

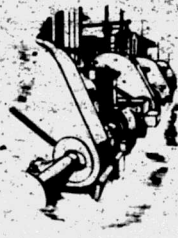
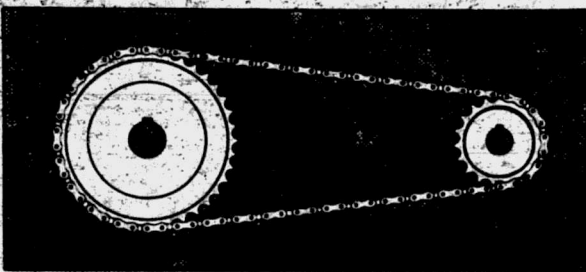
# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, April 11, 1963

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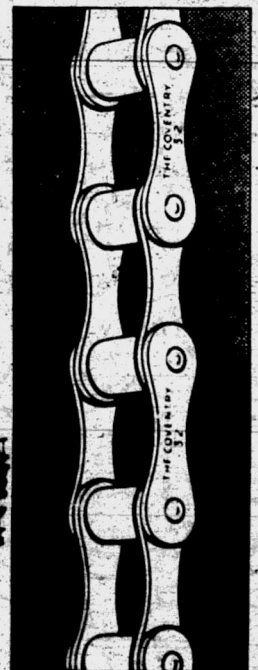
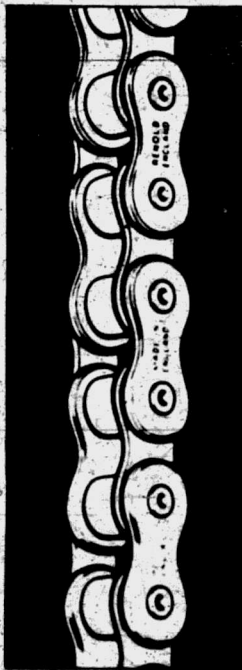
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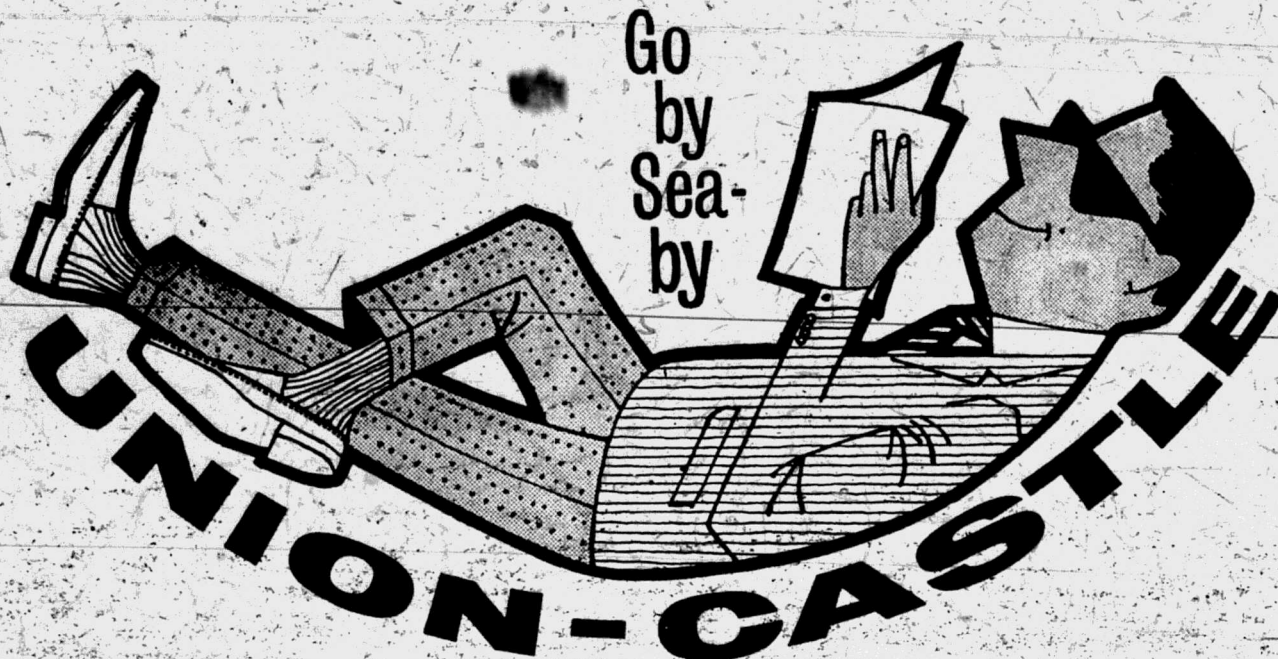


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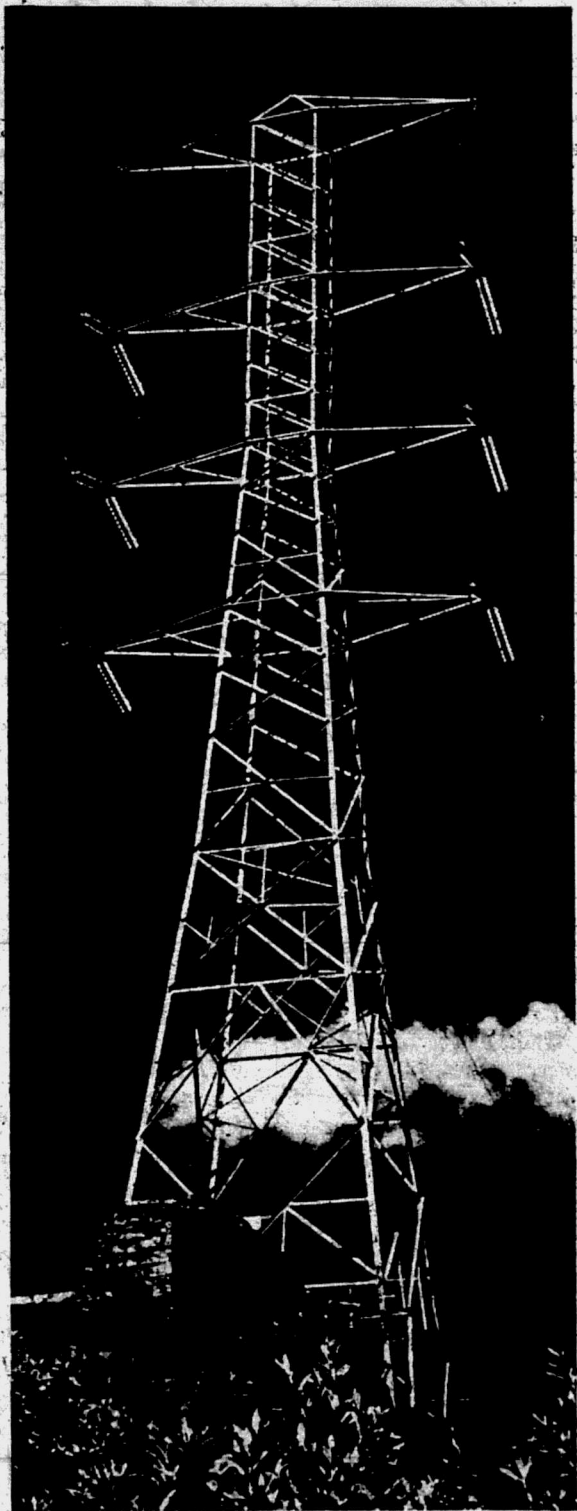
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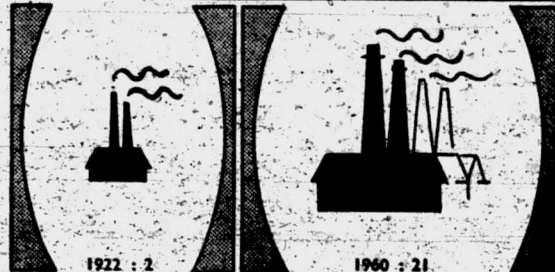


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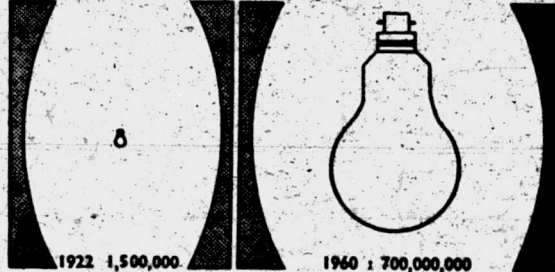
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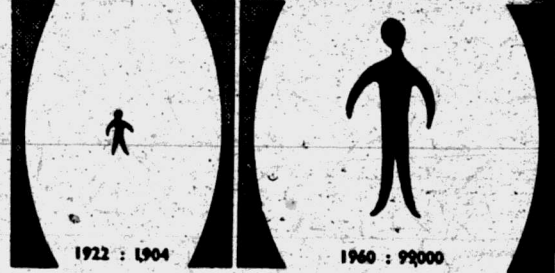
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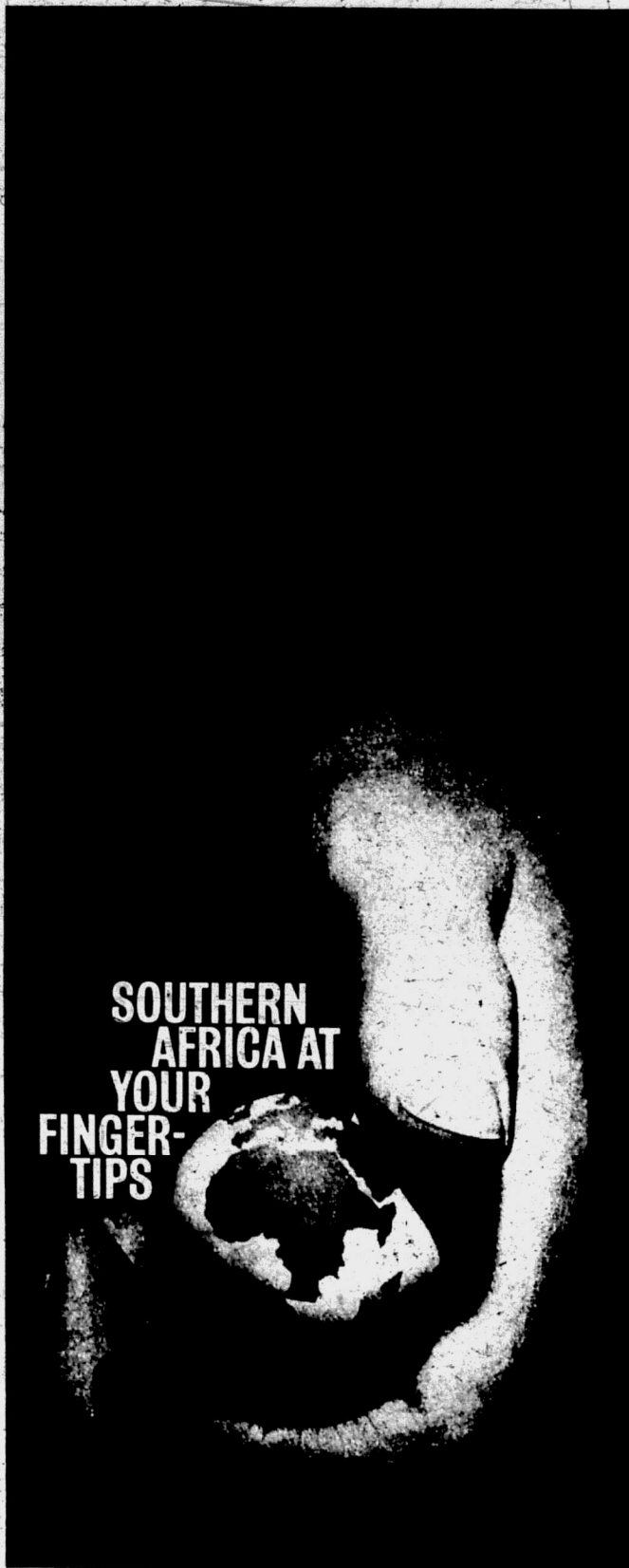
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A Subsidiary has also made available a sum of £200,000 for Africans to be able to buy their own houses on mortgage in Lusaka and in some of the main towns in Southern Rhodesia.

The British South Africa Company Group has made substantial contributions to the multi-racial University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Cathedral at Lusaka, the Barotseland Development Fund and the Oppenheimer College of Social Service in Northern Rhodesia. These—to name a few—are investments in the progress of the Rhodesias.

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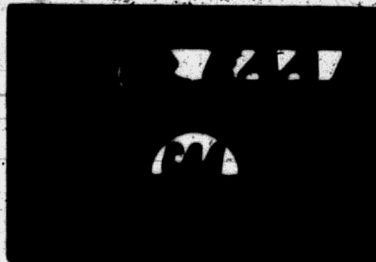
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

NO COMMENTATOR in any daily paper in the United Kingdom or in any of the opinion-forming week-end journals has made the fundamental point that the choice before

### Cruel Choice Before Southern Rhodesia.

responsible Southern Rhodesians is either (a) to entrust the destiny of the country to their elected leaders now, clearly recognizing that that course, if followed against the wishes of the United Kingdom Government, must entail grievous political, financial, trade and diplomatic consequences, or (b) to submit to the desperately dangerous hazards involved in acceptance of the MacButler proposition that a Colony which has for forty years exercised all the powers of internal self-government shall abandon the ambition to become independent at the very time when that status is being prematurely thrust upon African-dominated Governments in its two northern neighbours, neither of which is remotely ready by any of the tests which were normal until the Macmillan Cabinet resolved three years ago to scuttle from Africa without regard to Britain's duty or pledges and without thought for the future of the peoples of all races.

A more cynical or cruel choice than that before Southern Rhodesia has never been inflicted upon any community within the Commonwealth — inflicted, moreover, not

### Shabby Record Of U.K. Government.

by a Government held in general esteem in Britain, but by one which has demonstrably lost the confidence of the electorate, and which recently underwent the unprecedented experience of seeing seven members of the Cabinet dismissed on one day by the Prime Minister, who for that and other reasons is mistrusted by his own Parliamentary followers. They nevertheless remain submissive because the overwhelming majority are professional politicians who are

concerned primarily not to lose their seats and secondarily to secure personal advancement. That explains why they have acquiesced in the party's abominable succession of broken pledges on major matters in Kenya and Central Africa, and now even to the Somali Republic. The hallmark of this Government is disregard of principle. That improbity has made Britain's name detested and distrusted in East and Central Africa, in regard to which, to quote Lord Salisbury, at one time a Secretary of State in this Government, it has acted "unscrupulously".

How could Rhodesians place their faith in a faithless Administration at Westminster? It is a tragedy both for Britain and Rhodesia that at this time of constitutional crisis the

### Rhodesia's Faith Destroyed By Faithless MacButlerism.

Macmillan Government should be held in contempt by Rhodesians, for that has deprived this country of the influence which an honourable record would have gained. The climacteric is essentially the product of the British policy of scuttle: of surrender to anti-white racialism, though it be to the permanent detriment of millions of Africans and hundreds of thousands of white Rhodesians, many of the second and third generation; of abdication to a tiny minority of African agitators, to whose violence and threats everything is conceded; of submission to pressure, however impertinent, unjustified or unrealistic, from the United States, the United Nations, or any other anti-colonialist source; indeed, of abrogation of any responsibility for an alternative which seems momentarily expedient, however heavy the forfeit to be paid a little later. No Government in the United Kingdom has shown such a craven fear of doing right or such alacrity in disowning its own pronouncements and breaking its own promises since the shameless appeasement period of the Neville

Chamberlain Administration — and too many people forget that Mr. Butler was an active supporter of that assuagement of the Nazi bullies (from whom African parties have taken their cue). Its many apologists among journalists and radio and television speakers say when reminded of these facts: "Even if all such accusations be accepted, they cannot affect the situation today; we must deal with things as they are". The retort of Rhodesians would be that that is precisely what they are doing; that these are not matters of past history which can be safely forgotten, but recent occurrences which prove the folly and unreliability of Britain's present policy in Africa, and that they, who have always been amongst the Commonwealth's staunchest loyalists, are now driven by that policy, against their patriotic and material interests, their instincts and volition, to the extremity of considering measures which may sever them from the Commonwealth.

If defence of Rhodesia's integrity demands defiance of British politicians — not of Britain as a whole, and certainly not of the Crown — is it not likely, given Rhodesia's record of three-quarters of a century, that it is Ministers in Westminster upon whom the main blame should rest? It is they who have disillusioned, disgusted, and deceived a robust community which until recently had never contemplated the sundering of its ties with Britain, but would, we have no doubt, take that step rather than commit hara-kiri by the modern British method of suddenly enfranchising millions of ignorant and usually illiterate men and women. The nerveless theorists in the House of Commons who have imposed dictatorship over vast areas of Africa in the guise of "democracy" have not to live with the results of their credulity. White Southern Rhodesians would have to do so, and are consequently more realistic. They are not averse to African political advancement by merit (and merit was mentioned as the precondition in that ominous wind-of-change speech of Mr. Macmillan, who has ever since excluded merit from consideration). Fifteen Africans sit in the Southern Rhodesian Assembly today, and the Rhodesian Front Government is committed to discuss an increase in their numbers at the end of this Parliament, four and a half years hence. Is that an unreasonable period within which to gain experience? Macmillanism introduced both in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia new Constitutions which were to remain unchanged for a decade; but, because African

political careerists quickly organized agitation, they were scrapped in two years. Then the silly process was repeated. Such nonsensical surrender both of principle and of political power makes no appeal to responsible Rhodesians, white or black. It is, of course, with the irresponsible that H.M. Government prefers to traffic. As evidence of the practical approach of Rhodesians, they have for many months conducted a "Build a Nation" campaign; it has been wrecked by a few thousand violent Africans acting in the name of a subversive and now proscribed party, whose leaders have had the closest contacts with and sympathy from leading Socialists in London (and, of course, from still more extreme advisers and paymasters in Africa, America, and elsewhere).

Every endeavour is being made by insidious and obviously inspired suggestions in London newspapers to put Rhodesia in the wrong and to present Mr. Macmillan and Mr.

#### Insidious Suggestions.

Butler as blameless and much misunderstood men patiently bearing calumny and awaiting the triumph of virtue. The caricature is not immediately apparent to the mass of the people because the Press has been so staggering pro-Government, and because many London newspapers now mix comment with news so regularly that readers have little real opportunity of forming their own judgment. That state of affairs has never been so serious since Munich days. Almost any sophistry will be published. A few weeks ago it was emphasized that Mr. Butler's promise of independence to Nyasaland (a promise which contravened the Federal Constitution) did not imply that Northern Rhodesia would be granted the same right. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA was almost alone in scoffing at the idea; indeed, we had argued for years that capitulation to the Malawi Congress Party would immediately bring an irresistible demand from U.N.I.P. That promptly happened. Last week there appeared almost simultaneously in several publications the suggestion that Mr. Butler might solve his dilemma by conceding the principle of independence to Southern Rhodesia now, but with the stipulation that no action should follow until it was requested by a Parliament representing the whole population; in other words, by a Parliament elected on a one-man-one-vote basis, which would mean the destruction of the country. What nonsense!

Another writer, supposedly knowledgeable about Africa, pleaded with the Northern Rhodesian African politicians to show "con-



structive statesmanship" by offering to abstain from boycotts of Southern Rhodesian goods, negotiate a trade agreement, and not press for an African majority in Southern Rhodesia for three years. Does he think that Rhodesia's leaders have such short-term views? He may, for he is naïve enough to write that it lies with Mr. Butler to decide the fate of the Federal forces. What is quite certain is that an independent Southern Rhodesia would take over the Royal Rhodesian Air Force and all those ground force units necessary for internal and external security. The consequent drain on finance and man-power would be serious, but the burden would be borne in the knowledge that the country would be the object of continuing conspiracies to create and develop subversive movements within the country and across its frontiers. Africans from Southern Rhodesia already count on hospitality in Dar es Salaam for a "government in exile" — which would doubtless move to Northern Rhodesia when its independence is attained some time next year. At the United Nations there would be ceaseless activity against Southern Rhodesia, including demands for a trade boycott by all member nations. Independent African and other States now in the Commonwealth would threaten to withdraw. Every kind of adverse publicity would be exploited in Europe, America, Asia and Africa itself in order to

misrepresent and undermine Southern Rhodesia, which would be denied access to world money markets and at least to some markets for its exports.

\* \* \*

Mr. Winston Field, the Prime Minister, said in his broadcast last week that "the independence issue must transcend party politics". Holding the same view, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has more than once suggested the need for a Government of National Unity. It is important that the decisions now to be made shall not merely be, but shall clearly be seen to be, those of responsible Rhodesians of both parties. Moreover, the problems which are already pressing, and which are bound to grow graver, require in positions of authority the very best men available, not those from one party only. Circumstances are too serious for personal careerism to be permissible. Because it is scared of the United Nations, the Afro-Asians, and pan-Africanism, and because it wants to accommodate the United States in its antipathy to "colonialism", the United Kingdom Government, being afraid to grant Southern Rhodesia the independence which it has unquestionably earned, confronts it with the choice of submitting to suicidal constitutional changes or seizing independence. This is Rhodesia's Dunkirk. It calls for a National Government.

## Federation Betrayed by United Kingdom Government

### Close Political and Economic Links Vital to Both Rhodesias

**M**OMENTOUS DECISIONS affecting the future of the Federation and all its inhabitants have been taken by the British Government unilaterally against the wishes of the Federal Government, LORD DALHOUSIE, the Governor-General, said in his speech from the throne when he opened the second session of the third Federal Assembly on Monday.

The announcement last December that Nyasaland would be allowed to secede had been a unilateral decision that violated a binding constitutional convention and solemn pledges previously given by British Ministers. It had been emphasized that Nyasaland's withdrawal would not mean that the constitutional ties between the two Rhodesias were thereby broken.

But last month Mr. Butler had announced that any territory so wishing must be allowed to secede. The same grave objections to the first decision applied also to that second one. When the First Secretary visited the Federation earlier this year he "was not very informative" about H.M. Government's plans for the Federation's future.

When the Federal delegation arrived in London last month to begin preparatory talks to find a basis on which a formal conference might later be held, it was informed of the British Government's decision to allow any territory to secede, but Mr. Butler still intended to proceed with plans for holding a conference in Africa.

"No information was given to my Ministers about the British Government's intentions for the future or the timing of its legislative enactments. My Government is convinced that the British Government has betrayed the people of the Federation and has done them irreparable harm.

"It is its view that preservation of close political and economic links between the Rhodesias is vital to the welfare of their inhabitants. My Ministers will continue to strive for the preservation of whatever links may yet prove possible.

"In view of the decision regarding Nyasaland, they have decided that it is inequitable that the cost of maintaining net expenditures in Nyasaland should continue after the end of the current financial year to be met by the Rhodesias. Estimates of expenditure for 1963-64 will be prepared so as to reflect this decision.

"Until the British Parliament has given legislative effect to the severance from the Federation of any territory or to the total break-up of the Federation, this Assembly and my Government remain in being. The British Government by its actions has made conditions almost impossibly difficult for my Ministers, but they will continue conscientiously to discharge their responsibilities. They conceive it their duty to act in the best interests of all the inhabitants of the Federation for as

long as they are permitted to exercise the authority presently vested in them.

"They will take whatever steps that lie within their power to press forward with plans for future development. With the concurrence of the Governments of Northern and Southern Rhodesia my Ministers have commissioned a survey to examine the possibility of a refined products pipeline from the oil refinery at Umtali to serve Salisbury or beyond, including the feasibility of an extension to Northern Rhodesia. My Ministers have ensured that special attention is paid to the effects of such a pipeline on Rhodesia Railways, its finances, assets and staff, as the carriage of petroleum traffic makes a substantial contribution to railway business.

"The re-constructed road between Broken Hill and Kapiri-Mposhi will be completed later this year making a full-width modern tarmac highway stretching from Cape Town to the border of the Congo. With the re-construction of part of the road south of Kalma and the continuation of work on the Bulawayo-Victoria Falls section they are pursuing as fast as finances will permit their policy of completing to modern tarmac highway standards the tourist route running from Bulawayo to Wankie, Victoria Falls, Kafue, the Kariba turnoff, Salisbury, and back to Bulawayo.

### Record Trade Balance

"A record visible trade balance of over £73m. was achieved in 1962. External banking reserves increased from £49m. in December, 1961, to over £52m. at the end of last year.

"My Ministers will continue to press for removal of obstacles to the Federation's trade with major industrial countries. Following the breakdown in negotiations for Britain's accession to the European Economic Community, consultations are to take place between Commonwealth Governments. My Government will approach such consultations

in a spirit of co-operation whilst continuing to safeguard the interests of the Federation.

"Protection has been extended to a wide range of goods produced by local industry. This action was coupled with a reduction in the bank rate and substantial relaxation of hire purchase terms. Encouragement and assistance have been given to the campaign to stimulate purchase of home products. These measures have assisted in the maintenance of the level of activity in the manufacturing industry, but my Ministers are gravely concerned about the effect on industry and employment of the British Government's recent decisions.

### Unsettled Conditions

"Generally unsettled conditions have unfortunately had serious repercussions on the volume of traffic carried by Rhodesia Railways. The fall in traffic has offset the financial benefit which should have been obtained by an increase in railway rates introduced in September last year. Stringent economy measures have become necessary."

The Governor-General said the Government's policy of providing most of the teachers in Federal Government schools from within the Federation was achieving marked success; at the beginning of this year the great majority of recruits to the teaching profession were Rhodesians; 321 federal students had begun teacher training this year, of whom half would proceed to universities to become graduate teachers.

The striking power of the R.R.A.F. was being increased by 12 Hunter aircraft, a number of which had already arrived. Three more helicopters were on order.

Referring to the situation in Katanga, Earl Dalhousie said that it was deemed necessary to deploy regular troops of the armed forces along a portion of the Federation's border; their presence was of considerable assistance to the civil authorities.

## Treacherous Appeasement A Warning for The Future

### Extracts from Sir Roy Welensky's Account of "Sorry Story"

"THE STORY I have to disclose is one of treachery and deceit seldom equalled in negotiations between nations which have hated one another, and almost inconceivable in the relationships between Commonwealth Governments. I believe the Macmillan Government will go down in history as one of the most effective Governments it has been the misfortune of the British people to endure and it is sad to reflect on how a great nation can be humbled when its Government allows principles to abdicate to expediency and diplomacy to give place to duplicity.

### Disengagement At Any Cost

"When the history of this short-lived Federation comes to be written from the objective standpoint of distance I am confident that the Macmillan Government will be seen to have been the hand that first paralysed it and then struck it down. Pious expressions of nobility and intention will then fall into perspective and sound as hollow as they have in fact been.

### Utterly Dishonourable

"There is a lesson for the future in what I have said for each and every one. It is that the British Government is still without a doubt set upon a policy of disengagement from responsibility in Africa at all and any cost. The great project of the Federation, which could have succeeded with Britain's support, has been sacrificed.

"The issue will go much farther. The interests of the white man and the ordinary moderate African in his thousands are being sacrificed in a long-drawn-out act of appeasement which puts Munich in the shade.

"The British withdrawal is not complete. Southern Rhodesia still has to be tackled. It would be wrong to believe this will not be done with the same duplicity and double-dealing experienced by the Federal Government in its past negotiations with British Ministers. Whatever the undertakings may be, whatever pieces of paper may reflect firm commitments and intentions, the truth six, 12, or 18 months ahead will be very different and utterly dishonourable, and this House and the people of this country should be warned.

"I am approaching the belief that the Macmillan Government might well be dolls dancing to the tune of a puppet master. So in the experience we have suffered lies a further lesson for the rest of southern Africa. The over-all design as well is unchanged and we now know beyond any shadow of doubt what is intended for the continent as a whole. It is to be handed over to racialism, whether the cost be a Congo or an Algiers."

### Orderly Transfer

The Federal Government, though facing "the end of this great venture here in Central Africa", would take every measure in its power while it remained in being to ensure the orderly transfer of authority and administration. This was its duty.

There was an enormous task ahead of sorting and apportionment. Great wisdom and patience would be needed. Nothing should be done to damage the economies of the territories, for the people and their interests had to come first.

### Independence for Southern Rhodesia "Vital"

Southern Rhodesia's claim to independence could not be denied. It was vital to the interests of Southern Rhodesia's people. If the British Government did not give satisfaction on safeguards and that Southern Rhodesia would get its independence, the Federal Government would not collaborate with Britain in breaking up the Federation.

\*The full text of the Prime Minister's speech in the Federal Assembly will be given next week.

# Mr. Winston Field's Report to Southern Rhodesia

## Insistence on Independence in Order to Escape Outside Interference

IT WAS CLEAR from the first meeting with the Minister for Central African Affairs that the British Government would not advance any plans of its own in the discussions with the Southern Rhodesian delegation, the Prime Minister, MR. WINSTON FIELD, told the country in a radio broadcast from Salisbury on Wednesday of last week about the series of meetings with Mr. Butler in London which had begun on March 21.

The Southern Rhodesian Government had then reiterated its desire for at least economic ties with the other two Federal territories and its willingness to cooperate in any way which would be advantageous to the Colony without impeding its sovereignty.

"All through the discussions we had stressed the importance of Southern Rhodesia's independence. The justice of our claim was not denied, although it was pointed out that it would present certain difficulties for H.M. Government in regard to the British Parliament and the United Nations.

"However, as H.M. Government is obviously considering granting Nyasaland's independence after one year of self-government it will be most difficult to refuse us after 40 years. We pointed out that by this yard-stick Southern Rhodesia should have had independence 30 years ago.

### Phantom Powers

"So long as any powers remain with the British Government ill-wishers from outside our borders will continue to press that these phantom powers be used, and efforts will be made to create conditions that could persuade the United Nations to demand that the U.K. interfere in our domestic affairs. The British Government cannot interfere, and she has assured us that she has no intention of attempting to do so.

"This appears to make no impression on those forces who seek to do us evil, and will undoubtedly try to cause a breakdown of law and order and administration, so long as this tie exists. The reason for this must go: this last apron-string tying us to the British Government must go.

"Prior to the statement about Northern Rhodesian secession the British Government had suggested to us that gaining our independence would mean the break-up of the Federation. We rejected this. It was independence from interference from Great Britain, not from the Federation. Any federation can be made up of independent territories.

"After the announcement that Northern Rhodesia could secede it was suggested that if we had independence we might find it more difficult to have talks on an economic association with Northern Rhodesia. This we also reject. I believe that the conference on the dismantling of the Federation which must be held should not be bedevilled by matters which are purely ones for the British Government and ourselves.

### What Really Counts

"We want proper assurances on this, and what we are asking for is that we should be given acceptable guarantees that we will receive our independence within the Commonwealth on or before the date by which either Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia secedes or either of these territories is granted its independence.

"This is urgent. We must end uncertainty in all directions so that we can concentrate on those aspects of our daily lives that really count - solving the problem of creating employment for our unemployed and rapidly growing population, homes for them all, and launching the development schemes, small and large, that will make this possible. For far too long our time in this country has been taken up with constitutional issues and crises, and far too little time has been spent on the real things of life.

"Amongst the other good reasons for our wanting independence is that of our pride. I know of no country that has

more right to its independence than ours. We should have had it before Federation. Then we would not be facing the problem now. We must not make the same mistake again.

"If I appear to be spending a long time talking of this independence issue it is because I feel very strongly and deeply about it, and I am sure that all of you do too. An issue such as this must transcend party politics. It is too grave and too important.

"Whilst in London we found that generally the image of the country which is being projected in Great Britain is a bad one, based on incorrect information in some cases, and in others deliberate distortion being the order of the day. We set out to correct this by all available media. In most cases we found that when the truth was available and presented it was welcomed and published. But this is not enough, and the Government intends to take steps to see that inaccurate news and presentation of slanted news is corrected.

"It is vital we do this. This presentation of inaccuracies reached its worst with the recent petitioners last month from Southern Rhodesia at the U.N., which in turn led to extraordinary speeches by members of the committee which interferes with our affairs. They should know better and should acquaint themselves with the facts. We have protested strongly to the Governments concerned. I was shocked at the weak attitude of those who in turn will face the same problem as ourselves and still think appeasement is the answer.

### Practical Confidence

"One is inclined to get the idea that all hands are raised against us. This is not so. I found that in business circles and in the City there is confidence in us. As soon as our affairs are settled this confidence will be shown in practical ways. There is interest in our development plans, and I hope that support will be forthcoming in due course.

"Naturally things are not easy, as Great Britain herself is not exactly flourishing just now and is still smarting over the Common Market issue and worried about her own unemployment.

"Demonstrations by unemployed took place outside the House of Commons while we were inside, and it is interesting to note that it took hundreds of police and many horses to contain the incident, whereas here we usually manage with a dozen police and a few dogs.

"I wish I could tell you exactly what is going to happen now. All that is certain is that the Federation will soon be ended. It is indeed sad when we think of the high hopes with which it was started and what it might have been. We now have to build again, and that is precisely what we are going to do.

"I do not believe that any one of the three territories is going to stop all contact and so cut off its nose to spite its face. Trade will continue. Only experience will show, but it must not be forgotten that we have trade with other countries in Africa, and all this can be expanded, as well as our exports beyond Africa.

### Control and Appointments Will Fail

"Efforts will be made to coerce us. They will fail. We shall have to contend with sharp trading practices, but we shall win out here too. It has been put to us that all we have to do is to widen our franchise. I find this strange coming from those people both inside and outside our country who were responsible for our new Constitution, which we are pledged to make work. Where it has not worked we must examine it to see what can be done to make it work.

"I would like to see the voting system simplified. Nothing so involved will ever fulfil its purpose, as it is not understood by the people it is intended to help. This is merely common sense, not appeasement, which has never succeeded since Canute and never will.

"The moment of decision has come for Southern Rhodesia. Efforts will be made to interfere with us; we must reject them and insist that we be left to work out our own destiny our own way. For this we must show unity in this country. I am convinced that we can overcome that proud problem we once held as an example of stability and progress and as a country where all can live in their own way in freedom.

# PERSONALIA

THE EARL OF INCHCAPE has joined the board of the Borneo Company.

MR. R. H. PRINGLE has returned from his visit to Uganda and Kenya.

MR. W. M. MCCALL is Acting Attorney-General in Northern Rhodesia.

MR. A. W. WESTWOOD has joined the board of Kafue Development Co., Ltd.

MR. R. MARTIN, Government Printer in Nyasaland, is on leave pending retirement.

CANON MAX WARREN, general secretary of the C.M.S., has been appointed a Canon of Westminster.

MR. B. S. BRAITHWAITE, chief education officer for East Sussex, has visited Northern Rhodesia.

MR. and MRS. C. D. C. BAIN and MR. C. J. VAN JAARSVELDT are recent arrivals in London from Salisbury.

MR. H. M. TALLACK has been elected to the board of Inchcape & Co., Ltd., from which MR. A. MACKAY has retired.

The fourth volume of MISS MARGERY PERHAM'S book "The Diaries of Lord Lugard" deals entirely with West Africa.

MR. G. D. HAZELDINE has been elected president and MR. L. G. REECE vice-president of Nairobi Musical Society.

DR. Y. S. GOOR, head of the infectious diseases division of the Israel Veterinary Service, has paid a brief visit to Kenya.

SIR PATRICK FLETCHER, who farms in the Essexvale district of Southern Rhodesia, has arrived in the United Kingdom.

MR. E. A. MCNAMARA, an Australian, has taken up duty as general manager in Jinja of Uganda Grain Milling Co., Ltd.

DR. R. H. KIRBY, Assistant Director of the Tropical Products Institute in London, has paid a short visit to the Federation.

MR. M. K. SALUM has been re-elected chairman of Tabora town council, Tanganyika. The vice-chairman is MR. H. M. IKUNJI.

MR. ZAKARIA MATUMULA has been sworn in as area commissioner for Masasi, Tanganyika. He had been deputy *liwali* since 1958.

MR. MALEDEM MACDONALD, Governor of Kenya, is suffering from virus pneumonia and will be off duty until some time next month.

SIR CYRIL HAWKER, chairman of the Standard Bank, left London Airport on Sunday for Japan, where he will spend about three weeks.

SIR JOHN VAUGHAN-MORGAN, M.P., has just become chairman of the board of governors of the Westminster Hospital, London.

THE REV. L. R. M. CLARKE, a C.M.S. missionary in Namirembe diocese of Uganda, is to become rector of Timoleague Union, Ross, County Cork.

THE REV. L. MOORE, former Chaplain of St. Michael and St. George's School, Iringa, Tanganyika, has been appointed Rector of Coates, Cambridge.

SIR WALTER CRUTTS, Governor-General of Uganda, and previously Chief Secretary in Kenya, recently opened the West Kenya Show at Eldoret.

SIR EVELYN HASE has resumed duty as Governor of Northern Rhodesia after long leave in England. LADY HASE and he flew back to Lusaka last week.

MR. B. W. MURPHY has been appointed marketing director of Boro Standard (East Africa), Ltd. His area covers all East Africa, Aden and Mauritius.

MR. A. K. E. SWANA, Minister for Local Government in Tanganyika, was in London for a few days last week for official talks. He left on Sunday for Bonn.

MR. FRANCIS MALLON has been appointed a resident magistrate in Northern Rhodesia.

MR. A. C. NORTH, chief electoral officer in Northern Rhodesia, is to be principal of a Government college of staff training which will be completed in 1964 in Lusaka.

SIR GILBERT LAITHWAITE has been elected deputy chairman of the United Kingdom Committee of the Federation of Commonwealth and British Chambers of Commerce.

ARCHDUKE OTTO, pretender to the Austrian throne, who visited Mozambique last year, has just published a book which reports favourably on Portuguese administration.

During his recent visit to London MR. KAUNDA, president of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, wore in his buttonhole a small gilt map of Africa.

MR. J. D. DUNKLEY, a director of the Rhodesian subsidiary of Rootes, Ltd., and MRS. DUNKLEY are on their way back *via* Beira in the S.S. KENYA, which left London on Friday afternoon.

MR. A. W. P. CRASTO, Nairobi manager of Air India, is this year's chairman of the Board of Airline Representatives in East Africa. Last year's chairman was MR. L. HENRI, of Air France.

THE VEN. JOHN SEPEKU was on Sunday consecrated Assistant Bishop in the Diocese of Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam. He was ordained in 1940, and has been Archdeacon of Magila since 1960.

MR. S. H. WARUHIU, a lecturer in law at the Royal College, Nairobi, is chairman of a 25-member committee set up to advise the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation on radio and television programmes.

MR. JOHN CROSTHWAITE-EYRE, a fruit farmer in Southern Rhodesia, has been negotiating for the establishment of a cider factory at Umtali early next year, with pressing plants at Melseffer and Inyanga.

When MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, Governor of Kenya, visited some 60 old men and women from all parts of East Africa in the municipal almshouses of Mombasa, he gave each a gift of snuff and tobacco.

MR. E. R. MBAMBARA and MR. E. B. MUMBYENYEMBE have been appointed the new principals of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian teacher training colleges in Nyasaland at Mkhoma and Loudon respectively.

MR. JOEL BAROZI and MR. BEDA RUPIA, executive officers of the Buhaya and Ufipa district councils respectively in Tanganyika, have arrived in the U.K. to take a five months' special course in local government.

ATO TESHAYE GEBRE-EGZY, Ethiopia's representative on the U.N. anti-colonial committee, has said that Britain would use force if necessary to discharge her responsibilities in Southern Rhodesia, as France did in Algeria.

MR. J. N. BUCHANAN, who is reducing his business commitments, has resigned from the board of the Industrial Finance & Investment Corporation, Ltd. His successor as chairman is MR. R. E. F. DE TRAFFORD.

THE RT. REV. ROBERT NEIL RUSSELL, who has been consecrated Assistant Bishop of the Zanzibar Diocese, is the first Bishop to be consecrated in Zanzibar Cathedral since it was built 60 years ago on the site of the slave-market.

MR. JOHN HAMILTON, personnel manager of the Roan Antelope mine, Northern Rhodesia, who joined the company in 1928, has just retired. MR. and MRS. HAMILTON are settling in Borrowdale, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

MR. M. S. K. MAUNSELL has been appointed an assistant managing director of Gallaher, Ltd., a group with large tobacco interests in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. MR. A. W. H. STEWART-MOORE has retired from the board.

When MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, Governor of Kenya, opened Keekerok game lodge in the Narok district, he described the Masai Mara game reserve in which it is situated as "the finest paradise for wild game in all Kenya".

MR. P. E. D. TENNANT, overseas director of the Federation of British Industries, will shortly become deputy director-general. MR. J. R. M. WHITEHORN is to be overseas director, and MR. G. H. GARNER head of the export services division.

MR. T. A. H. SYCAMORE has relinquished the post of managing director of Oxo, Ltd., to become an executive director of Liebig's Extract of Meat Co., Ltd., the parent company which has large East and Central African interests.

CHIEF ERASTO MANG'ENYA, lately Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of External Affairs and Defence in Tanganyika, has passed through London on his way to New York to take up duty as Tanganyika's Permanent Representative at the United Nations.

MR. IAN MACKERSEY is to take charge of a film unit now being formed by the Rhodesian Selection Trust group of companies. About a year ago he relinquished the editorship of the group's magazine *Horizon*, of which MR. ANTHONY HOWARD is now editor.

DR. ALMA DOWNES-SHAW, who is to join the staff in Newala, Tanganyika, of the U.M.C.A., was for 34 years a missionary doctor with the C.M.S. in Uganda, Kenya and Nigeria. A year ago she came home to retire, but the call of Africa has taken her back.

MISS SUSAN KING-HALL has been appointed general secretary of the British Society for International Health Education, formed to help promote British aid for health education in developing countries. She has helped her father, SIR STEPHEN KING-HALL, in his news-letter business.

LIEUT-COLONEL ARCHIBALD FLETCHER, who was until recently second-in-command of the 2nd Bn. The Scots Guards in Kenya, has just become C.O. of the 1st Bn. at Pirbright, Surrey, 25 men of which recently left camp and held a protest meeting in London about their conditions of service.

MR. P. T. JOLLEY, for the past two years sales development manager of East African Airways, has been promoted sales manager. He began his flying career with B.O.A.C. in 1945, joined E.A.A. in 1950, and has served the corporation in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Southern Rhodesia.

MR. GEOFFREY GATENDE, a 28-year-old African engineer from Fort Hall who is now back in Kenya, tossed a coin three years ago to decide whether to accept an American or a Russian scholarship for further studies. He went to Moscow, and was for a period employed by the Soviet Government on projects in Siberia.

MR. T. C. GARDNER, Finance Minister in Northern Rhodesia, and MR. H. M. NKUMBULA, Minister of Education, had talks last week at the Department of Technical Co-operation with SIR ANDREW COHEN about United Kingdom aid, particularly in regard to secondary, post-secondary and technical education and teacher training.

MR. REGINALD MAUDLING, Colonial Secretary until his appointment last July as Chancellor of the Exchequer, said in his Budget speech last week: "If we are to increase our aid to the peoples of Africa and Asia, who still count in shillings what we count in pounds, we must have more rapid and more steady expansion".

DR. WALTER DESHLER, of the University of Maryland, who previously visited Uganda in 1954, is being sponsored by the national science council of the American Council of Learned Societies in a study tour he will begin next February to examine cultivation patterns in an effort to trace the culture and migrations of Uganda's major tribes.

MR. M. J. RIDGE, officer in charge of gypsum plaster investigations in the Australian scientific and industrial research organization's building department, has been visiting Tanganyika for discussions on sisal varieties, some 5,000 tons of which are exported to Australia yearly from the territory for use in manufacturing fibrous plaster sheets for walls and ceilings.

The annual report of the Co-operative Party records the retirement from the national committee after 19 years of continuous service of MR. W. COLDRICK, who was chairman for 10 years and from 1945 to 1959 Labour and Co-operative M.P. for Bristol North East. He was for several years a member of the council of the Joint East and Central African Board.

DR. EDUARDO MONDLANE, a Mozambique African, has been granted leave of absence from his post as lecturer in African affairs at Syracuse University, U.S.A., to take over the active leadership in Dar es Salaam of the Frente de Liberacao de Mocambique (FRELIMO), which was formed nearly two years ago by a merger of the two main African nationalist parties in Portuguese East Africa. DR. MONDLANE was elected president at a six-day congress held in Tanganyika last September. THE REV. URIA T. SIMANGO is the vice-president.

MR. H. J. QUINTON, Minister of Agriculture in the Whitehead Government in Southern Rhodesia, has been appointed chairman of a committee appointed by the new Prime Minister, MR. WINSTON FIELD, to report on the establishment of Southern Rhodesian Development Corporation. The other members are MR. R. O. STOCKIL, a former Dominion Party M.P.; MR. J. S. BROWN, of the Farmers' Co-operative, Salisbury; MR. A. G. WELLS, who is prominent in farming and mining; and MR. D. F. FAIRBAIRN of the Colonial Development Corporation.

MR. JOHN PARKER (*Rhodesia Herald*), MR. GEOFFREY PREEDY (Federal Broadcasting Corporation), MR. RICHARD CHIKOSI (British Information Services, Salisbury), and MR. CORNELIUS WATYOKA (of the staff of *Murimi*, official journal of the Southern Rhodesian African Farmers' Union), have arrived in Britain as guests of the Central African Office. During their month's stay they will visit national and provincial newspaper offices, television studios, the headquarters of the political parties and the T.U.C., and will go to Oxford, Stratford-upon-Avon, Coventry, Bristol, and other towns.

## Obituary

EARL GREY, who has died at the age of 83, was the father-in-law of Lord Howick of Glendale (Governor of Southern Rhodesia and Kenya as Sir Evelyn Baring). Lord Grey had been interested in Africa almost all his life and had served on the boards of Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., Kentan Gold Areas, Ltd., and other companies in that group. He was one of the best-known laymen in the councils of the Anglican Church.

MR. NEVILLE AGLIONBY KENYON-SLANEY, who has died in his 84th year in Goring-on-Thames, was the son of the late Major-General W. R. Kenyon-Slaney. After leaving Haileybury he went to the East Africa Protectorate (now Kenya) in 1903 as an assistant collector, and at different times served as D.C. of Nairobi, Dagoretti, Naivasha, Nakuru, Meru, Embu, Fort Hall, Kisii and Eldama Ravine. In the earlier part of the 1914-18 war he was a lieutenant in the 3rd K.A.R., and in 1916 he was appointed a political officer in what was then German East Africa, being posted first to Kilwa and then Moshi. In 1921 he became Assistant Chief Native Commissioner in Kenya. He retired in 1924, and was for some months in 1925-26 in Macedonia as a member of the Greco-Bulgarian repatriation commission.

# U.K. Delay to Blame for Any Unrest in Southern Rhodesia

## Colony Proud of Progress in 40 Years of Self-Government.

**S**OUTHERN RHODESIA continues to press the United Kingdom Government to concede its right to independence on the date on which that change of status is granted either to Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. C. W. Dupont, Minister of Justice, saw Mr. R. A. Butler, First Secretary of State and Minister for Central African Affairs, twice last week, for the second time on Friday morning.

He said that afternoon at a Press conference:—

“This morning, on receiving my request for H.M. Government’s decision on Southern Rhodesia’s independence, Mr. Butler informed me that at this time it was not possible for this to be given.

### Outside Pressures

“Mr. Butler also informed me that H.M. Government was well disposed towards the Southern Rhodesian Government, and that while it would be the normal course for all the territories to progress towards their independence, in the meantime it was essential that friendly arrangements should be entered into between the Governments of the two Rhodesias and Great Britain. A number of problems were raised, and further meetings must take place. These are urgent, and arrangements have been made for them to take place early next week.

“It is obvious to me that H.M. Government has been subjected to considerable pressures from various directions, and I am disappointed that the United Kingdom is now prepared to receive a delegation from the United Nations in spite of her repeated assertions that the United Nations has no right of interference in Southern Rhodesia’s affairs.

“In my view there is no moral or logical reason for H.M. Government’s delay in acceding to Southern Rhodesia’s request, which is not for immediate independence but for an assurance that she should obtain her independence from Great Britain on or before the first date on which either Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia secedes or is granted independence.

### One Party, One Dictator

“The suggestion has been made in the Press and elsewhere that this should be made dependent on alterations in the franchise being made to entitle more Africans to be placed on the voters’ roll.

## Mr. Winston Field’s Broadcast

(Continued from page 685)

“In due course the Western world will be grateful to us here for having made the stand we are making and will realize how right we were to reject a policy of appeasement to outside ignorance and internal lawlessness.

“Had the people who now wish to make a bid for power by intimidation and the like adhered to the Constitution they signed, they could have been an influence in Parliament today. Is not that a good start for anyone? We have made it clear that we will not tolerate lawlessness and intimidation and that progress in all fields must be made under the law and on merit.

“I hope uncertainty will soon be ended and that we can start again to build up Southern Rhodesia. I call on you all to do your share. We are not alone in this struggle. We have been warmed by support overseas and here. With us all pulling together, we cannot fail”.

“Had advantage been taken of the existing franchise, the number of Africans on the existing rolls would have been more than double that of Europeans. It is, I think, generally accepted that the Westminster theory of democracy has not proved successful in emerging countries in Africa, where one man one vote is speedily translated into one party and one dictator.

“The franchise enshrined in the new Constitution was agreed by H.M. Government, the Southern Rhodesian Government, and Mr. Joshua Nkomo on behalf of the African nationalists (although he subsequently repudiated it), and the present Southern Rhodesian Government has pledged itself not to alter the Constitution during the life of the present Parliament.

“During the last 40 years of self-government Southern Rhodesia has nothing to be ashamed of in her progress, economically, industrially, and particularly in the sphere of her race relations, and I emphatically deny the suggestion that there is an explosive situation existing there today.

“It is regrettable therefore that the delay in receiving H.M. Government’s decision, which is conducive to the fostering of incidents of unrest, can lead only to a deterioration in this situation.

### Policy of Delay

“The responsibility for any such deterioration must lie fairly and squarely on the shoulders of H.M. Government by reason of its policy of delay, prolonging the period of uncertainty and daily decreasing the chances of amicable and satisfactory discussions between the political leaders of Nyasaland and the two Rhodesias.

“I have been in communication with my Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Field, this afternoon, and have informed him of the discussions, and I have been instructed to remain here until the middle of next week to receive H.M. Government’s final decision on the matter. Mr. Field is not prepared to return to this country for any further discussions until this principle is decided. When this is done he is willing to enter into consultation as to the machinery for carrying it out”.

Mr. Dupont added in reply to questions about Mr. Butler’s reference to the “normal course to progress towards independence” that he had asked whether that would occur this year, and had not received an answer.

Unless it was given a satisfactory answer to its request, his Government would not be interested in consultations or negotiations on other subjects.

Considering that H.M. Government had repeatedly stated that the United Nations had no right to interfere in Southern Rhodesian affairs, its decision to receive representatives of U.N.O. to discuss Southern Rhodesia was most regrettable.

Mr. Dupont has flown back to Salisbury.

## Television Helps Mr. Field

PETER SIMPLE, the *Daily Telegraph* diarist, wrote a few days ago: “Television, a curse in so many ways, brings one benefit: you can see what public figures look like and to some extent judge their characters. Several million people in this country will have seen Mr. Winston Field, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia. They will most probably have got the impression, as I did, that he is a humane, reasonable, and upright man, with a straightforwardness rather unusual among politicians. It will be difficult, in view of these awkward facts, for the Barbara Castles of this world to portray him as a blood-stained racist monster whose chief object in life is to grind the faces of the blacks and preserve white privilege at whatever cost. Quite probably he will be portrayed in this way just the same. Political propaganda in its rage for great abstract ends, takes small account of little things like human character and motive. But, thanks to television, it may be just that bit more difficult to pull off the trick on the British public”.

# Wrong Decision Given by Wrong Minister in Wrong Place

Charge that Mr. Sandys Said One Thing in Nairobi and Something Different in House of Commons

**SHARP CRITICISM** of the decision of H.M. Government to create a Somali Region of Kenya in order to frustrate the unanimous view of the Somalis of the Northern Frontier District to secede to the Somali Republic was voiced in the House of Lords last week by the EARL OF LYTTON.

He was also very critical of public statements on the subject by Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and suggested that what he had told the House of Commons differed greatly from what he had said in Nairobi.

In the course of a long speech LORD LYTTON said:—

"The story starts with the Kenya Constitutional Conference of 1962, where the part of Kenya called the Northern Frontier District made known its views. The leading political parties, under Mr. Kenyatta and Mr. Ngala, declared their firm opposition to the secession of any part, and H.M. Government undertook to carry out an investigation to ascertain public opinion in the area.

"The Prime Minister of the Somali Republic wrote to me on May 24 last year:—

"Dear Lord Lytton,—The admirable speech that you made in the House of Lords on May 15 during the debate on Kenya has been brought to my attention, and I hope you will not think it improper if I say that this is the first time, so far as I am aware, that the House of Lords has been given a lucid and accurate account of Somali problems from one of its distinguished members with practical experience of Somali needs and aspirations.

"I have also been touched and gratified to read the sympathetic comments about the N.F.D. which were made during the debate by the Lord Chancellor, the Marquess of Salisbury, the Earl of Listowel, and by Lord Walston. I too share the hope that this will not be the last time that you speak in Parliament, and should you again contemplate a visit to East Africa will you please let me know and I shall be happy to invite you to our country as a guest of the Government so that you can see for yourself how democracy can be made to work in Africa'.

## Prospective Visit to Mogadishu

"That letter is signed by Dr. Shermarke. I shall be flying from Aden to Mogadishu on May 13. I have also received a letter from a representative of the 20,000 Somalis in Aden thanking me for what I said in this House last May.

"The idea of a greater Somalia has been put forward by four eminent people at various times—Sir Charles Eliot, one of our greatest administrators in Kenya, about 1904; by Mohammed Abdilla Hassan, commonly known as the 'Mad Mullah', one of the greatest of Somali poets, between 1899 and 1920; by the Emperor of Ethiopia on a number of occasions, always with the intention of incorporating the entire Horn of Africa within the Ethiopian Empire; and by Mr. Ernest Bevin in 1946.

"The Northern Frontier District, half Kenya, and twice the size of England, is virtually a desert, inhabited by one-thirtieth of the population. This desert is so poor and unimportant that it is called a district only; the province of which it is part is so unimportant that it is not given a separate map in the Kenya Atlas. The whole population is regarded as of such small account that it is not summarized in the main tribes in the Kenya Statistical Abstract of 1960.

"It is one of the poorest places that people have ever quarrelled about. There is the possibility of oil, but the quarrel is not about oil, in the sense that if there were no prospects of oil the quarrel would be there.

"The people are non-Negroes, but black and African. They are not Arabs. How they got there, and whether they are of European stock or came from the Caucasus, we do not know. The dividing line in East Africa between non-Negroes and others is the N.F.D. The two great divisions in Kenya of the non-Negroes are the Somali and the Galla. The majority in the N.F.D. are Somali. A small proportion are Galla. Both extend into Ethiopia.

"The *Sunday Times* has described Ethiopia as an ancient empire. That is totally incorrect. Ethiopia is in small part the ancient Abyssinian kingdoms of history and in much larger part the colonies conquered by Menelik II, more or less a contemporary of Gladstone. The colonies, approximately the same age as our own, are Somali and Galla. Whereas we label our places as 'colonies', the Ethiopians have described them as one Ethiopian people and say they are historically part of Ethiopia. That is not true.

"The Galla extend into Ethiopia, right up north of the capital (built on territory conquered by Menelik) to Harrar. They number millions, of whom the few N.F.D. Galla are a part. There may be three-quarters of a million Somali within the Ethiopian boundaries today. In the report on the N.F.D. nobody has suggested joining his cousins in Ethiopia.

## Somali and Galla

"A very knowledgeable person, who knows the Somali and Galla languages, wrote in *News Society* in March:—

"The Somali people who live in the N.F.D. hardly differ at all in any respect from their brothers in the Somali Republic or in Ethiopia. They speak the same language. The Ogaden people of the N.F.D. belong to the same clan as the Ogaden people in the Somali Republic and in the Ogaden region in Ethiopia. The Somalis are all united by the bond of Islam, which in spite of its Sumi orthodoxy has a characteristic national flavour and is dominated by the Sufi movement represented by religious fraternities which place particular emphasis on a mystic union with God through pious exercises, contemplation and good life. The Somali Sufis venerate saints, some of whom are Arab and some Somali. These saints they share all over the Somali territories, and people make long journeys in pious pilgrimages. Some Somalis may travel hundreds of miles from different regions, across the political boundaries, to give homage to those whose supernatural intercession they may seek, at the sacred tombs.

"The Galla are very much akin to Somalis linguistically and ethnically. A large proportion, like the Somalis, are Muslims. Their pastoral way of life differs from that of the Somalis, and much inter-marriage has taken place in some Somali clans, such as the Adjuran. Somali-Galla bilingualism is a very frequent phenomenon. The Somalis and the Galla taken together differ very sharply from the population of Kenya proper in language and customs.

"While Somali and Galla are closely related, and both belong to the Cushitic branch of the Semitic-Hamitic family, they differ from such languages as Kikuyu or Luo as much as English does from Chinese. Their values and ways of life differ so much that any integration could hardly seem possible.

"They are people who have throughout their 70 centuries of recorded history always dominated other Africans. I am sorry that our Press says they despise the Negro. In this country have we not heard people talking of 'Dagoes', 'Wogs', 'Frogs', 'Wops', and 'Bosch'? The same thing occurs in Africa. But the Head of the Somali Republic Government received as guests Mr. Kenyatta and Mr. Ngala, and until this unfortunate development occurred there was a desire on the part of the Somalis for federation, not with their Moslem kin, but with Uganda and Kenya.

## Somali in N.F.D. for Three Centuries

"How long have the Somalis been in the N.F.D.? I raise this matter because I am informed that Mr. Mboya is saying that they have been there a very short time. So I have consulted the experts, including Sir Richard Turnbull (whose admirable little study of the Darod invasion he has lent me), and the more extended studies of Dr. I. M. Lewis, of Glasgow University.

"So far as one knows, no Negroes of Kenya have ever occupied the N.F.D. except those who are there at present, and even those, a small tribe of Pokomo along the Tana River, were probably invaders themselves after the Somalis were there. There is a long and tangled history of Somali fighting Somali and Somali fighting Galla, but nevertheless there were alliances between Galla and Somali against other Galla and Somali.

"Professor Lewis considers that Somalis were in the N.F.D. in full occupation three centuries ago, and that the Darod, about whom Sir Richard Turnbull has written in such a scholarly way, are not the first arrivals but the last in a series of fluctuating situations in a struggle for water. These struggles were not raiding parties for women or slaves or just to kill, but because unless the tribes had water they died. That situation has been fought out for centuries in this part of Africa.

No Ethiopians and no Negroes from the highlands of Kenya could live in this desert country, nor do they want to. In the Ethiopian Army, especially today when such a large part of the army is there, it is regarded as very unpleasant to be stationed in the low desert countries. The Somalis have been frustrated from the highlands of Kenya by us and from the highlands of Ethiopia by the Portuguese in the 16th century. They have a vocation for living in desert country with their camels, and in these conditions they are at their best.

It has been a country where as Sir Richard Turnbull said, we have not really governed; it has been run by half-a-dozen fellows with a particular look in their eyes.

The commission on the N.F.D. received 40,000 people at their barazas, interviewed 134 delegations, and received 106 written submissions. They expressed themselves as satisfied, with one exception, that they had got the views of the people, and the report reads like an honest and sincere document. Mr. Mboya contended that Somali opinion is divided: the commission say: 'We did not in fact find any evidence of this in the N.F.D.'

'Here is their principal finding: The areas in which we found the people supporting Somali opinion are the biggest in total population and size and are in fact one. They extend from the Somali frontier to the Somali-Galla Line and beyond, to include the grazing lands of the Adjuran. We found that the people there almost unanimously favoured the secession from Kenya of the N.F.D. when Kenya attains independence, with the object of ultimately joining the Somali Republic, but they want the N.F.D. to have a period under British authority in which to build up its machinery of government so that it can join the Somali Republic as a self-governing unit.'

### 86% Want to Secede

'I think that 86% of the whole N.F.D. area wants secession. There are areas larger than the whole of England where you cannot find a single family that does not want it. It would be almost impossible to think of any other part of the world where there is such unanimity.'

Mr. Maudling, as Colonial Secretary, gave it to be understood that the decision would be as far as possible in accordance with the findings, and that there would be a plebiscite in those areas where there is doubt. When I was in Kenya at the same time I noticed everywhere an instant and refreshing pleasure taken in his meetings with people. He was felt to be a helpful man. It was intended that a decision should be in accordance with, not contrary to, the findings of the commission. That is what everyone everywhere thought, in Kenya and in the Somali Republic.

'The report of the Regional Boundaries Commission says: 'In many areas the wishes of the people bore no relation whatever to the existing provincial boundaries. In these cases we have done what we consider is reasonably practicable, treating the wishes of the people as the primary consideration, but at the same time adhering to existing boundaries wherever possible'. Surely that is right and sensible.'

'The report on the Kenya Coastal Strip says: 'They insist upon the aspirations of the majority of the people in the strip being the decisive influence as to its future'. There again the wishes of the people determine what the African politicians of Kenya say they want.'

Paragraph 4 of the report to the Kenya Coastal Strip Conference, 1962, says: 'Sir James Robertson's recommendations are, of course, primarily a matter for the Sultan of Zanzibar—the owner—and the British Government—the tenant as it were; I speak in farming language. Nevertheless, any consideration of this matter must take account of the views of the inhabitants of the Coastal Strip—in other words, the inhabitants, plus those with legal title.'

### Opportunity Thrown Away

'Nobody else has any duty to consult the African Ministers when they are going to receive something, but only when something is going to be taken away. Why were these two things not balanced together? The valuable Coastal Strip, with its port, its railway and its harbour, against this desert. One they are receiving and the other they should be willing to relinquish. No effort at all has been made to persuade them of the advantages of what is not theirs, and of the disadvantages of paying £300,000 a year to maintain a desert of unwilling subjects.'

'Somalis read all these reports. They are intelligent people. There are 20,000 in Aden, and 1,500 or so in this country. The man in the desert listening on his transistor set knows what it is all about. His hopes are raised that the wishes of the people are going to be granted.'

'May I read a statement given by the Colonial Secretary, in the wrong place, I submit, in Nairobi—which differs so radically from the statement made to Parliament that I think your lordships should hear every word of it. Here it is:—'

'The Report of the Kenya Constitutional Conference of 1962 envisaged the appointment of a commission to ascertain public opinion in the N.F.D. regarding the future of this area,

in the light of the likely course of the constitutional development of Kenya. It was stated that the decision on the commission's findings would be taken by H.M. Government before the introduction of the new Constitution to Kenya.'

'The commission presented its report last December, and H.M. Government have considered its conclusions. They have also noted the statement in the report of the Kenya Regional Boundaries Commission that, according to their terms of reference not restricting them to providing six regions, they would have considered it right to create an additional region, of the general eastern part of the N.F.D., which is almost exclusively occupied by Somali and kindred peoples.'

'The Colonial Secretary has discussed this matter fully with the Governor of Kenya and with Ministers in Nairobi. He has also received two delegations, one representing those elements of the Kenya N.F.D. who advocate secession to the Somali Republic and others representing those who wish to remain part of Kenya.'

### Appearance of Brutal Finality

'Then comes the vital paragraph, with the decision in six lines which differs from what is said in Parliament:—'

'H.M. Government have now decided that, as part of the constitutional arrangements for internal self-government in Kenya, the predominantly Somali areas referred to in the report of the Regional Boundaries Commission (comprising constituencies 20 to 24 inclusive), should be formed into a separate seventh region enjoying a status equal to that of the other regions in Kenya.'

'That is the decision. There is no qualifying remark attached to it whatsoever. It has the appearance of finality. You do not impose upon an internal Government an expensive and burdensome region which you intend to remove from them before independence. It looks final.'

'The last paragraph reads: 'The creation of the new region will give to its inhabitants greater freedom in the management of their own affairs and more effective means of safeguarding their interests and maintaining their way of life.'

'Imagine the inhabitants of Mogadishu, having been keyed up for months about this commission, and the inhabitants of the N.F.D., with their transistor sets, and those who have not sets clamouring round those who have. How does this come out over the wireless?'

'Surely this is a decision which was accepted by Kenyatta, Ngala, the Ethiopian Government, the N.F.D., the Somali public—not the Republic—as brutally final. That is the thing that is most objectionable about this whole proceeding—that the wrong decision was given by the wrong Minister in the wrong place.'

'A decision of this importance should surely be made by the Foreign Secretary to Parliament, not by the Colonial Secretary in Nairobi.'

### Sheer Madness

'The Colonial Secretary said at a Press conference in Nairobi: 'We are not so foolish as to imagine that the creation of the seventh region will be hailed by these people as providing complete satisfaction for all their hopes and wishes.'

'It is not a question of foolishness; it is sheer madness. It talks as if the creation of the seventh region were something of the order of an act described as Genesis. It is nothing of the kind. It is just drawing a line around people who are already there and have been there for donkey's years pursuing their way of life. There is nothing in it to indicate that any of the wishes they have expressed will be met.'

'This N.F.D. Commission did not go to ascertain whether they wanted women's institutes; they went to discuss whether they wanted to secede or not. That was the problem.'

'The noble marquis, in a letter to me, has described the action of the Somali Government as 'ill-advised'. It was not ill-advised but absolutely unavoidable.'

'Here is a letter from the Prime Minister from Mogadishu dated March 17:—'

'Dear Lord Lytton,—You will have heard by now that my Government, with the support of Parliament, has been forced into breaking off diplomatic relations with Britain following Mr. Sandys's totally unacceptable and uncompromising policy statement about the N.F.D. on March 8. Spontaneous demonstrations of protest broke out in Mogadishu as soon as his announcement was heard over the radio. A week later a break of diplomatic relations between our two countries was sanctioned by Parliament. I regret the necessity for having to take this drastic step, but no other course was open to us in the circumstances. The assurances that we would be able to express our views at some later stage is of no value. Our views are well known to the British Government and were expressed formally in a Note on January 6 when we proposed a conference.'

'Surely, that is a quite dignified and proper letter describing an absolutely unavoidable act. The whole of Mogadishu burst out in indignation when they heard this brutal statement of the Colonial Secretary coming over the radio.'



"Now I come to the statement made in Parliament on March 12. It is the Colonial Secretary speaking. He handles international problems like any Pooh Bah. It is not his business, and he has not done it well. He goes on: 'I discussed the whole problem very frankly with Kenya Ministers. They felt strongly that, in the absence of a fully representative Government which could speak with authority for the people of Kenya, it would not be right for the British Government on its own to take an irrevocable step'.

"They are delighted at an irrevocable step so long as it is in the direction they desire. It is not irrevocability which they are indignant about; they are indignant about something which they do not want. They are delighted, and they think it is irrevocable.

"In his statement to Parliament there are two minging qualifying clauses: 'In any case, it seemed reasonable to ask the Kenya Somalis to give a fair trial to the new Constitution'. Where is there any sign of a fair trial in the statement which he made face to face with the Africans? He has given them a pledge, without qualification, which looks as if it was intended to be permanent and final.

"In a statement to Parliament there is another safeguarding clause: 'We did not, of course, imagine that this would fully satisfy Somali aspirations, but, while not wishing to exclude future consideration of any methods of settling this problem, we did not think that at this juncture a more radical solution would be justified'.

### A Greater Somalia?

"While not wishing to exclude future consideration of any methods of settling this problem—where is there any sign of that in the Press conference on his decision in Nairobi? Was this forced on him by events which occurred later, or is there some division in the Cabinet, with some opposing a Greater Somalia and others anxious for it to come about?

"The three statements taken together are responsible for the deplorable muddle and for the withdrawal of an ambassador by a friend.

"I have a copy of a memorandum submitted to the Colonial Secretary in Nairobi by people who claim to represent the secessionists of the N.F.D., the three major parties, who are all enumerated in the commission's report, and who comment, no doubt with a certain partisan tinge, but with intelligence and responsibility, on the report of the commission, which in great part they praise, and question very intelligently why they are excluded. I am here believing that you would wish to know what the people of the N.F.D. have said. I am in favour of *uhuru* for Kenya Africans, but not a trampling down of other people's *uhuru*.

"Among the signatories is the vice-president of the Northern Province People's Progressive Party, Alex Kholkholle, a young man, aged perhaps 30, who was chosen as a boy by the Administration to be especially educated with several others in Nairobi. He came back and has plied the profession of teacher. He is a mild man, who has never been associated with any Communist Youth League or violence of any sort. He is held in respect by the Administration, by the Somalis themselves, and by the Rendille. He is a spokesman in particular for the Rendille, a tribe which is not Somali but which wishes to secede with the Somalis—and which the commission have said they did not believe.

### Repressing Freedom

"This gentleman has been banished from the N.F.D. and has been required to take up residence in Mombasa. Is the result of presenting a memorandum to the Colonial Secretary in Nairobi when it is unpalatable going to be the removal of people who have presented it? I do not know whether it is true. I am assured that it is so. I ask the Government to tell us about Mr. Kholkholle. Perhaps he lost his temper and threw a spear at somebody. I do not know. I ask for information with noble Lords.

"The Colonial Secretary said in another place: 'Even if we had wanted to do so—he does not seem to want it—it was clear that in these circumstances a decision by the British Government to secede this territory without the consent of Kenya Ministers would have provoked violent reactions throughout the country and would certainly have led both K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. to leave the Government'. I deplore this open admission that, of the two techniques which are employed against us by our subject peoples when they want freedom—the technique of Gandhi on the one side and the technique of Michael Collins on the other—we should have publicly declared that, when threatened by both to repress freedom, we are unable to do what we know to be just.

"Justice comes before peace, and unless peace is founded on justice it will not work. This is peace bought at too high a price, the price of throwing the children to the wolves."

## Africans Discuss African Affairs

### English-Speaking Union Trip

AFRICANS STUDYING IN BRITAIN have just spent four days at the Gustav Stresemann Institute in Cologne discussing African affairs with a comparable group from French-speaking Africa. They then had two days in Brussels for intensive briefing by leading figures in the Common Market Organization. The study tour was financed by the Current Affairs Unit of the English-Speaking Union.

Of 17 Africans who flew from London 10 were from East or Central Africa.

Mr. Ali A. Mazrui, B.A. (Manchester), from Kenya, is at Nuffield College, Oxford, and is lecturer-designate in political science at Makerere College, Uganda.

Mr. Hassan Bashir (Sudan) is at St. Anthony's College, Oxford, studying for a diploma in economics.

Mr. Washington Okumu (Kenya) is doing post-graduate work in economics at King's College, Cambridge. He was recently at Harvard University, U.S.A.

Mr. William K. Martin (Kenya), who is at Selwyn College, Cambridge, was secretary treasurer of the Kipsigis African District Council from 1951 to 1961, when he became a district officer.

Mr. Isiah Mathenge (Kenya), now at St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, has been a district officer in Kenya since 1961.

Mr. Daniel G. Kimani, now at Churchill College, Cambridge, was a district assistant in Kenya from 1957 to 1961, when he was promoted a district officer. He took the diploma of education at Makerere College in 1951, and was then a teacher for two years and a hospital almoner until 1957.

Mr. Amos Kagwa (Uganda), who is studying law at the Middle Temple, London, is a member of the committee of the Uganda Association in Great Britain.

Mr. S. Makoko (Tanganyika) is a former student of Ruskin College, Oxford, and a former lecturer in Swahili at the School of African and Oriental Studies, London.

Mr. J. R. Modi (Tanganyika) is studying at Edinburgh University for the Ph.D. in economics.

Mr. Enoch Dumbutshena (Southern Rhodesia), who has studied in the U.S.A. and passed the English law examination, is now studying in chambers in the Temple.

## Bad Manners of University Students

### Lord Salisbury's Visit to Salisbury

AFRICAN STUDENTS carrying placards bearing such slogans as "You now enter savage territory", "Savages are here to stay", and "One generation removed from savages", booed Lord Salisbury when he arrived at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury on Friday to lay the foundation-stone of the £1,180,000 medical school. The students were recalling one of Lord Salisbury's speeches in which he had referred to African leaders in Kenya as "still only one generation removed from savagery".

European students counter-demonstrated with cheers and placards saying "Eating people is wrong", "Salisbury, the only good Pomme". Two placards in juxtaposition read "Really, are we savages?" and "The answer is 'yes'".

A student body had protested against the choice of Lord Salisbury for the ceremony because he was an "outspoken racist with archaic views on Africans as people". Northern Rhodesian African Ministers had refused invitations to attend the function.

The medical school is to be associated with Birmingham University's medical school. That university was represented by its vice-chancellor, Sir Robert Aitken.

Lady Salisbury was among those present.

A satellite tracking station is being built at Souvenir, in the Seychelles, by United States Air Force personnel.

An international day school for about 200 children between the ages of five and 12 may be opened in Dar es Salaam in September. It would accept children of all races and all religious denominations.

A Los Angeles Museum expedition in Kenya wants a bull elephant, two cows, and a calf for mounting in a special habitat group. Mr. Maurice Machris, an oil millionaire, who is willing to spend about £100,000 on the project, is accompanied by nine Americans and three Kenya white hunters.

## Sir Ronald Prain On N. Rhodesia

### Change to African Majority Government

**D**YNAMISM is returning to Northern Rhodesia, SIR RONALD PRAIN, chairman of the Rhodesian Selection Trust group of companies, said last Thursday in London when addressing an informal meeting of United Kingdom shareholders.

The change in December from a Government with a European majority to one with an African majority had, he considered, been made in a way creditable to all concerned in politics, government, or race relations generally.

He continued:—

"The new situation calls for maximum co-operation between Government and industry. Our job is to produce copper with the maximum efficiency which our circumstances permit. Any progressive business must continually adapt itself to changes in its social and economic environment, and such changes will certainly occur.

"One important matter for the future of the territory and for a continued orderly evolution is the question of education. In the past we have developed our education and training schemes as fast and as far as circumstances allowed. Today our level of effort is impressive by any standards. The number of our employees or dependants who received education or training in 1962 totalled 21,300, and included about 6,500 semi-skilled or partly skilled employees, 4,000 unskilled recruits, some 3,300 wives, and 6,000 children.

"Every African employee has the opportunity of vocational education and training, without limit on our part from lack of facilities or money. The only limitation is the personal one of the basic education required, and the current bottleneck is at the secondary school level. Only time can overcome this, and the Northern Rhodesian copper companies are doing a great deal to fill some of the gaps in this respect. There is little doubt that the Northern Rhodesian Government, whose responsibility this primarily is, will increasingly do their utmost to improve the situation.

### Healthy Expansion Expected

"I believe that we can look forward to the continued healthy expansion of the mining industry under conditions where such health and expansion will remain the first consideration of Government in the interests of all the peoples of the country."

Recalling the announcement last May that the group would develop the Chambishi mine as an open-pit operation to produce at the rate of 25,000 tons of copper annually from 1967, with smaller tonnages from 1965, Sir Ronald said that a contract had been placed for the removal of 16m. cubic yards of overburden and ore by June 1966. Stripping of overburden would begin this month.

The Mufulira, Roan Antelope, and Chibuluma mines were now ready to produce 150,000, 90,000, and 22,000 long tons of copper per annum respectively when full output was needed, but they were not operating at anything like those rates, partly because of conditions in the copper market and partly because of labour disputes.

Output had been cut by 15%, but because production continued to be based on 85% of capacity it had totalled about 112,000 tons for the six months ended December 31, 1962, or approximately 5,000 tons more than in the previous six months. The average profit per long ton of copper sold for the first six months of this financial year had been nearly £60, an improvement of £4 per ton over the profits for the previous financial year, mainly on account of lower costs at Mufulira in consequence of the expansion scheme.

The stoppage at Mufulira, the group's largest producer, was due to a dispute between the management and sections of the European union over amendments to an incentive bonus scheme. Owing to a deadlock on that point the Northern Rhodesian Government had appointed a board of inquiry, which had recommended the men to return to work; but that had not yet happened.

The stoppage—then in its seventh week—had reduced group production for the past quarter below the planned figure and affected costs although sales have been maintained. Owing to the long pipeline, the effect of the stoppage should not be unduly reflected in the year's sales, and it should be possible to make up the lost production in the future.

Consumption prospects for 1963 appeared encouraging.

## Africans Arrested with Plastic Bombs

### Mr. Kaunda's Statement to "E.A. & R."

PLASTIC BOMBS discovered in a motor-car in which they were travelling brought seven-year sentences upon Amon Ndukwana Ncube and Mishek Ncube when they were tried in the High Court of Southern Rhodesia before Sir Hugh Beadle, the Chief Justice.

Two days before Southern Rhodesia's recent general election the car was halted at a police road-block five miles south of Wankie, and Detective S. Brock examined a brief-case stamped with the crest of the East German Republic, and inscribed in French "World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, July 9-14, Moscow". It contained 100 detonators, two lengths of safety fuse, and three time fuses. The men said that they had no other luggage, but when the boot of the car was opened three suit-cases were found, one containing cartons of explosives.

Detective Inspector R. S. Peters, who was called from Wankie, testified that because the men insisted that they had no keys he had had two cases forced open. Each contained explosives in cartons showing that they had been manufactured in Scotland.

### Equipment for Sabotage

An arms and explosives expert said that the explosives were not used by the Federal Army; they had been in use in the British Army, but were now obsolete. There was no commercial use for the articles, which were made specifically for military purposes and for sabotage. Altogether there were 170 lb. of plastic bombs, each of half a pound. The bombs were so powerful that if exploded in a room 17ft. by 10ft. with walls and roof a foot thick the place would be "completely shattered".

Amon Ncube pleaded that he had borrowed the car from Lewis Hamungova, an official of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, and later the same day had received an anonymous letter directing him to pick up certain goods and take them half-way to Southern Rhodesia. Early on December 12 he had received three suit-cases on the Broken Hill road from a man who did not tell him about the contents. By chance he had met Mishek Ncube in Livingstone. He was to have been paid £15 for delivering the goods at a place between Dett and Lupali. He admitted having been a member of Z.A.P.U. until it was banned.

The car, which bore a Broken Hill number, was said to be the property of a high official of U.N.I.P.

Both men were found guilty.

[The above news reached EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA shortly before Mr. Kaunda, president of U.N.I.P., was due to leave London to fly back to Northern Rhodesia. He authorized us to state on his authority that U.N.I.P. had received no funds from the East German Republic at any time, that there had been no communications between that Government and his party, and that he had no knowledge of any party official named Hamungova.]

## Tory Backbench Committee

A NUMBER OF M.P.s interested in East and Central Africa have been elected to office in backbench committees of the Conservative Parliamentary Party.

Major John Morrison has been re-elected chairman of the 1922 Committee, of which Sir Tufton Beamish and Sir Charles Mott-Radclyffe are vice-chairmen, Mr. R. S. Russell honorary treasurer, and Mr. Philip Goodhart one of the two honorary secretaries.

Among the members of the executive committee are Mr. John Arbuthnot, Sir David Campbell, Sir Beresford Craddock (a new member), Sir Harry Legge-Bourke, Mr. Gilbert Longden, and Lady Tweedsmuir.

Sir Roland Robinson has been re-elected chairman of the Commonwealth Affairs Committee, of which Mr. F. Bennett and P. Wall are the vice-chairmen, and Mr. B. Harrison and Mr. G. Irvine the honorary secretaries.

Lord Balniel presides over the Health and Social Security Committee; Sir Harry Legge-Bourke over that dealing with Science and Technology; and Mr. P. Wall over the Fisheries Sub-Committee, Mr. Victor Goodhew is vice-chairman of the Air Sub-Committee.

## Acting Prime Minister's Reply U.K. and U.S. Critics Contradicted

PROMINENCE has been given in many newspapers and in radio and television programmes to allegations made in the United Kingdom and the United States that the situation in Southern Rhodesia resembled that in Algeria last year.

Mr. J. D. Smith, M.P., who acted as Prime Minister of the Colony while Mr. Winston Field was recently in London for discussions, said in Salisbury:—

"There has been talk abroad about a 'deteriorating situation' in Southern Rhodesia and about 'an Algerian-type situation' which might become a threat to world peace. Nothing could be further from the truth. There is no sign whatsoever of any head-on clash between the races. In fact, there is greater understanding now and far less violence than there has been for the last nine months. It looks to me as though some people in high places have been listening to extreme racialist propagandists."

In January and February there were six cases of arson in the Colony, three of stone-throwing, and 11 of other forms of intimidation.

From July to December inclusive there had been 190 cases of arson, 28 of stone-throwing, and 152 of intimidation by other means.

## Sauce for Goose and Gander Excellent Chance for Non-Racial Rule

DR. JOHN PHILLIPS has written to *The Times*:—

"I have spent some years recently in attempting to draw objective conclusions about the shape of things to come in Central Africa. Much as I wish to see peace, co-operation and national progress in Southern Rhodesia, I cannot believe that Miss Perham's concept of a temporary arbitral presence, if applied, could produce the solution she has in mind.

"Proud as I am of my 18th century English heritage, I am equally unhappily aware that the British no longer have the *status* which she seems to infer they have in this part of Africa. Experience Britain has had, but unfortunately Britain's image as one of the loyalest countries of the Commonwealth and Empire has become much less attractive in recent years, because of the often subjective attitude of her Press, radio, television and other means of public announcement and the emotional statements of some of her priests, professors, politicians, and other public figures.

"Southern Rhodesia will work out her problems the more acceptably and rapidly if she be relieved of the criticism of those who know little at first hand of either her special setting or of the remarkable reassessing of values and of desirable changes on the part of so many white Rhodesians. I have seen this grow greatly since 1960—against the background of an experience, at intervals, since 1927.

"The present Constitution provides excellent opportunities for a non-racial approach to governance. It behoves African leaders to take the responsibility of developing these for the advancement of their peoples as well as to bring about co-operation with the other sectors of the population in the national interest."

SIR ALFRED BELT wrote:—

"What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are to be given self-rule leading to independence. The fate of these countries will be in the hands of politicians dedicated to the idea of a one-party State (witness Banda, Nyerere and, I suspect, Kaunda) and of an inexperienced civil service (to the extent that expatriates leave or are removed from their jobs), which is becoming increasingly subservient to and part of the dominant party in power (witness Tanganyika and Nyasaland).

"Neither in Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, nor the new Kenya are any seats in the legislatures reserved to Europeans or Asians, who brought civilization, law, and wealth to them.

"Southern Rhodesia has enjoyed 40 mainly tranquil years of self-government. It has an impartial civil service and 15 seats now reserved to Africans in the legislature. It has every right to expect the same treatment as that accorded to the others."

## Violence Increased in N. Rhodesia Leaders Admit Political Murder

MR. K. D. KAUNDA, president of the United National Independence Party, and Mr. H. M. Nkumbula, president of the African National Congress, who are joint leaders in Northern Rhodesia's Coalition Government, have issued the following joint statement:

"We have been deeply perturbed by the series of incidents involving members of our two parties since the African Coalition Government was formed

"These incidents—which include stonings, assaults, unlawful assembly, riot, arson, robbery, murder, unlawful wounding, and obstruction of the police—have gone on at an increasing pace despite our constant appeals to the followers of both our parties to bury the hatchet and conduct their party campaigns in a reasonable manner.

"We joint leaders are fully determined to achieve two things: the immediate break-up of the Federation and the grant of a new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia based on one man one vote. This determination must be reflected among our rank and file by abstaining from all acts of violence. We therefore give the following instructions:—

### Assist Police

"(a) That from now on we the two leaders command that mob demonstrations or street canvassing should cease during the hours of darkness. From now onwards all party political canvassing must be done in broad daylight.

"(b) That our organizers must be on a 24-hour alert to assist the police in dispersing menacing crowds and in quelling riots. This appeal should also be heeded by the police and the administration, in that they should at all times try to get our local organizers before they use strong-arm tactics to break rioting crowds.

"This will mark the beginning of a period in Northern Rhodesia when people of all races shall live in the knowledge that both their person and their property are safe. Both of us are determined to take strong disciplinary action against any of our leaders, high or low, who deliberately provokes violence and disorder."

## Mr. Nkumbula's Attack on Minister Promise to Maintain Educational Standards

NORTHERN RHODESIA'S Minister of African Education, Mr. H. M. Nkumbula, has issued the following statement:—

"The Federal Minister of Education, Mr. J. P. G. Duncan, is using intimidation in his statement in the Press with regard to education. Tactics of this sort will not work. I am neither frightened nor impressed by this sort of propaganda. There will be no lowering of the standards of education in Northern Rhodesia after the break-up of Federation, as stated by Mr. Duncan.

"When integration of education comes about, the schools which the African children attend will be brought eventually to the same standard as those of the European children. Not only the school premises, but also staff housing will be comparable with that now existing for European staff.

"With regard to teachers' salaries, Mr. Duncan may find difficulty in retaining the European teacher in Southern Rhodesia, because the teaching service in Northern Rhodesia will prove more attractive owing to better conditions of service and higher remuneration.

"School teachers need not concern themselves with the break-up of Federation. Their job is to teach, and the question of whether the Federation is to go or stay may safely be left in the hands of the politicians.

"I understand Mr. Duncan's anxiety to retain his job, but he will hardly accomplish this by spreading alarm and despondency amongst the teachers."

Former members of the banned Z.A.P.U. and other African nationalists in Southern Rhodesia are attempting to obtain at least 1m. signatures to a petition opposing the "premature demand for independence being made by white settlers" and calling on the British Government to "resist the temptation to appease this group".

## May Election Dates in Kenya

### Communist Money and Training for Kikuyu

ELECTIONS for the regional assemblies in Kenya will be held on May 18 and 19, for the Senate on May 22 and 23, and for the House of Representatives of 117 members on May 25 and 26. Nomination day is April 20.

Candidates may stand simultaneously for election to a regional assembly and to one of the two Houses of the National Assembly, but not for both Houses. K.A.N.U., K.A.D.U., and the A.P.P. may use one symbol each for all their officially sponsored candidates. Voters in some pastoral areas will be allowed to vote in all three elections in one visit to the polling station. Voters' hands will be marked with different dyes to prevent their voting more than once in each election.

There are 176 constituencies for the seven regional assemblies, each returning one member, except in the new North-Eastern Region, where two members each will be returned. The allocation is: Coast, 30; North-Eastern, 9; Eastern, 30; Central, 30; Rift Valley, 26; Western, 27; and Nyanza, 24.

The president of K.A.D.U., Mr. Ronald Ngala, who is joint Minister for Constitutional Affairs with the K.A.N.U. leader, Kenyatta, and also Minister of Local Government, has alleged that Kikuyu supporters of K.A.N.U. are being trained in Ghana, Egypt and Bulgaria in military science, police and public administration. "They fear they will lose the next general election and are preparing to seize the future Kenya Government", he said.

Amplification of Mr. Ngala's allegation has come from a *Daily Telegraph* special correspondent in Nairobi, Mr. John Osman, who cabled that among about 300 Kenya African

students behind the Iron Curtain there is a Kikuyu splinter group in Bulgaria which had not been engaged in the recent protests against racial discrimination in the capital, Sofia, but was "being trained for guerilla warfare under arrangements with the Bulgarian Army". The leader was named as Hiram Mwangi.

Mr. Osman said that money was flowing into K.A.N.U.'s coffers for its election campaign from Ghana (£100,000), the Casablanca bloc (£40,000), and from Russia, China, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia between £60,000 and £80,000 through the party vice-president in particular, Mr. Oginga Odinga.

The general secretary (and Minister for Labour), Mr. Mboya, was stated to have visited Leopoldville to try to obtain £12,000 from Mr. Adoula's Congolese Government—an amount described as "chicken feed" by a political informant.

"Dollars from the United States have for long helped to support the Kenya Federation of Labour, whose general secretary was for a long period Mr. Mboya. But the State Department is now less enthusiastic about his political rôle and has threatened a cut in financial aid unless he breaks openly with Mr. Odinga.

"The money reaches K.A.N.U. recipients through a number of channels. Some is paid direct into Nairobi accounts; other sums are deposited in Switzerland. It is also collected over the counter by K.A.N.U. couriers from foreign embassies".

K.A.D.U. was thought to have only £25,000, derived largely from European business interests wanting to back the more moderate African body.

Mr. Ngala stated after talks with the leader of the A.P.P., Mr. Paul Ngei, that an electoral pact not to oppose each other in certain constituencies was "very likely", so that votes would not be split.

Mr. F. M. G. Mati has resigned as Minister for Health and Housing to join the A.P.P. He said that he was leaving K.A.N.U. because it was not working for African unity but for individual gain and grandeur. The K.A.N.U. member for Kitui, Mr. Eliud N. Mwendwa, has taken over the portfolio.

## Mr. Stacey's Mission to Ruwenzori

### Rebel Leader Now a Madman

ISAYA MUKIRAME, who has led the Bakonjo in their resistance to the kingdom of Toro, has been described as "mad" by Mr. Tom Stacey, who nine years ago spent some months in the Mountains of the Moon studying the tribe and recently revisited them at the request of the Government of Uganda. The story of his attempted mediation is interestingly told in the current issue of the *Sunday Times*.

It was a strenuous, difficult, and dangerous assignment, which would have been impossible but for his close relations with the tribal leaders, including in particular the man whose paranoia has caused him to style himself President Isaya Mukirame of Rwenzururu. He would doubtless have been rounded up long ago if the terrain were not so difficult and if he did not flit from one hide-out to another, including some on the Congo side of the frontier.

After days of negotiations Mr. Stacey did meet the man, whom he had eventually to rebuke sharply in the presence of about 20 of his followers, saying: "Your leader is mad", quickly adding for reasons of safety "He says mad things". Mr. Stacey was followed into the forest and down the mountainside by other leaders, and was able to report that the tribe had turned away from Mukirame and wanted a solution.

The Government of Uganda has rejected the idea that the Bakonjo and their allies the Baamba should form a separate district, but they have been offered county councils with power to raise taxes for local purposes and other concessions.

## Training Administrators

WAYS in which Britain could help to train administrators for Colonies reaching self-government are outlined in the "Report of the Committee on Training in Public Administration for Overseas Countries", just published by H.M. Stationery Office (3s.).

The (British) Sudan Club in Khartoum has been requisitioned by the Government as headquarters for the Council of Ministers. Compensation and land for new premises are being provided.

The British Council of Churches has sent £3,000 to help a community in the Kawalo district of Uganda rebuild a parish primary school for 160 children which was destroyed in a freak storm.



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## East African Investment Still Low After Effects of Drought and Floods

LACK OF CONFIDENCE, heightened by continuing uncertainty over future political developments, contributed to keeping private investment activity at a low level during the past year, states the East African Currency Board's report for the year ended June 30, 1962.

No recovery in business was evidenced, with private balances in the banks rising 5% and loans and advances falling 2%. Government deposits rose 115%, and loans and advances 136%. Expansion in the official sector was due to some merely technical accounting and procedural changes and to payments from the British Government.

Kenya's national income showed no increase, both income and output per head dropping. Nearly 40,000 fewer workers were employed in private industry and agriculture, with unemployment in the latter sector still rising at the year's end. Despite severe drought followed by disastrous floods, however, export values were slightly higher than the 1960 record level.

Similar drought and flood conditions in Tanganyika reduced production of sisal, coffee, cotton and other export and staple food crops, and resultant famine in the Central Region made over 500,000 people dependent on free issues of food. Government revenues suffered, but the development programme continued.

Low prices for robusta coffee exports were coupled in Uganda with the disastrous effects of long rains on the cotton crop, of which only some 180,000 bales were exported against an anticipated 500,000 bales. (The average in recent years has been about 300,000 bales.)

## Crocodile Man Murder

A 35-YEAR-OLD AFRICAN in Nyasaland, Elard Chipandale, who claimed that he could turn himself into a crocodile—but who declined to demonstrate in court because he had thrown away his "medicine"—has been sentenced to death for the murder by stabbing and drowning of an African girl whom he dragged into a river near Blantyre in 1959. Her grandfather, who offered Chipandale 90s. to kill the girl, has also been sentenced to death. Three African assessors told the Chief Justice of Nyasaland during the hearing that they accepted Chipandale's claim that he had indeed turned himself by magic into a human crocodile, but that he had nonetheless known that what he was doing was wrong. The crime came to light because Chipandale sued the other man in a Native court for not paying the full fee for the murder.

Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., had an output in the quarter ended March 31 of 3,439 long tons of lead and 10,615 of zinc. In the December quarter the corresponding figures had been 3,690 and 10,018.

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## Kenya Britons Who Hate Britain Another Result of Macmillanism

AIR COMMODORE E. L. HOWARD-WILLIAMS, lately a Minister in the Government of Kenya, said in Nairobi a few days ago to a representative of the *Sunday Express*: "I hate Britain because she has destroyed what we tried to build up in Kenya. The British electorate take not the slightest interest in what is being done in its name".

Mr. Clive Salter, also a former member of the Legislature, said: "I hate England. I loathe England. If England is ever in trouble I will not fight for her again".

The correspondent commented: "A couple of years ago such words would have had Mr. Salter drummed out of the Muthaiga Club and cut for life by the members. Such has been the revolution in Kenya that his sentiments are today commonplace".

## Somali Reply to Kikuyu Charges

### Sir Charles Eliot's Judgement in 1905

MR. A. H. FARAH, a member of the Somali National Assembly, who is paying an official visit to Soviet Russia, has written to *The Times* from Moscow:—

"Dr. Kiano has indulged in criticisms noteworthy for their attempt to discredit the Somali Republic.

"He states that 'pan-Socialism is a form of tribalistic racism not far removed from apartheid' and that Somalis 'care more for the purity of their Somali blood than for pan-African unity'. Racism and apartheid are the shorthand expression of complex superiority-inferiority relationships which aim at complete segregation at all levels—personal, social and economic no less than political—of peoples of different races.

"Rather than pursue any such policy, Somali leaders are foremost among those advocating the creation of an East African Federation. The only pre-conditions we have attached to joining such a Federation are (a) that our territorial grievances be redressed so that we do not enter into Federation with these grievances (bearing in mind the case of the lost counties in Uganda), and (b) that membership be made open only to those countries having truly democratic institutions. It is surprising, therefore, that Dr. Kiano, who has many personal friends among the Somalis, should have chosen to accuse us of racial prejudice in language which does him no credit.

### Absurd Assertion

"Dr. Kiano's assertion that Somalis migrated to the N.F.D. between 1912 and now is absurd. They had been there long before the advent of British rule. As long ago as 1905 Sir Charles Eliot, the first Governor of Kenya, wrote: 'If it were possible to detach the districts inhabited by Somalis it would be an excellent thing to form them into a separate government, as they are different in population, economic and physical conditions from the other provinces; but unfortunately they are too small to form a separate administration, and the adjoining Somali territories are not British'. The adjoining areas now form part of the Somali Republic, of which the N.F.D. is by every criterion a natural extension.

"Nairobi's claim to the area is based solely on the ground that the British govern it along with Kenya proper for administrative convenience. Surely, the basis for this claim should disappear once the British administration has withdrawn.

"The oft-repeated naive demand that Somalis of the N.F.D. should either be ruled against their will or remove themselves to the Somali Republic will not change the hard facts of the situation. To deny them their right to self-determination—thanks to which Kenya now stands on the threshold of independence—would be to ignore the lessons of history that no people who have chosen to be free can be ruled by coercion indefinitely. I hope that Kenya leaders will henceforth approach this problem more realistically."

Freedom from Hunger Campaign undertakings in Northern Rhodesia announced by the Minister of African Agriculture as chairman include a £26,000 cattle inoculation project sponsored by the English town of Blackburn, a £40,000 Kariba fisheries training scheme adopted by Nottingham, three farm institutes costing £95,100 to build and £75,800 maintenance for three years, visits abroad by farmers to study techniques at £20,000 and recruitment of a young farmers' club organizer.

## News Items in Brief

Africa, Asian and Coloured schools in Nyasaland are to be integrated as soon as secession is achieved, but European schools will remain separate for some years.

A police car with flashing beacon, alternating with another police car sounding a siren, will warn road users in Nyasaland of the approach of the Prime Minister, Dr. Banda.

Masai in the Kajiado district are being instructed on a model ranch run by the Christian Council of Kenya not only better cattle care but also how to cultivate various food crops.

Fish catches at the coast and from the lakes and rivers of Kenya totalled 18,106 tons, worth £1,002,281, last year. They included the first commercial nettings from Lakes Naivasha and Rudolf.

Tanganyika, the Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi have established a four-nation commission with headquarters in Dar es Salaam to administer the former Belgian bases in the capital and at Kigoma on Lake Tanganyika under a 99-year lease at nominal rent.

U.N.I.P. allegations of police inefficiency and partiality in quelling clashes in Northern Rhodesia between U.N.I.P. and A.N.C. supporters have been denied by the Chief Secretary, who stated that the police force was constantly subjected to "jibes, threats, sneers, and deliberate provocation".

Buyoga County of Buganda has been declared a disturbed area because of crop slashing, intimidation, and arson following a "show of strength" visit by the Kabaka with some 300 attendants, his second "hunting trip" to the district within a fortnight. Banyoro tribesmen molested his entourage on the first occasion.

Because the newly-independent countries are so short of trained personnel at all levels that they are unable to release officers for long periods of training abroad, British public servants should be increasingly seconded overseas for training duties, the Bridges Committee has recommended to the Department of Technical Co-operation.

Six new regions will be created in Tanganyika on May 1 to allow for closer administration and supervision of development by reducing the number of constituent districts in 12 of the new total of 15 regions, which will comprise the Arusha, Central, Coast, Kigoma, Kilimanjaro, Malya, Mara, Morogoro, Mtwara, Mwanza, Ruvuma, Southern Highlands, Tabora, Tanga and West Lake regions.

Fishing on Lake Rudolf in Kenya among the Turkana is being developed by the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, which has provided £1,200 for a launch at Ferguson's Gulf and £1,100 for improving the airstrip there and the road to Lodwar for marketing. Five famine camps are being financed in the district up to a maximum 50% of £12,000 this year.

A special type of secondary school offering two-year courses leading to the Higher School Certificate will open as Mkwawa High School, Iringa, next January, in the buildings formerly occupied by the St. Michael's and St. George's School. The new school will bear the name of the famous Hehe chief, Mkwawa, grandfather of Chief Adam Sapi, the present Speaker of the Tanganyika National Assembly. Four science streams and one arts stream are to be concentrated in the Mkwawa School.

## Commercial Brevities

Falcon Mines, Ltd., of Southern Rhodesia, produced 5,683 oz. gold at the Dalny mine in March for a working profit of £27,296.

Hubert Davies & Co., Ltd., report net profits for the year ended October 31 at R.494,747 (R.380,448). Shareholders receive 17½%.

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., sold 241,277 tons of coal in March, against 219,522 in February. The coke sales were 9,220 and 7,449 tons respectively.

De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., announce that diamond sales through the Central Selling Organization in the quarter to March 31 totalled £27,438,295, a record for any quarter.

Harland and Wolff, Ltd., Belfast, report a group loss for 1962 of £462,583, compared with a net profit of £151,702 in the previous year. The dividend is maintained at 2½%.

As part of Nyasaland's plan to reduce its reliance on external assistance, the price of petrol will be increased by 6d. a gallon, and the surcharge on diesel vehicle licences is to be increased from 50% to 100%.

All dry-processed coffee in Uganda is now marketed by the Coffee Marketing Board. For the new season, which started on April 1, export duty is payable when the price exceeds £90 per ton, against £120 hitherto.

Anglo American Corporation reports group profits after tax for 1962 at £9,780,000 (£8,457,106). Dividends take just over £5½m. (£4.8m.), and the general reserve is increased by £4m. (£3.5m.), leaving a carry-forward of £856,000 (£770,373).

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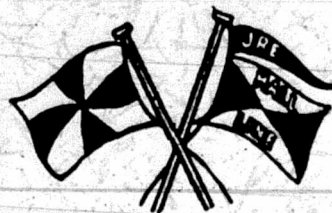
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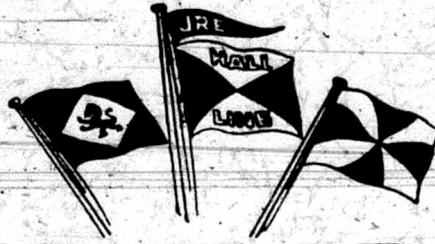
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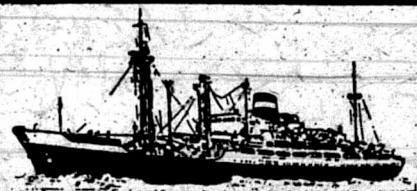
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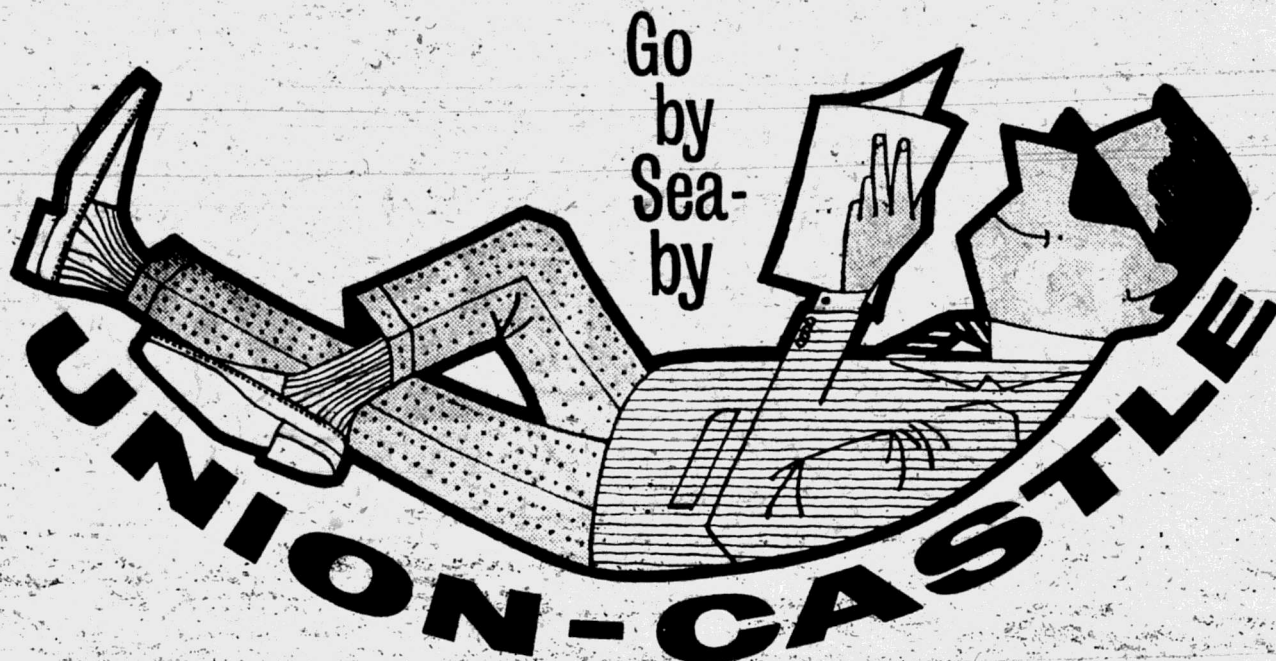
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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

LORD DALHOUSIE, Governor-General of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, said in his speech from the Throne in Salisbury when opening what will almost certainly be the

**Charges of Betrayal Played Down by Press.** last session of the Federal Parliament: "My Govern-

ment is convinced that the British Government has betrayed the people of the Federation and done them irreparable harm". It is probably unprecedented for a representative of the Sovereign in any overseas realm of the Crown to denounce so forthrightly in a few words that Sovereign's Government in the United Kingdom. As the Queen's own speech at the start of a new session of Parliament is provided by the Government, so that of the Governor-General was, of course, prepared for him by the Federal Cabinet. Lord Dalhousie would assuredly have declined to use the word "betrayed" if he had thought it improper in the circumstances; and as he is shortly to retire he would have been in an unusually strong position to resist pressure from Ministers. He has been a strong and undoubtedly sincere advocate of the Federation, and those on the spot who are best able to assess his feelings may consider that his private judgment was not in conflict with what constitutional practice required him to say. In any event, the Federal Parliament heard from the Governor-General and the Prime Minister strictures so severe that their words might have been expected to receive exceptional prominence in United Kingdom newspapers next day. As is shown in some detail on another page, that did not happen. Though the Press could not disregard such sharp criticisms, it could and did deny them a place on the main news pages, thus considerably reducing the embarrassment of the Government, and particularly of Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Butler.

They were categorical charges by Sir Roy Welensky of deception, duplicity, betrayal, abandonment of principle, and resort to appeasement so abject as to recall the days of Munich. In the past few

**Low Standards In Public Life.** years EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has drawn that

parallel again and again, and, so far as we are aware, this has been the only publication anywhere to keep that infamous similarity under the notice of its readership, which includes many members of the House of Commons; but, as we have also emphasized repeatedly, not one of the protests organized by Tory Members of Parliament has been sufficiently weighty and persistent to force the Government to cease its prevarication and procrastination and to adhere to the many pledges given in Britain's name, quite a number of them by Ministers in the Macmillan Administration, including the Prime Minister himself. That M.Ps. of all parties should have been so pliant and compliant while Britain's duties in Africa were rejected is still almost incomprehensible. It would be completely so if present standards in public affairs were not so deplorably bad.

Sir Roy Welensky's speech constitutes an indictment of the Macmillan Cabinet, especially of Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod, and Mr. Butler, so convincing that it would have driven all of them into

**Wreckers Still on The Front Bench.** obscurity half a century ago. No Minister could then have survived

such detailed allegations of deceit and duplicity—which were but two of the accusations specifically made by the Federal Prime Minister, who, avoiding general terms, dealt seriatim with the sequence of events which have now brought the Federation to the point of destruction, not by mishap, but by the

deliberate design of a Government in the United Kingdom which had repeatedly assured it of support. As recently as last summer Mr. Butler invited British investors to put their money in the Federation in the knowledge that the British Government stood behind them. Could there have been a more callous and reckless piece of hypocrisy considering that that Government had for more than two years been engaged in scuttling from its responsibilities in Central Africa? Much of the discreditable story is now rightly recorded in the Federal *Hansard*; rightly, because the feebleness, faithlessness, and general folly of the present Government of the United Kingdom demanded to be described to those who will suffer the sad and serious consequences. Millions of Africans will be deprived for ever of benefits which they had been encouraged to expect, the lives of scores of thousands of Europeans will be permanently and detrimentally affected, and the high hopes nurtured by three-quarters of a century of British endeavour in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland have been destroyed. Yet the wreckers still sit on the Government front bench!

When the Federal Prime Minister recently revealed some of the pledges given and deliberately broken by United Kingdom Ministers there were humbugging protests against the disclosure of confidential communications. Everyone now knows why politicians who had tricked those who trusted them wanted the evidence to be kept secret. What was inexcusably reprehensible was the dishonouring of solemn promises—not merely to the annoyance of Federal politicians, but to the grave and perpetual detriment of all Central Africa, for nobody can pretend that the three territories can hope to attain as separate entities a state of well-being comparable with that which would have resulted from a dynamically developing union in which all its residents and the outside world had confidence. Some of Sir Roy's disclosures will enrage Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod, and Mr. Butler. In their resentment they should recognize that he has even now refrained from revealing some thoroughly deplorable and discreditable acts of deviousness by some of our Ministers. To change the metaphor, there are still shots in the Federal Cabinet's locker.

## Notes By The Way

### How the Speech was Reported

REFERENCE is made in the leading article to the way in which the United Kingdom Press dealt last week with Sir Roy Welensky's charges against the Macmillan Government of treachery towards the Federation. Only one paper, the *Guardian*, gave the speech front-page space, and then not much, under the heading "Munich Put in Shade: Angry Speech by Sir Roy"; greater prominence was given to four other stories on the page. *The Times* had a column and a half on its second news page under the captions: "Sir R. Welensky Accuses Britain of Treachery: Policy of Disengagement from Africa at Any Cost". The *Daily Telegraph* made do with a double-half column report on page 20 under the heads: "Appeasement in Africa Worse than Munich: Sir Roy Accuses Britain of Treachery and Deceit". The *Daily Express* had in large capitals on page 2: "Betrayed, Betrayed: Sir Roy and Rhodesia's Governor Lash Britain". The *Daily Mail* heads, also on its second page, were: "Federation Goes Down Firing; Diplomacy Gave Way to Duplicity, Says Welensky: 'Irreparable Harm to Our People', Dalhousie". The *Scotsman's* report was headed: "Sir Roy Again Warns Britain; Threatens Non-Co-operation if Conditions Are Not Met; Treachery Allegations". The *Financial Times* had not a word about the speech.

### Foul Play

THE BEST CARTOON on the Cabinet's decision to destroy the Federation is surely that by Cummings which appeared in the *Daily Express* under the bold caption: "But my dear Sir Roy! Be your age! Wherever did you get the notion that we Tories ever played according to the Queensberry Rules?" It shows Sir Roy

Welensky prone in a boxing ring, wearing roller-skates marked "present from Butler". Exultant at his victory, the First Secretary of State is dancing in a corner, against which leans Mr. Macmillan with a syringe marked "dope". Bending over the knocked-out Rhodesian heavy-weight is Mr. Macleod, ready to sponge him down with chloroform. Mr. Butler wears heavily spiked boots, has in his right boxing-glove a large brick, and from the left glove protrude a knife and fork. From his wrist dangles a heavy metal chain. The artist's conviction that Sir Roy has been defeated by foul means could scarcely be made clearer. Between 10 and 12 million people see the *Express* each day. Between one-quarter and one-fifth of the total population of the country, and, of course, a far higher proportion of the adult population, will therefore have seen this condemnation of the Prime Minister and two of his chief colleagues.

### "Infants Union"

AN APPEAL FOR FUNDS by the organizers of an African trade union can seldom have been so naïve or blatant as that addressed to the International Graphical Federation in Berne, Switzerland, by the Paper Manufacturing Workers' Union of Southern Rhodesia. The letter ran: "We are a newly formed union that we cannot stand on our own without the assistance from bigger bodies like yours. It is our hope that your organization is interested to support both moral and material to such infants Unions like ours. We would also like to let you know that we opened an office but we have not the menas to run it". This "infants Union" signed its begging letter "Yours in the Industrial Struggle".

# Deliberate U.K. Policy to Break Federation for Racism

## Sir Roy Welensky Details "Double-Cross, Dishonesty and Deceit"

**MY TASK** is to report the failure of my mission to London with my colleagues.

I have no intention of allowing myself to be influenced by any bitterness that I may feel about the way in which my country and I have been treated. Stories are being put about here and in Great Britain that I am not amenable to reasonable argument, that I have behaved like a bull in a china shop, and that I have blustered in negotiation. I do not intend to deal with them. All I have to do is to recount the events which have led to the present state of affairs. The House and country will then be able to judge for themselves.

I need not go over the whole history because I reported to you in December how we have been misled and cheated by the British Government and how things have been done behind our backs that were in direct conflict with what was said to us.

### Complete Disillusionment

I must start by disclosing to the House exactly what began my distrust of the Government of Prime Minister Macmillan. To do this I go back to the time of the appointment of the Monckton Commission, for that started the sequence of events leading to our complete disillusionment with the British Government and the sorry state of affairs which we now have to face.

Honourable Members will recall the circumstances which led to the appointment of the Monckton Commission—troubles in Nyasaland in 1958 and steady deterioration in the relationship between the Government of Nyasaland and African nationalist leaders. Violence was endemic, and at the request of the territorial Government thousands of Federal troops were involved and a vast sum of money was spent by the Federal Government in support of the territorial forces of law and order. The story is told in the report of the Devlin Commission, a report remembered today chiefly for its finding that in the commissioners' view there was no massacre plot, but, to put the matter in historical perspective I mention certain other important conclusions which are now conveniently overlooked.

### Last Courageous Act

The Devlin Commission found that the Nyasaland African Congress had embarked upon a campaign of defiance of the Government, not excluding violence. The commissioners were satisfied that beatings and killings of Europeans were discussed. In fairness to the present Prime Minister of Nyasaland, it was stated that he was not present when the discussions took place. The commissioners summed up the position as one in which the Government had either to act or abdicate.

Although this has since proved to be their last demonstration of courage and resolution in their dealings with our affairs, the British Government through the Nyasaland Administration did act, proscribing the Congress Party and imprisoning Dr. Banda and several of his fellow leaders. Order was restored, and later that year the British Government were able to give some thought to the political vacuum created by the detention of Dr. Banda and his colleagues. As a consequence additional seats for Africans were created in the Legislature, and for the first time Africans were appointed to the Executive Council. This was intended as a purely interim arrangement, to carry over until a federal review conference met in 1960, and the British Government stated that it would agree to create a situation in Nyasaland in which there would be opportunity to resume consideration in a peaceful and orderly atmosphere of the territory's constitutional advancement.

### First Misdeed

The House can imagine my surprise when three months later I learned that the question of Dr. Banda's release was under actual consideration. I did not learn this from any official source. Here weakness and duplicity combined for the first time to give the British Government's dealings with us that unpleasant taint which was to grow to the rank of today.

We found it difficult to reconcile the intention to release Dr. Banda with the British Government's desire to consider

further amendments to Nyasaland's Constitution in a peaceful and orderly atmosphere. After all, less than a year had elapsed since the proscribed Congress Party had taken to using widespread intimidation and violence as a calculated act of policy.

We found it questionable practice to disclose the intention to release the detainees to two Nyasaland Africans who happened to be in London at the time before the Federal Government so much as knew of it, let alone had the opportunity to advise on its wisdom. Yet that is exactly what the new Colonial Secretary, Mr. Macleod, did.

At about that time Mr. Macmillan visited the Federation—in January 1960. I tried to raise the question of the release of detainees with him in Salisbury, but the House will be amused when I recall that in spite of the considerable time he spent here, and of the fact that on at least two occasions special arrangements were made for me to discuss this matter with him, he found it impossible to do so.

### Wind of Change

Shortly afterwards—on April 1, 1960—the detainees were released, and the new British policy towards Africa embodied in Mr. Macmillan's wind-of-change speech made its first impact on our affairs.

The second impact of the new policy and of the new methods by which the British Government have seen fit to implement it came soon afterwards when the British Government urged the Federal Government to agree to appoint a commission to examine the difficulties then being experienced in the Federation. I objected most strongly, as did Sir Edgar Whitehead, and it was only after the greatest pressure had been applied to me and after I had been given a number of assurances that I reluctantly agreed to the appointment of the Monckton Commission.

This as we know was the beginning of the end for the Federation, but even at that time I had the gravest misgivings, the more so when I learnt of replies which the British Prime Minister gave in the Commons to questions on the appointment of the commission.

I had been assured that there would be no question of secession, that the whole purpose of the Monckton Commission was to try to find a way round our difficulties, and that its object was not to destroy the Federation.

In passing, I had been told that it was of considerable importance in the general election then pending in Britain that some device should be produced which would take the Federation out of the British political arena, where Tory hopes were not high at that stage. It was believed that some of the events that had taken place in Africa, including the difficulties in Nyasaland, were such as to affect their prospects at the polls. In other words, I was told that I should be helping my friends as well as myself by agreeing to this device. I draw your attention to the word "friends".

### Secession Issue

Mr. Speaker, with your permission I will read the text of the message I sent to Mr. Macmillan on November 25, 1959:

"I am extremely sorry that, despite continuous efforts yesterday I was unable to get the text of your statement before it was delivered in the Commons. Some portions of the statement which I received from your High Commissioner here an hour after its delivery have given me and my Cabinet the gravest concern. Especially when coupled with some of the replies to supplementary questions. For the text of these I have had to rely on the good offices of the South African Press Association. All members of the Press now seek my views as to whether your statement and answers do not imply the terms of reference of the Monckton Commission. Your personal message received this morning has, I regret to say, done little to allay my anxieties. If I could give you a more detailed statement of my views, but it is a matter of time before I shall be able to do so. What follows is based on your statement and answers in Parliament, of which as yet I have not had the Honourable Member's views and these show that the public will judge the matter."

The concern is not only over and between the members of whether I, within the terms of reference, to consider alternatives to Federation, or more likely, secession of one or more of the territories. Secondly, the extent to which the Commission will be allowed to look into political evidence.

On the first question, I received one of the press declarations which was contained in the press communiqué issued in London and Salisbury on April 7, 1961, after my talks with the House, making it clear that the British Government was opposed to secession of any of the territories.

This was in fact stated when the terms of reference were

drawn up: 'Objects contained in the Constitution of 1953 including the preamble' are the establishing of federation of three territories which will eventually flower into full membership of the Commonwealth. Secession would be a complete departure from those objects.

"The party which I have the honour to lead and which operates in the three territorial fields as well as in the Federal field is pledged to these objects. Our Dominion Party opponents are pledged to the break-up of Federation, and our Central African Party opponents are resisting its attainment of independence.

"In these circumstances I construe the terms of reference as eliminating any question of secession. That both the Labour Party and the Liberal Party construe the terms exactly as we do is clear from their questions. As I see it they were in effect asking you to extend the terms of reference to include secession or other possible alternatives to Federation. Naturally I was extremely disappointed that your replies do not give an unequivocal refusal to extend the terms of reference.

### Departure from Federal Principle

"But what concerns me even more is that certain of your answers appear to me to suggest that you interpret the terms of reference as allowing the commission to consider secession or other alternatives. Certainly that is the construction now being put upon your answers by the Press here, and they are already taxing me with this view.

"I must now make it quite clear to you that I am not prepared, nor do I believe Whitehead to be prepared, to accept any such extension or any interpretation of the terms to enable secession to be considered, or for that matter alternative schemes involving departure from the Federal principle.

"I shall have to make this plain to the Press and the country in a statement I shall probably make tomorrow. We had already made it plain in Parliament.

"Perhaps you have not had the text of the motion which the Federal Assembly adopted last week as follows: 'That this House, in anticipation of discussions and conferences to be held in 1960 concerning the review of the Constitution, affirms its determination that Federation shall be maintained intact and that a programme shall be laid down in 1960 to enable the Federation to obtain a status compatible with the attainment of full membership of the Commonwealth'.

"It is clear to me that the price of Labour Party participation in the commission is acceptance of a construction of the terms of reference which would enable secession, etcetera, to be considered. Consequently if the Labour Party proceed to accept your invitation to participate it will be taken in this country to mean concession of their wishes unless a clear and unequivocal statement is made excluding all possibility of that construction. If this were not done I should have to reconsider whether my Government could continue to be associated with the commission.

"Before I leave the first question I remind you how strongly we at this end have emphasized that the commission cannot conduct an inquisition into the running of the Federation or put us on trial. The words in your statement that the commission would be free 'to hear all points of view from whatever quarter or on whatever subject' may be used to justify attempts to put us on trial, and I must ask you to make it abundantly clear that this cannot be permitted.

"On the second point, I am very concerned about promises you and Macleod have made to publish the evidence of, among others, the detainees. Unless this evidence is confined strictly within the terms of reference this may be intolerable for us. Naturally, all enemies of the Federation will take full advantage of the wide publicity they will thus obtain at no expense to themselves under this offer. They would be fools not to attempt to exploit it to the utmost. I must ask you therefore for an assurance that evidence going outside the terms of reference, and particularly such of it as attempts to slander my Government will not be published—and I believe Whitehead will ask for a similar assurance.

### British P.M.'s Reply

I shall give extracts from Mr. Macmillan's reply because the question of full publication of his telegram must be a matter for the British Government, but I should be very happy to see all these telegrams published.

In reply to my first and most serious question, whether the terms of reference of the Monckton Commission were to include secession, Mr. Macmillan said: "We have no intention of making an extension of the terms to include secession. The answer to your first question therefore is that we agreed terms of reference and we will stand by them. Every member of the commission has after all accepted on this basis."

The commission did in fact consider secession and recommended it. What Hon. Members may not know is that members of the commission were not in fact asked to accept

appointment on the basis that they were precluded from considering secession.

In regard to the statement that I indicated I should make Mr. Macmillan expressed these views: "I quite realize you may have to make a statement tomorrow but I hope it may take the form of saying that you feel quite sure that in my statement I have in no way varied the terms of reference on which we have agreed. It is after all exactly because we have stood firm on this point that the Opposition have not joined."

It is perhaps ironic that in his message Mr. Macmillan went on to say: "I assure you that although we have always wanted an all-party approach on broad considerations we are not going to sacrifice principles to expediency."

I hope the British Government will now agree to publication of these telegrams. I think it is very necessary for the record that there should be a full disclosure of the messages which passed on the subject of the Monckton Commission, because I have no hesitation in saying that it was from the hour of the Monckton Commission's report, when I saw there had been deliberate breach of the undertakings given my Government, that I began to realize the extent of the double-cross that was being perpetrated on the people of this country.

It was from that time that our partners of 1953 began to emerge as our antagonists. The experience of subsequent years has proved painful to us and a lesson in dishonesty and deceit.

It remains a mystery to me why Mr. Macmillan and his Ministers have seemingly found it impossible to be honest and admit their change of policy. Had I resorted to their methods I should have found it difficult to live with myself in the past three years, and they have certainly added little to their personal records.

### "Behind Our Back"

I have mentioned that Mr. Macleod saw fit to discuss Dr. Banda's release with two African leaders from Nyasaland before he even mentioned it to my Government. Months passed before Mr. Sandys's private promise of secession to Dr. Banda saw the light of day.

Most remarkable of all perhaps was Mr. Macmillan's direct negotiation with a prisoner in a Federal gaol behind the back of the Federal Government.

I gave the House much of the rest of the story in December, and there is no need for me to go on except to add that the British Government under Prime Minister Macmillan has seen fit to allow the Federal Government in general and myself in particular to bear the brunt of all attacks of African nationalists. We have been accused of shooting in the Gwembi Valley when the Northern Rhodesian Police had to open fire on Africans, an action that was fully justified by a subsequent inquiry. We have been allowed to take the blame for shootings in Nyasaland in 1958 which were the direct result of the orders of the Government of Nyasaland. British Ministers have never made the slightest attempt to correct the impression, widely held by Africans, that arrests, shootings and law amendments to strengthen security have all been the result of action by the Federal Government. I have nothing but contempt for the despicable actions of a Government that would hide behind a smoke-screen.

### Racial Nationalism Supported

What I have said up to now and what I told Members in this House in December have described a new British policy towards the Federation and its implosion which began to all intents and purposes at the time of the Monckton Commission. The policy has been to break the Federation and to allow racial nationalism to supplant the non-racial ideal. The account I now have to give of what took place in London the week before last relates the completion of a further step in this policy.

It is my view that the latest decision of the British Government is not a decision arrived at as the result of pressure from African nationalists, much as Mr. Butler would like to encourage this view. It is a deliberate act of policy. Whether it is purely a continuation of the policy of liquidation of British interests in Africa or whether it is a policy influenced from Manhattan I don't know; but of one thing I am certain—the step has not been taken because of any fear of what African nationalists could do in Northern Rhodesia.

During Mr. Butler's visit to the Federation earlier this year it was suggested that further talks might take place between himself and representatives of the Federal, Southern Rhodesian and Northern Rhodesian Governments as a preliminary to a formal conference which would examine the future association of the two Rhodesias. The position I adopted at that time was that I would be willing to participate in the preliminary talks and that when they showed promise of some general agreement my Government would be willing to participate in a conference.

Until such time, however, as it had been found possible to

(Continued on page 710)



# No "Full" Independence Now for S. Rhodesia, Says U.K.

## Mr. Field Repeats Independence Demand as Pre-Condition for Attending Africa Conference

THE correspondence between the British and Southern Rhodesian Governments on the latter's request for independence was published last Thursday as a White Paper by Mr. R. A. Butler, Minister for Central African Affairs.

Mr. Winston Field's letter of March 29 requesting independence for the Colony read thus:—

"At our interview this morning when you informed me of the British Government's decisions taken as a result of the talks held this week in London, I raised the question of the full independence of Southern Rhodesia in the light of the situation as you described it. You invited the Southern Rhodesia Government to attend later in the year in Rhodesia a conference with the Governments concerned to determine the broad lines of a new association between Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia. I emphasized that the nature of the British Government's decision amounted to a recognition of Northern Rhodesia's right to secede from the Federation and, therefore, this raised the vital issue for Southern Rhodesia of its own independence. I have now carefully considered the Southern Rhodesian attitude towards the conference and I wish to state that the Southern Rhodesia Government will not attend a conference unless we receive in writing from you an acceptable undertaking that Southern Rhodesia will receive its independence concurrently with the date on which either Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland is allowed to secede, whichever is the first.

"I, therefore, submit in this letter a formal application, now that both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia have been given the right to secede from the Federation that Southern Rhodesia should be given its full independence on the first date when either one or the other territory is allowed to secede or obtains its independence.

### External Subversion

"Southern Rhodesia has successfully managed its own internal affairs for 40 years and it cannot be granted less than Nyasaland which will not have much more than one year before probably attaining its complete independence. So long as the last remaining links remain and the impression persists that the United Kingdom has the right to interfere in our internal affairs there is the danger of a series of serious incidents of disorder being encouraged from outside in order to compel such intervention by the British Government. It was confirmed by you at our interview that the British Government had of course no such intention but so long as these links remain the impression will continue that the British Government has the powers irrespective of their intention to use them".

Mr. Butler's reply, dated April 4, read:—

"H.M. Government have carefully considered your Government's application and the arguments which you have adduced in support of it. Following upon their decision that none of the territories can be kept in the Federation against its will H.M. Government accept in principle that Southern Rhodesia, like the other territories, will proceed through the normal processes to independence.

"At the present time Southern Rhodesia is a member of the Federation. Our legal advice is that it would not in any event be possible to make Southern Rhodesia an independent country in the full sense of the word while remaining a member of the non-independent Federation. So long as she remains a member of the Federation, so long will the U.K. Parliament have power to legislate with regard to the Federation and so indirectly with regard to Southern Rhodesia.

"As you know H.M. Government have accepted the principle that any one of the territories which so wishes must be allowed to secede from the Federation. H.M. Government have also made clear their view that before any further changes are made there should be discussions not only about the broad lines of a future relationship between the territories

but also the transitional arrangements that will be required. In the view of H.M. Government it is only when these discussions have taken place that the future course of events can be clarified and that Southern Rhodesia, having regard to her membership of the Federation, may expect to be in the constitutional position to move to independence. In any case H.M. Government, in accordance with normal precedent, would expect to convene a conference to discuss financial, defence, constitutional and other matters, which always have to be settled before self-governing dependencies are granted independence.

### Limited Independence

"The secession of one member of the Federation would not in itself end your membership of the Federation. Although not specifically mentioned in your letter there has also been discussion between us about a limited form of independence from the U.K. while the Federation remains in existence. I would remind you of the terms of the White Paper, Cmd. 1399 published in June, 1961, and in particular of the following paragraph:

"The Constitution of 1923 conferred responsible Government on Southern Rhodesia. Since then it has become an established convention for Parliament at Westminster not to legislate for Southern Rhodesia on matters within the competence of the Legislative Assembly of Southern Rhodesia, except with the agreement of the Southern Rhodesia Government".

"We reaffirm this position and we do not see how it can be improved from your point of view pending the granting of full independence".

After a Cabinet meeting in Salisbury the same day, Mr. Field said that his Government noted that the British Government accepted in principle that Southern Rhodesia would proceed through normal processes to independence and that it was manifest that this would involve consideration of transitional arrangements and discussion on various other consequential matters.

"Southern Rhodesia is, however, unique in that she has enjoyed self-government for 40 years, and therefore, the normal processes that may be applicable to other dependencies have little application. Hence the question of independence for Southern Rhodesia requires no protracted negotiations.

"The Southern Rhodesia Government does not accept that the secession of one member of the Federation would not end the Federation. It firmly adheres to the view that in the event of any territory seceding the existing Federation is at an end.

### Unequivocal Recognition

"Any future association is a matter for fresh negotiation. We also adhere to the view that a conference to discuss any association between Southern Rhodesia and any other territories will perpetuate uncertainty unless the status of Southern Rhodesia as an independent country is, as a pre-requisite, clearly and unequivocally recognized; and therefore the Government reiterates that Southern Rhodesia must be given its full independence on the first date that either one or the other territory secedes or obtains its independence. The Southern Rhodesia Government denies the claim made by Mr. Butler that his Government can legislate for the Federation and so indirectly for Southern Rhodesia. The U.K. Government must have overlooked the fact that they can only legislate for the Federation at the request of the Federal Government.

"The Southern Rhodesia Government reiterates its intention not to attend a conference until it receives the written undertaking requested".

The Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, stated on Friday that Mr. Butler's claim in his letter that as so long as Southern Rhodesia remained within the Federation, 'so long will the U.K. Parliament have the power to legislate with regard to the Federation, and so indirectly with regard to Southern Rhodesia', was in direct conflict with the joint declaration of the British and Federal Governments of April 27, 1957, and with the opinion of the present Lord Chancellor and his predecessor.

# Mr. Eugene Black on Economic Developments in Africa

## Extracts from an Address to the Afrika Instituut of Holland\*

AFRICA is a place of rapid political change. At the end of the war there were four independent States in Africa. Today there are 33, all but 10 of them less than three years old.

In some countries there has been a rapid exodus of Europeans from governmental posts and a sinking in standards of policy-making and administration. Some African leaders have made statements that have created uncertainty about their orientation in world affairs. In any case, the achievement of independence in Africa has been accompanied by a pause in the flow of private capital.

All the same, I am not pessimistic about the prospects. There is already much solid achievement among the new countries. Many have been preparing for independence for some time, and anyone who visits the continent cannot fail to be impressed by the quality of many individual statesmen and administrators and by the quickness with which they are grasping their many problems.

### Hopeful Desire for Change

African leaders have shown themselves not merely open to change but intensely eager to achieve it. They have the great advantage that African society tends to be less static, less preoccupied with class and custom, than many less developed countries elsewhere. An essential of economic development is the ability to change and adapt; and of all the omens for Africa's future, the desire for change is one of the most significant and hopeful.

Africa is not only the most under-developed area left in the world; it is also the most under-studied. It was not long ago that the Sahara Desert was considered an empty waste; now it is known to be a storehouse of mineral wealth. We are familiar with most of the difficulties of developing Africa; but we are far from knowing what all the opportunities may be.

The World Bank has become increasingly conscious of Africa. Some time ago we appointed a special representative who has paid extensive visits to the continent in an effort to broaden our knowledge of the newly-independent countries and their knowledge of us. Within the last few months we have set up within the bank a new operating department that concentrates exclusively on African development.

### Communications Priority

We have been working in Africa for a dozen years and have lent some \$885m. there. But, like everyone else working in this vast area, we must be modest about what we have done. Nor do the Bank's activities constitute any kind of model or pattern. We work on a practical basis, rather than according to some ideal design. Nevertheless, the Bank does require the projects it finances to be of high economic priority. I think of Ethiopia, for instance, where better roads have helped to double exports, or the Sudan, where land development is working a fundamental revolution in the lives of the peasantry.

New networks of travel are one of the priority tasks being undertaken in Africa. The Bank has lent more for this purpose than any other, and in virtually every region of Africa is helping to enlarge markets and encourage production by the development of railroads, highways, and ports.

The railway extension that the Bank is financing in the Southern Sudan will not only develop the economy of that region; it will help to unify two dissimilar parts of the

country. The new highway network that the Bank is helping to finance in Ethiopia will not only stimulate the production of crops and livestock; it will help with the administrative and political unification of the loosely knit provinces of that country. Nearly everywhere in Africa better transportation brings not only an economic return but it helps in other aspects of nation-building.

The ambition of every country in Africa is to develop industry as a source of employment and high standards for its people. In Kenya the products of field and forest are the base for small plants making over a hundred different kinds of manufactured products.

### Private Investors First

The Bank looks for private investors to show the way. It has established an affiliate, the International Finance Corporation, to help industry to grow in the underdeveloped countries; the corporation finds or provides finance to supplement the capital of entrepreneurs, and where necessary it helps to recruit managerial and technical skills from the developed countries. Over a third of the investments of the corporation have been in one or another kind of processing.

One of its most interesting investments is in the Kilombero Sugar Company in Tanganyika, which grows and processes sugar cane. It transplants some of the Dutch mastery of tropical agriculture from the Indies to a fertile African valley, backed by financing mostly from British and Dutch sources. The Bank's affiliated corporation put up the equivalent of £1m., or nearly a third of the finance needed at the outset. The corporation was able to assure the margin of capital needed to plan the project on a large enough scale to be economic, and it took a special interest in efforts to enlist local investment and thereby give Africans a stake, however modest, in the success of the project.

The mining and processing of copper, and of gold, asbestos and chrome, brought large amounts of capital into Rhodesia. A transportation system had to be built and electric power had to be installed to run mines and processing plants. The industry created a big payroll and brought into being a large labour force, many of whose workers came from overseas and already had the experience of a modern living standard. The result was to create not only an effective demand for the products of modern industry, but also the means of producing what was necessary to satisfy the demand. In Rhodesia today are scores of industrial plants producing everything from candles and razor blades to heavy engineering products; and 3½ million pairs of shoes and boots a year are manufactured in one Rhodesian plant alone.

### Obstacles and Exceptions

Rhodesia's industrial development is the exception rather than the rule. Africa is still a continent of villages and huts rather than cities and skyscrapers. Progress has been very uneven, and only a few Africans, relatively speaking, have been touched by it. Although the overwhelming majority of Africans support themselves by raising crops or grazing herds, they do not grow enough of the right food to provide a decent diet. An appalling number of them, particularly the children, die of diseases associated with dietary deficiencies.

Most African farmers contribute little to the cash economy and provide no consumer market for industry. In the process of economic development many millions of them simply do not participate. Increasing agricultural output has been difficult throughout the underdeveloped world, and it is especially so in Africa. In tropical Africa, where almost three out of every four Africans live, good soil is the exception rather than the rule. Seasons are extreme and irregular, and tremendous heat evaporates rainfall faster than it can be taken in by crops. One man out of every three in Africa works for the insects, the rodents, and other pests.

Africans themselves stand in the way of progress. Living outside the cash economy, or at best around its edges, most farmers aim more to achieve mere subsistence than to raise a surplus for the market. In the large areas of Africa where cattle grazing is a principal agricultural activity herds often serve little or no economic purpose at all: they are maintained merely as a show of wealth.

Ways must be found to attach more Africans to permanent holdings of land, and to give the African farmer both the means and the motive to increase the productivity of his homestead.

In Kenya the Bank is supporting the comprehensive land settlement programme known as the Swynnerton Plan. Its aim is to raise the living standards of African farmers to a point

\*As recorded in the monthly review of National and Grindlays Bank, which gives the full text. Mr. Black, who was until recently chairman of the World Bank, has paid several visits to East and Central Africa.

at which each small holding will provide not merely subsistence but also an income of at least £100 a year from cash crops. Under the plan nearly two million acres have been redistributed. Some 275,000 African farm families now have consolidated freeholdings that are possible to farm efficiently. Roads and water supplies are being provided; marketing and processing co-operatives have been organized; extension services are being performed; and credit for cultivators is available. Already the results are impressive.

African farmers are growing 40,000 acres of coffee, 4,000 acres of tea, and a rapidly growing acreage of pyrethrum. Ten years ago none of these crops were grown by Africans; now they provide a fifth of Kenya's export income. This kind

of transformation must take place widely throughout Africa. For the development of Africa and its people it is absolutely essential that the farmer should become a productive part of the market economy and that agriculture should become an expansive factor in economic growth.

One of the biggest obstacles to the development of Africa is the lack of trained man-power. Nothing could be more important than the effort to make the human factor more effective. One organization able to help is the International Development Association, an affiliate of the Bank, which not only extends development credits for the same kind of projects as the Bank finances, but also can finance projects in social fields. Last month I.D.A. approved its first assistance to education.

## Policy of Drift Will Cause Bloodshed in The N.F.D.

### Peers Echo Lord Lytton's Warnings on Rejecting Somali Desires\*

THE EARL OF LISTOWEL thought that Lord Lytton had been less than fair to Kenya.

During the course of his speech he said:

"He spoke about the megalomania of Kenya and its attitude to the N.F.D. Surely it is not megalomania to be somewhat reluctant to part with an area that amounts to about one-third of one's country. The noble earl was making the Somali case, and I dare say he felt he could leave the Kenya case quite safely to the noble marquess who will reply.

"I do not think he emphasized sufficiently the dangers of the situation in this part of Kenya. This is the most serious threat to peace in any part of Africa at present. If we abandon Kenya without a settlement we shall leave a built-in cause of war between Kenya and Somalia. It is the Government's responsibility to remove this cause of war before Kenya becomes independent.

#### A Mistake

"Whatever they decide will be deeply resented by one of the parties, and possibly by both. The Secretary of State's decision to make the N.F.D. an administrative region of Kenya, with considerable autonomy, resulted in the breaking off by the Republic of Somalia of diplomatic relations with this country. I do not think that the British Government could have decided otherwise at that time, because the political future of Kenya was in the balance. I feel that this risk of bad relations with Somalia had to be taken and the consequences accepted.

"I believe that the Somalis have made a mistake in breaking off diplomatic relations—for the same reason as we were mistaken in breaking off diplomatic relations with the Yemen. Such diplomatic gestures injure both countries. They are an example of cutting off your nose to spite your face. Somalia has lost a subsidy of over £1m. a year from this country. Somalia, a very poor country indeed, needs every penny it can get from outside. And we have lost the use of a most important broadcasting station located in Somali territory.

"The Somalis are a single people, with a common religion, common language, common way of life, racially distinct from their Bantu and Nilotic neighbours. These traditional characteristics give the Somalis a much stronger claim to self-determination than the many African tribes that are divided by boundaries between different African countries.

#### Kenya May Fall Apart

"It was Mr. Ernest Bevin, when he was Foreign Secretary, who put forward the idea of a Greater Somalia. This solution, unfortunately, was not accepted by other countries. This idea of a Greater Somalia was initially a recognition of the fact that it is not unreasonable of the Somalis, wherever they form a majority, to wish to live together as a single people in a national homeland. So long as this patriotic aim is tempered with self-restraint and is not marked by resort to violence or brute force, I think no one who loves his own country can fail to respect others who cherish that thought.

"At the same time, it would be hard for anyone to imagine that it would be possible for the Government of Kenya to acknowledge the claim of the Somalis in the N.F.D.

to secede. After all, the unity of their own country is at stake, a country in the making. How can they with a stroke of the pen sign away almost one-third of their territory?

"Kenya is deeply divided by tribal loyalties; these tribal rivalries are bound to be sharpened by independence. That invariably happens in every African country. No Government of Kenya could risk the dismemberment of the country by allowing one part to secede.

"This places the responsibility on the shoulders of H.M. Government. It must decide while we still have the constitutional right to do so, during the short period between self-government, which begins after the approaching elections in Kenya; and complete independence. Parliament would not forgive any British Government for evading a decision of this immense importance for Kenya and the peace of Africa by any strategy of delay. We all know how easy it is for a Government to burke a difficult position by finding excuses for procrastination.

#### Delaying Tactics

"The eastern part of the N.F.D. is predominantly Somali and wants to secede, whereas the more sparsely populated western part would either be willing to stay in Kenya or has a divided opinion about its political future and allegiance. The facts have been established, and there is no excuse for calling in the United Nations or other African countries to examine them. That would be a delaying tactic.

"Another delaying tactic would be to wait for acceptance of H.M. Government's proposals by either or both Governments concerned. We could wait until the end of time and still the proposals would not be entirely satisfactory either to the Government of Somalia or that of Kenya. The Secretary of State has carefully left the door open by saying that the decision about making the N.F.D. an administrative region does not prejudice a final decision. It is an interim decision. It seems to me to have been a most reasonable thing to do.

"A policy of drift would be disastrous. It would lead Kenya into bloodshed and mar the really wonderful record of success we have had so far in starting off the British territories in Africa which have achieved independence in harmony, both internally and with their neighbours."

#### Disastrous Consequences

THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON thought a change of policy necessary to avoid disastrous consequences. He said (in part):—

"I have been in Kenya but not in these Somali districts. However, I have known people well who know them thoroughly. Fundamentally the issue is very simple: it is that these Somalis, nomads to whom the camel is all-important, who live in a wild desert, and who are culturally, religiously and in every other way completely different from other tribes in Kenya, do not want to be put under the Central Kenya Government.

"Rightly or wrongly, they do not like that Government. They have not a very high opinion of them. They do not see why, because this district was for administrative convenience governed from Nairobi, when the great moment for freedom comes they should be put under people from whom they are completely different, whom they dislike, and by whom they do not wish to be governed.

\*Last week's issue contained the opening speech in the House of Lords debate on the demand of Kenya Somalis for secession.

# PERSONALIA

**MWALIMU NYERERE**, President of Tanganyika, spent last week in the East Lake Region.

**LORD AND LADY FORESTER** have returned to Willey Park, Shropshire, from Southern Rhodesia.

**CANON CRANSWICK**, lately vicar of Avondale, has been appointed rector of Famona, Bulawayo.

**MR. K. G. BENNETT**, who has been acting as Chief Justice of Uganda, is taking his leave in East Africa.

**SIR ARCHIBALD JONES** has returned to London after spending three months on his farm in Southern Rhodesia.

**MR. ELIMO NJAU**, now assistant director of the Sorbie Art Gallery, Nairobi, did the murals for Fort Hall Memorial Cathedral.

**MAJOR-GENERAL FRANCIS T. PACHLER**, "Trip Director" of the United States National War College, has paid a brief visit to Kenya.

**MR. R. H. HOBSON**, of the public relations staff of the Rhodesian Selection Trust group of companies in Salisbury, is paying his first visit to London since 1949.

**MR. P. F. RUNGE**, the new president of the Federation of British Industries, is vice-chairman of Tate & Lyle, Ltd., a group with sugar growing interests in Rhodesia.

**DR. P. MANSERGH**, Professor of History of the British Commonwealth in the University of Cambridge, has been elected to fellowship of the Royal Society of Arts.

**BRIGADIER R. MICKLEM**, a member of the London Advisory Committees of the R.S.T. and Mufulira companies, has just returned from another visit to the Rhodesias.

**SIR RALPH METCALFE**, a director of Manica Trading Co., Ltd., and **LADY METCALFE**, who have recently visited the Federation, returned last week in the **TRANSVAAL CASTLE**.

**THE REV. R. MACPHERSON**, a former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, and one of Kenya's veteran missionaries, has returned to the Colony from Scotland.

**MR. C. F. H. GOUGH**, M.P., who has visited Kenya, has resigned the chairmanship of Hobbs Savill and Bradford, Ltd., and from the boards of all the companies in the group.

**MR. JOHN MOYO**, an African Federal M.P., has resigned from the United Federal Party because of the Federal Government's support for Southern Rhodesia's immediate independence.

**MR. JOHN GAUNT**, Minister of Mines in Southern Rhodesia, has told the Chamber of Mines that he is considering a subsidy to encourage the extraction of gold from low-grade ores.

**SIR ALEXANDER MAXWELL**, chairman of the Tobacco Advisory Committee, and **LADY MAXWELL** arrived back in the **PENDENNIS CASTLE** last Friday from a visit to South Africa and Rhodesia.

**MISS J. STOTT**, headmistress of Kenya High School for Girls for nearly 21 years, has laid the foundation-stone for a new library. No other headmistress or headmaster in the country has served for so long.

**ALHAI MTEMI FUNDIKIRA** has been appointed full-time chairman of the new National Agricultural Products Board of Tanganyika, which now controls maize in that republic. Other crops are to be brought under its control.

**MR. ARMAND DENIS** and his wife, **MRS. MICHAELA DENIS**, are to form separate companies to promote travel holidays. Commenting a few days ago, **MRS. DENIS** said in London: "We are very happily married, but we are not Siamese twins". They have lived in Kenya for some years.

**SIR NICHOLAS CAYZER** has become chairman of Travel Savings, Ltd., in which the Union-Castle Company recently acquired a one-third interest. **MR. BERNARD CAYZER** has also joined the board.

**THE REV. WILLIAM MILLS**, rector of Belvedere, in the Diocese of Mashonaland, is leaving Southern Rhodesia for England. So is the **REV. JOHN STOPFORD**, priest-in-charge of St. David's Mission, Bonda.

**MR. RASHIDI KAWAWA**, Vice-President of Tanganyika, has been decorated by **PRESIDENT NASSER** with the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Nile. **MR. ISAAC MUNANKA** received the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Republic.

**MR. SIKOTA WINA**, U.N.I.P. Parliamentary Secretary in the Northern Rhodesian Finance Ministry, has flown to Washington to address the American Society for African Culture on problems of political equality in multi-racial societies.

**MR. W. G. TURRIFF**, aged 48, chairman of the Turiff Construction Corporation, Ltd., which is engaged in large building contracts in the Sudan, is being sued for the enticement and harbouring of the 22-year-old wife of a 28-year-old farmer.

**SIR HENRY GRATTAN-BELLEW**, a 29-year-old Irish baronet, who was leading in the Bulawayo Hunt Club steeplechase, suffered a slightly fractured skull and much bruising when at a jump he was thrown by his horse which then fell on its rider.

**THE RT. REV. NEIL RUSSELL**, who was recently consecrated an Assistant Bishop to reside in Zanzibar, was at one time priest-in-charge of the Hunyani district of Southern Rhodesia. Later he was for many years a U.M.C.A. missionary in Tanganyika.

**THE RT. REV. JOHN SEPEKU**, who was recently consecrated an Assistant Bishop to reside in Dar es Salaam, had been a member of Tanga District Council since 1959 and a member of its finance committee. From 1943 to 1954 he was a padre in Dar es Salaam.

**LORD WINTERTON**, the sixth earl, left unsettled estate in Great Britain valued at £138,768, on which duty of £76,145 has been paid. He bequeathed his diaries to **MR. ALAN BRODERICK**, who may write a biography. **LORD WINTERTON** had owned land in Northern Rhodesia since early this century.

**MR. E. N. MWENDWA**, K.A.N.U. member for Kitui in the recently dissolved Legislative Council of Kenya, is now Minister of Health and Housing, following the resignation of **MR. F. M. G. MATI**, who had to quit the Coalition Government when he resigned from K.A.N.U. to join **MR. NGEI**'s new African Peoples' Party. **MR. G. W. NTHENGE**, one of two members for Machakos, and **MR. W. MALU**, former national treasurer of K.A.N.U., who also resigned to join the A.P.P., have expressed dissatisfaction that their names are not included in a list of A.P.P. candidates.

## ISLE OF MAN BANK LIMITED RETURNING TO THE UNITED KINGDOM?

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FOUNDED IN 1865, the Isle of Man Bank, Ltd., was the first limited liability company to be registered in the Isle of Man.

MR. R. F. WALSH has been appointed an additional director of Blythe Greene Jourdain & Co., Ltd.

MRS. E. L. THOMSON having retired after three years, MRS. P. JOHNSON is now president of the East Africa Women's League.

MR. PETER SCOTT, the ornithologist, who has visited East Africa, is to receive the honorary degree of LL.D from Aberdeen University.

THE REV. W. H. WATSON, senior missionary in Nyasaland of the Church of Scotland, is to receive an honorary degree from Aberdeen University.

MR. J. G. RUSHBY, lecturer in geography at Southampton University, is spending a month in Northern Rhodesia under British Council sponsorship.

MR. T. SIRUYUMUNSI, president of the Burundi Legislative Assembly, is one of three persons arrested for conspiring against the security of the State.

DR. D. R. HAUPT, secretary to the National Advisory Council on Nutrition in Kenya, has stated that a fifth of the deaths in the Colony are attributable to malnutrition.

MR. J. D. LIYABUNYA has been elected president of the Nyasaland T.U.C. The vice-president is MR. C. R. MAULIDI, and the general secretary MR. S. D. NKOLOKOSA.

MR. H. ("BERT") STEYN, who was born near Hoey's Bridge in 1916, has left Kenya to restart farming in South Africa. He served in the East African Engineers in the last war.

MR. KASSIM SAID RIYAMI, Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies in Zanzibar, is spending six months in Puerto Rico to gain experience on producer co-operative management.

MR. J. P. WALKER is now chairman of the Kenya P.I. Industry Board, following the resignation of MR. M. F. L. ROBINSON, who has agreed to remain vice-chairman until the end of the year.

MR. HUMPHREY LUANDE, M.P., has been elected president of the Uganda T.U.C. His predecessor, MR. F. H. PULLE, is now treasurer. The general secretary, MR. E. W. W. NAKIBINGE, was re-elected.

MR. LEONARD CATCHPOLE is chairman of a new Board for the Blind in the Western Province of Northern Rhodesia. The vice-chairman is MR. NORREYS DAVIS and the honorary secretary MR. JOHN WADHAMS.

MR. R. R. HANCOCK, headmaster of a Portsmouth grammar school, and MRS. HANCOCK, an inspector of schools in the United Kingdom, have just visited Northern Rhodesia under the auspices of the English-speaking Union.

When MR. MASINDE MULIRO, Minister of Commerce and Industry in Kenya, opened in Nairobi a new gin distillery which will process local raw sugar spirit, he mentioned that the company might also manufacture vodka.

MR. W. PADLEY, joint managing director of Metal Industries, Ltd., is acting temporarily as managing director of Brookhirst Igranic, Ltd., a company within the group. He was previously in the Colonial Service in Uganda.

MR. STEFAN NEDZYNSKI, assistant general secretary of the I.C.P.T.U., has just visited the Somali Republic. He was accompanied by SIMON ONDARIO SPITALANI, who has been organizing Somali trade unions on behalf of the confederation.

MRS. GLADYS KENNEDY, a matron of Malcolm Watson Hospital, Mufulira, from 1953 until her marriage six years later, has been appointed matron of the Jubilee Hospital, Huntly, Aberdeenshire, where she was a sister for seven years.

MR. A. J. PRATT, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs in Sierra Leone, is now in Kenya as chairman of a commission which is to make recommendations about salaries in the local civil service and for teachers and the postal service.

MR. C. D. MACQUAIDE, Finance Director of the Forestal Land group of companies, has been appointed managing director of Forestal Industries (United Kingdom), Ltd., in succession to MR. C. N. HILLIER, who remains a director of Forestal Land Timber and Railways Co., Ltd.

MR. GERALD McDONALD, a New Zealander seconded to Tanganyika by U.N.E.S.C.O., is introducing multiple-class one-teacher schools based on his homeland's pattern for agricultural communities in which there are insufficient pupils to merit individual teachers for separate classes.

MR. SIDNEY R. YATES, the American delegate on the U.N. Anti-Colonial Committee, has said that U.N.O. is the natural agent to produce a "rule of reason in Southern Rhodesia rather than one of fear and domination", and that until such an atmosphere prevailed Britain should not grant the Colony independence.

MR. TOM NEIL has been appointed Director of Personnel and Training in the Kenya Government, a new post. He is succeeded as Permanent Secretary to the Ministry for Constitutional Affairs and Administration by MR. G. J. ELLERTON, whose post in the Ministry of Defence is held temporarily by MR. COLIN CAMPBELL.

MR. R. M. BATEMAN, for the past four years deputy chairman of Turner & Newall, Ltd., and MR. G. S. SUTCLIFFE, a director since 1957, have been appointed joint managing directors, and MR. J. WADDELL, since 1951 a director of Turner Brothers Asbestos Co., Ltd., and lately managing director, has been appointed chairman and elected a director of the parent company.

MR. MOHAMED ABDI GHELLE, director of locust control in the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in the Somali Republic, and ATO ADEFERIS BELLEHU of Ethiopia, deputy director of the new East African Desert Locust Control Organization, are among overseas delegates attending the first D.T.C. course in London at the Anti-Locust Research Centre. SIR ANDREW COHEN suggested that the locust was "not only an agricultural pest but also a political insect, and we have to evolve political as well as scientific measures to combat it".

## Obituary

CANON SAMUEL B. KURI, who has died in Kenya, aged about 83, was in 1934 the first African in the country to be appointed a canon. He had been ordained in 1919.

PRINCE NICOLAS GALITZINE, who has died in London, was the father of PRINCE YURKA GALITZINE, who has had East and Central African business interests for many years and has on several occasions visited the territories.

THE REV. WALTER BENJAMIN SUTER, whose death is announced, was a missionary of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa from 1901 to 1913 and again from 1920 to 1937. He was for seven years vicar of a Bristol parish.

MR. GEORGE ANTHONY WOOD, aged 50, was stabbed to death in Nairobi Prison by an African who broke away from wardens while being escorted to a medical room. Mr. Wood was serving a year's sentence for fraudulent and false accounting as a club secretary.

MR. HARRIS KENNETH UPSON, who has died in Kenya, aged 62, was educated at Edinburgh and Cambridge University. He had farmed in Kenya since 1925, being one of the oldest residents in the Kipkabus district. In the last war he served with the East African Engineers in Ethiopia, Ceylon and Burma, and was demobilized as a major. He was for many years a steward of the Jockey Club of Kenya.

## Mr. Garfield Todd's Opinion

### Commonwealth Should be Consulted

MR. GARFIELD TODD, a former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, who is now in London, wrote a few days ago to *The Times*:—

"The future of the Commonwealth may depend upon the wisdom and effectiveness of decisions made concerning Southern Rhodesia. Action by H.M. Government upon the simple alternative of whether or not to grant independence under the present Constitution could result in almost identical situations: independence for Southern Rhodesia, taken or given.

"In either case Southern Rhodesia would be expelled from the Commonwealth. Not even Canada, Australia, and New Zealand could now accept, as a member of the family, an independent country under a white minority Government.

"If the white 6% of the population have control of the country, then Southern Rhodesia's 3,500,000 Africans will establish a government in exile, which might well be recognized by all countries except South Africa, Portugal, and, if independence has come by consent, Britain. Southern Rhodesia herself would be denied membership of the United Nations Organization and would become the target of direct action by the world body.

"Independence would put Southern Rhodesia firmly into the orbit of the Republic of South Africa and Portugal and would consolidate the frontiers of white supremacy. This line of defence would be unbroken from the mouth of the Congo in the west, along the boundary of Angola, the Caprivi Strip, the Zambezi River, and the boundary of Mozambique to the Indian Ocean. Bechuanaland would be isolated.

"So much is at stake that the United Kingdom should not act except in concert with the other members of the Commonwealth.

"All decisions must take into account the safety of the white minority, the economic needs of the country, and the best interests of all the inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia."

## Europeans Must Unite to Survive In Co-Existence with African Communities

WHITE UNITY was essential for the secure survival of the European community in the revolutionary circumstances of Africa, Sir Albert Robinson, the Federal High Commissioner in London, said last week at a South Africa Club dinner.

But unity was no longer the only criterion that would secure a peaceful future for Europeans. It was just as important for them to achieve an understanding with the forces of African nationalism.

"In Central Africa many of us believed that it was possible to build a non-racial society on the basis of individual merit, which would lead to full racial partnership. Events have made impossible the realization of this aim.

### Disastrous Retreat

"The British withdrawal from Africa, which is more in the nature of a disastrous retreat than a carefully-planned exercise, and the pressures of pan-Africanism have combined to leave a vacuum which demands that there should be an immediate re-appraisal of the course to be followed in the future. Mr. Macmillan has destroyed the structure of the Federation, but has put nothing in its place. Nor has Mr. Butler anything in mind for the future. The European community and large numbers of Africans are therefore in a dilemma.

"I believe that the only possible course in the foreseeable future is to follow the international example that has developed out of the cold war between East and West. Co-existence is now widely accepted as a substitute for the policy of domination by one community over another. The European communities of South and Central Africa will have to plan their future against a background of pan-African pressure and general world hostility, and they will have to rely largely upon their own resources, skill, and unity to survive.

"At the same time it should be clearly accepted that peaceful and co-operative co-existence with the African communities is the immediate objective, despite the apparently insuperable difficulties. There are many who believe that the only

course for the European at present is to draw into a defensive laager. I think this would be fatal.

"Let the Europeans develop the maximum unity to stem the tidal wave of pan-Africanist domination, but when this has been done the need to work patiently towards the great goal of racial harmony in Southern Africa will remain as urgent and as important as ever."

## Nkomo's Allegations Officially Denied Africans Quite Free to Form Parties

THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA said recently through an official spokesman:—

"Mr. Nkomo has made many curious statements abroad. He alleged that he left Southern Rhodesia without travel documents, the implication being that he was not allowed to leave the country. He returned in October from one of his many overseas tours without any travel documents, but, having satisfactorily established his identity, he was treated in the same way as any other Rhodesian returning resident insofar as re-entry was concerned.

"He alleged that Southern Rhodesian police planted petrol bombs and explosives in people's houses, and even in their pockets, so as to be able to arrest them. This of course is quite untrue. When his party was banned in September, 17 criminal cases were pending which were directly connected with the Zimbabwe African People's Union.

"Mr. Nkomo alleged at a Press conference in London and to the Committee of 24 in New York that by speaking on those occasions he might be committing an offence under the new Southern Rhodesian legislation which could put him into jail. That was incorrect, for the Preservation of Constitutional Government Act became law only on March 29. Therefore anything said or done by Mr. Nkomo at the United Nations before that date was not an offence in terms of the Act.

### Tantamount to Treason

"Furthermore, the Southern Rhodesian Government has no desire to muzzle any political or other person in respect of airing genuine grievances. The Act is directed at residents of the country who aim to overthrow the Government by unconstitutional means. Anybody is at liberty to make representations by constitutional means for varying the Constitution. What we are getting at is unlawful means, acts which are tantamount to treason.

"He alleged that the new Southern Rhodesian legislation makes it impossible for Africans to organize themselves into political parties or even to talk. That statement is untrue. There is no objection to any political party operating provided it acts in a constitutional manner. Mr. Nkomo can form a new party tomorrow. There are quite a few African parties operating at the present time—P.A.S.U., P.I.D.U., Z.N.P., etc. Of course they can talk. The new Legislation is aimed only at rowdy Sunday and holiday meetings, at which hooliganism, intimidation, rioting, etc., were rife—sponsored by Mr. Nkomo's former and now banned party. Africans can organize themselves into political parties and talk as much as they like for six days of the week provided they do not indulge in subversion.

### Hostile Criticism

"Mr. Nkomo was quoted by the *Glasgow Herald* as saying: 'Thousands of our people are being arrested every day'. That is untrue. People are arrested in Southern Rhodesia only in terms of the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act, which is similar to legislation existing in all civilized countries. Police powers of arrest are definite and concise. A person can be arrested only on a warrant or when offences are committed in the presence of a police officer, when an officer has reasonable grounds to suspect that an offence has been committed, or when a person is attempting or manifesting an intention to commit an offence. Any person arrested must be brought before a court of law within 48 hours.

"Incidentally, it was the last Government, not the present Southern Rhodesian Government, which found it necessary to ban Z.A.P.U.—as a result of its policy of violence directed against Africans.

"There is considerable hostility towards Mr. Nkomo among Africans in Southern Rhodesia, who compare what he says with the actual facts, particularly as they can now move freely without fear of intimidation, violence, and persecution.

"There is also a growing volume of criticism of Mr. Nkomo from Rhodesian Africans about the thousands of pounds he has spent in the past three years on world travel, rather than working constitutionally and constructively at home, contributing to the solution of political and economic problems. These are more important to intelligent Africans than the distorted and twisted extreme racialist theories which he propounds."

## Independence for S. Rhodesia Now

### Britain Must Resist Inimical Pressures

APART FROM its right to independence by virtue of its long apprenticeship, Southern Rhodesia should have independence at once to enable it to bargain more effectively on parity at a conference to set up the hoped for future association of the three territories of Central Africa, the Monday Club has declared. The president and vice-president of this Conservative group are Lord Salisbury and Viscount Boyd of Merton respectively.

If Southern Rhodesia had to go to such a conference without independence Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia would almost certainly refuse to bargain unless they had a pledge from the British Government that independence would not be granted except to a black Government. "Under pressure, the British Government, judged by the events of the last three years, would probably give that pledge.

### Africans Intimidated by Africans

"Unless Southern Rhodesia has independence at once there will be increasing pressure on the British Government to change the Southern Rhodesian Constitution which only came into being last year. Yet under that new Constitution, even those black Africans who have a vote were either unwilling or unable because of intimidation by black African nationalists to exercise that vote freely at the recent election. How can it be right to extend the franchise until those who have the vote are able to exercise it freely?

"Only those in Africa know best how and when the Constitution should be changed. An independent Southern Rhodesian Government will be better equipped to give a vote to all those who are qualified to exercise that vote.

"The only reason that the British Government is delaying acknowledging the right of Southern Rhodesia to independence is because the Southern Rhodesian Government is white-dominated. Pressure from inside both Africa and Britain and outside sources tells the Government to withhold from Southern Rhodesia what it gave to Ghana and Tanganyika.

"If Southern Rhodesia is granted its independence at once, the British Government will almost certainly be able to keep a strong British representation in Central Africa and its influence in Salisbury will continue. If independence is not given it will be taken, and this would put an end to the British influence in Salisbury.

"The Government must show that it can stand up against pressures: that it can recognize that it is right to give to the white African Government in Southern Rhodesia—after 40 years' experience—what it has given to black African Governments after two years' experience.

"If the British Government does not give independence Southern Rhodesia will take it. The British Government will then sacrifice the last vestige of goodwill in Africa, will lose prestige in this country and will be faced with a serious problem as to the recognition of Southern Rhodesia's independence. To grant independence will at last transfer the initiative out of the hands of the nationalists and will call their bluff."

On Wednesday evening last week two Conservative M.Ps., Major Patrick Wall and Mr. Victor Goodhew, addressed the club.

### "Merit Alone" Abandoned

Mr. Wall admitted that he had supported Mr. Macmillan's wind of change speech because of the qualification it had contained that political and economic advancement, with consequent power and responsibility, would be based solely on the criterion of "individual merit, and individual merit alone"—but that principle had now been abandoned and forgotten.

The African people would suffer most from the premature handing over of power. Mr. Wall read one of many letters he had received recently from Africans in Rhodesia, which said, in part: "many thousands of moderate Africans fear the nationalist parties, which are composed of racist extremists supported by Britain and America. Their first acts when they are in power will be reprisals against those moderate Africans who give their support and trust to our great leader Sir Roy Welensky and to Mr. Field."

There was a danger that a Socialist Government in this country would suspend the Southern Rhodesian Constitution. The Colony had therefore to obtain her independence in principle before the other territories seceded when the Federation actually broke up; at that juncture, the Federation would return its sovereignty to Southern Rhodesia, which would then take its independence.

There should be no more delay in acceding to this logical demand. Southern Rhodesia would not seize independence next week, nor would there be ominous military movements, but both the Southern Rhodesian and the Federal Governments would not co-operate in unscrambling the Federation unless and until Southern Rhodesia received a 'yes' answer. Pressures on Britain would increase as the power vacuum in Central Africa grew—for Britain had no real authority there, had reduced that of the Federal Government, and was hesitating to give it to Mr. Field. But there were many outsiders ready to enter instead, both allies and enemies—Americans, Afro-Asians and Communists.

The British Government was hesitating because it feared that U.N.O. would go up in smoke if it granted the Colony independence now. "But does this matter in practical terms? The U.N. is broke because of the Congo and couldn't possibly mount another military expedition."

Socialists suggested that Southern Rhodesia should be allowed to take its independence itself—Britain could then run to the U.N. and say, 'it wasn't our fault, they did it'. To which the world body would retort that though the Colony was in Britain's view responsible for its own affairs, the mother country dealt with foreign affairs and defence; 'rebels' had seized independence, so the British Army should be sent in to suppress them.

Commonwealth reactions had to be borne in mind too. Even the white members were not at all likely to support Southern Rhodesia, judging by their past performances in U.N.O. when the Afro-Asians were around. A government-in-exile would be formed by African Nationalists in Dar es Salaam and would receive recognition from Commonwealth countries as well as others. This was deplorable. It might lead to such a fissure in the old Empire that Britain would become the only white nation left in the Commonwealth.

### Emotive Foolishness

Mr. Field should be told immediately that his demand was agreed to; then the three potentially independent nations should come together to work out their future as sovereign States, each with much to gain from maintaining strong economic links—though some African nationalist leaders in an emotional mood were prepared to cut off their noses to spite their faces, and in their foolishness could quite conceivably ruin their own peoples' standards of living in an effort to destroy the present Southern Rhodesian Government.

A conference of all the black and white politicians concerned had to be held very soon in Central Africa. This would be impossible unless Southern Rhodesia was granted the right of independence now. But such a step was the only way for Britain to extricate herself from the mess her Government had embroiled her in, and would obtain a secure future for Central Africa. Not to do this because of submission to the outside pressures that would emphasize the so-called dangers of such forthright action would be morally wrong.

Mr. Victor Goodhew said that it was monstrous to suggest that Southern Rhodesia, which would have been independent "ages ago" if Britain had not made her join the Federation, should not now have that independence at once. The British Government had capitulated to the Northern Rhodesian elected Ministers' terms for attending a conference; its position would be untenable were it to refuse to accede to Southern Rhodesia's similar conditions.

### Sheer Anti-White Hypocrisy

It was sheer hypocrisy to say that Southern Rhodesia could not now be granted independence because its Government was white-dominated, and that there must first be a 'democratic' black man's government—where in Africa today was there an independent African State that had democratic government?

The United Nations would give Britain no peace, composed in main as it was of Afro-Asians "who do not like us". They were determined to drive the white man out of Africa as soon as they could, with no concern for the resultant chaos. It was pointless letting the anti-colonial committee's delegation come to London for talks. "I don't know why this country tolerates the U.N. Our most violent critics have monstrous records in their own countries."

Sir Archibald James, a former M.P. who farms in Southern Rhodesia, castigated to loud applause "the procrastination of this Conservative Government, which should have put the interests of British people before subservience to the United States, the U.N. and the Afro-Asians". Europeans in the Federation had completely lost confidence in the present British Government, as had Tory supporters in this country, if by-election results were any guide. "Don't we ask for guts from our leaders any more?" A choice was being forced on 300,000 "tough" Europeans in Southern Rhodesia between a Salisbury-London or a Salisbury-Pretoria axis; but they were not going to submit to the sort of treatment which the British Government had "dished out" to Kenya.

## PROPOSALS TO AVOID CATASTROPHIC SEPARATION IGNORED

(Continued from page 702)

agree on a new arrangement to replace the existing pattern of Federation it would be our firm contention that no changes should take place in the present constitutional relationship of the Rhodesias. I indicated then, as on many previous occasions, that I was willing to consider changes, even radical changes, in the form of association between the territories comprising the Federation, but that it was essential in our view to start from the basis of what already existed, modifying that as necessary, and not to begin by breaking up the Federation completely and trying to piece it together again.

This approach was based on the conviction that complete separation of the two Rhodesias would be catastrophic to them both, and it was because of the strength of that conviction that I had pledged myself to use all my endeavours to prevent such separation. I was equally convinced that economic links without political backing would prove to be valueless, particularly in view of the fact that the elected Ministers in Northern Rhodesia were not their own masters but subject to all sorts of extraneous pressures which they are unable or unwilling to resist.

### Modifications Presented

Before Mr. Butler left the Federation my Ministers and I presented to him an outline set of proposals which took account of these various considerations, and the general effect of which would have been on the one hand to reduce the centralised functions of the Federal Government to a short but essential list, and in the other hand to provide for modifications in the composition of the Federal Legislature which would guarantee substantial representation to both major races. These proposals were put forward, not because we believed they had intrinsic merit as a form of federal association, but in a genuine endeavour to reach accommodation with other points of view and at the same time preserve the essential advantages of federal association.

Because of the pathological attitudes which had been taken up towards the Federal Government in certain quarters we considered it essential, if our proposals were to have any hope of success, that we should not appear to have sponsored them. They were therefore put forward under cover of secrecy in the certain knowledge that we should have to face public criticism that we were being obdurate and unconstructive. That of course happened, but my Ministers and I were prepared to endure this criticism in the knowledge that the British Government knew that we were prepared to be constructive, and in the hope that they would exercise their own responsibilities in the same spirit.

### No Illusions

Of course, the record of the British Government in its dealings with Central African affairs over the past few years did not inspire us with much confidence that they would be willing to do so: given the simple choice between accommodating the Federal Government and accommodating an African nationalist Government we had by then no illusions about the way the British Government might turn. But in this case there were specially important issues at stake, many of them touching vital British interests.

We did not seriously expect the present British Government to be over-solicitous of the welfare of several million British subjects, black and white, who were born in or have made their permanent homes in the Rhodesias. We did, however, consider that the interests of British investors would play some significant part in the British Government's thinking when it was faced with the prospect of inevitable economic and industrial decline. We felt also that the British Government would think carefully before loading the British taxpayer with the heavy burden of expenditure that disintegration of the two Rhodesias would necessarily entail.

In the light of these factors it would not have strained Britain's authority as the protecting power in Northern Rhodesia to have insisted on a settlement which would have avoided these catastrophic consequences, and so far as Southern Rhodesia was concerned there were no particular difficulties. The Government of that territory recognized the value of the Federal association and was willing for it to continue with suitable adjustments. These then were the considerations uppermost in our minds when Mr. Butler left the Federation early in February.

Early in March my Government was formally invited to

send representatives to London to prepare an agreed agenda for a later conference on the future association of the two Rhodesias. We were to follow after similar talks had been held with representatives of the Southern and Northern Rhodesian Governments. We accepted the invitation on the understanding that our visits were so closely scheduled as to ensure that we should all spend some time in London together. Thus—and always supposing that the British Government was prepared to exercise its responsibilities firmly and authoritatively—there would be some prospect of our finding agreed terms for the agenda for the formal conference to follow. It was in this constructive spirit that we went to London. We were fully prepared to be as helpful and co-operative as we possibly could.

### Northern Rhodesian Threat

Shortly after our arrival we learned that the Northern Rhodesian elected Ministers, who had already started their discussions with Mr. Butler, had notified him that so far as they were concerned there would be no discussion—not even of an agenda for the conference—unless and until their right to secede from the Federation had been acknowledged. To press their point they had walked out of their discussions with Mr. Butler—a technique often used by nationalist leaders in their dealings with Her Majesty's Government. As had happened before, the walk-out was accompanied by threats of civil disruption and disorder.

My colleagues and I had our first meeting with Mr. Butler and his advisors on Tuesday, March 26. Despite the walk-out by the Northern Rhodesian elected Ministers during their talks, Mr. Butler re-iterated that the object was to arrange a conference which would consider links between the Rhodesias and if possible Nyasaland. Mr. Butler had no fixed plan, but he hoped that an agreed association between the territories would contain as many features as possible of the Federation. He stated that he was fully conversant as to what Federation had achieved and that his aim was to find a new association which was lasting and durable and would keep the Rhodesias as close together as possible.

But that is as far as the agreed purpose of our coming to London was allowed to go, for Mr. Butler then referred to the walk-out by the Northern Rhodesian elected Ministers and said that he had been unable to give them any view on the subject of secession which they could accept. The British Government could not take any decision until they had had talks with the Federal Government. I emphasize that Mr. Butler said quite definitely that no decision on the secession issue had been taken nor indeed could be taken until the matter had been put before the Federal delegation.

You can imagine my surprise and shock when, instead of initiating discussion of an agenda for the conference, Mr. Butler confronted us with a request that we put forward a way out of the position in which he had been placed by the action of the Northern Rhodesian elected Ministers. I had no hesitation in saying that the only way of resolving the situation was by firm action on the part of Britain. The Northern Rhodesian Ministers should be told that there was going to be a conference and that that was the occasion at which they could raise any matter they wished, including the issue of the right to secede. It was quite unthinkable that one party should be given the right of veto on holding a conference unless they received the prior right of secession.

### Mr. Butler's Paralysis

I said that if Britain took a firm line and refused to bow before the threats of the Northern Rhodesian delegation I was quite certain that the elected Ministers would agree to attend a conference. They were anxious to get changes both in relation to the Federation and in regard to their own constitution, and they would not lightly turn down the chance of attending a conference at which these could be negotiated.

But we found ourselves unable to make any constructive progress. We were confronted only with Mr. Butler's dilemma in face of the Northern Rhodesian ultimatum, which appeared to paralyse him—so much so that discussion did not go beyond that point. An agenda for the conference was not touched upon, and the matter has not been discussed since.

I was ready to discuss further an outline of the proposals I handed to Mr. Butler in January. In addition, I had with me another set of proposals which were far-reaching, but which in my willingness to be co-operative I was prepared to have included in the agenda. I was denied an opportunity, but I shall now disclose these proposals so that Hon. Members and



## "DISHONEST PROTESTATIONS, UNDERHAND PRIVATE UNDERTAKINGS"

the public may judge for themselves the spirit of co-operation in which I went to London.

The plan envisaged the retention of close links between the two Rhodesias. It was for consideration at a conference of the U.K., Federal, Northern and Southern Rhodesian Governments. It proposed that the Federal Constitution should be amended to provide for the excision of Nyasaland and, subject to certain provisions, that Northern and Southern Rhodesia should then be associated under the name of Rhodesia.

The new amended Constitution should then provide the right of secession for Southern Rhodesia, to be exercised at any time after a short period of notice, and a similar right of secession would be given Northern Rhodesia, capable of being exercised after a short period of notice at any time after Northern Rhodesia had attained responsible government.

On exercise of the right of secession by either party, each territory should then at its option be entitled to be afforded full independence from the U.K., such right to be entrenched in the Constitution.

Certain specified functions would then be surrendered by the Federal Government to the two territories, while other specified functions would be surrendered to a permanent commission—these latter functions would be those relating to the economic life of the Federation and to the common services. The composition and functions of the commission would be elaborated in the Constitution and machinery would be set in motion for the orderly transfer of these functions to the commission. On completion of the transfer of these functions respectively to the two Governments and the commission, the Federal Government and Assembly would cease to exist.

The proposals also envisaged that when a territory gave notice of secession the other territory if it so chose could require the setting up of a Defence Council, with its composition and function to be elaborated in the Constitution. Having particular regard to the position in Southern Rhodesia, the plan went further to provide that provision should be made to eliminate the remaining elements of subordination to the U.K.

### Delegation Slighted

No one could possibly claim in face of these proposals that I and my colleagues were not willing to face the realities of present conditions, or that we went to London to be other than constructive and helpful; but we were slighted and given no opportunity to put before the First Secretary these progressive views and our enlightened approach to help him in his search for an agenda.

We could have gone forward to a conference full of hope that satisfactory arrangements for future association had great possibilities, but because of the capitulation by the U.K. a new atmosphere has developed.

I have only to remind Members of disturbing statements made by the Northern Rhodesian Ministers on their return from Britain.

At our second meeting on Wednesday with the First Secretary of State to discuss certain matters not directly connected with the principal purpose of our visit we called Mr. Butler's attention to a debate which had taken place in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council on February 5, in the course of which speakers on the Government side had made some quite scandalous and outrageous statements about the alleged policies and actions of the Federal Government. Although these statements were palpably untrue, and although many were related to matters falling directly within the responsibility of the Northern Rhodesian Government, no official Minister considered it to be his duty to refute them or in any way to set the record straight.

When I taxed Mr. Butler with this dereliction of duty on the part of official Ministers and requested public correction of these misstatements, he told me that the official Ministers had been instructed not to participate in the debate, but he would ask the Governor to take the matter up with the elected Ministers and point out to them the incorrectness of their statements.

### Falsity with Impunity

What a lamentable state of affairs when Ministers of a territorial Government still under the control of H.M. Government are permitted falsely to blackguard the Federal Government with impunity and without any restraint or correction from the official side of the Government for fear of upsetting them! What kind of apprenticeship is this in the working of responsible parliamentary government?

I also took up with the Secretary of State the propriety

of his nominating an additional Member to the Legislative Council—a nomination which will materially affect the political balance of power in the Council. But although this appointment was made in the name and on the authority of the Secretary of State, he knew nothing about it. I mention this as another indication of the measure of responsibility with which H.M. Government in the U.K. is addressing itself to the affairs of the Federation and its constituent territories.

On Thursday we kicked our heels waiting for some further communication from the British Government. Indeed, we were finally reduced to inquiring when the next move would take place and when the next meeting would be held. After many inquiries we were told about 9.30 on Thursday night that Mr. Butler would tell us at 10 a.m. the next morning what time he would see us.

At the meeting eventually arranged we were coolly informed that the British Government had determined their attitude towards the ultimatum presented to them by the Northern Rhodesian delegation. Mr. Butler would hold a Press conference that evening to say that any constructive policy in Central Africa must be aimed at working out a relationship between the two Rhodesias which was acceptable to them. The British Government had decided no territory could be kept in the Federation against its will, and it followed that any territory must be allowed to secede if it so wished; but the right of secession could not be exercised before further discussions had taken place, preferably at a conference.

### Appalling Consequences of Surrender

In short, the British Government had decided to surrender. This then was the end of our mission in London, and it was difficult to see how it would mean anything but the end of the present association between the two Rhodesias. The Northern Rhodesian leaders had been given the option to withdraw completely from this association, which means they can exercise a veto on any arrangements which are unacceptable to them.

My sole concern in the past months has been to safeguard the interests of the majority of the people in the constituent territories of the Federation. I found it necessary to outline in a White Paper some of the appalling consequences that would beset Nyasaland in the event of its secession from the Federation. In my radio and television speech of March 4 I said I was satisfied that separation of the two Rhodesias would have the most serious results on the future of all Rhodesians, both north and south of the Zambezi.

I said I was having a document prepared for the public which would set forth some of the consequences that would flow from a break-up of the present bonds uniting the two territories. This document is now in the final stages of preparation, and I intend that it should be published and given the widest circulation possible, despite and because of the events of the past few weeks. The document will show in the clearest terms the nature and spread of the full effect of the dissolution of the ties presently binding the Rhodesias.

Serious consequences will invade every sector of life—extending to the education, health and the well-being of ourselves and our children; to the basic economic structure of the two Rhodesias, to agriculture, transport and communications, power supplies, and the Post Office. To this list must be added such vital issues as the public debt, currency and coinage. It is difficult to estimate the effect on Federal civil servants, members of the armed forces, and officials of Parliament, statutory bodies, and similar organizations, for whose loyal and efficient service over the past ten years we have reason to be deeply grateful.

### Salvage Operation

I give the British Government warning that I shall not stand by and see this large body of faithful servants of all races having to salvage what they can from the dissolution of their jobs and future prospects in their chosen career. I pledge myself to do all I can to ensure that they are treated fairly and honestly and that future employment or compensation is secured for them.

I fully realize that the problems involved will be many and difficult, and will call for the co-operation, sympathy, understanding and generosity of all the Governments concerned, not least the British Government, which has taken the unilateral decisions that have created these problems.

I have no reason to doubt the existence of at least one common factor between the issues of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. Both have been hedged around with dishonest

# BRITISH DISENGAGEMENT IN AFRICA AT ANY COST

protestations and assurances and private undertakings given in the most underhand manner. It is my contention that, as in the case of Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia was given private and unilateral undertakings prior to the recent round of talks in London.

I wish to remind Members of a letter written by Mr. Sikota Wina, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare, and published in the *Northern News* of March 29 last, in which he said: 'The key to the walkout early this week of the Northern Rhodesian delegation from the talks with Mr. Butler lies in one fact, that the Colonial Secretary went back on his tacit agreement that no discussion of the future of the Federation would be entertained until the principle of Northern Rhodesia's secession in the same manner as in Nyasaland has been granted by the British Government. This agreement was made during a brief conference between the two nationalist parties and Mr. Butler in Lusaka on January 25 this year.'

What further evidence do we need to point to yet another piece of blatant perfidy on the part of the British Government? No wonder I was denied an opportunity to put forward constructive proposals for an agenda for a conference. I do not believe I was ever intended to have that opportunity. The fact that Mr. Butler contends and blandly states in the House of Commons that we were consulted when we were in London is a typical example of what the attitude of the British Government is towards us. We were not consulted in London. We had a discussion on one issue and one issue only—whether the British Government were going to give way or not to the demand of the African nationalists in Northern Rhodesia. I was given no opportunity to argue. I was merely told by Mr. Butler that no decision had been taken.

## Hitler's Tactics

This is the kind of treatment that Hitler handed out to the Dolfusses and Chamberlains of this world. It is certainly not consultation.

For the sake of the record I would like to refute in the clearest terms the earlier story Mr. Butler told the House of Commons when he said that there had been consultation between us on the subject of Nyasaland's secession. I state categorically—and challenge Mr. Butler to refute my statement—that from the time I left England in September until November 4 there was no consultation whatsoever; and in September he had not as yet had the report of his so-called 'three wise men' who were examining the economic repercussions of the secession of Nyasaland.

This is an extract from the record of a meeting with Mr. Butler held at 11 a.m. on September 14, 1962: 'The Secretary of State said there was very little he could say about the constitutional problems which face the Federation at this stage. His advisers were still in the Federation and were not expected to return to London for about a fortnight. They would then have to consider their findings and prepare a report for him. This would probably occupy them until towards the end of October.'

Mr. Butler concluded by saying the problems which faced the British and Federal Governments were all extremely difficult and it was not possible to see a clear way through them at the moment. He would consult the Federal Government once he had been able to discuss the advisers' report with his Cabinet colleagues. Whatever happened in the next few weeks, it was essential that there should be the closest contact between the Governments, and he would do his best to ensure this.

## No Consultation At All

I repeat that we had no further communication with Mr. Butler until his resignation of the Federation following the Government's decision on November 1 that to force a decision had been taken to make Nyasaland leave the Federation. I repeat that I was not consulted on this matter. I repeat that I was not consulted on this matter. I repeat that I was not consulted on this matter.

I repeat that I was not consulted on this matter. I repeat that I was not consulted on this matter. I repeat that I was not consulted on this matter.

committed to the destruction of Southern Rhodesia and the extinction of the European in Central Africa. At its most recent conference in Leopoldville during December that organization passed a resolution to the effect that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted the most urgent and important problem confronting the liberation movement in East and Central Africa. It earnestly appealed to all Afro-Asian States to continue and increase the practical material aid they were giving to their brothers in Southern Rhodesia, through the intermediary of the banned Z.A.P.U. It insisted that the British Government suspend the Southern Rhodesian Constitution.

## Violence Pays

I reminded Mr. Butler that at a U.N.I.P. rally held at Lusaka on Sunday, March 17 last, Mr. Kaunda gave an unequivocal warning that unless the British Government acknowledged the right of Northern Rhodesia to secede from the Federation, his party would make it impossible for any Federal departments to operate in the territory; the word 'impossible' was repeated three times in succession.

I also drew Mr. Butler's attention to the March issue of the *Voice of U.N.I.P.* which contained the slogan "Violence pays, peace does not pay". This was splashed over the magazine in the largest type possible.

I told Mr. Butler that I found it unbelievable that a Minister could be a Minister of the Crown, taking the oath of allegiance to the Queen, and at the same time be committed to a policy of the defamation and destruction of its neighbouring British State.

All this was brought to Mr. Butler's attention less than 24 hours before the British Cabinet made its fateful decision on Northern Rhodesia's claim for the right of secession. But to add to the perfidy, on the day before that decision was made I had also been discussing with Mr. Butler the actual names of a possible successor to the Governor-General, and we had also discussed the question of successors to our respective High Commissioners on the assumption—at least as far as I was concerned—that the Federation of the Rhodesias was a continuing entity, and warranted continuance of such appointments. But no hint whatsoever was given as to what was to come next day.

## Guilty Subterfuge

I think I can best sum up this last London visit of mine by repeating what I said to the Conservative Commonwealth Committee in the House of Commons. I told them that I found it beyond my comprehension why the British Government did not have the guts to tell the Government of the Federation that they were walking out on agreements arrived at in 1952 and 1953. Instead, they had proceeded with every subterfuge possible to convey the impression that they supported the Federation. As late as the middle of last year Mr. Butler was encouraging industrialists and others to invest their money in the Federation, saying that it had the British Government's backing.

The story that I have had to disclose is a sorry one. It is one of treachery and deceit seldom equalled in negotiation between nations which have based each other, and almost inextinguishable in the relationship between Commonwealth Governments.

I believe the Macmillan Government will go down in history as one of the most shameless Governments that it has been the misfortune of the British people to endure and it is sad to reflect on how a great nation can be humiliated when its Government shows principles as deficient in responsibility and diplomacy as give place to duplicity.

When the history of this shameful Federation comes to be written from the objective standpoint of distance, I am confident that the Macmillan Government will be seen to have been the hand that first pushed it and that which it drove. The gross repression of white minorities will stand out in perspective and stand as a blot on their name in the future.

I repeat, I am sorry to have to tell the story to the House of Commons. I am sorry to have to tell the story to the House of Commons. I am sorry to have to tell the story to the House of Commons.

## SERIOUS DANGERS TO CIVILIZATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The great project of the Federation, which could have succeeded had we had their support, has been sacrificed; but the issue goes on, and will go much further. The interests of the white man and of the ordinary, moderate African in his thousands are being sacrificed in a long drawn out act of appeasement which puts Munich in the shade.

I repeat, the British withdrawal is not yet complete. So far as Britain is concerned, Southern Rhodesia has still to be tackled, and it would be wrong to believe that this will not be done with the same duplicity and double-dealing experienced by the Government of the Federation in our past negotiations with British Ministers. Whatever undertakings there may be, whatever pieces of paper may today reflect firm commitments and intentions, the truth of six, 12 or 18 months ahead will be very different and utterly dishonourable, and this House and the people of this country should be warned.

That is so far as Britain is concerned; but I am approaching the belief that the Macmillan Government might well be dolls dancing to the tune of a puppet master; and so in the experience we have suffered there lies a further lesson for the rest of Southern Africa. The overall design as well is unchanged, and we now know beyond any shadow of doubt what is intended for this continent as a whole. It is to be handed over to racialism, whether the cost be a Congo or an Algeria.

Now what of the future? We have to decide, and decide soon, what is to be done in the new circumstances which have been thrust upon us.

On the immediate issue of the break-up of the Federation and the immense practical problems which flow from the British Government's decision, the constitutional position is as yet unchanged. Britain has up to now indicated only that each of the territories has the right to secession, but I have no doubt that the two northern territories intend to exercise that right as soon as they are in a position to do so, and it would be unreal not to acknowledge that we are about to see the end of this great venture here in Central Africa.

### Contemptible and Negative Actions

I have therefore advised the Federal Cabinet to face up to this fact, for it appears to me to be neither weak nor unwise to set bitterness and recrimination aside, and even now, despite the utterly contemptible and negative actions of the British Government, we must turn to constructive measures. I consider that the rôle and duty of the Federal Government while it remains in being—as it does until such time as an Act of the British Parliament destroys the Federation—is a straightforward one. It is to take every step and every measure which lies in our power to bring about an orderly transfer of authority and administration.

We have a budget to present in June, and we will present one. There is an enormous task of sorting and apportionment to be faced, which will need great wisdom and patience on the part of all. Above all nothing must be done to damage the economies of any of the territories, for the people and their interests come first—so far, anyway, as we in the Federal Government are concerned. We must endeavour to keep the position as normal as we possibly can in the interests of the people, although this will be no easy task in view of the abnormal circumstances which now surround us.

It would be wrong to go back on our word and interfere with the Nyasaland working party, which was set up to try to ensure a responsible handover of Federal functions to the seceding Nyasaland Government, and with which the Federal Government are associated.

### Betrayal to Brutality

But immediately after the British Government's act of betrayal I informed Mr. Butler in the clearest terms that I am now a free agent and could act as I thought fit. I must make this just as clear: our first duty is to the people and to their best interests. The movement which benefits by this further abdication of the British Government uses brutal means to come to power, and then entrenches itself by methods of autocracy. It is also anti-European. Therefore safeguards must be secured for the Europeans, the people of Barotseland, and other minorities in Northern Rhodesia, and for the interests of the Federal civil service.

Southern Rhodesia's claim to independence cannot now be gained, and indeed its independence is now vital to the interests of the people of the Colony. I want to make it clear once more that if the British Government cannot convince me that there will be those adequate safeguards, and if they do not satisfy the legitimate claim of Southern Rhodesia

to independence, then I could not say that the interests of the people were being served, and my Government could not in those circumstances collaborate with the U.K. Government in the process of breaking up the Federal structure.

I hope H.M. Ministers in Britain will understand my saying that if they have forgotten the interests of the ordinary man and woman, we have not. We feel deeply our responsibility to the peoples of all races in this country, and we remain as jealous as ever of our way of life, of our integrity, of our courage and of our future.

### Appetites Whetted for More

The political ambitions of the new leaders of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are about to be satisfied, for what that is going to be worth to the people of these countries. On the other hand, in Southern Rhodesia there is now an utter determination amongst the electorate that the entry of extremism into the Government of the country must be barred, and a growing feeling of self-reliance has been forced upon the people. Their minds have been turned away from seeking the help and understanding of the British Government in preserving civilization in Southern Africa. I know it is not the intention of extreme pan-Africanism to stop at the Zambezi but instead to sweep onwards down the continent to its southern-most point; but this latest action of the Government of Great Britain will have results very different from those intended, which were designed to further the interests of pan-Africanism. Already in the minds of many people a line has been drawn across the continent.

In these circumstances of ambition satisfied and appetite whetted for more, there is a new and more serious danger, which lies in the white man's growing belief that he will have to fight for his very existence on this continent. I appeal for a return to sanity, and first and foremost for a return to constitutional practices in politics, and readiness to recognise the urgent and real needs of the people of this area. The Federation has virtually gone. It is to be balkanized and, in economic strength and potential each State will be back where it was in 1953. But it is going to be infinitely harder now than it was ten years ago to secure the benefits of an economic association. Yet in the interests of the people it must be done. It could be done without the sacrifice of pride, without the infringement of political autonomy, and with the greatest benefit to the people urgently crying out for advancement.

Europe has done it, in the Common Market, an association of nations, some of which have been hostile to each other almost throughout history, and all of which are widely divergent in race, language and culture, and Europe has done it well: but Europe is not obsessed with politics of race.

Here in Southern Africa a common market, though unhappily no solution in itself to the problems of race and prejudice, nevertheless would have in it seeds of solution, as well as immediate benefits of economic progress. It would be capable of expansion, again without infringement of national rights, and could embrace countries at widely differing stages of development. It is to such purposes as this that we must now turn our minds, if the bitterness which has been sown amongst our people is to be removed, and if this new situation which has been thrust upon us is not to lead to further and much worse strife.

### Bitter Failure

For my own part, I have failed in the mission entrusted to me by the electorate, and it has been one of the bitterest experiences of my life. I have done my best, but my best has not been good enough. My political life is now narrowly circumscribed, but I still have certain obligations to fulfil. These are the entrenchment of the safeguards to which I have referred, and the duty I have to the many thousands of Federal servants who have faithfully served this great ideal, some for as long as ten years. That service, and their service before in the territories, must receive its due acknowledgment and reward.

When that is done my present duty will be done, and though I will have failed to keep the Federation together I will, I believe, have achieved at least this: in my service to the cause of a non-racial partnership and of real progress in this part of Africa—a cause destroyed by others, although advanced far beyond the dreams of those who founded the Federation in 1953—I believe I have also served the cause of the ordinary man and woman, and that time will prove me right. My status and authority will go. For these by themselves I care little; but my experience will remain with me and this will always be at the disposal of my country if wanted.

## East African Railways and Harbours

AFRICANIZATION cost East African Railways and Harbours about £250,000 in 1962, and other expenses caused by the premature retirement of expatriate officers amounted to some £300,000. During the year the number of Europeans on the staff was reduced from 1,509 to 1,078 and of Asian employees from 4,230 to 3,909. Graded and salaried Africans, including trainees, increased in number from 8,632 to 10,013.

For the first time since 1957 the system had an overall deficit of £162,000.

At the end of the year the total expenditure on capital account had been £108.9m., of which £35.2m. were grants free of interest, £63.2m. in long-term loans, and the balance of £10.5m. was either by way of advances or from internal resources. The total loan programme sanctioned by the Central Legislative Assembly is £79.5m., of which almost £71m. has been spent.

The holding of shares in the Landing & Shipping Company of East Africa, Ltd., was increased to 300,009 of the 425,000 shares of £1 each in issue. E.A.R. and H. has now five directors.

## Crime in Kenya

MR. E. HILLIER, principal probation officer in Kenya, has told Nairobi Chamber of Commerce that the country's average prison population was between 24,000 and 26,000, "a shocking figure for a country of this size". The success rate of the probation service, however, which hovered between 80% and 81%, was rather better than that of the United Kingdom. About 3,500 male and female adults and juveniles were usually on probation. At present the oldest probationer was 79 years of age.

## Cleared After Serving Sentence

MAJOR PETER RALPH CORY, who had commanded an R.A.S.C. company, and at a court martial in Nairobi which ended in November 1961 was sentenced to be cashiered and to two years' imprisonment on charges of misapplication of regimental funds, has been cleared on all charges by three judges who heard his appeal last week in the High Court in London. Mr. Justice Sachs, who presided, criticized a court martial which lasted for 43 days, with Major Cory in the witness-box for 10 days; he commented on the lack of appropriate inquiries on certain matters before the trial started and on changes of front by the prosecution. All three judges expressed dissatisfaction that the appeal had not come before them until 17 months after the end of the court martial, with the consequence that the appellant had already served one year's imprisonment (the other year having been remitted). Major Cory, aged 39, said: "It took me five months to find a job when I came out of Wormwood Scrubs. Now I know my friends, who, like my wife, have stuck by me throughout". He has been reinstated in the Army.

## Exodus by Z.A.P.U. Officials

ALL BUT ONE of the "national executive" members of the banned Zimbabwe African Peoples Union have fled from Southern Rhodesia over the past week to Dar es Salaam. The former president of the proscribed party, Mr. Joshua Nkomo (who is on bail pending an appeal against a prison sentence) stated in the Tanganyika capital last Friday that the group's leaders intended reorganizing their "national struggle" because their other efforts to gain independence had failed. "Vigorous and positive" action would be taken; asked if this included violence, Mr. Nkomo replied, "I don't know what you mean by violence". Mr. Robert Chikerema is the one party official who has so far remained in the Colony. Those who have left with Mr. Nkomo include Messrs. Robert Mugabe, Leopold Takawira, W. Sivako, J. Z. Moyo, Muchachia and Zvobgo.

## Tribal Clashes in Katanga

AT LEAST 63 AFRICANS have died and some 70 were injured in inter-tribal fighting over four days last week at Jadotville in the Katanga. U.N. troops were at first unable to control the furor. The provincial Assembly has dismissed three of President Tshombe's Ministers (for Communications, Justice and Agriculture) for "their inertia, lack of energy and inefficiency". The Central Congolese Government has suspended four State Secretaries at the Assembly's request because they were appointed directly by Mr. Tshombe, who now has only four Ministers. Cabinet changes in Leopoldville, however, have included the appointment of three Ministers from Mr. Tshombe's Conakat Party. The Communist former Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Gizenga, is to be released from prison soon, Mr. Adoula has announced.

Tanganyika police had to open fire on Sunday at Arusha when tear-gas failed to disperse thousands of Waarusha and Masai warriors who were preparing to settle an argument over cattle rustling by fighting. The Waarusha leader was killed by the police.

Only seven of 84 starters completed the 3,132-mile course in the 11th East African Safari rally over the Easter week-end, which was won by the Kenya drivers, Messrs. Nick Nowicki and Paddy Cliff, in a Peugeot 404. Kenya drivers filled the next five places, with a British driver coming seventh. Five of the successful cars were Continental models, and two British.



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## "Infinite Trouble" Over N.F.D.

(Continued from page 705)

"Sir Charles Eliot, the first Governor of Kenya, round about 1904-05 believed in a united Somalia. Now there is nothing to stop Somalis in this district from being incorporated with the Somali Republic, which has its own flag of five stars, one of which represents the N.F.D. The important fact, apart from the rights and wrongs of this issue, is that the Somalis will not tolerate being under the Kenya Government. The Somalis are very fine people indeed, good fighters and warriors, probably the best in Africa; they live in a wild desert country, which would be extremely difficult to subdue, and they are experts in guerilla warfare.

### Sowing Dragons' Teeth

"If the Government agree to put the Somalis under the Kenya Administration we shall leave a terrible legacy. There will be dragons' teeth that will rise up and produce warriors against the Kenya Government, which almost certainly will not be able to subdue this very proud, gallant people. If they did, it would lead to their slaughter on a gigantic scale.

"Until independence we are responsible, and if we stir up this wild, warlike people there will be infinite trouble. Already a policeman has been killed. That is probably only the beginning if we persist in what seems to them to be a betrayal of their rights and interests and the worst kind of provocation.

"Are we going to mount an expedition against these people, who have always been friendly to the British and respected us? Once fighting really started there there would be nothing to stop its spreading. I cannot believe that the Republic of Somalia would not come to the help of the Somali people. Ethiopia would fish in troubled waters. She has never really accepted the frontier as being the best frontier between her and this province. Once this is allowed to get out of hand Egypt will probably come into it, possibly backed by Russia, who are already very interested in Somalia and carrying out quite a lot of propaganda among the Somalis.

### Another Korea

"If we do not look out we shall start another Korea there, with America, ourselves, and perhaps the Kenya Government on the one side, and Russia, Egypt and the Somalis on the other. It is not an intangible danger, but a real menace which might happen at any time.

"It is difficult to appreciate why Mr. Kenyatta and the other politicians in Kenya are so keen to have this province, because economically it is absolutely valueless. It is strange that the British Government sympathize with Katanga on the one side and yet sympathize with the Kenya Government against the unfortunate Somalis on the other. It does not carry out a consistent principle. The only reason these Kenya politicians can want Somaliland is for prestige and to make a big show with this extra territory.

"We must all sympathize with the white settlers in Kenya, who are facing the change in Government and are wondering what the relations will be and what their future will be. Nationalism is a very heady wine, and some of the African leaders do not appreciate that never before have they so needed the skill and knowledge which they will not have when they are independent, and that there are a great many white people, very well-wishing, who would place that skill at their disposal. The only thing we can hope for is that, once the great enthusiasm for freedom is satisfied, the Africans will begin to build up a society in which all races can exist happily side by side."

### Government Re-states Position

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, suggested that Lord Lytton had selected from the documents those passages which helped his case.

In his reply for the Government he said:—

"There is in Kenya far less tension than we have had for many months. At the 1962 Constitutional Conference in London there were meetings between a representative group of the conference and a delegation from the N.F.D. which asked that before any further constitutional changes affecting Kenya were made autonomy should be granted to the N.F.D. as a territory wholly independent of Kenya, in order that it might join the Somali Republic when Kenya became fully independent.

"By the N.F.D. the delegation meant all six sub-districts—Mandera, Wajir, Garissa, Moyale, Marsabit, and Isiolo. The delegation was unanimous on this question. The representatives of K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U., however, were unanimous in opposition to secession of any part of the N.F.D.

"The Secretary of State accordingly proposed an independent commission to investigate the matter and report to him, and an assurance was given that a decision on its findings

would be taken by H.M. Government before the new Constitution for Kenya was brought into operation. Meanwhile there would be no change in the status of the N.F.D.

"The Somalis in Kenya and the Somali Government have claimed that H.M. Government have failed to honour the undertakings given at the Lancaster House Conference. Their view is that by incorporating the N.F.D. into the framework of that Constitution H.M. Government are guilty of a breach of the undertakings given at the conference and have prejudiced the final decision. The Somali view is based on a misunderstanding of what was decided at the conference. This was that there would be a decision on the findings of the N.F.D. Commission; and no more than that. A further undertaking was given that until that decision had been taken no changes would be made in the status of the N.F.D., or in the arrangements for its administration.

"The decision in question is that which the Secretary of State announced in Nairobi on March 8. No changes in the arrangements for administering the area have been made.

"We secured for this commission the services of Major-General Bogert, a Canadian, and Mr. Onyiuke, Q.C., a Nigerian. We deliberately looked outside the British field so that the impartiality of the commission could not be challenged. The commission visited Kenya between October 13 and November 28 and they submitted their report to the Secretary of State on December 7. Their report was published as a Command Paper.

"The commissioners found that there were areas in the N.F.D. supporting Somali opinion, areas supporting Kenya opinion, and areas where opinion was mixed or uncertain.

### Commission's Findings

"The areas in which the commission found the people supporting the Somali opinion extend from the Kenya-Somali frontier to the Adjuran-Galla line, and embrace the three sub-districts of Mandera, Wajir, and Garissa, less the area occupied by the riverine people, who are Bantu, and the Orma, together with the Adjuran area of the Moyale sub-district. In this area the commission found that the people almost unanimously favoured the secession from Kenya of the N.F.D. when Kenya attains independence, with the object of ultimately joining the Somali Republic. The commission also reported that the people in this area wanted the N.F.D. to have a period under British authority in which to build up its machinery of government, so that it could join the Somali Republic as a self-governing unit.

"Elsewhere in the N.F.D. the people either wished to remain in Kenya or opinion was divided or uncertain.

"The commission were careful to point out that they did not wish to imply that the Rendille tribe necessarily supported a view opposite to the one they had put forward. They could not believe that these people, who have no direct contact with the Somalis, generally wished to join Somalia. The Governor has reported that from his own knowledge and his inquiries his view now fully corroborates the view of the two gentlemen on the N.F.D. Commission, whose findings were substantiated by the Regional Boundaries Commission which visited the area after the N.F.D. Commission. The Boundaries Commission made it clear that had their terms of reference allowed they would have considered it right to create a region consisting of the areas almost exclusively occupied by the Somali and kindred people—namely, the areas which now actually comprise the seventh region.

### Artificial Boundaries

"I agree that the Somalis are a homogeneous people, sharing a common culture, language, religion, and way of life. It is natural that they should aspire to be joined together in one nation.

"The British Government nevertheless understand the arguments used by African political leaders in Kenya to justify their opposition to the cession of any territory within Kenya's present boundaries. They point out that the present boundaries of Kenya, as of many other countries in Africa, are purely artificial, and that it is not only along the boundary with the Somali Republic that peoples of the same stock are divided from one another by national boundaries. They consider that it is not for the Colonial Power to attempt to adjust in the final phase before independence the boundaries which were its own artificial creation, for they argue that once this process is begun there can be no telling where it might end, and that this difficulty is particularly acute in Kenya, where centrifugal forces are already strong. There is much force in this argument, particularly where it is applied to nomadic peoples who seek grazing and water for their cattle over vast areas of land, and who have traditionally crossed and recrossed national boundaries in their search for the means of existence.

"Because the N.F.D. has always been administered differently from the rest of Kenya the Somalis have never really been able to experience the benefits of being part of Kenya, and the Africans have never been in a position to demonstrate this to them. African Ministers have gone to great

lengths in the agreed Constitution to let the different parts of Kenya run their own affairs. We have thought it only fair to give the Kenya Africans an opportunity to demonstrate their goodwill towards the inhabitants of the Somali districts—as elsewhere in Kenya.

"The Somalis do not appear to have appreciated the degree of autonomy which they will enjoy in their own region. They will have their own regional assembly, with its president. The assembly will consist of members freely elected by the inhabitants of the area, and the president will be elected by the regional assembly members from among persons who are members or are qualified to be members. This assembly will be responsible for police and the maintenance of law and order in its region, for day-to-day administration, and for such matters as education and health. The Somalis, therefore, will have the direction of most of their own affairs.

### Passionate Arguments

"They will also be guaranteed under the Constitution their own sources of revenue as a matter of right, and not as the Central Government may decide from time to time. They will also have direct responsibility for those matters which most closely affect the way of life of their own people—for example, the control of grazing areas and access to water. Their right to practise the Moslem religion will be safeguarded by the Bill of Rights and by the courts.

"The British Government acknowledge the strength of the arguments on both sides, and cannot disregard the fact that they are deeply and indeed, passionately held. British interests do not lie in exploiting them. In the long run the interests of Great Britain, of Kenya, and of the Somali Republic are the same—that there should be peace, stability and prosperity throughout the area. It would be a tragedy if anything were said or done in the heat of the moment, or from considerations of merely short-term advantage, to prejudice that ultimate objective.

"The British Government is directly responsible for trying to find a generally acceptable solution to this problem before Kenya becomes independent, when our direct responsibility will cease. We cannot seek solutions in a vacuum, and it is for this reason that we very much regret that the Somali Republic has broken off diplomatic relations with us. Present difficulties will be aggravated if any of those who are directly involved in this matter, including the British Government, take up intransigent or uncompromising positions. There is a great need for a period of calm and reflection in which all concerned can let their emotions subside and consider coolly what course of action really is in their long-term interests."

### Intransigent Kenya Ministers

THE EARL OF LYTON agreed that responsibility lay with H.M. Government, but was sure that the attitude of Kenya's African Ministers was intransigent.

"The attitude of the Somali Republic, whose interests I have not been arguing, is that they claim nothing. N.F.D. Somalis have claimed Somalia and others other than Somalis have wished to join them. So far as the people are Somalis, and only to that extent, Somalia supports their claim. I do not think Somalia is willing to say 'No' to those who wish to come with them if it is certain that there is a solid and permanent desire. I am sure Somalia does not want a single man in the country who is hostile to it. They are not imperialistic.

"Why do Kenya politicians, Lord Huntingdon asked, want this barren country? True, it is half the land; but it is a tremendous liability. In the other part of the country there are 4,080 primary schools; in this part there are eight. Welfare has not started. The Negroes will be the slaves of the non-Negroes if they assume responsibility in this part, as they have been for the best part of 70 centuries. They will perpetuate their slavery, working to provide welfare for people in the desert, who will demand it as a right.

### Pan-African High Command

"One of the main reasons, apart from the personal relationships between Kenyatta and the Emperor of Ethiopia, are the doctrines of the pan-African high command, which regards liberation of all Africa as its primary aim—liberation of Algeria, South Africa, and Rhodesia. Anything that detracts from that or imposes the slightest delay is for the time being a deviation from the doctrine of the pan-African high command.

"That is why the Somalis for the present do not get a great deal of support from other Africans in other territories—because the whole pan-African picture depicts the enemy as the white man. Anything which distracts from that is regarded as faulty tactics in dealing with the European imperialists. Therefore, for the time being, Africans tolerate the black imperialists.

"The noble marquess came with a speech prepared and, apart from about three words, it could have been delivered

whether I had spoken or not. He has not gone into matters of detail with me or joined issue in any single instance. He read large passages of the kind which I quoted myself, without any sort of tying-up between the two, and to that extent I am disappointed.

"I will quote an Indian proverb in connexion with the Somalis: 'He who finds himself in the mouth of the lion will appeal for help even to the tiger'."

### Saboteurs Sentenced

AN AFRICAN TEACHER and former official of the now proscribed Z.A.P.U. has been jailed by the High Court of Southern Rhodesia for seven years for setting fire to classrooms and other buildings at his school last October. Another man was sentenced to six years' imprisonment by the Chief Justice for setting fire to the chapel of Cyrene Mission in the same month. Two other men have been jailed for five years each for possession of sabotage material, including 10 pencil detonators and fuse wire.

### Self-Government for Zanzibar

INTERNAL SELF-GOVERNMENT will be introduced in Zanzibar two weeks before a general election early in July the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Sandys, has announced. "It will thus be made clear to the electors that they will be choosing the Government which is to take Zanzibar into independence. Provided that peace and good order are maintained, the British Government will, after the elections, consult with the Government of Zanzibar with a view to convening an early conference to complete the arrangements for the final transfer of power and to fix a date for independence". The July poll will depend on completing the new electoral register in time.

### Christianity Rejected as "European Import"

AFRICAN NATIONALISM "inevitably" tends to reject Christianity as being a European "import", the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ramsey, stated recently. A major problem was the disillusionment of young Africans who came to Britain expecting to find a deeply Christian civilization only to discover instead "a country where there is so much abandonment of the Christian faith by so many people". In Africa the many different Christian sects were becoming a nuisance. "The Africans in their villages know only the one Church into which they were converted; when they move into the towns they find this proliferation of different Christian bodies and they are shocked".

### Paid to Burn Schools

A FORMER OFFICIAL of the banned Z.A.P.U., Samson Ndebele, is reported by the *African Daily News*, of Salisbury, to have told the Bulawayo High Court that he had burned down a classroom at Zinyangeni Mission on February 5 because he was employed to burn schools by Mr. Joshua Nkomo and Mr. Ronald Isaac Sibanda. Ndebele was jailed for four years, two years of the sentence being suspended conditionally for three years. He said that he had been paid for what he had done.

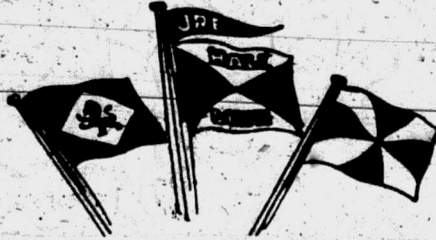
Two Africans were killed, a train was stoned and petrol-bombs were thrown in Copperbelt clashes at the week-end in Northern Rhodesia. Police used tear-gas to disperse unruly crowds in Mufukira.

A dusk-to-dawn curfew has been imposed in Isiolo in the Kenya N.F.D. after a fight last Saturday between Somali secessionists and K.A.N.U. supporters at a rally. One youth was killed and 15 people injured. K.A.N.U. has stated that if it forms the next Kenya Government it will not allow British military bases to remain in the country; nor would any other country, East or West be given such facilities. Discussions would be held with Uganda and Tanganyika to form various joint army, aerial and naval units.

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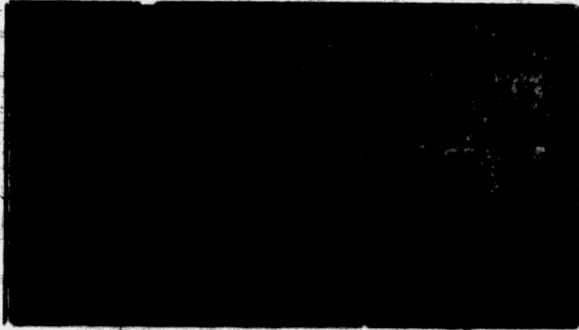
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