification.

As French opponents of Britain's entry are the first to see, the British position would be vastly more favourable if it were visibly France that slammed the door. This the French could get away with in 1958 when it was only the Free Trade Area that had to be obstructed, because they were able at all crucial times to convince their common market partners that the British, through their fear of European responsibilities and their lack of a sense of European identity, were denying the way into Europe to themselves. This was never the whole truth, but there was truth in it; it was not as deep as a well or as wide as a church door, but it served.

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. . . get into the common market? This will not be the end, provided a sincere effort has been made

This time it is not so. Perceiving how important the difference is, the French have pursued a closely calculated policy of insisting on the last pound of flesh of national interest in every instance where they could hope to carry their partners with them, and always provided that their insistence could be presented as fidelity to the letter and principle of the Treaty of Rome. Even now it is not possible to say what the French would really rather have—a financial killing, or no new member. Thus there is not likely to be a plain case of deliberate, obstinate obstruction. If there were, the French would not carry the other five with them, and it would be the common market that would suffer the crisis of confidence.

On two matters the French knife has cut close to the bone: the definition of future price policy, and the insistence on a French interpretation of the financial regulations, attached to the common agricultural policy, which were agreed in January by the Six—but with the safeguard that the Council of Ministers could control the actual spending of the very large sums of money involved. Without doubt the French attitude is fully consistent with the spirit of the treaty. Equally, the possible cash implications are so large that the governments of the other five, and the British Government, would be at fault in not insisting on safeguards that they will not be committed to transfer entirely unreasonable amounts of cash from the pockets of their consumers to the pockets of the French farmers—and to the loss of Britain's traditional suppliers.

A negotiating position on these lines ought still to succeed. On a scrutiny of the negotiations to date, the outline agreement still looks attainable this autumn. There is no certainty of it; but we have to do our best, and in a manner that allows no doubt to arise about the British interest in promoting, and the British will to enter into, the European union. If Britain sticks firmly to this course of action, it is probably unrealistic to think of an abrupt, decisive failure. More probable would be a doldrums period, with postponements, fresh starts, and intervals when the countries concerned eyed each other and weighed up each other's intentions. Even a failure, if honestly arrived at in spite of a sincere will to succeed, would leave Britain in a far from hopeless relationship with the other five common market countries, with France, with the United States, and for that matter with itself. The Commonwealth countries would not find that the failure served their interests, but they would have to respect the reasons for it.

None of this would kill the impulse to a large united Europe. The logic that has pushed Britain into the Brussels negotiations, and has obliged the continental partners to listen, would remain obvious and would lose none of its force. Time, tolerance and patience would be needed until the yeast worked again and the moment returned. Unfortunate the loss of time would be; despondency would not be necessary.

NOTES OF THE WEEK

SIR WINSTON AND EUROPE

Who Said That?

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S prompt denial that he had ever said to Lord Montgomery that he was "entirely against the common market" is the sort of reaction that Lord Montgomery, who had ample opportunity in war to learn Sir Winston's ways, had to expect. He can hardly have thought that the old master would let him get away with it; still, whatever the outcome, they would both be in the headlines again. The incident has importance, not because Sir Winston is now a specially prescient oracle—old men, as has been noted, have a tendency to forget—but because he is regarded as one by the rank and file of the Tory associations where doubts and anxieties about the Government's European policy are most widespread. In those circles Sir Winston's every word has all the force of holy writ. To have created the impression that the grand old man was ranged with Lord Beaverbrook would have hit the Government where it hurts most. Lord Montgomery is not noted for his political gifts but there was shrewdness in this apparently casual stroke.

Lord Montgomery's unchallenged statement would also have deprived Tory speakers of one of their most useful and effective lines of sales talk in persuading local Tories of the rectitude of Government policy. Radical innovation is best sold to a Conservative audience by persuading them that the change is rooted in their past. At the Brighton conference last year the anti-floggers were prompt to conjure up the name of Sir Robert Peel, as being the first Tory Prime Minister and also an ardent penal reformer. In the same way nothing goes down better with a Tory audience than to point out that the whole European movement was set on its way by Sir Winston in his Zürich speech in the autumn of 1946, when he called for "a kind of United States of Europe." In the present mood of the Tory rank and file, not quite abreast of what has happened in Brussels but a prey to Commonwealth doubts and fears, the stamp of Churchillian precedent could never have been more valuable than at next month's conference. Now, just possibly, there could be doubts.

Sir Winston's letter to his constituency chairman—written in August, 1961, but now published for the first time—was firm about the Commonwealth: "In my conception of a unified Europe I never contemplate the diminution of the Commonwealth." This is a sentiment to strike a sympathetic chord in Tory (and others) hearts, but too much need not be made of it. Sir

Winston's ideas of European union were crystallised at a time when imperial responsibilities were real and vast; even then, his world had room for both.

DR SOBLEN

Still Pending

MR HENRY BROOKE is now thoroughly in the Soblen toils. After El Al's persevering refusal to remove Dr Soblen to the United States, the Home Office has now issued an order for deportation under article 20 of the Aliens Order, 1953. This authorises the making of a deportation order against an alien "if the Secretary of State deems it to be conducive to the public good." Dr Soblen's lawyers at once challenged this move by applying for a second writ of *habeas corpus*; the first one was applied for in the earlier wrangle last month. The writ has now been issued and Mr Justice Stephenson will hear full argument on August 22nd. This will not end the matter, however, since either side can go to the Court of Appeal and from there to the Lords. The Court of Appeal hearing is likely to be in the week beginning August 26th and the Lords hearing in a special vacation sitting beginning on September 6th, if, in the words of Dr Soblen's counsel, "the assembly of their Lordships from divers beaches" can be made in time.

Four principal arguments are being put forward on Dr Soblen's behalf. The first is that under article 20 of the Aliens Order the Home Secretary has no express power to deport to a specified country. The second is that by making a deportation order in this form, the Home Secretary is making a non-extraditable offence extraditable. The Extradition Act of 1870 provides that "a fugitive criminal shall not be surrendered . . . if the offence is of a political character." Had Dr Soblen landed lawfully the British Government would have been obliged to refuse any request for extradition from the United States.

The third argument is that a deportation order is a quasi-judicial process and an order cannot be validly made if the deportee is given no opportunity to state his case. Dr Soblen was never given such an opportunity and has been loudly demanding one. It is normal Home Office practice to refer cases of deportation to a Bow Street magistrate for hearing, but this is a matter of grace, not of right. Finally, the defence argues that Dr Soblen cannot be deported because

he was never here, having been refused permission to land. Since two courts have upheld Mr Brooke's initial contention that Dr Soblen was not in the country lawfully, this point has legal as well as metaphysical significance. The Home Secretary must by now be bitterly regretting his initial error in specifying a particular destination for Dr Soblen instead of getting him out of the country into another unspecified lap.

Passed to You, Please

ISRAEL'S part in the Soblen affair adds to the unedifying spectacle of buck-passing. As a fugitive from justice, Dr Soblen does not qualify for the Law of Return (which allows all Jews to make their home in Israel), and there has been no serious demand in Israel that he should be so accepted. But after he was expelled on July 1st, the Israeli authorities came under fire for the manner of his expulsion, particularly from members of Achdut Avodah, a left-wing party in the government. There were two main criticisms: first, Dr Soblen was bundled out of the country before his lawyer had a chance to apply for *habeas corpus*; second, an American policeman should never have been given charge of Dr Soblen on the El Al aircraft that brought him to London.

Although most of the opprobrium for the muddle has been officially rubbed off on the heads of junior officials, the fuss was fierce enough to induce the government to change its mind and tactics, if not its heart; El Al was then instructed to refuse to fly Dr Soblen to the United States. On the other hand, the Israeli government recognises, though without enthusiasm, its obligation to bring him back to Israel should the British Government demand it. Dr Soblen would then have the chance of applying for his immigration visa (which has already been refused once) through the Israeli courts. But with public opinion buzzing, the Israeli government's fervent wish is to wash its hands of this unfortunate wandering Jew.

NEW GUINEA

An End in Sight

WEDNESDAY night's agreement on the transfer to Indonesia of Dutch New Guinea, after seven months' interim administration by the United Nations, must be widely welcomed. For thirteen years the dispute over this territory has bedevilled relations between the two countries. West Irian, as it will generally be known from now on, is three times the size of England, but the population is reckoned at only about 700,000, many of them virtually cut off from

civilisation by tangled mountains and swamps. Its oil and minerals have done little to offset the losses the Dutch suffered when Indonesia, impatient with their delay in handing Irian over, expropriated all their assets on its own soil in 1957 and expelled the Dutch themselves. When, and on what scale, the Dutch can hope for compensation for these losses now that a settlement is in sight, are open questions; but they can at least look forward to resuming business activity with, and in, Indonesia.

The UN now faces the task of finding a temporary policing force of 1,000 soldiers (to be drawn, it is understood, from Asian countries) and up to 150 administrative officials. Fortunately it will not have to pay the bills out of its own strained finances: the Netherlands and Indonesia have agreed to split the cost of the interim administration. But the Irian operation will add to the total load on the UN at a time when there is no immediate prospect of its being able to disengage from the Congo.

Indonesia has agreed to give the Papuan population an opportunity of self-determination not later than the end of 1969. Many Dutchmen have understandable doubts whether this opportunity, after six years of rule from Jakarta, will be a real one. As to that, much will depend on Indonesia's own future political course. Irian has long served it as a national rallying cry; and although President Sukarno's stock should now rise buoyantly for a time, one wonders what substitute goal may soon have to be indicated to keep all his people facing in the same direction. The possibilities are various; it might be tactless to single one out.

ARGENTINA

Martial Democrats

EVEN a wafer-thin constitutional crust is, it seems, more than Argentina's more obstreperous generals can bear. Last week, a group of rebellious military men, led by the fire-eater in chief, General Toranzo Montero, threw two war ministers out of the government in quick succession. The general proclaimed himself commander-in-chief of the army; now, after the flimsiest of patched-up truces with President Guido, he has been named head of the first army corps at Buenos Aires, and one of his faction (known in Argentine army circles as "democrats"), General Cornejo Saravia, has taken over the war ministry.

The brawl was not limited to which general got what top job. Superimposed on innumerable subdivisions, there are two main lines of thought within Argentina's armed forces. One group, nominated by the navy, favours leading the country towards a dehydrated form of parliamentary government. At present, President Guido sits in office, waited on by three military liaison officers and without benefit of parliament or political parties. Some time next year, so ran the plan, carefully vetted elections would be held; all Peronist or

"extremist" parties would be excluded. The second military group, led by General Toranzo Montero who claims the support of 85 per cent of the army, has set its mind against even this whiter than white affair. In order thoroughly to disinfect the country from Peronist nostalgia, the generals are pressing for a "democratic military dictatorship" that will rule Argentina for "at least five years."

The most persuasive reason for keeping at least a smack of constitutional legality is the stand taken by the United States. So long as there is a president in his palace and an election in the air, American money will probably continue to come to Argentina; an out-and-out military dictatorship would forfeit aid. This is something that Argentina, bankrupt, seething with social discontent and already in trouble over the misuse of earlier loans, is in no position to do. Dr Alsogaray, the minister of economics, who has been commuting between Washington and Buenos Aires, is not, at the moment, a man to envy.

NATIONAL LIBERALS

Double-Barrelled?

THE National Liberal party may be dying but it obstinately refuses to lie down. The world has now been reminded of its existence by some vigorous kicking in its monthly journal *The New Horizon*, protesting against Mr Macmillan's sacking of some leading National Liberals in his Cabinet reshuffle. The National Liberals, who have 21 members in the Commons, did rather well in the previous government with three members in high office: Mr Maclay, Secretary of State for Scotland, Dr Hill, Minister of Housing, and Mr Renton, Minister of State at the Home Office. In addition Mr W. J. Taylor held junior office at the Air Ministry. Now their leading lights are reduced to Mr Niall Macpherson, Minister of Pensions, and Mr Julian Ridsdale, Under-Secretary for Air. Their protest at this treatment has gained scant sympathy from Conservative members, who resent any attempt to invest the National Liberal group with special political significance.

In fact the National Liberals are an historical rather than a contemporary political phenomenon. They date from the Simonite Liberals of 1931, who anchored themselves to Ramsay MacDonald's "National Government" (as opposed to the Samuelites who left it). Since then they have fought elections as a separate party but always in close concert with the Conservatives. In 1944 and again in 1946 overtures were made to the independent Liberals for a reunion, only to founder on the rock of the Nat Libs' alliance with the Tories. The independent Liberals declined to go for a joyride on the tiger, and in 1947 the Woolton-Teviot agreement firmly tied the Nat Lib-Tory knot. The National Liberals, however, retain their own organisation, council and whips. To confuse outsiders,

there is also a club, the National Liberal, founded in 1881 with Mr Gladstone as its first president; except in name this remains a stronghold of the independent Liberals.

Even before the present fracas it was being widely canvassed among Conservatives whether the continuance of a separate group of National Liberals served any useful purpose. The group did provide the government with its numerical majority from 1951-55, but most Conservatives have disliked the additional label of "Liberal" and its use merely infuriates Mr Grimond's followers. The Norfolk Central by-election may now be a test-case for the double-barrelled label. Mr Collard, the previous member, employed it although in reality he was a right-wing Conservative. His predecessor, Sir Frank Medlicott, also used it—and with more reason: he opposed the government over Suez and later resigned his seat. Now Sir Frank has joined the Liberal party and is likely to play a prominent part in the by-election campaign. Whether to call their candidate National Liberal, National Liberal and Conservative, or just plain Conservative, is a nice dilemma for the Norfolk Tories.

TRADE UNIONS

Eyes Overseas

SO the top brass of the Trades Union Congress is going to take some trips around Europe to see how unions in other countries face up to the question of wage planning—and about time too. For a long time now other people in Britain have been looking at European countries' records of industrial peace and smooth bargaining techniques: the Dutch and the Swedes, above all, have been singled out for envious praise. The TUC's leaders are too shrewd to expect to find a ready-made set-up waiting to be copied even in these two countries, but they are likely to find their Swedish experience, at least, rich in ideas. The Dutch have a strongly centralised system of wage-fixing, with a state board at the top and with innumerable technical commissions working away at rates for specific jobs; but when asked why—rather than how—their system works, Dutch trade unionists and employers are apt to confess that they have no idea, except that the big bosses and union leaders all spent the war together in concentration camps, when they fell into habits of co-operation that are impossible to break. The Irish often pass for having copied the Dutch system for their new planning board—but visitors to the Irish Congress of Trades Unions are lucky if they are warned in advance not to mention the word Holland on pain of forcible expulsion.

The Swedish system is less formal, far less tidy, and does not depend on any extraordinary historical experience. A recent study* makes it plain just how fluid the Swedish set-up still is, and how far it can

* Collective Bargaining in Sweden. By T. L. Johnston. Allen and Unwin. 458 pages. 40s.

be got round (a recognised technique for introducing wage-drift into piece-rates is known as the *fiffelfactor*). But it is clear that the good behaviour of unions and employers is secured by the constant threat of legislation that would limit their freedom of action. The study also shows how the strong organisation of the manual workers' TUC was brought about in the first place by the exceedingly tough alliance formed by the employers' federation. Even now the employers contribute cash to a fund for compensating members suffering during a strike, and are perfectly ready to call a national lock-out against the unions. So workers and employers face each other from positions of strength, and are each prepared to delegate their affairs to teams of experienced bureaucrats, soundly educated in economic realities. The government, of course, holds the ring, and the courts enforce the carrying out of established labour contracts; but bargaining is carried out with a toughness only limited by fear of the other side's deterrent strength. No doubt the British Employers' Confederation, as well as the TUC, would benefit from a visit to Sweden. Employers get the trade unions they deserve.

GHANA

Vanity, Vanity

GHANAIS do not yet have the self-confidence to endure with calm or resignation the reproachful finger-wagging of a white man. So, on Monday, Bishop Roseveare, the head of the Anglican church in Ghana, and Archbishop Patterson, the Anglican archbishop of West Africa who had been visiting Accra, were both told abruptly to leave the country. Both clergymen left for Lagos, where they were in any case intending to go that day or the next to take part in a congress of Anglican church leaders. On the same evening, but with even less ceremony, Mrs Mary Dorkenoo, a British correspondent married to a Ghanaian, was bundled off to London.

Bishop Roseveare's transgression was his public criticism of Ghana's national youth organisation, the Young Pioneers. On Sunday, the archbishop, preaching at Accra, threw in his weight on the bishop's side. That the Young Pioneer movement is an unprepossessing, let alone godless, *caque* for President Nkrumah is a perfectly understandable opinion. All Christian groups must share this view. But Ghanaians, however, are unable to take casually criticism of the sort of organisation which, rightly or wrongly, they believe is the most effective instrument for holding their country together and asserting its image on the international scene. The timing, too, was unfortunate in that the Ghanaian government has not yet fully recovered its self-possession after the unsuccessful attempt on President Nkrumah's life on August 1st. The Anglican sermons fell on jumpy nerves.

It needs more than a bad attack of nerves to explain away the singular pointlessness of the expulsion of Mrs Dorkenoo. Her treatment was harsh: she was put on an aircraft without warning, and cheated of her three children in the process. If the reason may have been inefficiency and not calculated cruelty, the result for her was the same. Mrs Dorkenoo is not only herself a sympathetic reporter of Ghanaian affairs; she has also often helped visiting correspondents to take a kindlier view of the turmoils of a new country. Her comments since she was dismissed show that she has retained both generosity and sense of proportion.

CHINA

The Dealers?

EVEN before 1955, when Mr Chou En-lai (then communist China's foreign minister) said his government would negotiate with responsible emissaries from Formosa, there were rumours of dealings between Taipei and Peking. The 1955 vintage was an offer by the communists to make General Chiang Kai-shek the governor of Formosa, provided he accepted Peking's suzerainty. The latest report—related by Mr Dennis Bloodworth in last Sunday's *Observer*—is that the Chiang family is trying to preserve its dynasty by negotiating with Peking. According to the agreement said to have been reached, neither side would make a serious attack on the other during General Chiang Kai-shek's lifetime; but after his death Formosa—still expected to be under Nationalist control—might be allowed

an autonomous status under Peking "similar to that held by Tibet." During the subsequent decade or so, there would be a referendum to determine whether Formosa would be independent or part of China proper—as both sides, to date, have claimed it to be.

Although the United States restrains General Chiang Kai-shek from trying to fulfil his 13-year-old dream of returning to the mainland, its Seventh Fleet also protects Formosa; and is likely to do so long after Chiang has gone. This protection probably seems more desirable to the inhabitants of Formosa than some vaguely Tibet-like status (which the Tibetans do not seem to like very much). However, Peking might have an interest in putting such a rumour in the pipeline. It realises that all is not well between the seven million Taiwanese and two million or so mainland refugees now living in Formosa. Although Taiwanese discontent is not organised, a reflection of it was seen in 1961 when Chiang Kai-shek imprisoned Lei Chen and others who had not only tried to organise an opposition party, but had dared to doubt the myth of a Kuomintang return to the mainland. Then again, the Nationalist army contains many Taiwanese conscripts, who are unlikely to want to ride with the Kuomintang to a mainland Valhalla. But if the rumoured agreement really exists, and if Chiang Kai-shek's son Ching-kuo wins the struggle for power that is likely to follow his father's death, then the myth of the return to the mainland will be killed stone dead.

Rumours of this kind are liable to arise

The Economist

AUGUST 16, 1862

THE GROWTH OF FRANCE

M. La Guernonière has started a new paper of which a principal object is to magnify the fame of the present Government of France, as well as to direct its policy. Very experienced observers, far shrewder as well as more conscientious than M. La Guernonière, have been singularly impressed with the most marvellous "outward and visible" progress of France since 1852. The evidence, indeed, is written on the very face of the country and in all its public documents. Its trade has enormously increased; its revenue has much augmented independent of any augmentation of taxation: wherever the traveller strays, he sees the reign of growth and prosperity; whatever town he enters, he sees new symptoms of progress and of hope; whatever new district he visits, he finds some trace of the same pervading and omnipresent spirit. In the capital the change is not only considerable, but wonderful. . . . All lovers of liberty, however moderate, tolerant, and constitutional they may be, cannot but ask themselves this question: Are we to judge of

the tree by its fruits? Is the despotism—the presiding, interfering, "terrestrial Providence," as its admirers term it—of an Empire the cause of these great improvements? If the system of Louis Napoleon have produced these great benefits, it cannot but be substantially excellent; and if it be so excellent, we must reconsider all our received ideas of liberty and free government. . . . The truth is that the Imperial Government inherited a great inheritance. It commenced soon after the first great construction of railways in France, and in its earlier years it carried forward the production of similar works with great energy and judgment. The effect of the whole creation of railways in France has been wonderful. . . . The whole country has started forward with a vigorous alacrity and an equable celerity to which the previous history of France did not afford any example. . . . Upon the whole, therefore, the great improvement in France under the present Government does not by any means support the deduction which M. La Guernonière and other adulatory writers infer from it.

whenever Washington and Taipeh are at odds; Rapallo complexes, it seems, can flourish in Far Eastern politics as well as in central Europe. But the rumours come from a twilight world where, in Hong Kong, Macao, and Singapore, conspiracies are dreamed up and myth matched with counter-myth; so who knows?

POTATO BOARD

Thinning Out

THE Potato Marketing Board has had a particularly awkward season, what with a revolt among its members and a dire shortage of spuds for everyone. One of the board's main difficulties has been the erratic behaviour of too many farmers who, having told the board that they were going to plant potatoes, have simply not done so. These are mostly small and sometimes less than efficient growers—the big commercial ones know well in advance what they are going to do—and they, having upset the board's plans, have got away scot free while some large and expanding growers have been penalised for over-production. In each of the past four years between 80,000 and 160,000 acres of land on which the board had expected potatoes to be grown have been used for other purposes.

The board has been long-suffering for too long. Next season it is to reshuffle the way in which allocations are shared out among growers, on the basis of the actual acreage they have used for potatoes over the past four years: and it will make inquiries in the autumn, and perhaps again next spring, to find out just how much of their ration has been taken up by the growers. This should give the board a little more flexibility in allowing further plantings before it is too late if the potential crop looks (like last year's) to be falling seriously below expectations. Although the small grower has a continuing part to play, the long-term need is to encourage the large-scale commercial producers who can both use the seasonal labour force most economically and invest in the new techniques and storage facilities that are beyond the means of the small grower. The board has taken a step in the right direction.

NATIONAL THEATRE

Star Boss

SIR LAURENCE OLIVIER was the best possible—perhaps the only possible—choice as director of the National Theatre that is to rise on the south bank of the Thames. He has the theatrical knowledge; he has the public magic; he has the administrative talent—which has had a successful public inauguration at the new Chichester theatre this summer; and he has at his elbow a powerful board under Lord Chandos. No doubt, Sir Laurence would not have taken the job without proper

NOTES OF THE WEEK

assurances both of continued financial support and of artistic independence.

Two further tests for public policy are, however, looming on the horizon. Both the Theatre Royal, Stratford, and the Bristol Old Vic are looking for money to continue their work; if it is to support them in the manner which they deserve, the Arts Council will need more funds. Stratford has, until this year, received no state grant, but its ambitious new work both in Warwickshire and in London has made it a strong candidate for subvention. The Bristol Old Vic has hitherto received its support as an offshoot of the Old Vic organisation in London, which is now to merge with the National Theatre. Without help both from Bristol corporation and from the Arts Council it could neither keep its noble old theatre nor its permanent company beyond next year.

The Government is giving £1 million towards the building of the National Theatre (£1.3 million is to come from the London County Council), and will guarantee a continuing subsidy of £400,000 a year. To this it is committed. The danger is that somebody in the Treasury may now get cold feet at the thought of this new and substantial subvention, and that the sufferers, for reasons of political prestige, will not be the National Theatre company but the smaller, less pompous, but probably more deserving theatres of the provinces.

SOVIET UNION

Not His Castle

ONE dilemma facing the Soviet planners is how to harness individual initiative without giving too much scope to private enterprise. Farming is one field in which their hesitations on this point are often seen. Housing is another. A decree issued in Moscow on August 6th foreshadows a complete switch from the private construction of individual houses to the co-operative building of multi-storey dwellings. The transition is to be gradual.

Private building has had its ups and downs in the Soviet Union. In recent years, as part of the general housing drive, it has had a good deal of rope. In the last three years, for instance, individual construction, with state subsidies, accounted, on an average, for about 25 million square metres of floor space, or nearly a third of all new urban housing. Things are going to be different; under the new arrangement groups of people, presumably working in the same factory or office, will have to form a building co-operative to get their permit, together with credits of up to three-fifths of total cost.

The primary object of the new move is not to cure workers of the property instinct, or to deprive the privileged of their dachas. It is, rather, economic efficiency. Russia is exerting itself to make up its lag in housing, aggravated by the sustained industrial revolution. Its vast housing drive is still very

THE ECONOMIST AUGUST 18, 1962

far from meeting the country's immense needs. The planners' job is to make the most economic, and rapid, use of available resources. To this end they have dropped Stalin's ornamented façades and his skyscrapers; the fashion now is for blocks of flats of three or four storeys. Individual houses fit even less than giant buildings into this new pattern. Co-operatives will be better equipped to fulfil the regulations of the town-planners. Thus economic and ideological considerations happily coincide.

KENYA

Majimbo for All

THERE are signs of another Congo in Kenya. This warning came (our special correspondent cables from Nairobi) from no less an authority than Mr Jomo Kenyatta, last Sunday, before 50,000 of Mr Mboya's supporters in Nairobi stadium. Mr P. M. Koinange, the travelling conciliator for all East African nationalists, followed up with the blunt comment that Kenya's troubles were to be blamed not on the British or on any white men, but on its own internal squabbles.

So they are, indeed. Mr Paul Ngei (himself not lacking in visible tokens of personal prosperity) has attacked his own party's ministers for waxing fat and forgetting the masses. His loud demands for more land, more jobs and money, and fewer white men, and Mr Oginga Odinga's simpler plea just for fewer white men, echo against a background of unemployment and discontent. In Mr Odinga's own Central Nyanza area political thuggery is being put down by African riot police; in the councils of the Kenya African National Union, Mr Kenyatta's unitarians are doing their best to put down the heresy of the three Kamba leaders who last week moved towards the Kenya African Democratic Union policy of "Majimbo."

This policy, originally put forward as a sane regionalism designed to check would-be dictators at the centre, has rapidly degenerated. Congoists all, it seems, every Kenyan with a voice, a mother and two friends is jostling for some form of local autonomy before the regional boundaries commission, which embarked on August 9th on its task of demarcating the six regions envisaged under the coming constitution. On Tuesday Mr Kenyatta led a Kanu delegation (not including Mr Mboya) which urged the commission to uphold the existing regional boundaries against all these claims. On Wednesday the unrepentant Kamba leaders told it that their people should not be grouped with the Kikuyu; and some of Kanu's Luo members published an attack on "Kikuyu tribalism." But this is not entirely a struggle between Africans. Unfortunately, many local Europeans, still obsessed with fears of the Kikuyu, tend to support Kadu's Majimbo mania, and welcome every possible split in Kanu.

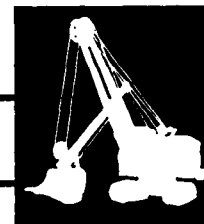


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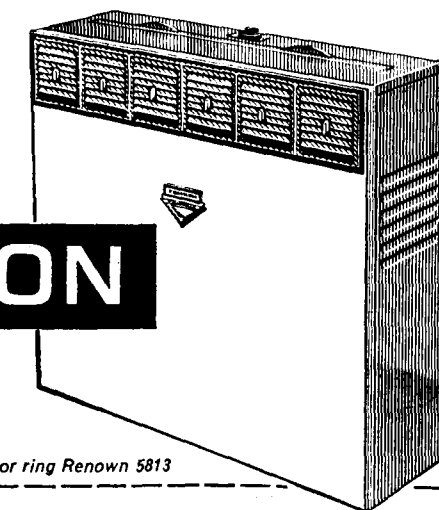
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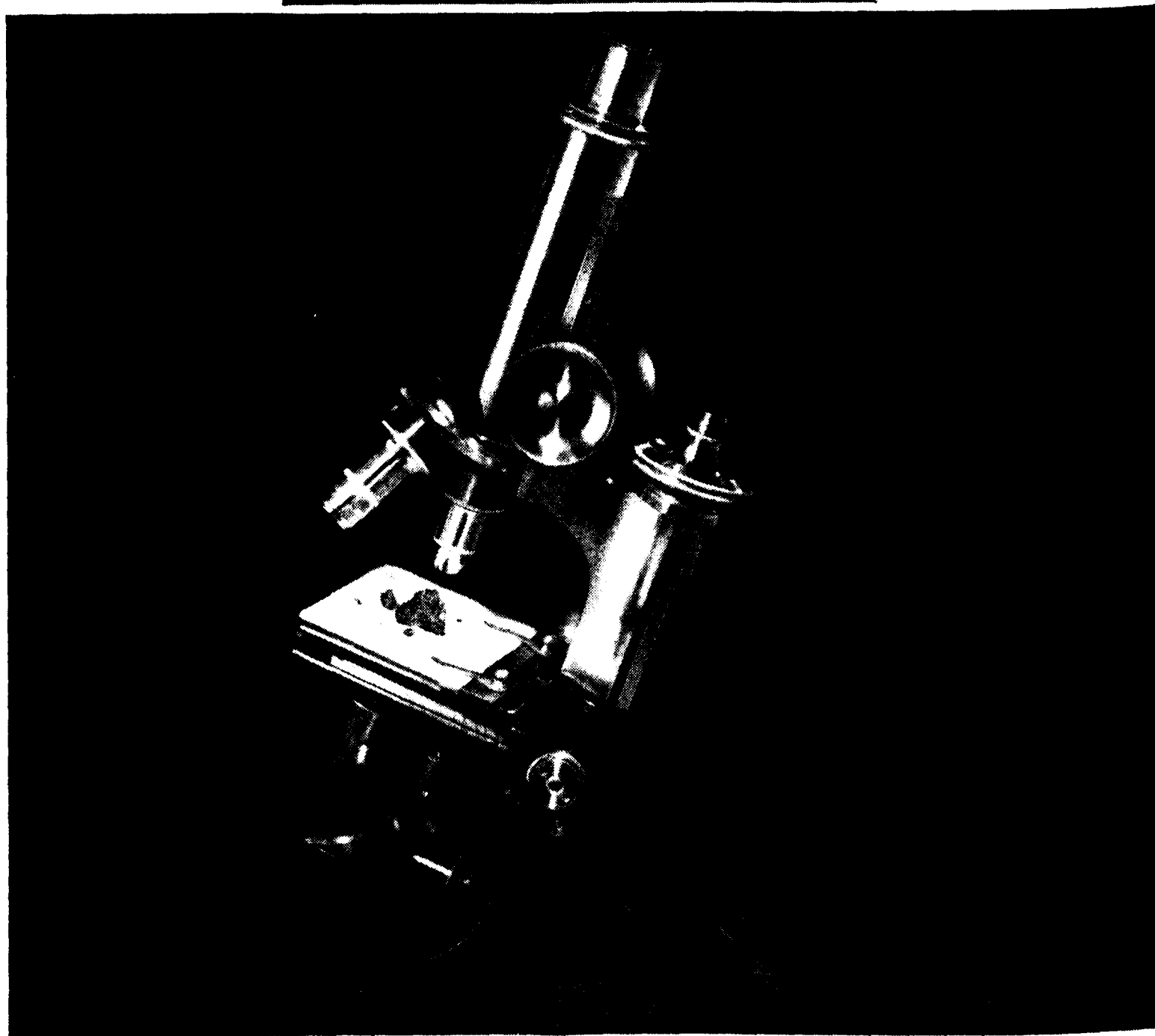
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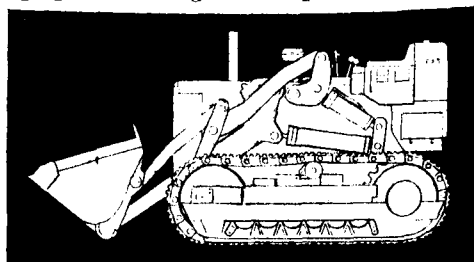
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THE WORLD OVERSEAS

Waiting for Busta

BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT



EXHORTED by the determined heartiness of government ad-men to "jump-up for independence," Jamaican family parties obediently swayed or hopped their way through the bannered streets on the night of August 6th. The birth of independence was soberly welcomed as timely and proper—although, in Kingston at least, there were also those who gently mourned the interment of federation. Three centuries of British rule have left a rubbing of British decorum, and the string of public holidays that followed independence carried, at times, a whiff of wet English Sundays. To protect their exalted guests from embarrassment or worse, the Jamaican police kept a vigilant eye on security, but, so far as this correspondent could tell, the peace of Kingston's excellently organised celebrations was disturbed only by the occasional outbursts of bellicose patriotism when sailors from the visiting British cruiser collided with sailors from the visiting American aircraft carrier.

These passing brawls between American and British seamen reflected one of the sillier foreign reactions to Jamaica's independence celebrations. Like rival impresarios measuring audience reaction, the American and British press counted the crowds and the cheers as Princess Margaret and Vice President Lyndon Johnson processed on their sometimes separate ways. Not so pretty, so young or so royal, the Vice President started at long odds, but gained steadily as he swung off at a fine Texan tangent. He and Jamaica's prime minister, Sir Alexander Bustamante, understood one another: "I like Americans," said Busta; "We like Jamaicans," thumped back Mr Johnson, and the sugar workers yelled their appreciation—even when Mr Johnson gave them, unsolicited, his high school motto on self-help. "The Yanks are taking over the show," came the disconsolate British mutter; the Americans responded with smug symbolism about the difference between our yesterdays and our tomorrows.

Silly and undignified as all this was, it might not have been devoid of point if it had meant that Britain and America were seriously competing to help Jamaica. Few of Jamaica's senior officials hold any such illusions. Britain's legacy to Jamaica was a two-party parliamentary system, a respect for law and order, a faith in freedom and justice. If these bequests had been given the material backing of a serious effort to develop the country's resources or to educate the people to do so themselves, Britain's retreat might seem less of a scuttle. As it is, little was done in the past, and it looks as if less will be done in the future. Jamaica and the other Caribbean territories stand far down on Britain's list of economic and strategic priorities. There is not even a numerous settler class to cry shame. So far, Britain has committed itself to a loan of £1½ million to help out with the budget, and a grant of £1¼ million—most of it already promised, but unspent, while Jamaica was still a colony.

Jamaica is a lush tropical island that could, if a relatively small amount of money were spent on land reclamation, terracing and irrigation, feed itself and have food over to spare. Its economic

blessing is diversity: its foreign currency comes from bauxite and alumina (developed by North American capital) sugar and rum, bananas and tourism. But the situation as the British decamp is that the bulk of the people are seriously undernourished in a country that depends on the import of food, consumer goods and talent. Milk and meat are scarce everywhere; a luxury hotel in the north of the island hits a peak of futility by assuring its clientele that its eggs come from New Orleans and some of its fish from the Channel Islands. The number of illiterates (if those who can just scrawl their names for a vote are included) is believed by some to be as high as 80 per cent of the population. The official figure for unemployment is 17 per cent; this does not include the disguised unemployment among the peasants.

CAN the Americans, then, do better? The economic interest increases with the flow of private investment; the strategic interest is geographically inescapable (although Mr Johnson's retinue was caught off balance by Busta's heady offer of military bases). Jamaica has applied to join the Organisation of American States (which has gone into a huddle to find out what to do about this unprecedented step) and Jamaicans are thinking about learning Spanish. Apart from the peace corps volunteers working in Jamaica, and the scholarship grant of £27,000 that Mr Johnson brought with him as a gift for independence, the United States is proposing to give Jamaica £2.4 million out of Alliance for Progress funds. The money is to be spent on water development and housing schemes and on agricultural credit; it will become available over the next 2½ years when and if the projects are approved. In the context of all the demands that are being made



Understanding one another: Busta and Sir Lyndon Johnson

on American generosity, this grant is rather more than might have been expected; the sugar workers, with Mr Johnson's evocation of the United States and Jamaica marching hand-in-hand to freedom ringing in their ears, might be excused for asking for more.

Senior men at the ministry of finance are trying to get into the heads of their people that they have to depend largely on themselves. A development plan was prepared while Mr Norman Manley was prime minister; now it has gone under cover while the new ministers find ways of wearing it with a difference. The pattern of light industry and modest agricultural development remains; with luck Sir Alexander, who came in on the peasants' vote, may increase the agricultural emphasis. But with whatever courage Jamaica swallows the idea of self-help, no minister or civil

servant can see a way forward if emigration is blocked. Mr Seaga, the minister of development and welfare, has volunteered the theory that, for the time being, Jamaica needs the safety valve of 16,000 people leaving the country every year. There is little likelihood of this being possible. The outlook for emigration to Britain is clouded by the Commonwealth Immigration Act. The United States allows Jamaica a quota of 100 immigrants a year (apart from the migrant workers' scheme, under which about 5,000 Jamaicans are working temporarily in America). Bolivia, and now Cuba, are the only Latin American republics that will consider West Indian immigrants; neither is a country where a newcomer can hope to strike rich.

The troubling fact for Jamaica, as for all under-developed countries, is that emigration is only an advantage if it is the unskilled and the jobless who leave. A discriminating policy imposed by Britain, the United States or any other advanced country could, at the Jamaican end, do much more harm than good. In any event, it is often the people with uncommon energy and initiative who take the step of looking outside their own country for a future. If on top of this the skilled and educated are siphoned off by a selection process, Jamaica is certain to suffer. It is the unskilled who urgently need the jobs that cannot, at present, be found within their own country.

ON a different level, a similar difficulty confounds the group of would-be emigrants called the Rastafarian. They are the mystical, bigoted sect who see a future for themselves only in a "return" to Africa. From time to time their leaders have made, by person or by letter, tentative approaches to the governments of the independent African states, Ethiopia and Ghana in particular. But the African countries, tremulous at the thought of so strange and turbulent an invasion, have prevaricated, insisting on skilled newcomers only. Few of the Rastafarian, living jobless in slums that are as nasty as any in the western hemisphere, boast any skills.

The Rastafarian are usually regarded as the nucleus for any sort of trouble; the police, fearing a protest that never materialised, were in and out of their homes during the celebrations. The guess at their numbers is around 10,000, but this probably excludes a great many Jamaicans who sympathise but will not conform to the external signs of orthodoxy—clay-hardened ringlets sticking out vertically from the head, fierce beards and woolly caps. The more moderate among their leaders argue carefully, with logic, for the law of return to Africa. They reject not only the white man's world, but also Jamaica with its coffee-coloured leaders and the black "lackeys" who support them. They demand that the Jamaican government (whose authority they dispute) should pay for their journey to countries whose governments are clearly reluctant to accept them. However fantastical their demands may seem, the alternative, insists even a moderate, is civil war. It would be easier to dismiss their threats as sad nonsense if it were not for their uncomfortable record of past violence.

The black hopes of the Rastafarian are a crude manifestation of racialism. Otherwise racial prejudice seems mercifully absent from Jamaican discontents. All the candidates who campaigned at the last election on a black racial platform lost their deposits. Young Jamaican intellectuals will rail against the influence and wealth of the pale brown bureaucrats, merchants and agents. They are, rightly, keeping their standards high; outsiders, less idealistic and with comparisons in mind, find in Jamaica an easy and untroubled mixture of colours. But the unemployed, the hungry and the slum-dwellers may find other reasons than colour for working up a dangerous bitterness against a government that does not, as yet, seem prepared to give their interests priority. Foreigners—tourists or business men—are insulated from these murmuring troubles. Wait, the visitor is told, wait until the people find out

that Busta is not going to fulfil his election promises; wait for the gathering disillusion. But in this surpassingly beautiful island, amid an easy informality in which neither class nor colour are too obtrusive, it is easy to slide into one's own illusions.

The 13th Comes and Goes

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN BERLIN

IT is theatrically eerie, in the moonlit dusk, on either side of the Potsdamer Platz. When the watcher climbs one of the stage properties—some wooden steps mount to a platform from which the whole scene can be surveyed—ghosts spring readily into the mind's eye; it may be Hitler and Stalin, gesticulating possessively across the sprawling wire and concrete where once the buses ran. Twelve months of wall ("wall of shame," the visitor nearly catches himself writing after only a brief diet of west Berlin newspaper prose) have aggravated the desolation on the sector boundary. A western version of the day's news is still flashed towards east Berlin unceasingly after sundown—a rippling chain of snippets often overseasoned with meaningless parochial bragging, such as that announcing the arrival in west Berlin of a party of fifty Tunisians or of twenty Ceylonese. A British armoured vehicle steals out of the shadows, and is gone again as soon as one of its young crew, got up to look like an ailing tree, has nodded a greeting to two west Berlin policemen and peeped perfunctorily over the wall.

Apart from an occasionally glimpsed east Berlin Vopo there is obviously no one within range on the other side of the wall to read about the Tunisians or the Ceylonese, no unusual activity for the soldier to report. On the western side the streets and the wrecked buildings seem almost as abandoned. Most of the seedy booths where a brisk sector boundary business used to be transacted before August 13, 1961, have closed down. Just beyond where they stood lie the Tiergarten and the vast area of destruction around the Lützowplatz. On first re-encounter the desolation appeals, as though fresh. Then one reflects how long, in fact, it has been there; how cultivated, in a way, the Berlin no-man's-land is—the freak fruit of seventeen years' unfinished local and international wrangling.

Within a mile or so on either side of the wall, here and there even less, the inhabitants of the two parts of Berlin are living on the whole normally and in tolerable, if sometimes invidious, comfort, quite ready, should they be given the chance, to get along with each other as practically as do the inhabitants of any other city the world over. But, as we all uncomfortably know, they are not being given the chance; and what is peculiar to the divided Berliners is the transcending anxiety about their political future that every one of them has in common—the rulers and the ruled of both regimes alike. "Things can't stay like this for ever. What is going to happen in the long run? And how will the inevitable changes affect me?" Those are the nagging questions.

In fearing that the political jockeying in and around Berlin may precipitate an international nuclear war the Berliners are, of course, one with the rest of us. Materially, the west Berliners are living rather more comfortably this summer than they were a year ago, thanks largely to intelligent help from their compatriots and allies in the West. Even old-age pensioners concede that they are a shade better off than they used to be. The embarrassment caused by the sudden withdrawal of some 60,000 east Berlin commuters from the west Berlin working scene has been mainly overcome, though the jobs advertised in shop and restaurant windows, along with the strain and stress sometimes encountered within, tell of continuing difficulties.

The 7,000 or so workers who have been coaxed into Berlin from west Germany are helping mostly in the factories, and the Senate hopes presently to be able to bring in reinforcements at

the rate of a thousand a month. For Berlin, it is repeatedly affirmed, is west Germany's "biggest industrial city," with 6,000 concerns employing more than a million persons. The value of their sales to west Germany rose by 5 per cent during the first half of 1962. Industrial output as a whole went up by 4.4 per cent, that of iron and steel products by as much as 18 per cent and consumer goods by 7 per cent. An anonymous genius has calculated that west Berlin is at present producing every second electric light bulb in use in west Germany, every third film running in its cinemas, every third dress worn and every third cigarette smoked; and that the output of the west Berlin electrical industry is more than that of Switzerland and Austria together.

At present. But what is going to happen should the east German regime, left wholly alone to control the ways to Berlin, decide to obstruct the western sector's vital commercial traffic with the Federal Republic? As far as the west Berliners alone are concerned they would, in the event, doubtless continue to live by doing a deal with the devil. But that would be a very costly deal politically; and its avoidance has been the chief meaning of the dour struggle of the last seventeen years. It seems, consequently, to be the opinion of most Berliners—hard as many find the enforced family separations—that the best they can hope for is that the situation shall stay as it is, with the western garrisons present, until the responsible powers are actuated by mellow policies. Those of them who read *Die Welt* are being reminded by its current serial just how much worse their present uneasy lot could be. Published under the title "A chronicle of our hardest years," this is the frank and moving diary kept by Ursula von Kardorff in Berlin from 1942 to 1945—from the fall of Stalingrad, through the allied bombing, to the arrival of the Russians.

UNHAPPILY for everybody's peace of mind, there is no sign that Herr Ulbricht is satisfied with his appreciable attainments in Berlin. Indeed, there is every sign that he is dangerously disappointed. For, whatever his publicists may claim to the contrary, the wall has done the party cause as much harm as good. It was set up, Herr Ulbricht admitted, not so much to dam the Fascist tide as to save the east German economy from collapse through the steady falling out of its workers. Yet the promised better times have not materialised. Herr Leuschner, an east German deputy prime minister, reported recently that between January 1st and May 31st this year 34,200 fewer tons of meat had been produced than during the first four months of 1961, 237,000 tons less of butter and 210 million fewer eggs. Production is behind schedule in several important branches of industry. There has been a return to the rationing of meat and potatoes.

Still more damaging to the regime's pretensions has been the scale on which still resentful citizens have surmounted or dodged the wall in order to get away from it all. It has now been established that 51,056 of the east Germans who were abroad when the wall went up decided eventually not to return home. Since then another 12,316, including some 1,000 service men, have contrived at great risk to get out. At least 37 are known to have lost their lives in the attempt, and several hundred to have landed in gaol. Of these defections, presumably the most painful to the regime is that of the 41 hand-picked party members who used the opportunity to quit presented by the World Youth Festival at Helsinki a fortnight ago. It is by no means only their failure to provide more gracious living that so fiercely alienates the east German rulers from the ruled. It is much more the atmosphere they constantly generate of mendacity and hate. *Gehässigkeit* is the word the Germans often use for it. Reports not long ago suggested that the regime's senior propagandists—men like Professor Norden and Herr Eisler, who in their isolation seem to have largely lost touch with reality—were to be replaced by less hysterical operators. But they are still in full blast. Herr

Ulbricht cannot, or will not, recognise the significance of this simple human factor in his continuing failure to win sympathy. So long as he does not, his coveted peace treaty with the Russians is not going to earn him any greater respect.

That the regime is still unable to inspire confidence and willing co-operation has encouraged several politically influential west Germans to take a rather less dismal view than the Bonn government takes of the prospect of the long-threatened peace treaty. The chief political commentator of the Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit*, Countess Dönhoff, is not alone in postulating that in the circumstances west Germany could afford openly to recognise the Ulbricht regime *de facto*—as in practice it already tacitly does. For so long as west Berlin is not condemned to the lingering death of a "free city," the working of time and of human nature will, she anticipates, compel Herr Ulbricht and his associates to liberalise their dogma-ridden system. Herr Richard von Weizsäcker, a brother of the physicist and philosopher Carl von Weizsäcker, has also been advising the west Germans that their hope of helping their compatriots in east Germany lies, not in extravagantly ambitious international negotiation, but in co-operating as actively as possible with the current political evolution in both eastern and western Europe. Herr von Weizsäcker sees in the common market a west European organisation with an immense potential authority to conduct mutually profitable business with the East. And he therefore suggests that the European "Hallstein of Brussels" should be allowed to efface the German "Hallstein of Bonn," reputed author of the sterile formula that Bonn cannot have diplomatic relations with any state that formally recognises the German Democratic Republic.

Many west German politicians and government officials would admit in private their broad sympathy with these ideas. But not yet in public. On the eve of the August 13th anniversary observances the federal foreign minister, Herr Schröder, a lawyer by training, repeated the familiar argument that a "peace treaty" with east Germany could have no legality because its regime had none. At the same time he warned neutral states that Bonn would consider it an unfriendly act should any sign such a document, hinting that the price of signature might be the suspension of German economic aid. Herr Mende and other Free Democrats have since reproached Herr Schröder with ineffectual lecturing and tactless flourishing of the big stick. The Free Democrats would like the Berlin question to be reconsidered in a new series of talks covering the whole problem of the future of Germany and European security. They recommend that the powers concerned should take up the proposal of the United States for a standing conference on Germany, composed of deputy foreign ministers, and that in the meantime the danger of disastrous developments in Berlin might be reduced by developing there a large-scale centre of internationally conducted scientific research. At the time of writing Herr Ulbricht and his deputy and probable successor, Herr Stoph, are still somewhere in the Soviet Union; it is yet to be seen just how far their hosts are prepared to go to help them.

France on the Ivory Coast

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

A GOOD way to get to the palace of President Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast in his capital city, Abidjan, is to stroll up the Avenue du Général de Gaulle and across the Place de la République. The president is likely to be out: he is abroad half the year, mostly in France. Perhaps one of his ministers could help? The one required is likely to be on a trip seeking decisions from the absent president. A head of department? Sure, he is here, making decisions. Like the minister of finance, he is white, and French.

If this does not kill belief in the existence of an independent African soul in the Ivory Coast, then turn away from the Palais de la Présidence, walk across the Pont Houphouët-Boigny, and contemplate the beauty of the palm-trees that line the opposite edge of the lagoon. Behind them is the neat African quarter of Treichville (named after a French explorer). Watch carefully, and you might see a tiny canoe, inefficiently paddled by two competing black

boatmen. To them the difference between the old government-in-Paris and the new can be no more than a remembrance of the festivities of the day of independence, August 7, 1960. Ask one of them whether he likes the president, and he will reply that the palace is a grand building (like the bridge and the H-B stadium). Ask again, and the reply will be an African giggle.

But ask one of the 15,000 French inhabitants and he will articu-

Everyman's Castle in Spain

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT IN BARCELONA

A HANDSOMELY illustrated brochure, printed in English, French, and German by a Spanish estate agent, states:

To acquire now an apartment or dwelling in Playa . . . is not only to assure yourself of an ideal spot for you and your family at a price within reach. It is much more than that. It is to pull off a worthwhile deal. . . . Have you any doubt that one of the best present-day businesses is investment in the Spanish coast?

This (more or less) is the idea that seems to have fired the imagination of many inhabitants of north-west Europe: to have a holiday place, perhaps an eventual home, in Spain, with sun, sea and simple living, and at the same time make a profitable investment. French, Belgians, Dutch, Swiss, Italians and Scandinavians are all coming—English too, but not so many: the average Englishman still prefers to rent. The leaders of the movement are the Germans. The *Volkswirt*, of Frankfurt, estimated last autumn that the value of houses in Spain bought by Germans amounted to between 50 and 80 million marks. The German press is full of advertisements for villas in Spain and sites suitable for development, and a popular radio feature had the following dialogue: "Haven't you yet bought your villa in Spain, with sun, majestic view, etc.?" "All right, I'll buy three and let two of them."

People have been going to live in Spain for many years—to Malaga, the Andalusian coast and above all to Majorca, the haven of retired British officers and colonial servants. But it is only over the past two years that foreigners have developed their present fever to buy property in Spain; it can be traced to the stabilisation of the peseta in 1959. This made conditions more attractive for foreign residents—the peseta became cheaper, the complicated exchange controls largely disappeared, inflation was halted. It also gave a great fillip to the tourist trade. The numbers of visitors to Spain had been rising steadily throughout the nineteen-fifties, but in 1960 they jumped by 46 per cent to 6 million. Last year they reached 8 million. It is, of course, the tourist boom that has made

property in Spain so attractive to foreigners, from the small investor, thinking of a plot of land on which to build a few houses to let, or a bar or a small hotel, to the companies with projects for luxury hotels and housing estates.

Moreover, the government is trying to encourage foreign investment. Foreign capital invested and the profits earned on it can now be freely repatriated; and under a decree announced this year, foreigners wishing to buy land for building will no longer need to obtain official permission if the area does not exceed 10 acres of arable land or 50 acres of dry farmland—though it must be admitted that the previous law had been largely ignored and that permission is still needed in military areas, like the Balearics and the coast west of Gibraltar.

Most of the English people who are retiring to live in Spain come out first on a visit, reconnoitre some peaceful, pretty spot, and then buy a Spanish house or make their own arrangements to build. The small entrepreneurs of various nationalities—British among them—who buy a piece of land and build a group of houses for letting, proceed in the same way. But the many Germans who are now buying or building a house for themselves in Spain generally prefer to do so through an estate run by a company. Housing estates and garden cities are now a rapidly developing business here. German companies, generally acting through Spanish subsidiaries, were first in the field and have conducted an efficient publicity campaign in Germany and other countries. One company, Contracta, which has built housing estates on the Catalan coast and the Costa del Sol, aims at a target of 2,500 buildings along the Spanish Mediterranean and is reported to have spent the equivalent of £150,000 last year on advertising in the European press. This company will fly a likely purchaser to Spain at its own expense, lodge him at the Ritz Hotel in Barcelona while he looks at sites on the nearby coast, and, if he wishes, fly him on to Malaga.

These companies buy land, build a road if necessary (as it often is), lay on water,

drainage and electricity, and then build houses to let and for sale. They will also sell a plot on the estate and build a house to the purchaser's design. These estates, known in Spain as *conjuntos*, often include a hotel, restaurant, shops or a supermarket, communal gardens and swimming-pool, and sometimes a cinema. Not surprisingly, many would rather obtain a house in this way than have the worry and trouble of building themselves in an area which, though beautiful, may be primitive; the popularity of *conjuntos* is likely to grow. Some of them are entirely German colonies; this has caused ill-feeling among the Spanish inhabitants, who resent these foreign enclaves in their midst.

This buying and building of houses, and the boom in hotels and restaurants (a British group has been considering a luxury hotel on the Costa del Sol, and Herr Arnold, the German restaurateur, is reported to be opening an establishment on the top floor of a bank building in Barcelona) has so far been practically confined to the Mediterranean coast of Spain, the main tourist zone, and concentrated on the Costa Brava, the Costa del Sol, and Majorca and Ibiza. Foreign capital is now playing a leading part in opening up the less favoured coastal stretches. All the western European nations are represented, including many French and Belgians who have withdrawn their funds from North Africa and the Congo. The Germans are developing the coast between Barcelona and Tarragona; the French Club Méditerranée, with Spanish association, has opened a holiday centre of 400 villas near Cadaqués, on the northern, and quieter, stretch of the Costa Brava; a company headed by a Czech and supported by German capital has started laying out a "tourist residential city" between Algeciras and Cadiz; and foreign interests have put forward a scheme for 3,000 chalets on the Almeria coast, which, although it has the attractions of the sea and an inland lake, the Mar Menor, has not yet shared in the tourist boom. Now the Atlantic coast is being taken up. A German group is reported to have bought a lot of land for villa building near San Sebastian.

Of course, this property boom has sent prices of land rocketing in the favoured areas and in some places, particularly on the Catalan coast, has caused an acute shortage of labour, materials and servants. Every week brings news of further projects.

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late lengthily on the virtues of M. Houphouët-Boigny (is it that one detects an echo of Belgians in Elisabethville?). The black voters, too, seem to be in favour. Of the 1,641,636 votes cast in the elections of November, 1960, only 190 are recorded as not being for the president. In this lies the sense of security—or is it complacency?—felt in French Abidjan. The French population has increased by some thousands since independence.

The head-waiters in the cafés are French; so are the girls behind the counters in the smarter shops. Their fathers are French administrators; their lovers might be a soldier from the French base, or one of the *petit-blanc* electricians or motor mechanics who do the work of Africans. Like the 800 teachers (French) and the army officers (French), the administrators are paid in large part by the French government; sometimes in French francs in Paris. Like the shopkeepers and the factory-managers, all are making money fast, and sending it home faster. Perhaps this, and the fact that three-quarters of the country's imports come from the franc zone (and mainly from France itself), is some compensation to the French treasury for the cash it must allow to flow towards Abidjan.

The cash flow is considerable; around £18 million a year comes from France in one way or another. Some is in direct aid; some in salaries paid; an important part in support for the price of coffee on the French market. Coffee earns half the Ivory Coast's living. It sells in France at an artificially high price; it is an open question how long the French government will be able to keep up this system against the will of the other common market governments. The world market price of coffee has been falling for some time and, anyway, the coffee grown in the Ivory Coast is of poor quality. (But an instant coffee factory has been opened in Abidjan.)

"The only real problem here is the question of coffee," one Frenchman said, a trifle smugly. But even if the country's only problems were economic (and they are not), the real problems are how to diversify agriculture away from coffee, and, most of all, how to wean the economy from the influence of Paris. The Ivory Coast earns about half as much from cocoa as it does from coffee, but relies equally on the French market. Its third sizeable export, wood, is largely grown by French planters who sell it to French buyers. The country's foreign exchange reserves are held in French francs in Paris; the west African franc that circulates within the Ivory Coast is kept stable by a French-influenced board, whose interest is to maintain the value of the franc, and only incidentally to help develop the Ivory Coast economy along African lines.

THE French hold on Abidjan extends beyond material things—not that anyone in Abidjan can be accused of disinterest in worldly goods. The few educated Africans are well-educated, and well-assimilated. The African in charge while the president is away is the minister of state, M. Auguste Denise, who will proclaim to visitors, "I am a product of French colonialism," which is as accurate and honest as his. "We have political independence but we have not economic independence—we must work for that." Yes indeed, but how fast? one was asked by a bearded student, freshly arrived from Paris, who produced his radical *Fédération des Etudiants d'Afrique Noire (Française)* membership card from a deep pocket, as if it were a filthy postcard.

President Houphouët-Boigny, minister in several French governments, would use his favourite quotation from the French colonial administrator, Lyautey, in reply: "*Doucement, doucement, je suis trop pressé.*" The current two-year plan is a mere list of projects. A grander scheme is in the offing; meanwhile there is "austerity" in booming Abidjan. It was spoken of glibly by a round-faced African *chef de cabinet*, fresh back from visiting the president in Paris; he was still in his Paris best, jewelled cuff-links and fat gold ring. House allowances to *fonctionnaires* are being cut this year, car allowances next. A stated proportion of profits and a tithe of

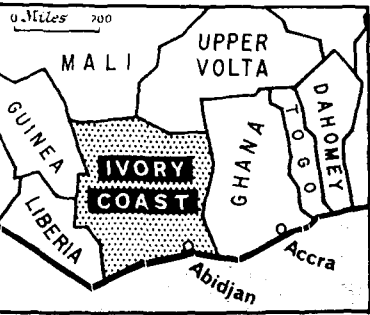
each salary-earner's income must be channelled into investment. The Israelis (who run twice as fast as anyone else in Africa) have been called in to build model *kibbutzim* and organise the *service civique*, which puts young men into the army, and to work. Most of this is admirable: the question is, how many Ivoiriens will really be touched by it? The gap between rich and poor is sorely noticeable even in the showplace of Abidjan, and the fruits of a boom in an economy that is largely foreign can hardly be expected to drop into the canoes on the lagoon.

Yet this pattern—the Gallicisation, the dependence on Paris, the backwardness of most Africans—can be found in varying degrees in the other countries of francophonic Africa. Guinea, which was deserted by France in 1958 and now is being made to beg for the right to return to the de Gaulle fold, is the farthest gone, the Ivory Coast perhaps the most securely attached. In colonial days French West Africa was ruled through a governor in Dakar and lieutenant-governors in the other capitals; today the French design seems to be a spread of influence—commercial, financial, "cultural," and political—through M. Houphouët-Boigny of Abidjan and Paris.

PRESIDENT HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY founder of the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain*, old and respected west African politician, flexible talker, and demonstrably a success in attracting francs to his country, is expected to help keep his neighbours French. Three of them—Upper Volta, Niger, and Dahomey—depend on the Ivory Coast nearly as much as they do on France: through H-B's Conseil d'Entente. The entente is based on a Common Solidarity Fund which effectively channels Ivory Coast money into the pockets of the other three. Last year roughly £1.5 million (1,105 million CFA francs) was paid out by the Ivory Coast in this way: nearly a third of the estimated cost of the presidential palace in Abidjan.

To a country like, say, Upper Volta, the money from the solidarity fund might amount to a third of the sum jointly made up by the Ivory Coast and France to balance the Upper Volta budget. If the four countries of the entente were federated, the pay-out by the Ivory Coast would be considerably more—but M. Houphouët-Boigny has long been a bitter opponent of federation; he is, in a sense, master of the Katanga that got away.

The Abidjan influence is spreading in other ways. In the mornings, trucks bearing the Mali flag rumble across the Pont Houphouët-Boigny to the docks; goods from Bamako go this way rather than through Dakar because of the break-up of the Senegal-Soudan-Mali federation in 1960. Perhaps even M. Sékou Touré, President of Guinea, may pay a visit to Abidjan before long. The sureness that this might be so has been just a little diminished by the news, announced at the beginning of July, that the Mali government will create its own franc—as Guinea did a long while ago. Mali and Guinea forced M. Houphouët-Boigny to lead his entente into independence; if the franc-zone structure is not now to be threatened, Mali's sudden decision will have to be absorbed by Paris and Abidjan alike. Mali will stay within the franc zone:



its revolution is simply to contract out of having a common west African currency controlled (in fact if not on paper) from Paris.

There are other threats to the security of the grand French design, however well it may seem to be working in practice. Since the Algerian war came to an end, even Abidjanians have been

wondering how long the French government will continue to feel the need to bolster its security in west Africa. And how long

will the French taxpayer go on financing the policy? These questions are less easy to answer than the immediate political question within the Ivory Coast: are there any young radicals ready for revolution?

The answer is that there are young radicals, but they do not seem ready. Last year Ivoirien students who spoke out in Paris were flown back to Abidjan by the French government at M. Houphouët-Boigny's request; they were gaoled for a while, then sent back to their studies, outwardly chastened. Today it is not hard to find members of the small circle of dissatisfied young intellectuals in Abidjan; the outspoken ones are outside the governing party.



Houphouët-Boigny
concrete change."

Three such—all teachers—are individuals whose main dissatisfaction seems to be with a lack of *la vie intellectuelle* in Abidjan. They listen to Accra highlife records, Accra radio and Accra politics. "Accra is a centre of thought, art and discussion," one of them said and, sighing, his companion added, "Our rulers wear their Frenchness like a coat—deep down they are Africans but they are so unsure of themselves that they adopt a cloak of false self-assurance—French civilisation." The radical teachers' politics seem, on first acquaintance at least, to be less fervent than their desire to reject the French culture that has assimilated them, and to put something African in its place. It is the old cult of negritude all over again, although some intellectual Abidjanians, for all that they had their own spell in Paris, say that cultural revolt is *dépassé*; "What is wanted now is

But the men who talk like this are few, and all well known to the authorities. They are not organised and, although some have been detained, they are not dangerous enough to keep permanently out of their jobs or in gaol. And the president is adept at cutting the political ground from beneath the feet of the radical *jeunesse*. He has given them an independent country, a thing he once opposed, and he can now be expected to give them slightly more radical political speeches. But not action. South African oranges are on sale in quantity in Abidjan.

From the French point of view and from the point of view of the president, the system seems to be working well. And the idea seems to be sincere: co-operate with the mother while, ever so slowly, the children grow up. With the sound of many voices proclaiming inter-racial co-operation and moderate good sense,

it is hard not to be seduced into believing deeply in it all. But nagging questions still remain: how long will it take the Ivoiriens to begin to treat the French presence as an alien anachronism? It may be some time; there are not so many being brought out into the modern world and those that are are being assimilated. (The favourite medicine for young hotheads is to make them junior ministers.)

Most disturbing, however, is the thought that here Africans have not begun to awaken at all. They are not really running things, nor are they being trained to run things. If all the French departed at once there would be virtually nothing left—the Ivory Coast would be much as the first French explorers found it, with the exception of a few grand, empty buildings and the splendid hollow palace in Abidjan. If this be a nonsense nightmare, it is almost made to come true by the experience of Guinea. But the French community is not preparing to depart from Abidjan. And certainly not all at once. In practice, after all, they still call the Avenue du Général de Gaulle by its old name: Avenue du Commerce.

Colombo the Mediator

FROM OUR ROME CORRESPONDENT

"IF both sides had behaved differently we might have reached full agreement." This unofficial comment on what happened in the common market negotiations at Brussels comes from the Italian foreign ministry, and is not quite as tautological as it sounds. Italians who attended the meetings came away with the impression that the British and French ministers were intransigent more about the form than about the substance of the terms. In particular, they felt that Mr Heath was inhibited by too rigid instructions about forms of words. The British desire for precision seemed to the Italian mind at times to degenerate into almost abstract philological argument. In the early hours of the morning Mr Heath could still be heard murmuring *access . . . guarantees . . . comparable outlets*.

As for M. Couve de Murville's conduct of the French side of the negotiations, the Italians refuse to admit that the intent was to sabotage or delay the proceedings. They say the French were defending positions common to the entire European community; what all the Six want is to safeguard the community's momentum and individuality; what all the Six refuse to accept is the principle of a quantitative guarantee for Commonwealth products or the extension of any form of preference after 1970. The common market, Rome emphatically believes, must have full autonomy to

Umbrella for an Emperor



PR187H

Fifteen hundred years ago the Emperor Maximianus Herculeus caused a lavish hunting lodge to be built for him in a Sicilian valley. And there he remains to this day, immortalized with gods and goddesses, dancing maidens and all the beasts of the hunt in a spectacular carpet of mosaic. Overhead, to ward off the weather and temper the harsh Sicilian sun, is a 75,000-square-foot translucent canopy of a truly 20th-century material—'Perspex', the acrylic plastic discovered and developed by I.C.I. of England.

Tough, weather-resistant and easily shaped, 'Perspex'

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form its own price policy and make world agreements. It cannot accept conditions which would amount to discrimination against countries like the United States or Argentina which also export temperate agricultural products.

Like his British, Belgian and Dutch colleagues, the Italian minister refuses to admit that anything dramatic happened in Brussels. Signor Colombo claims (with Mr Heath and M. Spaak) that the negotiations are adjourned, not interrupted. He argues that, since agreement has been reached on 85 per cent of the points under discussion, it is reasonable to assume that the remaining fifteen per cent can be cleared up. It is fair to add that this will depend very much on Signor Colombo's success in continuing to persuade his French and German partners to change their attitude. Very little has been written here about the Italian minister's part in the negotiations. Signor Colombo, whose future career should be watched, eschews publicity, and few people even in Italy realise that things might have gone much worse in Brussels but for him.

It was he who drew up the plan accepted by the British as the basis of discussion in July. This plan comprised a pledge to call a world conference in 1963 with the aim of concluding world agreements for the products of temperate agriculture; measures to cover the period of transition to 1970, including a form of diminishing community preference for the three Commonwealth countries concerned; and special arrangements if the attempt to reach world agreements breaks down.

At the end of July, the British accepted this plan as the basis of discussion but presented a series of amendments. The French wished to reject these amendments en bloc, but Signor Colombo persuaded them, and the others, to talk about them. His argument was that the Six had made all possible concessions as to substance,

but might still make some alterations to the presentation of their terms. In particular, he suggested they should specifically name the three Commonwealth countries in the clause about price policy; and proposed that the Six should allow New Zealand to be treated as a special case.

The Italian view is that the Six have offered Britain something more substantial than a quantitative guarantee which would freeze trade at its present volume. What they offer is a policy of reasonable prices; in the end, say the Italians, it is probable that the European community as a whole will import more from the Commonwealth than Britain does today. The Italians believe that the concessions made by the Six should enable Mr Heath to present a decent case to the Commonwealth prime ministers on September 10th. Officials here are fairly confident that agreement will be reached in the end. Their belief is based partly on their reading of Lord Home's speech in the House of Lords on August 1st, but even more on the conviction that Britain cannot afford to stay out of an organism as dynamic as the new Europe.

This official confidence is not shared by the entire Italian press; the fear is heard that the British negotiators may lose their nerve. The weakness of Mr Macmillan's government is considered a more serious obstacle than the obstructive tactics of the French. As Italians see it, the European community will be a better place for them (and for the Belgians and the Dutch) with Britain in it; but it would be Britain that would lose most by staying out. The desire to have Britain in Europe is strong in Italy; even stronger, however, is the will to maintain harmony among the Six and to go on building what they have started. If it came to a showdown between Britain and France, the Italians would try conciliation first; but in the end they would stand by their partner.

HOME REPORT Members of the editorial staff and local correspondents report on life and happenings in and around Britain

Traffic Tantrums

LONDON'S planners have still to come to terms with London's traffic—and so have most Londoners. The planners have had their modest successes: the most tangible, the Hammer-smith and Chiswick flyovers, have served both to cut the travel time to London airport and given visitors the momentary impression that they were arriving in a modern country. But the basic decisions that will determine the modern face of London and the viability of the city as a place to work and live in have still to be taken.

How many commercial access routes will have to be improved as drastically (and expensively) as the airport road if London is to continue to do its job as an industrial centre and an expanding, and badly congested, port? How much more tidal flow of commuting traffic can be tolerated on the approach roads and Thames bridges, or accommodated in the centre? If more cars are to be allowed in, what is the cost of the engineering involved, and what will be the economic price for central parking? (One suspects that Mr Marples's charges should be doubled tomorrow even to bring home the vastly uneconomic use that parked cars already make of central London roadspace.) If London cannot cope with more traffic without embarking on a sustained Los Angelisation, what is being done to encourage motorists back on to public transport? Are there going to be car parks and electric train services where the motorways end? Is, in fact, the road system of the London

region to be given any semblance of integration with the tubes and Southern Region?

Mr Marples inherited an appalling mess, including a London and suburban public that had hardly begun to think of the consequences of its own actions as road users. It is not surprising that his own attempts to educate road users should have highly irritated them or that some of his, and his experts', temporary and experimental schemes should have been half-baked. It is not surprising, either, that piecemeal reform or experiments should have set up agonising local opposition to any changes that have increased heavy traffic or, worst crime of all in the suburban mind, affected property values. Two current rows in London illustrate the perils of the reformer. The first is at Highgate Village over Mr Marples's lorry freeway to the London docks; the second at Blackheath over a London County Council plan to route the new Dover road through that posh suburb.

Mr Marples's scheme for Highgate Village is to declare a lorry route through the High Street as part of his master (temporary) plan to speed the transit of goods from the north to the London docks. The street, with its shops, schools, hospital and houses, looks patently unsuitable for the task, but it happens to be true that there is no alternative road which alone could carry the volume of traffic envisaged (and already demonstrated). Some little way off is the Archway Road, designed in the early nineteenth century to carry parcels and goods from the north to London; it is designated by Mr Marples as the southbound route for the lorries, and the Village High Street, with its steep rise, as the northbound one.

The villagers, as could be expected, want all traffic to go along Archway Road, which could be widened to take it; Archway people want the minister's plan to go through as it is, countering claims that they merely want to keep their property intact with the charge that the Village merely wants to avoid a fall in its values. The quarrel has occupied the Highgate residents to the exclusion of the real point at issue: is such a lorry route a desirable thing at all?

In the same way, residents of Blackheath have been battering at London County Council, which proposes to run an urban motorway linking M2, the Kentish trunk motorway, with central London along the line of the railway which already cuts alongside their chief pleasure, the heath itself. To all appearance, this extension is expressly designed, not to relieve congestion, but to build it up at the existing bottleneck at the Marquis of Granby. Again the local protest has been directed to shifting the road somewhere else, or its burial under the heath, or its embedding in a deep cutting: everyone seems to accept the motorway as necessary in principle.

The central problem is one of planning and of public relations: and the second follows the first. Unless there is a coherent official argument, based on traffic priorities, and a public comprehension of London's road policy as a purposeful whole, householders are always going to jib, and keep on jibbing, at schemes (particularly "temporary" schemes like the Highgate one that could last indefinitely) that crop up on their own doorsteps. Why shouldn't any scheme be landed on the people in the next street? Piecemeal relief which has proliferated, particularly in London, over the

past decade is never likely to win friends; an attempt at regional planning is just about the one sure means (short of establishing a dictator in the Ministry of Transport) to get a traffic policy under way. Since London's outer suburbia has spent most of the past year strenuously resisting the idea that it has anything to do with the city anyway, and trying to opt out of the Greater London Council, it can be grasped how far away regional planning is—in many other places besides Highgate and Blackheath.



Embattled village

The Yorkshire Lakes

FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN LEEDS

LEEDS is trying to solve its water problems with more pronounced tact than Manchester's grab for Ullswater. Leeds' operations are centred in the little Washburn Valley, near Otley, which has been acclaimed by local patriots as the West Riding's lake district. The lakes, however, are actually the reservoirs built by Leeds Corporation and after a dry early summer anxious eyes have been watching their levels.

In 1867 the Leeds Waterworks Act authorised the construction of four reservoirs to impound the river Washburn. Lindley Wood (670 million gallons) was completed in 1875, Swinsty (866 million gallons) in 1876 and Fewston (846 million gallons) in 1879. The present Thruscross scheme was not started until last year after

Leeds had suffered two acute water shortages. In 1949 the city's water stocks fell almost to rationing level, and for some weeks late in 1959 after a dry summer, no water was available in the city at night.

Dry summers will undoubtedly bring similar problems until 1965. By that time Thruscross (1,727 million gallons) should be in operation. It is being built at a cost of over £1 million. With it, the city's water storage capacity will be increased from the present 148 days' supply to 202 days' supply.

A year ago the site was a peaceful, sylvan one. Now a huge cavity across the valley marks the line of the dam and the river has been temporarily diverted for 140 ft. of its length. High in the air has been slung a 1,200 ft. long electrically-operated cable-

way to carry loads of concrete for the dam, which will rise more than 200 ft. above the river bed. A few beauty spots will be submerged and a small church which will disappear below the water level is to be replaced on higher ground half a mile away.

At the same time as waters from the new reservoir (the first to be built since 1929 when that at Leighton, near Ripon, was opened) begin to flow from Leeds taps, a second new source of about 4 million gallons a day will become available from the river Derwent abstraction scheme—a joint operation by Sheffield, Leeds, Barnsley and Rotherham. These supplies are expected to keep Leeds going until 1986.

The city's present daily consumption is slightly more than 24 million gallons, of which 13.5 million gallons are for domestic purposes, 8.4 million gallons for industrial requirements and 2.1 million gallons in bulk supplies to other authorities. Modern housing development which has replaced slum property has put a greater strain on the city's water supplies, but the average consumption per head of population has been pegged in recent years by improved methods of detecting waste.



Outlook at Fewston



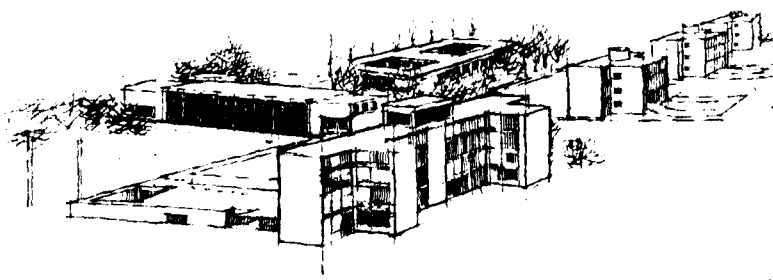
Leeds' search for water began in 1693, when it was agreed to "designe and lay an engine to convey water from the River of Aire through the streets to the sev'all houses with the towne of Leeds". As the town grew, the supply system was extended by the Leeds Waterworks Company and then by the corporation, which took over responsibility in 1852. Before then a reservoir had been constructed at Eccup, a few miles from the city centre on the edge of Harewood Park. The Washburn Valley itself was already declining before its pastures were first flooded in the 1870s. Its

golden age was early in the nineteenth century when it boasted corn and linen mills along the river banks. The advent of steam power was the real killer of the valley's own industries which were driven nearer to the West Riding coal fields.

THERE is little wrong with the valley today. The present scars will heal just as surely as those created 80 years ago. The corporation has planted about 1,200 acres mainly with spruce, Scots pine and larch, but with a proportion of oak, ash, beech and sycamore. Afforestation is the

THE ECONOMIST AUGUST 18, 1962

most satisfactory way of utilising spare land around a reservoir. Carpets of pine needles filter the top water and prevent a quick runoff in the gathering grounds. Jays, woodpeckers and magpies abound in the valley, and there are also grouse and plovers. Fishing is allowed in Fewston and Swinsty reservoirs, which hold a good many trout, and among the water fowl are mallard and Canada geese. It seems idyllic beside the stories of the prospective rape of Ullswater—and, of course, there are no Welshmen to complain of the drowning of their valleys either.



On the Billingham campus

Going Multilateral

FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN DURHAM

COUNTY DURHAM, which was faced with a school building problem of huge proportions after the war, is at last beginning to see daylight, not only in its construction programme but in getting rid of some of the bad aspects of the selection system at secondary level. Nearly every district of any size in the county has now got its new modern or grammar-technical school, and by the mid-1960s the county education committee hopes to be in sight of having places in grammar-technical schools for 25 per cent of the school population.

Next month, returning secondary school pupils will find that they are not merely members of a school, but of a multilateral unit of four or five schools, all linked together and grouped with the grammar-technical school for the area. This scheme, which Durham has worked out from its own experience and after watching other authorities' experiments, will retain a selection examination for grammar school places, but without the sense of academic and social finality associated with the unredeemed 11-plus.

The scheme developed from the education committee's plans for Billingham, the town which has grown up amid the vast ICI works on Tees-side. There, like everywhere else in Durham, new schools were needed, but the difference was the existence of a site which would accommodate not one, but five schools and ancillary buildings. Called the Billingham Campus School, the five blocks, when complete, will educate 2,650 children of both sexes (the committee favours co-education—but not comprehensive schools as such). To foster the feeling of integration, each of the five schools is to be called a hall, and the children will all wear similar uniforms and badges, whichever hall they attend.

Bede Hall, the grammar-technical school, will open next month. Stephenson Hall will be used for all streams of pupils in their introductory year, both to let them

find their feet on the campus and to check that the selection procedure has been efficient. Davy, Faraday, and Browning Halls will provide different types of modern school education. All the halls will share facilities such as science labs, the domestic science and craft block, the physical education block, and later, it is hoped, a swimming pool and sports hall. These last exotic touches are possible when the cost can be spread over the equivalent of five schools.

Most important, there will be full opportunity to transfer pupils from one hall to another so that they are provided with the type of education best suited to their ability. The campus scheme should have the advantages of the comprehensive school without some of its size disadvantages.

The multilateral unit scheme to be applied to the whole county is a variation of the Billingham campus scheme, although obviously the committee cannot rebuild the existing schools on the campus system. Each grammar-technical school in an area is to become the focal point for the modern schools in the immediate neighbourhood. Each group of schools will have only one board of governors. The 11-plus will be used for the initial grading, but at the end of each year the heads of all the schools will gather in committee to discuss transfers.

PARITY of esteem between the schools in each group is the aim of Mr W. N. Linkleter, the deputy director in charge of secondary education. Mr Linkleter says: "We are not going to talk about transfers up or down, but transfers across. By and large we have found our selection procedure efficient, but we want to make it clear that selection at 11-plus does not shut the gates for any boy or girl."

While all the schools will have the same basic curriculum, it is intended to vary the

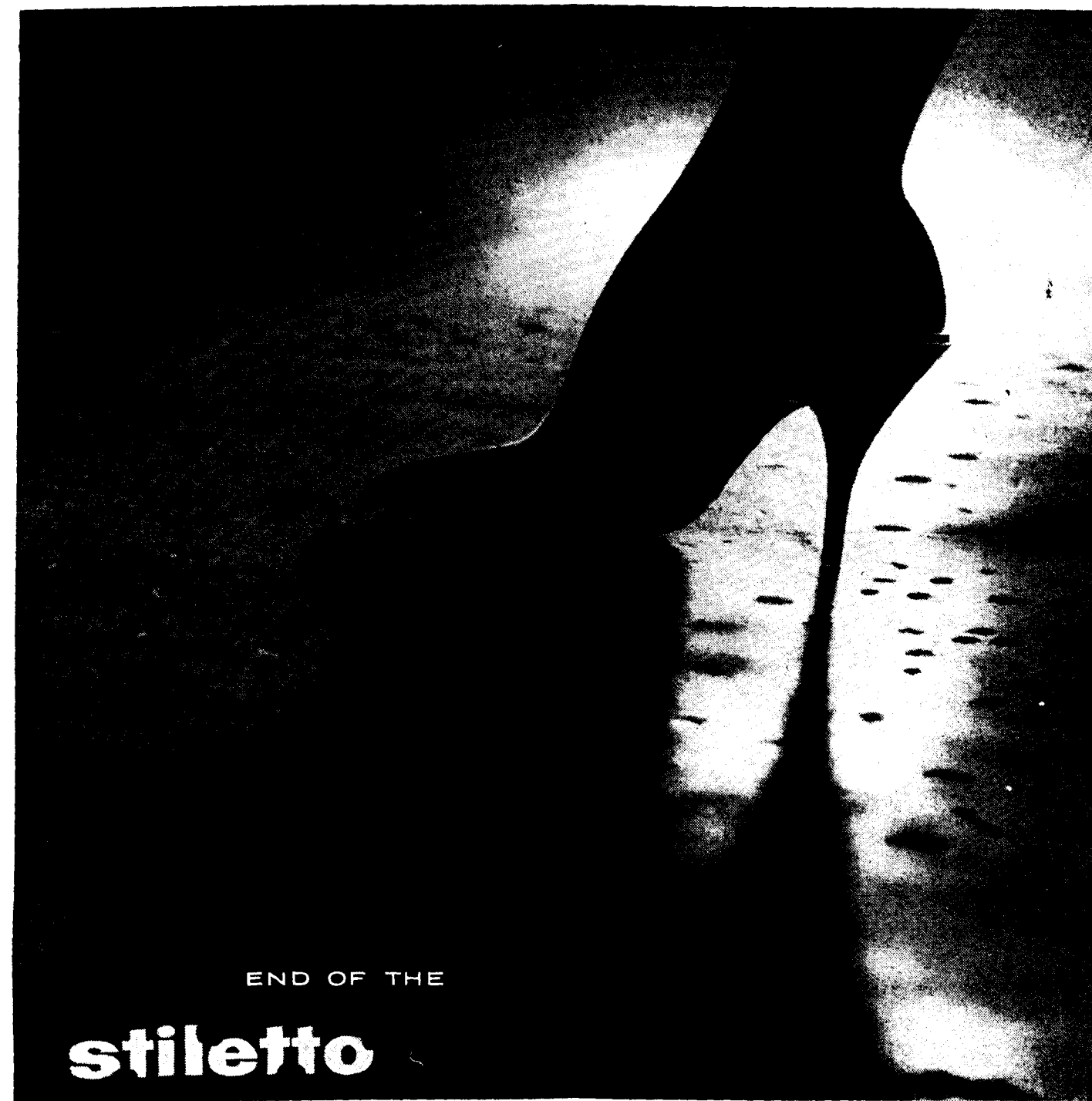
bias of the courses at each of the modern schools in a unit. One will provide a course leading to the General Certificate of Education for pupils who just failed to get a grammar school place. Another will provide a course with a commercial bias for the boy or girl thinking of clerkships in industry. The third will have a technical bias to produce the skilled craftsmen of the future, and the fourth a course linked to the employment opportunities of the area, agricultural or industrial. Inevitably there will not be the same sharing of general facilities between the grammar-technical and modern schools of a unit as on the Billingham campus itself.

There has been some controversy over the proposals, but not as much as might have been expected in an education-conscious county like Durham. Some of it has centred upon the wholesale jettisoning of school governors: there will be one governing board of 25 members for each multilateral unit. Mr Linkleter says: "It means that a number of people who have served us well and loyally will not have posts on governing boards in future. We regret this, but to have one governing body does seem to be the one big unifying aspect of the scheme."

Another point has been the probable reaction of modern school headmasters who see their best pupils transferred, thus affecting the examination records of their own schools. It is highly unlikely that the parents of grammar school pupils moved to a modern school will regard this as a "transfer across"; they will look upon it as a straight downgrading. Rather wishfully, the education committee hopes that parents will be philosophical, emphasises that it does not expect many such transfers. One likely result is that the system will act as a spur on some of the pupils in "C" forms of grammar schools. Those who think they can rest on their laurels once they have got there will have to think again.

THE ECONOMIST AUGUST 18, 1962

613



END OF THE stiletto vendetta

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AMERICAN SURVEY

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Timing the Tax Cut

1—To Help the Economy

NEW YORK

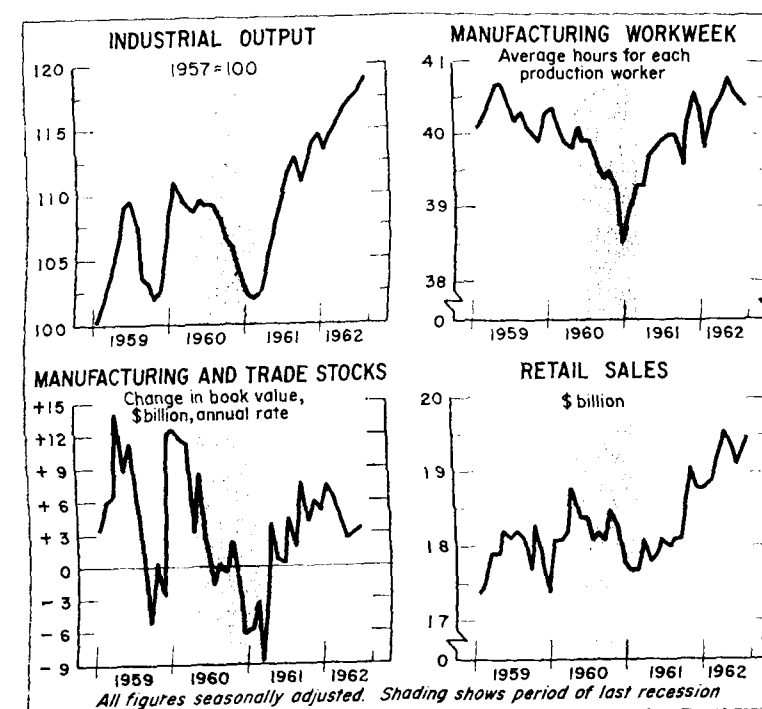
THE latest readings of the economic indicators, showing, as expected, a slight rise from the plateau reached in May and June, could be said to remove any fear that a recession, as President Kennedy put it, was "a clear and present danger." So, after prolonged debate within the White House and copious soundings of congressional sentiment, Mr Kennedy decided against asking for an immediate cut in taxes and settled for a pronouncement in favour of a general speed-up in economic activity. The economy will now have to depend on its own devices, plus whatever help short of a tax cut it can get from the Administration and Congress. This assistance could turn out to be substantial and the private sector is displaying enough basic strength to assure some further advance from current levels. Thus Mr Kennedy has some grounds for arguing confidently that a comprehensive programme of tax reductions accompanied by tax reforms next year may be a more effective cure for what ails the economy than preventive medicine in the form of a tax cut now would be—even if the politicians would have allowed it to happen.

This decision was not a comfortable one for the White House to make, for in a sense it committed the Administration to accepting a sluggish rather than a fast rate of economic growth, at least over the next six months. But the decision was inevitable once the initiative on taxes was granted to Congress and the pause in the economy gave way to a mild upward movement. Mr Kennedy himself acknowledged that the rate of growth had been a disappointment and put the main responsibility for inhibiting and retarding the advance in the economy on the rigidities in the present tax structure. His indictment was so severe that it was plainly hard for him to put off doing something about the situation. But he has been persuaded that the only way to get Congress to go along with the reforms in the system which are essential is to offer tax cuts as part of the package. In contrast to a few weeks ago, when the risk of a recession some time before the end of the year made the Administration give priority to tax cuts, the attitude today is that reform must be pushed because a downturn in the economy can now be avoided. In fact, the threat of an actual and imminent recession has never been great and most of those, in the Administra-

tion and out, who wanted action on taxes were thinking primarily of accelerating and extending the economic expansion, not of cushioning a decline. The series of leading indicators developed by the National Bureau of Economic Research and other statistical methods, which provide what amounts to an early warning system on the economy's prospects, generally suggest that the current slow rise in activity will reach its peak sometime in the next six months. These forecasts are far from infallible, however, and the mixed bag in July, with some of the figures showing an upturn, has made accurate interpretations more difficult. Certainly there is no danger of the current pause giving way to a decline in the immediate future; the outlook is settled for a modest increase in business activity as a whole. During the next few months, at least, industrial production should inch upwards and, with government spending due to increase, there should be a further rise in personal incomes which will aid sales of both durable and non-durable goods.

The paradoxical nature of the leading indicators is illustrated by the rate of increase in manufacturing and trading stocks which has been declining, partly because of the build-up of steel supplies when a strike seemed likely, partly because of cautious estimates by businessmen of the demand for goods. Sales, although far from ebullient, have been ahead of expectations so that the ratio of stocks to sales is at a low point. This means that stocks cannot be regarded as a seriously weak spot; a falling off in sales will mean some further liquidation of stocks but, if the July recovery in retail sales continues, then restocking may take place at an even faster rate and provide a lift for other sectors of the economy.

But, while the immediate economic outlook cannot be classified as ominous, neither the Administration, nor Wall Street, can regard the slowing pace of the advance with anything at all approaching satisfaction. The decline in the average workweek as well as the high level of unemployment are worrying and neither the outlook for corporate profits nor the large amount of excess industrial capacity which is still available suggests that there is likely to be any big increase in capital spending on new plant and equipment. Admittedly, inflation is no longer a threat and the balance of payments is less of a problem than it was, but the general performance of the economy under President Kennedy is falling far short of the rate of growth which was aimed at and which is required to reach full employment and to balance the federal Budget.



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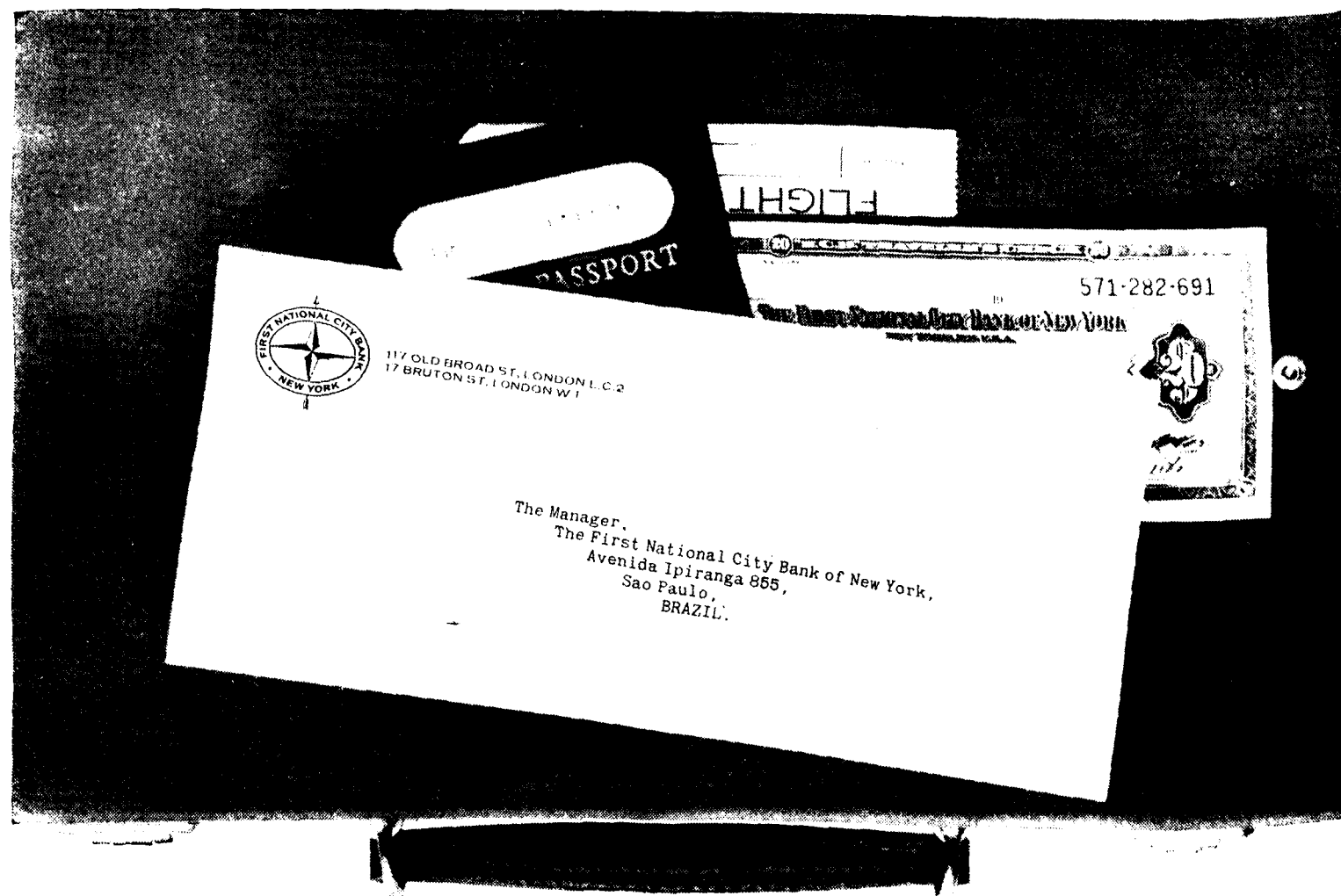
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Although a sharp improvement in business does not seem likely, the President's decision has some positive aspects. Without the increase in the government's deficit which an immediate tax cut would bring, the pressure for a tighter credit policy and higher interest rates should abate. Officials have been concerned at the recent stiffening in long-term rates and at the money market's anticipation of a further substantial rise; they are relieved because without a tax cut there is no need for a tightening of monetary policy which might have stifled those areas of the economy which are now showing strength. They had taken this position even before the encouraging improvement in the balance of payments was made public and they feel that credit restraint is no longer required now that the deficit on the international account should be under \$1.5 billion for the year.

The improvement in the payments position is greater than appears on the surface, yet this restoration of confidence in the dollar cannot be relied on as long as there is a deficit in the federal Budget; this was already in the making, even without a tax cut now. With business rising at a slower than expected pace, tax receipts are lower than was estimated earlier and outlays are going up, partly because of the so-called automatic stabilisers, such as unemployment benefits, and partly because of increases, planned and unplanned, in government expenditures. It is still too early to estimate the amount of the deficit, which depends on congressional action, the ultimate size and timing of next year's tax cut and the future level of business, but it could be sizeable, ranging from \$4 billion to \$10 billion in the 1963 year which ends next June.

Leaving aside a possible tax cut next year, the whole of the 1963 deficit is being incurred in the first half of the fiscal year, which is the last half of the calendar year 1962, so that the downward drag which was exerted by the temporary surplus in the Budget in the April-June quarter is now being reversed. Coupled with a relatively easy credit policy, the existence of this deficit is bound to have some stimulative impact for the rest of this year. But, unless a tax reduction does something to offset the funds which will be drawn out of the economy by tax payments during the first half of 1963, this impact will be short-lived.

The Administration, however, is hoping that the powerful stimulus of a tax cut will be provided early next year at the time when the economy will be most in need of it. But there is no assurance that Congress will do the President's bidding and the Administration's decision that nothing drastic needs to be done now is being criticised on the grounds that it is giving rise to expectations which may not be fulfilled. Certainly, unless Mr Kennedy uses the respite he has asked for to construct a programme aimed at encouraging growth, and then shows aggressive leadership in bringing about its enactment, the Administration cannot hope to shake off the shackles that have been impeding the attainment of full employment. The willingness to risk short-term stagnation in the interests of long-term expansion is justified only if the White House can win over a recalcitrant Congress. Despite Mr Kennedy's show of confidence, there is as much doubt about this prospect as about the outlook for the economy itself.

2—To Win Over Congress

WASHINGTON, DC

THAT Congress is always ready to vote for a reduction in taxes and would fairly jump at the chance in an election year is an old axiom of American politics which is today in a bad state of repair if not entirely exploded. It was congressional reluctance to vote for a tax cut much more than economic considerations which led President Kennedy to announce this week that he would not seek an immediate lowering of income tax rates to stimulate the economy, but would stick instead to his original plan of calling for a general reform of the tax system next year. The mighty

House Ways and Means Committee, in which all revenue Bills originate, and its chairman, Mr Mills of Arkansas, are irrevocably opposed to an emergency tax reduction and in this they represent the general opinion on Capitol Hill in both houses and in both parties.

With such a climate prevailing in Congress, Mr Kennedy decided to forgo the quick tax relief which is needed, according to many of his economic advisers, to stimulate the economy rather than risk still another humiliating rebuff from the legislative branch. As might be expected the President did not attribute his decision directly to congressional resistance but declared that economic conditions were not so unfavourable as to warrant an immediate reduction in taxes. However, he hedged by promising to call Congress into special session late this year to cut taxes if the economy deteriorates. But such a special session is considered highly unlikely.

Apart from stifling all hopes of a tax reduction this year, Congress's attitude also casts a shadow over the Administration's long-term plans for tax reform. The Treasury has been planning its strategy on the theory that the assumed irresistibility of lower taxes would force Congress to swallow, as part of the same Bill, some politically unpleasant changes in the structure of taxation, such as limitations on the advantages enjoyed by the oil and gas producing industry. But Congress's lack of enthusiasm this summer for Mr Kennedy's tacit offer to cut taxes without insisting on tough reforms or attaching any other strings suggests that the Treasury's theory may not be valid.

It was to be expected that the Republicans would oppose an emergency tax cut. Not only does the device of reducing taxation when the federal Budget is showing a deficit run counter to the economic orthodoxy still followed by most Republicans, but Republican politicians are also understandably chary about a tax cut whose political benefits, if any, in the forthcoming congressional elections would be reaped by a Democratic Administration and a Democratic-controlled Congress. What has been a shock to the Administration, and to others, has been the nearly equal opposition to an immediate reduction in taxes which has come from Democrats, including a good many liberals who are usually in step with Mr Kennedy.

AT the heart of this opposition is the apprehension of rank-and-file Democrats in Congress about the political repercussions which a tax reduction might have when the Budget is out of balance. Democrats facing difficult battles for re-election on November 6th know that they would have to answer revitalised Republican charges of fiscal irresponsibility. More important, there is a widespread feeling among Democratic politicians that the American voter will accept annual deficits in the Budget if he feels that Congress is really trying to balance it, but that he simply will not tolerate action by Congress which enlarges the deficit deliberately even though professional economists may say that such action is called for when the economy is sluggish.

On the other side of the coin, Democratic Congressmen doubt whether they would benefit politically from an emergency tax plan of the nature contemplated by the Administration: this was for an across-the-board reduction in personal income taxes at all levels accompanied by a similar drop in taxes on corporate incomes. Congressmen reason that tax relief would hardly be enough to impel businessmen and other people who enjoy high incomes to stop voting for Republicans, while the relief granted to Democratic-voting wage earners in the middle and lower income classes would be so minuscule that the average factory worker might not even notice it. Many rank-and-file Democrats are sympathetic to the demands of labour leaders that the benefits of tax reduction should be concentrated in the lower levels, but such a plan was never seriously considered by either Congress or the Administration.

In addition to these sweeping political considerations, the discarded emergency tax cut plan of the Administration was distasteful to certain Democrats for a variety of personal and economic reasons. One faction of liberal Democrats maintains that what the economy needs badly is more spending by the government, not less taxes paid to it. Those Democrats who have inherited the easy money tradition of the Populists see in tax reduction an excuse for the bankers to push up interest rates in order to curb inflation. Still other Democrats simply do not believe that the economy is in a bad enough state to need a tax cut at this time; this school includes Senator Douglas, the only professional economist in the Senate.

All the haggling and speculation about tax reduction during the past six weeks may push toward passage some of Mr Kennedy's other proposals which might otherwise have fallen by the wayside. The talk about slackness in the economy has greatly improved the outlook for a Bill to increase spending on public works and has revived a Bill, supposedly hopelessly stalled in the Ways and Means Committee, providing federal funds for extending unemployment insurance payments beyond the periods set by state laws. A drastically altered and badly mangled version of the tax revision Bill, first put forward by Mr Kennedy in 1961, which attempts in limited fashion to correct some tax inequities and includes a modicum of tax relief for industrialists who purchase new equipment, is now given a fair chance of passage after having been written off as dead.

On balance, however, Democrats in Congress are disquieted by Mr Kennedy's abortive adventure into tax cutting and wish that he and his Cabinet members had never started to hint that this might be on the way. Nor was the President's reputation as a national leader enhanced when he implied to trade union leaders during a private meeting at the White House last week that congressional hostility prevented him from suggesting tax reductions now. Certainly, the Administration's general handling of the affair has not shown decisiveness or careful planning. It is for this reason that politicians of both parties believe that even though Mr Kennedy avoided an overt defeat from Congress by not calling for an immediate reduction, the President has not escaped entirely unscathed from the great tax cut debate of 1962.

Whose Giveaway?

A LITTLE band of Democratic liberals had a taste of their own medicine this week when the Senate, by 63 votes to 27, choked off their filibuster against the Administration's Bill on space communications. All these liberals believe strongly that closure should be made easier to prevent the southern Democrats from talking to death Bills extending Negro rights and, in fact, until this week a motion for closure has not succeeded since 1927: in all, debate in the Senate has been limited on only four—now five—occasions. When their tempers cool the liberals may not be altogether happy to have made filibustering semi-respectable and to have shown that closure is in fact possible under Rule 22. This provides that debate can be shut off only by a two-thirds vote of all the Senators present and voting. On Tuesday there were three votes to spare but, if Senator Kefauver is right, the margin of victory was due to pressure put on anti-closure Southerners to stay away. If such pressure was applied it shows that even Senator Mansfield, the gentle and ineffective leader of the Democrats in the Senate, has a turning-point. His failure to deal firmly with a southern filibuster earlier in the session and his inability to control the Senate's powerful conservatives provide some excuse for the liberal revolt.

The thirteen northern and western Democrats who voted against closure had strange bed-fellows: twelve southern Democrats, but of the Republicans only Senators Goldwater and Tower. On this

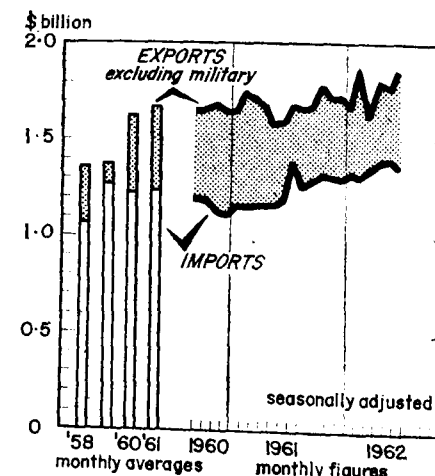
occasion even conservative Republicans who normally vote with the Southerners against closure felt that a vote for limiting debate was a vote for free enterprise. The Administration's Bill, which has already been passed by a large majority in the House of Representatives, provides for a private corporation to own and operate the new system of space communications by satellites with half of the voting shares owned by the communications companies, half by members of the public. Each group would elect six of the fifteen directors; only three would be appointed by the President. Operations and rates would be regulated by the Federal Communications Commission.

The liberals called this a gigantic giveaway of a great public asset to private interests and particularly to the American Telephone & Telegraph Company; they proposed government ownership. They also objected that the Bill provided for insufficient public control, particularly of the negotiations which the corporation will conduct with foreign governments and bodies. But the critics got no satisfaction out of the special hearings held for their benefit by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Virtually every spokesman for the Administration pronounced the Bill perfect and the need for haste imperative. The measure was returned to the Senate without so much as a comma changed and is now expected to pass promptly. Such steamroller tactics may have relieved a few of the frustrations which this dilatory session has caused. But Senator Humphrey may have been more far-sighted when he suggested that some of the liberals' objections had weight and should be embodied in the Bill.

Trade in the Balance

THE improvement in the balance of America's international payments in the April-June quarter, when the deficit was only \$250 million after allowing for seasonal factors, compared with \$435 million in the first quarter, was due in large part to the merchandise account. Exports have been running at a record rate all through 1962, between 6 and 7 per cent above the first six months of 1961, and in June they were higher than ever before except in one month during the 1957 Suez crisis. On the other side of the account, imports have not risen as fast as had been expected, since the economic recovery and therefore the demand for foreign goods in the United States has slackened its pace sooner than was forecast; imports actually went down in June. The value of imports increased by \$140 million between the first and second quarters, but exports went up even more and the favourable showing on the trading account was responsible for about two-thirds of the fall in the deficit on the total balance of payments. Details of what caused the rest of this fall are not available but a \$60 million repayment of debt by France helped and so did Canada's financial difficulties.

More such repayments of foreign debts will appear in the current quarter's accounts but the remedial action which has now been taken by Canada is likely to have an adverse effect on the flow of Canadian funds to the United States. This action will also presumably bring a fall in American exports to Canada. Exports are



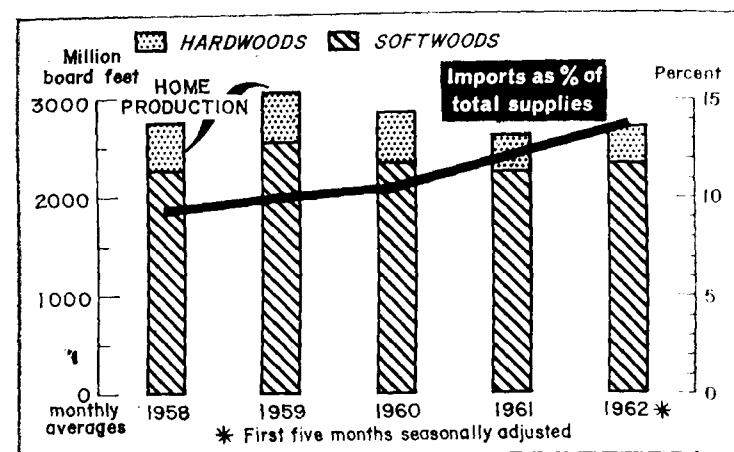
also likely to suffer from the increases in tariffs since July 1st on goods entering the European common market; certain plastics and chemicals will be especially affected by higher duties imposed in retaliation for the increased protection which the United States is now giving to its own producers of glassware and carpets. Indeed some of the recent rise in American exports may have been in anticipation of the coming restrictions on trade with Canada and Europe. The expansion of exports is therefore likely to fall off during the rest of this year and the annual rate of \$21.7 billion reached in the second quarter may even turn out to be the high-water mark.

This is, however, very near the \$22 billion which is aimed at for 1962 as a whole by the officials responsible for the American drive to increase exports, now over a year old. Its latest manifestation is the appointment of 30 leading businessmen to head export expansion councils in their respective regions and to advise local companies which are looking for markets abroad; the hope is that 10 per cent will be added to exports in the coming year. But an earlier spur to exports is looked for from the new insurance programme for goods sold abroad on credit which is a joint enterprise of private insurance companies and the Export-Import Bank. This extends the short-term insurance which has been available since February to cover periods up to five years and should make it much easier for American businessmen to finance exports, particularly of capital goods. They are now, it is said, on an equal footing in this respect with their foreign competitors; transactions are guaranteed up to 85 per cent of their value against political risks, such as trade restrictions or revolution, as well as against default on the part of the buyer.

Wooden Touch

PROTECTIONIST groups are rallying their forces for a last stand in the Senate against the trade expansion Bill. Among them are the oil companies, the shoe manufacturers and, above all, the textile interests which the Administration thought it had bought off but which are now trying to raise their price. The trade Bill is not thought to be in serious danger but the appetites of all groups have been whetted by concessions made recently, and very quietly, to yet one more candidate for special consideration—the lumber industry.

Western lumbermen have been complaining for months about the inroads which imports are making into their markets, particularly into that on the east coast. Canada, which ten years ago supplied only 7 per cent of this market, now provides nearly three-quarters of the lumber which it takes. One reason why Canada undersells the domestic product in Atlantic ports is that its exporters can use the cheapest shipping available while American goods in intercoastal trade must travel in costly American ships.



American saw-mills also complain that they cannot obtain government timber as freely and cheaply as their Canadian competitors can. On top of this has come the devaluation of the Canadian dollar. A more basic trouble, however, is the competition offered to softwoods by newer building materials.

About a hundred saw-mills in the Northwest have closed in the past two years but in part at least this is due to the long-standing trend to larger units. In Oregon and Washington employment in the industry as a whole is actually higher than it was last year. But members of Congress from the area are determined not to return empty-handed to stand for re-election. Senator Morse, though a liberal Democrat, has been hinting that he will vote against the trade Bill if the "liquidation of the lumber industry" does not cease. Officials have been pointing out in vain that Canada is America's best customer for many other goods. Last month the Administration gave way and announced that it was initiating talks looking toward a voluntary restriction of Canadian exports of lumber to the United States and that domestic lumber would be given preference in government purchases, including those for foreign aid. It also recommended that the shipping laws should be altered to permit American lumber to travel in foreign bottoms.

The advocates of freer trade deplore such steps, which are so contrary to the spirit of the trade expansion Bill. But the lumbermen, who want a quota limiting Canadian imports to about 10 per cent of the domestic consumption of softwoods, are not much happier. They know that Canada, with its balance of payments troubles, will not volunteer very readily or rapidly to limit its exports even though there is a club in the American closet: the Tariff Commission's investigation, under the escape clause, of the lumber industry's complaints. And in Congress the inter-coastal shipping lines, which are themselves a sick industry, will fight hard to retain their monopoly.

Rs for Republicans

THERE was no need for a primary election in Michigan to confirm that Mr George Romney would be the Republican candidate for Governor of that state in next November's election. No one was fighting him for the nomination; nor was anyone opposing the present Governor, Mr Swainson, for the Democratic nomination. As far as these two were concerned, therefore, last week's election was simply a popularity contest—and in this Mr Romney came out far ahead; some 450,000 Republicans went to the trouble of voting for him while only about 320,000 Democrats cast ballots for Mr Swainson. The present Governor is a colourless figure who has been constantly frustrated by a Republican Legislature; but between now and November the automobile workers' union, which dominates the Detroit area where over half the state's voters live, will be doing its powerful best to ensure that the Democrats do not lose a Governorship which they have held since 1948. Mr Romney is not, however, without appeal for trade unionists; as head of the American Motors Corporation he negotiated the first profit-sharing contract in the industry. His business competitors seem to have stifled the resentment which was aroused by such unorthodox behaviour now that he has a good chance of winning next November's contest provided that he has the full support of his party. Last week's election showed that he is stamping his liberal, progressive pattern on that party—in Michigan, at least. Reactionary, right-wing Republican candidates for other offices in the state, who would have been a constant embarrassment to him, were all defeated.

In California Mr Richard Nixon, another Republican who is trying to oust a Democratic Governor, has also now got the party machine in his state under control. But there the ultra-conserva-

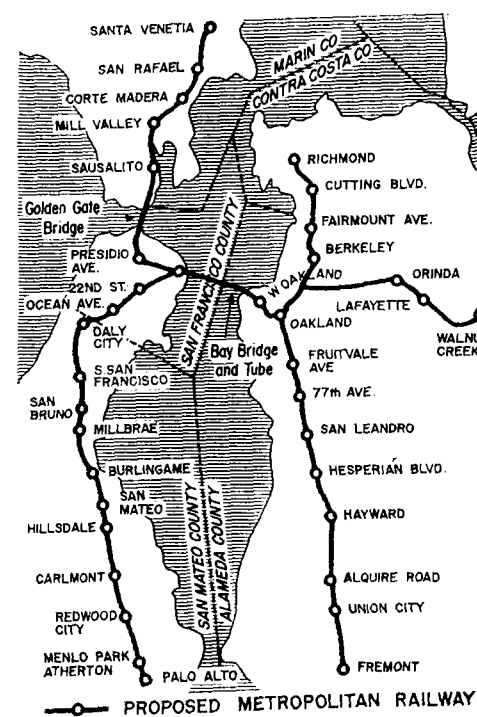
tives are much stronger and they may still lose the election for Mr Nixon. If they do he will no longer be a presidential possibility; if he becomes Governor, he has promised to serve his full four-year term and to stay out of the national race in 1964. This week Mr Romney gave the same promise—almost certainly sincerely, in his case. This leaves Governor Rockefeller of New York, a Republican incumbent whose Democratic opponents have not even been able as yet to find a nominee to run against him next November, with a clear claim to be the next Republican candidate for the White House. It is a claim which suddenly seems worth having, now that President Kennedy is being criticised so widely, and Mr Rockefeller is pressing it to an extent which seems almost irresponsible. In any event it did last week, when he joined the ineffable Senator Dirksen in accusing the Administration of endangering the national security by its latest attempt to get the Russians to accept a ban on nuclear tests.

Rapid Transit Moves

FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN SAN FRANCISCO

THE dream of a seventy-five-mile system of suburban trains, underground, on the surface and up in the air, to link San Francisco with the cities and suburbs eastward across the Bay came one step nearer to reality last month, when the governing bodies of all three counties now concerned gave their consent to putting a \$792 million bond issue for the scheme before the voters in November. Despite years of skilful preparatory work by leading advocates of the Bay Area Rapid Transit District, the third and smallest county very nearly brought the whole enterprise to a halt. The Contra Costa County Board of Supervisors finally voted three-to-two in favour but only after its hitherto uncommitted fifth member had been urged on by two telephone calls from the Governor of California and a personal visit from the Mayor of San Francisco.

Both the San Francisco and Alameda (Oakland) County Boards had given their unanimous approval earlier; Contra Costa hung back because it contains substantial areas that will not be reached by the proposed lines. The episode illustrates the difficulties in the way of any such progressive move towards solving metropolitan problems. Both Governor Brown, a Democrat standing for re-



election, and Mayor Christopher of San Francisco, who is the Republican candidate for Lieutenant Governor, regard success for BARTD as crucial in a state with California's fast-growing population and heavy urban concentrations. Yet the wavering Contra Costa Supervisor spoke as though his vote represented a real sacrifice for the sake of progress: he had dared to look beyond the interests of his immediate constituents.

The project still faces the stiff task of winning the approval of 60 per cent of voters, many of whom cling to the American faith in "my automobile, right or wrong." They also fear the increase in local rates, which will amount to about \$27 a year for an average householder. Officials of BARTD maintain that the only possible alternative—more roads—would cost twice as much. Originally, as the map shows, the scheme would also have connected San Francisco's northern and southern suburbs with the city. The difficulties in adapting the Golden Gate Bridge to carry trains to Marin County and the refusal of San Mateo County to participate have eliminated these branches. But if the project succeeds, few doubt that these other areas will join in eventually—at far greater cost.

Less Work—More Jobs?

ONE consequence of the failure to speed up economic growth is that the trade union movement is now officially committed to the 35-hour workweek as a cure for unemployment. The executive council of the American Federation of Labour and Council of Industrial Organisations, which met this week in Chicago, has announced a double-pronged drive to spread the work: by individual trade unions in their bargaining with employers and by pressure on Congress to amend the Wages and Hours Act, which covers both union and non-union labour. Since 1940 this has provided that workers in interstate commerce shall be paid overtime, at time and a half of their usual wages, for any hours they work over forty a week. Special committees have been set up by the AFL-CIO to carry on the fight on both fronts. For over four years unemployment has remained above 5 per cent of the labour force and the pressure inside the trade unions for some direct action has become too strong to resist—particularly with the tax-cut, which the trade unions backed, put off at least until next year. Many trade unionists are convinced that another recession, and still higher unemployment, is now inevitable this winter.

On the surface, the AFL-CIO has come to a parting of the ways with President Kennedy. As Mr Goldberg, the Secretary of Labour, seemed sure to argue fruitlessly in Chicago, the Administration is convinced that "sharing the work" would probably increase unemployment rather than cut it, by curbing output and the rate of growth, by raising prices and by making American goods less competitive with foreign ones. If workers were to receive the same wage for 35 hours as for 40 hours, as the trade unions propose, this would be equivalent to a rise of 14 per cent in wages at a time when productivity is rising by only about 3 per cent a year; faster automation, and fewer jobs might follow. Moreover, many of the jobless lack the skills to do a share of the work and, even if over-time were charged at double rates to encourage the hiring of new staff, employers might choose to pay the surcharge. In industries where short workweeks have been established by collective bargaining, such as construction, overtime is common; it works out more cheaply than paying fringe benefits—pensions, paid holidays, medical care and so on—for additional workers. Members of trade unions themselves seem more interested in longer holidays than in short hours.

The trade union leaders do not even pretend that a 35-hour week will come overnight. A conservative Congress is not likely to raise businessmen's costs and to win shorter hours through collective bargaining will take years of probably bitter industrial struggle. The 35-hour week is a second-best goal; the trade unions say frankly that they would much prefer full employment at 40 hours a week. The demand for shorter hours is primarily a warning sign to the Administration, and even more to Congress, that unemployment must be dealt with vigorously—and urgently.

Crime in a White Collar



FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN NEW YORK

WALL STREET, which has been airing its dirty linen in bundles a mile high, was in the midst of new chaos last month when two large and reputable brokerage firms found that they had lost between them \$1.4 million in securities. The Federal Bureau of Investigation spread a drag-net all over the country and in no time had rounded up thirteen individuals who were said to be involved in a conspiracy to steal and dispose of some of the missing certificates. They include a clerk employed at Bache & Company, the major victim. This man, who had access to the Bache vaults, possessed a criminal record which the company's investigations had not uncovered. Criminals have had field days in Wall Street before this, but the great expansion in the securities industry has multiplied their opportunities. In the late nineteen-fifties a gang moved quite openly into several lesser known firms, took them over by dint of none too gentle persuasion and made a considerable fortune through the sale of forged share certificates. Reputable brokerage houses have also been somewhat slow, probably because of the hectic atmosphere in the financial district, to protect themselves from theft by their own employees.

Dishonesty of this kind has been increasing, not only in Wall Street but throughout business and industry. Last year fidelity insurance companies paid out three times as much in claims as they had in 1945 and the total stolen by trusted employees, from porters to chairmen of boards, was over \$1 billion. This figure does not include the millions of dollars lost in kickbacks, bribes and theft of company secrets. Some of the older detective agencies, such as Pinkerton's, have turned their attention to industrial crime, but they tend to concentrate on the threats from outside. The danger from within demands a new kind of sleuth, who must engage in all the cloak and dagger techniques of the undercover agent and be an expert in the new field of management engineering as well. He must not only find out why a company is losing money, who is taking it and how, but must also devise methods to prevent a repetition of the crime.

One of the largest of these management engineering firms is Norman Jaspan Associates, Inc., which provides industry with straightforward management studies, while its subsidiary, Investigations, Inc., unearths malpractices. The Jaspan companies have 500 employees throughout the country who serve 2,500 clients, among them the giants of American industry. Last year they un-

covered \$60 million worth of dishonesty and were paid \$4 million for their trouble. A caller from the firm may descend upon a company at the behest of its president to make an open survey of shipping methods, incentive programmes and other matters closely related to the work of an industrial engineer. But the problems may prove to be such that Investigations, Inc., will undertake more devious inquiries.

The Jaspan people say that they seldom learn much about a company by talking to the top management directly. It is usually more profitable to send a "junior management engineer"—known in another era as an undercover operative—to apply for a job as secretary to the vice-president or as a porter or operator of a drill press, where he can observe, listen and if need be peek into the files. These individuals differ from the shop-worn image of the private eye in that the young man working as a porter is likely to be a trained efficiency expert; the pretty girl, who is such a good secretary in a drug concern, may be a PhD in chemistry.

In this manner, an operative of Investigations, Inc., innocently washing his hands in the cloakroom, noticed a fellow employee copying a confidential blueprint, one of a series which he was selling to his employer's competitor. Another found a man at a gold mine pouring gold dust into plastic capsules which he proceeded to flush down the lavatory. The capsules were caught in a trap which he had installed previously in a waste pipe. The manager of a supermarket was caught hauling his own cash register to work each morning after lightening the load at home. The head of a meat warehouse was discovered "over-shipping" meat to accomplices at local supermarkets.

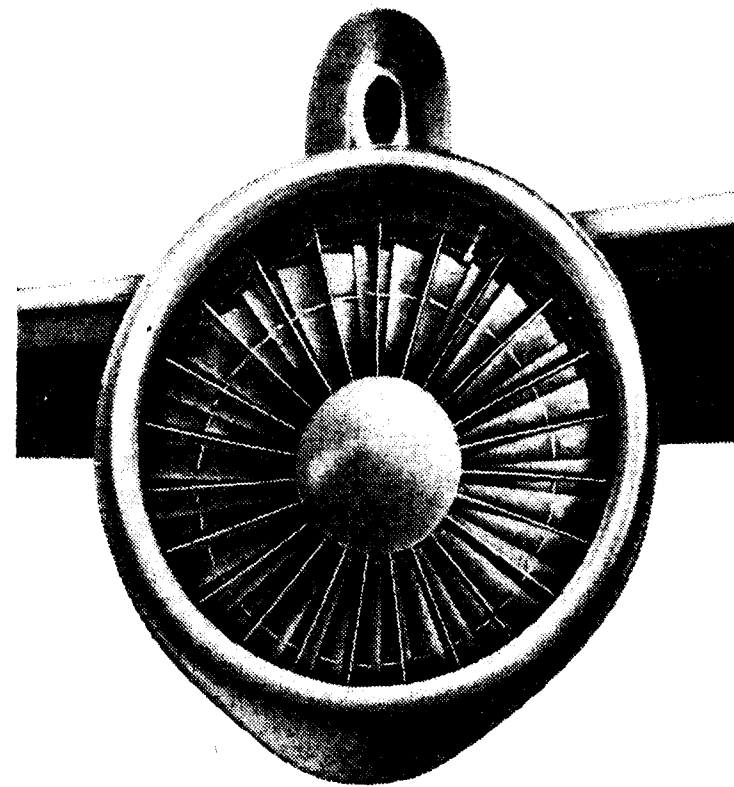
Jaspan is handling an increasing number of cases involving the theft of company secrets, some already patented or in the process of being patented. For instance, not long ago an engineer making an open survey of shipping methods in a large chemical company on the east coast noticed a crate marked "Samples" awaiting shipment to the west coast from the director of research. When the crate was opened it turned out to contain the records of developmental work on a new product. The company had spent four years and over \$4 million bringing this product to the point at which commercial exploitation was possible. The research director, as is usual, had signed an agreement with his employer to prevent him from making off with the fruit of work done in the company's laboratories with company funds. Nevertheless, he had made arrangements with accomplices on the west coast to ship them the research data needed to give them a head-start in the market. In return they had promised him a job and 10 per cent of the proceeds from the sale of the new product.

SHORTER NOTES

A month-old disagreement between the President and the Joint Atomic Energy Committee of Congress was resolved last week when Mr Kennedy announced that one of the two vacancies on the Atomic Energy Commission is to be filled by Mr James Ramey, the director of the committee's staff. The other goes to Mr John Palfrey of Columbia University. Mr Ramey is not popular with the existing commissioners but the committee refused to consider other names until it was promised a vacancy for one of its own candidates. Unlike the three scientists now on the commission, Mr Palfrey and Mr Ramey were trained as lawyers. Neither may have long in their new jobs; the Administration still plans to ask Congress next year to replace the five-man commission by a single administrator.

* * *

In 1961 there were almost 89 million Americans licensed to operate a motor vehicle, an increase of 1.5 million over 1960 and an average of 1.2 persons for each registered vehicle; 63.3 million of these were passenger cars and 12.3 million were lorries.



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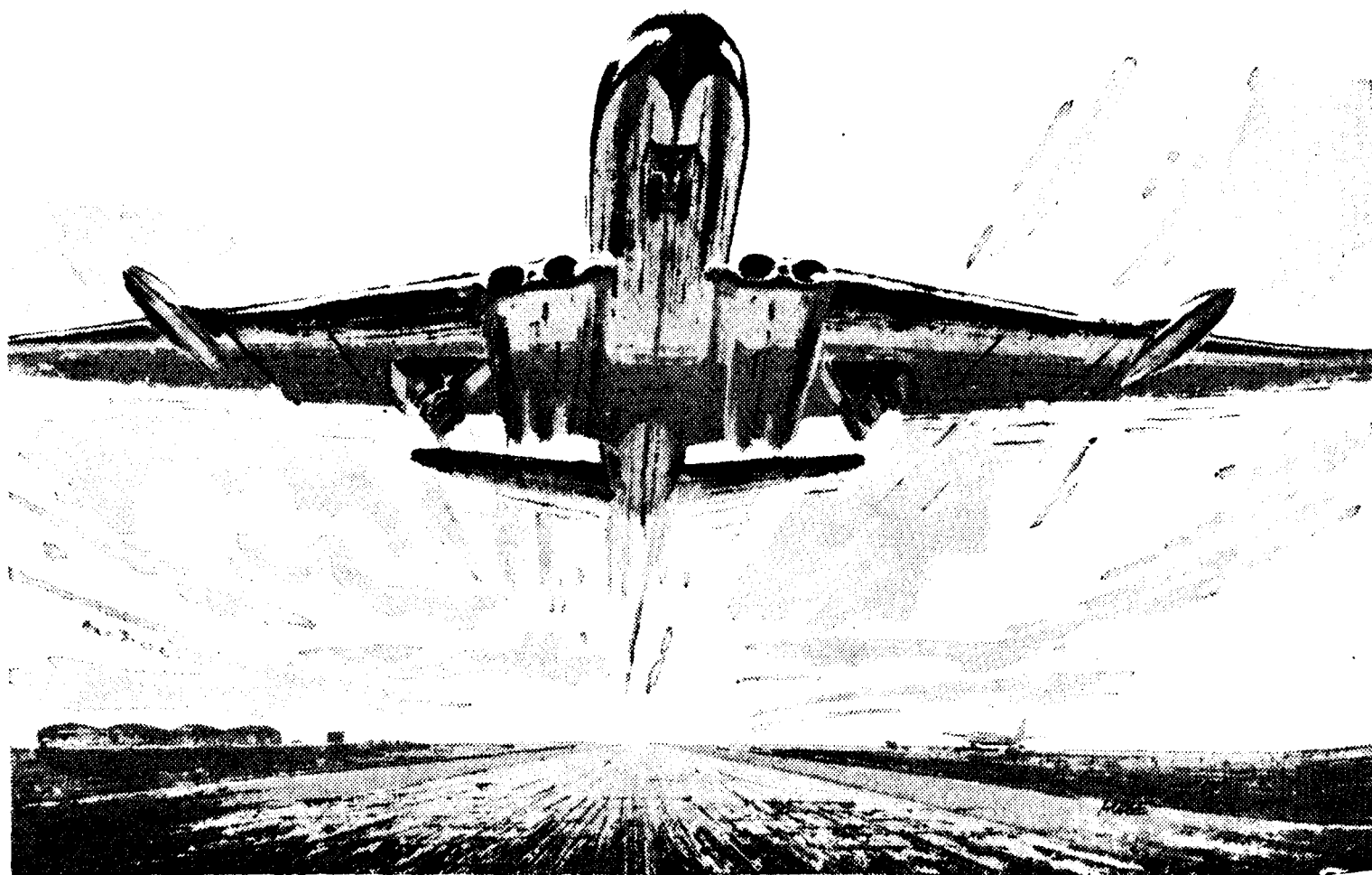
VENEZUELA

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ECONOMIC REVIEWS
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There have been two military rebellions this year, but President Betancourt remains in control. The Review describes the background to these events, and analyses the circumstances which led to a partial devaluation of the bolivar in April. Also discussed are the encouraging upward trend in oil production, and the implications for the Venezuelan petroleum industry of the resolutions adopted at Geneva recently by the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

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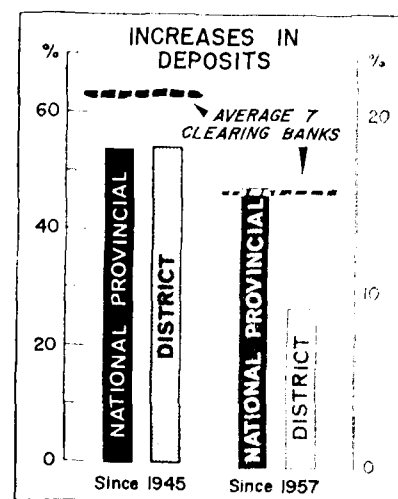


their problem by a merger between themselves; they already collaborate in their hire purchase holding of 20 per cent each in the equity of Mercantile Credit.

A second merger of this kind is by no means certain. Both the National Provincial and the District have in recent years been more clearly on the defensive than have Westminster and Martins. And just what mergers on this scale can achieve is still far from clear. It is intended at present to leave the District Bank as a separate entity with its own board and head office in Manchester—this was almost the only point of substance to come across in the preliminary announcement, and it may be that some such reassurance is a condition of a “friendly” merger between great banks. But the greater the emphasis on independence, the less must be the scope for meaningful economies of operation—and Scottish experience has shown that these do not come quickly even with a full amalgamation.

The real rationale behind a consolidation of the remaining medium-sized regional banks in England lies in the advantage that can be offered to the customer by the national giant. Those advantages are first, and above all, a national network of branches; secondly, massive resources sufficient except in rare cases to finance the needs of the largest firms; thirdly, and increasingly important, an efficient and readily available service of economic information and foreign trade facilities. In the first and the second fields the big clearing banks clearly have the edge over the merchant banks; in the third, the balance is probably the other way; and the merchant banks can also offer a more flexible and less bureaucratic service generally. For that reason, they have in recent years made important marginal gains on the clearing banks as a whole. Now the clearing banks’ one overriding attraction is size, and to that extent the smaller fry among them are at a clear disadvantage. At the same time, with 500 branches and more, they still constitute a bureaucracy that can never approach the personal merchant banking service. As a result, these middle-sized banks have conspicuously lacked a clear attraction or *raison d’être* of their own.

CONSOLIDATION of the main deposit banking business in England into the hands of the big five and their associates might therefore be justified on the grounds of banking efficiency, and it is unlikely, in itself, to reduce effective competition—it is not, by and large, from the District or



Martins that new banking ventures are awaited. The monetary authorities are therefore right to let such mergers through, while remaining watchful lest the giants get an appetite for other giants. Where they are wrong is to let their concern for banking competition stop there. The monetary policeman holds a stern hand against monopoly, but he keeps the rule book for the cartel. The limited extent

of competition within the clearing banking system, which has entailed a strictly limited choice for the customer and a consequent transfer of business to institutions such as merchant banks and finance houses, is founded above all on the restrictive agreements on deposits and advances—agreements which the clearing banks could at this stage abandon only with the consent of the Bank of England. Real competition and innovation will come to British banking only when each of the independent giants is and clearly feels free to branch out on its own. While commercial bankers remain frustrated from attempting innovation by the difficulties of getting agreement with other banks, and inhibited by the probable objections from the Bank of England, real competition will be absent—whatever the banking structure.

The other long-term issue in British banking that the new merger highlights is that of the disclosure of profits and asset values. While the banks continue to enjoy their exemption from full disclosure, which the majority of the Jenkins committee indefensibly supported, bank shareholders involved in take-over bids have no objective test, other than that of faith in their directors, on which to judge the terms. In the present case the market is making a broad guess that the share exchange is likely to be one for one, which would give shareholders in the District some 25 per cent of the combined equity, compared with the District’s contribution of 22 per cent of published profits. But published profits are a guide only to the direction of movement in profits in any one year, not to their magnitude; and it is not possible to put great faith in even the most painstaking of estimates of true profits which the outsider can make.

The one influence which would undoubtedly induce the banks to show more of their own true figures themselves would be, of course, a counter-bid. The likelihood of this is not very great, but a number of people in the City this week have been toying happily with the possibilities. The professional bidders, one has long reckoned, are ruled right out of the Bank of England court: whatever the potentialities of the offices of the District Bank as supermarkets it is as banks that they are likely to remain. What of institutions at the fringe of deposit banking, such as Lombard Banking, or, at another end of the scale, Hambros? However dearly they might like the District, and its inner reserves, the awkward fact is that they would be dwarfed by it.

Another possible source of interest, which may become more active in years to come, might be a big bank on the Continent. Probably the only practicable way to establish a direct interest in deposit banking in a foreign country is to purchase an established organisation; but here again the District is very likely too large—and, as in all these possibilities, the project might never pass the Bank. The London clearing banks are so large and so close to the official sphere that changes of ownership may be possible only within the ken. The only real likelihood of a struggle in the near future would be if a bank other than the Westminster bid for Martins. As it is, the NP-District merger is likely to go through quietly and shareholders will have to take what their boards recommend. But indirectly, competition in banking may be stirred. Is this what the market had in mind when it not only bid up the shares of the District quite sharply but also bid the shares of the prospective bidder, the National Provincial, up and not down, on the news of its intended offer?

Local Finance—A New Choice

By the end of September, it is hoped, private discussions between the Treasury and local authority representatives on the shape and future of local authority borrowing should be finished and the recommendations of the committee on their way to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Tentative agreement seems to have been reached on three basic proposals. First, that the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1947, which puts a limit on temporary borrowing by Scottish authorities of 15 per cent of total borrowing for capital purposes, should be extended to local authorities in England and Wales, giving them six months in which to conform; secondly, that the Public Works Loan Board should be re-opened to all borrowers, thus ending the rule set up in 1955 that they must first have tested in the open market their ability to raise money on reasonable terms; and thirdly, that PWLB rates should be pitched more in line with prevailing gilt-edged rates—in effect, about 1 per cent below the rate for mortgages of equivalent periods in the London market. The committee could have second thoughts; and it is for the Chancellor to accept its recommendations. But if the findings follow the forecast, they would provide a sensible solution to the difficult problem, both for the government and for the local authorities, of the remarkably increased dependence of these authorities on short-term debt in the last seven years. Debt maturing in less than one year grew from 5.8 per cent of total debt to 21.4 per cent at March 31, 1961—the latest available figure—and in these percentages temporary borrowing on deposit receipt and bank overdraft increased from 4 per cent to 15.4 per cent.

In 1955 all but the smallest authorities were made to rely on the open market for their funds, and the job of the local treasurer was transformed overnight. Loans from the PWLB were generally tied to the period of the Treasury’s loan sanction; now the treasurers could manoeuvre their debt structure in any way they thought fit. And with the rapid rise in interest rates that followed in 1956 and 1957 most treasurers took the view that money rates were more likely to fall than to rise and therefore borrowed short in the hope of funding at a more favourable rate later on. Unfortunately, rates did not fall, and the higher they went the more the treasurers were convinced that they would fall. The result was a rapid increase in short-term debt.

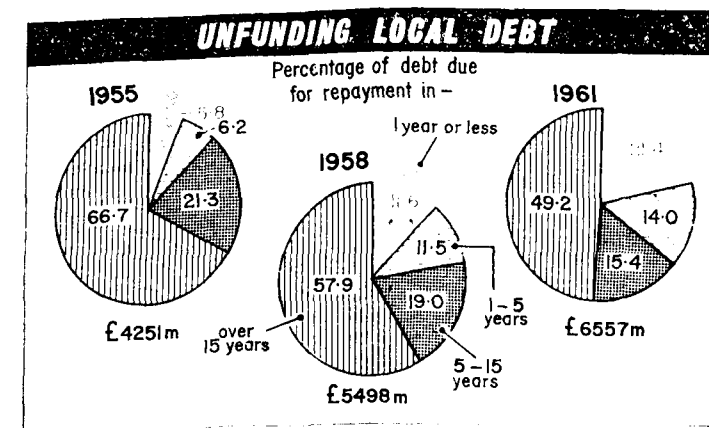
To meet the money demands of the local authorities an existing market, doing a relatively small business in local authority mortgage loans, suddenly blossomed into a large and extremely efficient market. It became a parallel market to the traditional money market of the banks and discount houses, but offered much higher rates of interest with equal security, since the PWLB stood behind the local authorities as lender of last resort, in the same way as the Bank of

England had long stood behind the discount market. In temporary money alone this market is currently providing the local authorities with something over £1,000 million and the daily turnover amounts to between £10 million and £20 million, about a fifth of turnover in Lombard Street. But nearly all Lombard Street’s money is at call, whereas temporary loans to local authorities range all the way to loans of a year less a day, with perhaps only one-third of them truly short at seven days or less.

The local authorities were pushed into the open market in 1955 because the monetary authorities wanted greater control over bank liquidity. This could be achieved only by close control of the Treasury bill issue, which could be frustrated by the PWLB drawing funds from the Exchequer. The Treasury achieved its control of bank liquidity, but at the expense of a sharp rise in the liquidity of local authority debt. In 1959 the Radcliffe report came out firmly against this policy, pointing out that the “unfunding” of local debt ran “clean contrary” to the funding policy of the monetary authorities. The report recommended that local authorities should have the choice of borrowing either in the open market or at the PWLB “at the current gilt-edged rate.” These recommendations are very much in line with those that the present committee looks like making. At the time the monetary authorities did not accept the Radcliffe recommendations, taking the view that the gilt-edged market’s appetite was so poor that any return to Exchequer borrowing by the local authorities could only have been financed by an increase in the Treasury bill issue, with a consequent loss of control over the liquidity of the clearing banks.

THE situation is now very different. When the Radcliffe committee examined the temporary borrowing of the local authorities in 1958, it found no more than £488 million outstanding, or 11 per cent of their total debt. By March 31, 1961, temporary borrowing had more than doubled to £1,009 million, and in the nine months to the end of 1961 it probably increased by something like a further £280 million. The size of this debt is a potential threat to any attempts the authorities might make to squeeze spending. And the banks have been quick to point out that when, during the recent credit squeeze, they cut local authority overdrafts, the local treasurers merely replaced this money by turning to the

London loan market. Equally there is every indication that the monetary authorities would like to see a further fall in interest rates without necessarily having to rely on Bank rate alone to achieve it. High rates in the local authority money market are tending to keep other rates up. So the dilemma is exposed. Allow competition for money and rates go up; feed money on demand, and control is endan-



country, particularly since the acquisition of Manchester Oil Refinery and Dussek Brothers. It has a small refinery at Ellesmere Port specialising in white oils and transformer oils, with a throughput of 200,000 tons a year. With Burmah's trading continually beset by political pressures the acquisition represents not only a further step towards diversification; it also provides a modest opening, over a narrow band of products, in the British market. Its big investments in BP and "Shell" Transport give an assurance to Lobitos shareholders that the price of Burmah Oil shares, which is almost covered by the value of its investments alone, should not fall much below the current level.

Twenty Years On

BURMAH OIL shareholders have shown a realistic disregard for this week's decision in the Scottish Court of Session—sixty million pounds is meaningless before you get it, and although Lord Kilbrandon has found for the company in this claim for compensation for "scorched earth" destruction in Burma in the 1942 retreat, his decision is bound to be taken higher by the Lord Advocate. The Court has declared merely that Burmah Oil's subsidiaries are entitled to compensation (they have, one gathers, received some *ex gratia* payments already) and even if this principle was confirmed by the higher Courts, the argument would then focus on the size of the compensation—on which Lord Kilbrandon observed that one factor could well be the battle of the Sittang River and its consequences—"at the time of the destruction the assets were doomed to fall into enemy hands."

Much has been made in the hearings of a letter written to the company by a Deputy Treasury Solicitor (whose signature was undecipherable) which declared that the claim was wholly unfounded in law and likely to be rejected by the Courts. This was brash enough—direct communication with "the other side" and speaking (as it turned out wrongly) as to the Court's view. But it proceeded:

Her Majesty's Government are moreover satisfied that the claim made is not in any event one which ought to be met by the British taxpayer. Her Majesty's Government have accordingly decided that, in the unlikely event of your company succeeding, legislation would be introduced to indemnify the Crown and its officers, servants and agents against your company's claim.

This threatened the use of the overriding power of Parliament to defeat an award made by the Courts following from a subject's right to sue the Crown. "The use of the word 'ought' in this context appears to indicate that in the view of Her Majesty's Government there is some moral principle involved in their claim to indemnity which must override the common law of Scotland and the notions of justice of our forebears." Lord Kilbrandon, in studied moderation,

made the further point that the Crown, like everyone else, could apply to Parliament for special privileges by way of legislation. A layman can only think that it was bad manners and bad law to suggest that, if this extreme was reached, the outcome would rest with the executive rather than with Parliament.

CIGARETTES

Is it a War?

THE introduction, by Wills, of "Embassy," a cigarette which is to be sold with gift coupons, could mark the beginning of another "coupon war." Up to 1956, one of the few things held sacred in this hotly competitive market was the agreement between manufacturers not to issue gift coupons with their products. In its evidence before the Monopolies Commission, Wills's parent, Imperial Tobacco, expressed its disapproval of gift coupons and its great unwillingness ever again to issue them. Yet only a year later it is abandoning this stand to launch cigarettes whose "quality... is matched by the outstanding choice of gifts to be offered."

The new cigarettes are aimed directly at Kensitas, whose success with coupons has, over the last six years, been a painful (for other manufacturers) feature of the market. In 1956, Kensitas was losing about a quarter of a million pounds a year. It introduced its gift coupon scheme when the Tobacco Trades Association, under whose auspices the agreement banning gift coupons was made, was killed by the Restrictive Practices Act. Skilful promotion has made the scheme a success, and the loss has been turned into a £2½ million profit. Other schemes have not had comparable success: Ardath was offering gifts when it was acquired by Imperial Tobacco but has never been pushed hard; Carreras revived a prewar brand, Black Cat, for a trial but abandoned it. Kensitas, now owned by Gallaher, has taken advantage of this lack of opposition to increase its share of the cigarette market to 5 per cent. But this success is its own greatest threat—it cannot be ignored. At the height of the coupon war in the thirties, manufacturers found themselves selling not cigarettes but pots and pans, and so attractively that several suffered serious losses before the practice was stopped by agreement. Imperial Tobacco will certainly not want those conditions to return, but it is forced to take the risk. Of the other manufacturers, Carreras has no plans for a coupon cigarette, but it too may find itself involved, willy nilly; and Philip Morris is to try a novel variation by giving a 1d. football coupon away with every 10 cigarettes.

Coupon schemes are inherently attractive to manufacturers. Wix, then manufacturers of Kensitas, told the Monopolies Commission that it regarded coupon trading as a

form of advertising, with the advantage that costs varied directly with turnover. They encourage brand loyalty which spreads as families and friends join in. However, they are regarded as so dangerous that they may be limited by tacit agreement to tactical, rather than strategic, uses only—to gain a share of the Kensitas 5 per cent, or at any rate to check its further growth.

FRENCH PRICES

Steel Up

Paris

FOLLOWING pressure by producers since the beginning of the year, the French government finally last week agreed to an increase in steel prices. The rise averages 4½ per cent; but in a few weeks steel will go up again to take into account a 3 per cent rise in coke prices which was authorised at the same time, and the final effect will be a rise of nearly 5 per cent. The rises allowed vary greatly from product to product. They are nil for some products (tinglate, castings), and small for car body sheet, but are of the order of 6 to 6½ per cent for heavy sections, and for semis such as rolled bars. Steel producers will now be able to resume the investment programme that they have held up for some months, but they will not be able to make up the time lost in carrying out the plan to re-equip their industry by 1965.

This increase in French prices will bring the cost of Lorraine steel up to the level of local prices in the Ruhr (even a little higher in the case of open hearth steel). So German steel producers will no longer be able to complain about the artificially low level of French prices. This should bring back to normal under the ECSC rules the practice of "alignment down" to the lowest offer, which should only come into play in exceptional cases. This should restore some stability into the steel market of the Six. Large-scale users of French steel such as the manufacturers of cars, domestic electrical equipment, containers, will hardly feel the effect on their production costs and—because of stiff competitive conditions—will be unable to pass anything on in their selling prices.

Oil Down

THE French government's decision on steel prices is a sign that in its view the claims of investment in the steel industry finally outweigh fears of a general price spiral, which might be accentuated by the rise in steel. But the decision to increase steel prices has been accompanied by a reduction in fuel oil prices.

Scheduled prices for fuel oil prices, will indeed, be reduced by 2.3 to 3.5 per cent according to category. Even in France petroleum distributors do not always adhere to their schedules, granting re-

? OLD MAN ROCK!



What kind of confection is that?

Your young customer from New Zealand is, of course, having a little joke. He's talking about a popular tourist attraction near Alexandra—a place at home we know very well. Still, if it comes to that, we know a great many places in New Zealand very well—and a great deal about each place, too. Not only that, we have an intimate knowledge of our country's past history, present progress—and a shrewd idea of its future hopes and prospects to boot. Indeed, almost anything worth knowing about New Zealand is known to us; for we are the National Bank of New Zealand and such knowledge is our business. So if the time ever comes when you have a question to ask concerning New Zealand, ask us—

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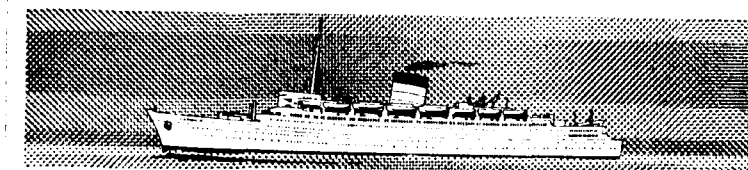
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THE WORLD CRUISE

This is a luxury voyage of 92 days, covering 30,000 miles with calls at 23 of the world's loveliest and most historic ports. You travel in air-conditioned luxury, superbly fed, attentively served and brilliantly entertained. Booking for the World Cruise from Britain or Europe, and disembarking at Naples or Lisbon, entitles you to (1) free transport in 'Caronia' (via the West Indies and Florida) to New York, (2) free accommodation on board in New York until the cruise begins, or (3) free transport to New York by any other convenient Cunard sailing, (4) free travel to your starting point in Britain or Europe by rail or air from Naples or Lisbon.

'CARINTHIA' TO BERMUDA

On January 25th, this fast, modern ship leaves Liverpool and, after a call at Cobh, heads sunwards for Bermuda, then on to New York. Her sister ship 'Sylvania' will operate monthly services in the return direction during February, March and April. Remember, too, that Cunard Eagle Airways operate regular jet services from Bermuda direct to London.

Consult your local travel agent or Cunard Line, Cunard Building, Liverpool, 3 (Liverpool CENTRAL 9201); 15 Lower Regent Street, London, S.W.1 (Whitehall 7890); 88 Leadenhall Street, London, E.C.3 (AVENUE 3010).

Over 50 years ago, a famous businessman observed:

'I know that half the money that I spend on advertising is wasted. The trouble is, I can never find out which half'

Today, McCann-Erickson says: IT'S ABOUT TIME WE FOUND OUT

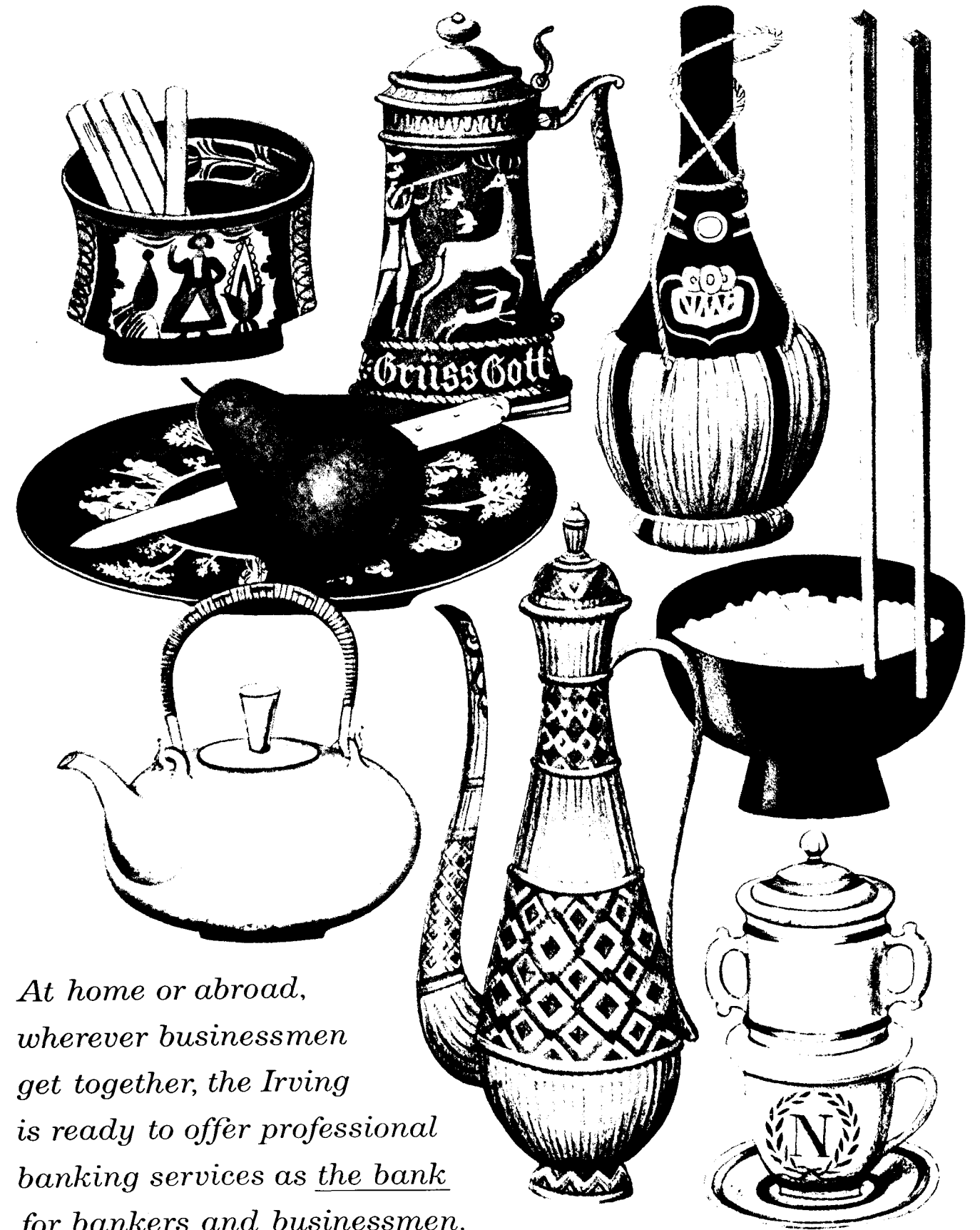
Until recently, little attempt was made to measure precisely the effectiveness of advertising. For one very good reason: it was thought to be impossible to measure; because of the very nature of creative work; because of the ephemeral quality of advertising; because of the complexity of the market; because of the subtle psychological factors that affect buying, because . . . you know the arguments. Today, this is no longer true. Many techniques, many tools have been developed in recent years; tools that measure to a nice degree of accuracy one or another aspect of advertising effectiveness. Singly, each is useful. But McCann-Erickson believes that in combination they can add up to an immensely significant whole:

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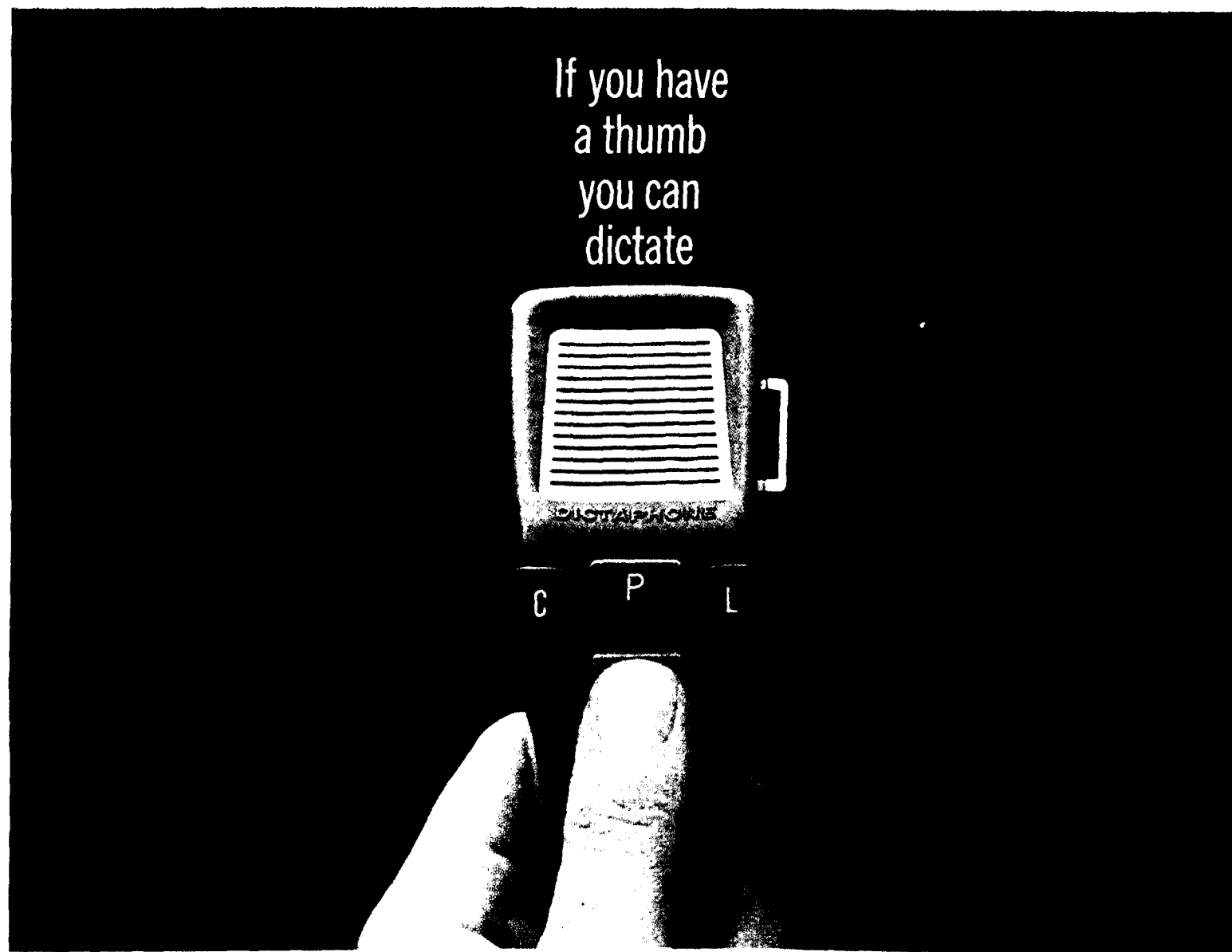
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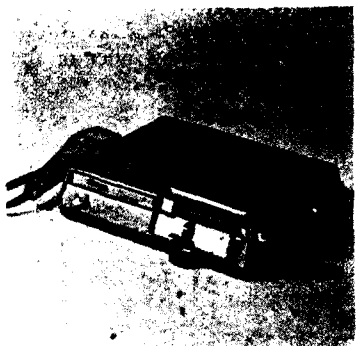
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Total Assets over \$1,750,000,000

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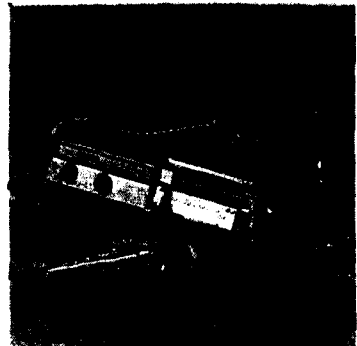


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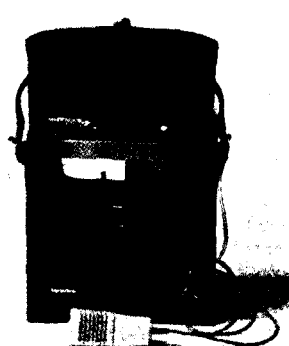
Time-Master Model P6

Just four buttons on the microphone control the complete dictating process with the de luxe model Time-Master. Push a button to start recording; release it to stop. Other buttons control play-back, corrections, and letter length. It's so simple, and it uses the unique Dictabelt recording system and costs £129 10s. 0d.



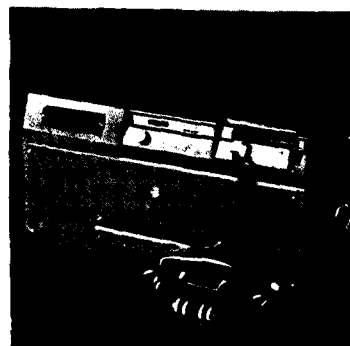
Time-Master Model PC6

This combined dictating and transcribing machine does two jobs for almost the price of one. When you have a letter to dictate just pick up the microphone, and when you've finished just pass the machine to your secretary. She doesn't need a special transcriber, because this model does the job of two machines.



Travel-Master Portable

This needs no wires or tapes for recording, nothing but the revolutionary Dictabelts which tell you where you are at a glance. Wherever you are, just slip the Dictabelt into an envelope and send it off for transcription on a standard Time-Master Transcriber. This portable Travel-Master weighs only 5 lb., and costs £105 0s. 0d.



Telecord Network System

With the Dictaphone Telecord System, your telephoned dictation is automatically fed on to a vacant Telecord machine, usually located in the typing department. Dictation completed, the Dictabelt is handed to a typist for immediate transcription. This system is ideal for large organisations where it drastically reduces costs.

DICTAPHONE

REGD. TRADE MARK

Dictaphone Company Ltd., 17-19 Stratford Place, London W.1. Tel: HYde Park 9461
The words DICTAPHONE, TIME-MASTER and DICTABELT are registered trade marks.
The Dictaphone Time-Master has been accepted for the Design Index of the Council of Industrial Design.

of this year compared with the same period of 1961, that a substantial loss was incurred in Nigeria and that profits elsewhere in West Africa were lower. The traditional business of the Unilever group, geared to the daily needs of the housewife, had a satisfactory half-year—particularly, apparently, in detergents in Europe, which suggests that Unilever has been hitting back hard against its competitors. On the industrial side of the business, third party sales were 6 per cent higher and gross profits 8 per cent higher. This is no mean achievement. But what investors have to ask themselves is how long the political and economic troubles of

COMBINED SALES AND PROFITS

	(£ million)					
Six months ended	June 30, 1960	Dec. 31, 1960	June 30, 1961	Dec. 31, 1961	June 30, 1962	
Gross sales	908	939	947	943	953	
Net sales	682	705	720	724	740	
Gross profit	56	50	52	51	52	
Net profit	28	23	27	26	24	
	%	%	%	%	%	
Gross profit/sales	8.2	7.1	7.2	7.1	7.0	
Net profit/sales	4.2	3.3	3.7	3.6	3.2	

Africa will continue to claw at the profits of the group. Unilever has already begun to adapt the pattern of its African trade to changed circumstances, switching the emphasis from merchandise and produce to manufacture and to more specialised and technical activities. But such a change takes time to carry through and chill winds are still blowing around the ears of the UAG managers. The stock market's reaction was to mark down Limited by 1s. to 35s. and NV by 10s. to £8 7/8.

OVERSEAS TRADE

Imports on the Rise

BRITAIN'S export figures are still good. They were £1 million lower in July at £327 million on a seasonally adjusted basis, but this marginal fall was from a record

BRITAIN'S OVERSEAS TRADE

(£ million per month; seasonally adjusted)

	Imports cif	Exports fob	Re-exports fob	Crude gap
1961:—				
1st qtr. . .	384	309	12	63
2nd " . .	362	305	14	43
3rd " . .	358	309	15	34
4th " . .	362	304	13	45
1962:—				
1st qtr. . .	367	306	12	49
2nd " . .	369	319	14	36
1962:—				
January . .	380	300	12	68
February . .	362	307	11	44
March . . .	358	312	11	35
April . . .	359	314	14	31
May	379	316	15	49
June	369	328	14	27
July*	391	327	14	50
Jan.-July* .	371	322	13	43

* Provisional.

June figure, and the rise in exports which had continued since January could not go on indefinitely. The disturbing aspect of the July figures is the further sharp rise in

imports by £22 million to £391 million. With re-exports at £14 million the crude trade gap in Britain's trading account has returned to the £50 million mark and the true visible balance is back in the red.

After this latest increase imports in May-July were 5½ per cent more than in the three months February-April. Exports on the same comparison were 4 per cent higher. However on the longer view exports in the first seven months of this year were 2½ per cent more than the monthly average for 1961, while on the same basis imports increased by no more than 1½ per cent. But imports are now on a rising trend. The detailed trade figures to be published later this month should show whether or not this jump in imports can be accounted for by some special set of circumstances, such as the heavy imports of potatoes which swelled the May figures. At the moment the pointers are that imports of feeding stuffs are still high and that the fall in industrial stocks in the early months of this year may have been checked.

One country that has chalked up a spectacular success in exports is Canada. The figures for May, the month in which Canada formally devalued its dollar to a fixed parity, show an increase in exports of no less than 33 per cent over May, 1961. In the first five months of 1962 together exports were over 13 per cent higher than in the same period of 1961.

AIR LICENCES

The Working Rules

IN fewer than 30 pages, the Air Transport Licensing Board this week served notice on the Minister of Aviation, the airlines, British Railways, the travel industry and the flying public, both grunted and disgruntled, that it intended to interpret the Act under which it was established in its own way and its own time. And it set out the working rules that it is using as a yardstick in dealing with applications for new air services. "We must interpret the Act as it stands," says the board in its second annual report just published, "and not by reference to statements by Ministers regarding its intention and probable effect. We shall continue to rely upon our own interpretation of the Act unless we are overruled by a Court of Law." This is its only reference to its unhappy experiences under Mr Thorneycroft's administration, but they are fighting words.

The working rules outlined are of considerable importance. The board plainly believes that its brief is to encourage competition wherever the traffic seems able to support more than one air service; it will not, it says, attach much weight to claims by the sitting tenant that plans had already been made and aircraft ordered to carry all foreseeable traffic in the future. (Manufacturers had better watch this one.) But secondly, the board says at some length that airlines wishing to compete

with the two corporations must be financially sound, by which it means not only able to pay their bills from day to day, but reasonably capitalised as well. Independent airlines backed by the shipping industry can meet this requirement, but the board is aware that other, truly "independent" airlines cannot. With no capital to speak of (and not much experience of book-keeping either, to judge by the board's comments on their accounts) these airlines rely at best on the credit, and at worst on the charity of their suppliers, mainly the oil and aircraft companies, and the airport authorities. Last year, ten went out of business; others are operating under the supervision of receivers. But they touch only the fringe of the aviation business; the important message of the report is that the board has emerged bloody but unbowed and unrepentant from its clashes with the Ministry of Aviation which, while Mr Thorneycroft was Minister, reversed some of the board's most important decisions and criticised others. Small wonder that the new Minister, Mr Amery, has preferred not to rubber-stamp decisions waiting on his table about British European Airways' appeals against a raft of other new licences for independents. He is not likely to make up his mind on these before mid-September.

BUILDING SOCIETIES

Money to Lend

THE pattern of small savings, as revealed in the figures published by building societies, unit trusts and the National Savings Association, has changed over the last twelve months. A year ago, when the prospect of higher interest rates was in the air, the competition from other savings media, particularly National Savings, was cited as one reason why the Building Societies Association and the Halifax Building Society (which is not a member of the association) decided to raise the net interest rate on shares from 3½ to 3¾ per cent and the mortgage rate from 6 to 6½ per cent. Now that interest rates are falling, money is flooding into the building societies. Yet investment in National Savings has fallen away—from £36 million to £18½ million, net of withdrawals and interest, so far in

COMPANY AFFAIRS

Comments on pages 653 and 654 on:
John Brown Royal Dutch/Shell
Rootes Motors Richardsons, Westgarth
Avana Bakeries Canadian Pacific
International Nickel

STOCK PRICES AND YIELDS

Stock prices, yields and security indices on pages 656 and 657

MONEY AND EXCHANGES

Money market report, exchange rates and public finance on page 655

the current financial year. This differing experience shows how justified the building societies are in trying to keep their rates

	Building Societies Association*		Halifax	
	June 1961	June 1962	July 1961	July 1962
Six months to	£ mill.	£ mill.	£ mill.	£ mill.
Receipts	243	300	62.6	76.8
Withdrawals	170	180	45.9	50.0
Net receipts	73	120	16.7	26.8
Advances	205	198	47.2	51.1
Repayments	178	193	36.4	40.1
Liquid assets	727	860	75.4	99.8
Total assets	2,537	2,791	515.1	580.1
Liquidity ratio	14.4%	15.9%	14.6%	17.2%

* Represents 77 per cent of all building society assets in Britain.

"stable"—and competitive. But this is no excuse for complacency. They must, for example, note that in the face of the slump in equity prices net investment in unit trusts in the first seven months of this year was fifteen times greater than in the same period last year. In the long term this is a competitor that they must worry about.

Both the member societies of the Building Societies Association and the Halifax are now receiving more funds than at any time in their history and the table shows the sharp jump of over 60 per cent in their net inflow in the first six months of this year. It would have been higher still but for the continuing high rate of withdrawals. Why, when interest rates are falling, withdrawals have remained so high is something of a mystery: not all of them can be withdrawals to meet the down-payments on a house. But no doubt these withdrawals make the association and the Halifax even more reluctant to lower their rates. Compared with a year ago they have plenty of money to lend and for most societies the quotas are now off. So far this has not been reflected in any increase in advances made by members of the association, but this is partly explained by the time lag of two or three months between the promise of a mortgage and its completion. There is little doubt that the figures for the next quarter will show a rise in mortgage lending. A

BRITAIN'S OPPORTUNITY IN THE MIDDLE WEST

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The Financial Times, July 27, 1962

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BUSINESS NOTES

year ago moreover the societies were still lending money under the government house purchase scheme for older houses. The Halifax did not avail itself of this scheme and has always taken pride in its willingness to lend money on older properties. This may explain why, in contrast to other societies, its advances have been higher. Even so its liquidity ratio has remained as high as 17.2 per cent, compared with an average ratio of 15.9 per cent for other leading societies. There is plenty of scope for an increase in advances in the months ahead; but, equally, there seems to be no shortage of prospective borrowers.

COFFEE

Natural Break

FOLLOWING the normal pattern of such assemblies, the United Nations coffee congress in New York was dragging in its fifth week when Brazil staged a walk-out, bored with repetition of its own and its colleagues' well-known cases. This trusted procedure of negotiators lifted the discussions out of the rut which threatened to cause the conference to break up without agreement. African delegates had become increasingly restless at the lack of progress. But Brazil's action spurred the United States into making new proposals to save the conference. On the strength of them, Brazil stepped back into the proceedings, and delegates were so buoyed with new hope that they agreed to extend the conference for a further week until August 24th. If agreement is not then reached, the conference will be reconvened in November or December.

Brazil has the stature in coffee to carry off a diplomatic walk out—50 million bags full in fact—enough surplus coffee to supply the world for a year. African producers have displayed considerable alarm at the possible consequences of failure at the UN conference to produce a satisfactory long-term international coffee agreement. The struggle for shares of the market is said to have become tougher, and African producers appear to be banding even more tightly together for mutual protection.

Export quotas remain the major stumbling block with Brazil asking for them to be based on a two-year period, which does not suit Africans whose latest crop has been smaller than it would have been under normal conditions. They are pressing for a four-year basing period. But the issue on which Brazil stalled the conference was the level of the projected common market tariff, into which has been built a preference for associated African states. This issue might have been the immediate reason for West Germany's decision to become a full member of the conference. It has already been agreed that the common external tariff should be lowered from 16 to 12 per cent, with a further suspension making the duty

THE ECONOMIST AUGUST 18, 1962

9.6 per cent, but no further concessions seemed to be forthcoming. The American proposal asks EEC members to submit within six months of the signing of a long-term coffee agreement, a programme for the reduction of the discriminatory import tariff against Latin American countries over the five-year life of the scheme. The elimination of other taxes and restrictions on Latin American coffee (particularly those levied in West Germany) is also sought.

The faint traces of a new schism in coffee are appearing. The United States is evidently backing the Latin American producers strongly in trying for a new world agreement. The European countries are by no means deaf to the special needs of the African producers. The price of Latin American coffees has recovered a little on reports of severe frost damage to coffee crops in the Parana region of Brazil. At least 6 per cent of these trees will be completely ruined and many more partially affected. It might prove the opportunity to reduce coffee production in this marginal growing area. Crops in Africa are satisfactory; a slight fall from the current level of about £158 a ton for Uganda robustas, delivered in November, seems likely.

TRADE WITH JAPAN

Tokyo Go-Slow

SIX years of talk have not yet produced a signed treaty of commerce between Britain and Japan, though agreement has at last been reached on "an important part of the arrangements to govern future commercial relations" between the two countries. In 1955, the British Government expressed a wish to conclude such a treaty. Meanwhile, trade between the two countries has continued to be governed by stop-gap licensing arrangements in the intervening years, under which trade in both directions has prospered. Exports to Japan from Britain rose to £24.3 million fob in the first half of this year, compared with £20.8 million in 1961 and £12.8 million in 1960; Japanese exports to Britain expanded to £27.7 million cif, compared with £24.4 million in 1961 and £20 million in 1960. Quotas have been reviewed annually, the last review permitting a substantial increase in trade between the two countries in the year to September. Quotas were fixed retrospectively at the end of 1961 for this period, so another interregnum of provisional quotas after this date will come as no surprise.

But this year it is hoped that a full treaty will be signed in time to dispense with the need to review quotas for a further year. It therefore appears most likely that all thought of annual quotas has gone by the board while a treaty of commerce has been under discussion. There was a hitch in these talks last week, reported to have had "something to do with" the common market. Japan is naturally anxious



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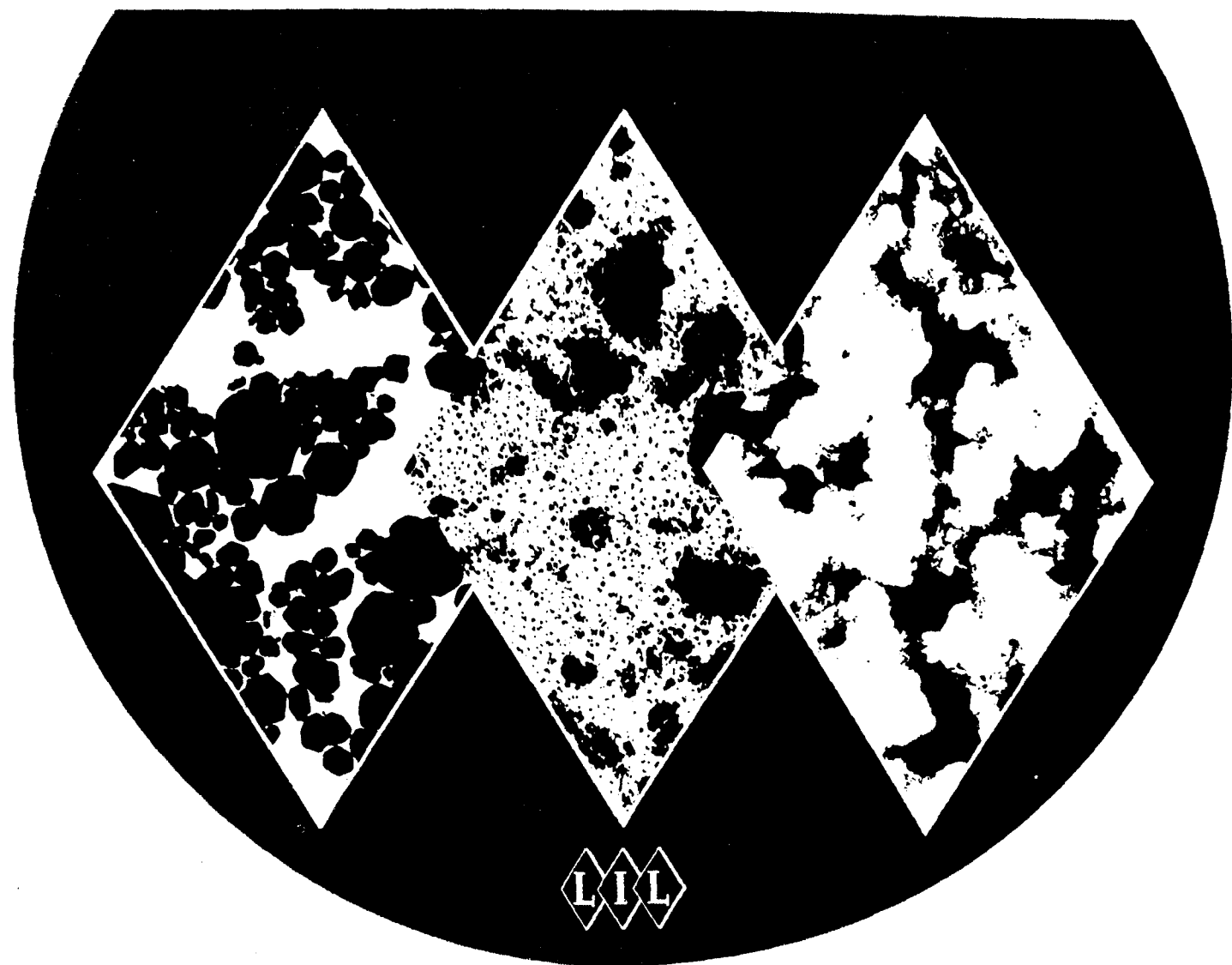
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to get an agreement before Britain joins the European Economic Community. Japan wishes to achieve most favoured nation status and hence avoid discrimination against its exports under article 35 of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. It has so far been held at arm's length by the European countries and has retaliated by slowing down its own import liberalisation. But the "other important matters" not settled in Tokyo were said to be safeguards against disruption caused by Japanese

competition and Japan's methods of subsidising exports as well as the formal abandonment by Britain of protection under article 35 of Gatt.

If Japan does achieve this cherished aim in the British market, quotas will not be completely abolished. Some categories of exports will continue to be controlled, and there will also be the special controls against disruption from Japanese exports in the background. But these proposed safeguards have not allayed the fears of the

British wool textile industry. This industry wants quotas for all wool products from the start of the new treaty. It is not possible to judge what concessions have been squeezed out of Japan in return for the coveted mfn rating. But while Japanese commercial practice remains unaltered, British manufacturers of wool textiles will have genuine grounds for complaint with which to embellish their case for protection. It is relevant to the current round of talks about scrapping general quota restrictions that Japan has the highest level of tariffs of all the main industrial countries; Britain boasts the third highest. Loss of quota protection will not, therefore, leave Japanese and British industries without any shield against each other in their home market.

INSURANCE

Lloyd's Good Year

LLOYD'S UNDERWRITERS made a profit of £22.4 million on the 1959 account (closed at the end of last year), the highest since the 1953 account which produced £24.9 million. Premiums of £320 million were received for all classes of insurance and the underwriting margin was 7 per cent, compared with 4½ per cent from premiums of £302 million in the 1958 account and 3½ per cent in the 1957 account. These surpluses have to bear further charges—principally the remuneration, including profit commission, of the specialists who underwrite risks for the syndicates; for this and other accounting reasons, Lloyd's figures are not comparable with those of the insurance companies. But Lloyd's results, based on more selective underwriting, have been generally better than those of the insurance companies, many of which nowadays rely on interest earnings to pay dividends and build up free reserves to back an expanding non-life premium income. With two of the three years of the 1960 account completed, it looks as if Lloyd's profits for that account will be within striking distance of those reported for 1959. The first year of the 1961 account shows no exceptional deviations—except in aviation insurance where claims were extremely light, presumably because the big jets are now being rated realistically.

The number of "names" has risen once

again. There were 4,645 underwriters of marine and aviation risks last year, grouped in 167 syndicates, compared with 4,506 "names" in 166 syndicates underwriting the 1960 account; in the main non-marine account ("other insurance business"), there were 4,773 names (90 syndicates) last year compared with 4,622 names (92 syndicates) for the 1960 account.

Lloyd's does a world-wide business and the underwriters, in common with the insurance companies, are not likely, therefore, to experience great changes if Britain joins the EEC. It has, however, been suggested by Dr Reimer Schmidt, Professor of Laws at Hamburg University, that the Corporation of Lloyd's might not be held to be a company as it is defined in the Treaty of Rome and accordingly might not be entitled to free establishment within the European Economic Community. Dr Schmidt has suggested, however, that Lloyd's would probably get by as a co-operative holding company, though the supervisory requirements of Continental countries might require some changes of practice by the underwriters. Moreover, agreements between underwriters, mainly in the marine market, that are observed by the British insurance companies as well as by the members of Lloyd's might, he thought, come in conflict with the anti-cartel provisions of the Treaty of Rome.

SHORTER NOTES

Sir William Iliff, vice president of the World Bank since 1956, is to retire at the end of October; many will join Mr Eugene Black in paying tribute to his distinctive achievements, most notably in successfully concluding the delicate Indus Basin negotiations. Sir William is succeeded by another Englishman, Mr Geoffrey Wilson, formerly of the Treasury and the Foreign Office.

An attempt by Franco-British Trust to start unofficial dealings in the shares of the Jasper group of companies has been abandoned following the warnings by the chairman of R. E. Jones that the completion of any purchases may not be possible without litigation. Shareholders in that company have been told this week that their shares are likely to be worth about £2 each; of the company's nine hotels six, including the Piccadilly, have already been sold. Lintang's principal asset, the Dolphin Square block of flats, is to be offered for sale and this is likely to raise about £4½ million.

Although net new orders for machine tools booked in May were significantly lower than the rate of export deliveries in the month, bringing total new orders for the first five months of this year slightly below total export deliveries during the period, the comparisons quoted in a Business Note in our last issue on this point were incorrect. Reports from within the machine tool industry, moreover, suggest that several large foreign contracts booked during June may since have brought the total orders booked in the first half of this year up to or above the level of export deliveries.

The International Tin Council met this week and received a report on discussions with the United States stockpile authorities. The meeting was then adjourned and will be resumed after details of American stockpile releases are made known.

LLOYD'S PREMIUM INCOME AND CLAIMS

Completed Accounts	Marine		Other Business*		Aviation		Motor		Profit £ mn.
	Prem. £ mn.	Claims £ mn.	Prem. £ mn.	Claims £ mn.	Prem. £ mn.	Claims £ mn.	Prem. £ mn.	Claims £ mn.	
1955	95.6	87.7	118.7	109.6	10.0	10.1	8.2	7.3	12.8
1956	97.2	94.3	132.1	128.4	13.0	12.9	8.7	6.5	5.7
1957	105.3	100.6	147.7	141.7	13.6	14.5	9.7	7.6	9.7
1958	108.0	101.7	164.3	156.6	17.3	16.4	11.7	9.2	14.1
1959	112.0	97.7	173.9	166.1	20.7	20.3	13.2	9.9	22.4
1959 Year I	75.2	16.9	105.0	30.2	11.4	6.8	12.0	2.1	...
" II	35.2	26.7	70.5	53.6	9.7	6.6	1.3	4.9	...
" III	1.6	54.1	7.6	82.3	0.4	6.9	0.1	2.9	...
1960 Year I	74.5	17.1	109.3	33.3	12.4	4.4	13.2	2.4	...
" II	38.1	29.9	75.9	54.7	12.1	7.5	1.5	5.9	...
1961 Year I	76.4	19.5	107.8	34.5	13.5	2.5	14.9	2.8	...

* Largely fire and accident insurance, funds, before certain overhead expenses.

† From all classes of insurance, including interest on underwriting

ASSOCIATED BRITISH PICTURE CORPORATION

SIR PHILIP WARTER ON A WELL EQUIPPED ORGANISATION

The thirty-fifth annual general meeting of Associated British Picture Corporation Limited was held on August 10th in London, Sir Philip Warter (the Chairman) presiding.

In his statement, which had been circulated to members, Sir Philip said he was pleased to report a satisfactory year's trading with profits, after taxation, only slightly below those of the previous year.

After reviewing the financial results Sir Philip, commenting on Film Production and Distribution, said: At the Corporation's Studios at Elstree, once again the staff and the equipment have been fully employed throughout the period.

In order to enlarge the supply of British films for the cinema the Corporation has, in association with The Grade Organisation Ltd., formed Elstree Distributors Ltd. to promote and finance the production of British films by independent producers.

Shortly after the end of the financial year arrangements were completed for the purchase by the Corporation of a 50 per cent interest in Anglo Amalgamated (Film Distributors) Ltd. and allied Companies. Apart from being a sound business investment this purchase will increase the supply of films by independent producers.

The Corporation is also negotiating with Mr Walter Reade of Continental Film Distributors Inc., of New York, who plans to promote and finance a number of British films which will further strengthen our position in Production, Distribution and Exhibition.

The Production Divisions of Associated British-Pathe Ltd. which produce the Pathe News, Television Advertising films and Documentary films have had a successful year.

The Distribution Division of Associated British-Pathe has maintained its business in the United Kingdom and improved it overseas, despite the relatively high level reached in the previous year.

The Chairman then referred to A.B.C. Cinemas and said that they had, on the whole, had a good year which would have been very much better if there had not been such a dearth of good pictures in the autumn of last year.

The massive reconditioning and modernisation programme of cinemas continues and the investment is already proving to be a good one.

Bowling: This is now beginning to assume an important role in the Company's activities.

Turning to A.B.C. Television Limited, Sir Philip said: The Television Company has continued to make progress.

I do not propose at this stage to comment in detail on the Pilkington Report. I must, however, express regret that the Report, apart from its tribute to our religious programmes, entirely fails to recognise the serious programme contributions that we and other Programme Companies have made to Independent Television.

Whatever the future pattern of television may be from 1964 onwards in this country, I am confident that this Corporation will continue to make a notable and essential contribution for many years to come.



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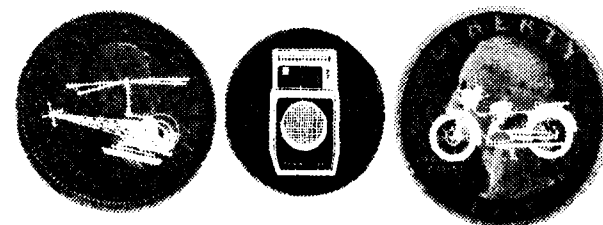


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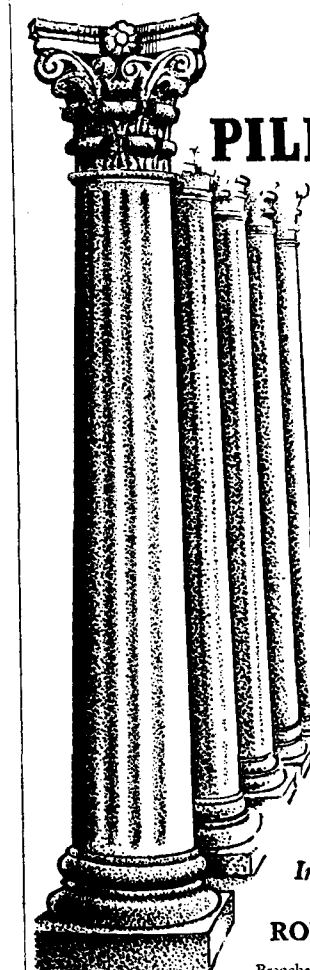
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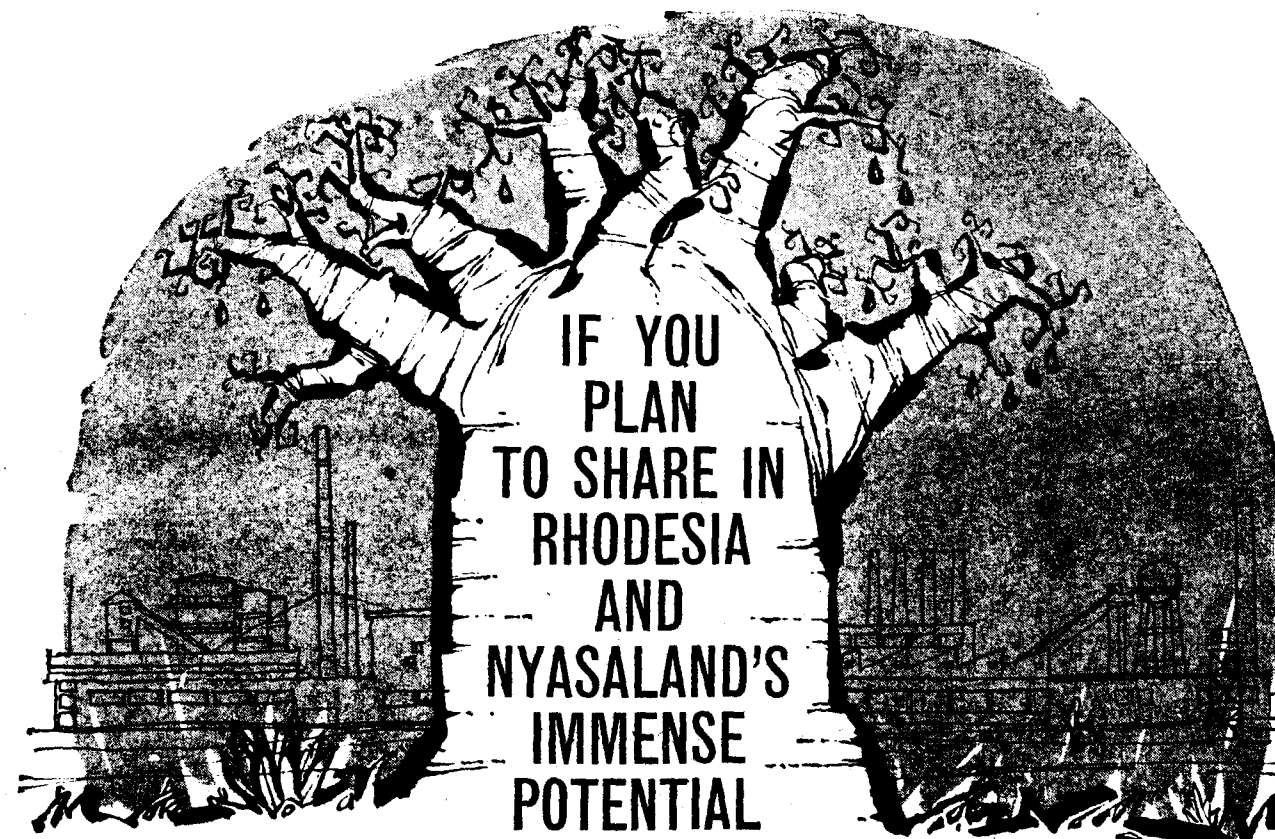


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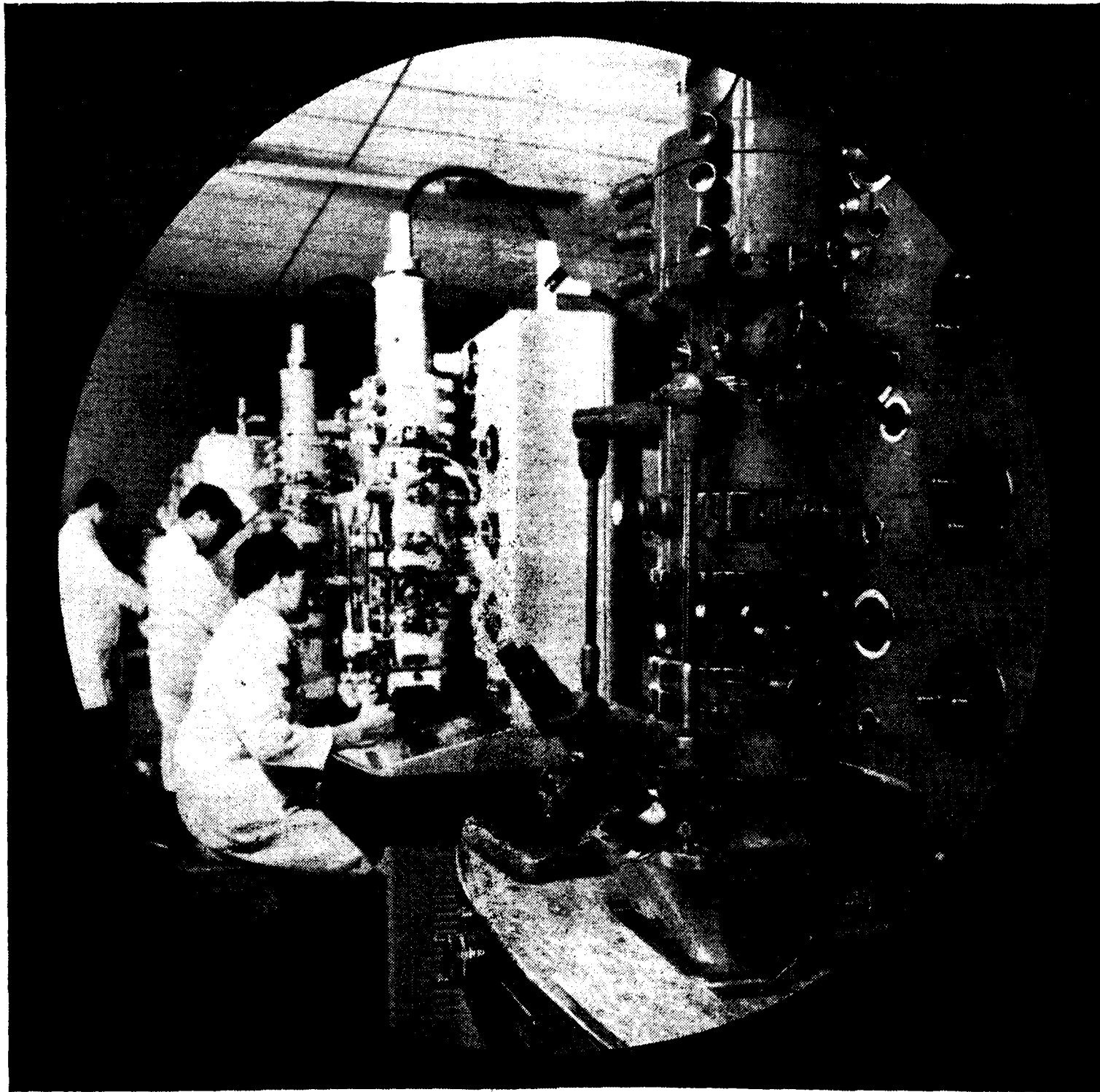
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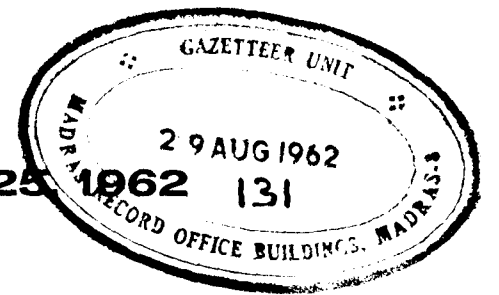
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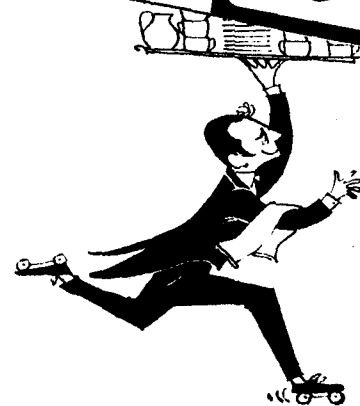
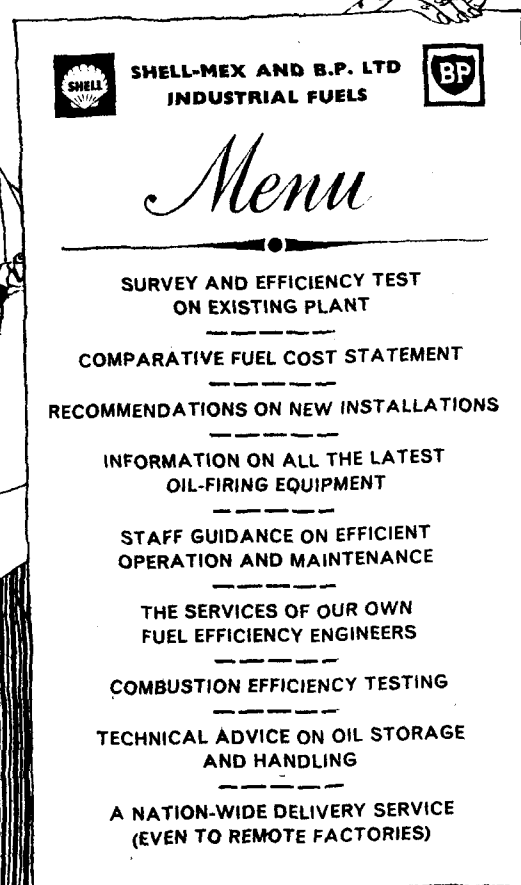
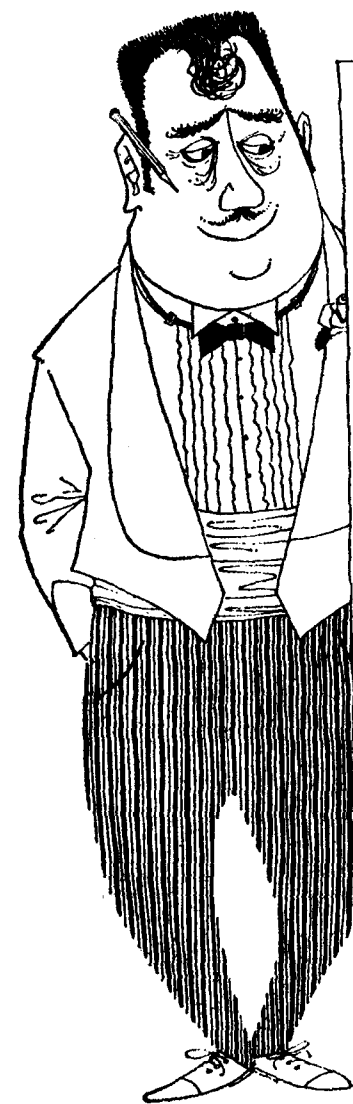
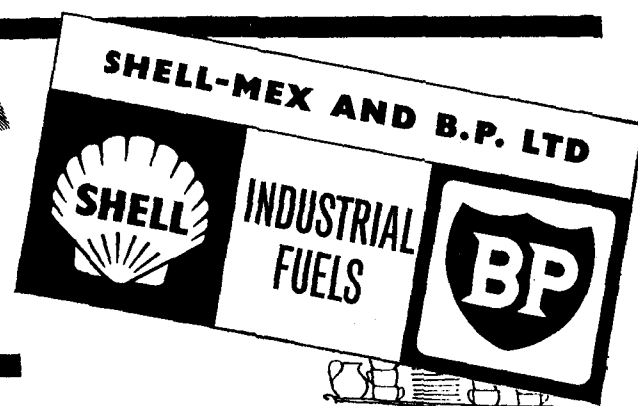
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The Economist this Week August 25, 1962

131

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667

INTERNATIONAL

RESPONSIBILITIES IN AFRICA

Kenya, hastening towards independence, presents a confused pattern of tribal rivalries and potential disunity. The remaining whites have to resist the temptation to take sides (p. 671).

If lack of support from Britain cripples U Thant's proposals to push the Congo towards unity by economic means, the UN could be left with the grim alternatives of quitting the Congo altogether or using force (p. 674).

MOSCOW AND US

The Economist, in Russian eyes, is a toady of the City, its radicalism a mere mask for the defence of capitalism and imperialism by more subtle means than usual (p. 675).

In Hungary, Stalinists are in disgrace (p. 681); in Rumania Mr Gheorgiu-Dej has hung on to power through Stalinism and Krushchevism alike (p. 707).

Economic crisis has reconverted the Chinese leaders to birth control (p. 705).

US AND NEIGHBOURS

President Kennedy's endorsement of the Mexican revolution of 1910 has helped

Washington's relations with its southern neighbour (p. 706); but when Latin Americans gather together resentment against the United States is a recurrent theme (p. 707).

The first anniversary of the Alliance for Progress was no occasion for celebration (p. 696).

Negroes in the United States are becoming increasingly impatient at the token integration with which southern whites are trying to satisfy them (p. 695).

President Kennedy's non-political trip to the West launched this year's political campaign (p. 696). Contrary to many people's expectations his brother is making an excellent Attorney General (p. 699).

The filibuster against the communications satellite Bill may not have been entirely inexcusable (p. 698).

Spending on highways provides a way of speeding up the economy (p. 698).

THE BERLIN BRINK

The withdrawal of the Russian commandant from east Berlin gives the east Germans more authority than ever (p. 677).

HOME

CONGENITAL MYOPIA

The TUC, under Mr Woodcock's leadership, has produced some welcome new thinking on matters outside its control; but, in those matters for which it is responsible, no progress has been made. The consequences of this refusal to face reality could be as bad for trade unionism as it is for Britain (p. 673).

The Scots have worked themselves into an excruciatingly worried state over the decline of their country's prosperity, for which Whitehall has so far produced no satisfactory answer (p. 691).

Stevenage New Town has been shocked by the loss of 2,000 jobs after Blue Water's abandonment—perhaps into a less hostile view of its own expansion (p. 692).

Behind some careful hedging—including its own plan for temperate agriculture—the National Farmers' Union has dug a last ditch of restrictionist opposition to the common market: this should cut no ice with the Government; and it may not impress many farmers (p. 678).

This year's radio show is characterised by the pathetic optimism of manufacturers (p. 722).

RESTRICTED DIET

Cartels are unpopular, and that in nitrogen, Nitrex, will have to step carefully if it is to avoid BEC's disapproval: it will have its job cut out, in any case, to achieve its aims (p. 712).

The accession of a new Lord Chamberlain may just conceivably mean that English playgoers will more often be allowed to be adults in their own right (p. 682).

The best solution to Malta's present tribulations may well be the early granting of its professed wish to be independent within the Commonwealth (p. 680).

SELF-INFLICTED WOUNDS

Attempts to prevent a recurrence of the thalidomide disaster may not wholly succeed; but such tragedies might be limited by a change in the present system for the approval of drugs—which is no system at all (p. 711).

Refugees who scale the Berlin wall should be given medical but not military assistance (p. 677).

An outbreak of banditry in southern France has been followed by a fourth unsuccessful attempt to assassinate President de Gaulle (p. 677).

ARAB ANTAGONISMS

Merging Aden with the Federation of South Arabia will not shield it from the wind of nationalism (p. 679).

Iraqi bombardment of Kurdish villages in Turkey has been resisted by the Turks, but the Kurds' itch for autonomy could threaten Turkey too (p. 680).

In Saudi Arabia a princely reformer has lost his passport (p. 679).

TROUBLED WATERS

Sardinian fishermen are tussling with feudal landlords for the right to fish (p. 704).

Little fascist—and anti-fascist—sores continue to suppurate on the body politic: the salves so far applied may not be best for its health (p. 679).

Britons may well wonder whether they are as neurotic as a recent doctors' report would have them (p. 692).

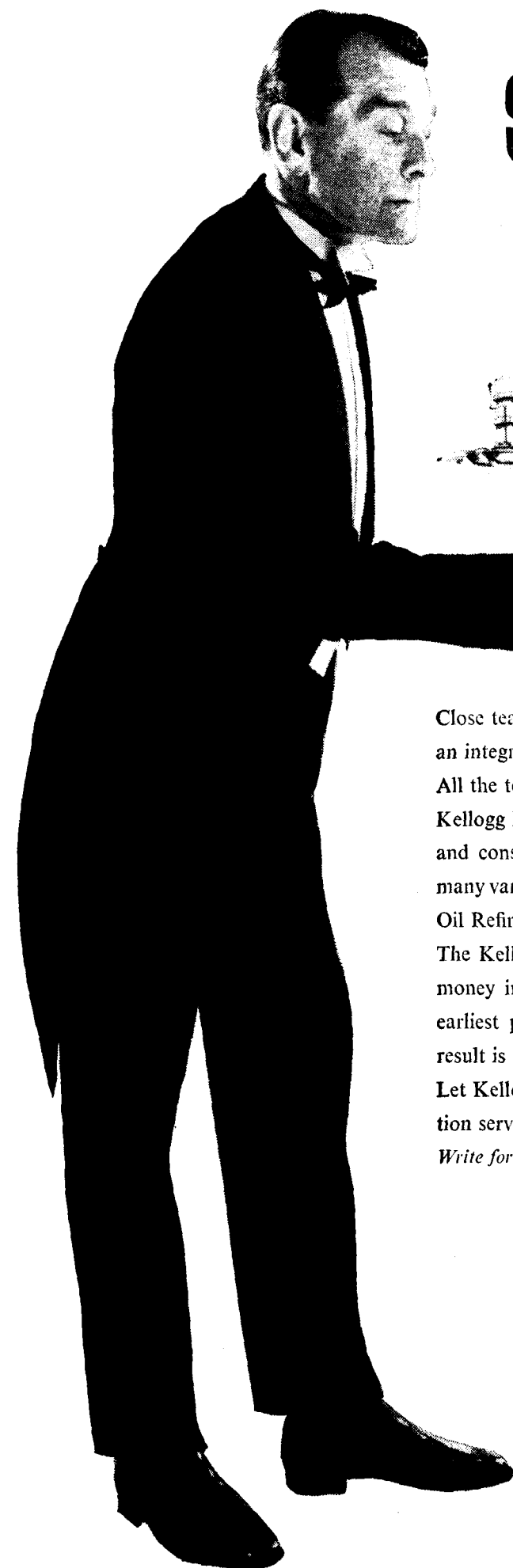
HERD INSTINCT

The Government has got the army of 165,000 it predicted for itself: but it is still not large enough, and its growth in better outside economic conditions is not assured (p. 678).

The gross overcrowding of British prisons has its remedies, and its palliatives, which in turn could be good for the penal system; but the problem remains a formidable one (p. 680).

London's newly-authorised Underground line from Victoria will, perhaps, relieve the morning agony of many Londoners; but it will not pay its way on the present fare scale (p. 717).

Detailed contents on page 671



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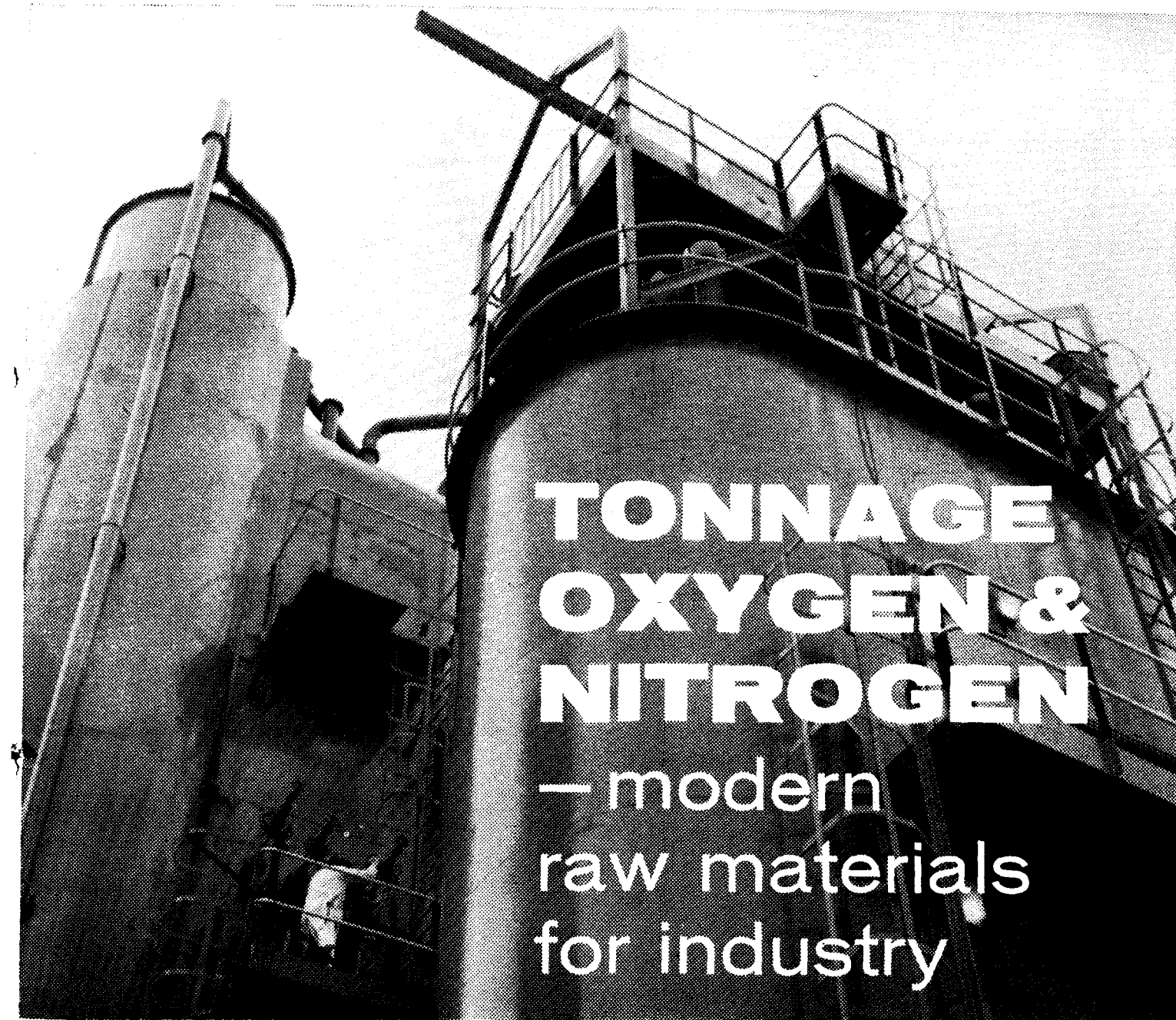


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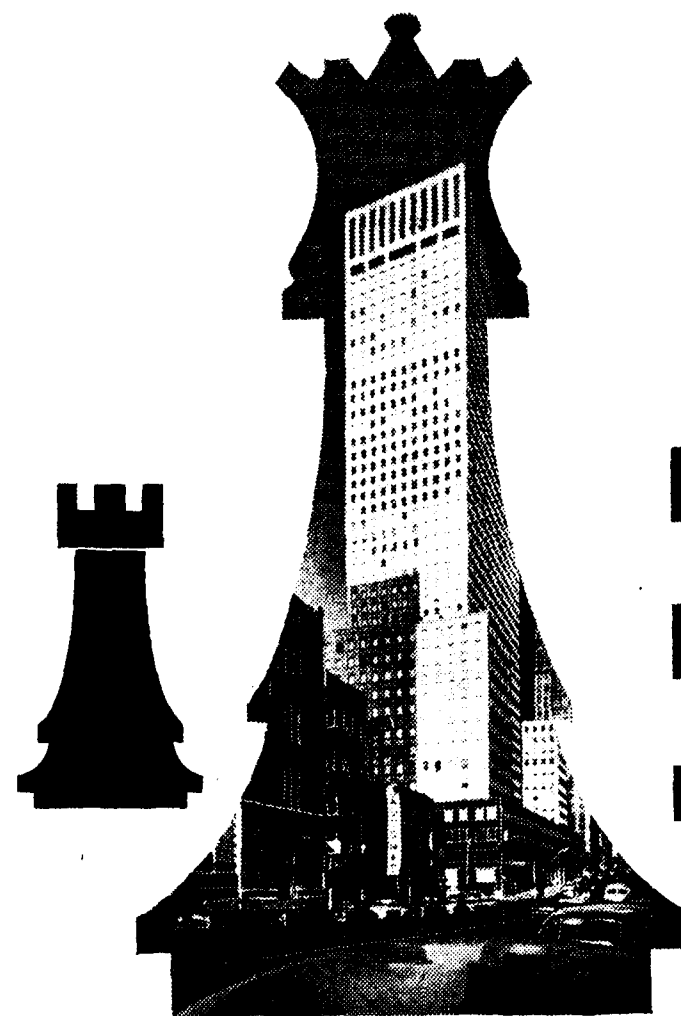
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AUGUST 25, 1962

Descending Mount Kenya	671
Still in Blinkers	673
Katanga Word and Deed	674
As Another Sees Us	675

NOTES OF THE WEEK

Berlin; France; Agriculture; Recruiting; Anti-Fascists; Aden; Saudi Arabia; Malta; Kurdistan; Prisons; Bidding for Art; Hungary; Chinese Studies; Lord Chamberlain; Protection of Skill.

BOOKS

Throwing Up the Innovators	684
----------------------------------	-----

HOME REPORT

Scotland Marks Time	691
Grey Skies, Blue Water; Going to the Doctor.	

LETTERS

AMERICAN SURVEY

Broken Progress in the South	695
Nonpolitical Politics; Peruvian Conquest; Satellite's First Step; Speed Up on the Roads; Mr Attorney General; Match for Symington?; Slanted Story; Is Washington Typical?	

THE WORLD OVERSEAS

Feudal Fish in Sardinia	704
Family Planning in China; Battle Tremors in the Model State; Latin Americans and Others; The Endurance of Gheorgiu-Dej.	

THE BUSINESS WORLD

After Thalidomide	711
Nitrex AG	712

BUSINESS NOTES

The Economy; Exchanges; In the Markets; London Travel; Bank Credit; Railway Workshops; Coal; Steel; Naval Dockyards; Local Finance; Spain Takes Advice; Annuities; Cotton; Italian Power; Lobitos Oil; Radio Show; Barley; Wool; Can Poland Run Short of Coal?; Television Shares; Building Standardisation; Shipping Freights at their Lowest Ebb; Shorter Notes.

COMPANY AFFAIRS

Drag on Distillers; National Canning; Lewis's Investment Trust; H. S. Whiteside; Sheepbridge Engineering; Building Materials.

Stock Prices and Yields	732
-------------------------------	-----

Money and Exchanges	735
---------------------------	-----

Prices and Wages	736
------------------------	-----

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Descending Mount Kenya

CLIMBING a mountain does not make it disappear, but it does become easier to see how big the mountain is; how precipitous its drops; how rocky its slopes. Less than three years ago the British Government, returned to power with a majority large enough for courage, initiated an assault on the Everest of all colonial entanglements—white-settled east and central Africa. The major constitutional peaks have since been conquered, but a safe return to a Britain free of colonial responsibilities is still a hair-raising and immeasurable time away. In Kenya independence is unlikely to mean the immediate and complete disentanglement so earnestly desired by both the Kenya Africans and the British Government. Unlike the west African countries, Kenya will go into independence without financial reserves, without a second generation of educated Africans, without much hope of regularly balancing its budget. It will be controlled (if that is the word) by a highly unstable government charged with the task of keeping the peace between hostile tribes. About 60,000 white people from Britain are likely to be caught in this trap and may need to be rescued.

The sad fact is that this is where the "wind of change" takes us. There is no doubt that the policy known by that name was right. It was, indeed, above all a recognition of the inevitable; and there are some countries (Uganda, Nyasaland, perhaps Tanganyika) where the results may even prove happy. To relinquish power is not, however, to get free of all responsibility. The casualties must be taken care of, and everyone in Kenya, black and white, is in danger of becoming in some way a casualty of the process of historical change. This could hardly have been foreseen by Mr Macleod, who, appointed Colonial Secretary in October, 1959, bravely saw his job as the unpleasant one of dishing the whites and putting his territories on the short road to black political power. There was no other course.

The wise descent, down slopes that inspire just as much fear in spite of being more clearly visible, requires equal boldness. It is true that many of Kenya's present ills could be cured if its African politicians were wiser, less ambitious men. But, whatever the extent of African folly, it would help if white Kenyans no less than expatriate civil servants and Colonial Office officials resisted the temptation to take sides and to keep the Africans divided.

The trouble is that the whites in Kenya, official and unofficial, are a divisive force. The reason is not hard to find. They have not only been forced to submit to the uncertain political authority of their former servants; they have also had to live through the Mau Mau rebellion. If Africans reply that things were hard for them when the whites were on top, this does not make the present situation of white Kenyans any more enviable. The argument is circular: if too many white Kenyans leave Kenya the economy may be so hard hit that life will be made even more harsh for black Kenyans.

Armed with this knowledge, and driven by an almost pathological dislike of the Kikuyu (the Mau Mau tribe), many administrators and white farmers hope (and sometimes work) for the political isolation of the Kikuyu. This is the privately avowed object, too, of the more backward pastoralist tribes that make up the bulk of the support of the Kenya African Democratic Union (Kadu); and it is often the sullen wish of leaders of dissident tribes within the majority Kenya African National Union (Kanu).

The Kikuyu themselves do not help. Many of their most modern and anti-

scholars delight in and lecturers and broadcasters omit. The book consists of a useful summary of the work that Cambridge historians are doing in some parts of mid-nineteenth century English history, and makes valuable corrections to the accepted doctrines on the subject. For instance, the author discusses briefly whether the phrase "Industrial Revolution" may be used as everybody but the pedant uses it; agrees that it can; and makes the more interesting remark that "It was in fact morally neutral. It was not directed with any certainty to any particular end." He emphasises what most political historians neglect: that many significant activities had no connection with the political stratosphere at all. Other subjects he covers in outline are population growth, religion, higher education, and class. The connection between these two last is brought out neatly:

It came to be assumed that a gentleman would have had the education of a gentleman, a proposition which might in time carry the convenient converse that someone who had had the education of a gentleman was likely to be a gentleman.

And his sketch of the strengths and weaknesses of the numerous Christian churches and sects in Albert's England provides the best available modern summary.

The other important subject the author covers is government by the civil service, of which he expounds both the origin and the necessity. In the nineteenth century people were in many ways less barbarous in their outlook than they had earlier been; this made the living conditions of the new-built industrial areas socially intolerable. But

if the power of the community is to intervene effectively in the complicated problems of modern society, it must be guided to its task by experts. . . . The general public must not only surrender its freedom, but surrender it to the control of servants whose actions it cannot understand.

This provides one of the points where one has to remember the title of the book to be sure which century it deals with; the age of civil servants who apply accustomed remedies because they are too sunk in routine to see that the remedies no longer apply is not over yet.

A substantial appendix by Professor W. O. Aydelotte of Iowa State University examines the business interests of the gentry in the parliament of 1841, and indicates that "the heavy involvement of the landed classes in business stands out clearly enough no matter how the figures are arranged."

The main defect of the book is the narrowness of its field. The author discusses industrial expansion in terms of its impact on society, without considering its purposes or the overseas markets much of it was intended to serve; foreign and defence policies are hardly touched on; nor—Ireland apart—does he embark on colonial or imperial questions. As a result the picture of England he presents is lopsided and insular. And his careful scholarship is marred by an occasional absurd statement, such as the one that chattel slavery has long been abolished,

or that "manhood suffrage had been achieved" in this country by 1900. These only bear out his point that the recent historical field is becoming too vast for single intellects to master.

How to Co-exist

May Man Prevail?

By Erich Fromm

Allen and Unwin. 263 pages. 21s.

DR ERICH FROMM'S politico-psychological studies, of which "The Fear of Freedom" is the best known, have generally worked outwards from psychoanalysis to politics. In this book his starting point is his feeling of despair with the theory of nuclear deterrence, which he believes has practically no chance of keeping the peace. He has nothing but contempt for the new book-keepers of nuclear death like Herman Kahn. Let us not dwell too much on the horrors of war, peace is horrible too, Kahn once said.

Hard as it is, the only sane policy, Dr Fromm protests, is multilateral disarmament, Russia being offered doses of inspection increasing with the scale of disarmament, and the West committing itself to total disarmament without mumbling doubts or reservations. The political counterpart must be East-West agreement to respect the status quo. If the West really wants to lighten the burden of Soviet rule in the satellites, it will never do so by threatening "liberation" in which it has already ceased to believe.

As for the uncommitted countries, Dr Fromm sees little point in western efforts to sell them systems of economic individualism that have long been superseded in every western country. The only choice for these countries is between different brands of socialism, and he thinks there is a good chance of Soviet-American acquiescence in democratic forms of moderate socialism in the new states such as would respect personal freedom while providing the economic basis for growth.

East-West agreement, however, is impossible—and this brings us to the core of the book—unless the Soviet Union is recognised for what it is, not a messianic force spreading communism by fire and sword, but a "conservative, totalitarian managerialism" chiefly interested in preserving itself and using ideology as a ritualistic exercise. "The only people who take Communist ideology seriously are we in the United States," Dr Fromm wants Americans to get wise to their habits of projecting their fears on to the Russians, imaging them as doctrinal crusaders when, as half the book shows, revolutionary zeal died in Russia before Stalin came to power.

Much of this is unexceptionable, though the psychology is sometimes given a wrench to make it fit the politics. The trouble is that the puzzle facing statesmen would probably stay the same, though it may be made easier to handle, even if Dr Fromm's "anticipatory rationalism" were adopted.

It lies in the simple fact that neither side can be wholly sure that the other, whatever its social system, will keep any disarmament promises it makes. Dr Fromm explains that ordinary people fear many possibilities which never eventuate. Unfortunately governments, especially on matters of national security, tend to work on the gloomiest assumptions. And who can blame them?

Ghana's Early History

Maclean of the Gold Coast

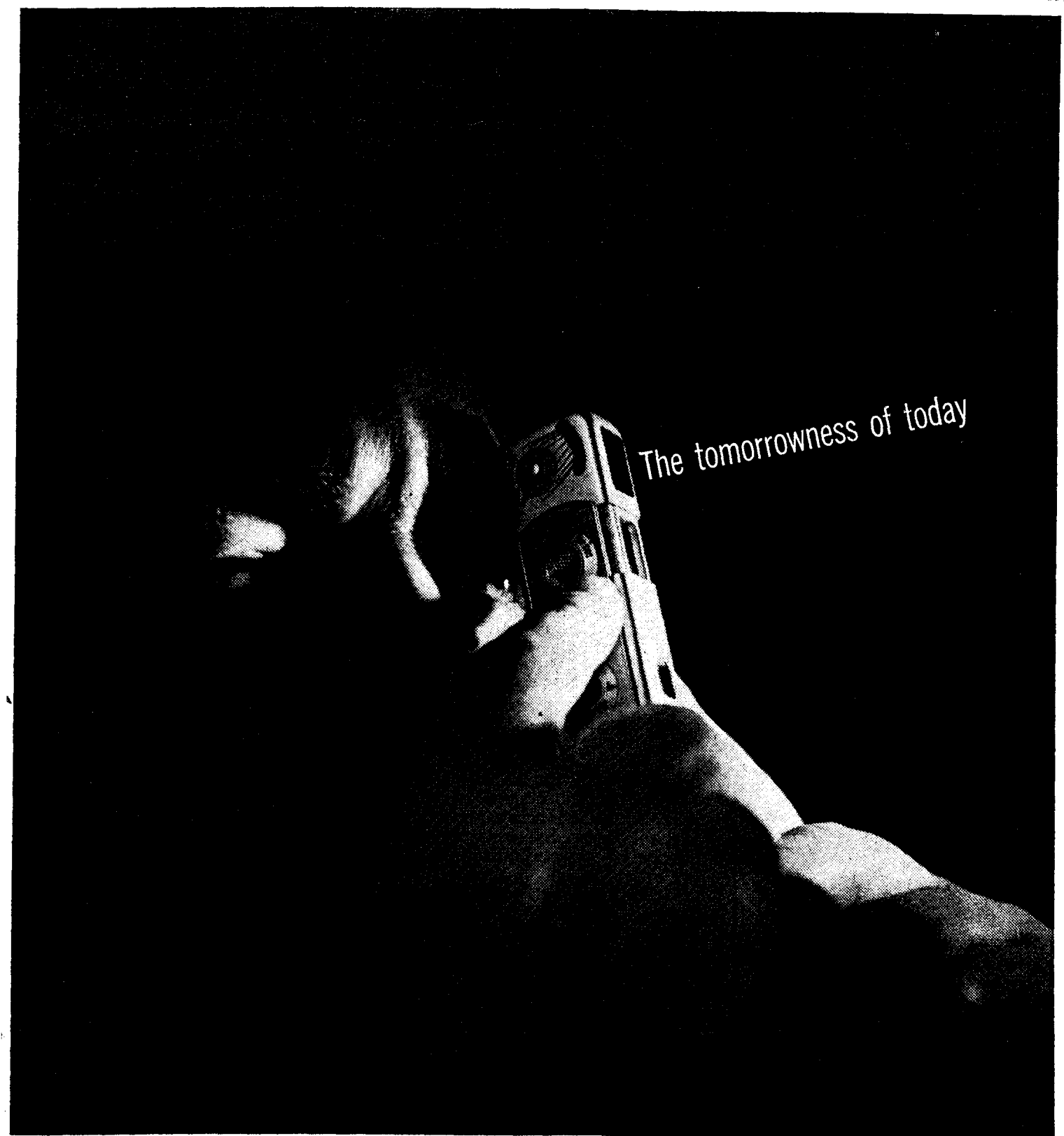
By G. E. Metcalfe.

Oxford University Press. 359 pages. 35s.

THE more one reads about British imperial history the more one wonders how on earth we ever became a colonial power. Profit and philanthropy, often conveniently hand-in-hand, persistently asked for the assumption by the Crown of responsibilities overseas, but their suggestions were treated for the most part by successive British Governments rather as if they were improper proposals aimed at either the purity or the purse of a spinster. Mr Metcalfe's book, which deals with the history of what is now Ghana between the years 1827 and 1847, illustrates this theme with a meticulous and merciless fairness.

George Maclean was a singularly unsuccessful army officer, who went out to West Africa in 1826 largely because he could not get any other employment. He died there twenty years later, a legendary figure to his contemporaries and, in the vernacular, "the white man in whose time all men slept sound." Soon after he arrived the home government, fed up with its expensive and tiresome responsibilities, handed over the Gold Coast forts to a council of resident merchants. Maclean became president of this council. The council's charter was to administer and protect the coastal settlements "avoiding all interference in the disputes of the natives, except when they have reason to believe that their influence or mediation may be effectual for the preservation of peace or the termination of hostilities." Maclean's interpretation of this proviso led him to embark on policies and practices that were soon to result, with an inevitability which he cheerfully and the Colonial Office gloomily even then foresaw, in a hundred years of British rule.

Maclean was a controversial figure. Mr Metcalfe deals with all the controversial events and policies with which he was involved, whether they were political like the questions of domestic slavery and ritual killing in Ashanti or personal like the circumstances attending the death of Maclean's wife, with the detachment, regard for proven fact and careful judgment of a true historian. The book will bring no comfort either to those who seek to justify everything the British did in West Africa, or for those who seek to condemn it all. Kindness and justice, honesty and hypocrisy, the good



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deeds and the bad are analysed and judged with scrupulous fairness. Only on the unorthodox, pragmatic Maclean himself does the author fail to pass a final judgment; and perhaps the best comment was made by the perplexed civil servant who said of him that he did much good "but I could never find out by what law he did it."

Critics' Critic

The Literary Critics

By George Watson.

Penguin. 249 pages. 4s. 6d.

THE title is an all-embracing one, but a glance at the cover makes it clear that English literary critics are Mr Watson's subject—though the modish typography, with its run-on lines, appears to include in the list such unfamiliar figures as Thomas Ry, John Dennis Alexan, William Wor and Matthew Ar. Sidney does not figure there, for he was more concerned with principles than with the description and evaluation of actual works of literature; and it is only descriptive criticism that Mr Watson deals with. Consequently Dryden (whose essays he recently edited) is the first on the list, which ends with the American New Critics. The chronological survey results in a kind of literary history, but with all the duller bits left out. There is no attempt to be exhaustive or to follow out the development of doctrines. It is the individual contribution, the characteristic method, the recognisable tone of voice that get full attention, and this makes for a lively book.

Mr Watson knows very well what he is talking about, and he speaks his mind.

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BOOKS

Several reputations are neatly punctured, and the weaknesses of even the greatest men carefully exposed; but there is such an evident relish for what is good and vital that we are left feeling braced, and inclined to believe that it is not so arid, after all, to read what a critic has to say about critics.

Sociology Today

Social Theory and Social Practice

Hans L. Zetterberg.

The Bedminster Press. 190 pages. 30s.

Society: Problems and Methods of Study

Edited by A. T. Welford and others.

Routledge & Kegan Paul. 592 pages. 50s.

IT is, as the American author of the first of these two books points out, easy to say tulip, and hard to make one. In "Social Theory and Social Practice" Mr Zetterberg is concerned to show how practical treatment of social problems can be based on the theoretical knowledge that sociologists already possess. For example, he suggests, if a sociologist wishes to study the difficulties confronting any kind of organised opposition in a trade union, he can immediately draw on accepted theories of motivation, bureaucracy, power, authority and so on. On the basis of these ideas he can give a good analysis of the situation without having to indulge in yet another piece of costly research. We may, the author argues, still have doubts about the theories, but we cannot go on doing research for ever. Mr Zetterberg draws an interesting analogy between sociology today and medicine in the nineteenth century, and points out that if doctors had been similarly inhibited about the soundness of their theories, no one would have been treated at all.

In England this point has simply been ignored. The second book treats sociology as a statistical method for the study and analysis of social problems, and there is virtually no reference to pure theory at all. It consists of a collection of essays by many (though by no means all) of the big names in British sociology, and the sections cover a wide range of topics from road accidents to national intelligence. It is intended as a guide book to the subject for sociologists and laymen alike. Sociologists will certainly find in it a detailed study of Britain today, but laymen will probably find it hard going in places (why must academic sociology always be dull?) and it is not truly comprehensive. Apart from the theoretical gap, certain subjects such as social anthropology have been left out. The total effect is curiously flat, and the fact that there are four editors may account for the lack of a unified viewpoint of directive. If Mr Zetterberg would like some of his fellow-countrymen to borrow some of the English pragmatism, then a little more of the inspiration that lies behind American theoretical thinking would be welcome here.

THE ECONOMIST AUGUST 25, 1962

After all, compared with other scientists, sociologists are in a unique position, in that the objects of their study are simply other versions of themselves. Thus they start with a degree of understanding already available. It would be a pity if this understanding were to be buried forever under a pile of statistics, but the English book shows distinct tendencies in that direction.

Psychology and Poetry

Mirror of Minds

By Geoffrey Bullough.

Athlone Press. 279 pages. 35s.

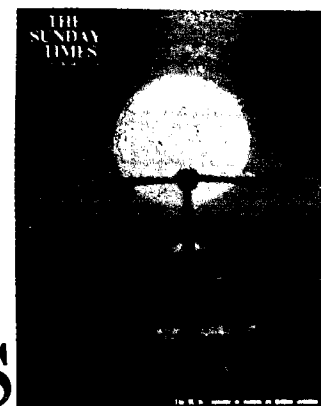
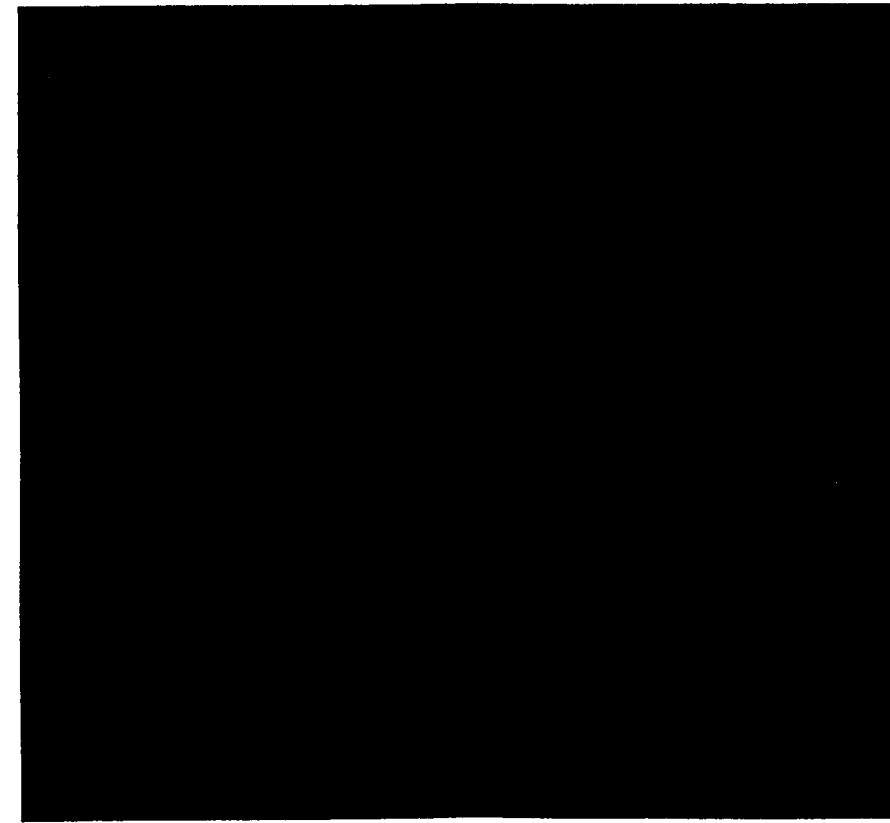
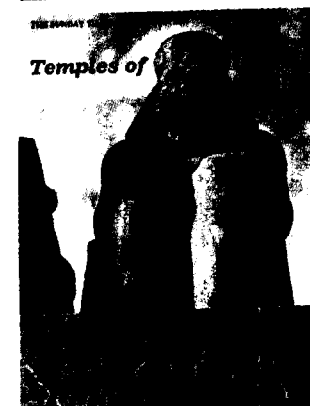
THE trouble with this book is that it attempts to do far too much. It is an expansion of five lectures delivered at Toronto University in 1959, in which Professor Bullough examined changing psychological beliefs as they exhibit themselves in English poetry since the Renaissance. Current assumptions about man's relation with the universe, about the sources of his knowledge, about the various powers of the mind, are bound to affect the more philosophically-minded poets, in whatever age they live, and to consider how they write within the context of such beliefs is very well worth doing. When Professor Bullough writes as a literary historian, conversant with the ideas of the natural philosophers and the psychologists, he is, given a long enough perspective, very illuminating. There is a particularly valuable chapter on reason, the passions and associations from Dryden to Wordsworth. This is a period not much explored by the non-specialist, and there are unexpectedly interesting extracts from Prior's "Alma," Young's "Night Thoughts" and Akenside's "Pleasures of the Imagination." But even here, the wish to leave no stone unturned results in too rapid a survey of too many writers, and some rather banal comments on the better known ones; and when Professor Bullough comes to the twentieth century, it becomes apparent that the historian's feeling for inclusiveness is stronger than the literary critic's concern for intrinsic merit. When he gives himself time to consider a poet in some depth, as he does with T. S. Eliot, he is able to indicate some enlightening connections between philosophical ideas (those of Bradley and Bergson in particular) and the poetic handling of such themes as time and consciousness; but Yeats gets summary treatment, rather more attention being paid to Arthur Symonds and Rupert Brooke.

When one considers that Professor Bullough is trying to do within the compass of this single volume something not unlike what Professor Willey has done in a series of quite massive books on the background of thought against which writers worked in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, one must admire his temerity and his powers of compression; but it is tantalising to be rushed from one topic to another and from one poet to another at such a breathless rate.

THE ECONOMIST AUGUST 25, 1962

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HARVEYS BRISTOL DRY



Mr Noble: bitter inheritance

HOME REPORT Members of the editorial staff and local correspondents report on the life and happenings in and around Britain

Scotland Marks Time

FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN GLASGOW

It is still not at all clear what the Government means to do about the Toothill report on the Scottish economy, published last November. The new Secretary of State, Mr Noble, announced his considered (and very cagey) reactions on Thursday. They indicated no major innovation in policy on such central issues for Scotland as the distribution of industry in regions of slow, or nil, growth; changes in the Local Employment Act; or the future shape of the transport system. Since these depend on national decisions it is not surprising that Mr Noble refused to commit himself. More observations are promised later on: presumably this means that Mr Noble is still fighting his own battle inside the cabinet for the more fundamental changes that Toothill and others have called for—and in which north-east England and Merseyside are equally interested. But the Scots feel that they have most cause, among all the regions of declining opportunity, to insist on knowing the score as soon as possible. Is there a Government policy or isn't there? There is no doubt that Scottish morale has been sagging increasingly all year and that the Unionists (as the Tories are known north of the border) have never been less loved.

What is to be done about Scotland? Labour MPs and trade unionists are talking themselves almost into the belief that there is no future for it, so often do they preach the harsh facts of economic stagnation. Mr Noble himself, an Argyllshire gentleman farmer so recently elevated to run the Scottish Office and party machine in the north, has come into a bitter inheritance. There are 75,000 unemployed, 3.5 per cent of the working population (or more than double the national average). Emigration rose to 34,000 last year after running at a yearly average of 25,000, mostly drawn from the young and better-skilled, since 1950. Scotland needs 15,000 new jobs a year, but is currently losing existing work faster than new jobs are won. The coal board and the railways have either embarked on policies of massive closure or seem certain to do so. Some 35,000 jobs are said to be in the pipe-line at present, but these will not offset the existing retraction in steel, ship-building, engineering, coal, and transport.

While the Labour party demands more financial inducements to attract new industry to Scotland and, on the left, the direction of industry, the Tories complain that all this despondency merely drives potential incoming firms away. They also point out that strikes and go-slows at major projects like the Hunterston power station and the British Motor Corporation plant at Bathgate do not improve the Scottish image. Mr Noble remarks tartly, but with some truth, that Scottish industry has failed to make full use of the research and other facilities that the Government has already provided. But the non-party Scottish Council (Development and Industry) which produced the Toothill report is "pretty desperately concerned" and promises a bit of a battle when it sees Mr Noble and Mr Erroll, the President of the Board of Trade, next week; there are workers' marches; the kirk has voiced its concern, and even the right-wing press is full of anxious leading articles.

It is true that since the British Motor Corporation and Rootes were virtually driven northwards two years ago (to provide up to

20,000 jobs, there has been no sign of an integrated master plan. Six "development sites" have just been designated in the worst black spots, but industries will nonetheless have to be found to occupy the advance factories when they are built.

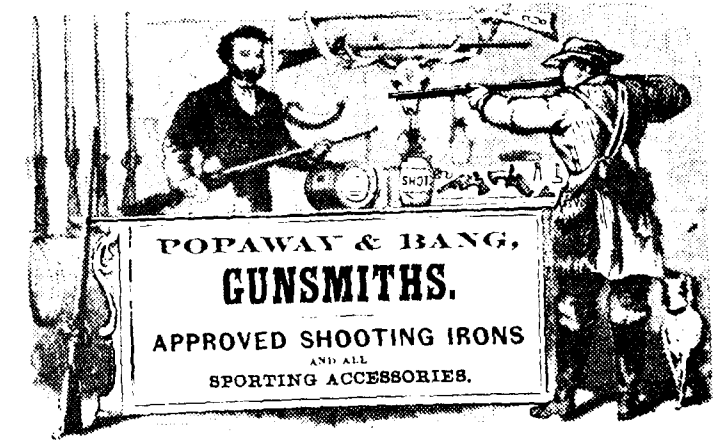
The most hopeful stirrings have been inside the Scottish Office itself. In June it was reorganised into two key departments, of which the challengingly-styled Scottish Development Department is officially felt to be of enormous significance. Its explicit purpose is to concentrate those economic planning, industrial, and allied functions hitherto somewhat clumsily dispersed around St Andrew's House in Edinburgh and Dover House in Whitehall. In this sense, at least, the Government has not let the Toothill proposals gather too much dust.

In fact the Unionists have, for them, gone to unprecedented lengths in social and regional planning. Under the previous Secretary of State, Mr MacLay, the basic decision was taken to make 80 square miles of the Lothians (pivoting on Livingston new town and the nearby BMC plant) a focus of new activity to link the Clyde Valley conurbation with the slowly expanding industries of east Scotland. Here the Government is committed to public investment on a major scale. Two distinguished Scots, Professor Sir Robert Matthew, the architect, and Professor D. J. Robertson, the economist, have been engaged as consultants, and there seems to be at least one eye in high places on what the common market Investment Bank could conceivably do for this type of enterprise.

As it is, a substantial infrastructure has been built up in central Scotland generally over the past five years by way of the trunk roads programmes, the Forth and Tay road bridge projects, the Clyde vehicular tunnels, and Glasgow's central redevelopment and overspill. A long-overdue drive to step up technical education and industrial training is beginning to show results. The Unionists are right to point to all this, but it has plainly not produced a self-sustaining regeneration in time to cushion the present (and admittedly overdue) cuts in the older, unprofitable industries.

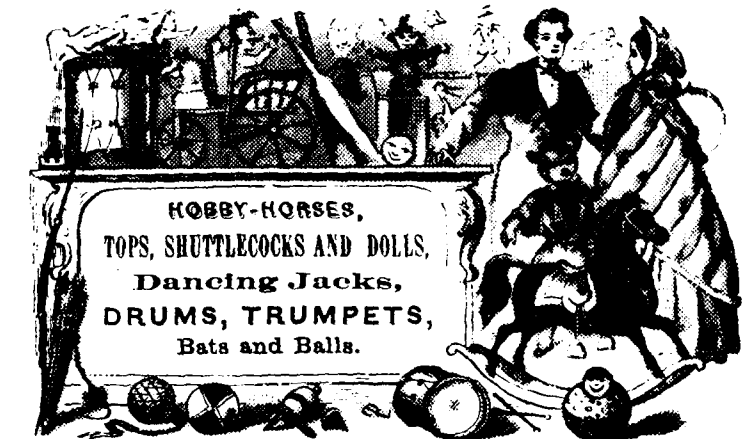
The Scots have been told repeatedly by their own pundits that the long-term answer lies in industrial virility at home, in economic self-help, and in the will to make Scotland boom without outside aid. But the impression is also growing that all this is less easy to manage when the legislature is 400 miles distant and not particularly sympathetic to a separate rescue operation north of the border. It has always been said that Scottish nationalism would get serious political support only when high and persistent unemployment could be directly related to an economic system that permanently favoured southern England at the expense of the rest of Britain. There have been continuous arguments since 1918 over whether or not Scotland is getting more out of the union than it puts in: the point now is that the visible drift to the south, even before any entry into the common market, has become more painful—and been more resented—than at any time before.

The planners still doggedly predict that the congestion of population in the south and the midlands will eventually produce



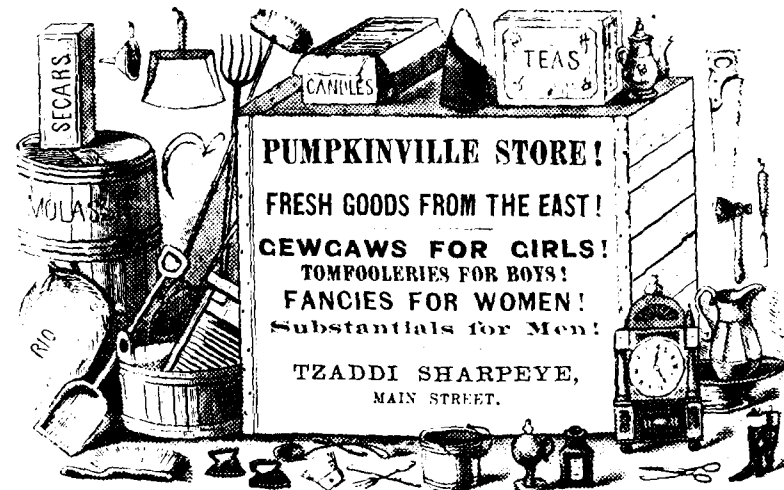
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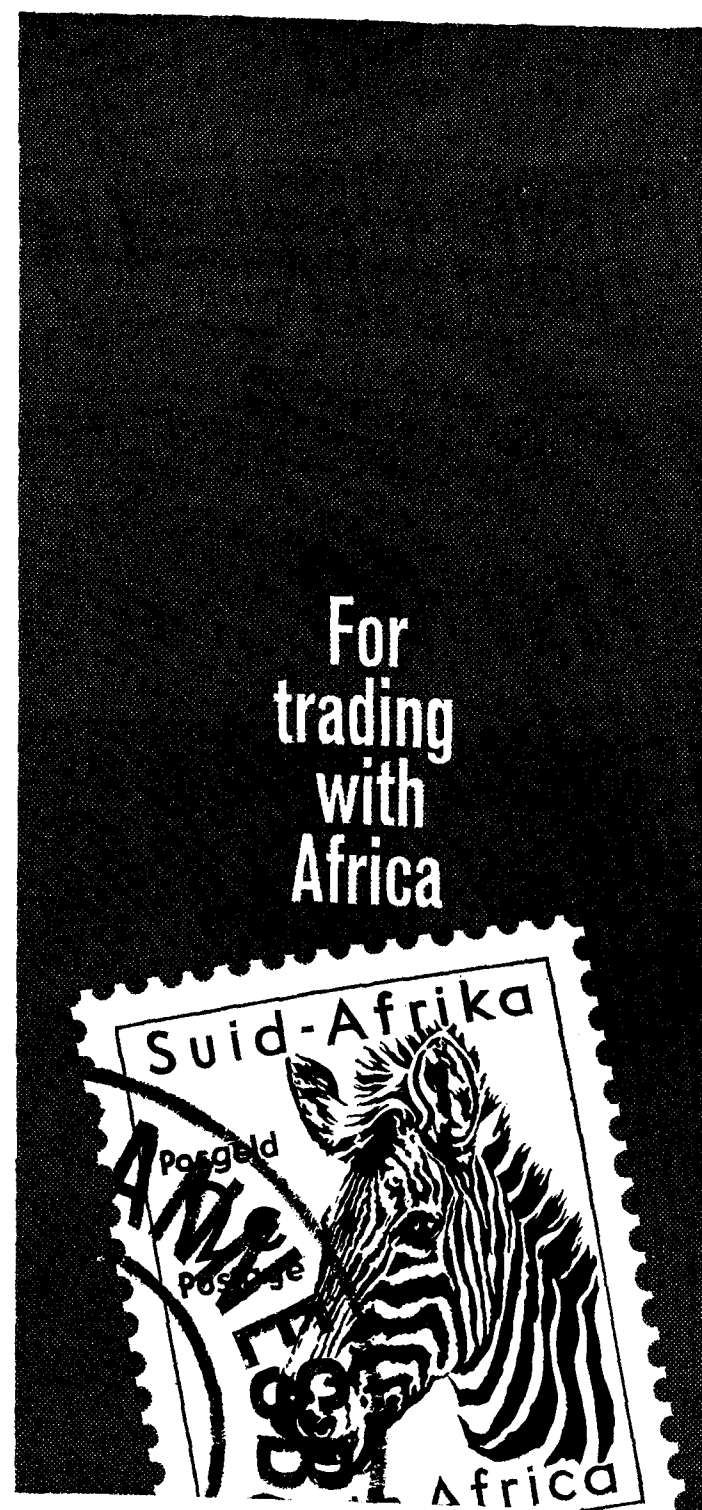
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THE BUSINESS WORLD

After Thalidomide

THE record of the drug, thalidomide—perhaps 1,200 babies born in this country with missing limbs and internal malformations—is going to accelerate changes in the drug laws that have been discussed on and off for the better part of ten years. The danger now is that the nation's collective feeling of guilt towards these children and their parents will cause the kind of precipitate, conscience-saving legislation that will not necessarily prevent the reappearance of another thalidomide. This is a situation that requires cool heads to rule warm hearts: more and better testing of drugs is not the complete answer and it is cruel to encourage drug makers and drug takers alike to think that it is. This particular horse bolts in open country, and no amount of locks on stable doors will stop him.

The basic weakness in the way that doctors prescribe and patients swallow drugs is this: doctors depend almost exclusively on manufacturers for their information about new drugs, while manufacturers depend almost exclusively on doctors for their information about how these work. The flow of information is not equal in both directions. The doctor is told much more quickly about the merits of a drug than the manufacturer learns of its defects. One is exposed to the full blast of nearly £7 million worth of salesmanship a year; the other relies on the occasional letter from those doctors who grasp quicker than most the significance of what a drug is doing to their patients. This is why thalidomide has claimed hundreds of victims instead of tens. This is where changes are most urgently needed.

The layman might properly ask why he should be the guinea-pig; how is it that dangerous drugs ever get out of the laboratory and on to the chemists' shelves in the first place? The reason is neither scientific nor medical, but purely statistical. The obvious killers are identifiable in the laboratory. Really serious side-effects show up, if not in the laboratory, then at least when the drug is first tried out in hospitals. But the long odds chance, the disastrous reaction that appears in perhaps only one case in a thousand, will not necessarily be obliging enough to crop up during these controlled trials. Very many mothers who have taken thalidomide have given birth to normal babies.

A scrupulous manufacturer might expect to use as many as 15,000 laboratory animals a month testing the safety of a new drug. These tests give a statistical sample big enough to cover the kind of odds that make a drug a rogue. But the animals are small—rats, mice, rabbits and hamsters—and what they can tolerate could still be bad for man. The risk is somewhat reduced by doing a few tests on bigger animals,

dogs, monkeys and the occasional pig, but on nothing like the same scale. These big animals are simply not available in the same quantity as rats and mice; and even if they were, public opinion and the Home Office would not allow them to be used for laboratory experiments in the numbers required for a proper statistical sample. Manufacturers must hope that a check using perhaps half-a-dozen dogs will throw up any marked difference between the behaviour of the drug in large and small mammals; and more than once these last safety checks have shown that it was wiser to put the drug down the sink than on the market. But the gap between man and animal remains. No one can predict that a drug, tested by the industry's highest standards, is 100 per cent safe when it leaves the laboratory; makers can only claim that it is as safe as modern science can make it, which is a vastly different order of certainty.

TO many people it seems an anachronism that it should be left to the good faith of manufacturers to decide whether a drug seems safe, or even how extensively it should be tested before it goes on the market. It is legally possible in this country to launch a new drug without any tests at all. The public's only protection is the industry's sense of responsibility and the knowledge that each company can stay in business only as long as it has the respect of the medical profession. This state of affairs is not likely to continue. The emotional reaction to thalidomide makes it almost certain that a drug registration scheme will soon be introduced, with evidence of laboratory trials required as a condition of registration. Some sections of the industry view the prospect with dismay, having their own good reasons for arguing that this would tend to reduce a manufacturer's sense of responsibility. Others welcome the idea, while praying that the actual machine will be somewhat less costly and bureaucratic than the American Food and Drug Administration which it seems likely to resemble. The FDA is at present basking beneath a halo acquired by one staff doctor's refusal to license thalidomide for sale in the United States, but it is not always gifted with such second sight. What it can do is hold up the sale of a drug for 60 days while deciding whether there is any reason why it should not be put on sale, or demand fresh tests from manufacturers. No one is suggesting that British manufacturers are lax in their testing, but there have been cases where, for example, a company assumed that the sum of two harmless products would also be harmless and so did not need trials. A registering authority might have been able to tell the company that this was untrue. But for

the statistical reasons already given, neither the FDA, nor any registration body could necessarily nose out another thalidomide. The American public was only saved this particular tragedy because the drug was marketed first in Europe: some of its—less tragic—drawbacks were already coming to light when it was ready to be launched in the United States.

If such dangers cannot be picked up in the laboratory, can they be identified during hospital trials before doctors start prescribing a new drug in quantity? Again the answer is no. This is not what clinical trials in hospitals are for; they are to see whether the drug has any medical value and, if so, for what conditions and with what dosage. They may incidentally show what price the patient might have to pay for a cure, in terms of side effects that are sometimes more serious than the disease treated, but these will not inevitably show up in such trials. Manufacturers, for their part, may be able during clinical trials to arrange for blood and other samples for analysis; but they cannot ask hospitals to use their patients like laboratory animals, nor can anyone expect the regulations governing the introduction of new drugs to be changed so that hospitals will. Ethics apart, there are not enough patients to provide the statistical sample that would be needed to give the public the 100 per cent guarantee that sentiment naïvely demands.

If the drug proves worthless, it will be withdrawn at this stage; if not, the published results of the clinical trials may spark off interest among other doctors. Letters in the medical journals will begin to describe first, cures and then, as doctors acquire more experience, drawbacks and side-effects—until something analogous to case law has been built up about the drug and the medical profession as a whole has a fairly clear idea when to use it and when not. This can take about five years. In the last resort, the public is the guinea-pig: when the pharmaceutical industry's critics say that drugs are being launched and marketed without proper trial, what they really mean is that the industry's sales machine is working 100 per cent faster than this somewhat Victorian technique of gentlemanly communication and counter-communication. The industry as a whole is spending an average of 10 per cent of turnover on sales and advertising of these "ethical" preparations. Since some of the biggest companies are spending only a fraction of the national average on selling, others must be spending very much above it. Most doctors could name them.

Nitrex AG

Producers trying to rig the world export market for nitrogen fertilisers may have a huge future surplus to control

EUROPEAN producers of nitrogen fertilisers have banded together to form a nitrogen export cartel, Nitrex, which is to market their products overseas. This has long been expected: for several years intense competition for export business in these fertilisers has been skilfully exploited by a few monopoly buyers in communist China, India and Pakistan to force nitrogen prices down to levels which are said to be uneconomic, and the competitive bidding between European producers has made this all too easy. Members of Nitrex include the leading manufacturers of Europe, with two signi-

With the incentive to maximise sales during the first three years, while a new drug remains free from Ministry of Health price control, sales promotion techniques are borrowed from the consumer industries (a none-too-happy innovation in itself) and are sometimes used to promote drugs while there is still relatively scanty case history to back them. Consequently, for every wonder drug that ends its first five years with a clean bill of health, there is probably another that has been quietly withdrawn from the market and at least two more whose use has been considerably curtailed because of dangerous, painful, or merely tiresome side effects. But as drugs get more powerful, better able to cure intractable diseases and put patients back on their feet, so their side-effects get more severe, for chemicals that have a sledgehammer effect on disease cannot be expected to leave the rest of the body unaffected. The risk, not necessarily of another thalidomide, but certainly of violent and unexpected repercussions to new drugs, grows rather than diminishes and is the price of medical progress via such preparations. The question exercising the Ministry of Health, its advisers and the industry, is how to keep this risk to a minimum.

The barrier to quicker reporting by doctors is that an individual doctor may have to experience three, five, perhaps a score of cases before he begins to link cause and effect. But if, it is argued, doctors sent details of their cases to a central register, with drugs given and results noted, a score of postcards from different parts of the country all mentioning a common symptom and a common drug, could alert the central office, and indirectly the manufacturer, that something more than coincidence might be at work. Postcards reporting malformed babies born to mothers to whom thalidomide had been prescribed for early-morning sickness would certainly have sounded the alarm earlier; limbless babies were reported in 1960, but the drug was not withdrawn in Britain until late last year. Suggestions for some scheme along these lines are growing more frequent; the stumbling block seems likely to be the attitude of individual practitioners. Doctors, who can be surprisingly reactionary at times, have nevertheless been heard to complain that an office of this kind would forever be sending out false alarms and inhibiting the development and use of new drugs. Oddly enough, this is not how the pharmaceutical industry sees it; but then a drug maker loses more of his customers when one of his drugs turn sour than the doctors lose of theirs.

ficant exceptions: ICI and ANIC, the petrochemicals arm of Italy's ENI. Even without these, Nitrex will be the world's largest exporter of nitrogen, with a capacity of 5 million tons a year at its disposal, and some market power to achieve its main objective, of "stabilising" nitrogen prices. The organisation will enable European producers to sell on a scale comparable with Soviet block countries (whose capricious forays into the market have been adding to the excitements of capitalist competition) and the United States. American producers admittedly do not compete for Chinese business;

nor has Japan been selling to China of late, though its growing capacity must affect the market there. Nitrex also hopes to rationalise the marketing of nitrogen fertilisers to avoid overlap between the producers, and to arrange barter and long-term credit deals. (The largest customer for this rapidly-consumed product, China, has recently been demanding—and getting—up to 18 months' credit.) Even though the cartel says its activities are to be strictly confined to the export field, as they need be if the agreement is to avoid being banned under the Rome Treaty, it is impossible to avoid comparisons with notorious pre-war cartels.

The circumstances which have led to the formation of Nitrex closely resemble those in which the first European nitrogen cartel was set up, in 1930. During the twenties, synthetic nitrogen capacity considerably increased throughout the world and this, combined with an agricultural depression, led to over-production and a fall in prices. The agreement, which sought to maintain prices, to increase nitrogen consumption and to allocate business by quota, came to an end at the outbreak of war and was not revived. Since the war, world nitrogen production has increased to 14 million tons a year and world capacity exceeds it by 2.5 million tons. Existing plans for new plants, if they all materialise, would increase capacity to 23 million tons a year by 1966; but much of this increase is planned in India, China and Japan, so that Europe's share of world production will drop. Forecasts of demand differ widely, but it looks unlikely to keep up with capacity. If the present rate of growth continues, total demand for nitrogen (including industrial uses) would reach only 16 million tons by 1966; but some manufacturers believe that the total will then be as much as 21 million tons (or 90 per cent of the planned capacity) on the grounds that the present efforts of agricultural missions in various underdeveloped countries might be bearing fruit by then. Certainly, if the base of nitrogen usage could be broadened to include peasant farmers, and if the underdeveloped countries could find the money, there would be a dramatic increase in demand. If not, the surplus capacity could make the attempt by Nitrex to hold prices in the export market very difficult indeed. (All of these figures are expressed as metric tons of nitrogen; the actual tonnages of the various fertilisers are three to six times as much.)

Trade in fertilisers, excluding that within the Communist block, accounts for a quarter of world consumption; a fifth of this is "cyclic movement" (e.g., from the West Coast of the USA to West Canada and East Canada to the Eastern States). In the world market proper, therefore, about 2½ million tons were sold last year, of which European exporters supplied 1.8 million tons. The biggest single buyers in the export market are government agencies in China, India and Pakistan; though these countries buy only 360,000 tons, 180,000 tons, and 70,000 tons respectively, this bulk buying gives them the power to offer very large contracts. The main reason why Nitrex has been formed is to make the European producers into a unit large enough to hold the line against them on prices. None of the producers want to repeat the experience of 1954

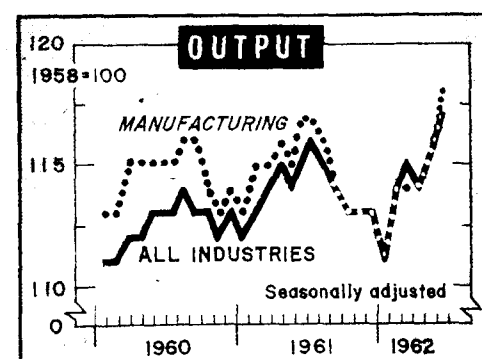
BUSINESS NOTES

THE ECONOMY

Manufacturing Goes Ahead

IN the jump upward of industrial production during May and June, manufacturing output rose faster than the rest of industry, after several months of moving no more than in step. This is a return to what has been throughout the postwar years a more customary relationship between the manufacturing index and that for all industries; manufacturing in June, indeed, rose by two points for the second month in succession (which on an index rounded to three digits means at the least more than three points in two months). At 118 (1958=100), it passed the level of July last year and thus became the highest level of output yet recorded; so did the all industries index, which was 117 for June. The Treasury comments, soberly but proudly, that industrial output in the second quarter of the year was two per cent higher, on the average, than in the first quarter. This is not remarkable by European standards, but respectable: West German output rose by 2 per cent during the same two quarters, and French output by only one per cent.

Since there have been few signs of any marked increase in final demand at home during the second quarter of the year, the elements mainly responsible for this increase in production will certainly have been higher exports and probably an end to the rundown in stocks. In some of the industries where home sales recovered in the early part of this year, and particularly among their suppliers, stocks had come down significantly over the previous three to six months. Merely to have checked this minus element in total demand will have been a plus factor for manufacturing. If manufacturers now continue to rebuild



their stocks it will eventually pull in more imports, but for a while at least it will provide a welcome stimulus to output.

Export orders for the engineering industries in June, again, were more encouraging than for some months. New orders from

abroad received in the month were much higher than those booked in April or May, and far above the level of June last year; the total of export orders on hand indeed rose during the month. New home orders were rather higher than in June, 1961, but well below deliveries; so home orders on hand fell by 3 per cent during June. There is no sign yet of any upturn in private industrial investment; on the other hand, the engineering industries are making good use of their slack capacity, for the time being, in filling foreign orders more quickly and securing others.

Despite the higher level of industrial activity, unemployment has since continued to rise and the number of jobs on offer has gone on falling. On August 13th, there were 464,191 people out of work in Britain, equivalent to 2.1 per cent of the labour force: this was the first count to go over the 2 per cent mark since January, 1960. Leaving seasonal variations aside, there were nine people registered as wholly unemployed this month for every four vacancies.

EXCHANGES

August Strain

STERLING has come under some selling pressure in the markets this week: on Tuesday the spot rate dropped by $\frac{1}{8}$ to \$2.80 $\frac{1}{2}$, its lowest since last September. The Bank of England is believed to have stepped in with some supporting sales of dollars, but the volume was not large. On Wednesday sterling dipped a little further, to below \$2.80 $\frac{1}{4}$ but it rallied on Thursday. The weakening of the pound in high summer has caused little concern in London. The usual seasonal demand for dollars for purchases of tobacco and other commodities has been decidedly late to develop; indeed, the feeling that the current sterling rate is unnaturally high for the time of year is itself responsible for some of the bear selling that is now under way from New York and Paris. This has been accompanied by repurchases of sterling forward, and this classic scissors movement between spot and forward rates seems a clear indication that operators are moved by short-term technical views rather than by sudden distrust.

Paris was also preparing itself earlier this week for a Bank rate reduction. But in London, Thursday's announcement of no

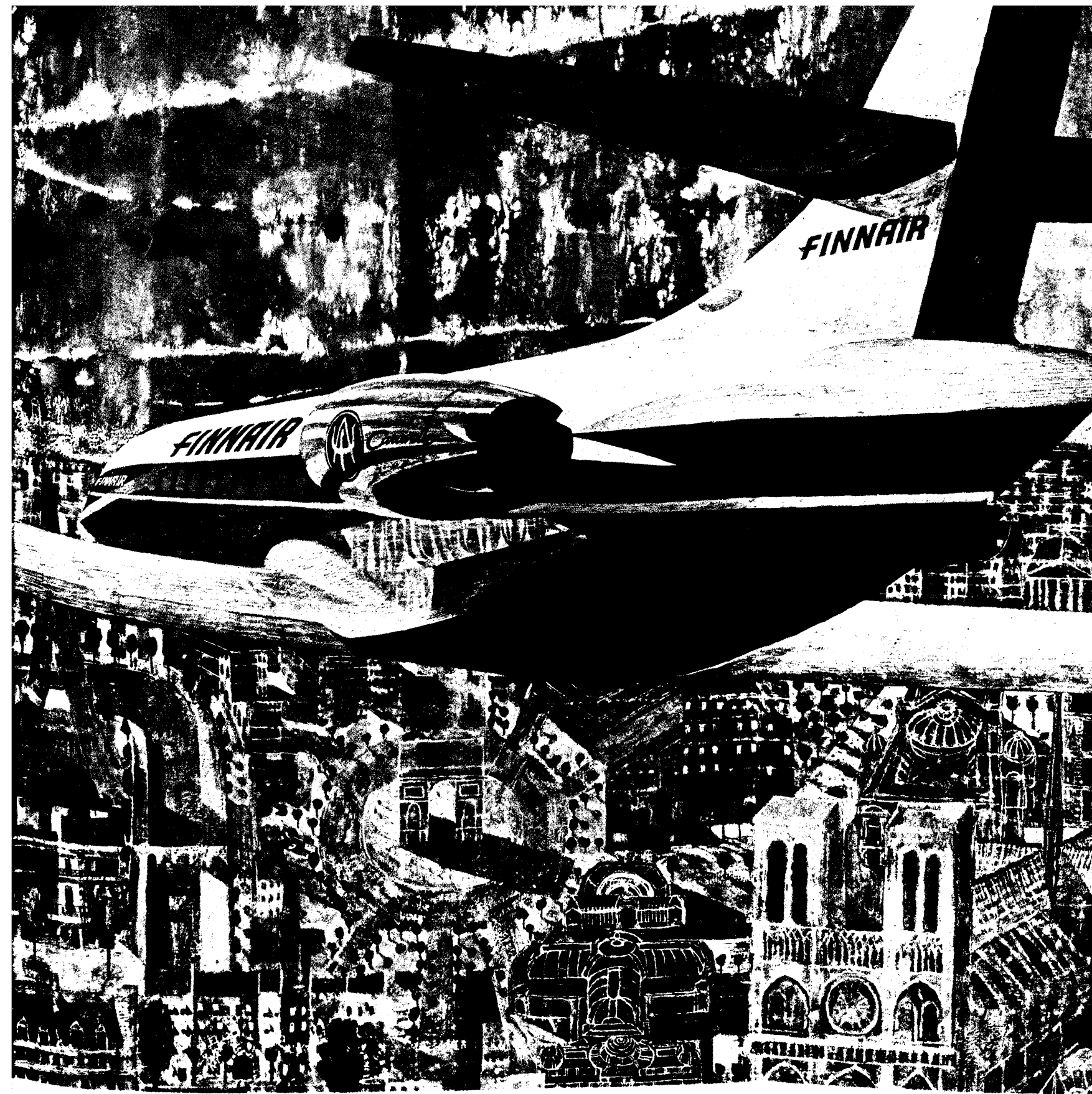
change caused little surprise. While the authorities seem to be preparing themselves for a second release of special deposits and, more effectually, for a downward movement in the indirect tax regulator, they may feel that in the present international context Bank rate can best remain at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Certainly it would be surprising to see it reduced at a time when foreign money is leaving London, as is now happening on a minor scale.

It has been a quiet week for the dollar. The London gold market has been pretty well balanced between private demand and normal supplies and the gold price, which had shown its now usual rise before the week-end, fell back in mid-week to \$35.11 $\frac{1}{2}$ an ounce. In the exchange markets the dollar remains at its support points against the French franc and the lira, slightly above it against the Swiss franc, and just below parity against not only sterling but also the mark. The mark has in fact held up well this week. It has been little affected by the new Berlin tensions (which may once again have had a greater immediate impact on sterling). Nor has there been any evident reaction in German markets to Dr Erhard's venting, in an open letter to a newspaper, of dire warnings to trade unions and brave reassurances about the currency—a mixture that to British ears is both familiar and a little ominous.

IN THE MARKETS

Sober Hopes

THIS week the market in industrial equities has behaved more rationally than it did in the exuberance of the earlier rally. The volume of business has not broadened and over the week's trading to Wednesday's close the *Financial Times* ordinary index was practically unchanged at 281.6 and *The Economist* indicator fell slightly, by 1.4 points to 335.1. The caution is understandable; but it is no less significant that a more sober reappraisal of prospects has not produced a fall in prices. Indeed, prices began to move higher on news of the rise in industrial production in June and the increase in engineering orders, and on Thursday the market responded to the resumption of the advance on Wall Street, which had been checked only momentarily by the cut in dividend by Republic Steel. The London market certainly appears to believe that equities are heading upwards and its willingness to contemplate this prospect more calmly and more soberly than it did only a few days ago may enhance the chances that they will do so, slowly and cautiously.



Far-North Finnair

Finnair, one of the first airlines to recognise the potential of the Caravelle, is also one of Europe's aeronautical old-timers. Operating international services since 1924, when they flew a four-seater Junkers F13 from Helsinki to Tallin in Estonia, Finnair today carry half a million passengers yearly to fourteen Finnish centres and twelve



How to make gin

Photograph by Terence Donovan

You start with pure spirit. (Burnett's use the very purest.) You test it. You add water; there's a trick even here—ordinary tap-water definitely will not be good enough. You test again. Then you distil in, patiently and lovingly, a secret mixture of juniper berries, coriander seed, angelica root and subtle hard-to-get herbs. You test again. There are three snags. One: the excise. Two: the trouble. Three: however hard you try, you won't make a gin that is as clean and smooth and authentically dry as Burnett's.

BURNETT'S GIN

Investors in fixed interest securities seem to have no doubts at all about the immediate future of monetary policy, and gilt-edged prices have continued to rise. A reduction in Bank rate was again canvassed in the market but most dealers came to the responsible conclusion that in view of the seasonal strains on sterling a cut was not imminent and that in any case a reduction in special deposits was likely to come first. The market is still convinced that there will be a controlled and gradual fall in interest rates and this belief has been backed by buying of both short and long dated stocks. The clearing banks were buying the short tap stock, 5 per cent Exchequer, 1967, while other investors continued to buy the 5 per cent Treasury stock, 1986-89—and the market believes that the tap in this long dated stock will soon run dry. The buying is purposive. It is based on realistic assessments and not on wild flights of imagination; it already acknowledges, for instance, that the series of new issues by local authorities may continue for a few more weeks but that if the Government accepts the recommendations for reform in local government

finance the pressure on the stock market should ultimately be reduced.

BANK CREDIT

Advances Turn Downward

ANY doubts about the underlying slackness in demand for bank credit should be dispelled by the latest banking figures. In the four weeks to mid-August net advances by the London clearing banks fell by £3½ million, which seems to confirm that the rise of around £100 million in May-July was predominantly attributable to the special seasonal influence of the debiting of half yearly interest charges. Advances to state boards in August rose by £5½ million, so that net repayments by other borrowers were around £9 million. Advances by Scottish banks moved in line, with a net fall of £5 million. Despite this slackness of lending, the banks did not continue to

rebuild their investment portfolios in the month to mid-August, though some significant purchases have been detected in the market in the past week. Liquid assets in the hands of the clearing banks were reduced, and net deposits fell by £36 million. The liquidity ratio was virtually unchanged at 33.15 per cent. It would be surprising, after these figures, if the monetary authorities delayed a further relaxation of credit control much longer—if only to give formal official blessing to freer lending for personal consumption.

RAILWAY WORKSHOPS

Shrinking Pains

THE threatened second round of redundancies in the railway workshops has come, and the men now know just how sweeping they will be: out of the 56,000 employed in the 25 main workshops, 20,000 will go in the next five years—and nearly half of them by the end of next year. But

LONDON TRAVEL

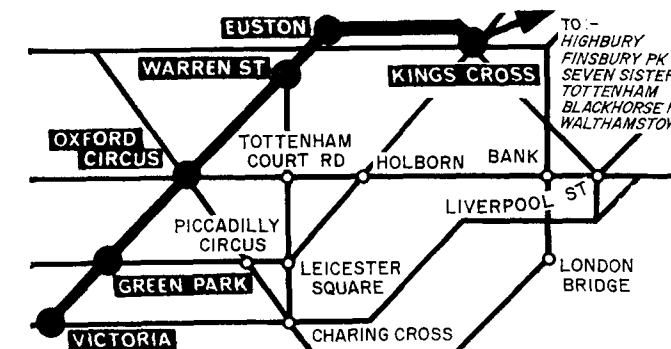
Some Underground Relief

THREE years after the London Travel Committee recommended that the Victoria line should be built, the Minister of Transport has accepted its opinion and given the London Transport Executive permission to start work. He has thus accepted that more off-street travel facilities have become essential. The spread of parking meters through central London may prevent traffic congestion worsening—unless the reduction in parking space that these bring about is offset by the building of private or public garages and limits the number of private cars that can enter the area with any hope of stopping inside. But the number of people wanting to come in is likely to go on rising with the continued development of office space, and buses are too slow for the medium or long journeys that these commuters mostly make. So the railways and the tubes will have to bear the brunt of the extra traffic: electrification is raising surface railway capacity, and new rolling stock that of existing tubes. When all that is completed in 1968 it would still not be enough, and neither change reduces overcrowding at railway termini. Hence the Victoria line. Even the extra capacity this offers may seem a drop in the mob by then; some co-ordination of travel facilities and employment in London, perhaps with a tax on employment in the centre, is needed if matters are not to get out of hand. Or would economic charges for all forms of travel into town be enough to check the lemming rush of commuters?

The somewhat elliptical course of the Victoria line through the less salubrious suburbs of north-east London was chosen to allow it to draw off as much traffic as possible from the suburban railway lines running into Liverpool Street and so to relieve this terminus and the Central Line that now has to carry passengers making their way west from there to Oxford Circus. As the new line gets south to Finsbury Park, it begins to duplicate and relieve other existing tubes.

Most of the traffic on the Victoria line will therefore come off present services. In 1959 the London Transport Executive estimated that only 30 per cent would be newly generated; 36 per cent would come from other underground lines, 18½ per cent from its buses and 15½ per cent from the railways. It was then reckoned that though the line should, on the basis of fares then charged, show an operating profit of about £600,000, the receipts lost by the other services would turn this into a net loss of about £200,000 a year—to which interest charges of about £3 million need to be added. So to break even with the new line operating the LTE would have to add more than £3 million to its present revenue of some £30 million from railways—which in itself fails to cover full costs.

But £3 million a year may be a comparatively modest charge in relation to the cost of providing similar carrying capacity by improving roads at London surface values. The delay in deciding to build the Victoria line has had technical advantages, not perhaps fortuitous. The LTE has nearly finished tests on the experimental stretch of tunnel that it has had dug near Finsbury Park to try out a fast new method of rotary digging with a flexible, unbolted tunnel



the British Transport Commission, while able to say precisely how many men it will need in the three main categories of locomotive, carriage and wagon work from now until 1967, still pretends that it cannot yet estimate where these men will be needed—and so refuses to tell the unions how many men will lose their jobs at each workshop. Keeping men ignorant of their fate when in some cases those dismissed will have real difficulty in finding new work may be an unnecessary refinement of the technique of releasing bad news in dribbles that seems the present practice of the BTC.

The present announcement relates only to the bigger workshops, where locomotives and rolling stock are built or given major overhauls. The remaining 45,000 or so workshop staff are scattered around the country in many smaller shops, where their chief activity is running repairs to locomotives and rolling stock. Work at these will be reduced as the railways shrink, but they will not be affected as the main workshops are by the completion of the re-equipment programme. So redundancies there may prove proportionately smaller, and probably no more concentrated than those caused by closing lines.

Work in the main workshops is expected to fall drastically in the next five to ten years; construction and repairs on locomotives will fall 42 per cent by 1972, while work on carriages will drop 19 per cent by 1967 and that on wagons 52 per cent. The BTC says that it is keeping as much as possible of the shrinking amount of new construction for the workshops: with private makers and their workers suffering as badly or worse, the unions must recognise that taking work from these would be no solution.

COAL

Export Enthusiasm

IF the British coal industry cannot meet the price of American coal landed at its own ports, can it hope to meet the same competition with British coal on the coast of Europe? It is true that the British coal which the National Coal Board would like to dump in Europe would be power station smalls, while the American coal that it invokes Government protection to avoid having dumped in Britain is mainly of coking qualities. At the moment Britain is selling coal for electricity generation in Denmark against the competition of Polish supplies. If Britain gets into Europe and if a European energy policy, including limitations on fuel from the Soviet bloc, should come into being, British coal would gain a measure of protection in Western Europe from that competition too.

Lord Robens, always ready to shake new ideas and confidence into his grimy industry, has determinedly harped upon the "outward" possibilities that joining Europe would bring the British coal industry; and certainly in the cross-trade in coal that might develop Britain on balance would

probably gain. But this outward ebullience is accompanied by a resolute refusal to contemplate the greater liberalism in coal and oil imports which joining Europe might possibly (though not certainly) enjoin upon this country in the coming years. His hopes for the use of bulk carriers, again, show a characteristic enthusiasm for every new technical possibility. But whether short hauls, and a comparatively high proportion of a ship's time taken up loading and unloading, are ideal circumstances for the employment of the bulk carrier is rather doubtful. And even if the big carriers could be economically employed on such trades, financing and building them would surely have to be based on firm long-term contracts without significant escalation. Certain fuels available around the world are nowadays being offered on such terms; but can British coal yet be?

STEEL

Borrowing More for Ravenscraig

LAST month Colvilles had to swallow its pride and ask the Government, after all, for the loan of £5 million that it had said a year before it could manage without. Now it has had to arrange further loans from outside: £7 million from the Finance Corporation for Industry, and an increase in its overdraft facilities with the National Commercial Bank of Scotland. The FCI loan is repayable by 1970; during its whole term FCI will have an option to purchase 250,000 Colvilles ordinary shares at 35s. each. A year ago Colvilles rights issue was at 57s. 6d.; today its ordinary shares stand at about 30s.

The original amount of the Government loan arranged for Colvilles when it was agreed to build a semi-continuous strip mill at its Ravenscraig works was £40 million; this was later put up to £50 million. Last year Colvilles told the government that it would not need more than £45 million; last month, asking for the last £5 million, the company found the Ministry of Power most understanding. It will have drawn another £10 million, making the total £45 million, by the end of September, and is assured of the last £5 million after that. Its period of heaviest requirements, from all these extra sources of credit, will probably be next summer.

Colvilles needs the extra money on loan because "the amount of self-generated finance which we had anticipated being able to contribute towards the cost of Ravenscraig has been adversely affected by a number of factors beyond the company's control." Steel has been in recession; the Iron and Steel Board did not let the industry put up its prices as much as it would have wished (and was confident it could get away with even when sales were falling); and to the tax on fuel oil has been added the selective increase in the price of Scottish coal. This last element, taken alone, is a move part of the way towards realism

in the costs of local resources, of which in isolation Colvilles could hardly complain; it has simply brought into the open one of the cost disadvantages that were hidden at the time that Ravenscraig was chosen. But the company can fairly reply that the tax on fuel oil, and the refusal to allow it to import American coking coal, deprive it of the chance to make the best of its debatable location, which after all, the Government chose.

NAVAL DOCKYARDS

Admirals Think Again

BACK in 1951 the then Select Committee on Estimates suggested that Britain's four naval dockyards would be better run if each had a general manager and a senior personnel officer. The Admiralty's reply was to dismiss both suggestions on the grounds that the jobs in question could not possibly be done by any single man. Eleven years later, it is now in the process of appointing general managers and functional personnel departments to each dockyard: Chatham is being developed as the "pilot" yard for the new pattern of organisation, and a start has been made at Rosyth. The reorganisation should be complete by 1968.

The Admiralty's belated conversion followed on despatching a team to examine the organisation of American naval yards, and a study of the British yards by an Admiralty working party in 1956. The traditional organisation of these yards consisted of three comparatively autonomous "professional" departments—"constructive," engineering, and electrical engineering—under an Admiral Superintendent responsible for command of the yard as a whole. The new organisation retains the Admiral Superintendent—though he may combine this command with other flag duties—but puts underneath him a general manager, controlling functional departments for planning, production, personnel, yard services, and finance.

The Estimates Committee of 1961-62, reviewing the reorganisation that is in progress, broadly approves it, but with some reservations. It is uneasy about overlapping between the Admiral Superintendent of a yard and its general manager; in the equally reorganised headquarters organisation at the Admiralty, too, it fears that there may be some duplication. The whole reorganisation, moreover, involves some increase in the proportion of non-productive staff. This change is customary when one improves the planning of large engineering operations anywhere. But the committee is worried, as directors of large and diverse engineering establishments doing mainly one-off jobs often are, by the fact that one cannot be sure whether the efficiency actually is being improved. Measuring productivity in a ship repairing operation where no two jobs are alike—particularly since there is no readily comparable "competition" for many of these naval jobs—has so far defeated the dockyards' new planners.

Easier Money

LAST Saturday the Public Works Loan Board reduced its rates for new loans by a nominal $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent to $6\frac{1}{8}$ per cent for all maturities. This reduction recognised the easing of rates in the open market for local authority loans; it is not linked to the change in policy expected to be recommended by an official committee, which was discussed in these columns last week. Rates have been moving in the local treasurers' favour since the turn of the half-year, and seven-day money is now available at 4 per cent, compared with rates which were more or less consistently above Bank rate in the first half of the year.

Spain Takes Advice

LOOKING forward in economics and back in politics, Spain continues to present a baffling scene to watchers from north-west Europe. A milestone in economic practice was passed this month with the lifting of the licensing requirement for internal changes in industrial plants. Thus a fact, not without its symbolism, is recognised: exciting though new factories are, what Spain needs much more urgently is the improvement of the factories it has already. But plant extensions and improvements have been half-stifled by the cumbersome and detailed controls. Licensing requirements remain, in plenty; but the trend is away from state paternalism, at least in economics.

Most notable of recent events in Spain, the moment of presentation to the Spanish government of the report of the World Bank team, headed by Sir Hugh Ellis-Rees, has come and gone with every sign of harmony and concord. This report suggests what should be the general lines of Spanish economic policy for the next five years. The only trouble is to find out what it says. The Spanish government is willing, indeed eager, to make the contents of the report known, and a brief outline of the main points by the able commissioner for the development plan, Señor López Rodó, was published on August 14th. To translate and publish the report itself, some 400 pages, is a big job. But the Spanish government intends to give it "the widest possible circulation" in Spain.

In the meantime we have to rely on the indications of what the report contains given by Sr López Rodó. He made it clear that the general emphasis is on freedom of private commercial and industrial investment, and that the Spanish government accepts this. Controls and forms of direct state intervention devised in more difficult times are to go. The once-dreaded state industrial octopus, INI, which at one time soaked up so much

new capital that little was left for the expansion of unprivileged commerce, is invited for the future to limit itself to a "pioneering" role. The government is urged not to try to see to everything itself, but to set the economic goals and pursue policies that will assist the economy to reach them. Its preoccupations with maintaining employment and levelling up the regions are recognised, but the insistence is on mobility of capital and labour, as means towards the economic use of resources and the conditioning of Spanish industry to meet competition in export markets. The World Bank team hopes that an annual rate of growth of national income of 5 per cent a year can be reached and, if these principles are followed, maintained for a long period ahead. It mentions a possible doubling of incomes in industry and services in ten years, and (somewhat more diffidently, to judge by the Spanish report) a commensurate increase in agricultural incomes.

While some will ask whether these increases are going to be sufficient to satisfy Spanish discontents, others will ask how they are going to be attained. Evidently the report gives a good deal of attention to what should not be done, and in particular to ways in which effort should not be dispersed. Thus, it is against ambitious new road schemes: with the one exception of the planned Mediterranean coast motorway, from the French frontier to the Levante provinces, the road effort should be confined, for perhaps four years, to the repair and better maintenance of those existing roads that carry the heaviest traffic. On railways the judgment is much the same: some 4,900 kilometres of track need modernisation, and the locomotive park needs renewal, but neither wholesale electrification, nor the building of new lines, is recommended. Similarly with the ports: in general they are big enough already; what is wanted is more, and

This fall in short-term rates has followed quite substantial repayments of temporary money by local treasurers who have benefited from the increase in stock issues and the inflow of money on two to five year mortgages as a result of press advertising. Many authorities have indeed now temporarily stopped advertising while others have reduced their rates from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. At the same time many treasurers, aware that the monetary authorities may soon limit all temporary borrowing to 15 per cent of total debt, have been funding in the London market. There has been a substantial turnover in two to five year mortgages at $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and in five-year escalator mortgages at $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Treasurers have also been lengthening their temporary debt by taking loans

up to 364 days and repaying seven-day money.

The figuring on local borrowing in the first quarter of 1962 is published this week in *Financial Statistics*. Net borrowing increased by £202 million, £68 million more than in the same quarter of 1961, and £132 million of the borrowing this year was in temporary deposits. The clearing banks, under official pressure, actually reduced their overdrafts to local authorities by £13 million, but treasurers had no difficulty in finding money elsewhere, and in particular by borrowing a further £86 million from London's merchant banks, overseas banks, and foreign banks. About three quarters of the deposits of these banks is on foreign account; so perhaps over a half of the increase in temporary borrowing of

regular, dredging. Clearly the World Bank team is convinced that public investment must be limited if industry is not to be kept starved of the capital it needs for expansion. On agricultural policy there is a similar concern to avoid dispersal of resources. Thus, while the value of irrigation schemes is conceded, it is urged that the state should not start simultaneously on so many schemes that their completion is delayed. The central object of agricultural policy, said Sr López Rodó, "should be to get a sufficient volume of production of each crop at the lowest possible cost." An expanded agricultural production is treated as not only desirable, but necessary; but the report urges that efforts should be made to project probable demand, crop by crop, and relate production to it.

ALL this sounds elementary, and indeed Sr López Rodó gave the impression of a report abounding in pertinent platitudes. If heeded, however, these statements of the obvious will imply a modernisation of the Spanish government machine and a spring-cleaning of the process by which policies are made. Some specific suggestions of this kind—a ministry for export promotion, the use of Treasury bills and other credit control instruments made available by this year's bank reform, methods of increasing the volume of new low-cost housing by other means than direct labour—are mentioned.

In general, the report is an attempt to face the problem of combining the orthodox principles of the stabilisation period (1959 to 1961) with a new dynamic element of growth. Stabilisation was a success in that it did what it set out to do, but at the cost of a heavy recession and painful social scars, reflected now in the persistent grumbling on the labour front. As the report points out, Spain now has a foreign exchange situation good enough to allow freedom of manoeuvre. What is hoped is that if the economy is released, its latent forces of expansion will do the rest.

the local authorities in the first quarter of 1962 was of foreign origin.

Total lending to local authorities by these banks, according to the group totals published in the Bank of England's quarterly bulletin, amounted to £278 million on March 31, 1962. The CSO figure lumps lending by the discount market together with these banks, giving a total lent by non-clearing banks and discount houses of £289 million. The difference of £11 million is however attributable partly to foreign banks that have

2d, a lb cheaper from non-official sources, and even this price is being undercut by as much as 2d. a lb by rival cotton producing countries.

The first official forecast of the current American crop puts cotton output at 15.1 million bales, the first time production has topped the 15 million mark since 1953-54. The United States Department of Agriculture thinks that the usage of American cotton will again be about 14 million bales, a drop in home consumption being offset by a recovery in exports. This looks an optimistic forecast unless the American authorities are prepared to shade prices to meet foreign competition. American exports are currently lagging badly. Cotton production outside the United States is expected to increase, but unless consumption improves quickly in Japan, Britain and some other European countries, there is unlikely to be any increase in demand for cotton outside the United States. The difficulty with the floor which American export policy places below world cotton prices is that it always seems likely to collapse if overloaded. It is not surprising that the added pressure which the new season seems likely to generate has given rise to renewed rumours about a possible increase in export subsidies.

LOBITOS OIL

Before and After the Bid

THE four for five share exchange offer by Burmah Oil for the shares of Lobitos was quickly recommended to shareholders by the Lobitos directors. They have now decided to defer the proposed one for one scrip issue but they have declared an interim of 16 per cent which accords with their forecast of an 8 per cent interim on the doubled capital. For 1960-61 the interim was 8 per cent, followed by a final of 20 per cent. The bid holds out the prospect to Lobitos shareholders of an income almost double that received last year. The price of their shares has more than doubled this year so that they can have no cause to complain about the terms of Burmah's offer. Nevertheless there has been some speculation whether a rival American bidder was waiting in the wings. A large holding had been built up earlier by Guaranty Nominees, a nominee company of Morgan Guaranty Trust, which is shown in the register as the owner of about 360,000 shares. This may represent the holdings of numerous American investors; indeed in April the register shows this holding at over 410,000 shares, which has been reduced since then by a number of small sales.

One other holding which has aroused comment is that of C. T. Bowring, an insurance firm, whose chairman is Mr F. C. Bowring who is also chairman of Lobitos. The firms have had close links since Lobitos was founded in 1908, but it is only this year that C. T. Bowring has really built up

its shareholding; the chairman says that this decision was taken in the light of the injection of new management into Lobitos, which made it an attractive investment prospect. To C. T. Bowring's earlier holding of 34,000 shares, 70,000 shares were added in January, when the price was around 14s., by the purchase of a single block of shares. Then in May, having notified the Lobitos directors, C. T. Bowring decided to buy up to 100,000 shares through the market. In fact however 72,000 shares were purchased (of which about 60,000 so far appear on the register). The last purchase was early in July when the price stood at about 15s. 6d. Mr Bowring has said that at that time the Lobitos directors did not have a scrip issue or a higher dividend in mind and that he had no knowledge of the Burmah bid until August 10th, when the shares in response to the scrip issue and dividend forecast stood at 22s. They now stand at 29s.

RADIO SHOW

Whistling Up the BBC

THE men of the radio industry are not quite the tragic clowns in greasepaint that they were at last year's radio show. They have disposed of their stocks of 17 in. sets and now have the Pilkington Report, even if probably the majority of them would prefer not to be committed to building sets for the ultra high frequency wavebands by 1964. Mr C. O. Stanley of Pye says that the industry hopes for UHF transmission by the end of next year, though the BBC says that it plans to start its new service early in 1964. Once there really is a 625-line UHF service operating, even if it is at first limited to part of the London area, the industry reckons it should be easier to persuade people that they should buy sets that can receive such broadcasts—or can be modified to do so. The set makers are still mostly divided between those who provide "switchable" sets, already adapted to 625-line operation and sometimes even including a UHF tuner as well, which need little or no modification to receive the new service, and those making convertible sets—for which a new unit costing now around £10 will be needed to adapt them for 625-lines and UHF. Some are now hedging by making both.

The end of uncertainty about standards will, set makers hope, mean a new leap forward in sales. After the depressed state of trade in past two years, they could hardly fall any further; but the immediate reaction to the Pilkington Report and the cut in hire purchase deposits was public indifference. It had taken a more optimistic view of prospects than the retailers in the first half of the year, and has built up its stocks of television sets by about 130,000 while the retailers continued to run theirs down. Production was 29 per cent higher than a

year before, but home deliveries fell 23 per cent. Exports, though still relatively small, rose 22 per cent. But one may doubt whether the show or even the new BBC service will send buyers rushing for new sets. So it would be unwise for the industry to assume that it can expect much more than the normal replacement demand of around 1½ million sets a year.

Much of the steam has gone out of the radio boom this year; home sales rose only six per cent, and the proportion of cheap sets rose. So radio still accounts for only about a quarter of set sales in terms of value, with some of the most successful makers of transistor portables, like Perdio, specialists in this field. It is to a revival of television set sales that the industry in general must look for prosperity.

BARLEY

Prodigal's Return

BARLEY has come off its high horse, and prices again bear comparison with maize. Even now it is only new crop home-grown barley that is being bought, at about £21 for November delivery. Trade in imported barley is so slow that the National Farmers' Union has not yet put out its customary price guide to farmers, though the first of the new English barley has already been harvested. The NFU's indicated ex-farm value is based on the landed price of imported barley, of which there was at this time last year an impossible glut that rocked prices before the weight of the home crop was heaped upon the market. This year Canada is probably holding back its reduced stocks of barley against further prospective sales to China. Australian barley, much of which might be earmarked for the same client, will not arrive until around the last two months of the year, and there are no other pressing sellers. The prohibition on barley landed here for less than £20 a ton has been lifted and will probably not be required again this season.

About £25 a ton was wanted for Canadian barley only a month ago and demand was consequently negligible. Maize, which has remained below £20 a ton, has been used as an alternative, filling a large part of the extra demand for feeding stuffs following the unfavourable weather. Stocks

To the eloquent tributes that have been paid to Sir Cecil Ellerton this week, *The Economist* would add this: Cecil

mines making easy profits should accept the method chosen by a leading firm of stockbrokers of evaluating these shares as if they were a gold mine with a limited expectation of life. The authors estimate that by 1964 when the licences expire the total of current equity assets plus the accruing cash flow per share will be close to—and in the case of Associated British Picture will comfortably exceed—the current price of the shares. If so, there should not be much risk of a further substantial fall in share prices, not least because whatever form future legislation takes the companies will presumably be left to make some profits. This will comfort the many who already have considerable book losses on their television investments. But equally

	Latest pre tax profits £ mill.	Equity assets plus cash flow £ mill.	Equity assets and cash flow per share	Current price	Yield per cent
Associated Brit. Picture	5.0	20.9	26/2	20/6	7.3
Associated Television	6.4	17.9	19/5	19/3	16.1
Granada	6.4	17.3	20/7	21/-	10.7
T.W.W.	1.3	3.6	14/5	15/4½	9
Tyne Tees	1.0	2.2	19/-	16/-	13.7
Associated Rediffusion	8.4	25.7	68/7½	*	*

* Shares not quoted. † Until 1964. ‡ Per £1 of capital
§ Interim dividend recently cut.

these brokers do not expect any immediate sharp rise in prices. For the moment the best prospects seem to be those of the rental companies, particularly if Pay-TV is to be given a trial, but once the uncertainty about the future of television is resolved, a revival of interest in the shares is possible.

The opening of a new BBC station would however cut into the audiences of the older channels and thus advertising revenue would fall. At the same time there would be greater competition for talent which could force up costs. Accordingly the brokers estimate that even without further action by the government to trim the contractors' profits, these might well be halved by 1965. Nor do they find much promise in the profits that might be earned by a second commercial channel after 1968. If by then advertising revenue had recovered to £120

BUSINESS NOTES

million, about 20 per cent above its current level—a more pessimistic forecast than some—the new station on projected rates of running costs would still be in the red and a marginal profit would emerge only if the expected rate of growth in TV advertising is achieved.

BUILDING STANDARDISATION

Disputing the Means

PREDICTABLY, the Royal Institute of British Architects has stirred the brickmakers into argument—by recommending the adoption of the 4 in/10 cm module as the basis for industrialised building—as, perhaps, it intended to do. The Brick Development Association reiterates its preference for a system of “preferred dimensions”—different bases for different parts as advocated by the Building Research Station—which, it says, would be more efficient and avoid dislocation of existing production. In saying so, it is assuming that the RIBA intends its recommendations to extend beyond industrialised building to those that use bricks. To press for the adoption of the 4 in/10 cm module for all components used in industrialised building is, it considers, “a serious and premature decision.” As the British Standards Institution has spent 14 years trying to get agreement on standardisation, one might question whether it is premature; having both the BRS and BSI studying the subject, each possessing different ideas, has helped make discussions so long-winded. In the meantime many countries have adopted the 4 in/10 cm module. The great virtue of the RIBA's recommendation is that it puts some urgency into discussion—and the BDA has offered to talk the matter over with the RIBA. With industrialised building growing in popularity, standardisation of parts between the various systems used becomes vital if it is to offer all the benefits it can.

THE ECONOMIST AUGUST 25, 1962

SHORTER NOTES

According to a detailed survey of the implications for the cotton textile industry of Britain's entry into the European Economic Community published by the Cotton Board this week, its early effects will be slight. At present only about one half of one per cent of Britain's production of cotton and man-made fibre cloth is exported to the common market. But costs in EEC countries are lower; productivity has been rising much more sharply and utilisation of machinery is more intensive than in Britain. Though there are wide differences in efficiency between firms, in general, producers of quality combed yarns, quality shirtings and some coloured woven goods should benefit. The weavers of man-made filaments and the resin finishers should also be successful. Manufacturers of sewing threads should break even. The rest had better watch out.

Brazil has devalued its cruzeiro by slightly over 11 per cent from 350 to 400 cruzeiros to the US dollar. The Chamber of Deputies has passed a bill, which now awaits the President's signature, limiting the remittance of profits to 10 per cent in any one year and of capital to 20 per cent. A section of the Brazilian press has attacked the bill pointing out that not only will it discourage future foreign investment but that it will penalise those foreign firms that regularly reinvest large portions of their profits in Brazil.

The International Monetary Fund has agreed to a drawing by Ghana equivalent to \$14.25 million. Half will be in dollars and half in sterling. Ghana has intensified import control, reduced government expenditure, and tightened credit control. The drawing is intended to bolster the reserves while these policies take effect.

Mr Selwyn Lloyd, who was a director of the Alliance Assurance Company before he joined the government in 1951, is rejoining the board and has also been appointed a director of the parent company, Sun Alliance Insurance.

In the succession of price cuts at petrol stations that was initiated last week by Esso, Jet Petroleum and other marketers selling more cheaply than the established major companies have brought down the prices of their own lowest grades, maintaining their price differentials below all the majors' regular grades and Esso's “mixture” grade (which have been somewhat improved in octane rating).

The accounts of Oldham and Son, the battery makers, for the year to March 31st are accompanied by a statement from the chairman, Mr John Oldham, printed in both French and English.

THE ECONOMIST AUGUST 25, 1962

COMPANY MEETINGS

THE DISTILLERS COMPANY LIMITED



SIR GRAHAM HAYMAN'S STATEMENT

reflect a high degree of optimism as to the future trend of sales of the Industry. In this connection it will be noted from the figures set out below that although further substantial progress was made in exports during the past year, the Home Trade figures were substantially unchanged.

TOTAL SALES FOR THE INDUSTRY			
Year to March 31st	Home Proof gallons	Export Proof gallons	Total Proof gallons
1958	6,075,000	18,108,512	24,183,512
1959	6,224,000	19,561,008	25,785,008
1960	6,636,000	22,381,988	29,017,988
1961	7,587,000	24,235,131	31,822,131
1962	7,662,000	27,507,551	35,169,551

The Home Trade figures have undoubtedly been adversely affected by the 10 per cent surcharge imposed by the Chancellor in July 1961 and subsequently consolidated as part of the Budget proposals in April, 1962.

The consolidation of the surcharge came as a most unwelcome surprise to the Industry, particularly as both the Prime Minister and the Chancellor had been good enough to state that a good case had been made by the Scotch Whisky Industry for a reduction in duty. One might therefore expect that an industry which for so many years has made, and still continues to make, so great a contribution to Britain's balance of payments, should not be given such inequitable treatment by HM Government.

As I pointed out last year, the basic duty on imported heavy wines has been reduced on two occasions in the last four years and consequently the effect of the surcharge, which was imposed on all excisable beverages, weighed less heavily on these imported articles than on Scotch Whisky and Gin. There is no doubt that the punitive rate of duty not only depresses demand at home and diverts consumers to imported products but, by force of example, continually encourages overseas Governments to raise their own duties. The British duty has been raised no less than seven times since 1939 and today the Chancellor is taking 27s. 1d. on a bottle of Scotch Whisky priced to the consumer at 41s. 6d.

The result of the imposition of the surcharge was two-fold. First, by raising the price of a bottle of Scotch Whisky, it not only slowed down any increase in consumption but in addition, because of the alleged temporary nature of the surcharge, it resulted in a running down of stocks by every section of the dis-

COMPANY MEETING REPORTS

tributive trades. Unfortunately, the Chancellor has again sought those special powers which will continue this feeling of uncertainty.

So far as our own home sales are concerned, until the full effect of the surcharge became apparent in the early months of 1962, we had a reasonable expectation of a substantial increase. In the event, our Home Trade sales were almost identical with those of last year.

I have already referred to the expansion which has taken place in export shipments by the Industry and I am glad to say that our own export sales showed a satisfactory increase, although I should add that owing to exceptional circumstances in one or two markets, certain substantial shipments were made in the last few months of the financial year which might otherwise have formed part of the current year's trading.

The United States continued to take increased supplies. Although we shared in this additional demand, our proportion of the increase was less than that secured by the rest of the Industry, which may be attributed to two factors: first, the continued exports of Scotch Whisky in bulk for bottling in the USA, in which for policy reasons we are not participating and second, the continued growth of competition from other brands.

These are conditions which must be expected, and met, in an expanding and competitive market but they must also be viewed against the solid progress of our own brands and the eminent position which they hold throughout the world.

The United States recently announced a decrease in the rate of customs duty on Scotch Whisky which, while welcome, is not significant but our efforts are still directed to the more important problem of the removal of tax discrimination against imports in bottle in favour of bulk shipments, to which I referred last year.

Australia continues to be an excellent market and our business there gives us every cause for satisfaction.

In New Zealand, import control is still in operation but I am glad to say that we are obtaining a substantial share of the business which is available.

So far as Canada is concerned, the Scotch Whisky Industry as a whole is apparently doing little more than maintaining its sales. We are

THE ECONOMIST AUGUST 25, 1962

hampered by the various conditions to which I have referred previously, namely, differentials of taxation and mark-up as between Scotch Whisky and Canadian Whiskies. The recent emergency increase in tariffs of 15 per cent must inevitably add to the handicaps on our selling efforts in this market.

In Venezuela, following upon the reduction in duties to which I referred last year, there has been a marked improvement but in present circumstances it is difficult to envisage Scotch Whisky sales in this market reaching the high level achieved prior to the increase in the duty towards the end of 1959.

During the year under review, the Common Market countries have again taken greatly increased supplies, the overall growth being approximately 24 per cent over the Industry's shipments during the previous year. As the standard of living in these markets rises, exports may be expected to expand further, whether or not the UK joins the European Economic Community.

In referring to this subject last year, I said that our investigations indicated our position would not be materially affected if and when the United Kingdom should join the Common Market, and we have no reason to alter that view. I should, however, qualify this statement by pointing out that as one of the ultimate objects of forming this European Union is to harmonise the economies of member States, it is conceivable that internal revenue duties (as distinct from Customs duties) may eventually be brought more into line. In that event, the unduly high British Excise duty might be appreciably lowered or, alternatively, other Common Market member States might raise their internal revenue duties, which on average are at present approximately only half the British Excise duty.

We are now in a position where we are just about able to supply all demands both at home and abroad, with the exception of our de luxe brands which are still in short supply. Competition continues to be severe and, in a number of countries, local products consisting of an admixture of domestic spirits and imported Scotch malt whisky provide a type of competition on a very much lower price basis.

However, there are good reasons for believing that Scotch Whisky exports will continue to grow year by year. This applies particularly

THE ECONOMIST AUGUST 25, 1962

to industrialised countries where the standard of living is rising and also where trading can be carried on under reasonably normal conditions.

GIN

South Africa.—Our associate company, National Chemical Products Limited, had a very satisfactory year and made further progress in their general development programme.

India.—A Company is now being formed in India to manufacture a range of chemical products near Bombay. This will be operated in association with Nowrosjee Wadia and Sons, of Bombay, and the Hercules Powder Company of U.S.A. Our holding in the equity of the Company will be about 25 per cent.

During the year, the Indian Yeast Company Limited, in which we have a 40 per cent interest, successfully commissioned its new plant.

TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT

Our scientific and engineering staffs have been fully occupied on a wide variety of projects ranging from exploratory research to the erection of a number of manufacturing plants. The challenge which British industry faces today gives still greater emphasis to the necessity for maintaining these services at the highest level of efficiency.

PERSONNEL

I should like to record the thanks of the Directors to all ranks of our employees for their sustained efforts during a difficult year.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

It is especially difficult to make a short-term forecast on this occasion. Much will depend upon the Government's economic policy and other issues of major importance which have still to be resolved.

COMPANY MEETING REPORTS

Subject to these reservations, I believe the long-term outlook for Scotch Whisky and Gin is favourable and one of expansion. Our investment programme has had full regard to productive facilities and the building up of substantial stocks of Scotch Whisky and the reputation of our brands in world markets provides the best assurance of further progress.

So far as the Industrial Group is concerned, the conditions to which I have referred have not yet materially changed during the current year, although there are now indications of some slight improvement in prices and demand, which may assume more tangible proportions in the course of the next few months. While competitive conditions will undoubtedly continue, the present phase of surplus production in European and North American countries has had an unduly disturbing effect on markets. Your Company's pattern of activities has been based upon sound economic processes, and a return to more normal trading conditions will undoubtedly enable further progress to be made.

As I shall be retiring at the end of March next, having reached the age of 70 years, I should like to end my report on a somewhat personal note.

It has been a great privilege to serve the Company, whose success over many years provides an encouraging and stimulating background for its future progress.

Your Directors propose to appoint Mr Ronald S. Cumming as my successor and to him I extend my best wishes, as well as the expression of my confidence that his long experience in the service of the Company will well equip him to discharge the responsibilities of his new office to the advantage of the Company and its shareholders.

THE ECONOMIST AUGUST 25, 1962

THE TUNNEL PORTLAND CEMENT COMPANY LIMITED

FUEL OIL TAX MAKES EXPORTS UNPROFITABLE

The fifty-first Annual General Meeting of The Tunnel Portland Cement Co. Ltd. will be held on September 13th.

The following is an extract from the Review by the Chairman, **Mr N. M. Jensen**, which has been circulated with the Accounts:

In spite of a sharp decline in exports, the parent company's total deliveries for the year ended March 31, 1962, were a record. When we include a half share of the Ribblesdale Company's deliveries, our total deliveries have exceeded 2,100,000 tons for the year, an increase of 6 per cent on the previous year's deliveries. It is disappointing, therefore, that the Profit on Trading shows a slight setback on the previous year's. This is mainly due to the imposition of the fuel oil tax in April, 1961, and the 10 per cent surcharge introduced in July. Altogether, this excise tax on fuel oil will have cost us £440,000, of which only a portion has been recovered from the Home consumer by increased prices.

The fuel oil tax is particularly unfortunate in connection with our Export market because, whilst ten years ago more than 50 per cent of our profits were derived from Exports, we can now no longer export cement at a profit. There is, of course, much more competition in Export now, but it is disappointing that, in spite of clear evidence of the effect of this damaging tax, the Chancellor was only prepared to make a token reduction by cancelling the 10 per cent surcharge in his 1962 Budget.

Last year I made it clear that British fuel was sold on the Continent at prices considerably below those in the Home market. If Great Britain enters the Common Market, such absurdities must presumably come to an end. If we do not join the Common Market, I sincerely hope that we shall have a well considered fuel policy. It cannot be right economics to have consumers of fuel oil, which include the Electricity Board and Railways, pay for the inefficiency of a portion of the coal industry. I am happy to say that we have now received more favourable offers for fuel oil, but one of our works, namely, at Padeswood, in Flintshire, is reverting to coal. If the Coal Board were not so inflexible, but a little more up to date in their trading and delivery methods, we might use more coal.

With regard to former Egyptian investments, Mr Jensen says: The total compensation received to date is £787,714, which is only 22½ per cent of our agreed claim of slightly under £3.5 million. Under the present Government scale a large company with a small Egyptian claim receives a higher proportionate distribution than does a smaller company with a large claim. It is to be hoped that this position will be rectified when further distributions are decided upon, and may we also hope that further distributions are made at an early date.

The total capital cost of our programme for expansion and reconstruction at West Thurrock and Pitstone, together with some minor expenditure at other works, is now estimated at about £4,000,000. When completed, our works will be more economical in operation, especially in regard to fuel consumption, and most of our output will be from post-war plant.

HUMPHREYS LIMITED

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RECORD LEVEL OF TURNOVER

SIR AYNSLEY BRIDGLAND ON SETTLEMENT OF CLAIMS PROBLEM

The seventi

THE HEPWORTH IRON COMPANY LIMITED

FURTHER EXPANSION AND PROGRESS

The sixty-fifth annual general meeting of The Hepworth Iron Company Limited will be held on September 12th at Hazlehead, Nr. Sheffield.

The following is an extract from the circulated statement of the Chairman, Mr J. F. Booth:

In presenting the Accounts for the year ended on March 31, 1962, I am once again able to report that the group had a satisfactory year of trading. The improvements in demand and production to which I referred last year were maintained.

In our main business of Clay Pipe Makers, we continue to invest heavily in new equipment and have increased our fixed assets by the expenditure of over £450,000 on improvements

COMPANY MEETING REPORTS

and expansions. In addition you will see also that commitments to capital expenditure at March 31, 1962, amounted to £310,000.

Research and development, both into more efficient methods of production and further uses for our products is being pressed forward vigorously and we continue to invest considerable sums for this purpose.

Towards the end of the year under review, we purchased the whole of the share capital of Oil Recoveries Co. Ltd. This is a small concern engaged in the collection and refining of waste oils for subsequent use as fuel. Companies within the group are its main customers.

Since the end of the financial year, the parent Company has acquired in exchange for shares the whole of the issued share capital of Thomas Knowles, Ltd., of Darwen, who are an old established firm of sanitary pipe manufacturers. The acquisition represents a further step in the expansion of the group's sanitary pipe making capacity.

On this result your Directors are recommending a Final Dividend of 27½ per cent on the Ordinary Share Capital, making a total for the year of 37½ per cent.

The forecast in my interim statement in January of a successful year is thus borne out. This excellent result has been achieved in an era of falling profit margins due to advancing wage rates and material costs without recourse to price increases, but by expanding sales both at home and overseas, and the devotion of a great deal of thought and energy to organisation and methods to reduce operating costs and improve efficiency.

During the year under review additional expenditure was incurred on (i) Research and Development, and (ii) Overseas Publicity. Shareholders will readily appreciate the vital necessity of the former in the highly technical and rapidly advancing electronics industry. In the case of

THE ECONOMIST AUGUST 25, 1962

Your Board of Directors recommend a dividend of 7½ per cent in respect of the year ended March 31, 1962. The policy of the Board remains to finance expansion out of profits and, in fact, once again the profits earned in the year have been re-invested in the form of additions to fixed assets. The Board therefore propose to recognise this by capitalising the sum of £261,412 15s. 0d., to be applied in paying up 1,045,651 new ordinary shares to be issued to the members at the rate of 1 share for every 4 ordinary shares held. Resolutions will also be proposed increasing the Company's authorised share capital to £2,000,000 by the creation of 3,000,000 additional ordinary shares of 5s. each.

So far as the current year is concerned, production and sales continue at a high level and the results of the group up to the present time are considered satisfactory. Subject to any very exceptional circumstances it is the intention of the Board at least to maintain next year the dividend at the rate of 7½ per cent on the capital as increased by the bonus issue.

the latter our exports, particularly to Europe, are already extensive but with the advent of the European Common Market we have participated in Overseas Exhibitions in that area. Whilst such expenditure affects profit margins I do not look on this as a reduction of profits but as a valuable investment for the future.

The major building extension referred to in previous statements was again slightly delayed during the year but I am pleased to report that we should be able to take possession by the end of August.

Our Order Book was never in a healthier position than it is at the present time and whilst we do not anticipate great benefits from our extensions during this year, given stable economic conditions your Directors are confident that your Company will continue to prosper.

The report and accounts were adopted.

THE ECONOMIST AUGUST 25, 1962

COMPANY AFFAIRS

After last week's sharp advance equity prices on the London stock market marked time early this week and The Economist indicator slipped back by 1.4 points to 335.1. Later in the week, however, more buyers appeared, encouraged by the rise in industrial production in June and the increase in engineering orders and by the resumption of the rally on Wall Street. Steel and engineering shares attracted attention and oil shares recovered most of earlier falls. Gilt-edged have remained firm with investors continuing to buy the short and long dated tap stocks.

Drag on Distillers

DISTILLERS' investment in chemicals, pharmaceuticals and plastics has never been revealed and it has rarely been possible to judge whether the return has been adequate. For the year to March 31st, however, there can be no doubt. The whisky and gin companies contributed as much as 88 per cent of the group's total profits compared with 82 per cent in 1960-61 and about 80 per cent in 1959-60. Despite a moderate increase in whisky and gin profits and the inclusion of the results of British Xylonite for the first time, total profits fell and the gross rate of return on capital employed came down from 26½ to 20 per cent. Depreciation has been exceptionally high and the £30 million odd raised by last year's rights issue has not been fully invested in capital developments; the group was holding £20 million in tax reserve certificates at the end of March. But when all allowances are made, the vulnerable nature of Distillers' industrial investments is exposed.

	1959	1960	1961	1962
	£ mil.	£ mil.	£ mil.	£ mil.

STOCK PRICES

Prices, 1962		BRITISH FUNDS AND GUARANTEED STOCKS		Price, Aug. 22, 1962	Price, Aug. 22, 1962	Net Red. Yield, Aug. 22, 1962	Gross Red. Yield, Aug. 22, 1962	Prices, 1962		Last Two Dividends (a) (b) (c)	ORDINARY STOCKS		Price, Aug. 15, 1962	Price, Aug. 22, 1962	Yield, Aug. 22, 1962	Cover
High	Low							High	Low							
100 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	100 ¹² / ₁₆	Treasury 5½% 1962	100.75	100.73	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	105 ¹ / ₂	79.9	%	BANKS, DISCOUNT & HP		89 ¹ / ₂	88 ³ / ₄	2.95	...
99 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	99 ¹² / ₁₆	Exchequer 3½% 1962-63	99 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	99 ¹² / ₁₆	2 11 6	4 0 6	83 ¹ / ₂	61 ¹ / ₂	79.9	6 1/2 b	Barclays		87 ¹ / ₂	81 ¹ / ₂	3.06	...
100 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	98 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	Conversion 4½% 1963	100 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	100 ¹² / ₁₆	1 13 8	3 18 10	70 ¹ / ₂	53 ¹ / ₂	70.6	5 1/2 b	District		87 ¹ / ₂	81 ¹ / ₂	3.06	...
97 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	93 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	Exchequer 2½% 1963-64	97 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	97 ¹² / ₁₆	3 1 0	4 3 11 1	25 ¹ / ₂	20 ¹ / ₂	25.6	7 1/2 b	Lloyds		87 ¹ / ₂	81 ¹ / ₂	3.21	...
100 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	97 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	Conversion 4½% 1963-64	100 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	100 ¹² / ₁₆	2 2 1	4 2 5	101 ¹ / ₂	80 ¹ / ₂	101.9	7 1/2 b	Martins		87 ¹ / ₂	81 ¹ / ₂	3.33	...
95 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	90 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	Savings Bonds 3½% 1955-65	95 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	95 ¹² / ₁₆	2 18 7	5 0 1	97 ¹ / ₂	71 ¹ / ₂	97.9	6 1/2 b	Nat. Provincial		87 ¹ / ₂	81 ¹ / ₂	3.36	...
101 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	98 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	Exchequer 5½% 1964-67	101 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	101 ¹² / ₁₆	4 0 10	5 3 0	40 ¹ / ₂	40 ¹ / ₂	40.6	8 1/2 b	Westminster B.		87 ¹ / ₂	81 ¹ / ₂	3.33	...
98 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	85 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	Savings Bonds 2½% 1964-67	98 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	98 ¹² / ₁₆	3 3 0	5 3 4	42 ¹ / ₂	34 ¹ / ₂	42.9	8 1/2 b	Australia & N.Z. £ p.p.		87 ¹ / ₂	81 ¹ / ₂	3.33	...
100 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	98 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	Exchequer 5% 1967	100 ¹⁵ / ₁₆	100 ¹² / ₁₆	4 1 4	5 3 7	35 ¹ / ₂	27 ¹ / ₂	35.7							

(Continued from page 731)

average for department stores. The earnings yield is thus just over 7 per cent and its only justification lies in the substantial capital programme now being undertaken by the group which owns Selfridges in Oxford Street and stores in many provincial centres.

H. S. Whiteside

PROFITS of H. S. Whiteside, the food manufacturers whose brands include "Sun-Par" and "Maconochie," have risen for the fourth consecutive year. But the latest rise of 10 per cent from £525,000 to £577,000 in 1961, was little more than half the 1960 advance. This no doubt reflects the "ever-increasing competition and steadily rising costs" to which the chairman, Mr T. A. Barnes, referred a year ago. Bigger provisions for depreciation and tax left net profits less than 1 per cent higher at £216,000, against £212,000. A final dividend of 18 per cent, against a forecast of 16 per cent, is being paid on the capital as increased by the one-for-four scrip issue in December; the interim dividend of 10 per cent was paid on the capital as increased by last year's three-for-four rights issue so that the dividend on the current capital is equivalent to 26 per cent, covered 1.4 times. Now another one-for-four scrip issue is on its way.

Profits could again be higher this year. First, interest charges will be lower as the £900,000 raised by the rights issue in August, 1961, will have funded overdrafts. Secondly, the rationalisation of some of the subsidiaries should bear more fruit: a year ago Mr Barnes said "the benefits of certain major steps taken will obviously not be reflected in earnings until 1962." Thirdly and most importantly, the attitude of Whiteside's management is progressive—a vital quality in the highly competitive food trade: last year, for instance, a new factory was begun in Italy and two Anglo-American projects were started and the day before the latest results were published Whiteside and Marmite, the Bovril subsidiary, announced a joint venture to produce potato crisps and associated foodstuffs. This arose out of an idea of Whiteside to use "Marmite" as flavouring for some of its products, and has resulted in the creation of a separate company, Branded Foods, with an initial capital of £200,000 divided equally between Marmite and Whiteside. Evidently Branded Foods intends to enter the increasingly competitive business of selling potato crisps where flavoured crisps are growing in popularity; but the going will not be easy, with a major sales campaign from Smiths under way and Imperial Tobacco setting up a new Golden Wonder Crisp factory this October. Whiteside's 1s. ordinary shares gained 7½d. to a new high point of 6s. 9d. after the results were announced but later fell back to 6s. 6d. to yield 4d. per cent on a 26 per cent dividend. A maintained dividend on the capital as increased by the

scrip issue is well within the bounds of possibility.

Sheepbridge Engineering

A LIST of the customers of Sheepbridge Engineering—public work contractors and nationalised industries, engineering companies, the motor, aircraft, oil and chemical industries—does not at first sight suggest that the group could have expected much better results in the year to March 31st. Indeed, a year ago the chairman, Lord Aberconway, said merely that the "overall profit should be maintained." In fact, gross profits rose by 5½ per cent from £1,158,000 to the record level of £1,220,000 and earnings for the ordinary dividend, maintained at 15 per cent, have risen slightly to nearly 24 per cent.

Lord Aberconway says that "though the recession in the motor industry had its effect" most Sheepbridge subsidiaries achieved record sales. In the current year there should be some improvement in the results of the motor component subsidiaries, which accounted for 21 per cent of the group's turnover last year. Elsewhere, Lord Aberconway points to increases in demand and capacity. A new range of flexible couplings, made under a German licence, "should prove a profitable addition"; and a new factory at Exeter is expected to boost sales of Hardinge Machine Tools, whose order book is good. Competition is keener but Lord Aberconway expects the group to obtain its full share of available business. The 5s. ordinary shares at 11s. 6d. are not far below their high point for the year and yield 6½ per cent but the market cannot be far wrong in looking for another rise in profits.

Building Materials

THE second of the big three cement manufacturers in this country, Tunnel Portland Cement, again produced rather disappointing results in the year to March 31st, when its gross profits after a bigger provision for depreciation fell by 4 per cent from £2,806,000 to £2,690,000. This is especially disappointing, as the chairman, Mr N. M. Jensen, reveals that Tunnel's total deliveries of cement rose by 6 per cent to establish a new record. He attributes the setback mainly to the fuel oil tax imposed in April, 1961, and the 10 per cent surcharge introduced three months later. The extra cost of these taxes amounted to £440,000, of which the group was able to pass on very little in higher prices to customers. Ironically Tunnel is reverting to coal in one of its plants.

In deference to the recommendations of the Jenkins Committee, the directors have given details about Tunnel Portland's trade investments, which include a 50 per cent stake in Ribblesdale Cement. Compared with a book value of £1,571,000 for equity trade investments, the total market value on March 31st was no less than £4,406,000.

THE ECONOMIST AUGUST 25, 1962

The companies concerned have been distributing less than half their profits. This is a source of strength for Tunnel's ordinary shares. On prospects, however, the report is far less cheering. Mr Jensen says that at the beginning of the calendar year, demand for cement fell and though it picked up in the summer it may well fall again by the end of the year. The 10s. ordinary shares gained 6d. on the report and at 38s. 3d. yield 5 per cent on a dividend of 16 per cent and a tax free capital distribution of 2 per cent.

In contrast with those of Tunnel Portland, the results of Redland Holdings for the year to March 31st were better than expected. A full year's profits from two acquisitions were included in 1961-62, when gross profits rose by 42 per cent from £1,346,000 to £1,920,000. Equity earnings rose from 33 to 45 per cent and the ordinary dividend was raised from 15 to 20 per cent. The chairman, Mr A. F. F. Young, says that the year brought a "large increase in turnover and profits" and that the prospects for the group's tiles, bricks, pipes and quarrying interests remain favourable. He adds that the ready mixed concrete business, "though highly competitive, can show satisfactory profits." The group's German tile-making subsidiary, Braas and Company, had another successful year and added two new factories to the existing six. The group has disposed of most of its unprofitable interests in rubber and plastics and its turnover and profits were maintained in the first three months of the current year. The 5s. ordinary shares stand at their high point for the year of 29s. 3d., to yield 3.4 per cent, and clearly the market shares Mr Young's "cautious optimism."

Prices and Wages

The following list shows the most recent dates on which each statistical page appeared.

BRITISH			
Prices and Wages.....	This week	External Trade.....	Aug. 4th
Manpower and Output.....	Aug. 11th	Industrial Profits.....	July 14th
OVERSEAS			
Western Europe.....	Aug. 18th	United States.....	July 21st

	Unit	1959	1960	1961	1961	1961	1962	1962	1962	1962	1962	
		mid-June			Aug 8	Aug. 15	Aug. 22	July 24	July 31	Aug. 7	Aug. 14	Aug. 21
WORLD PRICES												
Commodity Price Indicator:												
All items.....	1958=100	96.8	98.3	95.3	93.4	93.5	93.6	91.7	90.9	90.4	90.6	91.4
Food.....	"	95.8	93.0	93.0	89.8	90.1	90.0	89.0	87.9	87.2	87.3	88.7
Fibres.....	"	95.3	98.7	104.4	103.7	103.5	102.8	100.5	99.4	99.4	100.3	100.4
Metals.....	"	113.0	122.4	115.0	114.2	114.3	114.9	110.9	110.6	110.7	110.5	110.4
Monthly averages												
BRITISH WHOLESALE PRICES												
Materials used in:												
All manufacturing industries.....	1954=100	101.7	101.8	100.6	101.5	100.7	100.6	101.6	101.6	100.9	100.2	100.3
Mechanical engineering.....	"	124.5	126.2	128.1	128.4	128.3	128.6	130.3	130.4	130.4	130.2	130.2
Electrical machinery.....	"	115.6	116.9	118.3	118.5	118.7	118.9	120.2	120.2	120.2	120.1	120.1
Construction.....	"	113.4	115.1	118.2	117.8	118.0	118.8	120.1	120.4	120.5	120.5	120.6
House building.....	"	111.0	114.0	118.0	117.6	117.8	118.6	119.6	120.1	120.2	120.1	120.2
Products of:												
All manufacturing industries.....	"	111.5	113.0	116.0	115.5	115.8	116.1	118.3	118.2	118.2	118.4	118.5
Chemicals and allied trades.....	"	106.6	106.0	105.1	105.5	105.2	104.7	105.1	104.9	104.7	104.4	104.4
Iron and steel.....	"	129.0	128.5	129.7	129.0	129.4	130.2	133.7	133.9	133.9	133	

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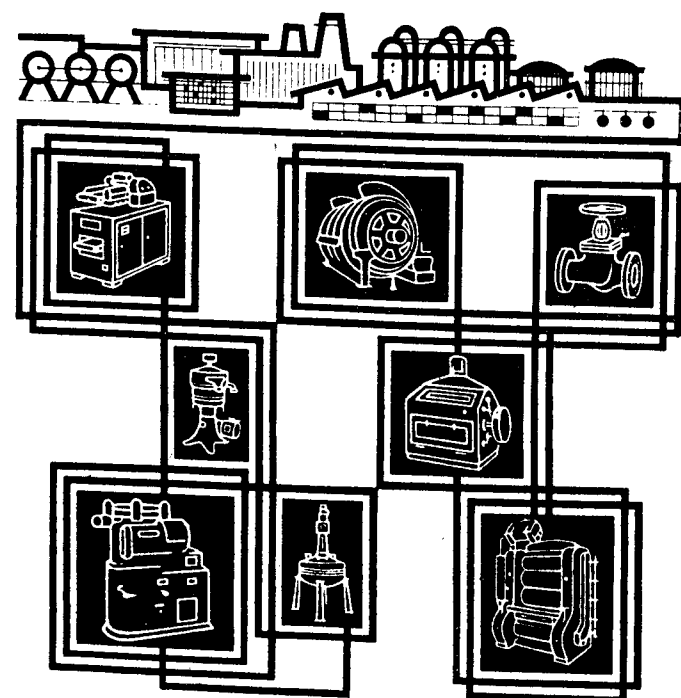
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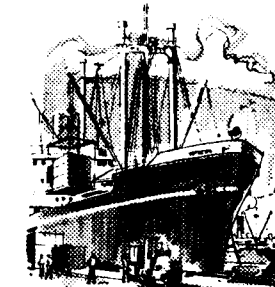
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