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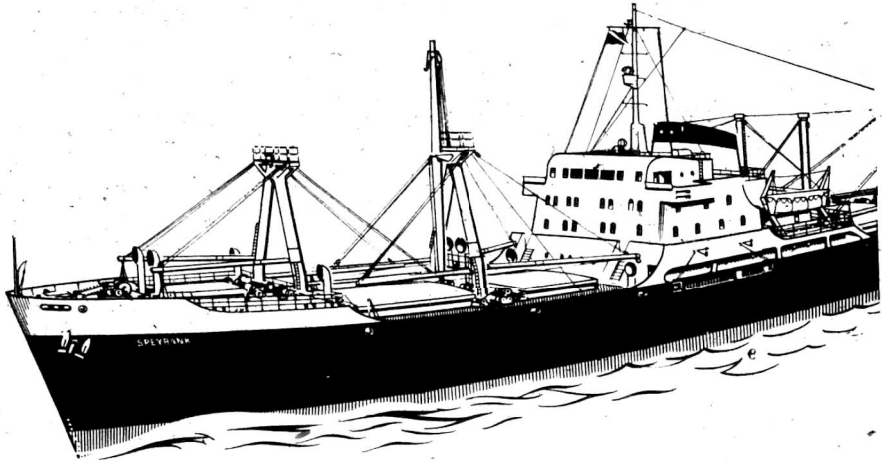
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1963

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

UNHAPPILY FOR BRITAIN, and most certainly for British and ex-British East and Central Africa, the United Kingdom Press—with EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA a conspicuous and conse-

Macmillanism Under Attack.

quently unpopular exception — has declined to denounce the double-talk and double-dealing which are at last widely recognized to have characterized Macmillanism. Its flagrant disregard of plain obligations, its repeated breaches of solemn pledges, its persistent sacrifice of principles for some temporarily convenient expedient have been known to all responsible newspapers, but for a variety of reasons, none of them excusable, those who should have been the watchdogs of the public have been silent. Not less culpable than newspaper proprietors are the politicians. Though these and other crimes—for they are crimes against the State—have been committed with cynical nonchalance and shocking frequency by senior Ministers, they have failed to provoke a simple resignation from the Cabinet or even from the Conservative Parliamentary Party. To such dire depths of acquiescence in unprincipled conduct has public life been brought.

The chief blame for this erosion of the tradition of faithful discharge of duty must naturally rest upon the Prime Minister, not only because it was his particular responsibility to set and safeguard the

Erosion Of Duty

highest standards, but because his personal record of broken promises on major issues and his toleration of equivocation, prevarication and unscrupulousness (to use Lord Salisbury's word) by some of his closest associates have constituted a deplorable departure from the previously accepted norms of behaviour in high places. It has been in their African connexions, of course, that we have recorded and criticized these sins. The tally of deceit

and duplicity in regard to the Federation and Kenya since early 1960, for instance, has been without parallel in Empire and Commonwealth history. So unforgivable has been the attitude to the Federation, indeed, that both the Governor-General and the Prime Minister of Rhodesia and Nyasaland have used the word "betrayal" in its Parliament to describe the actions of the present Government of the United Kingdom. But Fleet Street, concerned to avoid examination and explicit exposure of the trickery of which the Federation has been the victim, allowed even those unprecedented condemnations to rank merely as one-day sensations. Social or sexual scandals would, *per contra*, be kept for days, or even weeks, as the focus of attention. Does that contrast not suggest a very sick society?

At long, long last, years belatedly, forthright denunciation came last Saturday from the leaders of the Labour and Liberal parties. They spoke so emphatically that even newspapers which had supported Mr.

The Press Subverted.

Macmillan in the face of all the evidence—and, to our knowledge, repeatedly refused to publish letters criticizing him and his Government in African affairs, though some of the correspondence was from eminent and exceptionally experienced men — found no escape from recording their rebukes under prominent headings. The Socialist leader condemned "the progressive corruption and devaluation" in the standards of public life, which, he said, had been "debauched" by the Prime Minister's preaching of "selfish, materialist hedonism which won elections at the cost of Britain's economic strength and independence". The Macmillan Government's test was not "Is this right?", but "Can we get away with it?". Having emphasized that the people had been misled and distracted ever since Suez, Mr. Wilson de-

clared bluntly that "attempts have been made to subvert the Press, provincial and national", and that the House of Commons had been misled on serious issues by evasions, half-truths, and worse. Every student of Parliament had known that to be strictly true. The charge of suborning newspapers was, we believe, first made in these columns. More than three years ago we reported that the Prime Minister and some of his senior colleagues were lobbying Fleet Street with an assiduity for which there was no precedent in living memory. Their exertions met with astonishing success, and the electorate in general is consequently staggeringly unaware of the disreputable transactions done in its name. Tens of millions of Africans between the Nile and the Limpopo could not have been deprived so dangerously prematurely of British protection, and hundreds of thousands of Europeans in Africa could not have been treated so brutally, if Press and Parliament had done their duty without fear and without expectations of favour.

The Liberal leader, Mr. Grimond, having asked who could be proud of association with the public life of Britain in the last few years, referred to "the shoddiness, the lick of paint

on the rotten board, the lack of candour and quality in the actions of those who lead us, causing people to contract out of their responsibilities", and spoke scornfully of a situation so serious that the Prime Minister had been driven to commission a High Court judge to inquire into the private lives of various people, some Ministers included. What, he wondered, would Gladstone, Disraeli, Asquith, Balfour, or Sir Winston Churchill have thought of such a situation. Being fallible humans, all of them blundered in some matters, but none regarded Britain's pledges and honour as trifles expendable at convenience in political manoeuvrings. Under all of them Britain's name stood high in the world. Now it is degraded almost daily, often by beneficiaries of the calamitous policy of appeasement, which, far from assuring peace and progress in Africa and Asia, has brought such violence and malignant irresponsibility to vast areas of those continents that political murders now rate only an obscure paragraph in the newspapers and threats of inter-tribal war little more prominence. Could there be a worse condemnation of Macmillanism than the fact that the Kikuyu condemned by the courts as the leader of the foul Mau Mau conspiracy has already been made the Queen's Chief Minister in Kenya? Yet that was the clearly inevitable consequence of the traffickings of Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod and Mr.

(now Sir Michael) Blundell early in 1960, as was repeatedly stated in these columns at the time.

* * *

African leaders (many of them palpable misleaders) now strut vaingloriously about their territories, through the Western world, and behind the Iron Curtain delivering themselves of threats to the Power Rhodesians which has raised their people Will Resist. from savagery in sixty years or less. Under the pretence that

East and Central Africa must immediately receive the "blessings of parliamentary democracy" — a claim which merits contempt but always gets applause — they have been surrendered by United Kingdom politicians to the perils of dictatorship, the aggressive character of which was revealed once more in last week's speech to the Security Council of the United Nations by Ghana's representative. The twin purposes of that carefully prepared oration were to revile and weaken Southern Rhodesia because the thirty-two independent African States which signed the recent Addis Ababa Agreement then committed themselves to take the offensive against that Colony. The basic reason is that its multi-racial policy affronts men who are resolved to impose black rule on all Africa. Having received from the Macmillan Government concurrence and co-operation far surpassing their wildest hopes, they are understandably irate that white Rhodesians (with the cordial approval of many black Rhodesians) should refuse to capitulate.

* * *

As Sir Roy Welensky has said again in the clearest possible terms, the white residents of Rhodesia will if necessary defend their standards, their achievements, and their homes by force of arms.

**Virtues Derided
By Macmillanism.**

They will not be thrown into the discard by reckless, ruthless posturers of the Macmillan-Macleod type. Their determination ought to be understood throughout the world, which, unfortunately, is given little opportunity to judge it. This latest statement by Sir Roy (which appears almost verbatim in other columns) has been adequately reported by no London or provincial daily; but those which have neglected the opportunity to drive his warning into the consciousness, and perhaps the conscience, of Britain somehow find space several times weekly to advertise the utterances, often jejune, of African nationalist extremists. Their racialist doctrines are acceptable because surrender involves no effort, moral or material. His non-racialism is rejected because it must involve resolution and devotion, virtues derided by Macmillanism.

Notes By The Way

They Served the Empire

LORD HAILEY has quoted from the Book of Ecclesiastes to describe the feelings of men whose life's work has been broken by Macmillanism: "Yea, I hated all my labour which I had taken under the sun because I should leave it unto the man that shall be after me. And who knoweth whether he shall be a wise man or a fool? Yet shall he have rule over all my labour wherein I have laboured and wherein I have shewed myself wise under the sun".

Canine Loyalty

THE GUILT OF M.P.s for the betrayal of British East and Central Africa has been repeatedly emphasized in these columns—and, unhappily, in scarcely any other London publication. Readers may be interested in the following short quotation from a speech by one of them, Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, Liberal M.P. for North Devon: "In 1940 Parliament had the moral authority to bring down Neville Chamberlain and replace him with a giant. Could you see Parliament today removing Macmillan and installing a man who could command the whole-hearted support of his followers and the respect of the Opposition and the nation? Rather does Parliament stand by helplessly and watch one-third of a Government ignominiously sacked as if they had been caught with their hands in the till—thereafter to be created Companions of Honour as a reference for their next employer. Canine loyalty by a Conservative, coupled with a rarity of utterance, makes it almost certain that after 10 years he will join the 25% of Conservative M.P.s who are already either knight, baronet or dame. How justly we can refer to the Tories as the party of dreadful knights!" The reference to party "loyalty" is unfair to the dog, man's best animal friend. That to the distribution of "honours" to obedient backbenchers explains what millions of people have failed to understand.

Misrepresentation by TV

A DISGRACEFULLY IRRESPONSIBLE television programme was shown last week in Granada's "World in Action" series. If the purpose had been to encourage African nationalists who are bent on violent action, no changes would have been needed. "Freedom fighters" had been filmed undergoing military training, and their plans for attack upon white Governments in Southern Africa were extenuated as "reprisals", not condemned as preparation for rebellion. So blurred was the commentary that, although much of it had special reference to Angola, large numbers of viewers may easily have derived the impression that nothing good was to be said about white rule in general and that Africans in Southern Rhodesia were outrageously oppressed. It was a tendentious and altogether deplorable production.

Mr. James Mackay

A WONDERFUL RECORD of service to agriculture in Kenya is ended with the resignation of the vice-chairmanship of the Kenya Farmers' Association by Mr. James Mackay, who has been a member of the boards of that great co-operative society and its predecessors for more than 44 years. He was chairman of the K.F.A. from 1928 to 1933 and again from 1949 until 1953; and six years ago the office of president was created by

the association and its subsidiaries in order that he might be honoured by that title in the K.F.A., the Tanganyika Farmers' Association, and Unga, Ltd. At the time he was also vice-chairman of Unga, of which he had been a director for a quarter of a century. Having decided to live in the United Kingdom, he has now resigned his directorships, but has been asked to continue as president until his departure.

Services Ill Required

THE SON of a Bute farmer, he went to Kenya in 1911 to manage the late Lord Delamere's farm at Njoro. Eight years later he became a director of the British East Africa Farmers' Association, which in 1927 was merged, together with the Wheat Growers' Association, in the new Kenya Farmers' Association, of which he was elected an original director. His devotion to his duties has been as exemplary as it has been modest. Nobody has inside knowledge of the K.F.A. comparable with his own, and nobody has been more faithful in good and bad times. He began farming on his own account in the Rongai district in 1914 and later farmed in the Sabatia and Londiani districts. In 1956 he received the O.B.E. It would be very easy to jot down a lengthy list of men who have done nothing like as much for Kenya but have been given knighthoods, C.M.G.s., C.B.E.s., and fulsome public praise.

Archbishop's Privilege

ARE THERE PRECEDENTS elsewhere in East or Central Africa for the proposal that the chairman of an association operating in the United Kingdom in support of an Anglican diocese in Africa should be appointed by the Archbishop of the area? Unless there is already such an arrangement of which I am unaware, the Uganda Church Association is singular in suggesting in its new draft constitution that the Archbishop of Uganda should appoint the senior officer in England, whereas the other officials would be elected by members of the association. Dr. Leslie Brown, to whom it would fall to make the first nomination, was installed Archbishop of Uganda in St. Paul's Cathedral, Namirembe, in 1961 by Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, then Archbishop of Canterbury.

Memorable Church Leaders

THE RT. REV. JAMES HANNINGTON, Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa (which diocese then included Uganda) was martyred in 1885, the year after his consecration. He was followed by the Rt. Rev. Henry Parker and the Rt. Rev. Alfred Tucker, who became the first Bishop of Uganda when the diocese was divided in 1897, and held the seat until he was succeeded in 1912 by the Rt. Rev. J. J. Willis. He was followed 22 years later by the Rt. Rev. Cyril Stuart, who held office until 1952, when Bishop Brown succeeded him. Archbishop Brown, who is also Bishop of the Diocese of Namirembe, has seven other diocesan bishops in his province, namely those of Ankole-Kigezi, Mbale, Northern Uganda, Ruanda-Urundi, Ruwenzori, Soroti, and West Buganda.

The White Man Will Fight If Necessary in Central Africa

Sir Roy Welensky's Clear Warning Against Pan-African Extremism

IN CENTRAL AFRICA THE WHITE MAN will fight if that is the alternative to surrender to pan-Africanism, SIR ROY WELENSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation, said in Salisbury last week when addressing the World Council of Young Men's Service Clubs.

Liberty had, he said, been given some strange meanings in Africa since 1945. Changes throughout Africa had been profoundly influenced by the war that had then just ended, a war which had seen the demoralization of whole peoples and the exhaustion of formerly powerful countries. The spread of Communism had coincided with speedier means of communication and new propaganda media. The old countries had become newly aware of the abject poverty of most of those who lived in the world's backward areas, particularly in their own Colonies.

"The keywords have been freedom and independence—the worthiest of objects—but also godsend to any politician who has a mass to appeal to. It is the greatest of tragedies that the movement towards freedom has with few exceptions been turned wholly into political channels—and the greater part of the usually perceptive Western public does not even now realize what has happened.

"There has been tremendous effort to raise living standards, yet despite millions of pounds of aid and a sustained campaign to transplant skills and technical knowledge to the under-developed countries, the major exertion of most of those countries themselves has been directed towards politics and the exercise of power on the world scene through pressure groups. Emancipation of their people from their immense backwardness comes a very poor second. There can be no real freedom unless there is freedom from ignorance and want.

Allegiance Sought and Bought

"It is not altogether surprising that so many of the new leaders have become preoccupied with politics and power, for there has been ample opportunity to taste these heady wines. In the concern of the world's statesmen with the overall East-West struggle for nearly 20 years, the allegiance of new nations has been assiduously sought and bought, and much of the aid, and the advocacy of liberty, has itself been tainted with the politics of this struggle.

"Several of the new leaders have been quick to take advantage. Some have proved to be only puffed-up nuisances, but others, by playing one Power against another and forming pressure groups, have succeeded in exercising influence far beyond their nations' worth.

"They have been careful to claim non-alignment; but in this struggle there can be no neutrals. The Communist cause has done very well out of their non-alignment policy.

Almost Anything Goes

"Here we begin to see the price the West is paying for not making sure of the integrity of the new States and their leaders and of their substance, for Communism thrives even better on chaos and racialism in little weak kingdoms existing on scarcely more than nationalism and handouts. These we now have a plenty.

"The net result of an enormous effort over nearly 20 years has been to change the face of the political world, but to produce little enough change in the lot of its peoples.

"A double standard has emerged: what won't do at all in the older democracies is excused in the new dictatorships of Africa. Yet the war begun in 1939 was a war against dictatorship to preserve democracy.

"Another characteristic of the changes of recent times has been the widespread pervasion of expediency and corruption in international affairs. Today almost anything goes if you can get away with it.

"The United Nations Organization grew up against this background of the progressive disappearance of colonialism and the emergence in its stead of many little States—and itself changed. The original concept was that the great

nations would carry their appropriate weight within the councils of the organization. Today its decisions depend more often than not upon a precarious plurality vote.

"Whereas the African States in 1945 had four members, they now have 33, nearly one-third of the whole membership. They are banded in a powerful pressure group. Yet few of them are greater in population or resources than many large cities of Europe.

"It is a rare voice in the U.N. today that asks whether democracy will survive or grow amongst candidates for admission, or whether the new leaders and their Governments have either the power or the will to serve the men and women of their countries better than they have been served before. The label of 'liberty' is enough. But true liberty is much more than any label.

"Change in Africa has been almost like convulsions. There is little colonial influence left. State after State has emerged to sovereignty. The political pattern today ranges from the oligarchy of apartheid, through ancient despotic kingdoms and republics with greater or lesser degrees of democracy, to the new dictatorships which are so difficult to excise.

"But that love of 'liberty', yet disregard for the fate of man, that intense preoccupation with politics, have results as tragic as in the Congo.

Dangers of Disruption

"We who founded the Federation have often been accused of seeking to entrench the past, and privilege in particular. This was never the case. Even before 1953 we clearly recognized the need for change, in politics as much as in the social and economic circumstances of our people. We saw the challenge in the new trend of world thought, and we saw its dangers.

"Our purpose was to give real meaning to 'freedom' and to bring a new way of life to this area. Our problem was to find a way to retain the good from our inheritance and our colonial past and to extract the good from the new world conscience about backward areas, but to keep the dangers of disruption from our borders.

"We saw the solution in a progressive but gradual policy, under which all traces of racial discrimination would be removed step by step. The franchise would be tied only to quality and merit, excluding no man, who qualified, whatever his race or colour, from exercising the vote, but by virtue of the qualitative factor retaining government and authority in trained and experienced hands.

"If hypocrisy and charges of bad faith were to be avoided, every effort had to be made to spread the means of qualifying for the vote as widely and speedily as possible. This we set about doing.

"We were aware that we were setting ourselves directly against the forces of pan-Africanism and their supporting powers, against the doctrine of one-man-one-vote and its easy appeal—but scarce benefits—and, above all, against the appeal of racialism, one of the most serious and insidious dangers the world has ever faced.

Merit the Only Criterion

"We saw little chance of peace in our part of Africa if racial policies were allowed to prevail. So, against the traditions of many in our midst, we put aside the doctrine that any race, by virtue of its colour, has a divine or inherited right to superiority.

"We set ourselves, as our only criterion, the criterion of merit, knowing full well that in the course of time the colour of those in authority would change.

"We never claimed the label of democracy for our system at its start, but, unlike so many of the present systems in Africa—which is scarcely a democratic continent—it has headed towards democracy and made steady progress on that road in the 10 years of its life.

"In this venture we were greatly helped by the belief, soon proved in fact, that the three economies of the territories comprising the Federation together made up an infinitely greater and stronger whole; and the Federation and its policies proceeded to prosper for several years. Now it has been destroyed, though it never failed.

"It never failed economically: year by year, every sector of the economy made remarkable progress and development, as was shown in every report of every Government department, whether it was industry, education, medicine or agriculture.

"Nor did it fail politically. Its many faults and shortcomings were far outweighed by its merits and the benefits it brought. Inherited discrimination was steadily removed. By

the provisions of the Constitution no fresh discrimination could be introduced. Slowly but surely the minds of our people were becoming adjusted to the idea of non-racialism, and certainly with less trouble than is being experienced in other countries today. The numbers of those who qualified for the vote grew steadily.

"The Federation is being destroyed only because it never accorded with the purposes of pan-Africanism — as indeed it never could do — and because it was abandoned after no more than five years of life by some of its friends — in particular, by its principal sponsor, Great Britain.

"The decision to break up the Federation was taken by the British Government towards the end of the last decade. Sections of the pan-African movement have been very ready to resort to violence, and violence and the threat of it have been part of their political technique. This has worked well where there has been no will to resist.

Britain's Surrender to Pan-Africanism

"But pan-Africanism has also developed a most efficient propaganda force abroad, especially in U.N.O., with consistent backing from the Soviet bloc. So, despite the social, economic and political progress the Federation was making, and however right its policies were, by 1959 we had become a considerable embarrassment to both Britain and America in their dealings in the U.N. and in the international field generally. By riots and threats of violence within the country and by propaganda on the theme of liberty abroad, the pan-Africanists saw to it that we did.

"Decide for yourselves between what we set out to do and were doing in the Federation, and the merits and achievements of pan-Africanism, to which the British Government, the principal architect of the Federation a mere six years before, surrendered. For surrender it was, whether you consider it noble, or as I do, ignoble.

"Although we were never told of this decision, there is little doubt that in 1958 one was taken to split the country by handing over the two northern territories to African nationalist Governments and to isolate Southern Rhodesia as a first step towards prising that country open for pan-African penetration as well. This was all to be undertaken by steps and stages, as the long series of rather tawdry negotiations subsequently showed.

"Thus the Federation was broken by Great Britain. A remarkable venture in non-racialism and humanity, on a continent where both attributes are very scarce, was put to death, with total disregard for its achievements and in full knowledge of the consequences — tremendous economic setback; the relegation of Nyasaland to subsidized poverty; the evil of one-party systems and dictatorship, to which one certainly and possibly both northern territories are now destined; the cost in security, and perhaps even in human lives; and the entrenchment of racialism.

"There is good in pan-Africanism. It is awakening a continent which had slept far too long. It is lively, proud, and out to learn. These are all virtues in their way. Nationalism itself can do much for a young and growing country.

Preoccupied with Politics and Power

"But it is a movement preoccupied with politics and power; it is in the hands of an ambitious few; it is racialist, out and out; it has brought chaos in its train; and it has shown its readiness to resort to violence. Pan-Africanism is openly training forces for its attack upon the southern States of Africa. Algiers and Uganda have offered to train them. Communist countries have been training them for several years.

"When I assess this movement I apply these facts to the future of the people of the land in which I live, and I must reject it as predominantly bad, though good in parts. I never fail to wonder at the support it gets, making a mockery as it does of Western policy and the struggle against Communism. It is ironic that those who are such blatant aggressors can succeed so well in portraying themselves as the innocent aggrieved.

"Ghana's motion in the Security Council is a perfect example. Not only does it twist the facts — since the entire offensive element of our land and air forces lies within the overall Commonwealth commitment — but its purpose is very different from that given by Ghana. It is meant to weaken Southern Rhodesia, deprive it of defensive means, and lay it open to attacks by pan-African forces.

"Fortunately, the major Powers — except Russia, of course — lost little time in debunking this motion in clear and certain terms, throwing the dubious motives and blatant hypocrisy of the whole movement into sharp relief. One can but hope that the same Powers will also see the real danger to themselves which lies in the very fact that the sponsors got such a motion on the agenda of the Security Council, supposedly the stabilizing factor in the whole structure of the U.N. One cannot hope for miracles, but this is so clearly the lesson and

warning that even at this late stage the Great Powers might be induced to think again.

"In this country there are few illusions as to how far things have been allowed to go. There is a feeling that the achievements of white civilization in Africa and the white man himself are both expendable in the eyes of the West.

"Yet is it right to ask people who have inherited the systems of civilization and followed them all their lives, who over the past 10 years have made it clear that they will share in this way of life with any man or woman, whatever his race or colour may be, who lives up to the standards and demands of civilization, who have made tremendous efforts to pass on civilization to their less advanced brothers — is it right to ask these people to give it all up without a struggle?

"The white man in Africa has long since ceased to be the product of colonialism or its transitory servant. The continent is his home, which he has every right to claim, and any theory that his presence here is tolerable only on the black man's terms is as wrong as it is purely racial.

"If the African people themselves are to develop, and if the great gap between the poor and rich societies is ever to close, the white man's skills and standards must be retained, for Africa cannot hope to advance on politics alone. Outside aid can help, but even this — over £2,000m. in 1962 — can do little for the mass of Africans until they can use that aid as it is intended to be used.

Mockery of Solemn Agreements

"In this, as in the spread of skills, the white man must for many years be the catalyst. To drive him out, or drive him into conflict with the African, is the greatest possible disservice to the African himself. Yet the absence of the rule of law alone in so many of the new dictatorships makes life intolerable for those wedded to the laws of civilization; and now must be added the physical threat of forces being got ready for an attack on Southern Africa.

"But if the white man in this country is today being abandoned by his kith and kin abroad, and prised from the growing and close association that the past 10 years brought him with the moderate African, he is not one whit less determined to defend his achievements and his standards.

"He has shown his willingness to share and has spent more time and money on sharing than most. He has been patient in most difficult times and has stuck to reason — all too often in the face of violence or the threat of it. He has preferred negotiation and has kept his word.

"Now he has seen a mockery made of negotiation and solemn agreement — by friends he thought he could trust. He now doubts that any agreement, any promise, any assertion of friendship, is stronger than the cynicism or ambition of the pan-African leaders. He is being steadily driven back upon himself and his own resources. By the action of others, the issues he faces are being taken from the realm of reason and negotiation into the field of physical conflict.

"If this is indeed the choice of weapons our antagonists have made and our friends are condoning, then let it be perfectly clear what the consequences must be: though it will not be of his choosing, the white man in Central Africa will fight with the same weapons if he is forced to do so.

First War of Colour

"If he is attacked he will fight with great determination and with strength and backing, and the conflict will spread, certainly in Southern Africa and possibly further afield. The world will then have to decide whether to commit itself to its first war of colour — but not its last.

"These are my closing months as Federal Prime Minister. I intend to devote every effort I can make and every opportunity that still remains to me to warn of the dangers that lie ahead and to try to bring the issues back to negotiation and away from physical conflict.

"Others have forced these issues into the shape they are now taking. The responsibility for surrender to racialism is theirs, not ours. For 10 years we held firm against it, for five of them alone, though many hundreds of thousands of men and women abroad knew that their Governments were wrong in letting this great venture die.

"No words ring truer today than those of Edmund Burke: 'All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing'."

Firm British Reply to Ghana's Complaint to Security Council*

Sir Patrick Dean's References to Irrelevance, Insinuations, and Tendentions and False Accusations

NOTHING in the statements made in this Council yesterday or in the documentation circulated by the Ghanaian delegation leads my delegation to modify our views on the competence of the Security Council in this matter, and we are quite unable to see any sound reason why the question should have now been brought to the Council.

The principal charge is that the reversion of certain powers to the Southern Rhodesian Government resulting from the agreements reached at Victoria Falls must result "in a situation which might lead to international friction and whose continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security".

This argument is basically an attack on the provisions agreed at Victoria Falls in July of this year.

Resolving Uncertainty

Little further progress can be made towards a solution of the problem of Central Africa until the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has been dismantled. The conference at Victoria Falls was an essential step in this process. The general settlement reached there aims at the dissolution of the Federation by December 31.

This settlement represents a great achievement; and it was far from certain that this delicate and complicated negotiation, involving four separate Governments, could be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. The success of this conference is, therefore, by general acknowledgment a valuable step forward which must not be prejudiced.

Apart from its effects on Southern Rhodesia, it is aimed at the maintenance of confidence in the economic future of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the acceleration of progress in both territories towards independence.

A number of Commonwealth Governments have made known their views on the outcome of the Victoria Falls Conference. None with the exception of Ghana has expressed anything other than satisfaction.

Any attempt to call this settlement into question can only put the future of Central Africa into a state of continuing uncertainty from which all the people of the area, and not just those in Southern Rhodesia, would suffer.

Four Governments Agreed

It is therefore a matter of profound regret to my delegation that the Governments of Ghana, Morocco, and the United Arab Republic should have made this attempt and ignored these wider considerations.

I repeat that the Victoria Falls Conference provided a settlement between four Governments, including that of Northern Rhodesia, which, contrary to the assertion in the speech of the distinguished delegate of Ghana, was reached in the presence of African representatives of that Government.

I am authorized to say that the elected African Government of that country stands by the agreement reached at Victoria Falls, including its provision for the reversion of powers and armed forces from the Federation to its constituent territories. The elected African Government of Nyasaland has raised no objection to this agreement.

I have used the phrase "reversion of powers" advisedly. The Ghanaian memorandum prefers to say "transfer of powers". This difference reveals the complete misunderstanding by the Government of Ghana of the nature of the Federation and of what is involved in its dissolution.

Those who have brought this matter to the Security Council have confused two situations — that in which a new territory is for the first time granted responsible Government and certain powers are conferred upon its Government, and the situation in which existing territories, the Governments of which already exercise certain powers, are associated in a federation.

When the Federation was established in 1953 Southern Rhodesia was in no sense deprived of the powers assumed by the Federation. What happened was that, with the full consent of the Southern Rhodesian Government, certain powers previously exercised in Southern Rhodesia by the Government of that territory were conferred upon the Government of the Federation. On the dissolution of the Federation these powers revert to the territorial Government by which they were previously exercised. Understanding of this point is fundamental.

The principles governing the distribution of the Federal forces on dissolution were, as I have said, agreed by all Governments involved in the Victoria Falls Conference.

The forces concerned, while under Federal command, are neither more nor less under the control of my Government than they will be under the Government of Southern Rhodesia so long as the United Kingdom Government continue to exercise the same degree of responsibility in relation to Southern Rhodesia.

The Victoria Falls Conference, the provisions for dissolution of the Federation, and the reversion of powers to the Southern Rhodesian Government, do not change the status of Southern Rhodesia.

Position Unchanged

For the last 10 years these armed forces have been the responsibility of the Federal Government; but, since the Federation was not an independent, sovereign State, this responsibility did not extend to the right to deploy such forces outside the borders of the Federation except after the fullest consultation with the Government of the United Kingdom, which have always retained an ultimate responsibility for the Federation in the external field.

Similarly, so long as the U.K. Government continue to exercise the same degree of responsibility in relation to Southern Rhodesia, the position with regard to these armed forces will remain unchanged.

Statements to the contrary made by the representatives of Ghana, Mali, and the United Arab Republic, and paragraph 15 of the Ghanaian memorandum, simply do not represent the true position.

Reversion of these forces to the constituent territories of the Federation will make little practical or material difference to the situation on the spot. These forces have already been situated in Central Africa for 10 years, and no major change in their disposition is contemplated. In total they are not expected to be either expanded or contracted on dissolution, although, since certain of these forces will go to the two northern territories, those reverting to the Southern Rhodesian Government will be fewer in number than those at present under Federal control.

False and Irrelevant

The Ghanaian delegation have alleged that these forces might be used for certain specific external security. The first of these points is founded on a false premise: they will be no more available for external adventures than they are at present, and the British Government will retain control of their use outside the frontiers of Southern Rhodesia as long as our responsibility in relation to Southern Rhodesia is unchanged. The situation is not therefore different as a result of the Victoria Falls Agreement.

With this explanation before them I trust that members of the Security Council will treat this part of the Ghanaian argumentation as irrelevant and untrue.

The second point made in paragraph 17 of the Ghanaian memorandum is that these forces might be used for maintaining internal security. This possibility does, of course, exist, but in this rôle they are no more susceptible to British direction and are no less available for these purposes under existing arrangements than they will be when they revert to Southern Rhodesian control. In this rôle, they have never been subject to my Government's agreement.

*The gist of the Ghanaian memorandum, a document of some 50,000 words, was given in last week's issue. The reply by Sir Patrick Dean has been somewhat abbreviated owing to heavy pressure on our space.

In any case, their availability for use in this sense is clearly a matter of domestic jurisdiction; does not touch upon the Security Council's responsibilities for maintaining international peace and security; cannot conceivably represent a threat to international peace; and is therefore beyond the scope of discussion in this Council.

I feel bound to express my very deep regret at those passages in the speech of the distinguished representative of Ghana which, on the basis of the purest fancy and hypothesis, suggested that the Southern Rhodesian Air Force would be used so as to subject the African population to indiscriminate air attack. It is inconsistent with the general tenor of the speech of the Ghanaian representative and with the standards to be expected in this Council that allegations about the use of weapons of mass terrorism, including such material as napalm, should be founded on nothing but the wildest flights of the imagination. There is not and cannot be the slightest shred of evidence to support these insinuations.

Unique Relationship

I now deal with the reversion of other powers to the Government of Southern Rhodesia, particularly the assertion that this provides an opportunity for the U.K. Government to enforce compliance with United Nations resolutions.

The unique constitutional relationship between Southern Rhodesia and the United Kingdom cannot be compared with that existing between the U.K. and the Gold Coast before that territory became independent. What happened in that territory is quite irrelevant to the matter before us.

An explanation of this relationship has been given on a number of occasions by my delegation in various organizations of the United Nations. An authoritative example is the statement made to the Fourth Committee on October 25 last year by Mr. Godber, then British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

The essential point, which I make with all possible emphasis, is that the freedom of the Southern Rhodesian Government to conduct its own internal affairs is no fiction but an inescapable constitutional and political fact. The Ghana delegation have attempted to dispute this constitutional point. But facts are facts, particularly I should hope in the Security Council, and no good can come from ignoring or misrepresenting them.

The British Constitution is unwritten in the sense that it is nowhere formally enacted, nor is there any document which contains its fundamental principles. It has grown with the centuries, and its rules are to be found in statutes, case law practice, prerogative rights, and those understandings which we call conventions, which are based on custom and practice.

A constitutional convention does not, as the Government of Ghana knows very well, derive its forces from "ex parte" statements in Government publications", as alleged in the Ghanaian memorandum. I also remind my friend the distinguished representative of Ghana that this convention — and others which relate to the relationship between the U.K. and its dependent territories — should not be confused with those conventions which deal with relations between the Crown and Parliament and between the two Houses of Parliament. It is the latter — not the former — which he must have been taught depended for their existence on specific acceptance by at least the two major parties in Parliament.

Unwarranted Interference

A convention can — and generally does — exist well before it receives public recognition in Parliament. Amongst these conventions is one against the British Parliament legislating for the self-governing Colonies without their consent. This convention is not a legalistic contrivance thought up by my Government to avoid their responsibilities, as was alleged by the distinguished representative of Mali. It is, on the contrary, a true reflection of the realities of political power.

In Halsbury's *Laws of England*, the authoritative nature of which is widely recognized, it is specifically stated in the edition published in 1953 that this convention applies to Southern Rhodesia. In this context Southern Rhodesia is mentioned by itself and apart from other Colonies.

The Ghanaian memorandum purports to pronounce upon the validity of the convention and its application to Southern Rhodesia. I find this surprising. Under what provision of the United Nations Charter is one member State competent to interpret and pronounce upon the constitutional law of another member State or to seek to impose its own interpretation of that law upon this Council?

I wonder what the reaction of other members of this Council — and I look pointedly to my neighbours on my right and on my left — would be if the British Government were in this place to attempt to interpret and pronounce upon the Constitutions of their respective countries. The reaction would, I assume, be similar to ours, and could justifiably be represented as an unwarranted infringement of the sovereignty of the member State concerned.

The fact — I emphasize that word — of Southern Rhod-

esia's internal independence was in no way altered by that country's entry in 1953 into a Federation with the two neighbouring British Protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

When the Federation was established, certain of the powers which the Government of Southern Rhodesia already possessed were with its full consent made over to the Federal Government. It is not therefore correct to say that the Southern Rhodesian Government was deprived of these powers.

Upon the dissolution of the Federation the powers voluntarily surrendered by the Southern Rhodesian Government revert to it. This is the only practical outcome. It is quite unrealistic to make Southern Rhodesia more dependent on the United Kingdom in 1963 than it was in 1953.

It is wholly misleading to suggest that this situation has in some way been altered by the passage of legislation to enable the Federation to be dissolved. It follows that it is impossible for the United Kingdom Government to attempt to stand in the way of the reversion to Southern Rhodesia of powers exercised by its Government in 1953 even if it wished to do so.

The Ghanaian Government's proposal that the powers should be withheld is as irrelevant to the inescapable realities of the situation as the General Assembly's earlier suggestion that H.M. Government should suspend the Constitution of that territory.

It is therefore completely wrong to state, as the Ghanaian Government have done in their memorandum, that the British Government at the moment "possesses every authority which can possibly be necessary to effect the reforms which the United Nations have requested". It is equally wrong to state that "Britain is in a position to deny even powers of taxation to the Southern Rhodesian regime".

Inconvenient Realities

I can understand that some delegations find these facts and realities inconvenient; but they exist, and no plan which ignores them can possibly succeed.

The Victoria Falls Agreement does not transfer to the Government of Southern Rhodesia the exercise of any functions that it did not possess in 1953, and which, with the full consent of that Government, were made over to the Government of the Federation. The agreement does not change the status of Southern Rhodesia. This is a separate issue, which is a matter for negotiation between the U.K. Government and that of Southern Rhodesia.

In this connexion the First Secretary of State in the British Government, Mr. Butler, who is the Minister responsible for Central African Affairs, said in the House of Commons on June 18: "The position has not yet been reached which would enable H.M. Government to arrive at a decision on the question of Southern Rhodesia's independence".

On July 16 he said: "While the matter (i.e., independence for Southern Rhodesia) is open, we have not got any farther than the suggestion we made there that we would look to the Southern Rhodesian Government to make proposals to us for any amendments of their Constitution which would result in broadening the basis of representation of the Legislature to take effect as soon as practicable — that is where the matter lies".

The present position is that the Government of Southern Rhodesia have been informed that they must first make proposals to us for amendments in their Constitution which would result in broadening the basis of representation in the Legislature to take effect as soon as practicable. There are no pledges, secret or otherwise, between the two Governments concerned, and the question remains completely open for further discussion.

One of the more extraordinary aspects of the Ghanaian memorandum is the attempt to establish that because the British Government have not implemented certain resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Special Committee of 24 in regard to Southern Rhodesia, the Security Council should try to secure compliance by confirming them.

Ultra Vires

We have made it abundantly clear that we regard these resolutions of the General Assembly as *ultra vires*. Our reasons have been explained at length. Basically, all these resolutions depend upon an interpretation of Chapter XI of the Charter which my Government cannot accept as valid. We have explained repeatedly and in detail why Southern Rhodesia is not to be regarded as a non-self-governing territory.

The General Assembly of course has asserted the opposite. As we have pointed out, an assertion of competence of this nature is an assertion and no more. It does not and cannot make something exist which does not exist in the Charter. It cannot create or confer a new jurisdiction. The existence of a resolution asserting competence cannot and does not create what is not written in the Charter.

(Continued on page 75)

PERSONALIA

MR. J. W. BEAUMONT has joined the board of Keller Bryant & Co., Ltd.

M. RENE MAHEU, director-general of U.N.E.S.C.O., recently paid a brief visit to Tanganyika.

SIR NUTCOMBE HUME has been reappointed chairman of the National Film Finance Corporation.

MR. FITZPATRICK CHUULA has been called to the Bar in Northern Rhodesia. He has chambers in Lusaka.

MR. IVAN SAMULOVSKI is leading a delegation of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee on a visit to East Africa.

MR. TOM MBOYA is to address a lunchtime meeting of the Royal African Society on October 3 on "The Future of Kenya".

THE EARL OF INCHCAPE has resigned from the board of the Bank of British West Africa owing to the pressure of other duties.

ALDERMAN CHARLES RUBIA, mayor of Nairobi, has been appointed the first chairman of the Kenya Development Finance Company.

When the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR opened the first session of the new National Assembly, he spoke in Swahili, not in Arabic, as had been customary.

MR. GORDON WATERFIELD is the author of a new book, "Layard of Nineveh", which has been very favourably reviewed by some leading publications.

MR. A. H. STONEHAM, seconded from the C.D.C. to manage the new Development Company of Kenya, was recently engaged in similar work in Nigeria.

SIR GLYN JONES, Governor of Nyasaland, is due in London at the week-end for a visit of about ten days. He is to join DR. BANDA in talks with MR. BUTLER.

MR. STEWART UDALL, United States Secretary of the Interior, collapsed near the summit of Kilimanjaro last week after attempting the ascent with an Army officer.

DR. J. ROSS INNES, secretary of the British Leprosy Relief Association, has been acting as secretary to the eighth International Congress of Leprology in Rio de Janeiro.

MR. R. H. R. DAVIES, of the East African Directorate of Civil Aviation, is to represent East Africa at an international air safety symposium in London next week.

SIR CYRIL HAWKER, chairman of the Standard Bank, and MR. L. A. MARTIN, a director, left London on Monday by air to spend about a month in East and Central Africa.

MESSRS. D. J. MORRIS, R. W. A. MCCOLL, and W. A. KNIGHT, respectively Controllers and Auditors-General of the Federation, Tanganyika, and Uganda, are attending this week's conference in London of Commonwealth Auditors-General.

MR. WALTER KAMBA, the first Southern Rhodesian African to become an attorney, has left for the United States to read constitutional and international law at Yale University.

MR. M. K. HEIMOVAARA has been appointed Consul for Finland in Nairobi and that country's first trade representative in East Africa. He has lately served in a similar capacity in Ghana.

MR. HARRY FRANKLIN has written a book entitled "Unholy Wedlock: The Failure of the Central African Federation". It is due for publication in London early in October.

The executive secretary of the new Z.A.N.U., MR. EDISON ZVOBGO, has been sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment in Southern Rhodesia for being an officer of its proscribed rival, Z.A.P.U.

MR. W. MURE, for more than 34 years managing director of the British Metal Corporation, Ltd., has resigned that office on appointment as deputy chairman for a year from January 1 next.

MR. JAMES WILLIAM JOHNS, lately District Grand Secretary of Mark Masons in Rhodesia, has been appointed Mark District Grand Master, in succession to the late F. FARRANT DUCKWORTH.

LORD HEYWORTH, who has visited East and Central Africa, has retired from the board of the Commonwealth Development Finance Co., of which he has been a director since its formation in 1953.

LORD WROTTESLEY, who lives in Southern Rhodesia, has decided for financial reasons to sell the Wrottesley estate near Wolverhampton to which he succeeded on the death of his uncle earlier this year.

As forecast in last week's issue, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR RICHARD GOODWIN, G.O.C. in C. in East Africa, is to command the first British Corps in the British Army of the Rhine, with the rank of LIEUT.-GENERAL.

BRIGADIER R. R. J. PUTTERILL of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Army has been appointed aide-de-camp (additional) to the QUEEN in succession to MAJOR GENERAL J. ANDERSON, Rhodesia and Nyasaland Army.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CENTRAL AFRICA is to speak and VICE-ADMIRAL SIR PEVERIL WILLIAM-POWLETT preside at a meeting in Rhodesia House next Thursday afternoon of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Railway Mission.

SAYYID MUHAMMAD ABU RANNAT, Chief Justice of the Sudan and MR. OSMAN EL TAYEB, the Attorney-General, represented their country at a conference held last week in Dar es Salaam on local courts and customary law.

SIR COLIN CAMPBELL has been re-elected chairman and MR. A. F. BEAKBANE deputy chairman of the Tea Board of Kenya. While MR. R. B. MAGOR is on his present leave overseas, MR. M. M. BETTEN is an alternative member of the board.

LADY REECE, wife of SIR GERALD REECE, has written a book entitled "To My Wife Fifty Camels", which describes her life in Kenya between 1936 and 1948. SIR GERALD served in Kenya for many years before becoming Governor of British Somaliland.

THE REV. N. SITHOLE, interim president of the new Zimbabwe African National Union, has been arrested in Southern Rhodesia for failure to comply with the conditions of his £100 bail granted after he was charged in July with distributing a subversive statement.

MR. M. J. LAMB, Acting High Commissioner in London for the Federation, opened a Copper Development Exhibition in London on Tuesday. He will represent the Federation at a two-day meeting next week of the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Committee.

MR. PAUL THIONGO MIRIE, of the Agricultural Department of Kenya, has presented a cup to the winner of most points in the farm and dairy produce section of the Royal Agricultural Show of Kenya who farms a holding of at least 20 acres. He is the first African to give a cup to the R.A.S.K.

NORTHERN

RHODESIA

For information
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The Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia
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LONDON, S.W.1.

Telegrams: "NORHODCOM LESQUARE LONDON"
Telephone: WH1tchall 5858 Cables: "NORHODCOM LONDON"

MR. G. R. PETERSON has resigned the office of general manager of the Federal Power Board of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in order to take up next January the post of chief executive of the Foster Wheeler-John Brown-Land Boilers consortium.

DR. MUNYUA WAIYAKI, Parliamentary Secretary for Defence, told the House of Representatives that the U.K. had agreed, under the terms of a general financial settlement which has still to be negotiated, to make available to Kenya any military installations vacated as a result of independence.

MR. OSCAR KAMBONA, Tanganyika's Minister for External Affairs and Defence, is leading its delegation to the U.N.O. General Assembly which opened on Tuesday. The other members are MRS. MARTHA BULENGO and MESSRS. KHERI BAGHELLEH, M. R. KUNDYA, ABBAS SYKES, FRANK MFUNDO, and S. TUKUNJOBA.

On the eve of the creation of the Federation of Malaysia last week, SIR WILLIAM GOODE, Governor of North Borneo, now renamed Sabah, left Jesselton Bay for Singapore in the cruiser LION. SIR WILLIAM is the son of the late SIR RICHARD GOODE, sometime Chief Secretary in Northern Rhodesia, and LADY GOODE.

Although next week's meeting in London of Commonwealth Finance Ministers will coincide with the Kenya Constitutional Conference, Kenya hopes to be represented by MR. J. S. GICHURU, Finance Minister, DR. J. G. KIANO, Minister for Commerce and Industry, and MR. P. M. REES, Director of Economics and Statistics.

MR. A. E. ABRAHAMSON, lately Minister of Labour in Southern Rhodesia, and now an Opposition member of the Legislative Assembly, who was to have left London on Monday with MRS. ABRAHAMSON for Washington, was taken ill on Saturday and has undergone an operation in the London Clinic. He hopes to leave for America after a fortnight.

The Southern Rhodesian Education Commission, the chairman of which was PROFESSOR A. V. JUDGES, of King's College, London, has presented its report. It suggests that all teachers should be members of a unified service; that fees should be charged in all schools; and that inter-racial education, when introduced, should start at the primary stage.

When HIS EXCELLENCY JOSEPH MAHENEHENE presented his letters of credence as Ambassador of the Kingdom of Burundi in the Republic of Tanganyika, he addressed PRESIDENT NYERERE in Swahili, being the first member of the Diplomatic Corps in Dar es Salaam to do so. The PRESIDENT said: "Your esteemed ruler, MWAMI MWAMBUTSA IV, is an occasional and very welcome guest in this house, and the links of friendship that he has already personally created between our two countries and peoples will, I am confident, be further strengthened by your presence here among us".

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MR. GARFIELD TODD, a former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, has been asked to act as a "peacemaker" between the rival African nationalist groups in the Colony—Z.A.N.U., led by the REV. N. SITHOLE, and the new People's Caretaker Council, headed by MR. JOSHUA NKOMO.

MR. A. MILTON OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, has announced his engagement to MISS MIRIA KALULE, who has been attached to the Uganda mission at U.N.O. She is at present in London and will shortly return to Uganda. MISS KALULE was in England from 1959 to 1961, taking a secretarial and citizenship course. The wedding will be in November.

FIELD MARSHAL SIR GERALD TEMPLER, former Chief of the Imperial General Staff, who has been appointed a Knight of the Garter, is interested in Africa as chairman of the British Metal Corporation, Ltd., and a director of the Amalgamated Metal Corporation, Ltd. Methods which he developed against terrorists while he was High Commissioner in Malaya were used to defeat the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya.

MR. ERIC J. BOSTON, who farms near Charlbury, Oxfordshire, and is vice-chairman of the Livestock Export Council for Great Britain, is visiting Southern Rhodesia, having been invited to judge cattle at Salisbury Agricultural Show. He is due in Dar es Salaam on Wednesday for a two-day stay, will then visit Uganda, and is to act as a judge at the Royal Agricultural Show of Kenya in Nairobi early next month.

MR. VICTOR G. MATTHEWS, former East African Commissioner in London, and MRS. MATTHEWS; MR. K. M. COWLEY, a provincial commissioner in Kenya, and MRS. COWLEY; MR. L. W. NEALON, secretary of Mombasa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and a former director of the African Mercantile Co., Ltd., and MRS. NEALON; and MRS. G. UDOMA, wife of the Chief Justice of Uganda, are outward-bound for East Africa in the s.s. KENYA, which left London on Tuesday.

MR. PAUL BOMANI, Finance Minister of Tanganyika, accompanied by MR. C. DE N. HILL, Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, and MR. G. M. RUGARABAMU, Deputy Secretary, flew to London last week to join MWALIMU NYERERE, the President, in financial discussions. They are to attend next week's meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers, and MR. BOMANI will then go to Washington for meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

MR. E. I. M. MTEI has been appointed Secretary (Administration) in the East African Common Services Organization, a post equivalent to that of Permanent Secretary in the territorial Government. A Tanganyikan from Kilimanjaro, he graduated in political science at Makerere College in 1957 and then entered the Tanganyika Civil Service. He was Chief Establishment Officer when Tanganyika became independent. He joined the E.A.C.S.O. last February as Deputy Secretary.

MR. JAMES NYAMWEYA, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, is chairman of a working party set up by the Government of Kenya to report on laws in the Colony which in practice are discriminatory between races. His colleagues are MR. CHANAN SINGH, Parliamentary Secretary in the Prime Minister's Office, MR. JAMES HAMILTON and MR. H. C. WARIITHI, both advocates, and MR. M. L. DUNIAP, legal draftsman in the Attorney-General's office.

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Why Mr. Nkomo Was Ousted

"Deserted The People Through Fear"

THE REV. NDABINGI SITHOLE, interim president of the new Zimbabwe African National Union of Southern Rhodesia, has issued a statement explaining the deposition of Mr. Joshua Nkomo, former president of the proscribed Z.A.P.U.

Mr. Sithole had been national chairman of the banned party, and in that capacity had visited London and the U.S.A. on Mr. Nkomo's behalf. He was appointed by Mr. Nkomo as leader of a 'government-in-exile' in Tanganyika when the last Southern Rhodesian Government banned Z.A.P.U. for subversive activities.

"Mr. Nkomo is very much afraid of going to jail. This causes him to evade taking the necessary political decisions which any leader in his position is expected to take. The white settlers have exploited this fact to full advantage. Because of this fear Mr. Nkomo has deserted the people at the time when they most needed bold leadership that does not count the cost.

"When Z.A.P.U. was banned on September 20, 1962, Mr. Nkomo was in Lusaka. Much against the advice of U.N.I.P. and his supporters, Mr. Nkomo fled to Dar es Salaam, leaving his sheep to be scattered by the wolf. Mr. Nkomo publicly stated that he did not want 'to rot in jail'. Meanwhile hundreds of his supporters went to jail.

Infamous Exodus

"When he was finally forced to go back to Southern Rhodesia and face detention, after 10 days of chopping and changing, the psychological moment had been missed, and his supporters' confidence in him was greatly shaken and undermined. Since then the people have been saying: 'How can we get our independence with such a cowardly leader?' While in detention, Mr. Nkomo's fears were also clearly demonstrated. He arranged for a private plane to take all the members of the central executive secretariat out of restriction, but they refused to jump the restriction.

"When Mr. Winston Field threatened to go it alone if Britain did not grant Southern Rhodesia independence under the present Constitution, Mr. Nkomo's fears were once again aroused. As he put it himself, 'if Mr. Field declares Southern Rhodesia independent, we (the members of the executive) shall be bundled up'. This explains in part the infamous exodus of the executive from Southern Rhodesia to Dar es Salaam last April.

"In many cases members have found themselves deceived and have become embittered against Mr. Nkomo. On several occasions he had assured the central executive that he had received assurances from some independent African countries that if he wanted to form a government-in-exile he would be welcome. Last April, to get the members of the central executive out of the country, although much against their better judgment, he told them that this was on the advice of Tanganyika, and that Tanganyika had agreed to the formation of a government-in-exile in Tanganyika. But when the members of the executive arrived in Dar es Salaam they found that this was not the case. Instead they found that Tanganyika's only concern was: 'If you leave the people you are leading, who is going to lead them? Who is going to organize them?'

Law Unto Himself

"Mr. Nkomo had become a law unto himself, and as such dealt severely with anyone who disagreed with him, who criticized his leadership, and who suggested any radical change in the present leadership.

"On July 6, at a rally held in Harare, Salisbury, he publicly named 10 hard-core nationalists as his chief enemies. Among these were Enos Nkala, Henry Hamadziripi, and Morris Nyagumbo, all of whom have served terms of imprisonment varying between two and four years for political reasons; and this act has infuriated many people.

"Mr. Nkomo has held many secret meetings with branch and district leaders and demanded on threat of suspension their apology for their criticism of his leadership, but these leaders have remained adamant.

"On June 28 the executive arranged in Lusaka with Mr. Nkomo for a full meeting to be held on July 10 in Northern Rhodesia. While we were preparing to leave Dar es Salaam we received the following cable from Mr. Nkomo: 'In view of Marondera's activities when here recently and activities of one or two members of national executive in Dar meeting of executive on 10th stopped until mess cleared'.

"We sent the following cable to Mr. Kaunda: 'Please inform President Nkomo if in Northern Rhodesia that executive determined to hold meeting as planned chance of clearing up mess if any greater as executive together'.

"In reply to this we heard over the radio that four members of the executive in Dar es Salaam—Messrs. Sithole, Takawira, Mugabe and Malunga—had been suspended by Mr. Nkomo. The following day we received from Mr. Nkomo the following cable: 'Messrs. Sithole, Takawira, Malunga and Mugabe, you are hereby suspended until decision of conference of people's representatives. You will be informed of the date and place of conference'.

"We took the greatest exception to this arbitrary, unconstitutional and undemocratic action. At a meeting of the seven members of the executive in Dar es Salaam we pointed out that Mr. Nkomo had messed up all of us, and had become aware and afraid of our censure of him, and hence his frantic efforts to neutralize us. We pointed out that no conference could be held in Southern Rhodesia since Z.A.P.U. was banned. This was merely one of Mr. Nkomo's stunts. We rejected his suspension, denounced his leadership, and deposed him from leadership. We felt Mr. Nkomo was already beginning to whittle down other people's freedom of speech before we have even got that freedom. Mr. Nkomo's actions have been most inconsiderate in relation to his colleagues, and have proved that he is only responsible to himself and to no one else.

Impulsive Indecision

"When Z.A.P.U. was banned last year, without consulting him, he just announced to the world that he had appointed Mr. Sithole to lead the party-in-exile. Six days later Mr. Sithole accepted reluctantly the appointment, which meant being away from his wife and six children. Only a few days ago Mr. Nkomo, knowing that Mr. Sithole was in a foreign country, cabled President Nyerere that he had suspended Sithole. It was on Nkomo's orders that Sithole had remained outside his country; now it is Nkomo again who has chosen to interfere with Sithole's normal activities in Tanganyika.

"Last April Mr. Nkomo, under false presentations, induced Mr. Robert Mugabe, who was out of custody on heavy bail, to jump the bail and come to Dar es Salaam. In complying with Mr. Nkomo's wishes Mr. Mugabe has involved himself in an offence against the law. As if this were not enough, Mr. Nkomo has cabled President Nyerere that he has suspended Mr. Mugabe. This apparently was intended to cause difficulty for Mr. Mugabe so that he is in trouble both in Southern Rhodesia and in Tanganyika.

"In the same month Mr. Nkomo induced Mr. Takawira to jump his bail and come out to Dar es Salaam. This has naturally placed Mr. Takawira in a difficult position in relation to Southern Rhodesia. Having placed Mr. Takawira in this mess, Mr. Nkomo cabled President Nyerere that he had suspended Mr. Takawira, thus endeavouring to incapacitate him in Southern Rhodesia and the country in which Mr. Nkomo himself has dumped him.

"Immediately Z.A.P.U. was banned, Mr. Nkomo, without consulting the Tanganyika Government, let alone his colleagues, announced his intention to form a government-in-exile. He was, however, later forced to retract that statement.

Witch-Hunts

"We all desire the unity of the African people of Southern Rhodesia, but Mr. Nkomo's flight from Southern Rhodesia to Tanganyika with the whole central executive, his unfounded assurances regarding the formation of a government-in-exile, his constant refusal to meet with his whole executive, his arbitrary suspension of the four members of the central executive, his public denunciation of hard-core nationalists in Southern Rhodesia, let alone his indecision, vacillation, impulsive and irrational pronouncements, and his fear to face the music are among the factors that threaten the unity we all seek to maintain as we face the white settlers, who are determined to deny us the independence of our country which is rightly ours by birth.

"Mr. Nkomo had to be halted in his innumerable witch-hunts, which have resulted in his being denounced by many people at home. We want to feel assured that whoever leads the people shall be a man who is bound by the Constitution, who consults his executive, and who respects the wishes of his followers.

"While people elect their leaders, they reserve the right to criticize them, and if need be, to change them. If popular criticism results in denunciation, suspension and witch-hunt by the leaders, then such leaders are not worth their salt, and such leaders should give way to a better calibre of leaders who will not handle the affairs of the party on a personal and arbitrary basis.

"This is the judgment we pronounce on Mr. Nkomo; and we shall pronounce the same judgment on any leader who aspires in future to set himself above properly constituted authority. We believe the true unity of the people of Zimbabwe is founded on fundamental principles rather than on personalities."

Obituaries

MRS. MARY ROBINSON, who had lived in Bulawayo for 58 years, has died in that city, aged 92.

MR. LORGIO MINUBONA, Foreign Minister of Burundi, died last Thursday, aged 27, from injuries received four days earlier in a car crash near Usumbura.

MR. NEALE TAYLOR, who has died in Rhodesia, aged 60, was for some 30 years superintendent of the African township of Makokoba, Bulawayo. He did much to encourage boxing, and had refereed more than 14,000 bouts.

MRS. C. SPICER, who has died suddenly in Salisbury, aged 72, was the widow of N. H. D. Spicer, the Rhodesian poet. She arrived in Southern Rhodesia in 1900, began teaching in Melsetter in 1912, and continued to teach until the end of her life.

MR. A. B. C. ("BARRIE") SMITH, who has died in Kenya settled in that Colony before the 1914-18 war, in which he served in the "German East" campaign, first in the East African Mounted Rifles. He was for many years on the Kibwezi sisal estate.

MR. RICHARD FALCONBERG BELLASIS, J.P., of Kioki, Kiambu, Kenya, who has died at the age of 77 in a London hospital, was educated at Downside and the Camborne and Truro Schools of Mines, and then went to Australia, where he engaged in mining for some time. After similar work in Rhodesia, he joined the South African Forces on the outbreak of war in 1914, and from 1915 onwards was in the East Africa Protectorate Forces. When he was demobilized he began farming in the Kiambu district. At the time of the Kakamega gold rush he reported on various properties.

Litunga's Power to Veto

BAROTSE and Northern Rhodesian Government officials ended their talks last week in disagreement over the Litunga's future powers. Further meetings are to be held. It was agreed that the Barotse people should vote in the January general elections next year. Northern Rhodesia is to assume financial responsibility for Government services in the Protectorate, and the Litunga's power of veto is to remain enforceable until independence if other arrangements do not ensue meantime. The U.N.I.P. leader, Mr. Kaunda, said that Sir Mwanawina Lewanika "may remain chief in name, but his powers must be subject to our laws; Barotse is part of Northern Rhodesia and we shall not tolerate interference". The A.N.C. leader, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, has failed in his attempts to obtain another constitutional conference, a postponement of the elections, and alterations in the franchise.

News Items in Brief

Falcon Mines, Ltd., Southern Rhodesia, have declared a dividend of 17½%.

Kenya will issue 14 different stamps to mark independence on December 12.

A Yugoslav trade exhibition was recently opened in the capital of Tanganyika.

Decimal currency will be introduced in Southern Rhodesia as soon as possible, Parliament has been told.

Employees of Rhodesia Railways have called upon H.M. Government to underwrite their £13m. pension fund.

Kenya hopes to be self-sufficient in sugar by 1970, and may even have enough to export, the Minister for Agriculture has suggested.

The British South Africa Company has declared an interim dividend of 2s per 15s. share. The financial year will end on September 30.

Minimum monthly wages for Africans employed by hotels, clubs and restaurants in Northern Rhodesia are to be increased from £6 13s. to £10 8s.

Two South African political "refugees" were cheered by Africans last week when they arrived at Dar es Salaam airport from Elisabethville.

Miwani Sugar Mills, Ltd., Kisumu, regard as "deliberate arson" a fire at night which destroyed some 15 acres of cane, causing a loss of about £3,500.

West German financial interests are negotiating with the Government of Tanganyika with regard to the establishment in the Mwanza area of a textile factory to cost about £1m.

Merchandise imports into the Federation during the first quarter of this year were valued at £32,332,224, compared with £37,383,201 last year. Exports amounted to £42,912,130 (£47,645,349).

When Pioneer Day was commemorated in Salisbury on September 12 about 100 African women demonstrated "to mourn the loss of our land". In Bulawayo African beer-halls were boycotted.

Uganda's current coffee crop is estimated at 138,000 tons, but her export quota under the International Coffee Agreement for the year beginning on October 1 is only 110,000 tons, as it was last year.

An African was killed in Highfield, Salisbury, last week when his house was destroyed by a bomb explosion. Just before it occurred an African was seen carrying a suitcase to the back of the house.

In the first six months of this year Tanganyika's production of sisal totalled 99,069 tons, or 770 less than in the corresponding period of last year; and that of Kenya and Uganda 32,162 tons, an increase of 4,518 tons.

East African Railways and Harbours earned £6,497,000 in the quarter ended June 30, compared with £6,129,000 in the corresponding period of 1962. While railway revenue was up 2%, that of the ports rose by more than 20%.

Sisal Outputs for August: Bird & Co. (Africa), 1,975 tons, making 3,801 for the first two months of the current financial year; East African Sisal Plantations, 185, making 350 for two months (429 last year); Dwa Plantations, 156, making 1,026 for eight months (1,168).

The Prime Minister of Kenya has opened a new nurses' home at the Aga Khan Platinum Jubilee Hospital in Nairobi, which caters for all races. In the home there are 112 nurses' and 12 sisters' rooms. The buildings are part of a £500,000 extension scheme. H.H. the Aga Khan flew to Nairobi to attend the ceremony.



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Mwalimu Nyerere's Nordic Tour Europeans' Right to Stay in Africa

THE AFRICAN had never challenged the right of white people to stay in Africa, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, President of Tanganyika, told a news conference in Oslo on Sunday at the end of his State visit to Norway. He continued:—

"The world is so small today that it is ridiculous to think that Africa should be a continent of black people only. This planet has to belong to all human beings. Science will make this inevitable — whatever politicians like Verwoerd and myself might think. It is absurd to claim large chunks of the world and keep people out. This is not what we are saying in Africa; and we have never said it.

"We are not questioning that Verwoerd has a right to live in Africa; but it is not right for him to claim that he was sent down by the Almighty to dominate all African people in their own country. We ask that three and a half million whites in South Africa should live on a basis of equality with 10 million Africans, and with the Asian community. They have just as much right to that country as everyone else."

Asked what he considered would be a reasonable final solution to the South African problem, Mwalimu Nyerere replied: "One man one vote, completely on an equal basis."

The President had previously entertained to coffee a group of African students from Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda, Bechuanaland, Egypt, Nigeria, South-West Africa, and Basutoland. Later he visited a Norwegian folk museum where his host at luncheon was the Speaker of the Norwegian Parliament. During a visit to Stavanger the President was greeted by Mr. Jakob Aarno, formerly headmaster of Ilboru Secondary School, Arusha.

In Oslo the Norwegian Government gave a dinner in his honour in the 800-year-old Akershus Castle.

While in Finland he said: "We must take as much interest in the people of Finland, Sweden, China, or Korea as we expect them to take in us. That we are hungrier is no excuse for us not to take more interest in the other peoples of the

world. I find that the people of Finland know a great deal more about Tanganyika than the people of Tanganyika know about Finland.

In Copenhagen King Frederik bestowed upon the President the highest Danish decoration, the Order of the Elephant, and proposed his health at a State banquet.

Mwalimu Nyerere said in his reply that the Nordic Centre built in Dar es Salaam at a cost of £650,000 by Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden was a highly appreciated demonstration of brotherly co-operation to the benefit of Tanganyika. There were eight Nordic nationals teaching in an Iringa school, a Nordic expert was engaged in veterinary work, and at Mwanza a formidable but well-loved Nordic former sea captain was passing on to Tanganyikans his expertise as a fisherman.

Mr. A. P. Moeller, founder and owner of the Tanganyika Planting Company at Arusha Chini, gave a dinner in honour of the President, who had been greeted in Swahili by a school-girl daughter of the Danish Consul in Dar es Salaam.

At the departure from Oslo Airport children sang in Swahili "Mungu Ibariki Africa" (God Bless Africa). King Olav, accompanied by members of the Cabinet, bid farewell at the airport as Mwalimu left in a military aircraft for Denmark. At Copenhagen Airport he was greeted by the King, two of the royal princes, members of the Cabinet, the lord mayor of the city, and the commanders-in-chief of the Armed Forces. The King and President drove to the royal summer residence, Frederiksborg Castle, where the Queen, Princess Margrethe and Princess Benedikte were waiting.

The President flew back to Dar es Salaam at the weekend via London, where he spent about half-an-hour at Admiralty House with the Prime Minister.

Miss Barbro Johansson, M.P. for Mwanza, accompanied the President on the tour.

Zanzibar's Independence Talks

THE ZANIBAR INDEPENDENCE CONFERENCE will open in London tomorrow. It is hoped to complete arrangements for the final transfer of British authority early in December.

At a conference in London in March and April of last year differences between the party politicians in Zanzibar prevented decisions on franchise qualifications, the size of the Legislature, and other matters. Later an independent delimitation commissioner recommended that there should be 31 elected seats, a proposal which was accepted by the three parties. It was also agreed to extend the franchise to all persons over the age of 21. Internal self-government was introduced on June 24 last.

The present Government is a coalition of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, led by Sheikh Ali Muhsein el Barwani, and of the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party, led by Sheikh Mohammed Shume Hamadi, who is Prime Minister.

The Coalition won 18 seats in the National Assembly at the general election in July, the remaining 13 being won by the Afro-Shirazi Party, which received a total of 87,402 votes, compared with 73,553 cast for the alliance of Z.N.P. and Z.P.P.P.

The Sultan, a constitutional monarch, appointed the Prime Minister on the advice of the British Resident, and seven other Ministers on the advice of the Prime Minister. All must be members of the National Assembly.

African Editor-in-Chief

AN AFRICAN, Mr. Boaz R. Omori, has been appointed editor-in-chief of the *Nation/Taifa* group of newspapers in Kenya and elected to the board. He began freelancing while a clerk with Kenya Co-operative Creameries, took a correspondence course in journalism, and in 1954 joined the staff of *Baraza*, a Swahili weekly published in Nairobi, which he left to become a sub-editor of *Taifa*. After a spell as news editor he was made editor. The Aga Khan and the Thomson Organization control the *Nation/Taifa* group.

Bancroft copper mine closed last week in Northern Rhodesia when over 1,000 Africans walked out and a further 2,500 miners were laid off, but work was expected to resume this week.

At four events staged by East Africa Command in the past three months £2,600 was raised for charities. Half goes to the Army Benevolent Fund, a quarter to the K.A.R. Central Welfare Fund, and the balance to Dr. Barnardo's Home and Starehe Boys' Centre, Nairobi.

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One-Party Rule for Kenya?

K.A.D.U. Accused of Dereliction of Duty

AN OPPOSITION MOTION deploring the Kenya Government's failure to implement the Constitution and calling for remedial measures was defeated in the House of Representatives last week.

The K.A.D.U. leader, Mr. Ronald Ngala, asserted that none of the powers to which the regions were entitled under the Constitution had been transferred by the Central Government except that of administration. The only way to discover flaws in the Constitution was, he said, to test its efficacy by giving effect to its provisions. The Government, however, had arranged to hand over responsibility for health and agriculture only in September and October of next year and for education at the beginning of 1965 — which meant that the Colony's self-governing Constitution would not come into force until nearly a year after independence.

Defending the Government's procedure, Mr. Mboya, Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs, argued that many parts of the new Constitution had been made fully effective though some had not, for it was impossible to do everything overnight. The Leader of the Opposition himself agreed that budgetary control should remain with the centre until next year. Mr. Ngala was making emotional appeals and veiled threats instead of adducing logical arguments to support his complaints.

A few days earlier the Minister had declared that the Government wanted the co-operation of the Opposition parties in the task of nation-building and had therefore afforded them complete Parliamentary privileges.

"When planning the forthcoming London talks, the Government of its own initiative decided to invite full participation by five Opposition delegates. As against these overtures of friendship, we are faced with an Opposition that is deliberately reluctant to accept its duties and responsibilities within a democratic set-up.

"On June 1 the Leader of the Opposition failed or refused to attend the swearing-in ceremony of the new Government of Kenya.

In Parliament Opposition leaders and speakers have yet to show the country that they will be a 'loyal opposition' and accept the challenge of nation-building. They prepared papers to be discussed at the constitutional preparatory talks and then boycotted them, pretending that only the Government had asked for changes in the Constitution.

"Now we have the threat that they may not attend the London Conference. The failure of K.A.D.U. to attend that conference would not only be a loss to K.A.D.U., but to the voters in the areas they represent and the public of Kenya, who pay the Leader of the Opposition a salary of £50 a month which he does not now seem to want to earn.

Other Methods?

"Surely K.A.D.U. supporters are entitled to ask what their party intends to do to influence the British and Kenya Governments if K.A.D.U. is unwilling to argue its case in London. Or are they to conclude that the Opposition has other methods by which to achieve their aims?"

"Those friends of K.A.D.U. in Britain must now be asked to explain how the present attitude and atmosphere promoted by K.A.D.U. will help strengthen the case for a two-party system. Is it not in fact the very attitude needed to support the case for a one-party system? The public of Kenya cannot agree that Government should continue to pay the Leader of the Opposition for a responsibility he is reluctant to perform.

"Speeches by K.A.D.U. leaders have sounded like election campaign speeches. Clearly they have not yet comprehended the Prime Minister's call for a forward-looking policy for Kenya. The Government does not look back, it moves forward. For Kenya this is a time to accept the challenge of nation-building. For the Opposition this is the time also to accept their democratic rôle or destroy the entire case for their existence.

Later Mr. Mboya issued a statement which said (in part): —

"It became necessary for me to issue two statements on the attitude of the Opposition to the preparatory constitutional talks and the London conference. These statements have been interpreted by some critics of the Government and by the Leader of the Opposition as a vehement attack on the Opposition.

"Nothing could be further from the truth. The purpose was to clarify issues and explain the Government's own position. The Government has no wish to attack the Opposition, but it has a duty to give the public every fact that will assist them in reaching intelligent conclusions of their own.

"The theme of all the speeches and activities of the Government since June has been to emphasize unity and brotherliness amongst all our people. The Government has spared no effort in trying to remove tribal and racial suspicions. Our wish is that the Opposition joins us without reservation in this task. By so doing the Opposition would not lose its identity or fail in its responsibilities. On the contrary, it would earn the respect of all true Kenyans.

Tribal Lands

"The Opposition has every right to bring to the notice of the people such Government activities or decisions as require examination, but there is in Kenya a Government of the people whose policies and leadership gain greater support daily throughout the country. Our invitation to the Opposition to join in the London conference is our effort to facilitate their being able to carry out their responsibility to the country.

"Some Opposition leaders have tried to spread fear and suspicion among the Kalenjin and Masai tribes by suggesting that Government intends to hand over their tribal lands to other tribes. Tribal land will not be discussed at the London conference. Government stands completely with the original decision reflected in the Constitution that tribal land is secured for the tribes concerned and vested in the appropriate tribal or local government authority. The Kalenjin and Masai tribes need not therefore have any fears.

"The Government will defend firmly the rights of all citizens regardless of whether they belong to so-called K.A.D.U. areas. I give this categorical assurance without reservation. Any attempt to create an atmosphere of crisis or call for subversion is a negative effort which can only do harm to its authors and to Kenya. No-one can lose by the unity of all our people, and this remains the challenge before us all, including members of the Opposition.

"Another Opposition propaganda relates to settlement schemes. There need be no fear among the Kalenjin or Masai. The Constitution lays down in full the procedure to decide on the individual settlers for such schemes. To a large extent therefore the regions will dictate the tribal composition of the settlers. The Kenya Government cannot use the schemes to take away any tribal land for the settlement of another tribe. The purchase of land for the schemes is confined to the scheduled areas outside tribal land.



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"No-one should be afraid of any ideas which Government has on the Constitution because our intentions are to serve Kenya better, to safeguard everyone, and to ensure the full participation of all our people in the task of nation-building, with fair reward and development to all areas regardless of tribe.

"We do not intend to destroy or scrap the Constitution. We intend to uphold it and make it workable and effective through constitutional machinery."

Minister Defends European Advisers Achieving Success in Settlement Schemes

KENYA'S Minister for Lands and Settlement, Mr. J. H. Angaine, has complained about general attacks made in and out of Parliament on settlement officers, particularly those who are or have been farmers in the country. He said:—

"The Department of Settlement within my Ministry, given a tremendous task of immense importance to all in this country, is required to work at speeds unmatched in similar projects in other parts of the world.

"It came into existence a year ago, and we have been extremely fortunate in being able to recruit local people, not only with farming experience, but with a knowledge of the country and the areas being settled. Without them we could not have achieved so much already. Without them we cannot hope to achieve the much greater results we hope for in the future.

"As long as we can find the right man for the job we do not care about the colour of his skin. The thing is to get the job done efficiently and quickly. My settlement officers are carrying out their work with enthusiasm, and are untiring in their efforts to make settlement schemes a success. They have my full support.

"Those who attack my staff can only damage settlement, delay its progress, or cause it to fail. If they do this they attack me and the new Kenya Government, and undermine the job that Government is trying to do. I want settlement schemes to be a success, and I believe that all men of goodwill wish this too, including most of those who have criticized my staff. If this is so, I hope that, instead of complaining about my staff, they will go to my representatives in the field and say: 'What are your difficulties? What can I do to help?' Local representatives in Parliament or in the Regional Assembly can play an important and constructive part in helping my officers."

Mr. Ngei Returns to K.A.N.U.

FOLLOWING THE A.P.P.'s severance of its alliance with K.A.D.U., Mr. Paul Ngei last week led his colleagues across the floor of the House of Representatives to the Government benches. He said later that his party would disband and its members re-join K.A.N.U. He explained the move as an "attempt to prevent another Congo in Kenya" and as a demonstration of his followers' disapproval of regionalism. He is expected to be included in the Government delegation to the independence conference which opens in London next Wednesday.

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Hunting Lion

LITTLE REAL BRAVERY is needed for killing big game animals at a safe distance with a high-powered rifle. Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Kenya's Minister of State, suggested when he welcomed delegates to the eighth general assembly of the International Union for Conservation of Natural Resources in Nairobi on Monday. "If people really wish to prove their courage, may I recommend that they hunt their lion armed only with a Masai spear and shield". It was pathetic to hear of "hunters" who indulged in "orgies of senseless slaughter" of wild life. Africans had formerly regarded wild animals as enemies, but were now appreciative of the need to preserve them. M. Jean Baer, the union's president, regretted that South African delegates — whose country had pioneered conservation in Africa — had been unable to attend for "extraneous reasons". They were banned by the Kenya Government.

Zanzibar's General Election

A CORRESPONDENT has written from Zanzibar: 'The Afro-Shirazi Party polled 54% of the votes in our general election, and the alliance of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party and the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party 46%. If a constituency in which the winners had at least two-third of the votes be deemed 'safe', then Zanzibar Island has eight 'safe' A.S.P. constituencies and the Z.N.P. Party only two. The other seven divisions are marginal. A.S.P. gained three, one by 16 votes, and Z.N.P. four. Pemba has only five 'safe' seats, two each falling to the A.S.P. and Z.N.P. and the other to a Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party candidate. The island's other nine constituencies are marginal. All were won by the alliance, in four cases by small majorities'.

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Life in Nyasaland Today

Impressions Created by Dr. Banda

PRAISE FOR DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Nyasaland, in a letter to the *Scotsman* from the Rev. Dr. Bone, a missionary at Livingstone, has caused a correspondent signing himself "Mlanje" to write in the course of a long reply:—

"Mr. Bone contends that Dr. Banda receives a bad Press in the U.K. The opinion of many people of Dr. Banda is founded not only on what appears in the Press but on his appearances on television in this country.

"Mr. Bone glosses over the 'massacre plot'. Had not Federation forces to move into the northern part of the territory, in which he resides, to maintain law and order, and were not airfields and strips immobilized to prevent the forces obtaining their objective speedily?

"Will Mr. Bone tell us what has happened to the mission schools inaugurated by the various Churches and hitherto maintained and directed by them? Have not all these, to the detriment of scholars, been nationalized and put under the control of the Malawi Party, who, by a large, have neither the background nor experience to administer them successfully?

"Mr. Bone makes a case for one-party control in Nyasaland. This is the view of the Malawi Party, otherwise Dr. Banda. What has happened to the only political opposition in the country?

"Did Dr. Banda not expel at a few hours' notice the only qualified Native woman doctor in Nyasaland for daring to express views contrary to his, and is this woman not now giving valuable services in a hospital in Southern Rhodesia?"

Qualified Men Leaving Nyasaland

"I have still to see in *Life and Work*, a publication which has expressed appreciation of Dr. Banda, any condemnation of the action by Dr. Banda's police, who recently beat-up a 12-year-old girl, a 17-year-old boy, and their 27-year-old driver and caused them to be taken to hospital in Blantyre. Their 'crime' was, apparently, that their car did not stop whilst Dr. Banda and his escort were proceeding in the opposite direction.

"With the outlook as it is in Nyasaland, it is not to be wondered that many Europeans in professional posts are leaving the country, that there are virtually no qualified surveyors now left in post, and that members of the medical profession, other than those possibly in mission fields, are rapidly clearing out.

"The depletion of the medical profession has been so great that the Nyasaland Government has sent out individual appeals for them to stay until replacements can be obtained to prevent a breakdown in what medical services exist in the country. Perhaps the time might arise when Dr. Banda might decide that his medical training could be put to better use than it is at present."

Good Reason for Uneasiness

MR. ROBERT GREENSHIELDS wrote from Hopeman Lodge, Hopeman, Moray:—

"The Rev. R. T. Bone has written a glowing testimony to Dr. Banda from Livingstone, I can only suppose that the 500 miles between himself and Blantyre have caused him to be insulated entirely from the conditions which have given rise to the 'bad Press' for Dr. Banda of which he complains.

"Dr. Banda's 'bad Press' does not exist. Mr. Bone must know of the strong feeling of good-will towards Africa from the majority of the people and the Press of this country. Several incidents have occurred in Nyasaland recently, however, which have rightly been reported and have given cause for anxiety. If people in Britain begin to feel uneasy about Dr. Banda's regime, it is with good reason, not because of any Press 'campaign'.

"Dr. Banda is showing signs of dictatorship, and the rule of law is in grave danger of disappearing. The recent traffic law, which compels other road users to pull off the road when Dr. Banda drives by, could be greeted with a smile. The disturbing point is that the illegal 'Malawi police' accompany Dr. Banda wherever he goes; and their brutal assault on three Europeans who failed to stop when Dr. Banda's car passed theirs some weeks ago illustrates the type of men and their outlook. No prosecution resulted.

"Europeans can often (at the moment) look after them-

selves with their greater wealth and perhaps publicity value. It is the African who will suffer in the long run if any Nazi-type dictatorship arises.

"Another story given some prominence in the Press was the alleged beating-up of Asians in Chiromo by the Malawi Youth League (a title with an ominous ring). This report was fiercely attacked by Dr. Banda's Government; but they failed to tell us what did happen to cause these Indian shopkeepers to run to Blantyre for shelter.

"In the debate following the incident, Dr. Banda's Minister for Local Government said, *inter alia*, about H.M. Opposition in the Nyasaland Legislature: 'If Dr. Banda did give us permission to perpetrate acts of vengeance they would not be talking of law and order here. They would be fleeing like refugees. We would let loose our Youth League on them'.

Oppression and Injustice

"What is not reported to any large extent in the Press is the way in which the law is being interfered with and unjust laws passed. For instance, new local courts have been set up with considerable powers. The magistrates are Malawi Party members for the most part and have no legal training. Amongst recent sentences are these: two Africans have each received six months' imprisonment because they would not buy Malawi Party cards; and Mr. Billie Chipwana, an African police pensioner, has been sentenced to a year's imprisonment and fined £50 for using 'insulting language' about Dr. Banda.

"I could quote other instances of oppression and injustice. All is not well in Nyasaland, and all that can temper the present regime is frequent and frank presentation of the faults as they arise."

MR. S. H. MACKINTOSH wrote:—

"I find it difficult to understand Mr. Bone's ignorance on the attitude of the Press in the U.K. to Dr. Banda in view of the following reports during the period of Mr. Bone's residence in Nyasaland:—

"(1) The newspaper EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA of December 29, 1960, stated that about the only point in connexion with the Federal Review Conference on which there had been no disagreement in the Press concerned the behaviour of Dr. Hastings Banda, president of the Malawi Congress Party in Nyasaland. 'He had been condemned in forthright terms by newspapers of every shade of opinion'.

"(2) From the newsletter of July 13, 1962, issued from the London Office of the High Commissioner of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland I learn that three of Nyasaland's United Federal Party M.P.s. stood up one after the other in the Federal Assembly on July 4 to condemn what they variously described as pressure, intimidation, slavery and dictatorship in their country brought about by the majority Malawi Congress Party of Dr. Banda. If Dr. Banda is not aware that this is going on behind his back it is difficult to accept that he is exercising an effective leadership.

"In view of this, Mr. Bone will now understand why Dr. Banda has such a bad Press in the United Kingdom."

Sadly Disillusioned

MRS. MARY R. WADDELL confessed herself "sadly disillusioned" about Dr. Banda, writing:—

"I heard him speak in Edinburgh not long after his release from prison by Iain Macleod. He told us he was born in the bush, that he was educated by the Church of Scotland, and was an elder. He was quite impressive. Now I am sadly disillusioned about him. I also think *Life and Work* should publish some facts about the actions taken by Dr. Banda. I nearly wrote to him myself, on one occasion, after his appearance on television. He has certainly changed his tune."

MR. HAROLD B. HONE scorned Mr. Bone's suggestion that Dr. Banda had shown 'dignity and restraint little short of miraculous', saying:—

"On June 27 Dr. Banda told a large crowd in Blantyre: 'Any arrogant European must be shown this even if he must be beaten up. If a European is stubborn or behaves badly my boys in white [the Malawi Party 'police'] will show him how tough they are'.

"Mr. Chipembere, Minister of Local Government, speaking in the Assembly on August 14, said that if people were taken to court and acquitted because the magistrates were in sympathy with their conduct, 'we shall have an appointment with them and an account to settle with them'.

"During the second reading debate on the Bill seeking to force road users to stop for Dr. Banda's car he added that if critics of the Bill continued their criticism, 'we shall do worse and worse things—harder and harder; the more they scream, the more we shall tighten up measures'. When independence came they had, he further threatened in open forum in Parliament, 'a good mind to do more'.

Dr. Banda in his Press conference on April 22 said: 'I con-

trol the police — and I mean just that. I will not have my people persecuted as they used to be persecuted before I came here. What do you think I am here for? To protect my people; and I mean protect, law or no law. Law is what the people themselves approve.

Mr. Bone's letter criticizing the British Press for its reports on conditions prevailing in Nyasaland can only lead the unbiased observer to conclude that he falls into the category referred to by Lord Dalhousie, the former Governor-General of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, whom you reported as saying that the colour question was a curious thing:

"It could make perfectly reasonable and intelligent people most unreasonable and unbalanced. Sometimes they write in papers. Some — although I believe a diminishing number — can be found in pulpits. Their emotions are aroused to a pitch where either they consider the black man always to be right or *vice versa*. What is worse, they themselves are always right, however slight their experience."

Mr. Bone refers twice to interference by Federal authorities and troops. He should read carefully the Devlin Report. Federal troops were used in Nyasaland at the request of the Governor.

One Language for Nyasaland

ONE NATIONAL LANGUAGE to hasten the sense of nationhood is planned by the Government of Nyasaland, Mr. G. E. Michongwe, publications officer to the Council on Literature and Publications in the Ministry of Education, Social Development and Information in Nyasaland, has said in Kenya. He is visiting East Africa under the auspices of the East African Literature Bureau to study the organization of libraries, community development centres, schools, book centres, and publishing and printing houses.

Mr. Michongwe said that Nyasaland has three official languages, English, Nyanja (which has 26 components) and Tumbuka (with seven), and that it was the Government's intention to develop one of the vernaculars as a national language capable of conveying modern ideas.

Another urgent problem was to investigate the origin of the people of Nyasaland in order that an authoritative history of the country could be written. The Govern-

ment was doing all in its power to revive African culture, including dances and handicrafts which were now declining.

Mr. Michongwe is a graduate of Roma University College, Basutoland. He then attended the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury, and later took his post-graduate certificate of education at London University in 1957.

Religion in Nyasaland

MR. HENRY CHIPEMBERE, Minister of Local Government in Nyasaland, who is a son of Archdeacon H. Chipembere of the Anglican Church, called on Christian clergy in Nyasaland recently to hand over to Africans. Speaking in Rumpi, he said: "If we can administer the Government we can administer Christianity. The Arabs who brought the Islamic religion to this country left many years ago, and the religious matters of that sect are handled by Africans. On the other hand, the Europeans who brought Christianity did not leave the country".

Malawi Young Pioneers

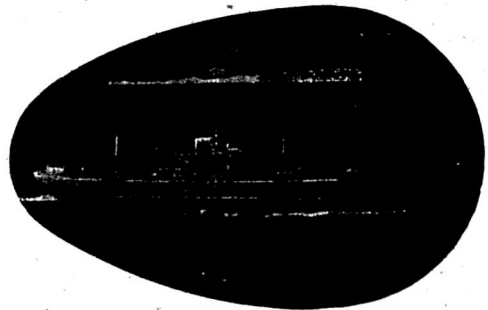
EMANCIPATION from colonialist, imperialist and slave mentalities, and "immortalization of the African personality as personified by the Prime Minister, Dr. Banda", are among the aims of the Nyasaland Young Pioneers, a body which he has established on the model of a similar Ghanaian movement. "Foreign" organizations such as the Boy Scouts (who had invited him to be their Nyasaland patron), Girl Guides, and Boys' Brigade would, he said, not be encouraged by the Government "because they do not teach young men and women the essence of manual and physical labour as well as the old African customs". Last year the Nyasaland Government grant of £2,500 to the Boy Scouts' Association was withdrawn: it had been continued for 12 years.

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Enviably Calm in Southern Rhodesia

(Continued from page 65)

It is not within the competence of the Security Council to say what is and what is not a non-self-governing territory. The Council is no more able of itself to alter the Charter than is the General Assembly.

The resolutions adopted by the General Assembly are in my delegation's view *ultra vires* and have been treated as such by my Government. I hope that the Security Council would not lend itself to similar assertions.

My Government are very conscious of the need to uphold the authority of this Council. For this reason they are concerned that the Security Council should not be moved to take any action beyond its competence which will cause its authority to be called into question.

Apart from the points dealt with above, the Ghanaian memorandum contains a great deal of tendentious and inaccurate argument about the internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia.

Neither Critical Nor Explosive

Given the constitutional relationship between the Governments of the U.K. and Southern Rhodesia, my Government is in no position to answer for the internal policies of the Government of Southern Rhodesia. But my silence must not be construed as acquiescence in any degree in the charges which have been made. These are matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the Government of Southern Rhodesia, and, as such, beyond the competence of the Security Council. They cannot be used to establish the existence of a situation calling for action under Chapter VI of the Charter.

It is, however, an observable fact, that can be independently verified by any member of this Council, that the situation in Southern Rhodesia is neither critical nor explosive, and that that country is enjoying a period of internal calm that might be the envy of certain of its neighbours.

That this is so I saw for myself when I was in Salisbury last July at the time of the hearing of Mr. Nkomo's appeal against a suspended sentence of imprisonment. The proceedings naturally aroused great interest, and there were large crowds inside and outside the court building. But when Mr. Nkomo emerged at the closing of the hearing for the day there were at the most only two or three Southern Rhodesian policemen on duty outside the building, who were occupied in keeping the road sufficiently clear for the ordinary traffic to pass. I may add that Mr. Nkomo's appeal was successful.

I shall rely therefore with confidence on the Council to disregard this part of the Ghanaian argumentation as quite irrelevant to the purposes of our present discussion, and to reject the statement in the Ghanaian memorandum that investigation by the Security Council under Article 34 of the Charter is called for.

What remains of the Ghanaian Government's contention that Southern Rhodesia is a fit subject for consideration by this Council?

Ostensible Reasons

The Ghanaian Government's ostensible reasons are (a) "that not only has the British Government refused to abide by the decisions of the General Assembly in regard to Southern Rhodesia, but the explosive situation in that territory which the Special Committee has, in its resolution of June 20, 1963, characterized as constituting a threat to international peace and security has been aggravated, and this makes it necessary to evoke the authority of the Security Council"; and (b) "that the British Parliament has enacted the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Act which is about to come into force. This law will enable the British Government any time hereafter, without notice to the United Nations, to transfer to Southern Rhodesia almost every attribute of sovereignty and independence".

I have dealt with the arguments adduced in support of the first of these reasons. I have explained why my Government have not complied with certain resolutions of the General Assembly in regard to Southern Rhodesia which it considers to be *ultra vires*, and I remind the Council that it is not its function under the Charter to act as a sort of general enforcement agency of the General Assembly.

The Ghanaian memorandum quotes the Special Committee of 24 as characterizing the situation in Southern Rhodesia as of 24 as constituting a threat to international peace and security. The Special Committee did not call for Security Council action, but simply drew its attention to the matter. In addition, whatever the views of the Special Committee on international peace and security, it is the duty of the Security Council to make its own findings in this regard; and it is by no means bound to follow a sub-committee of the General Assembly.

The situation in Southern Rhodesia does not fall within

this Council's responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace, and, however the situation may be described, it has in no sense deteriorated over the past six months. The contrary obtains. Southern Rhodesia is enjoying progress and tranquillity.

The Ghanaian contention that it is necessary to invoke the authority of the Security Council is therefore wrong in fact and wrong in terms of the Charter.

The second reason adduced by the Ghanaian delegation relates solely to the proposed reversion of powers consequent on dissolution of the Federation. I have demonstrated that the realities of the situation demand that these powers, previously exercised by the Government of Southern Rhodesia, should on dissolution of the Federation revert to that Government; and that in practice the reversion of these powers makes little practical or material difference to the situation. Reversion provides no grounds for bringing this matter to the Security Council.

The first group of questions addressed to me yesterday by the distinguished representative of Ghana can be reduced to the simple question: Why should Southern Rhodesia have an air force?

This air force is already in existence, already *in situ*, and, as far as H.M. Government's ultimate responsibility is concerned, the arrangements for its control are not changed by dissolution of the Federation. This air force has been financed out of local revenues, and the assets of the Federation, of which this is one, are to be returned to the constituent territories which contributed the revenues.

For Defence — Like Ghana

Secondly, Southern Rhodesia presumably wants an air force for exactly the same reasons as many other countries, including Ghana — for reasons of defence.

I take this opportunity to correct the distinguished representative of Ghana on a point of fact. If pressed too far, I might enumerate the three countries in Africa which precede it on the list.

In any external rôle the availability for use of the Rhodesian Air Force is subject to the fullest consultation with my Government. I was asked whether I knew of an arrangement that any external Power should bear the whole or part of the cost of this air force. I know of no such arrangements.

A second question is how the U.K. Government proposes to control the availability for external use of the armed forces reverting to Southern Rhodesia. In precisely the same way as the Federal armed forces availability for external use has been controlled over the past 10 years.

The constitutional relationship between the U.K. and the Federal and Southern Rhodesian Governments is accepted by both sides, and this constitutional relationship contains provision for control by the U.K. Government over the availability of the Federal armed forces for external use.

I should like to correct three misrepresentations in the statement by the distinguished representative of Ghana.

He describes the Federal army as all white. The contrary is the case. It comprises a majority of Africans.

He alleged that Mr. Kaunda put forward his proposal that a U.K. Commissioner should take over the functions of the Federal Government in the context that the U.K. Commissioner would hold such powers until the Southern Rhodesian Government was re-constituted on a democratic basis. This is not the case. The Northern Rhodesian proposal was directed solely to eliminating the functions of the Federal Government as quickly as possible, leaving a Commissioner to manage interim arrangements for reversion. This proposal was made only in the context of arrangements for dissolution.

The distinguished representative of Ghana alleged that no single African was represented at the meeting outside the conference at which agreement was reached on the defence issue. This is also incorrect: African elected Ministers were present.

The Real Threat

Finally, I say — and we do claim to speak with real knowledge of the situation — that the action by those States which brought the matter to this Council threatens the orderly and peaceful solution of the problems of Central Africa.

My First Secretary of State, who is responsible for Central African Affairs, said in Parliament on this particular aspect: "Now we must look to the future, for the ending of Federation marks only the end of a chapter in Central Africa. The resources of Central Africa, both human and physical, are very great. We must now seek to create the conditions in which their potential can be fully and freely realized."

"Let us then look for peaceful progress in the territorial sphere. It will help to secure that if we now see to it that the dissolution of the Federation is carried through promptly, equitably and in an orderly manner, and that it is succeeded by as close an association as possible between the territories."

The Security Council can, even at this late hour, mitigate

the extent of the damage that may have been done to this objective.

The question of Southern Rhodesia should never have been brought to this Council, and nothing said here or put before us in the form of documentation by the representative of Ghana provides any basis for Security Council action under its responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. There is clearly no ground for action under Chapter VII of the Charter. No evidence has been produced that would justify consideration of the measures contemplated in Chapter VI of the Charter.

I must reject — and I am sure my colleagues on the Council will agree with me on this — the contention that the Security Council should in some way anticipate hypothetical troubles in an indefinite future, or that the existence of a system of Government that may be unwelcome to certain other States provides a proper basis for Security Council intervention.

My Government looks with confidence for an early recognition of these facts by members of this Council.

If, as we expect, and the Charter requires, the Council decides to take no further action on the item before us, this will not only be the proper course for the Council to follow, but the only course which will permit the progress which is being steadily achieved in Central Africa to continue without further interruption.

Veto Expresses Firm Opposition

MR. ADLAI STEVENSON, the American delegate, had said that his Government considered the Colony's internal situation to be unsatisfactory, but did not feel that U.N. action was required. "We continue to urge the U.K. to use its special influence towards the rapid broadening of the franchise and the rapid elimination of racial discrimination".

When the vote was taken the United States and France abstained; Ghana, Morocco, Russia, China (Formosa), Brazil, Venezuela, Norway and the Philippines voted in favour, giving the seven "ayes" necessary for adoption of a resolution; but Sir Patrick Dean cast Britain's veto.

He had given a warning that by passing the motion the Council would increase the damage already done by the debate and weaken its own authority. What had been said had been noted by the British and other Governments. It would be better left there. The situation in Southern Rhodesia was "tranquil, not explosive".

Sir Patrick explained afterwards that the U.K. had used the veto only in the "most compelling circumstances". The orderly dissolution of the Federation — a *sine qua non* for further progress in Central Africa — would have been irretrievably damaged by accepting the demands made by Ghana. Britain had used the veto as an honest expression of her opposition rather than simply abstaining, thereby allowing a resolution to be approved that she would not comply with.

The Russian delegate — his country has used the veto 101 times — denounced the U.K. stand for its "selfish colonial interests", adding that there was a "grisly prospect that in Southern Rhodesia we might see the flames of a new colonial war similar to those which erupted in Algeria and Indo-China and which are now raging in Angola and Portuguese Guinea. There may be a blood tragedy there".

In Salisbury, Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, said that he was "very glad" that the U.K. had discharged its responsibilities to Southern Rhodesia and Central Africa generally by employing the veto. Mr. Winston Field, the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, said that he was "very glad the British Government stuck to her guns".

Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Leader of the Opposition, commented: "As the matter concerned no one outside the Commonwealth, I am very pleased the veto has been used and to see that Britain has taken a firm line".

The Rev. N. Sithole, interim president of Z.A.N.U., thought that the possibility of a peaceful solution had become very remote. "Britain has created a climax and encouraged white settlers here to create another South Africa".

Kenya's One Farming Union

WORKERS in agriculture in Kenya have been brought into one union by amalgamation of the Sisal and Coffee Plantation Workers' Union, the Tea Plantation Workers' Union, and the General Agricultural Workers' Union, with Mr. H. Oduor as general secretary. Mr. O. Jowi, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour and Social Services, has said that the Government welcomes this "revolutionary innovation". The president of the Kenya National Farmers' Union, Lord Delamere, commented that the merger would not be harmful, but that it would necessitate a strong organization of employers.

In A Hurry for Independence

Z.A.N.U. Threatens Violence in S. Rhodesia

SOUTHERN RHODESIA has a "deceptive" appearance of peace and calm but is heading for a "bitter crisis", Mr. Robert Mugabe, a former lieutenant of Mr. Joshua Nkomo and now secretary-general of the breakaway Zimbabwe African National Union, alleged in London last week on his arrival to seek an interview with the Minister for Central African Affairs, Mr. R. A. Butler.

He said that the dissolution of the Federation posed two questions for the British Government—whether to allow Southern Rhodesia, despite its "neo-fascist rule", to advance constitutionally alongside Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to independence on the basis of "settler domination", or whether to "take a bold stand and institute the necessary democratic reforms which will promote a true spirit of self-realization among the majority of the country's inhabitants".

He handed to reporters a statement saying:—

"We are left bewildered when we discover that instead of withholding these vital powers, which the reactionary and intransigent settlers are likely to abuse in their bid to entrench themselves, Britain is prepared to hand over the Army and Air Force to the settler Government.

Withhold Economic Aid

"Britain realizes the evil use to which these devastating weapons are likely to be put. If Britain's intentions are to assist the settlers in forestalling the legitimate aspirations of our people, let Mr. Butler tell us. Armed with these instruments of war, who can deny that the settlers will, like the Afrikaners of South Africa, wage a ruthless campaign to crush the nationalist movements and entrench themselves?"

"If Britain still has any moral obligation, and if Britain is genuinely seeking a satisfactory solution to our critical constitutional problem, let her refuse to hand over the Army and Air Force until the Government of Southern Rhodesia is democratized and reflects the will of the majority of our people.

"We appeal to the British Government to refuse to give economic assistance to the settler Government of Southern Rhodesia until a satisfactory constitutional settlement of the present political stalemate has been reached. Any economic aid, direct or indirect, helps the settler régime in seeking solutions designed to perpetuate white rule. The present Government is already, in the process of implementing its racialist ideas in the form of the iniquitous so-called community development plan, which, in all but name, is the same as apartheid.

"The people who have enacted such legislation as the 'hanging Bill' and who are apt to show great ruthlessness are surely not the people to entrust with greater responsibilities. The trend towards totalitarianism must be halted now, and the conditions for democracy created.

"The African people of Southern Rhodesia are not prepared to sit by and see the dangerous process of the people being robbed of their rights and eventually made slaves in the country of their birth. It is with the avowed intention of re-organizing ourselves and confronting the settlers and the British Government with the will of our people that we have made a revolutionary change in leadership.

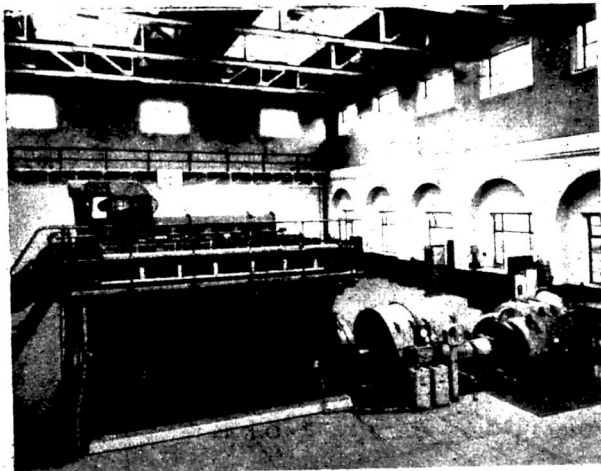
"New Dynamism"

"Where before we had cowardice, inaction, lack of purpose and dedication, we now have courage, direction and sacrifice. A new dynamism is currently being injected into the people, and there is a new feeling that freedom and independence can only come as a result of our own actions, and our preparedness to suffer. Where Mr. Nkomo preached that our saviour would come from abroad, we preach that the people are their own saviours."

Z.A.N.U. believed in "positive action by the masses to produce African rule". Passive resistance would form a large part of a campaign against the present Government, "but if the settlers are violent, then we will react violently".

The party could not accept "such a hopeless solution" as a "blocking third" of African votes in Parliament. "Our function, indeed our right, is to rule, and not to block. To talk in these terms is to avoid the issue in as much as it encourages racial representation, which is directly opposed to the party's policy.

"The time for half-measures has long passed. The political tempo of all Africa is our tempo. We are in a hurry to be independent. Deliberate hesitancy and delay by Mr. Butler will breed dangers for which Britain alone will be responsible. We cannot continue as semi-slaves in our God-given motherland."



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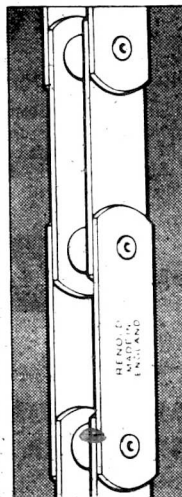
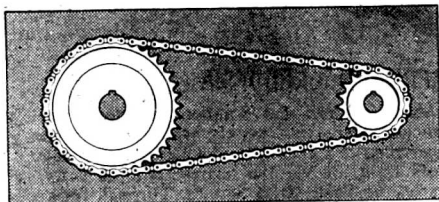
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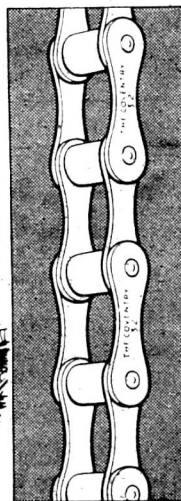
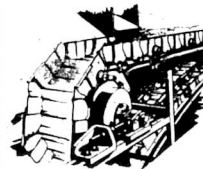
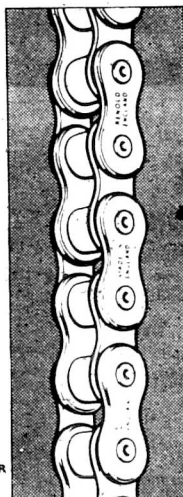
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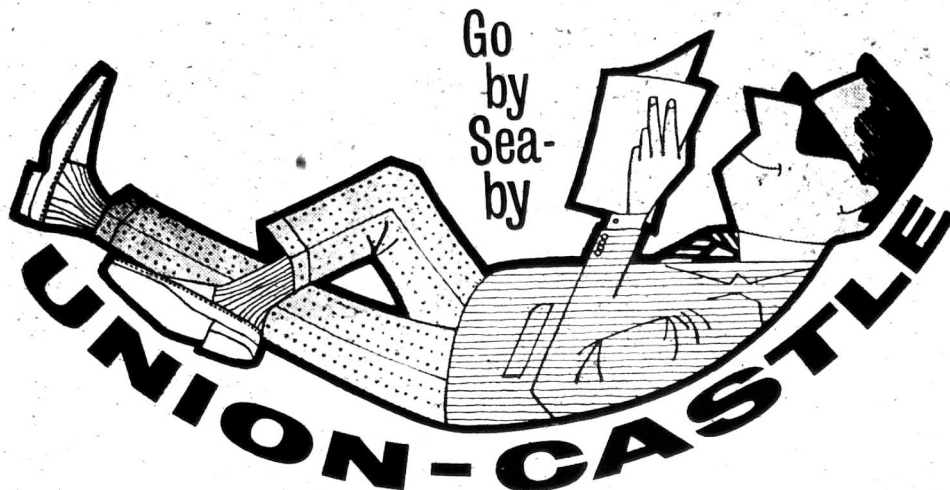


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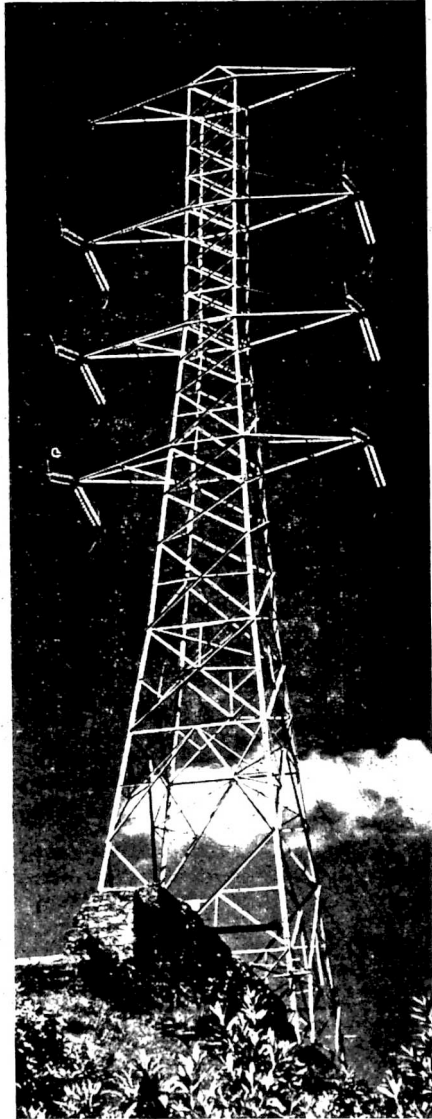
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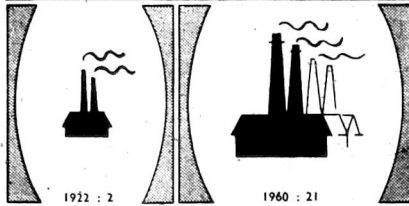


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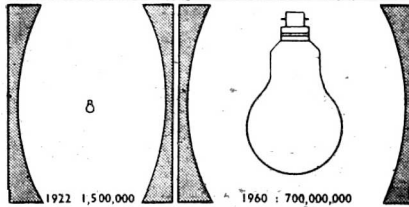
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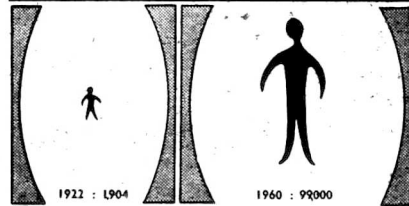
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1963

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

OUR RECENT EXPOSURES of the lawlessness which is causing so much concern to Europeans in Nyasaland have brought us information about other cases of terrorism committed in that territory,

Lawlessness In Nyasaland.

technically still a British "Protectorate", by Africans who are known to be members of Dr. Banda's Malawi Congress Party. As everybody knows, acts of intimidation and physical violence have often been perpetrated by members of the Malawi Youth League, who are satisfied, obviously with good reason, that they run no real risk of being prosecuted for their offences. In practice they appear to be immune from retribution, partly because the police tolerate from M.C.P. members and the party's youth wing conduct which would be promptly checked in others, and partly because Africans who have been intimidated or assaulted by agents of the party recognize the hazards and the futility of complaining to the authorities. Even those who might otherwise be courageous enough to take that course know that false evidence would be sworn and so ensure acquittal of the accused, whatever the crime, and that the complainant would thereafter be a marked man. Facts now in our possession enable us to pose some specific questions to the Nyasaland authorities. If they are not adequately answered readers will draw their own conclusions.

* * *

Is it true that Village Headman Nandumbo of the Kasupe area died some time ago after having been assaulted by members of the Malawi Youth League; that a number of people were frightened into burying him secretly and concealing

Mob Law Already. the murder; that the police received information a couple of months later which caused them to exhume

the body; and that a post mortem examination showed that the skull had been fractured, that two ribs had been broken, and that one had pierced the man's heart and killed him? Was not a man of Zimbota village who had dared to criticize Malawi Congress Party policy beaten and arrested by youth leaguers and sentenced to six months' imprisonment or a fine of £50 by the local court at Chimwaliro? Have not Headmen Mbelua and Nansonja in that area recently suffered similar treatment for not possessing party cards? Did not a Youth League gang recently interrupt a service in the Roman Catholic church in Kalembuka, single out from a congregation of about three hundred an African foreman on a white man's estate, demand to see his party card, and, because he would not be browbeaten, tell him that he would be killed later? Why was no action taken against youth leaguers who in June arrested and beat two Africans from the villages of Saliwa and Mbiza because they had no party cards and later set fire to their hair? Did not the local chairman of the party order them next day to pay five years' subscriptions to the M.C.P.? In connexion with at least some of these incidents there must be police records which would substantiate the data sent to us—not anonymously, but from correspondents whose responsibility we have never had cause to question. If mob law prevails while a British Governor still sits in Zomba, what is likely to be Nyasaland's condition when independence has been granted? Mr. Butler, Minister for Central African Affairs, when told of such incidents, merely repeats that he understands public anxiety, that there are encouraging aspects to the picture, that forbearance is necessary, and that he aims to encourage mutual confidence. Fair words and complete inaction are no adequate reply to illegal detention, torture, unjust imprisonment, and murder. He might recall Burke's dictum that "there is a limit at which forbearance ceases to be a virtue".

Notes By The Way

Courteous Precedent

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and Secretary of State for the Colonies, who had arrived back in England from Malaysia only three hours previously, presided last Friday morning at the opening session of the Zanzibar Independence Conference in London. Before making his speech of welcome to the delegates he walked round the table and shook hands with each of them—a gesture of courtesy and friendliness for which there had been no precedent in my now considerable experience of such constitutional gatherings in Lancaster House and Marlborough House. It was certainly appreciated. Like Mr. Maudling while he was Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Sandys smiles readily and frequently both on formal occasions and when he is performing ceremonial duties which must often be boring. Mr. Butler's demeanour is much graver, his smile is generally rather wintry, and he has an air of natural aloofness which causes many people to misjudge him. Mr. Macleod's behaviour when discussing Africa's problems was unpredictable; he could be genial or graceless, accommodating or abrupt, reasonable or rough. A number of leading politicians in both the Rhodesias declare him to be the rudest Minister with whom they have ever had to deal. It is not surprising that they were pleased when Central African affairs passed from him to Mr. Butler.

On Guard

MR. WINSTON FIELD'S address to the first congress of the Rhodesian Front Party since it won the election and provided Southern Rhodesia with its Government could scarcely have been more forthright. He criticized the United Kingdom for being "singularly unco-operative" over the Colony's demand for independence and the Afro-Asian bloc for its determination to try to destroy Southern Rhodesia's standards, heedless of the fact that in the "appalling slump" which would result there would be vast unemployment and deep distress among Africans. "Any sign of weakness on our part will end in our destruction", said the Prime Minister, who expressed confidence that the country would show the world the rightness of its policy.

Rhodesia's Reply to Threats

THE SPEECH represented Mr. Field's comment by implication on the reckless attack on his country made at the Security Council of the United Nations by the representatives of Ghana and Russia. Their gross travesties are about to be repeated *ad nauseam* in the General Assembly, which the newly independent African States, cordially supported by Asian and Communist countries, now treat as a platform for attacks upon "colonialism" and "neo-colonialism". Many of the speeches on this topic would have been better suited to street-corner rabble-rousing than to a body which is supposed to deal seriously with major problems of the world. That Mr. Field should have said emphatically that Southern Rhodesia will not weaken in the face of threats is all to the good. Only a few days earlier Sir Roy Welensky had declared that Rhodesians would if necessary take to arms in defence of their rights, beliefs, and achievements.

The Halpern Case

THE DEBATE occurred when the expulsion of a well-known freelance journalist was a topic of the day. Mr. Halpern has often criticized the Federal and Southern

Rhodesian Governments in the leftist papers which employed him, and the general public and local journalist organizations assumed that the decision to declare him a prohibited immigrant had been taken on account of his journalism, especially as he had denied any political activities except those involved in his writing. Mr. Greenfield, the Minister of Home Affairs, informed the Foreign Correspondents' Association a few days ago, however, that the notice of expulsion was "in no way connected with Mr. Halpern's activities as a journalist". Few Governments explain the reasons for expelling anybody, but it is unfortunate that the Press protests were made without at least inquiring whether the official action was or was not caused by non-journalistic acts. That elementary precaution having been neglected by the newspaper men who might have been expected to take it as a matter of routine, it would surely have been wise for official quarters to volunteer the prompt information that it was not for any journalistic offence that Mr. Halpern was to be sent out of the country.

Freedom of the Press

THE PRIME MINISTER'S intervention with the emphatic statement that the Southern Rhodesian Government "is committed to the freedom of the Press" did not prevent the congress from passing by an overwhelming majority a resolution which deplored the "inaccuracies, misstatements and misrepresentations of news by Press and radio" and called for the creation of a Press Council and the licensing of newspapers and all journalists. The strong feelings of the delegates were perhaps due less to annoyance with what has been published locally than with a number of contorted reports which have been telegraphed in the past couple of years to news agencies and newspapers elsewhere in Africa and in Europe and America by some journalists living and working in Rhodesia. There has, of course, also been much unfair reporting by roving correspondents who have flitted into the country and out again in a few days.

Licensing of Journalists

THE ILL-EFFECTS of occasional exaggerations, however fantastic, by sensation-seeking transients are, however, nothing like as bad as those of regular cables which are persistently angled and so twist the news. Only in the last few years has this disservice been done to Central Africa by a small minority of reporters. During the previous thirty years or so, when Kenya was frequently the victim of unfortunate news cables from Nairobi, the dispatches from Salisbury and Bulawayo (there were then scarcely any from Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland) were almost always factual and fair. The right kind of Press Council might be advantageous to Rhodesia. It is certainly preferable to any form of official censorship. Whether the licensing of journalists would achieve what the proposers expect is much more doubtful. Licensing does not necessarily prompt responsibility.

Another Kenyatta Precedent

MZEE KENYATTA, Prime Minister of Kenya, and leader of the Kenya African National Union (which until quite recently was still known as the Mau Mau Party), must be the first Chief Minister of a Commonwealth Government to refuse to remain in a London hotel at which accommodation had been reserved for him by H.M. Government. He had been notified of

the arrangements and approved them, and since he knows London well it is highly probable that he is acquainted with the hotel in question, one quite close to the Houses of Parliament. Moreover, Mr. Mboya and other Kenya Ministers and officials had stayed there quite recently, and could have answered any questions about it. For reasons best known to himself, however, the Prime Minister decided immediately he reached the hotel on Saturday that he and his 11-member delegation would not occupy the accommodation provided for them, but would move *en masse* to a hotel at Marble Arch. That move was made without the courtesy of informing the Colonial Office.

Preference Not Indicated

THE EXPLANATION given to the Press two days later was that the Kikuyu leader can see Hyde Park from the hotel in which he is now quartered, and that he, a countryman, likes the outlook on grass and trees. Why, in that case, was his preference not indicated weeks ago, so that it might be met? That would have been the simple and natural course to take if proximity to a particular open space was so important. From the other hotel, incidentally, the stroll to St. James's Park takes only a very few minutes; and it is certainly more countryfied than the one at Marble Arch. Not surprisingly, three London newspapers gave prominence on their front page on Monday to news which one of them headed "Kenyatta Walks Out for a Room with a View".

Inauspicious Start

THIS INAUSPICIOUS start to a visit fraught with difficulties for Kenya, and quite possibly with danger, was unfortunate. If Mzee Kenyatta and his lieutenants

are determined not to implement the regional system of government to which they agreed at last year's constitutional conference, Mr. Ngala and the other delegates of the Kenya African Democratic Union are equally resolved to hold H.M. Government, a co-signatory of the agreement, to the principle of regionalism because it is the only protection for the smaller tribes against Kikuyu dictatorship. It took two months of wrangling in London in 1962 to obtain agreement, and Mr. Maudling, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, who handled the conference admirably, said explicitly that the regional system was an indispensable safeguard for Kenya. Though the two parties are at loggerheads on this vital issue, the Colony has been promised independence on December 12. The wiser course would obviously have been to refuse to fix a date until the Kenyatta Government had proved its readiness to implement the Constitution. K.A.N.U. collected some two-thirds of the votes, mainly because it had large funds (much from behind the Iron Curtain) with which to provide men, organization, vehicles and other requirements; but if it should decide to ride roughshod over the supporters of the Opposition, there could be bloodshed in Kenya on a Congo scale. I am sure that Mr. Sandys will not agree to treat Kenya's Constitution just as a scrap of paper—precisely because he recognizes this real risk.

Neat Reminder

WHEN ENGLAND was engaged in the Wars of the Roses there were independent rulers in Zanzibar, Sheikh Mohamed Shante Hamadi, Prime Minister of Zanzibar, said at the opening last Friday of the conference called to arrange the terms for that Protectorate to become a sovereign independent State early in December.

December 10 Independence Date for Zanzibar

Non-Racial State, Says Prime Minister, In the Commonwealth and E.A. Federation

THE ZANZIBAR INDEPENDENCE CONFERENCE opened in London at Lancaster House last Friday under the chairmanship of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Duncan Sandys.

The official delegates from Zanzibar were Sir George Mooring, the British Resident; Mr. J. S. Rumbold, Attorney-General; Mr. A. H. Hawker, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Finance; and Mr. G. J. W. Pedraza, secretary to the delegation.

The Coalition Government's representatives were Sheikh Mohamed Shante Hamadi, Prime Minister (Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party); Sheikh Ali Muhsin el Barwani, Minister for Home and Legal Affairs (Zanzibar National Party); Sheikh Juma Aley, Minister of Finance (Z.N.P.); Sheikh Ahmed Abdul Rahman Edarus Baalawy, Minister of Health (Z.N.P.); Sheikh Maulidi Mshangama Haji, Minister of Education (Z.N.P.); Sheikh Salim Kombo Saleh, Minister of Works, Communications and Land (Z.P.P.P.); and Sheikh Abadhar Juma Khatib, Minister of Agriculture (Z.P.P.P.).

The Opposition Afro-Shirazi Party sent Sheikh Abeid Amani Karume, Sheikh Othman Shariff Musa, Sheikh Hasnuu Makame Mwita, Sheikh Aboud Jumbe Mwinyi, and Sheikh Abdulla Kassim Hanga.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS recalled in his opening address that during his visit to Zanzibar in February he had said that Britain had no wish to maintain for one day longer than was necessary her responsibilities in Zanzibar—"not one day longer than was absolutely necessary to complete our task and to transfer those responsibilities to the Government and people of Zanzibar, honourably and peacefully.

"I promised that there would be self-government at a very early date, followed after a brief interval by complete sovereign independence. The establishment of full internal self-government has already taken place, and we are now met to decide on the final steps which will lead Zanzibar to independence.

"So far as the British Government is concerned we shall be very happy to see that independence achieved before the end of this year, and as near as possible to the date when Kenya achieves her independence.

"In recent weeks the members of the Zanzibar Legislature have had a number of most valuable meetings under the chairmanship of the British Resident to prepare the ground as far as possible for this conference. A very considerable measure of agreement has been reached as regards the changes necessary to adapt your Constitution for the requirements of independence and sovereignty. I congratulate all who took part in those meetings on the progress achieved, although there are, I know, a number of quite important points still outstanding. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the work already done will greatly ease our task at this conference."

Independence Restored

THE PRIME MINISTER, Sheikh Mohamed Shante Hamadi, said:—

"As a result of this conference we in Zanzibar look forward not to the achievement but to the restoration of national independence. During the past 15 years Britain has conceded sovereignty to many formerly dependent territories. We in Zanzibar have welcomed this development. We have been glad to see Tanganyika and Uganda taking their rightful place among the nations of the world. We look forward to the independence of Kenya in the very near future.

"But in our case we shall be resuming the status which we formerly enjoyed. The recorded history of

Zanzibar goes back many centuries. When England was engaged in the Wars of the Roses there were independent rulers in Zanzibar. The British Protectorate, which has lasted since 1890, has been an interlude in our history. When the envoy of Zanzibar takes his place at the United Nations next year he will be representing not some modern national creation but one of the oldest States in the world.

"One of the problems of our time is how different races can live together. In Zanzibar we have a non-racial State, a fact which is not always understood elsewhere. We do not judge any man by the colour of his skin, the shape of his skull, or the names of his ancestors.

"In our present Government there are 10 Ministers. Three are partially of Arab descent; one is of Asian origin; the remaining six, including myself, are of African stock. Yet we all regard ourselves first and last as citizens of Zanzibar.

Without Rancour

"We are nationalists. Like all the other peoples of the earth, the people of Zanzibar desire to manage their own affairs and put an end to foreign tutelage in any form. Of course, we have had our grievances in the past against British rule. But this is not the time to dwell on them. After 75 years we are about to regain our independence without any rancour in our hearts and with the utmost good will towards the British Crown and people.

"It is our intention that Zanzibar shall remain a member of the Commonwealth. This will in no way circumscribe our complete freedom of action in domestic or foreign affairs. We do not regard the Commonwealth as being the British Empire in a new guise. It is a world-wide association of free peoples of which Zanzibar will be an equal member.

"We look forward to Zanzibar playing her full part in East Africa. As we made clear last June, we fully accept the principle of federation. This does not mean that a complete federal Constitution can be drawn up overnight. To hammer out constitutional arrangements acceptable to all the people of East Africa is not an easy task. Nevertheless we feel confident that it can and will be accomplished.

"Our immediate concern, however, is to agree on a final Constitution for an independent Zanzibar and a date for independence this year. Considerable progress has already been made, but some outstanding points undoubtedly need consideration. I feel confident that, with good will on all sides, we can accomplish what we have come here to do."

Honourably Or in Haste?

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION, Sheikh Abeid Amani Karume, said: —

"On behalf of the United Front of Opposition parties, I wish to record the gratification which we feel at the helpful arrangements made here and in Zanzibar by H.M. Government to bring to a happy and successful conclusion the peaceful evolution of Zanzibar towards independence.

"This conference is the critical point in that evolution. What we do here will determine whether the masses of the Zanzibar nation move forward into the future with confidence or in fear. It will determine whether history judges the British nation to have discharged itself of its rôle in Zanzibar with honour or merely with haste.

"No one in Zanzibar can take precedence over the members of my delegation in having fought for the right to take our place as equals in the Commonwealth of Nations. Such membership has always meant at least this: independence under a system of government based upon the will and continuing consent of the governed.

"We expect and confidently believe that out of this conference must emerge a formula for Zanzibar's independence which meets the test. We believe that neither the British Government, mindful of its sacred trust now ending, nor the Government and people of Zanzibar would settle for anything less."

Biographical Notes on Delegates

SHEIKH MOHAMED SHAMTE HAMADI, M.B.E.: Born in 1907. Sheikh Mohamed Hamadi is a retired Government school teacher, and has been active in politics since 1957. He is Prime Minister in the present Government and leader of the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (Z.P.P.P.), which has held the balance of power in Zanzibar politics since the 1961 elections, which resulted in the Zanzibar Nationalist Party (Z.N.P.) and the Afro-Shirazi Party winning 10 seats each and the Z.P.P.P. three.

SHEIKH ALI MUHSIN EL BARWANI: Born in 1919, he was educated at Zanzibar Government schools and Makerere College, Uganda. He was in the Department of Education and Agriculture from 1942 to 1947. He then resigned from Government service and became one of the editors of the newspaper *Mwongozi*. He was appointed a member of the Legislative Council in 1951 but resigned in 1954. A founder-member of the Z.N.P., he became its leader in 1956. Having been heavily defeated in the 1957 elections, he re-entered the Legislative Council as a nominated member. He was a successful Z.N.P. candidate in the 1961 and 1963 elections. He is Minister for Home and Legal Affairs in the present Government.

SHEIKH JUMA ALEY: Born in 1914. For over 20 years a Government school teacher. Successfully contested the 1961 and 1963 elections as a Z.N.P. candidate. Now Minister of Finance.

SHEIKH AHMED ABDUL RAHMAN EDARUS BAALAWY: Born in 1925. Educated at Government schools in Zanzibar and at Makerere College. Studied chemistry at Birmingham University and returned to Zanzibar in 1954 as a qualified dentist and became Government dental surgeon. Stood in the January 1961 elections as a Z.N.P. candidate but was defeated. Elected in June 1961 and again in the 1963 elections. Now Minister of Health.

SHEIKH MAULIDI MSHANGAMA HAJI: Born 1933. Educated in Zanzibar and Makerere College. After a short spell in Government administration entered politics in 1960 and was a successful Z.N.P. candidate at the 1961 and 1963 elections. Minister of Education.

SHEIKH SALIM KOMBO SALEH: An ex-primary school teacher. Has interested himself in politics since 1961. Now Minister of Works, Communications and Lands.

SHEIKH ABADHAR JUMA KHATIB: A former employee of the Clove Growers' Association, he has interested himself in politics since 1961. Present Minister of Agriculture.

Former Boatman

SHEIKH ABEID AMANI KARUME: Born in 1905, Sheikh Abeid was educated to Standard IV and left Zanzibar at the age of 14 to earn his living as a seaman. Gave up seafaring in 1936, returned to Zanzibar, and was for many years employed by the shore launch service. His interest in politics dates back to 1954 when he was appointed as town councillor. Early in 1957 he became the first president of the newly-founded Afro-Shirazi Party. In the July 1957 elections beat his opponent, Sheikh Ali Muhsin Barwani of the Z.N.P. by an overwhelming majority. Has retained his seat to date.

SHEIKH OTHMAN SHARIF MUSA: Born 1914. Joined Government service as an assistant veterinary officer in 1943 after gaining a certificate at Makerere College. Studied in the U.K. from 1948 to 1952, returning to Zanzibar with a Scottish diploma in agriculture and dairy husbandry, to take up the post of assistant agricultural officer. Became a nominated member of the Legislature in 1956. Since he resigned from the public service in 1961 he has devoted his whole time to politics. Successfully contested the June 1961 and July 1963 elections as an A.S.P. candidate.

SHEIKH HASNUU MAKAME MWIFA: Born in 1920, Sheikh Hasnuu saw Government service as a school teacher (1948-51), administrative officer (1951-54), and labour officer (1951-60). Studied in the U.K. 1954-56. Resigned from Government service in 1960 and successfully contested the January and June 1961 and July 1963 elections as an A.S.P. candidate.

SHEIKH ABOUD JUMBE MWINYI: Born 1920. An ex-Government school teacher who resigned from Government service in 1960 to devote his whole time to politics. Successfully contested the 1961 and 1963 elections as an A.S.P. candidate.

SHEIKH ABDULLA KASSIM HANGA: Born in 1932. Educated in Zanzibar. On leaving school he first earned his living as a seaman and later as a Government primary school teacher. In 1957 he resigned from Government service and successfully contested the 1963 elections for the A.S.P.

"Repression" Alleged

At a Press conference on the previous day Sheikh Karume stated that the Zanzibar Government had refused a passport to a member of the Opposition delegation, Sheikh Hanga, deputy secretary-general of the A.S.P., who said that the British Resident had granted him a travel document usable only for attendance at the conference after his party had threatened to boycott it unless he could proceed to London. One condition was that he should not speak to the Press.

Sheikh Abdul Rahman "Babu", leader of the Umma Party, which he formed when he broke away from the Z.N.P. just before the last elections, and one of his colleagues said that they too had been refused passports. They had had to "escape" to the Tanganyika mainland by canoe, disguised as fishermen. In Dar es Salaam the Tanganyika Government issued them with "Commonwealth passports".

Mr. Karume instanced such difficulties as proof that the present Zanzibar Government was illiberal and unfit to wield full power. He wanted Britain to see that that Government rescinded such "repressive" legislation as the Registration of Newspapers Bill and the Control of Societies Act—"measures to ban all societies and militant organizations opposing the reactionary and bogus Government". He accused the Coalition of depriving the people of their rights, of intimidation, and of "ruling by force, not by democracy".

To safeguard basic rights, therefore, his party wanted constitutional changes which would provide a Senate in addition to the 31-member National Assembly. Independence should be granted on October 1 this year.

The Government was also unrepresentative of the people, Mr. Karume continued, for his party had polled 54% of the votes cast in July, and had since increased its popular support by forming the United Front of Opposition by collaborating with the Umma Party (also called the Zanzibar Peoples' Party), which in its turn had a large following among members of the Federation of Progressive Trade Unions. The Opposition wanted constituency boundaries to be redrawn.

Mr. Rahman suggested that a major difference between the Coalition Government and the U.F.O. was the latter grouping's enthusiasm for Zanzibar's entry into an East African Federation; though the Government officially favoured such a union, it was not really anxious to take practical steps "because the

Ministers want to retain their individuality as Ministers".

On Tuesday, December 10 was announced as the date of independence and the conference ended in agreement on revising the Constitution. There will be no Senate and no fresh elections.

Sultan of Zanzibar's Visit

THE SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR was due in London yesterday for a week's stay as the guest of H.M. Government. His Highness is accompanied by his private secretary, Seyyid Jamshid bin Abdulla, eldest son of the late Sultan, was born in Zanzibar in 1929, educated privately, and at the Government Secondary School, and then went to Victoria College, Alexandria, and the American University in Beirut. Later he served for a period in the Royal Navy. He came to Britain eight years ago to study public administration, and on his return to Zanzibar worked in various departments of the Government to gain administrative experience. He is married to Seyyida Anisa bint Said Kindeh, who accompanied him to this country in 1955. They have four children.

Fears That U.K. Government may Disregard Its Pledges to Kenya

Independence Conference Opens in Acute Disagreement Between Kenya Parties

KENYA'S INDEPENDENCE CONFERENCE opened yesterday in London at Lancaster House under the chairmanship of Mr. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Lord Lansdowne, Minister of State for the Colonies, Mr. Nigel Fisher, Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the C.O., and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Governor of Kenya, are attending.

The British Government's official participants include Sir Hilton Poynton, Sir John Martin, and Messrs. J. C. McPetrie, W. B. L. Monson, W. A. C. Mathieson, F. D. Webber, P. J. Kitcatt, A. R. Rushford, H. Steel, P. R. Noakes and G. W. St. G. Chadwick.

The Kenya Government delegation consists of Messrs. J. Kenyatta, Prime Minister; T. J. Mboya, Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs; B. R. McKenzie, Minister for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry; S. O. Ayodo, Minister for Local Government; N. Mwendwa, Minister for Labour and Social Services; J. G. Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry; D. Mwanyumba, Minister for Works, Communications and Power; J. S. Gichuru, Minister for Finance and Economic Planning; A. Oginga Odinga, Minister for Home Affairs; L. C. Sagini, Minister for Natural Resources; Chanan Singh, Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister; and P. Ngei, lately leader of the now disbanded A.P.P.

"Confidence Restored"

Mr. R. G. Ngala, Leader of the Opposition, is accompanied by Messrs. J. Ole Tipis, M. Muliro, R. S. Matano, J. Seroney, and M. Shikuku.

The European delegation comprises the Earl of Enniskillen, Mr. Clive Salter, Q.C., and Mr. L. R. H. Welwood.

Advisers to the Government delegation are Mr. C. Njonjo, the Attorney General; Mr. G. J. Ellerton, the Permanent Secretary to the Prime Minister's Office; Mr. M. K. Mwendwa, the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs; and Mr. M. L. Dunlap, the Legal Draftsman.

The secretary-general of the conference is Mr. J. T. A. Howard-Drake.

The Prime Minister of Kenya said on his arrival in London at the week-end that "confidence has been restored and there is a new spirit of working together and greater harmony between the races and tribes. Many of the Europeans and Asians have thrown in their lot

completely with the Government. It is our intention now to consolidate these gains and move further in revitalizing the spirit of the people and in inducing increased investment in the country.

"We are committed to East African Federation, and look forward to fuller discussions with our neighbours immediately on our return to Kenya. We are hopeful that federation will come without undue delay.

Hostility and Suspicion

"We are determined that Kenya shall have a workable Constitution, not merely a theoretical one. Such a Constitution must be based on confidence and faith rather than on hostility and suspicion. It must be one which will enjoy the popular support of the people of Kenya. The present Constitution, as it stands, is neither practical nor based on faith and confidence. Therefore the Government will seek certain specific amendments to it.

"During our period of internal self-government we have seen very clearly the weaknesses of the Constitution, and we expect great difficulties unless certain changes are made. The Constitution was conceived in an atmosphere of contention and fear. Such an atmosphere no longer exists in Kenya. We now have a stable and confident Government enjoying the popular support of more than 75% of the members of Parliament. This must be taken into account by the British Government during our discussions in London."

Before leaving Nairobi he had recalled that since the elections and the formation of an African Government "I and my Ministers have spared no effort to create unity and understanding. The Government appreciates the response of the people, and we have been very impressed with the way the ordinary man in Kenya is keen to serve his country and is not committed to tribalism or secession.

Unity, Not Disintegration

"The Government understands the fears and anxieties of some communities, and hopes that by its example during its few months in office these fears will be seen to be unfounded. The K.A.N.U. Government is concerned for the welfare of all the peoples, regardless of their race or tribe. This will be the policy of the Government.

"In presenting its case in London the Government will be guided by the wishes of the people, which have been so clearly demonstrated in the general elections and the county council and municipal elections. Our purpose is to establish a strong and effective Government and to promote unity rather than encourage disintegration. The assumption of faith and good intentions on the part of all groups and communities within Kenya, rather than of hostility and conflict of interests, must be the starting point for a peaceful and united Kenya.

"The Rome talks have placed the issue of the North-Eastern Region rightly where it belongs. It is not a subject for discussion at the London talks, but a matter for the Kenya Government. Settlement of this issue will be possible only in an African context.

"The Government does not any longer regard the Coastal

Strip as a problem. Its future as part of Kenya presents no further obstacles.

"I appeal to all the people of Kenya, who I believe have confidence in our Government, to keep calm and maintain the peace. The new era that Kenya will enter as an independent nation in the spirit of *harambee* in December will call for dedication, hard work, and unity. That is the challenge for the future."

"Not an Inch" Message to Somalis

Speaking to journalists in London on Monday, the Prime Minister emphasized once more that "not an inch of Kenya's soil" would be "given away" to satisfy Somali secessionist claims. "The N.F.D. belongs to Kenya, and the Somalis must adapt themselves to this".

Security had improved greatly in the area since talks with local chiefs. There were no extra troops posted in the region. African district commissioners would eventually replace British officers, as in the other regions.

To a suggestion that his Government might evolve a compromise whereby the disputed land might remain within Kenya under Somali Republic administration, he expostulated: "The Somali Republic has no rights there and cannot have any say in running its affairs". Nonetheless, periodic talks would be held.

Progress towards an East African Federation would be hastened immediately after the Colony's independence. There was no question of a two-member alignment as a start. The Federation would be founded by Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and probably Zanzibar.

Questioned about the recent burning in public in Mombasa of two Kenya newspapers in the presence of Mr. Mboya, the Prime Minister declared that the Press was free to write what it wanted, and that the incident had had no connexion with any criticisms which the papers might have made about the Government.

Will H.M. Government Betray Smaller Tribes ?

Since arriving in London Mr. Ngala has reiterated his party's belief that the present Constitution should carry the Colony to independence except for automatic changes occasioned by the final transition from self-government.

"Any amendments regarding the workability of the Constitution at this stage are unrealistic and speculative because we have not yet given it a trial. We are suffering in the present situation because Mr. Kenyatta has not changed from the mentality of a unitary State to a decentralized one, which necessitates a respect for the regions with their exclusive powers of legislation and execution, as laid down in the Constitution agreed in the Coalition K.A.N.U.-K.A.D.U. Government and in the Sandys talks", he told *The Times*.

"The N.F.D. problem can be solved if we genuinely honour the regional pact, which would give them control of local affairs."

"The K.A.N.U. Government has no mandate to change the Constitution because it has not the requisite majority in the Legislature. The Constitution was devised to safeguard the minorities, of whatever tribe, race or party, and a majority Government has no right to ignore those safeguards."

Federation A Flop

To the Commonwealth correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* K.A.D.U.'s president voiced his fear that H.M. Government would betray the smaller tribes just to avoid trouble with K.A.N.U., despite pledges made by all three to implement the Constitution in the final form which contained regional safeguards.

"For the British Government to go back on this would be an open and shocking breach of faith. Mr. Kenyatta's party has made no attempt to implement the regional aspects of the Constitution. The Governor is, of course, fully aware of this, but he finds it expedient to do nothing."

"The regional governments, which were safeguards for the small tribes, have never been allowed to operate. The Central Government has strangled them by illegally withholding funds and appointing its own staff to carry out regional government functions."

"Mr. Kenyatta now says that regionalism does not work and that the Constitution must be amended. How can he say the Constitution does not work when he has not tried it ?"

"Mr. Sandys was hustled into fixing December 12 as the independence date, without consulting us, by promises that the East African Federation would come about immediately. Since then it has become obvious that federation is a flop for the time being."

That Kenyatta Speech in Nakuru

Confidence Not Restored Among Europeans

WING COMMANDER G. A. W. SAUNDERS, chairman of the Association of European Agricultural Settlement Board Farmers in Kenya, has written from Njoro to the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"As Mr. Kenyatta's speech to European farmers in Nakuru—in which he said 'we want you to stay and co-operate with us'—has received so much publicity, the following facts should be made clear.

"The meeting was by invitation only; about 330 people were present, approximately 100 being wives of the farmers, so that fewer than 7% of the European farmers were present. Most farmers present were old men, who find the thought of leaving Kenya and all they have built up too dreadful.

"The speech has not restored confidence in the large majority of European farmers, although Kenya politicians and the Press locally and overseas say that it has.

"A fair summing up by the farmers is: we are wanted for the moment for the sake of the economy and to try to convince the British Government that all will be well, but no doubt when it suits the Kenya Government we shall hear that we are no longer needed, perhaps in one or two years. Hitler wrote 'Mein Kampf', which was ignored; Mr. Kenyatta wrote 'Facing Mount Kenya'!

Civil War

"Mr. Kenyatta and his Ministers are making speeches to their followers all over Kenya telling them to give up oathing and forget the past. The past the followers are reluctant to forget is the promises made to them that with *Uhuru* all European land, etc., would be theirs. Many leave the meetings before the end, as they do not like this change of policy."

"Mr. Kenyatta lost control before the 1952 Mau Mau emergency, and he is losing control again. I believe there is a very grave risk that at the time of independence or soon after his followers will take the law into their own hands and attempt to take over European farms. The Kalenjin tribes will follow suit to stake their claim to land, and if this should take place European lives will be in great danger."

"K.A.N.U. Ministers do not like criticism or unpleasant facts being brought to the attention of the public. After independence we shall not have a free Press in Kenya; Europeans will be intimidated; the threat of Kenya citizenship will crop up again; and proposed new Bills in Uganda and Tanganyika restricting residents' permits to two years will no doubt be followed by Kenya."

"We must face the unpleasant fact that Africans are envious of the Europeans, their possessions, and the position they have established, and desire to replace them as soon as possible."

False Pretences

"When Mr. Maudling was Colonial Secretary and in Nairobi he granted my predecessor and myself an interview, and I believe he fully appreciated our special position, but there was the difficulty of money. Now that he is Chancellor of the Exchequer, I ask him to make the £1.8m. available now to buy us out, as time is getting short."

"State corporations like B.O.A.C. and B.E.A. meet their obligations after changing their policy. The British Government has done the same with Kenya civil servants and is generous to all countries requiring aid. Now it must meet its very strong obligations to 200 ex-Servicemen who were enticed to Kenya under false promises."

Any European farmer in Kenya who did not accept the African Government or Mr. Kenyatta as Prime Minister, or who voiced sympathy with *apartheid*, had no future in the country, Mr. Bruce McKenzie, the Minister for Agriculture, told farmers at Njoro last week.

The existence of such farmers would, he added, make it very difficult for those Europeans who wanted to continue to live in the country.

Some farmers had told the Minister that they were impressed by the Prime Minister's speech at Nakuru but doubted its sincerity. Mr. McKenzie said he had found Mr. Kenyatta very sincere in all the complex dealings he had had with him since Mr. Kenyatta left restriction in Maralal.

He discounted fears among some European farmers that the proposed Bill amending the Agricultural Ordinance was intended to expropriate their farms. There were large farms of high potential in Kenya lying idle. The Government would not tolerate seeing such land wasted, but that did not mean confiscation.

Kenya Has Received £112m. From Britain in 20 Years

Overseas Aid Now Takes $1\frac{1}{4}\%$ of Gross National Product

BRITISH GOVERNMENT AID to developing countries has much more than doubled in six years — from about £81m. in 1957-58 to an estimated minimum of £180m. in the current year; and British private investment overseas has for some time amounted to about £300m. annually.

These and other significant facts are recorded in a White Paper entitled "Aid to Developing Countries" (Cond. 2147, 3s.) which was published last week under Treasury auspices.

Mr. Maudling, Chancellor of the Exchequer, took the opportunity to make a statement, in the course of which he said:—

"The significance of the development of aid is moral, not merely economic. Disparities in living standards between the industrialized countries and the rest of the world are widening, and the dangers of political instability must grow. Aid in all its forms will make an immense contribution to the happiness of mankind.

"Many people in Africa, Asia, and Latin America are struggling to free themselves from a poverty that makes a life of human dignity impossible; and it is impossible for the industrial societies to live easily with their consciences while the indigent societies are just over their garden fence.

Firing the Imagination

"Britain is sometimes alleged to have lost its sense of purpose. With the change from Empire to Commonwealth and the withdrawal of British rule over so much of the globe, a great outlet for the enthusiasm and energy of the British people, particularly the younger and more enterprising of them, has been disappearing. The effects of this change on our society are profound, and for the sake of our own morale as a nation we need some new cause and outlet to take its place.

"Part of the answer lies in the aid programme. Already it is firing the imagination of many young people who go overseas under the voluntary services system.

"The task of overseas aid must be properly explained. With new tools and new fertilizers it enables a farmer to grow more food than he ever thought possible; to African homes it may bring for the first time decent lighting and decent sanitation; it enables the young people of Africa or Asia to share with the people of this country the universal passion for education. These things properly understood and properly explained can provide a new outlet and a new sense of purpose for Britain.

Growing Burden

"Overseas aid is a great and growing burden on our resources. Our reaction should not be, and never has been, to cut back on the aid, but rather to regard this as a source of inspiration in our efforts to expand our own economy and so increase the level of our aid achievement.

"At present aid from public and private sources together amounts to about 11% of our gross national product. About half is in the form of loan and half grant.

"Where the burden of debt on a borrower would otherwise be too heavy we are now prepared to waive interest payments and to postpone capital repayments over the first years of the loan. The importance of this can be judged from the example of a loan for 25 years where such a grace period of seven years has the effect of reducing the rate of interest over the whole life of the loan from, say, 5½% to below 3%."

The White Paper shows that since 1945 Kenya has received more than £91.6m. in grants and loans from British taxpayers. No other country (except India with £122m.) has been treated with comparable generosity.

Tanganyika has had £39.7m. during the period, Uganda £32.2m., the East African Common Services Organization £25.7m., the Somali Republic and former British Somaliland £14.2m., Seychelles £2.1m., and Zanzibar £1.9m.

In Central Africa the Federal Government has been helped to the extent of £20.1m. Nyasaland has received almost as much (£19m.) and Northern Rhodesia's share has been £7.9m. Southern Rhodesia has had only one loan of £1m.

No fewer than 631 appointments to East Africa and 167 to

Central and Southern Africa last year were financed by the United Kingdom. Uganda headed the list with 212, followed by Tanganyika (154), E.A.C.S.O. (144), Northern Rhodesia (86), Kenya (84), and Nyasaland (53).

Nine appointees went to Zanzibar, eight to Ethiopia, seven to Seychelles, and four to the Somali Republic.

Developing Countries Must Help Themselves

The Paper emphasizes the need for developing countries to help themselves, saying:—

"The developing countries must necessarily depend largely on their own exertions; but the developed nations recognize a responsibility to help them by financial aid and by providing advice and training facilities.

"Development by means of overseas aid should help to buttress stability in the developing countries; and this is in the interests of the whole world. Moreover, the economic progress of the countries now receiving aid should eventually be to the benefit of the donor countries as well as themselves, as it will contribute to a general expansion of world trade. Ultimately it is on growing outlets for their trade that the developing nations must depend for their continuing advance. The success of this combined effort of the nations will be indicated as the developing countries one by one achieve self-sustained economic growth.

"Although the era of aid, viewed in the perspective of history, may be a transitory one, it does not follow that it will be short, still less that its end is in sight. We have but to recall the long hard years over which the development of the industrialized nations was spread in order to put aside false optimism. The task of helping the developing nations is a continuing one.

"Private investment fulfils an important rôle. In addition, the British people have always recognized that private benevolence has a part to play.

"It would be wrong to leave the impression that the peoples of the developing countries look primarily to overseas aid to help them along the path to economic independence. It is not so, and they would not wish it to be so. However massive the scale on which aid is given, it can fulfil no more than a marginal rôle in the economic progress. The main effort must continue to come from the peoples of those lands. It is in their own hands that their future must lie."

From all sources, the developing countries now get about £3,000m. a year from the Free World, mainly from the U.S.A., U.K., France and Germany.

British Private Investments

Of British private investments the Command Paper says:—

"The British private investor has played a leading part in the economic development of the world; development of America, North and South, owed much to the funds invested from this country. British private investment still plays a vigorous part in the growth of the developing nations. The level of our investment is, in relation to our national income, among the highest in the world.

"British private investment overseas has in recent years been running at something like £300m. a year, largely in the Commonwealth. The greater part is direct investment, but the estimate also includes sums raised on the London market by the Governments of Commonwealth countries and by overseas corporations and companies. Over the past few years new issues by Commonwealth Governments have averaged about £30m. a year.

"Much of our private investment is attracted to the more developed countries of the Commonwealth; but something like £150m. a year or an amount not far below the expenditure on aid from public funds, is invested in the developing countries, again mainly in the Commonwealth. (The Commonwealth Development Finance Company has been specially established to facilitate the investment of private capital in the Commonwealth and continues to expand its operations; its shares are held by many commercial, financial and industrial interests.) This is a substantial item in our balance of payments; but it provides valuable help for the developing countries, particularly as the investment of British capital is often accompanied by the knowledge and experience which enable a skilled judgment to be brought to bear on the choice of projects. The developing countries attach particular importance to this feature of private investment from overseas.

(Continued on page 88)

PERSONALIA

MR. R. NEWELL has resigned from the board of Harland and Wolff, Ltd.

MR. W. LIONEL FRASER has been elected chairman of Cornhill Insurance Co., Ltd.

MWALIMU NYERERE, President of Tanganyika, has translated "Julius Caesar" into Swahili.

MR. and MRS. "CHARLIE" CHAPLIN are revisiting East Africa from their home in Switzerland.

MR. Y. PRUGININ, an Israeli biologist and expert in the pond fish industry, is visiting Tanganyika.

MR. ANGUS OGILVY has been elected president of the British Rheumatism and Arthritis Association.

LORD HALSBURY is now a director of Head Wrightson & Co., Ltd., a company with large African interests.

MR. R. S. FOSTER, Deputy Governor of Nyasaland, returned last week from leave in the United Kingdom.

Medical officers on leave in the U.K. from Kenya include DR. K. A. ANJARWALLA, DR. P. A. CANDLER, and DR. I. A. S. GIBSON.

MR. ABBAS SYKES, who has been Regional Commissioner for the Coast in Tanganyika, has joined its Mission to the United Nations.

VISCOUNT BOYD OF MERTON has been appointed a trustee of the British Museum and of the British Museum (Natural History).

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, Governor of Kenya, and SIR GLYN JONES, Governor of Nyasaland, arrived at London Airport on Sunday.

THE MOST REV. LESLIE BROWN, Archbishop of Uganda, addressed the Uganda Church Association at a meeting in London last Friday.

MR. J. A. MHAVILLE, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Communications in Tanganyika, has visited Japan briefly as the guest of Air India.

MR. and MRS. G. R. A. M. JOHNSTON, of Ngari, near Moshi, Tanganyika, are outward-bound for the Cape in the R.M.S. PRETORIA CASTLE.

MR. G. TEACHER DUNLOP, a director of William Teacher & Sons, Ltd., of Glasgow, will spend the next month touring East, Central and South Africa.

MR. J. H. HAMBRO has been elected chairman and MR. J. O. HAMBRO deputy chairman of Hambros Bank, which has greatly increased its African interests in recent years.

MR. R. MUGABE, secretary-general of Z.A.N.U., on Tuesday spent 40 minutes discussing Southern Rhodesia with MR. BUTLER, Minister for Central African Affairs.

MR. and MRS. STUART-CLOETE, who have recently revisited Southern Rhodesia, for part of the time as guests of SIR ROY and LADY WELENSKY, have returned to Cape Town.

SIR VIVIAN FUCHS, director of British Antarctic Survey, who has done much travelling and climbing in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, intends to revisit the South Pole early next year.

SIR ALBERT ROBINSON, lately Federal High Commissioner in London, has been elected deputy chairman of General Mining and Finance Corporation, Ltd., Johannesburg, from which MR. W. D. WILSON, managing director of the Anglo American Corporation, and MR. R. B. HAGGART have resigned.

THE EARL OF INCHCAPE has been elected to the boards of London and Holyrood Trust, Ltd., London Provincial Trust, Ltd., and of London and Clydesdale Trust, Ltd.

THE REV. RALPH HATENDI, chaplain of Bernard Mizeki School, Marandellas, Southern Rhodesia, is to join a group ministry in the Lincolnshire parish of South Ormsby.

MWALIMU NYERERE, President of Tanganyika, received last week MR. HAROLD WOLPE and MR. ARTHUR GOLDREICH, who had recently arrived in Dar es Salaam after escaping from a jail in South Africa.

SIR LESLIE PLUMMER, Socialist M.P. for Deptford since 1957, left £55,371, on which duty of £12,260 has been paid. He was chairman of the corporation responsible for the Tanganyika groundnut fiasco.

DR. HASTINGS BANDA, Prime Minister of Nyasaland, flew from Hamburg to London on Sunday, and on the following day had the first of a series of meetings with MR. BUTLER, Minister for Central African Affairs.

MR. B. S. EASTWOOD, who has been in the service of the Standard Bank in East Africa for 35 years, latterly as assistant general manager in Nairobi, has been appointed assistant general manager (staff) in London.

MR. J. A. STODART, M.P. for Edinburgh West, who has been appointed Joint Under-Secretary of State for Scotland, is a nephew of DR. J. W. ARTHUR, for many years one of the best known medical missionaries in Kenya.

DR. SHERMARKE, Prime Minister of the Somali Republic, has said that he would not hesitate to dismantle the civil Government and allow full military powers to be utilized in order to achieve the national unity of all Somali peoples.

BRIGADIER J. A. B. DICKSON has succeeded BRIGADIER FITZALLEN HOWARD as commander of the King's African Rifles in Kenya. BRIGADIER HOWARD is to take over the First Division, British Army on the Rhine, with the rank of major-general.

Seven Kenya Africans granted Canadian Government scholarships are MESSRS. FRANCIS WANYEKI, D. M. KAMWETI, R. S. KIAMA, and S. N. GACHIE (forestry), ELIJAH WANGUSI and CAREY MURIUKI (pharmacy) and MOMANYI BOSIRE (civil engineering).

SIR ROY WELENSKY flew from the Federation yesterday via Johannesburg to the United States, where he is to address the Overseas Press Club in New York and the National Press Club in Washington. He is due in London on October 8 for a stay of five days.

In an address last Friday to the General Assembly of the United Nations, PRESIDENT KENNEDY apologized to African and Asian diplomats who had encountered racial prejudice while living in the United States. "We intend to end such practices", he said, "not only for our visitors but for all our own citizens".

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MR. HARRY NKUMBULA, Minister of Education in Northern Rhodesia, is to spend a fortnight in this country at the invitation of the British Council to study various forms of education.

Rhodesians now in London include MR. R. C. K. BATE, MR. and MRS. A. E. H. GENNER, SQUADRON LEADER and MRS. E. F. GERICKE, MR. JOSEPH HARRISON, MR. M. J. MARTIN, MR. and MRS. H. R. PHILLIPS, and MR. A. C. ROGERS.

Among officials on leave from Uganda are MR. C. D. ALLEN, Government Chemist; MR. D. BROWN, head of the Law School; DR. E. A. H. FEJER and DR. C. G. G. MACKAY; MR. T. W. GEE and MR. T. S. JONES, Permanent Secretaries; MR. G. H. BARKER, trade development officer; and MR. J. B. WYATT, a magistrate.

MR. BARRY CLIFF and MR. DENIS RUTOVITZ have climbed the north-east pillar to the Nelson peak of Mount Kenya in two and a half days, and DR. HEINRICH KLIER, and MR. SIEGFRIED AEBERLI, two Austrians from the Tyrol, and MR. CLIFF, of Nairobi, climbed the east face four days later, taking 16 hours from the Krapf Glacier.

H.H. THE AGA KHAN has begun training for next year's Olympic Winter Games, at which he hopes to be picked for Great Britain. He is now at a leading Austrian sports school at Schielleiten, from which he will go to Obertraun for another toughening course, before undertaking ski training in the Tauern Alps for about six weeks.

CAPTAIN ALASTAIR SMITH, a former port manager of Mombasa, is one of a three-member commission appointed to report on the Port of Aden. The chairman is COLONEL T. F. HOOD, Deputy Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, and the other member is SIR IAN PARKIN, a former general manager of the National Dock Labour Board in Britain.

Among Southern Rhodesians at present in London are MR. HUGH T. BAKER, a civil engineer in Bulawayo; LIEUT.-COLONEL I. E. EVERINGTON, of Bulawayo; MR. J. E. NORMAN, a tobacco grower from Bindura; MR. ROGER M. S. N'GOMBE, a Salisbury journalist; MR. JOEL PINCUS, an attorney in Bulawayo; and MR. I. H. D. RANKIN, who farms near Odzi.

When Tanganyika's Minister for Health, MR. SAIDI M'SWANYA, opened an X-ray unit presented to Tanga Hospital by the West German Government, he recalled that a hospital still in use in the town had been opened in 1896 after the arrival of the first German doctor, DR. STEUDEL, and that PROFESSOR KOCH'S research into malaria had been conducted initially in Tanga.

DR. ANGELO P. J. DA CUNHA, aged 27, who was born in Nairobi, and graduated in medicine in India, has been elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. After serving as a house surgeon at King George VI Hospital, Nairobi, he was awarded the Commonwealth Scholarship two years ago to study surgery in Edinburgh. He has lately re-joined the hospital staff in Nairobi.

MR. JOHN GRIGG, who spent his early years in Nairobi while his father was Governor of Kenya, and who recently renounced the title of Lord Altrincham, has been rebuffed by Morecambe and Lonsdale Conservative Association, which has decided not to include his name on the short list from which a candidate will be selected. MR. GRIGG has said that he is anxious to enter the House of Commons.

At a Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference held in Marlborough House, London, on Tuesday and yesterday the Federation was represented by MR. M. J. LAMB, Acting High Commissioner in the United Kingdom; Tanganyika and Uganda by their Finance Ministers, MR. P. BOMANI and MR. A. K. SEMPA; Kenya by DR. KIANO; Minister of Commerce and Industry; and Zanzibar by SHEIKH JUMA ALEY, Finance Minister.

Obituaries

The Rt. Rev. Yohanna Omari

THE RT. REV. YOHANNA MAJANI OMARI, Assistant Bishop of Central Tanganyika since 1955, has died at the age of 58. Though born in a Muhammadan family, he attended the Church Missionary Society school in Berega. He was then for seven years employed in a dispensary of the Tanganyika Government. During that time, as he afterwards said, he was twice challenged in a dream to carry the Gospel to Uha, and Bishop Chambers, when told of the dream persuaded him to go with a pioneer party which was to start work near Lake Tanganyika. Four years later he entered Kongwa College for training for the ministry. After being ordained Mr. Omari returned to Uha, from which he was moved back to Dodoma in 1946. For some time before he was consecrated assistant bishop he was in charge of the services in Swahili in the cathedral. He could preach in all seven languages of the diocese. He leaves a widow and nine children.

GROUP CAPTAIN A. G. MALAN, one of the greatest fighter pilots of the last war, in which he was twice awarded both the D.S.O. and the D.F.C., has died in Kimberley, aged 52. He was known throughout the R.A.F. as "Sailor" Malan because before becoming an airman he had spent 12 years at sea, five of them as an officer of the Union-Castle Line. He destroyed more than 30 German aircraft and was credited with another 20 "possibles". At one period he had charge of Biggin Hill fighter base just outside London. Later he commanded the large fighter formation which covered the D-Day landings in Normandy. He was the test pilot for the first Spitfire aircraft to leave the factory, and it was in Spitfires over Dunkirk that his prowess was first remarked.

THE REV. JOHN ROBERT SHAW, who has died, aged 73, in Lusaka, was a well-known missionary in Northern Rhodesia, and from 1948 until his retirement eight years later he worked for the United Society for Christian Literature, establishing its depots in Lusaka and on the Copperbelt. He was engaged in missionary duties in the Namwala district from 1916 to 1925 and was then for seven years principal of Kafue Native Training Institute. From 1932 to 1941 he was the Methodist minister in Lusaka, and then for five years a chaplain to African troops in East Africa Command. He is survived by Mrs. Shaw and two sons.

DR. HERBERT SCHOFIELD, C.B.E., who has died at the age of 79, was from 1915 to 1949 principal of Loughborough College, which many Africans from East Africa have attended. He was one of Britain's pioneers of technical education and one of the founders of the Rotary Movement in this country.

MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM DONOVAN STAMER, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., late Colonel of the North Staffordshire Regiment, who has died at his home in Eastbourne, was G.O.C. in the Sudan and Eritrea in 1945.

MR. RONALD PEARSON, a British-born veterinary officer who was stripped and robbed by Africans a fortnight ago while lying injured in his car after it had crashed near Maseno, has died in hospital in Nairobi.

MR. HAROLD DOLD HILL has died at his home in Machakos, Kenya, in his 83rd year. He leaves a widow, son and daughter.

LIEUT.-COLONEL A. R. G. WILSON, D.S.O., late Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, has died suddenly at Ol Kalou, Kenya.

(Concluded from page 85)

"There has been a tendency for the flow of private capital to the developing countries to level off or even decline, and a number of ways of correcting this have been suggested. The United Kingdom has supported the attempt which has been made in the O.E.C.D. to draw up a convention for the protection of foreign investors, in the hope that a clear statement of the pre-requisites for attracting and retaining private capital would encourage the introduction of measures to this end.

"We are also participating in a study in the Development Assistance Committee of the O.E.C.D. of the feasibility and desirability of multilateral investment insurance. Further, we support the proposal of the International Bank to set up a centre for conciliation and arbitration on investment disputes. It is not clear what the outcome of these moves will be; but

we hope that a wider understanding of the issues involved will result in an increase in the flow of private capital to the developing countries".

Another White Paper (342, H.M.S.O. 3s.), which details loans and grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act from April 1, 1962, to March 31, 1963, also gives the totals territory by territory of C.D. and W. assistance since 1946.

Kenya has benefited from that source to the extent of £20.8m., Tanganyika £16m., Uganda £6.9m., Somaliland £3.4m., Zanzibar £1.8m., and East Africa (general) £17m.

Nyasaland has had £9.8m., Northern Rhodesia £5m., and Central Africa (general) £3.1m.

Former Detainee's Unconvincing Apologia for Mau Mau

Kenya M.P. Rewrites the Story of the Kikuyu Rebellion

MUCH MATERIAL for propaganda against British rule in Kenya and Britons in that Colony (who are portrayed as differing fundamentally from the men and women of the United Kingdom) is provided in "Mau Mau Detainee" (Oxford University Press, 21s.) by Mr. Josiah Mwangi Kariuki, a 34-year-old Kikuyu, now an M.P. in Kenya, who was, he says, in 14 detention camps between 1953 and 1960, and whose report will, unfortunately, be accepted at face value by most readers for the obvious reason that few will have the knowledge by which to test the accuracy of a persuasive and generally good-tempered but nevertheless seriously tendentious writer. That he misleads ordinary readers even if their approach is (or should be) critical is proved by the reviews published by leading London newspapers. Not one of them has contrasted this apologia for Mau Mau with what in fact happened.

Oaths: Fiction and Fact

Despite overwhelming and indubitable evidence to the contrary, Mr. Kariuki insists that there were only two Mau Mau oaths and that they were little more than pledges of unity and obedience. He goes so far, indeed, as to assert that they were as unobjectionable as the obligations of Freemasonry (of which he can obviously know nothing, but which many clergymen, including numerous bishops, have found no difficulty in accepting); and not even the kindest-hearted Christian worker, black or white, could be other than horrified at oathings practised by Mau Mau.

In the Government report on that movement a whole chapter is given to the evolution of the oaths, which became increasingly violent, bloodthirsty and monstrous as the rebellion developed. A leading terrorist leader, the so-called "General" Nderitu, confessed that cannibalism was involved in the *batuni* oath and gave a description which reads thus in the official record:—

Cannibalism

"General Nderitu says that when a gang has had an action, and when security forces are not close on their heels, they will take away a dead body. Then at their leisure in the forest they cut open the head and remove the brains, and the brains are then dried in the sun and ground up and bottled. The heart is cut out and dried. Blood is drained from the body and dried in the sun and then ground up and mixed with the brains. Steaks are cut from the dead man's buttocks and dried in the sun; then folded up for easy carrying. In each *batuni* or company there is a particular man who acts as the butcher.

"This human flesh is usually taken from an enemy, but if one of the gang has done something to merit death he is killed in the camp and cut up for oathing. In each *batuni* there is an executioner who performs the killings when disciplinary measures are necessary. A spear, *sini*, or strangling rope is used.

"Dedan Kimathi has given orders that all oath administrators are to think up the vilest methods of giving the *batuni* oaths. When an administrator has thought out and performed a particularly revolting method he is to pass his methods on to his brother administrators. In this way the varied oaths are produced.

"General Nderitu says that there are seven oaths only, but, having reached number seven, you return again to number one, but it will be administered in a different way. Kikuyu women in the reserves and settled areas take two oaths. Those in the forest take up to seven oaths".

Kimathi: "Greatest Hero"

There is an abundance of similar evidence, which contradicts the claims of Mr. Kariuki—who portrays Kimathi not as the fiend which the above testimony of a fellow leader shows him to have been, but as "the greatest hero of us all". A Mau Mau exhibition in Nairobi, with Kimathi as the centre-piece, has already been held with the warm approval of the political party which now forms the Government of Kenya, and some of its spokesmen have suggested that special "honour" should be done to the man's memory at the Independence celebrations in December.

Mau Mau, a conspiracy which was nurtured by lies, held together by intimidation and all forms of terrorism, and degraded by the foulest rites, as described in this book as "a war for our homes, our land, and our country"; and that is the false memory which K.A.N.U. politicians seek to carry down in history.

In extenuation of the innumerable murders of Africans who would not obey Mau Mau, Mr. Kariuki writes:—

"By 1953 severe punishment, sometimes including death, was meted out by the courts of the movement to those whom it considered traitors or spies. We had rejected the authority of the Kenya Government. We had organized in its place another Government, accepted by the large majority of our people, which was compelled to undertake in its infancy a desperate battle for survival, with the odds weighted most heavily against them. It is not surprising that the leaders insisted on military discipline or that failure to join and obey were considered most serious crimes against our Government".

Misrepresentation

That is an absolute misrepresentation. Hundreds of Kikuyu were murdered, not in 1953 by a Mau Mau "government", but before the declaration of a state of emergency in 1952, when there was no question of the Kenyatta party having "rejected the authority of the Kenya Government". Those who were done to death—often by slow strangulation, burial alive in cesspits, or in other horrible ways—were certainly not "traitors" to their tribe; their crime was to refuse to betray its traditions at the behest of thugs working for innovators whom they considered anti-social and treacherous revolutionaries.

Moreover, it is fantastic to suggest that a large majority of the Africans of Kenya accepted a Mau Mau "government". At no time did even one-fifth of Kenya Africans accept Mau Mau, which was almost entirely restricted to the Kikuyu and associated tribes. By intimidation, including the use of witchcraft, torture, rape and many murders, a large majority of the Kikuyu, at one period perhaps all but about 5%, did submit; but there were thousands, including in particular leading Christians and some of the outstanding tribal leaders, who chose martyrdom rather than compliance. Hundreds preferred death to acceptance of the oath. Could that have been so if the oaths were merely formalized promises to protect the interests of the community?

It is equally absurd to expect us to believe that the men, white and black, who spent years in careful investigation of the origin and practices of Mau Mau concocted the great mass of evidence which exists, or that they were simpletons who allowed themselves to be hoodwinked wholesale by Mau Mau activists who gave their interrogators false information. Some of the Europeans were blood-brothers of the Kikuyu, spoke their language as fluently as their own, know the tribal customs intimately, and were as deeply shocked as they were disillusioned by the results of their patient inquiries. They were pro-Kikuyu and pro-African, not anti-black. Their African assistants were mainly Kikuyu who felt that the tribal soul had been brought near to destruction and that it could be saved only by the service and sacrifice of the tiny minority of loyalists.

Those who had to acquaint themselves with some of the records in order to try to understand Mau Mau will never forget the scarcely imaginable bestiality of the cult. Much of the material which it was then my duty to study was so nauseating that it could be read only in short snatches. Otherwise it was impossible to avoid vomiting. Never previously had I had such an experience. And now I am asked to believe that the appallingly loathsome practices which characterized Mau Mau were imaginary or the inventions of the security forces!

Technique of Evasion

In March 1953 more than 100 defenceless African men, women and children were cold-bloodedly slaughtered by Mau Mau in the village of Lari as a demonstration of the danger involved in refraining from giving the terrorists money, food, shelter and every other kind of help. Mr. Kariuki's technique of evasion is well exemplified by his reference to that outrage. He says merely:—

"The events at Lari have become widely described as a massacre. Although no one denies that the Mau Mau court sentenced some traitors and enemies to death, this is not the first time that a revolutionary movement has been forced to behave in this way. I have heard many detainees in the camps discussing how some people were also murdered by the loyalists for personal reasons or because of land disputes."

For *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* that passage would be difficult to beat.

There were barbaric murders of innocent and defenceless European women and children. The author dismisses those crimes with the one-sentence remark that "we were not happy to hear of a European woman or child killed on a farm or to hear of cattle being maimed"; and they were maimed by the hundred, usually at night, and left in agony until discovered and shot next day by their owner. Such dastardly deeds seem to appear heroic to the author, for he promptly adds: "But we paid tribute to the great courage and brains of those who were fighting the real battle with the real enemy, fearlessly and nobly from their forest strongholds".

Christ's Name Substituted by Kenyatta's

He emphasizes that in none of the camps did he hear Kenyatta's name mentioned as involved in oath-taking. He has avoided mentioning the Mau Mau "creed" or the Mau Mau "hymns"—in which Kenyatta's name was substituted for that of Christ. Why? The omission provides another example of lack of candour on a point of real importance.

The struggle was, in Mr. Kariuki's opinion, "so desperate that Christianity could not be allowed to interfere. We had also noted that our enemies, in their cunning, were using it as a weapon against us. We considered it should not be degraded in this way". The idea that the opponents of Mau Mau degraded Christianity by resisting unspeakably disgusting practices which were an offence to humanity is novel, if ridiculous.

The author discovered that letters of complaint addressed to the Governor or some other senior official, with copies likewise smuggled out of a camp and sent to such Members of Parliament as Mrs. Castle or Mr. Brockway, constituted a powerful weapon; but towards the end of his story he confides that "the power of a letter, especially if copied to politicians in England, never ceased to surprise me". If that passage hardly indicates that shortcomings went unremedied, it does suggest that some of the recipients of the correspondence were more gullible than had been expected.

Miss Margery Perham, who thought it right to help to get the book published, contributes a foreword at the end of which she lists a number of books, including Dr. Carothers's "Psychology of Mau Mau" and Mr. Ian Henderson's "Hunt for Kimathi", which present a picture strikingly different from that of Mr. Kariuki. I have no doubt that those two works are far more reliable than his. F. S. J.

Six experimental tobacco farms have been allocated in the Matetsi area of Southern Rhodesia to persons who will pay no rent for the first five years. If they have then succeeded in establishing Virginia tobacco they will lease the land in the usual way and pay rent retrospectively.

Subversion Akin to Mau Mau Political Temperature Slightly Lower

THE KENYA POLICE annual report for 1962 which reached London only last week, states that there was only a slight fall in the country's political temperature, and that political youth wings attempted to take the law into their own hands from time to time, so that prompt police action, particularly in Nyanza in July and August, was necessary to "stamp out such manifestations of it as wrongful confinement and illegal arrests and trials".

The general survey continues:—

"Describing police action against subversion, the Police Report for 1961 warned that although by December of that year the 'teeth' of the subversion had been drawn and oath-taking reduced to negligible proportions, further action might well be necessary again. This proved to be the case, and by mid-1962 it became clear that the so-called Kenya Land Freedom Army had re-established itself on a large scale in the Rift Valley and in certain areas of Nyanza.

Land Freedom Army

"Apparently intent upon securing the position of the Kikuyu in these parts of the country in the period before independence, and after, the K.L.F.A. set up a covert system of government, the 'officials' of which appropriated to themselves such designations as district commissioner and senior superintendent of police. Secret drilling of the members was a feature of its activities, and home-made guns were manufactured on a scale not encountered since the days of Mau Mau.

"In September intensive police operations were initiated against the K.L.F.A. They continued throughout the remainder of the year, by which time the back of the organization had been broken and the majority of its leaders accounted for. A feature of these operations was the high proportion of convictions achieved and the comparatively limited use made of powers of restriction.

"Operations continued into 1963, but by the end of 1962 the number of persons convicted of offences arising from Kikuyu subversion during the year amounted to 1,174 (excluding 2,028 in the African courts), while 22 persons had been placed under restriction. During the same period 362 home-made guns were captured and seven precision weapons and 687 rounds of ammunition were recovered.

Many More Murders

"Despite continuing adverse economic conditions and much unemployment, coupled with food shortages following the drought and flood conditions of 1961 and early 1962, factors which might be expected to breed crime, reported Penal Code crime last year was 4.7% above that for 1961. If the cases taken against members of the K.L.F.A. are excluded, the increase is 2.3%. Murders increased by 30.2%, but the majority resulted from family disputes and brawls following drinking parties.

"No increase, however small, can be called satisfactory; what may be said, however, is that in view of the factors present it is surprising that the increase is as small as it is".

Forty-four firearms (21 pistols and revolvers, 12 rifles, and 11 shot-guns) were stolen during the year, of which 16 were recovered, compared with a total of 46 firearms stolen in 1961, of which 24 were recovered.

Unlawful oath-taking cases dropped from 159 to 65, but prosecutions for membership of unlawful societies (the K.L.F.A.) rose from 23 to 947. Juvenile crime arrests fell from 2,399 to 2,214.

The Rift Valley Province reported the greatest increase in crime in African areas, at 25.6%; Nyanza (16%), Coast Province (5.9%) and Central Province (3.2%) also showed rises, but in the Southern Province there was a 12.3% decrease.

Civilian firearms held at the arms store numbered 30,506 (30,794). There were 15,017 civilian-owned firearms licensed, showing a reduction of 3,599.

The main tribal groupings among the 10,896 African policemen included 1,804 Kamba; 1,224 Kikuyu; 1,074 Baluhya; 936 Luo; 838 Nandi; 810 Kipsigis; and 498 Somali. Establishment strengths showed slight decreases among gazetted officers (238), inspectors (992) and n.c.o.s. (1,867), but there were more constables (9,029).

Expenditure up to June 30 last year was £4,432,699.

Rhodesian Front Congress

Determined to Gain Independence

SOUTHERN RHODESIA is as determined as ever to obtain independence, "but we have to get over the sad and complicated dissolution exercise first". Mr. Winston Field, the Prime Minister, told the Rhodesian Front at its annual congress in Salisbury last week.

A unanimous vote of confidence was passed in his "determination to gain independence provided there are no strings attached and the 1961 Constitution remains unaltered".

The Government would, he said, adhere to its undertaking that neither the franchise nor the Constitution would be changed without reference to the electorate. "If it becomes obvious that certain changes are desirable, this can be an issue at the next election; there will not be a referendum".

Britain had been "singularly unco-operative" because of pressure from the new African Commonwealth States. Its approach was "all very vague, and quite useless as far as we are concerned. We are accused of being rigid; it seems to cause some surprise that we should endeavour to do our best to keep our promises.

Destruction the Alternative

"We have to recognize that the Afro-Asian bloc will stop at nothing to break the whole economy of the sub-continent as well as our political system and our standards. The fact that this would mean an appalling slump with vast unemployment, so hitting the African population worst, is of no interest to these people. Any sign of weakness on our part will end in our destruction".

The times ahead would not be easy. The Colony dare not weaken in the face of these external threats, and its portions of the Federal forces would be maintained "at top possible strength", despite the expense.

The country could bow to the artificial storm and abdicate, or—as it must choose—show determination and run its affairs "with reasonable anticipation that we will win out", for the first course would lead to certain destruction.

The congress was told that a scheme to attract immigrants was under study.

Inter-Party Clashes Renewed

Southern Rhodesian Leaders Warned

THE LEADERS of the two main rival African nationalist parties in Southern Rhodesia—Mr. Joshua Nkomo, who has set up a People's Caretaker Council, and the Rev. N. Sithole, interim president of the recently formed Z.A.N.U.—have been warned by Mr. C. Dupont, Minister of Justice, Law and Order, that they will have to abdicate if the clashes between their followers continue.

The Minister has told Parliament that since Mr. Sithole's break with Mr. Nkomo violence has recurred in the country's African townships, disturbing the tranquillity that had prevailed since the banning of Z.A.P.U.

Both men had denounced the outbreaks publicly, but at the same time they blamed each other for them. Mr. Dupont had written to them both, therefore, recalling that youth gangs claiming allegiance to their respective organizations were roaming the streets intimidating, stoning, and assaulting not only their rivals but ordinary people unconnected with either group.

Mr. Mathew Wakatama, a lecturer at the University College, has formed a reconciliation committee which hopes to effect a rapprochement between Messrs. Nkomo and Sithole. But one of his collaborators, Mr. Garfield Todd, a former Prime Minister of the Colony, has said that the split might continue for some time.

Mr. Nkomo has said that "there is no question of patching it up with Sithole, who has committed political suicide"; and Mr. Sithole has declared his party to be against a reconciliation. Mr. Nkomo's life presidency of the caretaker council being a barrier.

More than 30 homes have been damaged by stoning in Salisbury African quarters since the split last month, most of them occupied by the new party's supporters.

The first death sentence for a petrol-bomb attack has been passed on Richard Mapolisa, of the Zimbabwe National Party. He has appealed.

Journalist Expelled from Federation

Frequent Critic of Government

MR. JACK HALPERN, a 36-year-old freelance journalist in Salisbury, and correspondent in Central Africa for the *Observer*, *Scotsman*, *New Statesman*, the *Johannesburg Sunday Express*, several publications in the United States, and *Expressen*, of Stockholm, was last week declared a prohibited immigrant and ordered to leave the country within a week. On the following day he was granted a month's grace to order his affairs.

The Government of the Federation was believed to have acted at the request of the Government of Southern Rhodesia.

The Rhodesian Guild of Journalists asked for the expulsion order to be rescinded, or at least for the charges against Mr. Halpern to be disclosed so that he might have an opportunity of defending himself. The Foreign Correspondents' Association of Central Africa and the local branch of the Commonwealth Press Union also protested.

No Political Activities

Mr. Halpern said later that Mr. Greenfield, Federal Minister of Home Affairs, had declined to see him, though the action of the Federal authorities had destroyed his livelihood without giving him any indication of why he was to be expelled. He had at no time belonged to a political party or taken part in any political activity outside his writing.

A short leading article in the *Guardian*, headed "Rhodesian Order of Merit", commented:—

"The Federal Government is not sovereign and does not confer honours, but it has founded what amounts to an Order of Merit among those it has expelled. Mr. Halpern may find the loss of his livelihood a high price to pay for elevation, but he has the wry consolation that the Government has brought ridicule upon itself. The Federal Government remains in existence by courtesy of the three constituent territories; before long it will be wound up. This is surely no time for it (or for the Southern Rhodesia Government, by which the expulsion is presumably inspired) to antagonize Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland further by deciding who may and may not be admitted to their territories.

Chance Remote

"The Federal Government has made it a practice to leave the charges unstated and so let the public assume that the victim has only to search his conscience to find them. In fact the reason for not stating the charges has more probably been that they would prove embarrassingly tenuous. Mr. Halpern has been no friend of the Federal and Southern Rhodesia Governments, but his preoccupations have been entirely those of a journalist. For some two years he edited the *Central African Examiner*, which was the only serious periodical providing a forum for all races in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. Those days did not seem happy at the time, but in retrospect they look like Rhodesia's golden era. There was a chance that whites and Africans would find common cause in a common citizenship. That chance is remote today".

Mr. Halpern, South African by naturalization and German by birth, was public relations officer of the South African Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg when he was appointed editor of the monthly *Examiner* three years ago. He recently resigned that post.

He has told reporters that he had had no hint that action was to be taken against him—and the prohibition order includes his wife—but that when he returned to Salisbury in July from a visit to Britain his papers had been examined by customs officials for "subversive content". All documents had, however, been returned to him.

In his professional capacity he had, he said, frequently criticized the policies of the Federal and Southern Rhodesian Governments, but also sometimes those of African nationalist groups.

While in London he is understood to have arranged for publication of two books, one on Rhodesia and the other on the High Commission Territories.

Mr. Halpern sometimes writes under the pen-name James Fairbairn. Mrs. Halpern is a physiotherapist.

Alleging that N.A.T.O. arms are being "extensively used to suppress the people of Angola and of other Portuguese territories", the U.N. special committee on territories under Portuguese administration has urged Portugal to grant her African territories "immediate independence".

O.C. Forces in N.R. and Nyasaland Takes Over After Federal Break-up

MAJOR-GENERAL G. H. LEA, D.S.O., M.B.E., has been appointed by the First Secretary of State to be Commander of the Forces in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (as was briefly reported last week), and will take up his duties on the date on which the Federal Government ceases to exercise responsibility for defence. Southern Rhodesia will then become responsible for her own forces, and the United Kingdom Government will assume operational control of those in the other two territories.

The regular forces of the Federation consist of four African infantry battalions, one European infantry battalion, one Special Air Service Squadron, one squadron of armoured cars, and seven air force squadrons. The territorial forces consist of nine infantry battalions and an artillery regiment.

General Lea was born in 1912, educated at Charterhouse and the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and commissioned in the Lancashire Fusiliers. During the war he reached the acting rank of lieutenant-colonel. In June, 1945, he was posted to India for a year as G. S. O. I. of a parachute training team. He spent two years at Allied Supreme Headquarters (1952-54) and commanded an infantry brigade from 1957 to 1960, when he went to the War Office as Deputy Military Secretary. He recently visited Central Africa.

Armed Attack on Kenya Farmer

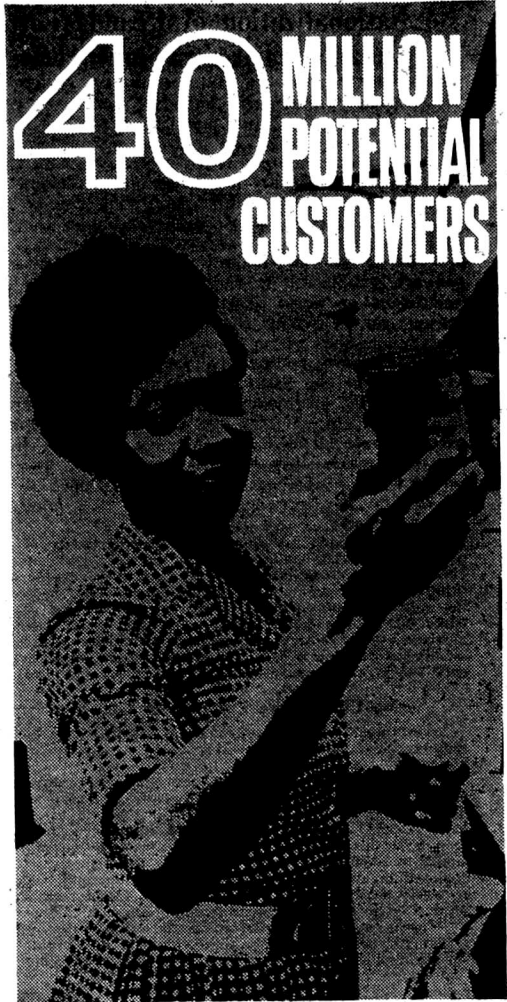
WHILE MR. and MRS. J. E. HIGGINSON, of Gilgil, Kenya, were having their evening meal on Monday about 30 Africans armed with bush-knives and homemade guns burst into their farmhouse, tied them up, and spent about an hour and a half ransacking their home, from which they took money, jewellery, clothing, and furniture valued at about £1,400. Before leaving they slashed the tyres of two cars. Mr. Higginson won the Kenya amateur golf championship in 1947.

Kenya's Acting Ministers

MR. JOSEPH MURUMBI is acting as Prime Minister of Kenya and Minister for Justice and Minister for Works during the absence in London of the Kenya Government delegation. MR. PETER MBIYU KOINANGE is Acting Minister for Finance, Commerce and Labour; MR. ACHIENG ONEKO for Home Affairs and Local Government; MR. J. D. OTIENDE for Agriculture and Health; and MR. J. H. ANGAINE for Natural Resources.

Disastrous Decline in British Prestige

MR. JOHN SILKIN, M.P., has said in London recently: "The last few years have seen a disastrous decline in Britain's prestige abroad. Our advice seems never to be required, let alone accepted. Unless Britain is considered to be the head of a large and world-wide Commonwealth her rôle in the modern world is inevitably reduced; and the Commonwealth remains unconvinced that this Government has put aside its foolish infatuation with the Common Market. If one-tenth of the energy absorbed in that fruitless quest were used to increase trade with the Commonwealth, this country would have little fear for the future economically or politically. If Ethelred the Unready were alive today, he would be a senior member of the Government".



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No Nationalization of Uganda Cotton

Co-operatives to Augment Growers' Role

PROPOSALS for the cotton industry, which the Uganda Government intends to effect by early amendments to the Cotton and Lint Marketing Board Ordinances, emphasize the rôle of co-operatives in achieving maximum returns for growers and their full participation in primary marketing and processing.

Amplification of this three-point objective is contained in a sessional paper just received in London, which states *inter alia*:—

"The cotton crop, entirely produced by small-scale growers, is subject to the vicissitudes of weather and the fluctuation of world demand for lint. Returns to growers can be maximized by encouraging them to organize themselves within the co-operative movement.

"The primary co-operative societies and unions already provide the basic organization for the primary marketing and processing of the crop and are likely to prove more efficient than the associations of growers which operate outside the co-operative movement. Being non-profit-making organizations, they return their full profits to their members. The process of enabling the growers to take over the full functions of ginning will be accelerated.

"Past experience has shown the wasteful effects of free competition in the industry. It is therefore necessary for Government to maintain controls, not only to prevent the repetition of chaotic and wasteful conditions, but also to protect the still emergent co-operative movement from the adverse effects of ruthless free competition, which would leave the movement at a serious disadvantage—compared with those established members of the industry who possess longer experience and greater financial backing.

No Compulsory Purchase of Ginneries

"Government has no intention of nationalizing the ginning industry or of instituting the compulsory acquisition of ginneries.

"It was forecast in 1951 that the crop would expand to 450,000 bales within three years, but the five-year average moved from 295,000 bales (1946-47 to 1950-51) to 371,000 bales (1956-57 to 1960-61) with wide fluctuations in annual crop levels in between. Government has set the target of an annual production of 500,000 bales, as this figure could be achieved in any year of favourable conditions and could be regularly achieved with the adoption of sound methods of production in reasonable weather conditions.

"Zoning must be maintained as an integral part of the system for pedigree seed multiplication and distribution and for the maintenance of uniformity in the lint produced.

Growers' Trust

"The Cotton Price Assistance Fund should be regarded as the property, held in trust, of the cotton growers and be used solely for their benefit. Government has followed the principle that the monies in the fund can be returned to the grower in more than one way, *i.e.*, by subsidizing the seed cotton price and also through other measures designed to expand and improve the crop and develop the industry.

"The fund must be maintained at a level not lower than £5m. to enable the fixation of a raw cotton price to the grower which can remain constant throughout the season, thereby protecting him from catastrophic falls in world market prices during that season, as well as providing the necessary security for the raising of finance to purchase the crop. With a withdrawal of some £4m. from the fund during the 1961-62 and 1962-63 seasons for price subsidy to the growers and the use of the fund for the cotton spraying subsidy scheme, agricultural equipment subsidies, *etc.*, the balance in the fund has now nearly reached its minimum level. This means that it will no longer be possible to subsidize substantially growers' raw cotton prices.

"A fixed price for raw cotton will be retained and a minimum price will not be adopted. With the withdrawal of the price subsidy to the grower, prices will in future be related to anticipated sale prices for lint.

"Government considers that there is no longer any necessity to announce a guaranteed minimum price before planting, and only a final price will be fixed prior to the start of marketing of raw cotton. This price will be fixed for the whole season, any fluctuations in world sale prices being borne by the Lint Marketing Board and reimbursed to or from the price assistance fund.

"The pool system must be retained, though the feature to which most objection was raised has been obviated by enabling the co-operative unions to operate within the system but free of the restrictions previously imposed by the pool share on their ability to gin all their collections of cotton.

"The percentage of the zonal crop which the co-operative unions will be allocated for ginning will be increased each season. The ginning pools will remain responsible for the apportionment among the non-co-operative union ginneries of the balance of the crop in each zone.

"Licensing of ginneries will be maintained. Erection of new ginneries will continue to be restricted to the replacement of existing ginneries or if any are required for operation by co-operative unions.

"As the co-operative unions develop they will require more ginning capacity to process the proportion of the crop annually allocated to them. This need will be met in part by the expansion of existing co-operative union ginneries but normally by the purchase of existing privately-owned ginneries offered for sale. Where no suitable or reasonably priced ginneries are available for sale, or in areas where no ginneries have been built, co-operative unions will be permitted to erect new ginneries.

"No restriction will be placed on the purchase of ginneries by associations of growers or private businessmen or firms.

"Over a period of years these arrangements will enable the acquisition of adequate ginning capacity to meet the needs of the growers for the processing of their whole crop. It is Government's intention that this should be achieved as quickly as possible consistent with the maintenance of efficiency in the industry. Meantime, and particularly if the crop continues to increase, there will be room in the ginning industry for both co-operative and private enterprise.

No Compensation for Redundant Ginneries

"In several zones there are already more ginneries than are required, this primarily being a legacy from the past arising from the shift of cotton production from Buganda Kingdom to the Eastern and Northern Regions. With the rationalization intended not all the ginneries will be required to process the whole crop.

"In view of the very substantial profits made in the past by private ginners it is not considered the responsibility of Government to pay compensation for the closure of any redundant ginneries, whether they are closed temporarily until such time as future crop increase enables their sale or renewed operation, or whether they are closed down permanently.

"The Lint Marketing Board will be retained as the sole marketing organization for the purchase and sale of all the lint cotton and cotton seed produced in Uganda.

"It is intended to increase membership above its present level to identify the board more positively with the growers. Such increase will permit the appointment of one person from each of the Eastern, Northern and Western Regions and the Kingdom of Buganda to represent the interests of the growers, two nominees of the Uganda Co-operative Alliance, Ltd., and one person experienced in the processing and marketing of cotton or in business matters generally. It is not intended to revert to the practice of appointing members to represent all the sectional interests in the cotton industry.

"Super-Profits"

"The numerous defects and difficulties arising from the formula used for the determination of the lint price, coupled with the industry's method of organization, have enabled ginners during the 10-year period to achieve super-profits. It is not possible to do without a formula completely for the calculation of the lint price, but it should be rationalized and simplified and not be subject to negotiation with sectional interests in the industry. Steps have been taken in assessing the ginning outturn percentages on a pilot scale, so that if successful it can be implemented in the future, as it is this factor above all others that determines the degree of excess profit that can be made by ginners.

"The training of managerial and technical staff needs to be accelerated, and in view of the increasing part being taken in the industry by the co-operative movement it is logical that the movement's educational organization, the Uganda Co-operative Alliance, Ltd., should be entrusted with this task in conjunction with Government."

Alluvial Gold Mining Project

MR. A. P. MORIATINIS, a Greek-born mining engineer, who between the wars undertook alluvial mining and dry-blowing operations on the Lupa goldfields of southern Tanganyika, has formed a company in Southern Rhodesia to conduct large-scale alluvial gold mining. Two years ago he undertook trial dredging on the Angwa River. He has spoken of Southern Rhodesia's "vast potential alluvial gold deposits".

Kenya's Wild Life Pledge Government Mismanagement Criticized

A PLEDGE TO CONSERVE Kenya's natural resources was given to the Nairobi conference of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources last week by the Kenya Government in these terms: —

"The natural resources of this country—its wildlife which offers such an attraction to visitors from all over the world, the beautiful places in which these animals live, the mighty forests which guard the water catchment areas so vital to the survival of man and beast—are a priceless heritage for the future.

"The Government of Kenya, fully realizing the value of its natural resources, pledges itself to conserve them for posterity with all the means at its disposal.

"We are confident of the co-operation of the other Governments of East Africa in this important task, but at present we are unable unaided to provide the specialist staff and money which are necessary. We therefore invite other nations, and lovers of nature throughout the world, to assist us in honouring this solemn pledge."

The statement was welcomed by the conference chairman, Professor Jean Baer, as a "courageous decision" at a time when there was a clamour from the people for more land.

Only a few days previously a motion had been proposed in the Senate urging the Government to eliminate wild animals outside established game parks in order to reduce loss of human life and damage to property. It had been British policy, Senator Kipury alleged, to regard the animals as superior to the Masai people, so that when there was a clash of interests preservation of the game received priority. The motion was defeated.

The survival commission of the I.U.C.N. has given a warning that leopards, already extinct in some areas, will undoubtedly die out elsewhere in about five years if the illegal

trade in skins is not suppressed. Already in these areas baboons and wild pigs, normally kept under control by leopards, are becoming serious pests to farm crops.

The recent huge increase in the price of leopard skins, to £70—£80 each, is the result of the current fashion for leopard skin coats among fashionable women, especially in the United States and Western Europe. Leopards are so easily trapped that if the present trend continues it could lead within a comparatively short time to the total extinction of the leopard in Africa.

The commission deplores the current fashion and strongly supports the campaign of the National Audubon Society to persuade women's organizations in the United States to condemn the wearing of natural leopard skin and urges other bodies to do the same in their own countries.

The theme of the conference, which ended on Tuesday, was "the ecology of man in the tropical environment".

Insufficient Research

Political expediency as the motive for undertaking development schemes irrespective of the hard facts of the situation was condemned by Professor F. Fraser Darling of the New York Conservation Foundation. Referring specially to the Tana River 300,000-acre irrigation scheme in Kenya, he said that it had not been based on sufficient research. No biologist had been attached to the control team; yet there were 15,000 elephants in the area, which were already causing great trouble, and three-quarters of the world's population of Hunter's antelope.

Kenya had much good land, but it should not be farmed in fragments. It might be politically expedient to attempt to settle 5,000 people per square mile on good land, but productivity would be far higher if no more than a quarter of that number were in tenure.

African land in the Colony—and the deep red loam of Kikuyuland was among the best in the world—realized only 30% of its productivity whereas European farmland produced 60%.

Mr. Leslie Brown, Kenya's Deputy Director of Agriculture, supported Professor Darling's strictures by quoting three examples of "catastrophic mismanagement"—the Kongwa groundnut scheme, launched in an area of Tanganyika with insufficient rainfall; the Makueni settlement project in Kenya, set in tsetse fly country with too little rain; and the Olen-guone settlement scheme, also in Kenya, situated too high, where it was accordingly too wet and too cool.

Dr. L. S. B. Leakey suggested that, because of water's dominant place in tropical Africa, schemes should be devised for the inexpensive conversion of saline and otherwise unusable water into drinkable and useful water.

Low Priority

Mr. Anthony Smith, science correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, reported one delegate as asking a colleague: "Have you ever met an African naturalist? He commented: "This despairing remark is symptomatic of the fact that game management and conservation are low on the list of African priorities."

The new College of African Wildlife Management at Mreka in Tanganyika had only 22 enrolments for the 28 places available; Dr. Hugh Lamprey, the principal, had said that there was no interest. Yet Tanganyika had demanded that all game posts should be Africanized within four years.

"Another biologist", Mr. Smith continued, "said that what was wanted at the conference was for someone to state publicly that Europeans liked studying natural history and are good at it, while Africans do not like studying natural history and are consequently bad at it. Europeans should therefore stay in game posts, which are essentially non-political. While fine words about game welfare were being spoken by African politicians, the situation was in fact worse than ever before."

The conference was told that all species of rhino are in danger of extinction because of the still widely-held belief (amply disproved by scientific investigations) that the animal's horn possesses aphrodisiac and anti-senility properties.

Mr. Simeon ole Tipis, Narok county council game warden, has expressed disappointment that since the opening of the Keekorok Game Lodge several months ago he has seen no African visitors. "The lodge is not far from Kenya's principal towns where there are Africans holding high positions in the civil service or in the commercial field. It is high time they took an interest in seeing game as local tourists. Visitors can see vast herds of elephant and buffalo, as well as more lions than anywhere else in Kenya".

Day secondary Schools are to be built in every district of Nyasaland at a cost of £375,000 as part of a £900,000 development plan. They will raise the number of pupils from 1,740 to more than 6,000.



20

PLAYER'S

TRADE MARK

PLAYER'S
please
THE WORLD'S
BEST LIKED CIGARETTES

Mr. Ngala on Britain's Duty in Kenya Obligation to Safeguard Constitution

MR. RONALD NGALA, president of the Kenya African Democratic Union, has written from Nairobi to the *Daily Telegraph*:

"The Marquess of Salisbury places great stress on Britain's duty to help Europeans who wish to sell and leave their farms. But Britain has a far more pressing obligation than merely to buy out a few people who are unable or unwilling to adjust to new conditions. It is to ensure that at the moment of hand-over Kenya is running smoothly under an agreed Constitution.

"The existing Constitution embodies certain restraints and checks which were designed specifically to protect everyone in Kenya from a dictatorial or ruthless Government; yet Britain has so far failed in her duty to ensure that this Constitution is fully implemented.

"The greatest safeguard that Britain can offer to all the people of Kenya, including European farmers, is to see that an agreed and acceptable Constitution is fully operative by independence."

Though given the optimistic headline "Kenya Bid to Calm White Fears", a news telegram from Nairobi to the *Observer* contained emphatic reservations, saying, *inter alia* :—

"Many whites doubt whether a future African Government will be able to withstand mounting extremist pressures seeking to force Europeans out. Trade union leaders, and minor politicians still make threats and anti-European speeches. These attacks, coupled with reports of subversive activities in the forests, widespread crimes such as stock thefts and open defiance of the law, contribute to insecurity.

Farmers Stop Development

"On European farms this has led to the cessation of all development. Farms are run on a care-and-maintenance basis only, instead of being developed with an eye to 10 years ahead."

Estimating that the purchase of European farms for African settlement will cause not more than 1,000 farmers and their families to quit Kenya, the correspondent suggested that between 2,500 and 3,000 will remain.

"But the Congo disaster is too recent to be forgotten; this is why many Europeans remain hesitant to cut their final ties of nationality with Britain.

"Revenue will drop next year, once the run-down in the 3,000 expatriate civil servants takes place, followed by the departure of the 1,000 British ex-Servicemen and their families from the Kahawa and Eastleigh bases.

"The Government banks on the shortfall being offset by increased African purchasing power and the influx of new capital and technicians. Should they balance out, the Europeans who stay will escape crippling taxation.

"But those who look further ahead, especially with the future of their sons and daughters uppermost in mind, detect an ominous storm signal in the mounting tension between black nationalists and white racists in Southern Africa. If this erupts the anti-white feeling generated throughout black Africa might make the Europeans' position in Kenya untenable even for those bitterly opposed to *apartheid*."

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Kenya Citizenship Proposals

Two-Year Grace Period After Independence

DUAL CITIZENSHIP will not be permitted in Kenya, but the right to own property or land will not be tied to citizenship, Mr. T. J. Mboya, Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs, stated in Nairobi last week before leaving for the independence conference in London, which, he said, would discuss this question.

The Government would propose that citizenship should be conferred automatically by the law on persons who were born in Kenya, one of whose parents was born there, who was at independence a citizen of the U.K. and Colonies or a British protected person, or whose father was a Kenya citizen on the date of the person's birth.

Citizenship by registration within two years of December 12 would be available for citizens of the U.K. and Colonies and Eire who were lawfully and ordinarily resident in Kenya at independence; for Commonwealth citizens, and those of African States which offered reciprocal facilities to Kenya citizens, who had resided in Kenya for a defined period before or after independence; for persons born in Kenya of parents born elsewhere; for the wives and widows of Kenya citizens; and for those whose parents were Kenya citizens at the time of application to register.

Must Know Swahili

After the two-year period citizenship by naturalization would be open to those who had lived in the country for at least a year preceding their application and in all for four of the preceding seven years. One condition of suitability would be an adequate knowledge of Swahili.

Dual citizenship will not be allowed to any Kenya citizen. Registration and naturalization will therefore be effective only when a person who wishes to become a citizen formally renounces any other citizenship.

Commonwealth citizenship and citizens of any State in Africa will enjoy reciprocal rights in Kenya without becoming Kenya citizens. The Head of State may publish names of other countries with whom reciprocal rights are established. Beyond this everyone else would be an alien.

However, a person who acquired Kenya citizenship by operation of law and has already another citizenship shall not lose his Kenya citizenship unless he fails to renounce that other citizenship. A Kenya citizen who acquires another citizenship shall thereupon automatically forfeit his Kenya citizenship.

"The Government does not intend to tie the right of ownership of property or land to citizenship."

Air Partnership to End

DISSOLUTION of the B.O.A.C., S.A.A., E.A.A. and C.A.A. pool will take effect from October 12, the four air lines have decided, following the ban against the South African fleet introduced by most States in the Organization of African Unity and the threat of a Kenya Government spokesman "to take steps against all international airlines" carrying passengers or goods to or from the Republic. The South African Government has banned aircraft of East African Airways as from October 13 because they have been used recently to carry "political refugees". Bilateral talks on common interests are being held by the four airlines. The E.A.A. weekly flight from Nairobi to Johannesburg will be withdrawn. B.O.A.C. is still using Nairobi, but alternative routes are being examined for the London-Johannesburg schedule. Eight other air companies which may be involved are K.L.M., Sabena, Air France, Scandinavian Airlines, Alitalia, El Al, Lufthansa and Pan-American. [Mr. Mboya was reported in a telephone interview with the *Rand Daily Mail* to have threatened sanctions against all the above airlines. In London on Monday Kenya's Prime Minister denied that there was any such intention.—Ed.]

Marking his 71st birthday by an amnesty, the Emperor of Ethiopia has reduced sentences on 487 prisoners.

M.P. on Britain's "Disastrous Failure"

Expediency Has Governed Principles: Mr. Wall

MR. PATRICK WALL, Conservative M.P. for Haltemprice, who has paid many visits to East and Central Africa, has written in a letter to *The Times*:

"British withdrawal from her African Colonies since 1959-60 has not been planned and has been carried out at great speed. Expediency has governed principles, and as a result not only a small number of Europeans but a large number of Africans now face a decline in standards of freedom, security, and economy as independent African States become politically authoritarian and adopt Socialist economies.

"It is becoming increasingly clear that though the white man can work in independent Africa he cannot have his home there, as he finds the new standards of justice, education, and agricultural development intolerable.

"What then is the future of the whites in Southern Africa where some have been for over 300 years? They have the will and the power to fight and few doubt that they will do so.

"Britain's failure to introduce multi-racialism against local opposition at an earlier stage, and her equally disastrous failure to fight for multi-racialism when it was threatened by black domination, means that we shall soon have to choose between supporting the whites in Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, and South Africa or fighting against them. The recent United Nations action against Southern Rhodesia was largely motivated by the desire to deprive that country of her main defensive weapon, the Royal Rhodesian Air Force. Britain used the veto and will have to do so again.

"For the future of Africa as a whole a strong case can be made out for the virtual partition of the continent and for the continuance of white leadership in the industrial South provided the leaders are prepared to educate the majority race and gradually to share power with them.

"From the British point of view not only family ties but major investments, over-flying rights, use of vital airfields and ports, as well as access to 70% of the Free World's gold supply would be sacrificed if we supported the pan-African drive to eliminate the white settler from Africa. This choice may have to be made sooner than many may expect."

MRS. ELSPIETH HUXLEY commented that to ask the whites in Southern Africa to share political power was to urge them to commit race suicide. She wrote:—

"Mr. Wall urges a kiss of life for multi-racialism in South Africa, whose leaders should 'gradually share power with' the black majority. Alas, multi-racialism is dead beyond hope of revival, and there can be no sharing of power, only seizure of it.

"If the whites relinquish their grip, then the black majority will take it, as in Kenya—and as blacks, African racialists, not as so-called 'civilized men' measuring up to some common non-racial standard politically expressed in a qualified franchise

Funk and Expediency

"To urge whites in Southern Africa to share their political power is to urge them to commit race suicide. It may be right that they should do so—if a principle is right morally then no doubt it should be followed at whatever cost—but to expect them to embrace their fate gladly is to ask a lot, and to force them into it a considerable responsibility.

"Until we face this bleak reality I do not think we shall be able to extricate ourselves from the mixture of wishful thinking, good intentions, expediency, and funk, cemented with guilt money, that has passed for an African policy in the past few years.

"We believe in compromise and face-saving; most African nationalists do not. Theirs, they believe, is the earth of Africa and everything that's in it; and this they mean to have. Whether we think this 'reasonable' or not is beside the point. It is no good going on trying to ride a dead horse."

Africans Kill African Policeman

INSPECTOR CHITO of the Northern Rhodesia Police was killed by a mob of some 90 Africans at the weekend when, with a detachment of six African constables, he intervened while they were stoning the home of a police reservist. One of the constables, though badly beaten, managed to escape and bring reinforcements, but when they arrived the inspector was dead and the mob had fled.

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News Items in Brief

A self-service supermarket in Lusaka is planned by O.K. Bazaars, Ltd.

A £120,000 hotel in Luanshya is to be built by Heinrich's Syndicate, Ltd.

De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., have declared an interim dividend of 50%.

Ethiopia has removed the ban on the American magazine *Time*, imposed in May.

Zanzibar's best customer for cloves, Indonesia, hopes to be self-sufficient in that commodity within seven years.

Nyasaland Railways' redundancy plan, which has involved the dismissal of 1,750 men, has now been completed.

Television sets in use in the Rhodesias are now reported to number 44,227. Sales in the past six months have totalled 3,295.

There is now an Afro-Asian Journalists' Association, with headquarters in Jakarta, Indonesia. The initiative was taken by China.

Nineteen Africans from Uganda, six from Tanganyika, and four from Kenya have just completed their training in Israel as air pilots.

Federal Exodus

The largest maize cargo ever shipped from East Africa, one totalling 14,600 tons, is on its way from Mombasa to the Continent.

Tanganyika Information Services now refer to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland as "Zambia" and "Malawi" respectively.

By a majority of only four votes, the proposal to introduce a sales tax in Southern Rhodesia was approved last week by Parliament.

A £240,000 flour mill in Jinja is expected to be in commission next May. It will be able to produce all Uganda's flour requirements.

The Federation lost 2,085 Europeans in July and August. The August figure was 1,132, against only 183 in the same month last year.

Snow has fallen in the Kenya Highlands. London newspapers have published pictures of snow scenes between Nakuru and Eldoret.

The Association of Governing Bodies of Independent Schools in Southern Rhodesia has decided that African pupils may be admitted from next year.

Fibre extraction from banana skin for the manufacture of grain bags has been started experimentally in Mbale by the Uganda Development Corporation.

In raising its interim dividend to 6½% (against 5%) Lonrho, Ltd., state that the distribution for the year will not necessarily be higher than last year's.

East African shillings have for some time been the currency of the Southern Arabian Federation. They will be withdrawn in April and dinar currency substituted.

Seychelles Demands

Building of a new cement factory at Rabak, near Kosti, in the Sudan, is about to start. The contract to erect and equip the works has been placed in Yugoslavia.

Pineapples are being exported from Kenya to the United States, as well as to the United Kingdom and Germany, the main overseas markets of Kenya Canners, Ltd.

Five Cambridge undergraduates who visited Seychelles during the vacation and offered their services to the Government were employed on surveying land settlement plots.

Amboni Sisal Estates, Ltd., are building a £5,000 community centre on one of their plantations near Tanga for the use not only of their employees but of neighbouring villagers.

A drug developed in Britain and used experimentally during a recent smallpox outbreak in India is thought likely to prove more effective than vaccination in controlling the disease.

A Japanese goodwill mission visiting Tanganyika gave the President a ceremonial sword about 250 years old, saying that it symbolised the hope that he would be protected against all evil.

The Italian oil company AGIP is to spend more than £500,000 on a Nairobi headquarters and a further £275,000 in Westlands suburb on a motel, restaurant, two petrol stations, and premises for two banks.

The Co-operative Bank of Tanganyika, which has hitherto been restricted to co-operative societies, has now invited individuals to open current accounts. The bank has offices in Dar es Salaam, Moshi, Mwanza, and Bukoba.

The Seychelles Taxpayers' and Producers' Association is campaigning for replacement of the Governor by a Commissioner, for withdrawal of privileges enjoyed by expatriate officials, and for their substitution by local residents.

The Rotary Club of Umtali has leased the old migrant labour camp near Umtali in order to establish a home for aged Africans.

The National Assembly of Uganda has unanimously approved a motion demanding acceleration of Africanization at Makerere University College.

Of 20,916 immigrants into South Africa last year, 7,257 had come from the Federation, 1,707 from Kenya, 275 from Tanganyika, and 69 from the Congo.

Some 300 men from the 1st Bn. The Loyal Regiment (North Lancashire) have been flown from Kenya to Swaziland to replace about 550 Gordon Highlanders.

The 2nd Bn. The Scots Guards, who were sent to Zanzibar and Pemba on security duty during the recent election, have returned to their barracks at Kahawa, Kenya, except for one company.

Nkula Falls Dam

A grant of £30,700 has been made by the Rockefeller Foundation to the Ministry of Agriculture in Kenya towards the cost of a programme of maize improvement research and the training of staff.

A fortnight's trade union seminar held in Tanga is the first to be organized exclusively for leaders of plantation unions in Tanganyika, Kenya, and Uganda. It was conducted by Mr. George MacCray, of the Labour College in Kampala.

Eight actors from the United Kingdom who have produced Shaw's "Arms and the Man" at Uganda's National Theatre in Kampala have been served with income-return forms. There was also one for "George Bernard Shaw Esq."

Seeking a market for about 24,000 tons of coffee, the difference between an expected crop of 135,000 tons and an I.C.A. quota of 110,000 tons, the Uganda Coffee Marketing Board hopes to develop sales with China and other Eastern bloc countries.

Work has begun in Nyasaland on the Nkula Falls hydro-electric project, the first stage of which, costing £2.45m., will be financed by a C.D.C. loan of £1.85m., £400,000 from the local Government, and £100,000 each from the Standard Bank and Barclays Overseas Development Corporation.

Having received the Governor's assent, two controversial Bills have now become law in Nyasaland. One makes it an offence for motorists and cyclists not to pull to the side of the road and halt as Dr. Banda's car approaches. The other enables the Government to withhold from a landowner the right to grow certain crops.

Currency transfer restrictions on mining and other exporting companies in the Congo mean that after November 1 they will be allowed to retain only 20% (hitherto 30%) of their currency earnings. Officially on a par with the Belgian franc, or a value of 77 Belgian francs in the semi-official parallel market, the Congo franc is expected to be devalued to 33 Belgian centimes.

A Commonwealth Association of Architects is to be formed as a result of a conference just held in London under the auspices of the Royal Institute of British Architects. The steering committee consists of two representatives from the United Kingdom and one each from Australia, Canada, Asia (Malaya), and Africa (Nigeria). Mr. S. C. Lock and Mr. P. L. Oldfield, presidents of the East African and Southern Rhodesian Institutes of Architects, attended the conference.

Deans of the law faculties of the universities of Khartoum, Addis Ababa, Ghana and Lagos, and representatives of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and University College, Dar es Salaam, attended a recent two-day conference at Wadham College, Oxford, under the chairmanship of Dr. A. N. Allott, reader in African law in the University of London, which considered how the United Kingdom might help Africa in the recruitment of law teachers and the provision of text books and law libraries.

Rural Collapse

An appeal to Federal civil servants to co-operate in arrangements for their future has been made by the Federal Minister for the Public Service, who said a few days ago that the Federal Government consider the proposed terms fair and that territorial Governments would react "pretty violently" if officials tried to thwart the transfer to them of functions hitherto discharged by the Federation. Sir Edgar Whitehead has, however, described the compensation offers as totally inadequate.

The I.L.O. Conference in Geneva being held to discuss unemployment and under-employment in developing countries will consider a preliminary report about Africa which states that "because of extremely low productivity and incomes in agriculture and the increasing need for a cash income to pay taxes and buy consumer goods, the most productive and able-bodied male workers are leaving the land to seek wage-earning employment in the monetized sector. The exodus of such workers causes not only urban unemployment but also deterioration in agricultural production and disintegration of the traditional rural society."

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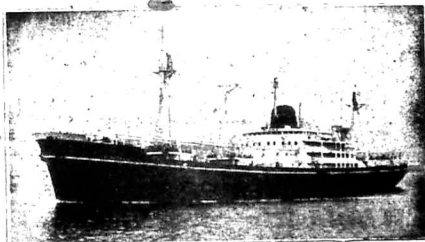
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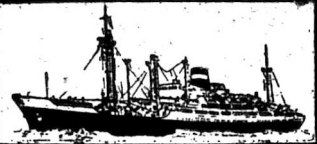
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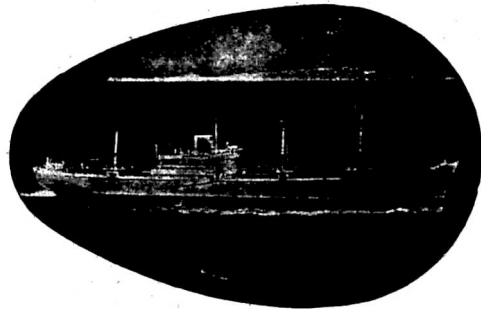
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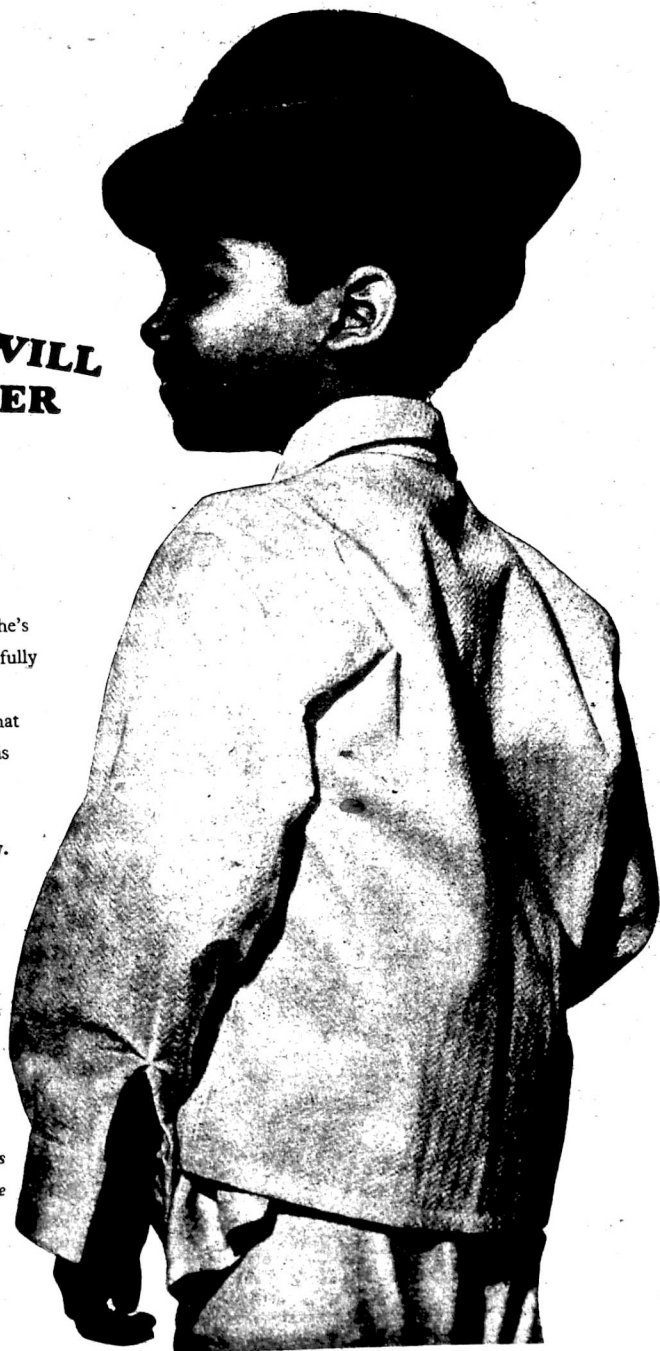
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

POLITICAL CANT, Ministerial levity, and constitutional imbecility in connexion with so-called "independence" for completely unviable British territories in Eastern Africa have been thrice exposed in London within about a week—needless to say, with scarcely a word of caution, let alone criticism, in the Press (*The Times* being for once an outspoken exception), and with complacent acceptance by Conservative M.Ps., few of whom now care what happens to the British territories overseas which not long ago were at least good for a peroration at any Tory gathering. It has been announced almost simultaneously that Zanzibar is to become independent on December 10 and Nyasaland seven months later; and negotiations for Kenya's independence on December 12 are proceeding. The Protectorate of Zanzibar, with a mixed population of about three hundred thousand, has a present annual deficit of some four hundred thousand pounds. Nyasaland, with a population nearly ten times as large, has received from the Federal Government subsidies of between four and five million pounds a year. Neither can hope to balance its budget in the calculable future. Neither has nationals adequately qualified and experienced to run the public services or the economy. Though both must depend on external help of all kinds, the world sees no incongruity in miscalling them independent and giving two more bankrupt entities voices at U.N.O., where each will have the same voting strength as a once-Great Britain and a dis-United States of America (which has on its hands a colour problem besides which that of Southern Rhodesia pales into insignificance).

* * *

Despite their condition of chronic and continuing indebtedness to the taxpayers of the

United Kingdom, Zanzibar and Nyasaland—and Kenya if the present conference papers over the great chasm which divides the two main African parties—will establish expensive embassies around the globe, dispatch Ministers and their suites to all sorts of international conclaves at considerable cost (and often for little reason except that of pretended prestige), and, by adding to the Afro-Asian bloc, extend the risk of a world bitterly divided by colour. The three territories are naturally not to be blamed for seeking for themselves what has been so recklessly granted in other inappropriate cases by successive Governments in Britain— Governments which have shown little resolution for anything except the destruction of an Empire which it was their bounden duty to administer until the inhabitants of the various Colonies and Protectorates had reached the stage at which they could accept the responsibility with a genuine prospect of providing sound government at something like existing standards. In many countries that might have been achieved in a generation, or even a little less; but Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod, and Mr. (now Sir Michael) Blundell, unable to resist Mau Mau-type pressure, nevertheless set Kenya on the path to destruction less than four years ago. From that crime has stemmed indescribable tragedy throughout East and Central Africa.

* * *

Zanzibar's characteristic lethargy may, it is to be hoped, spare it from obvious dangers. In economic terms it would be much more sensible to grant independence to the Isle of

Dangers Ahead For Zanzibar. Wight. Zanzibar, moreover, has such angry racialism just below the surface that more than sixty of its people were killed during last

year's general election; and at the election a few weeks ago feelings still ran so high that British troops had to be flown in to prevent a repetition of rioting and murder. In so inflammatory a situation political differences and difficulties could be exploited by external schemers; and among those who have spent time and much money on Zanzibari political activists are the Chinese Communists (whose power of mischief is deemed substantial by some objective observers) and the Egyptian militarists under President Nasser (who has made a point of attracting to schools and universities in Cairo the sons of Zanzibar notables). The agents of Peking and Cairo in Zanzibar will be under pressure to seek and create opportunities for dissension, for both the Chinese and Russian brands of Communism (the latter working temporarily through Egypt) consider that they can make great advances in East Africa in the next few years—within which period hundreds of young students, many of them trained as saboteurs and "freedom fighters", and all as subversionists, will return home to the mainland territories and the off-shore islands. For none of them will the post-colonial era be happily *insouciant*.

* * *

Vanity, a distinguishing characteristic of so many of the African nationalist leaders, is responsible for the choice of July 6 as the date for Nyasaland's independence, for it will

Erosion of Law In Nyasaland.

mark the sixth anniversary of the return of Dr. Hastings Banda (who quickly dropped Hastings for Kamuzu) to take control of the African National Congress (which likewise changed its name to Malawi Congress Party). By the usual methods of terrorism, it soon dominated the country, for, acting on Colonial Office orders, an apathetic Administration neglected to check intimidation and oppression, or even to curb the overt activities of the illegal "Malawi police". British members of the Nyasaland Police have even been expected to turn a blind eye upon offences which by any stretch of the imagination could be termed political. In short, the Government abdicated. Thus encouraged, sycophantic followers of Dr. Banda, including Ministers, indulged in the wildest utterances in and out of the Legislature, several threatening to "deal with" non-Africans in their midst. As EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has recorded — again as recently as last week — murder, torture, illegal imprisonment, and other crimes have been committed with impunity even while British "protection" has supposedly continued. Since the foregoing words were

written Mr. Greenfield, the Federal Minister of Law, has made a second speech on the erosion of law in Nyasaland; it appears full in other columns. It is evident that dictatorship is already so completely in control that the formal grant of independence can give the Malawi Party little additional power.

* * *

On behalf of the United Kingdom Government—which acts nowadays with incredible stupidity in Africa, learning nothing from the catastrophic failure of its policy in territory

What Kind of "Independence"?

after territory — Mr. Butler, Minister for Central African Affairs, agreed the date for independence without even awaiting satisfactory arrangements in regard to financial, economic, and other highly important questions. He has imprudently accepted an assurance from Dr. Banda that the Nyasaland Government "would make every effort to enable a satisfactory agreement to be reached between the two Governments on financial matters before the date of independence." One safe prophesy is that the United Kingdom Government, as part of its face-saving operation, will pour many more millions into a Nyasaland which will become less and less efficient and therefore an increasingly bad risk. Having been generously subsidized by the Federation which Dr. Banda exerted himself to destroy, Nyasaland will now be promised comparable financial assistance from Britain, not merely for development purposes, but also to meet current budgetary needs. The financial settlement may well be "satisfactory" to the recipients. It will be unsatisfactory to Britain by any normal test. So another State becomes "independent" long before it can meet any of the customary commitments of civilized communities—those of financing and manning the essential public and social services and the basic transport, professional and business requirements of the country. By giving way to Dr. Banda, Mr. Butler forces the Government of Southern Rhodesia to renew its demand for independence. That Colony has been fully self-governing and self-financing for forty years, and it is fantastic to deny it a status which is conceded to an indigent and underdeveloped neighbour simply because the British Cabinet lacks the courage to resist Malawi Party threats (which the *Guardian* characteristically describes as "rugged diplomacy").

.. ..

IF HONOUR had not been abandoned by the Macmillan Government as its guiding principle in African affairs, the Kenya

Independence Conference now sitting in Lancaster House would not face complicated and controversial issues. Indeed, the Lord Chancellor told the House of Lords on May 15, 1962, that "the Constitution is intended to be the Constitution which Kenya will have when it attains independence". In flat contradiction of that decision, the Government has been preparing to re-examine what it regarded only last year as the final word on the subject. The problem is now explosive again only because the Kenya African National Union, having won a general election, and knowing that our deplorable Government has often broken its pledges in Africa, expects tough talk to produce another act of abject appeasement in its favour. Mzee Kenyatta, Kenya's Prime Minister, made that very clear last week in a speech which epitomized the attitude of his party—one which Mr. Ngala, Leader of the Opposition justifiably dismissed as "irrelevant, misleading, and even dangerous". K.A.N.U.'s basic contention is that an agreement which has become inconvenient to impatient politicians now in office must be scrapped; and with that impertinent postulate was coupled the menacing intimation that if the United Kingdom did not now change the Constitution to the party's satisfaction the Kenyatta Government would do precisely what it liked when Kenya became independent. It is under that stark threat that a member of the Royal House will be expected to fly to Nairobi to witness the striking of the British flag and the hoisting of Kenya's new emblem; and during the celebrations the Queen's blood relation will be condemned to intimate contact with the man whom the courts found guilty of managing Mau Mau, the foulest conspiracy against the Crown in British African history. Such are the rotten fruits of Macmillanism.

* * *

The Secretary of State for the Colonies said last week that Britain's aim is a Kenya in which there can be confidence in the sanctity of individual rights and liberties, proper

Misgoverning in The Queen's Name.

safeguards for the interests of minorities, a right balance between the powers given to the Central Government and the regional authorities, and a Constitution not basically changed from that to which there was all-party agreement at last year's Lancaster House Conference and during his visit to Nairobi six months ago. Kenya became self-governing as recently as June 1, after a general election which gave K.A.N.U. eighty-

two seats in the House of Representatives and twenty in the Senate and K.A.D.U. forty-two in the Lower House and eighteen in the Upper Chamber. Mr. Mboya, Minister for Constitutional Affairs and Minister for Justice (save the mark!), promptly declared that the Constitution must be radically altered; and it should be recalled that before the ink was dry on the agreement of February 1960 which condemned Kenya to MacBlundellism, a document bearing his signature, he denounced it as out of date. One lesson of that kind from that quarter is not enough for those who misgovern in the Queen's name.

* * *

K.A.D.U., which represents the smaller tribes, at once objected to the breach of trust planned by K.A.N.U., and its anxieties have inevitably developed as evidence has increased that the Kenyatta Government intends to impose its will under the smoke-screen

of *Harambee*. Ministers keep on repeating that slogan (which means "pulling together"), and the conference has been assured that unity prevails throughout the land and that opposition to the Government is now unimportant. Both assertions were misleading and even dangerous, to use Mr. Ngala's words. The Prime Minister then blandly suggested that the way to remove contention and friction was to scrap the document which, after two months of wrangling in London and a further year of argument in Nairobi, provides for the smaller tribes the minimum measure of protection which they and H.M. Government regarded as essential. Mr. Sandys and his predecessor, Mr. Maudling, are so completely committed to the principle of regionalism that Britain cannot honourably approve K.A.N.U.'s demand that the seven regional assemblies shall be reduced to county council status and be made to recognize that all real power will reside in a Kikuyu-Luo-Kamba dictatorship in Nairobi. The Kenyatta statement referred to massive compromises and artificial feelings of mistrust and fear. Though his reference was to the negotiation of the Constitution, it might equally well be applied to his own party hierarchy, some of the most influential members of which seem to delight to exhibit their jealousy and hatred of one another.

* * *

They are, however, at one in demanding drastic changes in the Constitution which H.M. Government is pledged not to grant.

The real issue is whether the Cabinet will once more collapse before a show of African intransigence, backed this time by a blunt Kenyatta warning which means: "Do as we demand, or, having deprived yourselves of all power to resist us, watch us do what we like as soon as you have surrendered authority". This contemptuous and contemptible attitude has, of course, not been made clear to the British public, which is quite unaware that, as a direct consequence of Conservative Party folly, there is now the stark choice between immediate surrender to political blackmail or acceptance of the fact that in the immediate future the Kenyatta-Odinga-Mboya combination will take the risk of destroying what protection remains for tribal and other minorities—an act which might plunge Kenya into civil war. A less supine Government in Britain could still take a third course: it could exert its authority not only as the ruling Power but under the statement presented to Parliament as recently as July, which reads: "Having regard to the date envisaged for the inauguration of the Federation, and subject to the necessary steps being completed in time, Kenya will become independent on December 12".

* * *

Everyone now knows the absurdity of the Ministerial assumption that an East African Federation would be created before the end of this year, and that the first of the conditions will therefore not be fulfilled. If arrangements acceptable to K.A.D.U. cannot now be reached at Lancaster

Political Immorality.

House, the second condition will similarly not be fulfilled. On the basis of Mr. Sandys's words in the House of Commons, there would then be no justification to relinquish British sovereignty on December 12. That awkward fact—which not one British newspaper or M.P. has, so far as we know, mentioned—has perhaps not been overlooked by the K.A.N.U. leaders, for their spokesman said at the opening session of the conference: "Our plans for independence on December 12 are firm, and all invitations have now been sent out". A broad hint of that kind thoroughly frightens the Macmillanists, whose dilemma is aggravated by the circumstance that the party's annual conference will open in a few days. On that crucial occasion is the news about Kenya to be of dishonourable surrender or of twelfth-hour adherence to the most solemn pledges? Could there be a worse commentary on the political immorality of the day than that nobody can feel sure that principle will prevail?

Statements Worth Noting

"Our great problem today is that African youths are busy throwing stones at each other. If Sithole and I cause boys to fight, it is not their fault but ours".—Mr. Joshua Nkomo.

"Chinese delegates have been quoted as talking to Africans of the importance of 'us blacks sticking together'".—From a *Daily Telegraph* report on Communist attitudes to racial discrimination.

"Merely to keep pace with Kenya's population increase of 3% per annum it will be necessary to provide an additional 350 hospital beds each year at a capital cost of about £280,000".—The Prime Minister.

"The women of Tanganyika played an important part in the struggle against colonialism. Now they must battle against poverty, ignorance and disease".—Chief Joseph Mbeyela, Area Commissioner for Mbeya.

"Big business concerns, such as sisal and tea estates, should plough back their profits into the country to boost its economy instead of transferring them overseas".—The Regional Commissioner for Tanga, Mr. Rashidi Abdallah.

"We must forget our famous Swahili motto '*Ponda mali, kufa kwaja*' (Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die) and substitute the less spectacular '*Akiba haiizi*' (Save something for a rainy day)".—Mr. L. Sijaona, speaking in Tanganyika.

"African clergymen might work as curates in Britain's towns and villages for three-year spells and so try to break down racial barriers. Prejudice has to be broken down. That might be a way to do it".—Dr. Donald Coggan, Archbishop of York.

"On the front page of an African newspaper there appeared recently the pictures of two women. One was the Russian woman astronaut, just returned from her dramatic tour in space; the other was Christine Keeler. The caption to the picture was: 'Africa, which do you choose?'".—The Marchioness of Graham.

"Our young people have complained about the [European] civil servants, but we who are in key posts know for certain what good work is being done behind doors by our civil servants".—Mr. Kaunda, president of the United National Independence Party and a Minister in the Northern Rhodesian Government.

"We must have a paper and pulp industry in the very near future to enable us to make better use of our forests, because only 40% of the trees felled for logging are used for timber and 60% are wasted".—Dr. J. G. Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry in Kenya, after visiting the Elburgon forest station and Sokoro Sawmills.

"Even if some of your subjects of study may be a little bemusing to the uninstructed—for example, electro-encephalographic studies in *sequelae* of kwashiorkor—all will be turned to use where possible".—Sir Evelyn Hone, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, opening the Scientific and Medical Congress in Lusaka.

"Like most visitors to Mozambique, I, an Australian, was astonished at the peace, racial harmony and progress in that much-maligned Portuguese province. As I visited 18 other African countries, nearly all beset by racial hatred, crime or economic chaos, the change was most agreeable".—Miss Shirley Duncan, in a letter to *The Times*.

"Income tax rates should be as low as possible in order to attract the skilled persons required by Southern Rhodesia. There must be greater emphasis on indirect forms of taxation, and the aim must be to design taxation to encourage economic growth and improved standards of living".—Mr. I. D. Smith, M.P., Southern Rhodesia's Minister of the Treasury.

Notes By The Way

Lengthy Irrelevance

ABRUPTLY DISMISSING as an irrelevance a 19-minute speech which the Prime Minister of Kenya had just delivered at the opening session of the Lancaster House Conference, the third in London since the beginning of 1960 concerning Kenya's political future, Mr. Ronald Ngala, Leader of the Opposition, spoke for merely one minute. To both a limit of three minutes had been suggested. That one should take more than six times his allotted span and the other one-third of it is evidence enough of their attitudes. Mr. Sandys, Secretary of State for the Colonies, needed no more than five minutes for his welcome to the delegates and a polite but unmistakable indication that the view of the United Kingdom Government differed fundamentally from that of the Kenyatta Administration. Mr. Maconochie Welwood spoke for four minutes for the European community, which, despite its experiences of MacBlundellism's callous disregard of solemn pledges, still expects Britain to act honourably towards those whom it induced to take up land in the Colony.

Wonderful Leader

RHODESIANS are not being permitted a monopoly of the opportunity of giving tangible expression of their gratitude to Sir Roy Welensky for his devoted and courageous championship of their cause over the years. A few days ago I received from a well-known Kenya settler a generous cheque with a request that I should forward it to the organizers in Southern Rhodesia of the Sir Roy Welensky Fund, indicating that it was sent "in esteem for a very wonderful leader". There must, I am sure, have been other contributions direct from Kenya, and, equally certainly, from some of the many former farmers and businessmen in that Colony who have gone to Central and South Africa since MacBlundellism set about destroying the Kenya for which they had such affection and of which they had held such high hopes.

African Sets the Pace

THE IDEA, sedulously circulated throughout the world by Southern Rhodesia's critics, that the Rhodesian Front, the political party which provides the Colony with its present Government, is bitterly anti-African was strikingly corrected during the party congress in Salisbury last week, when Mr. Isaac Samuriwo, an African who was formerly a Member of the Federal Parliament, rose at the back of the hall and offered to give £10 to party funds if another 20 members would do likewise. Prompt acceptance of the challenge brought donations during the two days to £4,000. Captain Louis Boshoff, of Darwendale, rounding off the total when it stood at £3,884. That half of the money should have come from the spontaneous initiative of an African cannot be easily explained away by the loquacious politicians of his race who so angrily denounce inter-racial political co-operation. Instead of facing the task they will doubtless adopt their customary attitude of ignoring whatever is inconvenient.

Pontifical

TRIBUNE, a left-wing Socialist weekly, seldom omits at least one highly critical comment on some East or Central African subject. In its current issue this self-assured and dogmatic assailant of European activities in Southern Rhodesia shows that it cannot be bothered even to acquaint itself with the correct name of an African political movement which it supports or that

of its leader. After months of private and public quarrelling with Mr. Joshua Nkomo, who had appointed him the representative in Tanganyika of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole recently formed a rival organization, the Zimbabwe African National Union. *Tribune* calls it the "Zambaleme" African National Union and gives the forename of Mr. Sithole as 'Nramambigi'. Two such pieces of carelessness in three lines may mean nothing to the many Socialists who look to the paper for authoritative news and comment, but they are an indication that a journal whose African "expert" is Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., is more assertive than accurate.

Persistence Rewarded

BEHIND THE NEWS that the German national air line will shortly be granted landing rights at Nairobi Airport there is a story of persistence of which the public knows nothing. The Germans have been trying for years to obtain what they have now been promised, and they have been so anxious to obtain the concession that the waiting period has proved remunerative from the standpoint of East Africa as a whole. In the recent past the Republic of Western Germany has provided and offered substantial sums for the East African territories, to which it has also sent experts of various kinds, including leading financial advisers. It has also accepted an increasing number of Africans for educational, technical, and vocational training. Moreover, the number of German businessmen visiting Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda has risen noticeably, and the groups represented by some of them are already committed to considerable investments. Visits by African Ministers to Bonn have likewise been numerous and productive. While Germany argued her case she has, it will be seen, given tangible evidence of substantial interest in Kenya and her neighbours. British interest weakens, that of Germany grows. East African Airways, which has so splendid a record in profitable as well as safe operation, cannot be expected to be pleased at impending competition from the heavily subsidized Lufthansa.

Prudential Insurance

WHETHER MAILS are sometimes secretly censored in Tanganyika I do not know, but there is evidently a fear that that may be happening, for I now occasionally receive correspondence from the republic which bears neither the signature nor the address of the sender. That has happened twice within a week, the point of dispatch being in each case Dar es Salaam, and the style of the communications making it evident that they were not written by the same person. Though neither letter contained any criticism of conditions in Tanganyika, both writers obviously thought it prudent to avoid being identified. Other people have similar reservations about *Uhuru*, for unsigned communications had previously been received from outside the capital.

Educational Hazards

A GOOD STORY is circulating in American circles with African interests. It is that an American visitor to the Congo asked an African who had been educated in France and was strongly anti-Communist why he had allowed his young son to go to Moscow on a scholarship. The reply was: "After a year in Moscow he is bound to return a confirmed capitalist, whereas if I sent him to Paris he would probably come back with Communist ideas."

K.A.N.U. Government Will Not Accept Present "Compromise"

Opposition's Reliance on British Integrity: Prime Minister Accused of Misleadership

KENYA'S Independence Conference opened in London at Lancaster House on Wednesday last week. It was adjourned on Monday when K.A.D.U. threatened "to force the issue" and protested about Britain's delaying tactics.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for the Colonies, offered a warm welcome to the delegates, and continued:—

"This is the fourth important conference held in the last three years to consider the future of Kenya. There was the conference in Lancaster House in January 1960, the second conference also here in February 1962, and the conference which we had in Nairobi in February of this year. Some of you have taken part in all these meetings. It has certainly not been an easy path, and it would have been a bold man who three years ago would have predicted that we would be sitting here in 1963 settling the final steps to lead Kenya to full independence.

Confidence in Safeguards

"The earlier conferences all faced difficult problems, and I am inclined to think that this conference is not likely to be an exception. However, on each previous occasion, after much argument and heart searching, agreement was eventually reached, and I trust that we too will manage to do the same.

"At the Lancaster House conference in 1962 the delegates of all parties agreed upon a framework for Kenya's future Constitution. This declared—and I am quoting from it—'that our objective is a united Kenya nation capable of social and economic progress in the modern world and a Kenya in which men and women have confidence in the sanctity of individual rights and liberties and in the proper safeguarding of the interests of minorities'.

"In all our constitutional talks our aim has been to reconcile the need for efficient administration with the protection of the interests of the various tribes and communities of which Kenya is composed. Our main task has thus been to establish a proper balance between the powers of the Central Government and those of the regional authorities.

Without "Basic" Changes

"Most of the problems with which we shall be faced in this conference will in one way or another be concerned with this question of the balance between centre and regions. I hope that, without making basic changes in what we have previously agreed, we shall have the wisdom to find solutions which, on the one hand, will maintain confidence among all sections of Kenya's population, and, on the other, ensure that the Government has the means to govern.

"The wish of us all is that an independent Kenya would enjoy political stability and economic progress. An essential condition for both these objectives is a Constitution firmly based upon agreement and good will of all sections of the people. To achieve that agreement and to establish that good will is our task at this conference. With the help of you all I feel sure that we shall succeed."

THE PRIME MINISTER OF KENYA, Mzee Kenyatta, said:—

"On behalf of the Kenya Government, I convey to you, Mr. Secretary of State, our good wishes, and take this opportunity to thank you for the understanding and helpful manner in which you dealt with our Ministerial delegation in June this year. All our people were grateful for and encouraged by the announcement of December 12 as the date for independence. This announcement, together with the efforts made by our Government in the last three and a half months, have helped to give Kenya greater unity, peace and harmony.

"Already there is a measure of stability that Kenya has not known in the last ten years. We are now confident that economic recovery is well on the way. This year, as you know, we have been able to balance our budget through internal measures. The mood and spirit of our people and country is one of hope, confidence and great expectations.

"Our plans for independence on December 12 are firm and all invitations have now been sent out, together with orders for our new national flag and coat of arms. The work on the Uhuru Stadium is well advanced, and we hope that you, sir, will come to Kenya to share with us the festivities of that momentous day.

Great Expectations

"As I have already said, the mood and spirit of the people of Kenya of all races and tribes is one of hope, confidence, and great expectations. The spirit of *harambee* and unity has been acknowledged and recognized throughout the land. It is with this background that we now meet here in London. This is entirely different from the background and atmosphere that surrounded the last Lancaster House Conference. At that time suspicions and leadership claims, coupled with the negative attitude of the Colonial Government, had created tension nearing explosion. The representation at the conference was by political parties and some racial groups, none of which had proven its popularity and Kenya had a minority Government. It was acknowledged by all, including H.M. Government, that this did not make for the peace and stability of Kenya.

"Today these things are all gone. We come here as a stable, popularly elected Government of the people of Kenya, enjoying increasing support and response from all sections and tribes of the country. Opposition is not only a small minority in Parliament, but in the recent county and municipal elections it has failed to retain any real control even in its former strongholds. In Mombasa, Coast, Rift Valley, and the Western Regions the people have demonstrated their confidence in the Government and voted for unity and stability, disclaiming secession, autonomy, and even regionalism. K.A.N.U. won big majorities in Malindi, Mombasa, Eldoret and in other centres in county and municipal elections. In addition, of course, eight out of the 13 members of Parliament from the Western Region, long supposed to be an Opposition stronghold, support the Government.

"The fact that we must therefore emphasize at the outset is the change in political circumstances since we last met. This change must be borne in mind as we discuss the various issues before us. It is a change to which H.M. Government must also respond if you are to help the Kenya Government to consolidate the gains that have already been made in the last three and a half months towards unity and stability.

Remove Friction

"As far as the issues for discussion are concerned, you have already received the various papers arising out of the Nairobi preparatory talks. At those talks in Nairobi majority decisions were clearly recorded. At the last stage the K.A.D.U. Opposition boycotted the talks but under the chairmanship of the Governor we were told the talks would go on. Consequently, a number of issues were discussed in which there was unanimous agreement between the Government and the other parties. In the light of these circumstances it is the view of my Government that this wide measure of agreement in Kenya must be recognized and acted upon. To re-open completely the Nairobi talks would amount to suggesting that K.A.D.U. had veto powers and that the labours of our efforts in Nairobi were wasted.

"We would also like to add that in this conference responsibility for the future stability of Kenya lies squarely on the shoulders of the two Governments, namely, Kenya and H.M. Government. It is these two Governments that must take responsibility for all the decisions to be made here.

"Our whole effort in this conference is to endeavour to give Kenya a workable Constitution guaranteeing stability and effective Government in the years after independence. We must remove contention and friction in the machinery of

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Erosion of the Rule of Law in Nyasaland

Further Serious Disclosures by Federal Minister of Law*

I EXPRESSED CONCERN on July 30 about the new local courts in Nyasaland. Numerous cases have been the use of insulting language towards Dr. Banda, the Prime Minister, and the courts have inflicted substantial sentences of imprisonment without the option of a fine.

In several cases people have been tried and convicted for non-existent offences and lodged in prison. In such cases a higher authority has intervened and quashed the convictions, but in two of them the victim of the injustice languished in prison for three weeks before the case was quashed.

The following cases have come to notice since July 30:—

Regina v. James Chipwanya.—On July 25, Chipwanya, a retired policeman, was sentenced by the Zomba Local Court to six months' imprisonment with hard labour plus a fine of £50 for "using insulting language against Dr. Banda in contravention of the Penal Code section 183B."

On August 1 the officer in charge of the prison received a letter from the president of the court saying:—"Prisoner James Billy Chipwanya: I have to inform you that the above-mentioned prisoner has been found guilty of insulting language, therefore the sentence is now increased to one year I.H.L. The commitment (sic) warrant will follow". It appears that accused had appealed to the Zomba Local Appeal Court, which thereupon purported to double his term of imprisonment. Subsequently the conviction was quashed.

Jailed for Not Having Malawi Cards

Regina v. Aduliya Kambalame; Regina v. Emeles Misomali. On July 26 two women were each sentenced by the Luchita Local Court to six months' imprisonment with hard labour. The warrants of commitment, which were in the Nyanja language, disclosed the alleged offence of "refusing to buy Malawi cards, thereby shaming Dr. Banda under section 183A of the Penal Code, Chapter 23".

The section of the statute referred to does not bear out the existence of an offence of this type, and in any event provides for a maximum penalty of three months imprisonment with hard labour, plus a fine of £25. The two women were nevertheless lodged in prison. The convictions were subsequently quashed, on August 16, by which time the women had been in prison for three weeks.

Regina v. Angé Bredahl.—Bredahl, a Danish subject, had lodged a complaint to the local court concerning an assault upon himself. The complaint was dismissed, and Bredahl then made representations as a result of which a re-trial was ordered. On July 27, Bredahl attended the court in connexion with these proceedings. The case was again dismissed, but Bredahl, without warning or summons, was then and there interrogated by the court about alleged insults to Dr. Banda, and was summarily found guilty of behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour, plus a fine of £25. An African witness in connexion with the original complaint was summarily

convicted of perjury and awarded the same sentence. Both were lodged in prison.

Subsequently, after representations by the Danish Consul-General, they were released on bail. The convictions were later quashed.

Regina v. Squire.—On August 16, Mrs. Squire, wife of a Federal civil servant, was tried before the Lilongwe Local Court on a charge of using insulting language likely to cause a breach of the peace in contravention of section 183B of the Penal Code. The charge arose out of a reprimand given by Mrs. Squire, who was a shop assistant, to a fellow employee in connexion with non-delivery by him of customers' goods. The trial of this case occupied three hours, at the end of which Mrs. Squire was acquitted.

Incomprehensible Judgment

The judgment of the court was as follows:—"The court is satisfied that the defendant said these words, and because the complainant does not understand English properly so he must have understood exactly what the plaintiff was saying. The court is satisfied that the complainant has failed to cross-examine the defendant and has failed to cross-examine the manager. This court is satisfied that if the lady has got such a habit she will one day do it again, so the court has decided to acquit her".

In spite of the verdict of acquittal, the terms of the judgment hardly inspire confidence in the ability of the court to adjudicate cases of this sort. It will be noted that although it was a criminal trial the court assigned to the complainant the task of cross-examining the accused!

Mkumbira v. Regina.—On September 12 the High Court of Nyasaland set aside a conviction by a local court of Sub-Chief Mkumbira, who had been sentenced to a term of imprisonment by a local court for theft of some fish. The charge arose out of the destruction of a basket of rotten fish. After serving three and a half months of his sentence, Mkumbira applied to the High Court for leave to appeal out of time. Counsel for the Crown opposed the application, but on leave being given he conceded that there had been no evidence of theft to justify the conviction.

Hard Labour for "Insulting Language"

I append a table of cases of persons convicted of using insulting language, the details of which do not fully appear from the warrants of commitment:

Name	Date	Sentence
Eneas Phiri	11.6.63	6 months I.H.L.
Wyson Mussa	24.7.63	10 months I.H.L.
Evance Saima	7.8.63	1 month I.H.L.
Jonas Kajawa	7.8.63	2 months I.H.L.
Greval Naphwanga	7.8.63	3 months I.H.L.
Denson Nakwenya	9.8.63	6 months I.H.L.
*Mathew Nwa	12.8.63	12 months I.H.L.
*Ludwika Mukwita	12.8.63	12 months I.H.L.
Yokoni alias Matenge (aged 62)	17.8.63	6 months I.H.L.
Clyton Likanga	27.8.63	6 months I.H.L.

*Appeals in these two cases were allowed and the convictions quashed on 10.9.63

Mr. Clement Kumbikano, who in 1953 was elected a Member of the Federal Assembly representing Nyasaland Africans, made representations to the Governor about the cases of Saima, Kajawa and Naphwanga, mentioned above, but the Governor was unable to intervene. Mr. Kumbikano has written to me saying:

"The erosion of the rule of law in Nyasaland is widespread and can only be compared to the bad old times before the establishment of British protection over this country when the rule was 'survival of the strongest only'.

"The Church used to be the friend of the oppressed. In Nyasaland the Church seems to have sold its birthright by compromising with the situation as it is, and the people in Scotland seem content in believing that the work which

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*Mr. J. M. Greenfield, Q.C., Minister of Law in the Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, made in the Federal Parliament at the end of July a statement about the erosion of the rule of law in Nyasaland since that country was granted self-government. Last week EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA disclosed details of further disturbing incidents. We have since received the full text of this new statement by Mr. Greenfield.

PERSONALIA

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY has been appointed a trustee of the British Museum.

PRINCESS ALICE, COUNTESS OF ATHLONE, flew back to London at the week-end from a visit to Canada.

DR. R. DICKIE, Deputy Director of Medical Services in Nyasaland, has spent part of his leave in Sarawak.

HIS MAJESTY HAILE SELASSIE, Emperor of Ethiopia, left Addis Ababa on Monday for the United States.

MR. F. SOUTHWORTH, Q.C., a puisne judge in Nyasaland, is in this country on leave until early November.

MR. G. J. COLE, chairman of Unilever, Ltd., has been appointed a director of Commonwealth Development Finance Co., Ltd.

THE REV. H. TAYLOR, vicar of Molo, Kenya, is to be vicar of All Saints, Sudbury, in the diocese of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich.

LORD GLENCONNER has joined the board of Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa, Ltd., which has large Central African interests.

MR. M. STEWART-SHAW, managing director of Central African Airways, and MRS. STEWART-SHAW arrived last Friday by the PENDENNIS CASTLE.

MR. J. D. SLAVEN, of the Federal Public Service Commission, has been appointed Secretary-designate for European education in Southern Rhodesia.

LORD HOWICK OF GLENDALE, who as SIR EVELYN BARING was Governor of Kenya throughout the Mau Mau Rebellion, was 60 on Sunday.

MWALIMU NYERERE and MR. KAUNDA are stated to have agreed on a rail link between Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia and on joint promotion of tourism.

LORD HOME, Foreign Secretary, and MR. DEAN RUSK, American Secretary of State, discussed "colonialism" and Afro-Asian pressures in the U.N. in New York this week.

MISS MARGARET KENYATTA, a daughter of Kenya's Prime Minister, was elected to Nairobi City Council last week, when K.A.N.U. candidates won 27 of the 30 seats.

THE REV. NDBANINGI SITHOLE, president of the new Zimbabwe African National Union of Southern Rhodesia, has been invited to Ghana by PRESIDENT NKRUMAH.

COLONEL and MRS. C. F. KNAGGS, who for many years farmed in the Mau district of Kenya, have sailed for South Africa after a holiday in the United Kingdom.

The Acting Federal High Commissioner in London, MR. M. J. LAMB, will hold a reception next Thursday evening for the Federal Prime Minister, SIR ROY WELENSKY.

MR. WAZIRI JUMA has been sworn in as Regional Commissioner for the Southern Highlands of Tanganyika.

PRESIDENT KASAVUBU of the Congo has dismissed the Parliament because members refused to discuss a new Constitution, which is being prepared by a special commission instead.

MR. PETER CANISIO WALWA, M.P., formerly Regional Commissioner for Arusha, is now Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of External Affairs and Defence in Tanganyika.

THE REV. P. J. ALDOUS, priest-in-charge of Christ Church, Dogsthorpe, Peterborough, is to become chaplain of St. Cyprian's Theological College, Ngala, near Lindi, Tanganyika.

MR. LESLIE HALE, a Socialist M.P. who has twice visited East Africa, is the author of a first novel, entitled "None So Blind". The setting is an independent African State.

As he passed through Lisbon last week on his way to the U.S.A., SIR ROY WELENSKY, the Federal Prime Minister, conferred with DR. FRANCO NOGUEIRA, Portugal's Foreign Minister.

MR. J. K. MICHIE, chairman of National & Grindlays Bank, Ltd., read the lesson at a service held on Monday in St. Helen's Church, Bishopsgate, E.C.2, on the occasion of the bank's centenary.

MR. E. J. B. ROSE, lately director of the International Press Institute in Zurich, is to conduct the survey of race relations in Britain which is being financed by £70,000 from the Nuffield Foundation.

DR. NJOROGE MUNGAL, Minister of Health and Social Services in Kenya, opened in the Royal Festival Hall, London, last week an exhibition of photographs organized by the Save the Children Fund.

MR. RASHIDI KAWAWA, Vice-President of Tanganyika, warned during a recent tour those living along the Mozambique border in the Southern Highlands Region to beware of "foreigners, who might be spies".

LORD CRAIGMYLE is to sell two of his estates in Scotland. Covering 3,860 acres, they include three farms, more than three miles of salmon fishing in the Tweed, and a grouse moor. A price of about £150,000 is expected.

MR. AIDAN CRAWLEY, M.P., and MRS. CRAWLEY, who have travelled widely in East, Central and West Africa, are visiting South Africa at the invitation of the South African Foundation. MRS. CRAWLEY is the writer VIRGINIA COWLES.

There is plenty of land in Tanganyika for all who care to work it, MR. JOHN MWAKANGALE, Parliamentary Secretary for local Government, told Mbeya residents when discussing urban unemployment. Laziness was, he suggested, a prime factor.

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is accompanied on his visit to the United States and the United Kingdom by MR. W. S. PARKER, his principal private secretary. They are due in London on October 8.

In honour of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, H.M. Government gave a luncheon at Marlborough House on Monday. MR. SANDYS presided, and the other guests included the DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE and the PRIME MINISTERS OF ZANZIBAR and KENYA.

MR. REGINALD MAUDLING, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and former Secretary of State for the Colonies, flew from London last Thursday evening to Washington to attend meetings of the International Monetary Fund. He will return at the week-end.

MR. ERNEST WHITAKER, a Salisbury advocate, as the only nominee, was elected unopposed to fill the specially elected (European) seat for Southern Rhodesia in the Federal Assembly, vacated by MR. H. E. DAVIES, Q.C., who has been appointed to the Income Tax Court.

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Head Office: Athol Street, DOUGLAS, Isle of Man an affiliate of National Provincial Bank Limited. Consideration given to applications for loans against full amount of compensation payable by instalments to members of H.M. Overseas Civil Service and officers designated under Overseas Service Agreements, about to retire.

Founded in 1865, the Isle of Man Bank Ltd. was the first limited liability company to be registered in the Isle of Man.

MR. JOSEPH YINZA, Tanganyika's Director of Information Services, has been presented with an honorary life fellowship certificate by the International Philatelic Galleries for assisting the group's work for improving world relations through educational stamps.

LEAPEETSWE KHAMA, who is to become leader of the Bamangwato tribe in Bechuanaland, is a cousin of SERETSE KHAMA, over whose possible succession there was a tribal split in 1952. SERETSE's children are to be eligible to lead the tribe. Their mother is English.

MR. PHILIP AWDRY, an eye surgeon, has suggested after travelling for three months through the Luapula Valley of Northern Rhodesia that a £10,000 schools meals service should be provided to counteract the lack of Vitamin A, in the general diet, which, he contends, causes the high incidence of blindness in the area.

MR. HARRY NKUMBULA, president of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress, and Minister for African Education in Northern Rhodesia's Coalition Government, collapsed during a party conference in Lusaka last week and has postponed a visit to the United Kingdom at the invitation of the British Council.

DR. D. A. LOW, who was on the staff of Makerere College, Uganda, until he was appointed senior fellow in history in the Research School of Social Sciences of the Australian National University, will in October of next year become Professor of History and Dean of the School of African and Asian Studies of Sussex University.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies, received the guests at a reception, given at Lancaster House one evening last week by H.M. Government to meet delegates to the Kenya Independence Conference. Among those present were two former Secretaries of State, MR. MAUDLING and LORD BOYD OF MERTON.

MR. W. H. ORR has resigned the deputy chairmanship and the office of joint managing director of E.S. & A. Robinson (Holdings), Ltd., on reaching the retirement age, but will remain a member of the board. The company has a subsidiary in Southern Rhodesia. The new deputy chairman is MR. T. L. ROBINSON, a managing director since 1958.

MR. GEORGE W. MHANDO, of the Tanganyika Information Service, who has been studying newspaper, broadcasting and television matters in the United States since the beginning of the year on an Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship, said before leaving that Americans were so poorly informed about his country that he hoped that it would be possible to establish a news magazine on Tanganyika for world distribution.

PROFESSOR PETER K. NEWMAN, an M.Sc. of London University, and formerly of the department of economics in the University of Michigan, has been appointed Economic Adviser to the East African Common Services Organization by the United Nations Technical Assistance Board. At different times he has advised the United States Treasury on the taxation of natural resources and the Governments of Jamaica and Ceylon on economic planning. For more than three years he was senior lecturer in economics at the University of the West Indies.

DR. J. G. KIANO, Minister for Commerce and Industry in Kenya, MR. BRUCE MCKENZIE, Minister for Agriculture, MR. MWAI KIBAKI, Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury, and MR. W. WAMALWA, an Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, will spend about a month visiting Russia, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Egypt after the Kenya Independence Conference ends in London. Their purpose will be to seek markets for coffee, pyrethrum, sisal, and meat and other products and to discover what manufactured articles Kenya could take in exchange. A full trade mission may be sent from Kenya to the above countries next year.

Obituaries

Mr. H. Ralph Fraser

MR. HENRY RALPH FRASER, C.M.G., O.B.E., who has died in Kenya, aged 67, after a long illness, went to East Africa after serving in France throughout the 1914-18 war in the City of London Rifles.

He then began coffee growing in Uganda, and when his estates were acquired in 1932 by the Baumann group he joined them, and operated the plantations on their behalf with such success that when the business was incorporated in 1948 he was made a managing director of the parent company.

He had been elected president of the Uganda Chamber of Commerce in 1937, and he filled the position again in 1951. In 1942 he was appointed to the Legislative Council. Five years later he became an Uganda member of the East Africa Central Legislative Assembly, and in 1954 he was nominated by the Governor to the Executive Council of Uganda.

Ralph Fraser, however, will be better remembered for himself than for his occupancy of distinguished offices. He was the most modest of men, scrupulously fair in all his dealings, sound and impartial in his judgments, catholic in his friendships, generous in his help to deserving causes, and consequently for years one of the best liked and most trusted Europeans in a country which he greatly loved.

He was much helped by Mrs. Fraser (née Ethel Jones, of Pretoria), whom he married in 1920. There was one son of the marriage.

Mr. Elia I. Salzman

MR. ELIA I. SALZMAN, C.B.E., chairman of Elia Salzman Tobacco Co., Ltd., who has died in London at the age of 68, was greatly interested in the Rhodesian tobacco industry, and recently opened in Salisbury the Rhodesia Tobacco Science Institute, of which he was the moving spirit and to which he contributed generously.

Born in the Don Cossack province of Russia, into a family connected with the local tobacco industry for nearly two centuries, he went to work in a tobacco factory while still a boy. He later graduated in philosophy and law at Rostov University, and in the 1914-18 war served in a dragoon regiment on the Caucasian front. After the revolution he became secretary-general of the Constitutional Democratic Party of All Russia. From 1918 he was again with the Cossacks in Denikin's White Army against the Bolsheviks.

Soon after reaching London in 1920 with £8 and no friend or acquaintance, he obtained the job of grading a large quantity of tobacco for a company in liquidation. Later he married a woman who was half-Yorkshire and half-Scots (the best mixture in the world, he said), and did well in his business ventures. In the last war he served in the Royal Air Force.

After demobilization he acquired some 38,000 acres of Crown land in Northern Rhodesia and registered Northern Rhodesian Tobacco Estates, Ltd., but three years in the bush did not fulfil his expectations, and he returned to London in 1950 to establish himself as a tobacco leaf merchant.

Salzman often declared that he was not much concerned with making money but supremely interested in tobacco. It was as an expression of that attitude to Rhodesia's major crop that he decided to start a tobacco research organization.

He hated indecision, procrastination, and the other common faults of bureaucracy; expressed his opinions bluntly; was proud of his success and his C.B.E.; and was in recent years a very ardent advocate of the Federation.

What Matter if People Die? — Violence the Only Answer

Economic Boycotts Insufficient to Oust Colonialists Equally from Africa, Says Mr. Mboya

FORCE AND VIOLENCE appear to offer the only solution to the African's problems in South Africa and the Portuguese territories, MR. T. J. MBOYA, Kenya's Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, told an Africa Bureau meeting on Monday.

"What does it matter if people suffer or die? It is a little enough price for complete freedom. They are already suffering and dying, but the world is too pre-occupied with polite diplomacy".

South Africa was well beyond the point of no return, and, with Portugal, was impervious to world opinion. "They have come to regard resolutions at the United Nations and threats of economic sanctions as a regular but harmless game in which some nations indulge without any intention to act".

Britain — upon whom the Republic of South Africa depended for substantial investments — should play a real part in effecting a change, for the sake of human rights and in view of her own relationships with the new African States; nor was it a time to recall her links with Portugal, "her oldest ally".

"Hypocrisy and Provocation"

"It appears that only one alternative is left — force and violence. The brutality and finality of the road taken by the South African Government can lead only to destruction. Only the world can save them from themselves. The African States will not succeed merely by closing their airports or seaports to South African airlines or ships. Nor will a trade boycott by African States unsupported by effective economic sanctions by other nations bring South Africa to her knees.

"To avoid violence the other nations must be prepared to act. Trade with South Africa is in fact support for *apartheid*; it keeps the Nationalist Party in power and helps to secure the suppression of Africans. No explanation can justify these business activities except in terms of the selfish interests of those involved. To continue to sell or send arms to South Africa or Portugal in any form or under any excuse must provoke African nations and expose Britain's hypocrisy on the South African and Portuguese issue.

"I remind those who accuse me of preaching violence of the words by John Bright in 1866 when he said: 'I have never said a word in favour of force. All I have said has been against it—but I am at liberty to warn those in authority that justice long delayed, or long continued injustice, provokes the employment of force to obtain redress. It is in the ordering of nature that this is so, and all preaching to the contrary is of no avail. If men build houses on the slopes of a Vesuvius, I may tell them of their folly and insecurity, but I am not in any way provoking or responsible for the eruption which sweeps them all away. I may say too that force, to prevent freedom and to deny rights, is not more moral than force to gain freedom and secure rights'.

A Duty

"Every African State today accepts it as a duty to assist other territories to gain their freedom. They cannot feel completely free while any part of Africa remains under Colonial rule or white domination. We are willing to sacrifice our own economies to help.

"Some of you will congratulate yourselves on the fact that the Central African Federation breaks up formally in December. Nyasaland becomes independent next July, while Northern Rhodesia is well set on the way towards a one-man-one-vote democratic Government next year too.

"Southern Rhodesia remains in a precarious position. Mr. Winston Field now thinks he too must have a date for independence soon. The difference which must be pointed out to Winston Field is that, whereas Dr. Banda and Dr. Kaunda speak for the people of Malawi and Zambia respectively, he does not speak for Zimbabwe.

"For whom does Winston Field speak? If indeed he feels confident he represents the genuine wishes of the majority of the people in Southern Rhodesia, then we would all support him in his claim for independence if he will agree that his leadership is put to the test through a one-man-one-vote election. This is the procedure that has been used by the British Government in every other African territory.

"Only the British Parliament can pass the necessary Act giving Southern Rhodesia its independence. It is ironical for anyone in H.M. Government to plead that they have no effective authority over Southern Rhodesia. In the face of any betrayal by Britain in Southern Rhodesia, the African States would find it difficult to stay in the Commonwealth without being accused in Africa of condoning the betrayal of their own brothers.

"There are those who regard the giving of independence to African territories in Central and East Africa as a policy of abandonment of kith and kin. Such persons are clearly ignorant of the new forces in the world and also of the true interests of those white people who have decided to make Africa their home. Any policy which encourages racialists will not safeguard white interests in Africa; instead it will destroy the basis upon which new relations need to be established to ensure safeguards for all people in the new nations. Nothing can be a stronger safeguard for the white community in Africa than a genuine and willing acceptance of white citizens by Africans as equals in the new nation.

"But we come with love for our fellow human beings, ready to establish co-operation with our former masters. We cannot exist in isolation. We have realized that there are many good whites, who do not support colonialism, and so our victory has been to defeat colonialism, to crush the possibilities of racialism in ourselves, and freedom from the yoke of our inferiority complex.

Played Down

"Independence must be followed by reconstruction and political development. Critics of African independence would have us believe that economic development would be best achieved under continued 'stable' Colonial Government. No Colonial Government can be stable in this century. Long years under Colonial rule have convinced us that economic development under such a system cannot reflect the genuine interests of the people or secure their active support.

"In some countries mineral extraction became the only interest of the Colonial Powers or investors, to the complete neglect of agriculture and other industrial possibilities; in others interest centred around agricultural cash crops to the complete neglect of other forms of production or industrial possibilities. In every case social services, such as education and health, were always a matter of secondary interest. In every case the potential of the African as a consumer, producer and skilled craftsman was ignored, played down, or left without incentive.

"A new Government in Africa must revise these attitudes, and in many cases replace them with dynamic and positive policies. There are those who seem to think that because we seek to change some of the economic theories and institutions we do not recognize or welcome the need for investments from abroad. On the contrary, there is complete recognition of the need for investment from abroad. In every African State no effort has been spared to induce more investment, even with greater protection than was possible during the Colonial days.

African Socialism

"Two points do not seem to have been brought out in previous discussions of this subject. The first is the resistance one meets in the attitude of permanent officials and civil servants left behind at the time of independence. They have traditional ideas about things which need rehabilitation before they can fit into the new mood and pace adopted by the new Governments. This is met through the different civil service training programmes and Africanization schemes that we adopt. Although the civil service should be independent, it would be highly dangerous if it did not respond to the new policies and moods of independence. Sometimes when the new Governments try to secure this rehabilitation they are mistaken by African critics and accused of involving civil servants in politics.

"The second area where rehabilitation is necessary is on the part of international agencies — the World Bank, C.D.C., A.I.D., etc. — who are sometimes too committed to old ideas and theories about Africa's economy. This commitment often results in ill-conceived reports and analysis or even disagreement on the merits of the projects proposed by the new African Governments.

"This new trend we call African Socialism. It reflects and implies the development of a society based on our own ideas and concepts, with our own relations between man and man, between labour and profit, and the attitude to work or production and its results. Some of the ideological views in Europe are foreign to us. In any case they are part of European history. They have changed, developed, or

assumed new dimensions according to changes or attitudes in Europe. In Africa these ideologies are sometimes irrelevant and in conflict with our traditional and cultural relations. "Adoption of the policy of African Socialism is not merely an attempt to be different from everyone. It is not based on any inward-looking policies, but on sound, meaningful and positive attitudes that can best promote the spirit and atmosphere for the urgent task of economic reconstruction.

"Africa is unable to ignore her international responsibilities. Immediately on independence we take a seat in the United Nations, we have to compete for the markets of the world, and in the event of a war we would not be excused the repercussions that accompany such conflicts.

Probation Wanted

"Although many people profess their sympathy for the under-developed countries, we have come to learn that we cannot depend on such sympathy. In fact, both at the U.N. and in the world markets no one is prepared to give Africa a probationary period. An African country is expected to master the intricate international, financial, trading and diplomatic system and language from the very moment it becomes independent. If you do not, you are presented as an example of the reason why Africa should not be free. No one suggests that these conditions call for understanding from the older nations.

"I do not say these things to plead for more sympathy. I am pointing out that we have to know the world and accept our part fully without looking back, and that when any State becomes independent she assumes obligations and responsibilities similar to those expected of the older nations and cannot agree to be treated as a junior partner on world affairs. We cannot agree that world peace is a monopoly of the big Powers. The new nations, in order to make an impact, must aim at economic independence, and refuse to exchange one form of colonialism with a new form."

Mr. Mboya explained that as the Kenya conference was still in progress he could not comment in detail on what was happening. The Constitution of Kenya should be workable, flexible, and an instrument that "assumes unity and removes contention, based on faith and confidence in the future of the Kenya nation. The atmosphere under which we met in London at last year's Lancaster House Conference was false — full of deliberately generated fears and leadership claims. We ended up with a Constitution based on a massive compromise and arbitration by the Secretary of State.

"Since the elections in May this year Kenya has had a stable and popular Government. Tribal and racial fears are fast disappearing, and we are confident that economic recovery is well on the way. Many Europeans have decided to stay and will take Kenya citizenship in December. This applies to many of the Asians too. We have managed to create a new atmosphere in the country, and our Prime Minister has proved to the cynics that, despite previous propaganda, he is giving effective leadership to Kenya.

"Kenya is committed to all the resolutions passed at the recent conference of African States held in Addis Ababa. At home and together with our neighbours we are working hard for the establishment of an East African Federation, a necessary step for both economic and political reasons. We are confident that it will be possible to establish the Federation very soon after the independence of Kenya and Zanzibar."

The Rev. Michael Scott, director of the Bureau, commented that Mr. Mboya's address had been full of the undertones of war, since it was at variance with the "evil dogmas" of the "bastions of white supremacy" in the south.

Z.A.N.U. Will Not Hesitate to Use Force Rhodesia's "Fascist Minority" Vilified

WILD ACCUSATIONS against the "settler régime" in Southern Rhodesia have been made in a letter to Mr. Butler, Minister for Central African Affairs, by Mr. Robert G. Mugabe, secretary-general of the new Zimbabwe African National Union of Southern Rhodesia. He was received by the Minister last week. The letter, issued by Z.A.N.U.'s office, said:—

"Dissolution of the Central African Federation at the end of this year, whilst setting both the territories of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland on a sure path to full democratic independence, leaves Southern Rhodesia still in the autocratic control of a Fascist settler minority with no intention whatsoever of democratizing the Con-

stitution so as to give the vast majority of the African people the political rights hitherto denied them.

"That the Africans have suffered deprivation and torture during the 70 years of settler rule, that our human rights and dignity have been trampled upon by successive settler régimes, has never been a cause for concern to the British Government, whose reaction and deeds at every stage have amounted to support for its settler kith and kin. Even when the issue of self-determination for the people of Southern Rhodesia has become the concern of the world, Britain continues not merely to shirk her responsibility towards the African people but to throw them to the wolves.

"How else could we explain the continual reluctance on the part of H.M. Government to adopt a positive line of action towards Southern Rhodesia, and her recent veto at the United Nations, undoubtedly expressive of her determination to strengthen further the military position of the 220,000 already armed settlers with the consequence of weakening the stand of the suffering 4m. unarmed Africans?

"Legal Fiction"

"Each time we have called upon H.M. Government to intervene in Southern Rhodesia she has always avoided us by taking refuge behind the legal fiction of convention, as if men were made for conventions and not conventions for men. In all other territories once under British rule the British Government has always recognized that, once a constitutional arrangement failed to meet the aspirations of the majority of the territory's inhabitants, that arrangement had to be changed in order to provide a solution satisfactory to the majority.

"The undemocratic Constitution of 1961 has completely failed to meet African wishes, its franchise arrangement attracting hardly 3% of the country's African population as voters. The African people have demonstrated their rejection of the Constitution in a number of ways. The U.N. and the Organization of African Unity have passed resolutions calling on Britain to suspend the present Constitution and provide a fresh one acceptable to all the people of Southern Rhodesia. Yet, instead of heeding our supported call, H.M. Government has, whilst unconvincingly hiding behind her conventions, flouted our wishes by refusing to take the necessary action.

"It was only because of strong pressure from the U.N. and the members of the Commonwealth that Britain was reluctantly forced to refuse Mr. Winston Field independence. That H.M. Government has not taken a positive line in not merely demanding great constitutional reforms but in enforcing them is a sign of half-heartedness in her approach to our problem. Britain has shown no resolution in the face of our bitter political crisis. At no one time in the past have we derived consolation from either her words or deeds, and throughout the whole period of settler rule in the Colony, all Britain has offered the African people is 'Naught for Your Comfort'. All the defence she has put up has amounted to defence of the opposition settler régime.

"Political Felonies"

"The settlers, under pretext of law and order, have started a bloody chapter of hanging Africans for acts resulting from the frustration and desperation created by the political conditions of the settlers' own imposition. Britain has lacked the nerve to institute immediate democratic changes that could only have the excellent result of ending the present ruthless rule and racial hate. Those who now stand condemned for petrol-bombing are but victims of circumstances imposed, in our tragic political drama, by self-centred villains operating under the guise of law and order. Is it to be wondered that Africans should express their sense of betrayal at the British decision to hand over, to those who have always used their instruments of power to suppress the Africans, more tools of oppression?

"Speaking at his party congress, Mr. Winston Field, in no uncertain terms, expressed his determination to keep the army and the air force at top possible strength because of what he called external threats. The congress, exhibiting the usual intransigence, pledged confidence in Mr. Field's determination to gain independence provided there are no strings attached and the 1961 Constitution remains unaltered."

"The only logical inference to be drawn is that the settlers' need for the army and air force arises from their determination to preserve white domination by using military force to meet the legitimate challenge from African nationalism. By giving them the desired force Britain is aiding and abetting them in their machinations and contemplated political felonies.

"Now that they have openly decided to brook no change in the 1961 Constitution and to perpetuate their white supremacy, the duty of Britain becomes clear and definite: it is to act

firmly, promptly, and unequivocally in preventing a bloody situation developing in Southern Rhodesia.

"We accordingly demand:—

"(a) that Britain impose a new Constitution on Southern Rhodesia in accordance with the wishes and aspirations of the majority inhabitants before the dissolution of the Federation, so that the army and air force come under the control of a people's Government;

"(b) that unless and until there is a people's Government, Britain keep the army and air force under the strict control of H.M. Government;

"(c) that Britain withhold all financial aid from Southern Rhodesia, as such financial assistance is likely to be used to keep the police force, army and air force at top possible strength for political motives. Any financial aid would only help create a false picture of economic stability and make political change more difficult in future.

"We make these demands in the full knowledge that the settlers are currently engaged in subtle plans to enforce *apartheid* under cover of the so-called community development plan. Delay in acting now will only promote their evil racial schemes designed to entrench the white settler in power and embitter the African population the more. The African people will have nothing to do with half-hearted solutions. We can never accept a 'blocking third' or any other constitutional arrangement that does not go as far as majority rule.

"The African people, for long subjected to an increasing sense of frustration, are bound to grow more desperate as the British Government continues to play the rôle of the reluctant, if not prejudiced, arbitrator. We would be arrant cowards if we did not exhaust all the possible means of regaining our lost rights and human dignity.

"If, as appears likely, Britain leaves us no option but to meet settler armed force with force, we will not hesitate in calling upon that course of action in order to liberate ourselves. Britain must say whether it will act now, or cringe at the settlers' threats 'to go it alone and fight it out'."

Zanzibar Independence Conference

Official Summary of Results

THE ZANZIBAR INDEPENDENCE CONFERENCE, held in Lancaster House, London, ended last week in complete agreement. December 10 was agreed as the date for sovereign independence.

A White Paper is expected to be published shortly. Meantime the following official summary has been made available.

"*The Sultan.*—It was agreed to recommend that the Constitution should declare the Sultan to be the Head of State, and that he should bear the title of "His Majesty The Sultan". The Sultan would be entitled to nominate his successor.

He would be required to act on the advice of Ministers except in appointing and dismissing the Prime Minister, and in exercising functions conferred on him relating to the succession and the appointment of a Regency Council. He would have no prerogative power to make laws independently of the National Assembly.

"*Emergency Powers.*—The right to personal liberty and against discrimination should be suspended only in the case of war or when a public emergency had been declared under the Constitution. A declaration for this purpose would have to be ratified periodically by the National Assembly. Persons detained under emergency provisions should be entitled to have their cases reviewed at intervals by an independent review tribunal.

"*Citizenship.*—Modifications were agreed to the existing nationality decree in relation to grounds for deprivation of citizenship. Provision should also be made for the acquisition of Zanzibar citizenship by Commonwealth citizens.

Executive and Legislature

"*The Executive.*—The Sultan should appoint as Prime Minister the member of the Assembly who appeared to him to be best able to command the support of the majority of the members of the Assembly. The

Sultan should be empowered to dismiss the Prime Minister if a vote of no confidence in the Government is passed in the National Assembly and the Prime Minister does not within three days thereafter resign or advise a dissolution.

"*The Legislature.*—There should be a single Legislative Chamber.

"*Constituent Assembly.*—The revised Constitution should be enacted, in accordance with the conclusions of the London Conference by a special Constituent Assembly. This Constituent Assembly would not have the power to amend or revoke those conclusions and would cease to exist as soon as it had enacted the Constitution. The new National Assembly under the revised Constitution would be composed of the existing members of the present National Assembly who would not require to be re-elected before what would, had they continued, have been the end of their current term.

Entrenched Provisions

"*Constitutional Amendment.*—The provisions of the Constitution should be alterable by law passed by a simple majority except in the case of entrenched provisions, which should be alterable only by a Bill passed by the National Assembly in two successive sessions, there having been a dissolution of Parliament between those two sessions. Such a Bill should also require the support of two-thirds of all the members of the Assembly on each occasion.

Other recommendations were agreed concerning the National Assembly, the establishment of an Electoral Constituencies Commission, the appointment of an Elections Commissioner, regulations for the summoning of Parliament and its dissolution, the establishment of a High Court (from which appeals would lie to the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa), the establishment of a consolidated fund, the appointment of members of the Public Service Commission, Judicial Service Commission, and the Police Service Commission."

Zanzibar became internally self-governing as recently as June 24, and a fortnight later general elections were held.

The Lancaster House Conference, under the chairmanship of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, lasted from September 20 to 24.

Before the conference there had been discussions in Zanzibar under the chairmanship of the British Resident, and a large measure of agreement was reached between the Government and the Opposition as to the amendments necessary to the Constitution to provide for independence. Further amendments were agreed at the London conference.

In so far as it was not possible to reach agreement in London, the delegates invited the Secretary of State to arbitrate, and undertook to accept his decisions.

December 10 having been decided as the date for independence, Mr. Sandys informed the conference that H.M. Government would take steps to abrogate the agreement of June 14, 1890, under which the protection of the British Government was extended to Zanzibar.

Membership of Commonwealth

All the Zanzibar representatives re-affirmed their wish that Zanzibar should be a member of the Commonwealth on attaining independence. The British Government readily agreed to consult other Commonwealth Governments accordingly.

The Opposition delegation did not press its proposals for a Senate or for another general election. Both matters had been given great emphasis in discussions in Zanzibar.

SIR KEITH FRASER suggested in the *Daily Telegraph* that it was dangerous to grant independence to Zanzibar in present circumstances.

"When I spent some six months there in the middle 1950s it was a perfect example of many races of different origins living in peaceful harmony. The wind of change has, of course, brought murder, arson, etc., to this now unhappy isle.

"The African Shirazis will not peacefully put up with rule by an Arab minority, even if democratically elected. Why should they be ruled by the descendants of the slave-traders? Independence will lead to bloodshed.

"What is more serious is that Zanzibar with its first-class port and airfield controls strategically the ports of Tanga, Mozambique, and Dar es Salaam and the trade routes of the Indian Ocean. It is the Cuba of Africa.

"It is well on the cards that Colonel Nasser may win his first military engagement in Zanzibar."

Justice Perverted in Nyasaland

(Continued from page 105)

David Livingstone sacrificed his life for is to go on successfully without suspecting the fact that forces are at work to uproot the foundations laid 70 or 80 years ago by the pioneer missionaries, and to replace the same by something entirely African, and founded on the basis of African religion, civilization and culture. . . . In actual fact the result which will come from their efforts of the last 70 years will be that they have helped more the laying of the foundations or the preparation of the ground on which Communism will build its castle."

In my statement of July 30, I regret that I erroneously stated that the Governor has power to disallow laws for good cause. Although the assent of the Queen or the Governor is required to every ordinance, the Governor must in most cases act on the advice of his Ministers.

The reaction of Nyasaland Ministers to my statement is interesting.

Dr. Banda in the Legislative Assembly on August 13 referred only to the Lilongwe hospital incident. He denied that the police officer in charge at Lilongwe was ever summoned to Zomba, or reprimanded, or invited to resign, or that it was on police advice that the health officer was transferred to Southern Rhodesia. Dr. Banda made no other comment on my statement.

Mr. Chiume, Minister of Education, on August 7 stated that he had only four pints of blood but that he was prepared to shed them in order to defend Nyasaland. He went on to say:—"This is *munthu's* (i.e. black man's) country, with *munthu's* laws. Those who stay here must obey our laws and recognize that Kamuzu is the only leader here with only God above."

Dr. Banda recently announced in the Legislative Assembly that the law relating to legal practitioners would be amended to allow American lawyers to practise in Nyasaland, and Mr. Chirwa, Minister of Justice, announced that lawyers would ordinarily be allowed to represent their clients in the local courts at Zomba, Blantyre, Lilongwe and Mzuzu.

While it may not be thought entirely appropriate to the subject of the rule of law, reference may be made here to Dr. Banda's decision to launch a new movement called the Malawi Young Pioneers, in substitution for the Boy Scout Movement. Among the aims of the Malawi Young Pioneers is "to immortalize the African personality as seen in Ngwazi Kamuzu (Dr. Banda), the first leader of the Malawi National Government."

Murderer Released for "Patriotism"

It may not be out of place to refer to the recent release of Alfred Zideli from prison, where he was serving a sentence of imprisonment for murder. The following report appeared in the *Central African Mail* of August 24:—

"Alfred, commonly known as Charles, of Nkope Hill (near Monkey Bay in Fort Johnston), served Nyasaland's Minister of Local Government, Mr. Masauko Chipembere, as cook when the latter was serving a three-year sedition jail term in Zomba prison.

"Alfred killed a fellow teenager during a fight at a dance held at his sister's house. He was tried in the High Court here and sentenced to hang. Later the Governor commuted the death sentence to life imprisonment.

"In 1961, Masauko Chipembere was sentenced to three years' imprisonment to be served in the same prison as Alfred. The young killer was appointed to cook for Mr. Chipembere. When Mr. Chipembere was released from jail, he did not forget his faithful cook and companion. He negotiated the release of young Alfred with the Governor through the Prime Minister, Dr. Kamuzu Banda.

"Last Friday, August 16, was Alfred's freedom day. On that day the Governor ordered prison authorities to release the young killer. He was immediately taken to Mr. Chipembere who took him back to Nkope Hill. At a public meeting later Mr. Chipembere formally handed over Alfred to his parents. Mr. Chipembere revealed at the meeting that Alfred had been released because of his 'patriotism' and 'exemplary' conduct."

Magistrates "Trained" in Six Months

The *Rhodesia Herald* of September 5 reported from Zomba: "Nyasaland's Minister of Justice, Mr. Chirwa, today announced that as from September 10 he intends to extend jurisdiction of 13 more local courts to hear cases in which any or all of the parties are Europeans or Asians. Mr. Chirwa said he was considering the question of granting legal practitioners the right to appear in some of the courts shortly. He added that African magistrates, who had been trained at the Mpemba Law School, near Blantyre, during the past six months had now completed their course. They were being posted as magistrates throughout the country. Mr. Chirwa said that the distribution of the magistrates would enable the remaining judicial

powers exercised by administrative officers to be withdrawn from September 10."

On September 14 the same paper reported from Zomba:—"Nyasaland's Minister of Justice, Mr. O. Chirwa, announced today that he had withdrawn judicial powers from every administrative officer in the territory. In future no Government agent (the new name for district commissioners) or administrative officer will sit as a magistrate. The Minister has also extended the jurisdiction of 13 local courts to hear all cases in which any or all of the parties are Europeans or Asians.

"We mean to have one law, one court and one Government", Mr. Chirwa said."

Nyasaland Independence Next July Southern Rhodesia's Claim Renewed

INDEPENDENCE will be granted to Nyasaland on July 6 next year, it was agreed last week after discussions in London between Mr. Butler, Minister for Central African Affairs, Dr. Hastings Banda, Prime Minister of Nyasaland, and Sir Glyn Jones, the Governor. Final constitutional details are to be prepared in Nyasaland.

The Nyasaland Government has undertaken to "make every effort to enable a satisfactory agreement to be reached between the two Governments on financial matters before independence."

When the announcement was made, Mr. Winston Field, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said that if independence was to be granted to one territory it should be accorded to all three when the Federation broke up.

Mr. Julian Greenfield, Federal Minister of Law, said that Southern Rhodesia had proved her capacity to govern over many years and should receive independence on the same day as Nyasaland, adding: "But the British Government seems to use different yardsticks of suitability for independence, and in the case of many territories this yardstick seems to be majority rule regardless of the consequences."

Reports from Central Africa have it that "tens of thousands of pounds" have been transferred from Nyasaland to the Rhodesias and overseas because of political uncertainty.

[Editorial comment is made under Matters of Moment.]

Mr. Kaunda on Rhodesia Railways

MR. KAUNDA, leader of the United National Independence Party in Northern Rhodesia, who is expected to become Prime Minister when that country becomes independent, said on Saturday that he wanted Rhodesia Railways to continue to serve the two Rhodesias after the dissolution of the Federation. Spokesmen for the 30,000 employees, black and white, had made urgent representations against splitting the railways into two autonomous systems, as extremist African politicians had proposed. Mr. Kaunda also said that he hoped that there would be a non-racial approach to the general question of employment in both territories.

Asians Will Leave Nyasaland

MR. K. SIDAT, an Indian who had traded in Nyasaland for many years, said recently in Salisbury that he believed that almost every Asian in Nyasaland would within the next few months "leave for a safer place". He had left with his wife and six children because he had been threatened and intimidated and a well-known African had told him that his shop would first be boycotted and then taken over. "I believed the threats that we would be killed. Most of those who threatened us were young people who seem to have lost any respect for law and order."

"Constitution Not Sacrosanct"

(Continued from page 104)

Government and leave ourselves free to prosecute the more urgent task of economic recovery and development. We are confident that H.M. Government will adopt this same attitude at this conference.

"We cannot agree that merely because the present Constitution was the result of agreements at the last Lancaster House Conference it is sacrosanct. Nor can we agree that the Constitution needs to be tried for so many years to discover its weaknesses.

"The fact is that the present Constitution was the subject of massive compromises, artificial feelings of mistrust and fear, and arbitration by the Secretary of State. It failed completely to satisfy the majority of the people whose lives it was supposed to govern and brought contention after contention in the country.

"In the interest of harmony in Kenya and in recognition of the majority opinion in the country the Constitution must be amended. As a result of the inflexibility of the Constitution overall planning will be made impossible in such important fields as health and education, and there is utter confusion in the civil service. The Central Government, which it was intended should be strong and effective and the only one in the country, is obstructed and frustrated without physical representation or administrative image in the districts.

Two Attitudes

"What Kenya needs is a Constitution which promotes and preserves unity throughout the country—a Constitution which is not only workable but one which is in harmony and facilitates rapid economic development on a national basis. The present Constitution with its rigidity and duplication would tend to hinder rapid advance and national outlook in planning. We are not here concerned with the presence or absence of regional assemblies. We are concerned with the need for an effective Government for Kenya as stipulated in the Lancaster House agreement.

"In this conference there are two possible attitudes that could be taken. One is for H.M. Government to insist that the present Constitution is not changed, and thereby launch Kenya into independence with a Constitution rejected by the Government of Kenya and the majority of the people in the country. Such an attitude would lead to uncertainty and conflict immediately after independence. This would not only be undesirable, but it would amount to abdication of responsibility and neglect of the true interests of Kenya and our future relations. As a Government we would not consider ourselves bound by such Constitution if Britain were to adopt this attitude.

"The second attitude, which we ourselves will take at this conference, is to recognize the changed circumstances of Kenya and the need for a workable Constitution that would ensure certainty and stability after independence. Such attitude requires that significant changes be made now in the Constitution to meet the wishes of the majority of the people of Kenya.

"H.M. Government is no longer in a position to guarantee protection to minority tribes or non-indigenous people in Kenya. This is the duty and responsibility of the Kenya Government now and in the future. It is, in fact, in recognition of these new responsibilities that we now seek a Constitution and relationship within Kenya that facilitates greater unity and identification of all our people as one nation. It is in this context that our people, regardless of tribe or race, can truly feel secure and safe and make their full contribution to the effort of nation building.

"We are impressed with the realistic and helpful attitude taken by the European delegates during our preparatory talks in Nairobi.

"It is in this spirit of *harambee* that we invite the co-operative participation of the Opposition delegation at this conference".

Dangerous Contention

MR. RONALD NGALA, Leader of the Opposition, and president of the Kenya African Democratic Union, dismissed the Prime Minister's speech as "irrelevant," saying merely:—

"Mr. Secretary of State, we are all glad to be meeting here in London on the threshold of independence, with a Constitution for our country already accepted as long ago as last March by all parties represented here today.

"All people of Kenya who have the best interests of their country at heart have, of course, full and unqualified reliance on H.M. Government's main-

tenance of her obligations and complete integrity in this respect. Hence, despite the irrelevant, misleading, and even dangerous contention today of the Prime Minister, no participant here should forget for a moment that all decisions of substance regarding Kenya's future Constitution were taken at the last conference held here in 1962.

"Therefore the scope of our talks today is extremely narrow. Our sole purpose is to agree only on such technical amendments of the present Constitution as are consequential on independence.

"Meanwhile it is vital that the present self-government Constitution be fully implemented before independence by the use, wherever necessary, of those powers contained in the introduction to the Constitution, especially under Section 12, which sets out the obligations of H.M. Government in this respect".

Land So Serious

MR. L. R. H. WELWOOD, speaking for the European community, said:—

"We who represent the European people of Kenya are glad to be able to play our part in the decisions to be taken in this conference by H.M. Government and the Kenya Government for the future of an independent country. This task is made easier for us because of the attitude taken by Mr. Kenyatta and other Ministers of his Government in recognizing the contribution that our community has made to the country in the past and their expressed wish that they may continue to do so. This is most welcome to us, and has caused far greater numbers of our people to decide to remain in the country than was so a year ago.

"All of us who have spent most of our lives in Kenya and those others who were born there, whether they leave it or remain, will, we assure you, do all they can to help all its people to a peaceful and prosperous future.

"There are two widely different views held by the two major parties at this conference. Some would wish to change a great many of the decisions taken at the last conference here, but there are also those who consider that every detail of those agreements must be adhered to.

Too Brief

"I and my colleagues believe that any Constitution to be workable must have some flexibility, or it will break under pressure. On the other hand, there are contained in the present Constitution—which has been tried out all too briefly during the last three months—certain solemn agreements reached in this place which we feel must be honoured in the future.

"Although we are not here to forward only selfish interests, we shall be specially concerned with certain matters of vital importance to those we particularly represent. One or two of those I would briefly mention.

"We believe that land policy is the most important problem before us. All of us in Kenya are directly concerned with it, as being our only source of wealth, and from the land the masses of the people derive their only livelihood. Land titles must be entrenched and safeguarded for all, regardless of race.

"Land is so serious a matter, indeed, that if different tribes were to feel for a moment that their lands are in any way endangered, the peace of the whole country could be jeopardized.

"We are also deeply concerned that, in their negotiations with the Kenya Government, H.M. Government should honour its responsibility towards their own people whom they encouraged to go and contribute to the development of the country. In divesting themselves of a Colonial Empire we expect that they will not discard all the duties that honour demands they should continue to perform.

"We hope that out of this conference agreements may be reached that will enable all in Kenya to live there without fear, as far as this may be possible in this present most dangerous period of human history".

More Dissensions than Ever

A far from optimistic report from MR. JOHN RIDLEY, Nairobi correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, was given leader-page prominence. From a long dispatch the following passages are quoted:—

"The experience of the past few months has not

been reassuring. Despite the roseate, assuaging speeches made by Government leaders throughout the country, there seem to be more tribal, racial and political differences and dissensions than ever before. The issues at stake cannot be dismissed with a wave of Mr. Kenyatta's fly-whisk. Some are beyond compromise.

"Within a few days of the general election in May Mr. Mboya claimed that 'regionalism is dead'. One of K.A.D.U.'s main complaints is that the regional Constitution has not been fully implemented; the regional authorities have not had a reasonable chance to settle down and sort themselves out.

"Last week I visited the Northern Frontier District, a harsh, arid, desert land of red sand and dwarfed thorn-bushes which has little to offer man or beast. Feeling there is still extremely high in favour of secession from Kenya to Somalia, as witness innumerable tribal raids and murders in the past months. In Wajir and Garissa I met Somalis, hard, proud, nomadic men, who will undoubtedly fight and die to keep from their land the hated Bantu of Nairobi and South Kenya, whom they despise as inferiors in every sense of the word.

"The population of the N.F.D. is mostly Somali, and the case for their demand for self-determination is very strong. In many ways it would be unfair of Britain to leave independent Kenya with this cancer in its side, which surgery at Lancaster House could cure now. Kenya might be unhappy to lose at its moment of independence some third of its territory, but in the long run what would it lose? It would gain greatly in moral prestige by allowing a people who have expressed their wish to join their brothers to secede.

"I found in a recent tour of the Coastal Strip defiant determination among many of the people that the plain red standard of the Sultan of Zanzibar should not be replaced by the black, red and green flag of independent Kenya.

"Many young Arabs are Communists. Common bonds of religion and culture make the majority easy victims of Egyptian propaganda, even though its message to Africa is rather mixed.

"The date of Kenya's independence was mainly determined on the assumption that an East African Federation would be formed by the end of this year. It is now virtually certain that it will take many months, perhaps years, before any such agreement can be reached between the three East African Governments."

Principles—Where Are They?

MR. G. F. DART wrote from Totton, Hampshire, in the course of a letter to which the heading "Stampede to Chaos" was given:—

"Since my return from East Africa this year I have followed the letters, leaders and news reports about Kenya with avid interest. Reference has been made to principles—where are they?—farms, farmers, economic sanity, Africans and what will happen to them. A desperate minority tries in vain to convince an affluent majority. Mr. Macmillan is on safe ground as long as he dances to the tune played by Kenyatta and Company.

"The article, 'Helping the Casualties of Britain's Policy in Kenya', by the Marquess of Salisbury aptly expressed the problem which faces the white Kenyan. The appeal for loyalty to our own kind is surely vital. But does this Government know the meaning of 'loyalty'?

"Colonies cannot last for ever, but let us not encourage a stampede into dictatorial chaos, where Mau Mau leaders dominate the scene. The timing of independence should rely on something other than a demand or threat by subversive elements. The white man is needed in Africa. This is no time to encourage his departure. Let those imbeciles who waffle about settlers having had an easy time go out and see for themselves. Not on a lightning tour either.

"We have an obligation to honour the spirit of the pioneers who planted the British flag on foreign shores, bringing hope where none had been."

MR. J. R. STEBBING, a former Chief Secretary in the Somaliland Protectorate, wrote in the *Guardian* in an article entitled "Britain's Last Chance in Somalia":—

"As Britain had sponsored a Greater Somalia Union in 1946, the Somalis had reason to suppose that part of the Northern Frontier District would in due time be allowed to join the Somali Republic. Indeed, the new North-Eastern Region is akin ethnologically and geographically to the other Somali areas.

Suppressing The Somalis

"The alternatives are now clear. First, the British Government could try once again to persuade the Kenya leaders that their country will do better to release the Somali areas, and that British aid will in no circumstances be increased to provide for the attempted suppression of the Somalis; nor will British troops be used against them.

"On the other hand, the British Government could uphold

the Kenya leaders in the hope that China, to whom the Somali Republic has already turned, will not have the resources to create a Yemen situation in the N.F.D. border country yet. This would be appeasement at its worst."

That Britain was out of the frying pan and into the fire in Kenya was the view expressed in a leading article in the *Financial Times*, which wrote:—

"The Somalis in the desert spaces of the north-east frontier, not Mr. Ngala's tribes, are the real threat to peace in Kenya. Mr. Kenyatta is not as worried as he should be by the failure of the recent Anglo-Somali talks in Rome to settle this issue.

"He has been unresponsive—as many ardent nationalists would be in any young nation—to discreet British suggestions that perhaps the Somalis would be less of a burden on his security budget if they and their territory were quietly ceded to Somalia. As this issue is outside the terms of reference of the present constitutional conference, there is little more that Britain can do without antagonizing Kenya."

Dilatory Tactics

The conference adjourned on Monday afternoon until yesterday, with a K.A.D.U. spokesman, Mr. M. J. Seroney, giving a warning that "our patience is very nearly exhausted and we are ready to force the issue; we are getting fed up with the dilatory tactics of H.M. Government and the Governor about the implement of the Constitution".

The party would, he said, seek a meeting with Mr. Macdonald before deciding its next moves. Mr. Seroney added that his delegation was disappointed with the three European representatives, who seemed more interested in kowtowing to K.A.N.U. as the Central Government than in securing effective minority safeguards. A "strongly worded" letter had been sent to Mr. Sandys on Tuesday.

After last week's opening of the conference matters relating to the Head of State and citizenship were discussed first. Other plenary sessions have been devoted to consideration of K.A.N.U.'s proposed constitutional amendments.

There have been many group meetings, some in private with the Secretary of State, whose tactics were to avoid the more contentious subjects at the outset.

[Editorial comment appears in Matters of Moment.]

Sharp Criticism of Party Youth Wings Bodyguards for Kenya Politicians

A KENYA AFRICAN JOURNALIST, Mr. John Katibu, has sharply criticized in the *Kenya Weekly News* the political activists who call themselves the K.A.N.U. "Youth Wing", saying (in part):—

"I fail to understand the minds of our politicians in regard to the so-called youth wingers. It would appear that since Mr. Mboya formed his Youth Wing contingent while president of the Nairobi People's Convention Party seven years ago, this group of people has assumed a special position in the new Kenya we are trying to build.

"Week in, week out, we read in the newspapers that the youth wingers have demanded special consideration as a reward for their alleged service to the country.

"I describe their claim of having served Kenya as 'alleged' because I am not convinced that to burn Robert Odhiambo with kerosene or run illegal courts could justifiably be described as service.

Luxury of Idlers

"The youth wingers have acted as askaris to politicians, but politicians are not the country, and service to them cannot be classified as service to the country.

"The luxury of the politicians having their bodyguards in the name of the youth wings may have been appropriate during colonial days, but certainly now that we are all engaged in the task of mustering the sweat of every able-bodied person to reconstruct our economy, the existence of idlers in our midst only militates against the spirit of *harambee*.

"Apart from some politicians who seem to enjoy the fun of bodyguards, the main hope and aspiration of all Africans is to create economic, social and political conditions which with the departure of the colonialists will release the energies of our people and our potential resources, so that through co-operative effort we can speed up our economic development and raise the standard of living of our people. I doubt whether we would ever realize that aspiration through the policy that the youth wings seem to demand."

Condoning Subversion in Africa

Fiction in the Racial Charnel House

MR. RAYMOND BYRNE has written from Totland Bay, Isle of Wight, in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"To what end does the State Department encourage Afro-Asian subversion? Why does Britain condone it?"

"Is more profit or prestige to be gained from supporting the Western nation that has made a go of its relations with Africans and intends to see the job through unless it is stabbed in the back for no better reason than that the Portuguese domestic Government does not match up to Anglo-American ideas of democracy?"

"Events in Africa prove this conceited holier-than-thou attitude to be utterly untenable. For instance, what is left of the British brand of democracy in Ghana? Would the inhabitants of Tanganyika be better off and happier under the highly complicated and exacting system of British democracy?"

"In Nyasaland Britain has admitted the failure of the two-party method."

"The future of Northern Rhodesia is anybody's guess, yet before the sextons have buried the Federation outrages have become every-day events which the 'protecting Power' cannot or will not prevent."

Chaos in Kenya Predicted

"In the case of Kenya does anybody who has lived there seriously believe that once independence is granted, and the unexpectedly moderating influence of Mr. Kenyatta is ended, the country will not relapse into tribal warfare and economic chaos?"

"After three years of blundering in the Congo, the U.N. will have to withdraw Indian and Ethiopian troops unless the Americans, Belgians and British taxpayers finance further attempts to impose 'national reconciliation'. The Thant Plan is dead. Katanga, the one orderly and economically stable province, has been balkamized. Even a year ago U.N. civilian staff must have realized that the 'Congolese Army' was incapable of keeping order, and that a federal Government imposed by force could be sustained only by force."

"If the Western Powers continue to goad the Portuguese and succour their enemies, they will have two more Congos on their plate. If Britain does not grant Southern Rhodesia full independence, yet another country will be flung into the racial charnel house."

"To assume that Africans either want or can work our form of Government after so little experience is a fiction that is liable to set the whole continent ablaze."

Expediency, Humbug and Hypocrisy

MR. RONALD RUSSELL, M.P., wrote:—

"Expediency prevails over humanity in United Nations calculations. Not only expediency, but humbug and hypocrisy govern the attitude of many members of the Afro-Asian bloc and some others to Southern Africa and other danger spots."

"Oppression of Africans by the all-African Government of President Nkrumah, including imprisonment without trial, is objectionable enough. Still more so is Communism, under whose guise whole nations in Eastern Europe and much of Asia are enslaved by régimes for more tyrannical than any colonial régime ever known. Why do not the Afro-Asian bloc pressurize the U.N. against these régimes?"

"In the Malaysian dispute there is a superb example of hypocrisy. President Soekarno, imperialist dictator of Indonesia, impatiently demands an investigation into the validity of elections in North Borneo and Sarawak though his own Government has not faced the electors since 1955! Having obtained Dutch New Guinea by Nazi-like pressure, he now hopes to grab these British territories."

"We have reached the stage when it is a crime of the first magnitude for a European even to deny the most trivial wish of an African or Asian. But if an African or Asian beats up another African or Asian, or a European, it doesn't seem to matter a tinker's cuss. Unfortunately this wholly hypocritical attitude is encouraged by many left-wing whites, such as British Socialists, who ought to know better."

"If we are to solve our racial problems successfully, we must get rid of this blatant hypocrisy and the policy of expediency which goes with it."

A record operating profit of £2.3m. for the year to March 31 has been announced by Air India, which operates services to and from East Africa.

The Federal Parliament will reassemble on October 14, the day after that on which the Prime Minister is due back in Salisbury from his visits to the U.S.A. and U.K.

Rhodesian Whites Will Not Be Tricked

Results of Muddle-Headed Policy

SOUTHERN RHODESIAN WHITES will not be cajoled, blackmailed, or tricked, as the Europeans of Kenya have been, MR. JOHN CONNELL wrote a few days ago in a letter in *The Times*, saying:—

"The seizure of power by African racialists in Kenya is now almost completely accomplished. It is foolish and irresponsible to try to delude ourselves that the small British community there has any hope of survival, other than as transient and barely tolerated expatriates."

"Mr. Bruce McKenzie, the Minister of Agriculture (who is in London for the current constitutional talks), warned them quite explicitly in a speech on September 17 that if they were not prepared to accept an African Government with Mr. Kenyatta as Prime Minister, if they criticized him or his senior Ministers, and if they voiced 'South African' ideas and sympathies, they should go before they were deported."

"The basis of freedom, of a civilized and ordered way of life, is being taken away from these people. It is a disagreeable process to watch. To share the responsibility of having inflicted it on one's fellow countrymen and women is even more disagreeable. This is where our muddle-headed substitute for an African policy has landed them—and us."

"It is essential to realize that the whites of Southern Africa have watched what has happened in Kenya and have learnt its lesson. They have no intention of being urged, cajoled, blackmailed, or tricked into a position in which they must either commit race suicide or quit for ever their homes and their livelihoods."

Failure of Britain's Colonial Policy

MR. I. H. MARSHALL wrote to the *Scotsman*:—

"Britain has neither the moral nor the legal right to interfere with the reversion to the Southern Rhodesian Government of the air force which it has raised and financed."

"Neither the United Nations nor the Southern Rhodesian Government is particularly representative: discounting China's absence, something like 60% of the delegates at the U.N. represent countries comprising 10% of the world population, and in Salisbury only 15 out of 65 in the Legislature are black men. But the Southern Rhodesian Constitution does not recognize racial distinctions and the Legislature is elected on a qualified franchise that is at least an attempt to represent the true interests of a very varied population."

"The public in this country has not yet begun to recognize the serious failure of our colonial policy over the last four or five years. Much of the great work achieved in Africa, particularly towards the creation of a multi-racial society, has been undone in this period of sudden loss of faith."

"A large proportion of the population of countries such as Kenya, particularly those who had been brought up to Christian values, has been let down in Britain's sometimes disreputable hurry to abandon her responsibilities. These countries were created on the basis of certain Christian and democratic principles, involving the rule of law and the high degree of tolerance which used to characterize British administration."

"Britain has a very real responsibility to all the citizens of such a country, black, white and brown, primitive nomads as well as articulate politicians, and she has an obligation not to devolve control into the hands of those who have shown contempt for these principles."

MR. CHARLES JEWELL championed settlers overseas, writing:—

"The farmer-settler and his wife live a dedicated life. A big farm is of difficult birth, and requires years of patience, courage and practical skill to bring into production."

"Endless problems must be solved correctly. Not for them the 'phone call to the electrician or plumber! They live on their own mental resources, with such things as doctors, schools, policemen, etc., at a distance. The house and the farm are a home and a living thing, and the staff are part of it."

"No amount of cash, however generous, can compensate for being thrown out. But these settlers were given a Government guarantee."

"I read a lot about malaise in the Tory ranks and ominous grumbings. I suspect that many will refrain from voting when the day comes."

"Elsewhere I have seen frequent references to 'gin-soaked settlers' and planters. This is a cheap sneer from ignoramuses. Each of us exiles knows well that we survive solely by keeping fit and well. We sometimes incur grave physical dangers. They can be avoided, of course, by staying inside Britain."

Words of Kenya's New Anthem

THE KENYA NATIONAL ANTHEM, set to a Pokomo traditional tune sung by mothers to their children, has three verses. The words, in Swahili and English, are:—

*Ee Mungu nguvu yetu
Ilete baraka kwetu.
Haki iwe ngao na mlenzi
Natukae na udugu
Amani na uhuru
Raha tupate na ustawi.*

O God of all creation
Bless this our land and
nation.
Justice be our shield and
defender;
May we dwell in unity,
Peace and liberty;
Plenty be found within our
borders.

*Amkeni ndugu zetu
Tufanye sote bidii
Nasi tujitoe kwa nguvu
Nchi yetu ya Kenya,
Tunayoipenda
Tuwe tayari kuilinda.*

Let one and all arise
With hearts both strong and
true.
Service be our earnest
endeavour,
And our homeland of
Kenya,
Heritage of splendour,
Firm may be stand to
defend.

*Naujenge taifa letu
Ee, ndio wajibu wetu
Kenya istahili heshima
Tuungane mikono
Pamoja kazini
Kila siku tuwe na shukrani.*

Let all with one accord
In common bond united,
Build this our nation
together
And the glory of Kenya
The fruit of our labour
Fill every heart with thank-
giving.

The national anthem was prepared by a five-member commission headed by the Kenya music adviser, Mr. Graham Hyslop. The other members of the commission were Messrs. G. W. Senoga-Zake, Thomas Kalume, Peter Kibukosya, and Washington Omondi.

This method of preparing a national anthem is completely new in Africa. For the first time a group of local musicians had the task of preparing an anthem for consideration by the Government.

New K.A.R. Commander in Kenya

BRIGADIER JOHN A. B. DICKSON, who has taken over command of the 70th Infantry Brigade of the King's African Rifles in Kenya, was commissioned in the Royal Welch Regiment just before the outbreak of war in 1939 and promptly left for India with the 2nd Battalion. A year later he went to Madagascar for the short campaign in that island, returned to India, and in 1943 accompanied the 36th Indian Division to Burma where he took part in the advance on Rangoon. After a course at the Staff College in Quetta, he went back to Burma to the 82nd (West African) Division.

After the war ended he was moved to headquarters of Western Command in Chester, and then spent two years in Germany as adjutant to the 1st Battalion of his regiment. In September 1950 he was appointed D.A.A.G. of the British Commonwealth Forces in Korea. Eighteen months later he returned to England, and then went back to Germany for two years as brigade major of the 31st Infantry Brigade.

He did a year as an instructor at the R.M.A., Sandhurst, and was promoted lieutenant-colonel and given charge of the regimental depot in Wrexham before commanding the regiment in Cyprus.

Brigadier Dickson, aged 45, is unmarried. He has taken over from Brigadier Fitzalan Howard, who has been appointed G.O.C. of the 1st Division in Germany, with the rank of major-general.

N.F.D. Officials Threatened

A THREAT TO MURDER British officials in the Northern Frontier District of Kenya was made in Nairobi at the week-end in a statement signed by the vice-president of the Northern Frontier Democratic Party and the chairman of the Progressive Party, recently created Somali protest movements. In the first of an intended series of daily announcements about the situation in that Somali area of the Colony, they advised the 20 British officials to "leave before their wives are widows and their children orphans"—a threat which ignored the fact that almost all the men concerned are bachelors. Special development of health, educational, and veterinary facilities and improved water supplies costing £50,000 are proposed by the Government for the Mandera, Wajir and Garissa districts.

Victimized in Russia

MR. JOHN KALI, who had led a 20-member K.A.N.U. delegation to Peking, said in Nairobi recently on their return that when breaking their journey in Moscow on the outward journey they had been accommodated in a low-class hotel, adding: "I am quite sure we were accorded this treatment by the Russians purely because we were going to China". In Irkutsk they had had to sleep in a corridor at the airport.



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Coffee Agreement Criticized

"Hollowness" of the Present "Agreement"

THE INTERNATIONAL COFFEE AGREEMENT is criticized in the current market letter of Messrs. Edm. Schluter and Co., Ltd., the well-known London coffee brokers. It states (in part):—

"The I.C.A. has 54 members, 37 producers and 17 consumers. For some seven years preliminary meetings and agreements have contrived to get all these nations together and membership has steadily grown, but the voting rights still give Brazil and the U.S.A. the predominant power in getting things done and the power of veto to prevent things being done against their will. Significantly, the other nations and groups of nations have lacked the cohesion and strength to offer any worth-while resistance.

"Export quotas are the kernel of the agreement. The volume of coffee exports are the main preoccupation of the producers, and the quotas were 'fixed' in conditions of last-minute rush at the New York conference last year. Most countries were permitted quotas about equal to their 1962 level of exports, but Brazil was accorded a figure far in excess of her usual exports that some future amendment was considered inevitable. Yet quotas were not even discussed until the last three days of the recent London meeting. By then there was no time.

"The Coffee Agreement is being widely hailed in the Press as one which gives new hope because consumers have now agreed with producers upon world demand estimates and supply quotas. The truth, alas, is less encouraging. When small countries remain within a commodity agreement out of fear of the political consequences of leaving it, your independent observer must conclude that the agreement has become an instrument of political pressure which invalidates the economic premise of its foundation, and which is likely to frustrate its aims and vitiate its results.

"This is the warning of this year's Coffee Council meeting in London—the warning for the member countries and the warning for members of other commodity agreements.

"Brazil's long domination of the coffee scene will not vanish overnight," we wrote last year. It has certainly not vanished yet. But Brazil is not alone at fault. In all nature the weakness of the many only adds to the strength of the few. In this the Coffee Agreement, with more signatories than any other, has the most difficult task of all.

"No form of words will mask the hollowness of an 'agreement' within which there is no real agreement. Yet with hard work, honesty and sacrifice the obstacles to progress and success could yet become the stepping stones to a real agreement; and it is to a real agreement that all the signatories are pledged."

Exempt from Southern Rhodesia's new sales tax are petrol, paraffin, diesel oil, and livestock.

Ten thousand tons of cloves are to be destroyed by Zanzibar from its stockpile of 23,000 tons, equivalent to world consumption for at least 18 months. A new quota agreement is about to be signed between Zanzibar and Madagascar. Last year Madagascar dumped surplus cloves in Europe at £10 a ton below the market level and was fined for overselling her quota.

Visas for Israelis and West Germans entering Tanganyika have been abolished.

A short-wave relay station serving East Africa is to be opened on the Maldivé Islands.

Entry into the southern provinces of the Sudan is now permissible, the 1922 ban having recently been lifted.

Multi-racial residential areas are proposed in a Bill submitted to the Southern Rhodesian Parliament last week.

British United Airways have recorded a 26% increase in cargo carried to East Africa in the year ended August 31.

Thousands of acres of forest and grassland in Tanganyika were devastated by a fire on Sunday on the northern slopes of Kilimanjaro.

The Institute of Race Relations has been granted £70,000 by the Nuffield Foundation to conduct a five-year race relations survey in Britain.

P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A. has been dissolved. It is replaced by the nine-member "liberation committee" set up by the Organization of African Unity.

University College

Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., has declared an interim dividend of 40% (the same). Last year the final distribution was 60%.

The future of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is being considered by the Central African Governments at a conference in Salisbury.

Cultivation by Africans of Turkish tobacco, cotton and groundnuts is being promoted by the Southern Rhodesian Government, which is offering technical help and funds.

Pangani asbestos mine, Southern Rhodesia, which has a £3m. development programme, has sold forward the output for the next year. It is estimated to be worth about £500,000.

The British South Africa Company has offered the Government of Northern Rhodesia 50,000 orange trees for free distribution to African agriculturalists throughout the country.

Selenia Industrie Electroniche Associate S.p.a., of Rome, is to undertake a technical survey for Rhodesia Television in connexion with plans to extend the services in both Rhodesias.

Uganda and Yugoslavia have signed a most-favoured-nation trade agreement and a technical co-operation agreement, under which the Communists will finance certain Uganda development projects.

A night steward on the KENYA CASTLE, Kenneth Long, has been committed for trial charged with the murder of another steward while at sea off the East African coast in July. He has pleaded not guilty.

Southern Rhodesia's Minister of Trade and Industry, Mr. G. W. R. Rudland, has instructed his officials to specify locally-manufactured goods whenever possible when calling for tenders for the Government.

A Pokomo lullaby was chosen as Kenya's national anthem by hundreds of African children who were asked by the Prime Minister to decide after Ministers listening to the police band play three possible tunes had failed to make up their minds.

Commonwealth Development Finance Co., Ltd., has exercised its option to convert £100,000 of debentures in a subsidiary company of the Uganda Co., Ltd., into 166,600 shares of 10s. in the Uganda Company at a price of 12s. per share.

Border Settlement

Immediate Africanization of East African Airways has been demanded by the Kenya Transport and Allied Workers' Union. It wants a special uniform, bonuses, and holidays for those who will have to work during the Colony's independence celebrations.

Outstanding border disputes between Kenya and Ethiopia were settled last week at a meeting in Addis Ababa. A conference to obtain inter-territorial police and military co-operation in the prevention of tribal raids in the Lake Rudolf area is planned between Kenya, Ethiopia, the Sudan, and Uganda.

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., of Southern Rhodesia, announces profits to August 31 of £990,389 (£929,143) after tax. A final dividend of 9d. makes the total distribution 1s. 3d. (the same) per 10s. share net of Rhodesian tax, taking £659,726. General reserve receives £200,000, and the carry-forward is £411,337.

The W.H.O. African regional committee's session in Geneva had to be cancelled last week because the 26 African delegates walked out in protest at the presence of South African and Portuguese representatives. The 1965 budget of over \$7m. and a programme of 178 projects were to have been discussed.

Inchcape & Co., Ltd., a group with large East African interests, reports profits to March 31 of £1.2m., against £1.1m. in the previous year, and net balance after tax at £743,431 (£683,618). A dividend of 16% on the capital of £2,262,031 takes £221,679. A scrip issue on a one-for-two basis will require just over £1m. from share premium account and £61,663 from revenue reserves. Last year's dividend was 15%.

NORTHERN RHODESIA



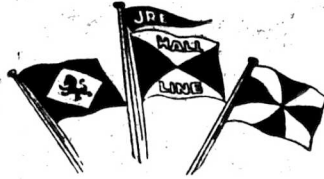
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