

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, December 7, 1961

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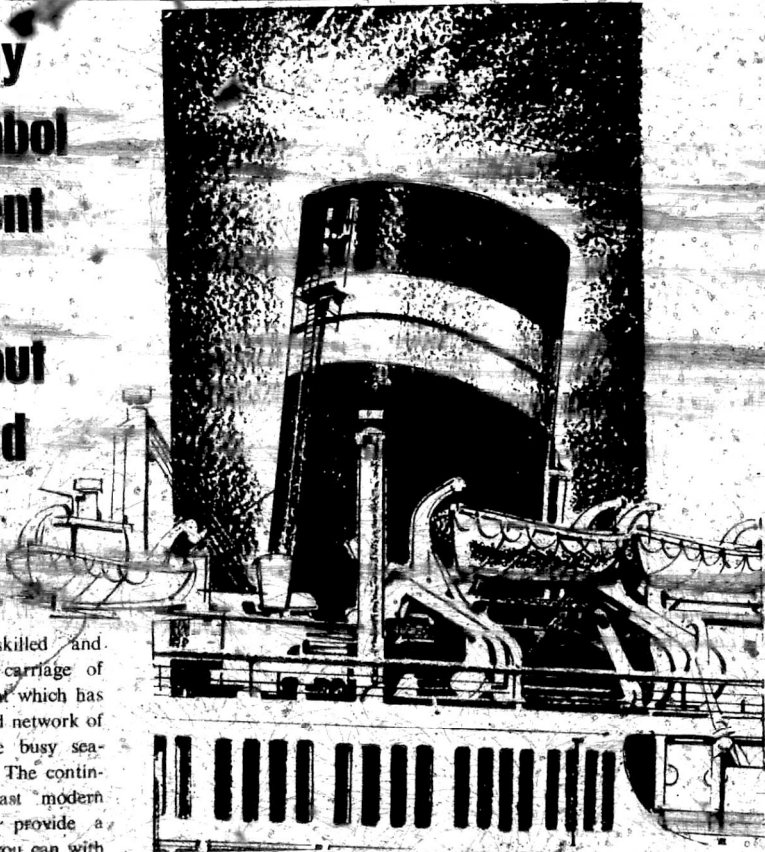
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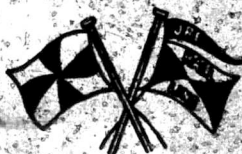
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

AT MIDNIGHT TOMORROW the British flag will be hauled down for the last time in Tanganyika, and one minute later that of that newly independent nation will take its place. Thus ends British independence in a territory which has been incalculably advantaged by forty-two years of such tutelage. That has been handsomely admitted by Mr. Nyerere, who recognizes so clearly the essential need for the continuance of British experience and advice that he took the unprecedented course of writing personal letters to all British officials in the country, not merely inviting them to remain to help the new Government but emphasizing that its hope of success must depend upon the active assistance of highly qualified non-Africans, without whose friendly co-operation the transition to a mainly African civil service could not be made smoothly and, he would doubtless have agreed in private with reasonable expectation of maintaining adequate standards. Mr. Nyerere, the creator of the Tanganyika African National Union, the country's first Chief Minister, and later its first Prime Minister, has won a great measure of respect and trust from the African, Asian, and European communities, who see in him a nationalist who is not merely ardent in heart, mind, and speech, but practical in his general approach to the short-term and the long-term problems of the land which he now controls in fact as well as by office.

A year ago the Government of Tanganyika thought that when the stage of independence was reached three out of four of its European officials would decide to retire on pension, with substantial compensation. Only one in five has so far indicated his intention of leaving. That highly encouraging situation is due primarily

to the rapid development of trust in the man who personifies the first State in East or Central Africa to be granted complete independence within the Commonwealth. No African leader between the Nile and the Limpopo has a comparable reputation. In Tanganyika Mr. Nyerere's ascendancy is indisputable. At the last general election his party won seventy of the seventy-one seats, and the seventy-first was gained by a candidate who had been a strong supporter of T.A.N.U. till it named for the constituency which he thereupon decided to contest a man whom he deemed a poor choice. Independence in Tanganyika is consequently a one-party state, without even a tiny minority representation in the National Assembly, whose European, Arab and Asian members are to a man supporters of T.A.N.U. Nowhere else in East or Central Africa has an African politician won the confidence of more than a minority, usually a very small minority, of the Europeans.

Why should Mr. Nyerere be so outstanding an exception? Essentially because he is sincere, fair-minded, good-humoured, and candid, and because, although he naturally has his dreams for the future, he is generally practical in dealing with the affairs of the present.

If a one-word explanation had to be given for the trust placed in him by the non-African communities, the best answer would probably be "sincerity"; and sincerity dilutes fear and predisposes to faith even when elements of anxiety remain. Tanganyika's Prime Minister is a nationalist, a pan-Africanist, and a Socialist; but his nationalism is not racialist, his pan-Africanism does not assume that Africans are yet capable of satisfactorily running the affairs of Black Africa, and his Socialism is controlled by a keen understanding of the importance of attracting capital and private in-

dustries from abroad. Mr. Nyerere, then, has a rational attitude to affairs, a balance which is lacking in most other African political leaders, marked ability, and modesty. He is open to persuasion, but can be a disciplinarian when necessary. He will have no truck with the cult of personality. He has none of the conceit of a Kenyatta, none of the arrogance of the Mboya type of leader, none of the bitterness of the Banda school, none of the instability of the Odinga genus. They have not consistently emphasized the need for hard work, discipline, and fair play, as Mr. Nyerere has done. From the first he coupled freedom with work, and latterly both with unity; and the Swahili word *umoja*, briefly translated "unity" has a deeper meaning than the English rendering, signifying "one-ness" and a real community sense.

Dar es Salaam is at this moment a crossroad of the world. Never has any East or Central African town—and it is about to be granted the status of a city by order of the Queen—entertained such

Cross Road of The World.

a gathering of personalities from so many countries. Not all of those who were invited as guests of the Government of Tanganyika can have found it possible to make the journey to join in the independence celebrations, but among the company in that attractive capital this week end may well be the Aga Khan and the president of the World Bank, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer and Mr. D. N. Pritt, representatives of both Houses of the United Kingdom Parliament—and Kenyatta! Among other African political extremists officially invited are Dr. Nkrumah, Dr. Banda, Mr. Kaunda, Mr. Nkomo, and Mr. Mbuyi Koinange. The Governors of Kenya and Uganda and the British Resident in Zanzibar will be there, but no invitation was sent to the Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, partially perhaps because that courtesy would have offended such an iconoclast as Dr. Banda. Only in politics would anyone prefer the company of a Kenyatta to that of a Minister of the Federal Government. The Nigerian precedent was happier: when that great Federation became independent a mission representing Rhodesia and Nyasaland was invited and attended. One of the regrets is that Tanganyika should have shown less generosity of spirit.

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has one unique qualification for offering hearty good wishes to Tanganyika as it embarks upon the

responsibility of complete independence. that the conception of the creation of the paper occurred in a prisoner-of-war camp in Tanganyika in the

1914-18 campaign. Moreover, one of the two main objectives was to argue against the return of the territory to German administration, which had been inexcusably harsh, and because we were already convinced that Germany would start another war in which air and submarine bases in East Africa would add gravely to the peril of the free world. The second main purpose was to put the case for federation of the East African territories, of which Mr. Nyerere is now a protagonist, and for another federation of the British territories in Central Africa. This journal, then, has had a very special and close interest in Tanganyika since it was founded more than thirty-seven years ago; and it has endeavoured to serve that great and attractive country to the best of its ability. That has inevitably involved frank criticism of the Government and of men in public life, whether African, Asian or European, from time to time. With scarcely any exceptions, they recognized, we believe, that such comments were made with the intention of serving the country's general welfare; and in the Tanganyika Independence Number which EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA will publish tomorrow, there is a contribution from the Prime Minister, who certainly does not bear umbrage for past criticism of his party. "Tanganyika Becomes Independent", the title of this special publication, betokens the good wishes of an editor who first knew the country almost half a century ago and has never ceased to wish it well.

Statements Worth Noting

"Hon. and bucolic Members object when you suggest a land tax".—Mr. H. D. Wightwick, speaking in the Federal Parliament.

"Because of the Land Husbandry Act 800,000 more acres have been brought into production in Southern Rhodesia. Although African farmers have had fertilizers, co-operatives and advice, the value of their grain production has fallen alarmingly. It was £8.4m. in 1956, £6.6m. in 1957, £4.9m. in 1958 and again in 1959, and only just over £4m. last year".—Dr. I. D. Burrows, addressing the Southern Rhodesian Parliament.

"We cannot confuse political freedom with political licence. The National Democratic Party has quite openly stated its intention to destroy the economic structure of this country, that Europeans and capitalists will leave this country, that there will be greater unemployment, starvation, and misery as part of the process of securing freedom. Of course, their freedom is to establish a black racist dictatorship".—Dr. M. I. Hirsch, speaking in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament.

Notes By The Way

Dr. Conor O'Brien

WHY ANYONE ANYWHERE should have imagined that a civil servant in Eire who had never seen Africa was the right man to represent the United Nations in strife-torn Katanga passes my comprehension; but his appointment, foolish in the extreme, was quite in line with the calamitous mishandling of the Congo situation since the middle of last year. His departure from Elisabethville will, I gather, not have been regretted in the local United Nations community itself, and it will certainly have gratified most other people who have had dealings with him, especially Mr. Tshombe and his Ministers. For weeks the Katanga President has refused even to speak to him, for he regards him as personally responsible for the treacherous United Nations attack in the city some weeks ago which was quickly followed by the air crash which cost Mr. Hammarskjöld his life. Dr. O'Brien now accuses the United Kingdom and France of persistent efforts to secure his dismissal. Whether that charge is accurate the public cannot judge; but many thousands of people who have managed to keep themselves informed about happenings in Katanga must have ago reached the conclusion that the Irishman who spoke for the United Nations in the one Congo province in which life and industry continued very much as usual was a strange kind of mediator. His words were belligerent rather than pacific, and he had completely failed to establish reasonable relations with Mr. Tshombe. On all counts his disappearance is cordially to be welcomed.

Paramount Chief Denounces U.N.I.P.

THE DEEP RESENTMENT of the mass of Africans in areas of Northern Rhodesia in which U.N.I.P. agents have engaged in terrorism found expression when the Governor-General of the Federation recently toured the Kasama district, which had been very detrimentally affected. Until recently U.N.I.P. leaders had placed great emphasis on their claim to the ardent support of Paramount Chief Chitimukulu. Since that influential traditional African leader, the most powerful in all Northern Rhodesia outside Basutoland, made it quite clear some months ago that he dissociated himself completely from the movement, its spokesmen have made no reference to him. It ought therefore to be widely known that Chief Chitimukulu said in greeting the Governor-General: "I and my people are especially glad to see you here at a time when Native authorities have just overcome severe difficulties and the strain upon them and their organizations by a political party known as the United National Independence Party. This party has carried out terrorist activities, and endeavoured by the worst forms of intimidation to make the people destroy things that mean much to them—schools, communications, churches, and the property of good citizens".

Case for a Question

NO AFRICAN will believe that Chief Chitimukulu did not know the real facts or that he spoke without mature reflection and the agreement of his senior counsellors. This blunt condemnation of U.N.I.P. therefore represents a carefully considered pronouncement of great importance. It makes nonsense of the excuses of Mr. Kaunda and his close associates that U.N.I.P. was guiltless of the charge made against it. I hope that a Member of Parliament will ask the Secretary of State whether Chief Chitimukulu has made any representa-

tions on the subject to the Governor-General or to the Government of Northern Rhodesia, for the words quoted above could then be written into the records of the House of Commons, as they ought to be. That would doubtless offend the pro-Kaunda clique; but its extravagant bias has been so widely advertised that there is need for a corrective. To Africans in general, it is quite certain that the words of a paramount chief are far more important than the chatter of a Callaghan or a Stonehouse, a Plummer, or a Brockway.

Developed or Under-Developed?

THERE IS MUCH DISCUSSION nowadays about "developed" and "under-developed" countries; but even in international official quarters there is no strict definition of either term. More than one economist has recently suggested that the susceptibilities of under-developed African and Asian territories would be spared by using the new term "low-income countries". That, however, would still beg the question, for a country with a relatively high income might still be under-developed. Mr. Dennis Healey, Secretary for Technical Co-operation in the United Kingdom Government, takes as his criterion the capacity or otherwise of a country to develop its human and other natural resources without assistance from outside; and he reckons that by that test there are about 25 countries entitled to be called "developed" and 80 which are still under-developed. When he mentioned the difficulty of finding a generally acceptable yardstick the other day to a group of journalists specialising in international affairs, one suggested that a country might be classified as having crossed the line into the upper bracket when it had reached the stage of being able to export capital.

D.T.C.

NOBODY CAN DOUBT that the new Department for Technical Co-operation—which has assumed many functions hitherto performed by the Colonial Office, the Commonwealth Relations Office, the Foreign Office, and other departments of H.M. Government—has a very important task to perform, not merely in providing and co-ordinating technical assistance to countries within and without the Commonwealth, but in surveying the considerable amount of aid of this kind already provided in the United Kingdom, usually with little or no publicity, by great commercial concerns, trade organizations, professional bodies, industrial welfare societies, charitable and cultural foundations, universities, and other public and private bodies. No survey of such activities has ever been undertaken, and that is one of the early exercises of D.T.C., for it is obviously important that it should have a clear picture of what is being done in order that it may co-operate as closely as possible with all who are already successfully active in such fields.

Mr. Denis Healey

A RESHUFFLE among Socialist leaders in the House of Commons means that Mr. Denis Healey, who has been the chief Opposition speaker on foreign affairs, will henceforth deal with both Commonwealth and Colonial questions. It is not likely to be long, therefore, before his views become well known in the African territories. He will combine duties which have been shared for some time between Mr. Henry Marquand and Mr. James Callaghan. The former is about to leave politics to take up an appointment as director of

the International Institute for Labour Studies under the International Labour Organization in Geneva—at a salary of 15,000 dollars a year tax-free (about £5,350) and entertainment expenses estimated at £450 annually. This, it will be seen, is top Socialism in action. Mr. Callaghan, who is henceforth to deal with Treasury affairs, was one of Mr. Macleod's warmest admirers—clear evidence that an ostensibly Tory Government was following a Socialist policy in East and Central Africa—but he has often been highly critical of British administration and British settlers in those territories, which he has briefly visited. Mr. Marquand once made a trip through East, Central, and South Africa while he held office in the Attlee Government.

Co-operator New Style

NYASALAND'S GOVERNOR, Sir Glyn Jones, told the Legislative Council a few days ago that he had the assurance of Dr. Banda, leader of the Malawi Congress Party and Minister for Natural Resources, that he wished to forget past differences and bitterness and concentrate on building a contented and prosperous country. Would the Governor or the repository of his confidence explain how that assurance is to be harmonized with Dr. Banda's angry refusal of £34m. from Federal sources for the much needed Niassa Falls hydro-electric and irrigation scheme, for no better reason than that, to quote his exact words, "I would rather see Nyasaland starve to death than take charity from Sir Roy Welensky"? Furthermore if Dr. Banda is sincere in his professed anxiety to put away bitterness, why has he insisted that the Malawi Ministers in the Nyasaland Government shall not meet their opposite numbers in the Federal Government; and why has he quite recently declined to meet the Governor-General, the Queen's representative in the Federation?

Who Stands for the Commonwealth?

THE ASSERTION of Mr. Richard Crossman, Socialist M.P. for Coventry East, that "the Conservative Party has lost faith in the Commonwealth" will not be disputed by large numbers of its members, a high proportion of whom are angry with their leaders for what they consider to be a betrayal of Commonwealth interests, by no means least in East and Central Africa. Mr. Crossman, however, coupled his denunciation of the Tory Party with the claim that "it is the Labour Party which is now the Commonwealth Party." On what possible foundation can he base that extravagance? I do not recall that his own speeches and writings have ever shown marked sympathy for the Commonwealth—and certainly not for Britain's work in the Federation and East Africa. He predicts that the Commonwealth, now in a fragile state, will disintegrate if this country enters the European Common Market. Many responsible people throughout the Commonwealth, including the United Kingdom, entertain that fear, and doubt the present Cabinet's determination not to join the Six unless Commonwealth interests are satisfactorily safeguarded.

Mr. Chester Bowles

AN AMERICAN FRIEND, one who is in substantial agreement with the editorial policy of this paper, and who wholeheartedly endorses its crucial attitude to United States interference in Africa, tells me that British Africa has no cause to rejoice at the appointment last week of Mr. Chester Bowles to be special adviser to the President on African, Asian, and Latin American affairs, with particular reference to the problems of the under-developed countries. Mr. Bowles, he considers, is as unsuitable for this new post as is Mr. Mennen Williams, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, who became notorious for his indiscretions

during his first visit to East Africa. "They make a pretty pair", said their fellow-countryman. He added: "Whether from design or bad judgement, both are likely to put sand rather than oil on the wheels. Both pride themselves on being 'anti-colonialist'. But perhaps Mr. Bowles will not last long. He has come under much criticism as Under-Secretary of State, and Washington regards his transfer as well earned demotion. It is said openly that Mr. Rusk, the Secretary of State, cordially welcomes the removal of his Under-Secretary". Mr. Bowles, who made a fortune as an advertising agent, is, naturally, a great publicist. It is therefore greatly to be hoped that his ideas about the developing territories of Africa will be sounder than his critics expect and fear.

What a Reason!

Tribune, the exuberant left-wing Socialist weekly, often gives the game away. It has done so again in an editorial note reading: "The struggle for freedom in Africa has been supported with great enthusiasm by the majority of the British Labour movement because many of the African nationalist leaders are avowed Socialists". That clearly means that the well-being of many millions of Africans, to say nothing of the interests of the Commonwealth in general, was judged from the narrowest party standpoint. Such is the irresponsibility which characterizes public life nowadays, it will be noticed that the sentence quoted begins with a misrepresentation. The first four words, "the struggle for freedom" imply that Africans in the mass have suffered oppression under British rule and will enjoy previously unknown liberties when men of their own race dominate the Governments. That suggestion has no relation to the facts. Indeed, it was British rule which liberated Africans from the oppressions of witchcraft, inter-tribal warfare, disease which in some areas killed three out of four, inadequate diets, and general ignorance—in short, savagery. And the thuggery which is almost always associated with African political parties points to the real risk that they will deny their people the elementary freedoms first brought to them by civilized administration. To equate the adoption of a Constitution on the Westminster model with liberty for the masses is sheer nonsense.

More Blasphemies

KENYATTA'S NAME in place of that of Christ in the so-called Mau Mau "creed" and "hymn-book" has been recalled on several occasions recently by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. Now I hear from a friend in Nairobi that the likenesses of Christ and Kenyatta were recently paraded side by side through the streets of that city by Kikuyu who seemed to be K.A.N.U. zealots. Blasphemy is evidently still to be used by tribal agitators as an instrument of political pressure. Kenyatta incidentally, has appointed to his staff an African "hymn supervisor". That he is concerned with Mau Mau-type chants and songs, not with hymns in the normal Western sense of the word, is not to be doubted.

Kafuffle

"THIS WAS THE CAUSE of some of the kafuffle", said the Minister of Native Affairs in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament when amendment of the Native Land Husbandry Act was under discussion. "The hon. Member must withdraw that expression", quoth the Speaker. Mr. Quilton: "Mr. Speaker, I withdraw and substitute the word 'agitation'". A little earlier the Speaker had reproved another Member who had referred to a colleague as having "sounded like a cracked gramophone record".

The Challenge of Independence

By J. K. Nyerere, M.N.A., Prime Minister of Tanganyika

TANGANYIKA will become a free, united, democratic country on December 9—free from colonial domination, united behind T.A.N.U., and democratic in its government and its way of life.

These statements, which seem to us to be so obviously true, are often questioned. Our description of the period up to December 8 as "colonial domination" seems to upset some of my friends, who look at the rise of T.A.N.U., for example, and tell us that we are simply using emotive phrases. But this is not so; domination is no less domination—though it may be physically less painful—because it wears a kid glove.

Our whole existence has been controlled by people with an alien attitude, by people with different customs and beliefs. They have determined the forms of government, the type of economic activity—if any—and the schooling which our children have had. They have shaped the present generation of Tanganyika more than any other influence.

Wrong Principle

Even if they have always done their best to do what they believed to be good for us (and I do not believe it is possible for any set of people all the time to submerge their own interests under those of the people they control), it would be no less wrong. A man who tries to control the life of another does not destroy the other, any the less, because he does it, as he thinks, for the other's benefit. It is the principle which is wrong, the principle of one man governing another without his consent.

It is no answer to point to the benefits which have followed incidentally from the alien rule. If the world were invaded by Mars, the international squabbles and threats of war might be overcome, but we do not therefore pray for a Martian conquest of the world, nor is it likely that we would happily accept it if it came. Tanganyika is coming out of colonial domination, and it is the objectors to this statement who are letting their thinking be blinded by emotion; they know that domination is contrary to the democratic principles they profess, and they therefore do not like to acknowledge that they have been—and still are in other places—guilty of it.

One-Party State

The question of unity behind T.A.N.U. does not need justification. The last elections were not based on universal suffrage, although this is what we desired. But the franchise was a wide one, and there was no evidence of any group of non-voters who disagreed with the verdict. The only organized political opposition party lost its deposit in all the seats it contested. The only Independent who was elected had been a T.A.N.U. member and claimed to support T.A.N.U. in everything except the choice of candidates in that constituency. The people of Tanganyika are behind T.A.N.U.

Finally, Tanganyika is a democratic country. We have a one-party Government, to all intents and purposes a one-party State. Although our National Assembly is the same shape as the House of Commons,



T.A.N.U. members sit facing us, as well as behind the Government benches. We make no provision for payment to the "Leader of the Opposition", and we use Government machinery to explain the purposes of the T.A.N.U. Government to the people, and the T.A.N.U. machinery to explain Government policy. All these things seem to be frowned upon by many people in the "Western democracies", particularly in Britain. Yet I believe that Tanganyika is a thoroughly democratic country.

The Question of an Opposition

Look first at this question of an Opposition. At the last elections in Tanganyika T.A.N.U. did just what the Conservative and Labour parties do in Britain—it contested every seat. The only difference seems to us to be that whereas the two British parties always lose a large proportion of the contests, we won all except one. Is it seriously suggested that a Government can be democratic only if it is rejected by nearly half the people?

Would Britain stop being a democratic country if the Conservative Party succeeded in its aim of winning all the seats in a British election? Is a country more democratic if, like Zanzibar after the first 1961 elections, its two biggest parties get an equal number of members, so that the Government is controlled by the party holding one-eighth of the seats in the Assembly? If we are correct in our belief that democracy means government by the people, both of these ideas are obviously nonsense.

In the future it is possible that a second political party will grow in Tanganyika, but in one sense such a growth would represent a failure by T.A.N.U. The existence of two or more stable political parties implies a class structure of society, and we aim at avoiding the growth of different social and economic classes in our

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country. If we do avoid this, then opposition will take the form of disagreement on how to do things which we agree should be done. It is not essential that this type of disagreement be expressed through a two-party system.

We believe, in fact, that a second party will not need to grow provided that a broad two-way channel of ideas and education is maintained through T.A.N.U. between the people and the Government. It is the establishment and maintenance of this channel of communication which is the real problem of democracy in Tanganyika, not the establishment of an artificial opposition.

Yet it is important that the people themselves should have the right to show whether there is such an avenue and whether it is an easily negotiable one. This they can show only by being free to form and support a responsible opposition party if they wish to do so. At the moment it is clear that they do not so wish.

The major question now is how this united democratic country looks at its future. On December 9, 1961, Tanganyika assumes great responsibilities. Her people will have a responsibility to the world, in which they will for the first time be a separate entity. They will have a responsibility to the rest of Africa, particularly that part which is not yet free from outside domination. And they will assume a responsibility to their children and to their descendants.

When Tanganyika assumes nationhood we feel that we will do so as a nation uncommitted in world power conflicts. We intend to remain without commitment to either side of the cold war.

Yet it would be wrong, in one sense, to say that we shall be a neutralist nation. Neutrality is sometimes used to denote an attitude of not caring. We do care very much about certain basic principles. Our lack of commitment is merely the equivalent of saying that we do not believe that either the East or the West has a monopoly of virtue in regard to these principles.

Undivided Loyalty to United Nations

We believe that our most important contribution in world politics will lie in the effort to judge issues on their own merits and to take our stand accordingly. We believe too that it will be easier for us to do this by the very fact of our unimportance in world power terms.

We cannot hope to gain prestige or economic or political power through the weight of our arms or the strength of our economy; we do not intend to waste time searching for any of these things. Yet it is possible that the more objective voice of a country outside such struggles will contribute to a lowering of world tension and ultimately perhaps to world peace.

It seems to us that the appropriate centre of our world activities must be the United Nations, for in this organization alone lies any real hope for the world at present. Internationally, it is the United Nations which will have our undivided loyalty; it is a forum which accepts the integrity of existing nation States but supports any desire by the peoples themselves to co-operate, federate, or amalgamate across their present borders. It is this organization which has prepared the Declaration of Human Rights, which we regard as the most important single declaration of principles in the world, and which we aspire to live up to.

Tanganyika will also make application to become a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, because this is an organization completely consistent with the United Nations, yet linking more closely together those whose history and acceptance of common basic principles make co-operation and greater understanding more easily attained.

Tanganyika is, however, first and foremost an Afri-

can State, and we are anxious to see the development of African unity throughout this continent. This desire for unity does not stem from any latent hostility to the rest of the world, nor from any desire to build up an aggressive attitude to the older nations. It is based on geography, on economics, and on our shared history. It is obvious to us that real triumph against poverty, ignorance and disease can only be attained once we have abandoned the artificial boundaries which now divide us.

In the recent past Africa has been subject to domination by European Powers, and its peoples have been degraded and humiliated simply because they were Africans. This we can no longer accept. It is thus, of paramount importance to us in Tanganyika, as well as to all other independent African States, that colonialism and racialism shall be thrown out of this continent, for we must inevitably feel on our wrists the chains which our brothers wear elsewhere in the continent.

The main outstanding problems are those of Portuguese Colonies and the policies of the Union of South Africa. On these issues we shall do everything possible to support the people in those countries who struggle against the existing forms of government, and no pretence that the oppressions in Angola, Mozambique, or the Union of South Africa are internal matters will move us from our determination. The freedom of those territories is really an extension of the struggle for our own freedom. We cannot let questions of economic disadvantage to ourselves sway us from an active part in this struggle.

Fight Against Poverty, Ignorance and Disease

In addition to these wide responsibilities to humanity, we have also a responsibility to improve the well-being of the people of Tanganyika. When we talk of freedom and human dignity we are not talking of things which depend too on the health and the understanding of the individual. Our people must have healthy bodies and healthy minds. They must have sufficient control over the forces of Nature to avoid the constant recurrence of disastrous famines.

All these things are now our responsibility. It means that the Government of Tanganyika must lead the people in an all-out fight against poverty, ignorance, and disease. It must lead them forward to economic development, to an expansion of production, and to a fair distribution of the fruits of that production so that every individual really stands a chance to develop himself and use his own abilities in the service of his fellows.

The Development Plan which the Government of Tanganyika has prepared is not adequate for these tasks. This we know. We are already preparing supplementary development plans for certain areas which have been neglected in the past. But our very need for these development plans makes them more difficult to execute. It is always easier for the rich to become richer than for the poor to become less poor. Nonetheless, this is what we are determined to achieve and we believe that the united effort of the people of Tanganyika can achieve victory in the next battle in the same way as it has achieved *Uhuru*.

The Government plans are loose and flexible; they are designed simply to build an infrastructure and to allow the maximum scope for the initiative of the people and for the absorption of any outside offers of help and partnership.

We shall be celebrating the raising of the Tanganyika Flag because it marks the beginning of our opportunity to tackle these great tasks before us. We know they are not easy tasks; it is with a sense of humility and yet with great enthusiasm that we undertake them.

Mungu Ibariki Afrika

Tanganyika's National Anthem

TANGANYIKA'S NATIONAL ANTHEM is a composition of Mr. Enoch Sontonga, who had the help of Mr. V. E. Webster. The words are the work of a group of Tanganyikans.

The English translation, issued officially, reads:—

God Bless Africa,
Bless its leaders,
Let Wisdom, Unity and
Peace be the shield of
Africa and its people.

CHORUS: Bless Africa,
Bless Africa,
Bless the children of Africa.

God Bless Tanganyika,
Grant eternal Freedom and Unity
To its sons and daughters,
God Bless Tanganyika and its people.

CHORUS: Bless Tanganyika,
Bless Tanganyika,
Bless the children of Tanganyika.

The original Swahili words are:

Mungu Ibariki Afrika
Wabariki viongozi wake
Hekima Umoja na Amani
Hizi ni ngao za
Afrika na watu wake

Ibariki Afrika,
Ibariki Afrika,
Tubariki watoto wa Afrika.

Mungu Ibariki Tanganyika,
Dunisha uhuru na Umoja
Wake kwa waume na watoto,
Mungu Ibariki
Tanganyika na watu wake.

CHORUS: Ibariki Tanganyika,
Ibariki Tanganyika,
Tubariki watoto wa Tanganyika.

Tanganyika Independence Exhibition

A TANGANYIKA INDEPENDENCE EXHIBITION at the Commonwealth Institute, South Kensington, was opened in London last Friday by Mr. Dunstan Omari, who will on Saturday become Tanganyika's High Commissioner in the United Kingdom.

The main feature of the exhibition is a mural of Kilimanjaro 20 feet across by 10 feet deep. It is the work of Mr. Michael Copus, an artist in his early twenties, who has never been in East Africa, but has produced an excellent painting from photographs, coloured pictures, and cross-examination of people who know the Chaga country.

There are diagrams showing wild life in the national parks and various industries, large photographs of various aspects of the country's life, and examples of beadwork, leatherwork, mats, weaving, carvings, shields, drums, stools and other articles made by Africans. Paintings by Mr. Sam Ntiro, counsellor on the staff of the High Commissioner, are also shown.

Sir James Robertson, chairman of the board of governors of the Commonwealth Institute, introduced Mr. Omari.

Tanganyika's High Commissioner

Mr. Dunstan Omari Appointed

MR. DUNSTAN ALFRED OMARI, M.B.E., who will be Tanganyika's High Commissioner in London from Independence Day, was born in Newala in 1922 and educated at Chidya Secondary School, St. Andrew's College, Mtwara, near Dar es Salaam, and Makerere University College, Uganda, where he obtained a Diploma in Education. He then went back to Chidya to teach at his old school, and was later a master at Tanga Secondary School.

Then he was awarded a four-year bursary at the University College of Aberystwith, from which he graduated with an Arts degree. He was seconded for six months to the British Broadcasting Corporation in London, and on returning to Tanganyika in 1953 was appointed Education Officer, Broadcasting.

Two years later he was the first African in the country to be made a district officer, being stationed in Morogoro. He was transferred to the Korogwe district in 1958, and in the following year was moved to Man-yoni as D.C., being the first African in Tanganyika to reach that rank. Later he served in Iramba, and early this year was transferred to Dar es Salaam. Since April he has been in the United Kingdom on attachment to a diplomatic mission.

Mr. Omari was made M.B.E. in the Birthday Honours List last year.

Mr. Sam Ntiro, the well-known East African poet, is to be Deputy High Commissioner in London.

Mr. C. M. M. Barrow will be the First Secretary (Administration); Mr. H. Collings will deal with trade matters; Mr. Joseph Ntiza began his duties some time ago as Information Officer; and Mr. H. Gill has been appointed Students' Liaison Officer.

Independence Celebrations in London

A COMMITTEE OF FOURTEEN MEMBERS, among them the members of the executive committee of the Tanganyika Students' Association in the United Kingdom, made the main arrangements for the celebration in the United Kingdom of Tanganyika's Independence.

At 1.15 p.m. tomorrow there will be a thanksgiving service for Muslims at the Central Mosque and Islamic Cultural Centre in London. At 5.30 there will be a reception at Lancaster House, and at 8.30 a reception at the Mayfairia Rooms, 32 Bryanston Street, London W.1, where about 800 people are expected. Two bands will play until 2 a.m. tomorrow.

At 9 o'clock, the equivalent of midnight in Tanganyika, the new flag of Tanganyika will be carried into the hall by a colour party and escort, provided by 30 members of the Tanganyika Police. Tanganyika's new national anthem will be played, and there will be short speeches, followed by supper, music, and dancing.

At 11.30 a.m. on Saturday the new Tanganyika flag will be unfurled, saluted by a guard of honour of the Tanganyika Police, and marched to Westminster Abbey, where a thanksgiving service is to be held. That evening there will be a thanksgiving service for Roman Catholics in Westminster Cathedral, where a votive Mass will be said by African priests from Tanganyika.

Tanganyika's Flag

THE FLAG OF TANGANYIKA is divided into three equal bands of green, black and gold, separated by two narrow golden bands, each one-sixteenth of the total width. The black ("sable") denotes the people of the country; the green ("vert") the land of Tanganyika; and the gold ("or") the mineral resources of the territory.

Banks' Gifts to Tanganyika

THE STANDARD BANK has made a gift to Tanganyika of £8,000 for the library of the University College, Dar es Salaam, so that it may establish a section in economics and government or a basic Afrikaaner collection. In addition there will be an annual payment of £200 in each of the next five years for the purchase of new books.

BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O. has likewise given £8,000 for the building and equipment of a two-storey residence to accommodate ten students at the college. It will be named Barclays House.

NATIONAL AND GRINDLAYS BANK has given £5,000 for a sports ground and pavilion for Dar es Salaam Technical Institute, and £500 to the general Independence Fund.

Tanganyika National Fund

MONEY COLLECTED for the Tanganyika National Fund will be controlled by trustees who will be responsible to the Government and its agencies for apportioning it to relieve poverty. The idea is that half should be distributed to small farmers through district committees of the Agricultural Credit Agency, that 25% should be allocated to self-help schemes administered by the Community Development Department, and the other 25% to peasant development, particularly of farming, irrigation and village water supplies, grazing schemes, oxen for ploughing, tea growing and other plantation crops.

Independence Brevities

AN OIL REFINERY is to be built at Dar es Salaam at a cost of about £3m.

TANGANYIKA'S CABINET contains nine Africans, two Europeans, and one Asian.

FROM MONDAY the National Assembly will be known as the Tanganyika Parliament.

MANY EUROPEAN OFFICIALS in Tanganyika have given one day's pay to the National Fund.

THE LARGEST of Tanganyika's 120 tribes is the Sukuma, numbering well over a million.

DECEMBER 8, 9, and 11 have been declared public holidays in Tanganyika. December 10 is a Sunday.

MR. GEORGE KAHAMA, Minister for Home Affairs, has been chairman of the Independence Celebrations Committee.

THE BELGIAN BASE in Dar es Salaam is to be nationalized by the Tanganyika Government. It had been leased to Belgium since the end of the 1914-18 war.

ABOUT 300M. PEOPLE in many countries are expected to see television programmes about Tanganyika's independence.

ALL MEMBERS of Morogoro Local Authority have decided to devote one month's salary to the Tanganyika National Fund.

MR. NYERERE, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, has been made the first honorary fellow of the new University College of Dar es Salaam.

A CEMENT FACTORY costing about £1m. is proposed for Dar es Salaam. There are also plans for a glass factory costing about one-fifth of that sum.

SHEIKH MUHAMMAD SHAMTE HAMADI, Chief Minister in Zanzibar, is to represent that country at the Independence celebrations in Dar es Salaam.

A LUXURY HOTEL is soon to be built in Dar es Salaam at a cost of rather more than £750,000, most of the money being provided by the Tanganyika Government, but part by an Israeli hotel group which will manage the establishment. Work is expected to start in February and to take about 18 months.

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT is to provide and finance a planning team to survey and make recommendations for the development of one of Tanganyika's river systems.

THE INDEPENDENCE MONUMENT at Mnazi Moja, Dar es Salaam, takes the form of an obelisk 30 feet high, surmounted by a bronze torch which is to be illuminated at night.

THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL is offering 52 scholarships in that country to students from Tanganyika. Most are for farmers, trade union officials, and officials of co-operative societies.

TANGANYIKA STUDENTS now taking university, professional, or other higher technical courses in the United Kingdom number about 450. There are another 200 at Makerere College, Uganda.

ALL PRISONERS serving sentences in Tanganyika are to have them reduced by three months as an act of clemency. Releases will start on December 15, when the Independence celebrations are over.

IN THE PAST YEAR the number of Africans in senior civil service posts in Tanganyika has increased by 263. Altogether nearly 700 Africans in the civil service hold senior posts. At the beginning of 1957 the number was 112.

CELEBRATIONS of Tanganyika's Independence are to be held in Zanzibar, today by yacht and canoe racing, and tomorrow by decoration and floodlighting of public buildings, overall display of the Highness's ships in harbour, a food and march, and an official dinner.

THE TANGANYIKA GOVERNMENT, having in mind the irrigation potential of areas bordering Lake Tanganyika, intends to request re-examination of the Nile Waters Agreement under which the country cannot use the waters of the lake without the consent of Egypt.

SECOND LIEUT. ALEXANDER NYERENDA, of the 6th Battalion K.A.R. (which will tomorrow become the 1st Bn. The Tanganyika Rifles), the first Tanganyika African to be commissioned, has been given the new national flag on the summit of Kilimanjaro.

THE LOUDEST APPLAUSE of the long budget session of the National Assembly this year, the first session of the Legislature under its new name, was that which greeted the motion seeking membership of the Commonwealth. This fact was noted and warmly commended by local vernacular newspapers.

MR. NSILO SWAL, Minister for Commerce and Industry, has told the National Assembly that expert consultants have examined the short-term and long-term prospects for a number of new industries including paper manufacture, refining of vegetable oil, tanning of leather, processing of cashew nuts, canning of fruit and vegetables, and the production of cement, sulphuric acid, gypsum, and phosphate complex.

MAJOR-GENERAL R. E. GODWIN, G.O.C.-in-C. in East Africa, paid a farewell visit to King's African Rifles units in Tanganyika a fortnight before that country became independent. At Colife Barracks, Dar es Salaam, he made the last administrative inspection of the 6th Battalion as part of the British Army. Next day he flew to Tabora to make a farewell visit to the 2nd/6th Battalion. The two battalions become The Tanganyika Rifles on Independence Day.

THE PANORAMA PROGRAMME of B.B.C. Television on Monday evening contained an interview with Mr. Nyerere recorded in Dar es Salaam. He said that the possibility of Tanganyika becoming a republic at some time in the future could not be excluded; that a characteristic of British rule was its sensitiveness to public opinion; that he intended to maintain friendly relations with Britain; that the proposed East African Federation would, he hoped and believed, grow and grow until a great United States of Africa developed; and that the United Nations forces in the Congo should deal sharply, if necessary by force, with President Tshombe.

United Kingdom, the Commonwealth, and the Common Market

Points from Lord Privy Seal's Speech to E.E.C. Ministers

THE FULL TEXT of the statement made in Paris on October 10 by Mr. Edward Heath, Lord Privy Seal, to Common Market Ministers has now been published by the United Kingdom Government.

Commonwealth Governments had complained bitterly at the refusal of H.M. Government to provide them with the complete statement. That was done only after it had been given by an undisclosed Continental source to a news agency, which thereupon circulated the document for publication.

In his reference to the Commonwealth, Mr. Heath said, *inter alia*—

"We believe that you share our view of the value of the Commonwealth, not only to the United Kingdom, but also to yourselves and to the free world.

"The Commonwealth is an association of peoples stretching into every corner and comprising many races. It is a great force in the world for the promotion of ideals and purposes which are widely shared in Europe. Its origins are based in history, in the fact that the members of the Commonwealth were a part of the British Empire, and much of its strength lies in the continuity of the links that were then formed.

"I should be misunderstanding you if I tried to say how deeply the British people feel about this association. Commonwealth trade is one of the strongest elements in maintaining the Commonwealth association.

"It would be a tragedy if our entry into the European Economic Community forced other members of the Commonwealth to change their whole pattern of trade and consequently perhaps their political orientation. I do not think that such a development would be in your interest any more than in ours.

Economies Based on Supplying Britain

"Now looking at it from the point of view of a potential member of the Community, would any of us wish the Community to be met with the hostility which would flow from a large group of countries straining across the world if they were to feel that their interests had suffered in our hands.

"The economies of most Commonwealth countries have been built up on the basis of supply to the British market, which has traditionally imported their produce duty free, and often on preferential terms. In the last few decades the majority of them have sought to enlarge both the variety of their production and the range of their markets. But the British market is still of great importance to the economies of most Commonwealth countries.

"Britain could not join the E.E.C. under conditions in which this trade connexion was cut, with grave loss, and even ruin for some of the Commonwealth countries. For our remaining dependent territories, we have a special and direct responsibility.

"The problem of Commonwealth trade has an analogy in the problems which faced you when you were negotiating the Treaty of Rome. Your problems concerned a considerable number of countries which were in varying constitutional relationships with members of the Community. The total volume of trade affected was large. Your problems were dealt with, either in the treaty or in its accompanying protocols, without damage to the interests of the countries concerned, and in some cases with considerable advantage to them.

"It is a striking fact, and very relevant to the Commonwealth problem, that in no case was a tariff imposed on trade where one had not been in force before the treaty was signed.

"Two alternative solutions were applied according to the different circumstances. For some countries—Morocco and Tunisia, for example—the problem was solved by maintaining, unimpaired by the treaty, their right of access to the market of the country with which they were associated. For others, who became associated overseas countries or territories, not only was their right of access to their metropolitan country preserved, but they gained a preferential position for their products in the Commonwealth Market as a whole.

"We recognize that the problem of Commonwealth trade

is more extensive in scale and range than these earlier problems. The differences should not be exaggerated. Thirty-six per cent. of our imports come from the Commonwealth; but over 20% of metropolitan France's imports come from territories having a special relationship with her.

"Among the dependent or newly independent countries Mauritius sends 82% of her exports to the United Kingdom, Sierra Leone 70%, and Nigeria 51%.

"Of the older Commonwealth countries, New Zealand is also heavily dependent on the U.K. market, sending 56% of her exports to us. The proportions of their exports which Australia, India, and Ceylon send to the United Kingdom are of the order of 30%.

"Of the dependent territories some are moving towards independence. One, Tanganyika, will be an independent member of the Commonwealth by the time our negotiations are completed.

"Of the less developed countries which are already independent members of the Commonwealth three—Ghana, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone—are in Africa; four—India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Malaya—are in Asia; and one, Cyprus is in Europe.

Want to Develop Secondary Industries

"Apart from Cyprus, Malta, Gibraltar, and the Falkland Islands, all these countries and territories have tropical or sub-tropical climates. They nearly all produce tropical products and raw materials, many of which are also produced by the countries and territories at present associated with the Community under Part IV of the Treaty of Rome.

"Many of them are now seeking to establish secondary industries in order to diversify their economies and reduce their great dependence upon imports.

"All these countries and territories enjoy in the U.K. market the preferences and duty-free entry which they enjoy in the E.E.C. market. There are a few other special arrangements which, in addition to certain of them, some territories it is also of importance—in some cases of great importance—to be able to compete in the markets of the rest of Europe on equal terms with other exporters of similar products. They would certainly not understand it as a result of becoming a member of the Community, the Community should be obliged to discriminate against them in favour of other European countries.

"Another feature of many of these countries and territories is that their need to encourage industrial development and their unavoidable reliance on indirect taxation for revenue makes it necessary for them to put tariffs on imports of manufactured goods.

"Some Commonwealth countries have expressed the opinion that the present arrangements for association are not appropriate for independent States. But this view may not apply to the new arrangements when it is known what they will be.

"In any case we should like to see the less-developed members of the Commonwealth and our dependent territories given the opportunity, if they so wish, to enter into association with the Community on the same terms as those which will in future be available to the present associated overseas countries and territories.

Association A Possible Solution

"Association may be a solution for the problems of many Commonwealth countries and territories. For others it may not be possible. One way of dealing with the problems of those who are not associated would be to arrange for them to have continued free entry into the U.K. market, in the same way as was done for Morocco's trade with France or for Surinam's trade with Benelux under the relevant protocol to the Rome Treaty. But we recognize that this solution would not be applicable in all cases.

"Difficulties will arise over tropical products if one or more of the less-developed countries or territories of the Commonwealth do not enter into an appropriate form of association with the Community.

"Aluminium, wood pulp, newsprint, lead, and zinc, are of great importance to certain Commonwealth countries: on these five materials we would wish to seek a zero tariff.

"To many Commonwealth countries the United Kingdom has brought moral and contractual obligations, on the basis of which they have planned the development of their economies. For instance, the Commonwealth sugar agreement provides an assured basis for sugar production, which is particularly important in the case of our dependent territories.

"The problem is to reconcile our obligations to the Commonwealth with a common agricultural policy as it evolves. We believe that solutions can be found which will prove satisfactory.

Kenya's Chief Need Is An End to Violence

Mr. Maudling's Blunt Statement At the End of His Visit

WHAT KENYA NEEDS "ABOVE ALL" is an end to violence and intimidation, Mr. Reginald Maudling, Secretary of State for the Colonies, said in Nairobi last week at the end of his five-day visit to the Colony before leaving for the Federation.

"The great danger I see is fear—fear of discrimination, fear of intimidation, fear of exploitation. I have seen enough to be convinced there is truth underlying these fears.

"No country can prosper in these circumstances. Kenya stands at the cross-roads. If all goes well, the prospects for this great country are exciting and almost boundless; but if things do not go well in the near future, there are very real dangers indeed to everyone of whatever race who lives here.

"The political problems must be solved soon if Kenya's economy, already sorely strained by natural disasters and flagging confidence, is not to be irreparably damaged. In tackling these problems I accept that a great responsibility lies with the British Government; but the responsibility that rests upon politicians of all parties in Kenya is even greater and more direct. You hold your future in your own hands.

"What Kenya needs is confidence, calm, and composure, an end to intimidation and violence, and above all, an end to discrimination and intolerance. I call solemnly upon the leaders of the political parties to do all in their power to bring this about. If they do not do so, they will be failing in their duty to Kenya."

Reference to Regional Authorities

The Colonial Secretary said that his discussions had satisfied him that there was more common ground between the main parties than might appear on the surface. There had clearly to be a stable and competent central Government, "for without it there cannot be a Kenya nation—but more than this is obviously needed: if the rights of individuals are to be safeguarded and if there is to be confidence, Kenya will need in addition other governing authorities with their own defined rights which do not derive from the central Government but are entrenched and written into the Constitution.

"The Constitution must be one that cannot be so changed that its purposes agreed on at the constitutional conference in London next February are frustrated. There must also be an independent judiciary.

"I hope that discussions about a future Constitution can from now on concentrate on facts rather than on an exchange of slogans. What we must determine is the nature and composition of the central Government and the nature, composition and powers of the other governing authorities. These latter will be defined in the Constitution with a life of their own which cannot be swept aside.

"The protection of individual rights, including land titles and property rights, must be worked out, as well as the means for securing stability for the Constitution; and law and order, which is absolutely fundamental for happiness in Kenya, must be firmly preserved."

Mr. Maudling said that he would be doing a great disservice if he committed himself to any of the views put forward by the delegations which he had met. The aim of the constitutional conference was to get a system in which individuals could feel that they would be protected and in which they could have confidence. Lack of confidence was clearly having a very serious effect on the economy, and actual physical fear was making political divisions sharper.

He had had private talks with K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U. on peoples' anxieties over the security situation, and had asked them to ask their supporters not to stir up trouble. They had said they would do their best. He reminded them that the only satisfactory way of giving those assurances was to have a Constitution in which people could trust.

"Many races have made their contribution to Kenya. Kenyans today have their origins in a dozen different countries. I have seen the vital contribution which Europeans and Asians have made and are making to the economy, and I have seen with admiration the work done by a devoted public service. Kenya needs the brains, devotion, and capital of all its peoples. This calls for a society and economy in which individual

rights are firmly recognized and maintained without discrimination of race, creed or colour.

"I believe that this is the objective of all the political parties, and it is this belief that gives me confidence in the future of Kenya.

"My other reason for confidence is this: Kenya has in recent months faced an unprecedented series of natural disasters, yet by magnificent efforts by the Government, the services, and many private citizens, these disasters are being overcome. We in Britain admire and salute your achievements."

Northern Frontier and Coastal Strip

Mr. Maudling, who could not guarantee that a date for independence would be announced at the February conference in London, said that the issues of the Northern Frontier Province and of the Coastal Strip should be settled before independence, if possible at the conference.

Sixteen chiefs from six districts of the N.F.D. and leaders of five Somali political parties met him to present a demand for secession to Somalia. They included Chief Mwalim Stom-boul, the Somalis' militant leader. A separate delegation from the United Ogaden Somalia Association asked to remain under British protection.

The case for an autonomous coastal state was argued by two Arab M.L.C.s, and spokesmen for the Coast People's Party and the Coast African Political Union, representing mainly indigenous coast tribes distinct from the Arab-Swahili membership of the C.P.P.

The C.P.P.'s vice-president, Maalim Omar Rashid Bakily, leads a deputation which has arrived in London to meet Mr. Maudling on his return.

The Governor of Kenya, Sir Patrick Gordon, has announced that delegates to the constitutional conference which is to open on February 14, will consist of constitutional and national elected members of the Legislative Council. Some of these may substitute non-M.L.C.s, if they wish, but because of lack of accommodation the total number of delegates may not exceed the number of elected members. Special arrangements are to be made for the views of important sectional interests to be placed before the conference.

No further constitutional changes will be made before the conference. Mr. Ronald Ngala, leader of K.A.D.U. is however, to assume ministerial control of the Government, following the abolition of the Chief Secretaryship, and a new Minister of Education is to be appointed. Mr. Ngala has hitherto been Leader of Government Business and Minister of Education.

Another Kenya Settler Murdered

Mr. Leonard Wisdom, in his sixties, who had lived in Kenya since 1911, died last Friday from bush-knife wounds inflicted by a gang of Africans who burst into his farmhouse near Limuru, 20 miles from Nairobi. They attacked Mrs. Wisdom, who went to his aid, and she was taken to hospital with head injuries.

Kenyatta, K.A.N.U. president, has issued a directive prohibiting the airing of grievances outside the party and forbidding Press statements by individuals and branches. He said: "It seems to me that everyone considers he is a law unto himself and demonstrates the most contemptuous disregard for the survival of K.A.N.U. Leaders and other members are attacked anyhow, and party policy is flouted without any second thoughts. The machinery for democratic examination of grievances and new points has never been tried or respected."

At a meeting at the week-end at Kakamega in North Nyanza, the first which Kenyatta had addressed in a K.A.D.U. area, scuffles broke out but were quickly contained by the police, who had manned road-blocks in the area after an African schoolteacher's car had been stoned. Kenyatta denounced regionalism and said that unity among Africans could bring independence next year. Mr. Mboya is reported to have said that the British wanted to see Africans fighting one another before they left the country.

Basic Needs for Confidence* European Views for Mr. Maudling

A JOINT EUROPEAN DELEGATION submitted to Mr. Maudling in Nairobi last week the memorandum which appears hereunder.

The delegation consisted of Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck, leader of the Kenya Coalition, and its three representatives in the Legislative Council, Messrs. David Cole, Clive Salter, and L. Machonochie Welwood, the chairman of the Convention of Associations, Mr. Cedric Oates, who was accompanied by Mr. H. Macallan, and Lord Delamere and Mr. J. A. Seys, from the Kenya National Farmers' Union.

The memorandum stated:—

"We, who in our various spheres of influence represent the bulk of those who have contributed and are contributing so much of Western enterprise in Kenya, and in particular towards its agrarian economy, consider that advantage should be taken of the visit of the Secretary of State to indicate to him our views as a prelude to the constitutional conference to be held early next year, and to speak with a united voice in regard to questions which we believe to be vital to the true interests of this country as a whole."

"We therefore submit to the Secretary of State certain basic principles, and would make it clear that without their acknowledgement, acceptance, and implicit the European and other immigrant races may well find themselves in a position that would make it impossible for them to remain."

Principles Should Be Entrenched

"We have made our homes in Kenya and would like to continue to live here, but we must be able to live in an atmosphere and under conditions that are compatible with our way of life."

"We believe that the future of this country will be jeopardized and the majority of Europeans and other useful citizens will seek fields of endeavour elsewhere unless their fundamental principles are fully recognized and supported by them."

"Although we believe that the majority whom we represent genuinely wish to stay, there are others who for various causes, not of their own making, find themselves in a situation which precludes departure save as destitute persons. It is therefore our duty to ensure tolerable conditions for all who stay, and equally to make it possible for those others who wish to go to do so with a reasonable prospect of reaping in some measure the reward of many years' work and investment should they decide to leave."

Mr. Maudling's attention was especially directed to six issues which were described as "fundamental to any measure of restoration and/or maintenance of confidence among the European community". They were:

- (1) *Internal Security and Maintenance of Law and Order.*
 - (a) That the Army base in Kenya be retained up to and for some years at least after the country gains independence. Withdrawal of the British armed forces will have serious repercussions on confidence.
 - (b) That the administration of the police and local armed forces remain in European hands till such time as the danger of another Congo in Kenya can be discounted.
 - (c) That a sufficiency of European administrative and technical officers be retained in Kenya up to and during the early years of self-government.

Crown's Responsibility

- (2) *Security of Crown grants, titles and property rights both rural and urban.*

That H.M. Government cannot be absolved from overall responsibility for land titles granted by the Crown.

In this connexion it was decided to press for a treaty between H.M. Government and the Independent Kenya Government under which the latter would enter into an undertaking with H.M. Government to respect sanctity of all Crown grants and titles and property rights.

- (3) *Scope of Present Settlement Scheme.*

That the present Government settlement schemes under the Land Development and Settlement Board are inadequate in themselves for the purpose of re-establishing a market for land and so restore confidence. Moreover, they discriminate in favour of land adjoining African reserves, whereas many old people and others not geographically so happily situated will be unable to find a market for their farms.

- (4) *Representation of Minorities in Interim Government.*

That the minorities must have some measure of direct representation in the Interim Government, their representatives to be elected or chosen by their respective communities, not nominated.

- (5) *Interim internal self-government to be proved as working smoothly prior to the granting of full independence.*

That Mr. Maudling be reminded of a statement made by Mr. Macleod to the effect that the interim internal self-government legislature must prove that it is working satisfactorily and has gained the confidence of all groups before handing over complete independence.

- (6) *Citizenship.*

That the possible repercussions of enforced citizenship must be meticulously examined, and, where necessary, countered.

The K.N.F.U. supported in its entirety the memorandum and the above six points, but being a non-political organization, it decided that its representatives should discuss with the Minister only the first three points, leaving the remainder, because of their political nature, to be dealt with by other members of the delegation.

Britain's Moral Obligation

After Mr. Maudling had made his statement before leaving Nairobi, Mr. Oates stated that it indicated that he had noted the points raised by the joint delegation.

"In the circumstances and in the time allowed him, the statement could only be a general one, with which few people will disagree. It is also noted that Mr. Maudling has again stated the moral obligations of the British Government toward the European farmer. This emphasizes the statement made by Mr. Macleod to the deputation from the Convention last July at the time that the results of the land survey presented to the House of Commons."

The K.N.F.U. issued this explanation of its action:—
"The decision to join in presenting the memorandum to the Secretary of State was not lightly taken, since the K.N.F.U. is a non-political organization. It was however, unanimously agreed by our council, executive committee, and the chairmen of our area branches that it is our duty to do so."

"Our constitution binds us to promote the interests of all Kenya farmers by furthering or opposing legislation affecting agriculture, and also to arrange discussions and otherwise make known the views of farmers in the country to the public."

"Our African members will have adequate representation through their political leaders at the proposed constitutional conference, but we must also ensure that our European members will be equally well represented. We therefore made this joint approach on their behalf to the Colonial Secretary."

"Satisfactory solution of the six points embodied in the memorandum is in the interests of farmers of all races."

Representatives of Commerce and Industry

MR. R. J. HILLARD, president of Nairobi Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. E. C. Field, the vice-president, put the case of commerce and industry to Mr. Maudling and at a general meeting of the chamber last week the president outlined what they had said.

The burning issue for Europeans, they had emphasized, was the question of land titles, agricultural, industrial, commercial, and domestic. Because the land on which offices and factories stand had little emotional content, men in commerce and industry were less worried than the European and African owners of agricultural land.

If the anxieties of such farmers were not adequately met, the ultimate explosion might blow the whole of Kenya's agricultural economy to pieces, and since commerce and industry depended on the prosperity of agriculture, the commercial and industrial economy might simultaneously be shattered.

The Minister's attention had been drawn to the latest statistics from the Treasury, the banks, and the building societies, and to the figures about bankruptcies and the serious increase in unemployment. He had been told of the position of the building trade, the motor trade, the business in petroleum products, agricultural machinery, and other major items, and it had been possible to point to one of the fairly buoyant industries—that of the breweries.

The continuing need for the services of non-Africans in the professions, commerce and industry had been stressed, and

(Continued on page 352)

PERSONALIA

SIR BARCLAY NIHILL left London on Tuesday for Dar es Salaam.

MR. V. C. PONSONBY has resigned from the board of British Overseas Stores, Ltd.

LORD BIRDWOOD is now a director of London City and Midlands Properties Co., Ltd.

PROFESSOR R. B. HUNTER, of St. Andrew's University is spending most of this month in Kenya.

SIR CHRISTOPHER COX is to receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Law from Leeds University.

MR. CLAUDE CHEYSSON, secretary general of C.C.T.A., was in Nairobi early this week on his way to Dar es Salaam.

MR. EDWARD HALWENGE is now Deputy Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry of Tanganyika.

MR. J. F. PRIDEAUX, a director of the Westminster Bank since 1955, is to become deputy chairman on January 1 next.

When KENYATTA recently visited Addis Ababa, he was presented by the EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA with a silver-handled fly-whisk.

MR. H. C. DRYTON has resigned the chairmanship of Peninsular Investment Co., Ltd. The new chairman is S. R. DEANE.

MR. A. R. NEELAND, chairman of the Cementation Co., Ltd., will leave London today in the PENNINE CASTLE on his way to Rhodesia.

MR. L. P. GARDNER, a director of Gallely & Roberts, Ltd. will shortly leave Nairobi for Ghana to become chairman of a motor distributing organization in that country.

MR. M. P. GALAFFA is president of the newly-formed Nyasa National Union of Posts and Telecommunications Workers. MR. M. MATINGA is general secretary.

MR. JENNETH BRADLEY, director-general of the Commonwealth Institute, and MRS. BRADLEY were among the guests of the Royal Overseas League at luncheon last week.

SIR RALPH HONE is due in Nairobi today for a visit of about a month. He will be available for consultations on constitutional matters by representatives of the various parties and groups.

MRS. MENON, Deputy Minister of External Affairs in the Government of India, is spending a few days in Kenya while visiting East Africa for the Independence celebrations in Tanganyika.

SIR ARTHUR and LADY KIRBY gave a reception at East Africa House, London, for MR. DUNSTAN OMARI, High Commissioner-designate for Tanganyika, and MR. SAM NITRO, on Tuesday evening.

SIR ALAN DUDLEY, Under-Secretary in the Department of Technical Co-operation, has had discussions in Tanganyika with Ministers and officials on British post-independence technical assistance.

LIEUT.-COLONEL C. P. DAWNEY, chairman of the Dalgety group, and managing director of Lazard Brothers & Co., has been elected a member of the London district board of Martins Bank.

MAJOR MICHAEL HAWKINS, private secretary to the DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, is about to spend a week in Kenya in connection with the arrangements for the visit by the DUKE and DUCHESS early next year.

MR. W. M. ROBSON, a director of the Standard Bank of South Africa, has been appointed a director of the British and Rhodesian Discount House, Ltd., of which MR. C. J. GUISE will become the company manager on January 1, when MR. L. T. ALLEN will return to London.

MR. T. A. PEAKE, statistical officer of the East African Customs and Excise Department, represented East Africa in Addis Ababa this week at a seminar on the collation and publication of external trade statistics.

MR. S. R. M. MAKUTIKA, the first African to become a senior labour officer in Tanganyika, has taken over responsibility for the Southern Province. In 1959 he was the first African in the territory to become a labour officer.

SIR FREDERICK CRAWFORD, lately Governor of Uganda, has been appointed a member of the Rhodesian Board of Barclays Bank D.C.O. and a director in Salisbury of the British South Africa Company.

SIR COLIN THORNLEY, whose term of office as Governor of British Honduras ended on Monday, sailed that day for Jamaica. He served in Tanganyika Territory from 1930 to 1939, in Kenya from 1945 to 1952, and then in Uganda until 1955.

While CHIEF ALBERT LUTHULI is in London on his way to Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace Prize he will be the guest of the Committee of African Organizations. Though president of the South African National Congress Party, MR. LUTHULI was born in Rhodesia.

Paintings by MRS. PATRICIA TARGET, wife of MR. BRIAN TARGET, Crown counsel in Zanzibar, will be exhibited in the art gallery of the Commonwealth Institute, London; from December 8 to 31. MRS. TARGET, an Australian, studied art in Australia and England.

MR. C. V. CARSTAIRS, Colonial Office Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs and Security, has had talks in Tanganyika with the Governor, SIR RICHARD JURNBULL, the Prime Minister, MR. J. K. NYERERE, and the Minister for Home Affairs, MR. G. KUTAMA.

MESSRS. P. K. BURENDELL, H. Z. TALAWA, W. HAY and R. G. LOOSMORE have been appointed district commissioners for Geita, Biharamulo, Bukoba, and Shinyanga, in Tanganyika, in place of MESSRS. M. F. K. KIMICHA, D. FULLERTON, H. J. HERRING and J. FEHRESEN respectively.

HEER VON HASSELL, Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein, who will represent the Federal Republic of Germany at the Independence Celebrations in Tanganyika, will be accompanied by Dr. STRIEZNER, head of the East African Affairs Department of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

SIR KENNETH O'CONNOR, president of the Appeal Court for Eastern Africa for the past four years, is about to retire. Since joining the Colonial Legal Service in 1943, he has acted as Attorney-General and Chief Justice in Kenya, and has held similar posts in Malaya and Jamaica.

Visitors in London from the Federation include MR. & MRS. R. H. F. AUSTIN, MRS. CHAD CHIPUNZA, MR. H. M. DOUGHTY, MR. & MRS. J. HAWKINS, the REV. L. B. KENNEDY, MR. V. LINDSAY, MR. H. E. J. M. MICKLINGHOFF, MR. & MRS. W. D. C. SEMPLE, SIR THOMAS & LADY SPENSER-WILKINSON, and MR. & MRS. K. A. WOOD.

PROFESSOR E. L. YATES is chairman of the council of the Southern Rhodesian Student Christian Movement, formed recently in Goromonzi. MR. E. MAZIMWANA is vice-chairman and MRS. N. OSWALD THORNE secretary. MR. D. WILEY, an American, is to be the first travelling and organizing secretary, and will be based at the Epworth Mission.

BISHOP TREVOR HUDDLESTON, of Masasi, returned to Tanganyika a few days ago after a coast-to-coast tour of the United States. Apart from any preaching engagements, he broadcast and appeared on television. The purpose of the visit was to arouse support for the Church in Africa, and especially for St. Cyrian's College in his diocese.

MESSRS. G. M. NHIGULA, of Mwanza, A. B. C. DANIELI and B. J. MKATTE, of Dar es Salaam, R. LUKINDO, of Tanga, and R. D. SWAI and C. Y. MGOJA, of Moshi, who have been seconded to the Foreign Service of the Tanganyika Government, have begun courses in international relations at Oxford and Cambridge Universities.

MR. JOSEPH KACHINGWE, a Tanganyika African, who recently became the first African to end a strike in Nyasaland by sole arbitration, will represent that territory's trade unions at a Commonwealth study conference on "Human Consequences of Changing Industrial Environment in the Commonwealth", to be held in specially equipped trains during a coast-to-coast tour of Canada.

On Monday afternoon the Federal High Commissioner in London and MRS. ROBINSON gave a tea party at Rhodesia House for MISS MUTUMBA MAINGA, a graduate of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, who is visiting the United Kingdom under the auspices of the English Speaking Union. Next Sunday MR. ROBINSON will leave by air for a short official visit to Western Germany and Belgium.

DR. RAMSEY, Archbishop of Canterbury (who has visited East and Central Africa), and Dr. E. J. BECHER, Archbishop of East Africa, have been elected members of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches. DR. JOSEPH OLDHAM, who was a member of the Ormsby Gore Commission to East Africa, last week elected honorary president of the World Council, of which he was one of the creators.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY has offered at a nominal rent of £1 a year a site for a gypsy camp near his home at Hatfield, Hertfordshire. This will be the first Romany camp established by a trust of which the EARL OF ONSLOW and the EARL OF BIRBOROUGH are trustees. The aim is eventually to have small camps of 20 persons in many parts of the country. A Romany mission is to supervise the Hatfield camp.

MR. BALAMU MUKASA, Uganda's Minister of Agriculture, was leader of a trade delegation to India which included MR. C. K. PATEL, Minister of Commerce and Industry, MR. M. M. NGOBI, M.L.C., MR. C. S. SCRIMGEOUR, technical adviser to the Lint Marketing Board, MR. V. N. CLERK, representing the Cotton Association, and MR. T. JONES, of the Agricultural Department. The Indian Trade Commissioner in East Africa, MR. V. V. DEV, accompanied the mission.

MR. H. S. H. STANLEY, who is to be British Deputy High Commissioner in Dar es Salaam, has been attached to the staff of the Governor of Tanganyika for the past six months. He was educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford, and after service in the Army joined the Commonwealth Relations Office in 1947. He was First Secretary on the staff of the British High Commissioner in Pakistan from 1950 to 1952, was in the office of the High Commissioner for Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland from 1954 to 1956, and has also served in the British Embassy in Washington.

A specially struck medal inscribed "Belgium Remembers" has been presented to a group of Northern Rhodesians who organized aid on the Copperbelt for Belgian refugees from the Congo at the time of that country's independence last year. Among the recipients are MR. O. B. BENNETT, general manager of the Rhokana Corporation; MR. JOHN BENTLEY, general manager of the Mfulira mine; MR. W. M. COMRIE, mayor of Kitwe; MR. N. M. KENNY, general manager of Roan Antelope mine; MR. A. B. LOUW, mayor of Ndola at the time; LIEUT.-COLONEL F. G. MILLIGAN, of Rhokana; MR. J. P. MURRAY, now Northern Rhodesian Commissioner in London, and then P.C.; MR. J. L. REID, of Rhokana, and MR. E. E. ROGERS, of Mkana.

Tanganyika Becomes Independent

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA will tomorrow publish a 68-page illustrated special issue under the above title. The contributors include:—

Sir Richard Turnbull	Lord Twining
Mr. Julius K. Nyerere	Sir Ernest Vasey
Sir Edgeworth David	Sir Alfred Vinton
Sir Edmund Teale	Sir Charles Philips
Mr. G. F. G. Mackay	Mr. O. S. Kambo
Mr. J. F. Lloyd	Mr. J. M. Hunter
Mr. D. C. Brook	Mr. V. G. ...
Mr. J. H. S. Tranter	Mr. J. E. Chunde
Mr. John Bellamy	Mr. Paul Bomani

THERE ARE also outlines of the careers of Sir Richard Turnbull, Mr. Nyerere, all Cabinet Ministers in Tanganyika and the country's High Commissioner in London.

COPIES should be ordered immediately from EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, 66 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

PRICE: 4s. post free by surface mail to any address; 7s. 6d. by second class air mail.

Obituary

Sir Claud Hollis

SIR CLAUD HOLLIS, G.C.M.G., C.B.E., who has died at the age of 87, served in East Africa for many years and never lost his interest in the territories.

Born in 1874, he was educated privately and in Switzerland and Germany, and at the age of 23, was appointed an assistant collector in the East Africa Protectorate, now Kenya. After serving in the Uganda Mutiny he went to Dar es Salaam as acting vice-consul in German East Africa, and, in 1903 was appointed Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate. From 1907 to 1912 he was Secretary for Native Affairs and a member of the Legislative Council, and he was then transferred to Sierra Leone as Colonial Secretary. When a provisional civil administration was created in German East Africa in 1916 after half that country had been captured he was brought back as Secretary, and he was later the first Chief Secretary in Tanganyika, holding that office from 1919 until he went to Zanzibar as British Resident in 1924. In 1930 he was promoted Governor of Trinidad, and six years later he retired from the Colonial Service.

He had made a close study of African tribes and their languages and folklore, and had written books on the Masai and the Nandi.

Many years he represented the British Colonial Territories on the Commonwealth Communications Council. When he retired from that body in 1947 he had completed half a century of continuous service in or for the Colonies.

His only son was killed in action in Eritrea in 1941 while serving in the King's African Rifles, and his brother, then Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak, was taken prisoner by the Japanese in 1942.

Mr. William Gemmill

MR. WILLIAM GEMMILL, who has died in Southern Rhodesia, was for many years general manager of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, relinquishing the Johannesburg appointment four years ago, to administer the work in Central Africa, with Salisbury as headquarters. He inaugurated the air transport from remote parts of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland of African volunteers for the mines, established a motor barge service on the Zambezi, and did a great deal for the comfort of men anxious to work far away from their home areas.

Born in Scotland in 1885, he was educated at Glasgow High School and Glasgow University, and in 1924 joined the staff of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines. From the creation of the International Labour Office in Geneva in 1919 he had been a member of the governing body until he resigned four years ago. He was a member of the Southern Rhodesian Mining Commission of 1945, and had sat on similar commissions and boards of inquiry in Northern Rhodesia.

In the 1914-18 war he served in the East Africa Protectorate Forces, latterly as a Lieut.-Colonel.

Brigadier S. K. Thorburn

BRIGADIER STEPHEN KEITH THORBURN, O.B.E., M.C., who has died in London, aged 67, served in France throughout the 1914-18 war, and for three years in the last war commanded a Royal Artillery brigade in East Africa. On returning to civil life he became chairman of Willoughby's Consolidated Co., Ltd., and a director of London and Rhodesian Mining & Land Co., Ltd., and African Investment Trust, Ltd. Later he joined other boards.

SISTER L. E. CONNELLY, M.B.E., who has died in Salisbury, had lived in Southern Rhodesia since 1907, when she arrived as a nursing sister.

MR. F. TAYLOR, who has died in Umtali, aged 85, created the splendid gardens at Manchester Park which are now the Vumba National Park. He arrived in Umtali in 1901 and was later mayor.

MR. R. W. FOXLEE, C.M.G., C.B.E., who has died at the age of 76, was from 1949 to 1954 engineer-in-chief to the Crown Agents and Engineering Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. He had travelled widely in East Africa.

LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR HUGH BATEMAN PROTHEROE-SMITH of Pentowan, Falmouth, who has died at the age of 89, took part in the charge of the 21st Lancers against the Dervishes at Omdurman in 1898. The only surviving officer of the regiment who was in the charge is now Sir Winston Churchill, who was 87 last week.

MRS. DORCAS AUBREY, who had lived in the Ruiru district of Kenya for 48 years, has died in the Colony. Some years ago she was awarded the M.B.E. for her social and charitable work, which had been extensive throughout almost the whole of her life in the Colony. She was a founder member of the East Africa Women's League and for many years a vice-president, and for nearly 40 years she worked devotedly for the Lady Northey Home, Nairobi.

CAPTAIN SIR PETER MACDONALD, K.B.E., Conservative M.P. for the Isle of Wight from 1924 to 1955, died on Saturday at the age of 66 while riding near his home on the island. He was a Canadian who served in France through the 1914-18 war and decided to remain in England. After election to the House of Commons he founded and was for 20 years chairman of the Conservative Parliamentary Imperial Affairs Committee. He had been deeply interested in East and Central African affairs, and had visited the territories.

AFRICAN GROWERS of pyrethrum in Tanganyika now number more than 6,000. The crop is becoming increasingly scarce.

THE IRANGA TOBACCO CROP in the season just ended totalled 24,000 lb. of Virginia leaf, which was sold at an average of 2s. 4d. cents per lb.

THE WORLD has only two known deposits of first-grade meerschaum. One is in Tanganyika. Meerschaum pipes are being made in a new factory in Arusha.

MR. S. M. MOORE-GILBERT saw 51 lions and five rhino in the Ngorongoro Crater on one day recently. Among them were eight lion cubs and two rhino cubs.

COMMERCIAL BANKS with experience in Tanganyika are to help the Government in the establishment of a Co-operative Bank, to which they will second a manager and staff.

NEXT YEAR East African Tobacco Co., Ltd., will introduce a new price structure in order to encourage production of better quality leaf. For best top grades a price of 5s. 25 cents per lb. will be paid. The prices for the poorest grades will, however, be lower than hitherto.

MR. CORNELIUS KUIPERS, head of the tourist section of the Ministry of Economic Affairs in Holland, is to spend a year in Tanganyika to advise on measures which Tanganyika should take to attract and accommodate tourists. Financial help is being provided by the United Nations.

IN RELATION to its population Tanganyika has one of the smallest police forces in the world. On January 1 last the total strength was 5,148, comprising 233 Europeans, 491 Asians, and 4,724 Africans. Six months earlier it had been decided to increase the force by 2,400 men over a four-year period. In most of the larger towns a special constabulary has been formed from volunteers of all races.

Letter to the Editor

Tanganyika and Federation

Views of Mr. R. N. Donaldson

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR,—Only recently have the real intentions of the British Government towards the remaining Colonies and Dependencies become manifest to their inhabitants. It had not been fully appreciated that the true aim was immediate disengagement, if possible having regard to the security and convenience of the indigenous and other inhabitants, but if necessary without regard to those factors.

That this policy was obviously not until lately fully disclosed to Colonial Governors and their staffs accounts for the confusion of thought which has accompanied its implementation.

It is perhaps for that reason that the danger of the establishment of new artificial political frontiers has been insufficiently emphasized.

In the old grab for coalitions in the Indian Ocean and elsewhere, international boundaries were hastily drawn along military barriers, or, failing those, along parallels of latitude and longitude, with little regard to physical, ethnic, or economic considerations. The fact that these were Imperial, or at worst European, subdivisions masked their lateness.

It now seems that, not only are many of these boundaries to be maintained but a new form of artificial frontier is being envisaged which might be termed the "1962 balance of trade frontier."

As an inhabitant of Tanganyika, I refer, merely as an example, to Tanganyika and the proposed East and Central African Federation.

Tanganyika, with a population of nine millions, has a trade surplus of £15m. Neighbouring Kenya, with a population of eight millions, has an annual adverse trade balance of about £50m. This probably stems from the old days when "farming" in Kenya was an agreeable way of disposing of one's income, while farming in Tanganyika was a hard way of earning it. At all events, responsibility for Kenya's present predicament lies squarely on the Colonial Office.

As things are, it is, of course, impossible to grant "independence" to a Kenya-type Colony: as an isolated political unit she must either remain dependant on the British taxpayer or other dispensers of credit or else go bankrupt and revert to primitive tribalism while awaiting recolonization, perhaps by Africans.

In furtherance of Britain's determination to discard her overseas responsibilities, the Colonial Office has looked to federation for a solution of this problem. Thus the present Central African Federation was calculated to transfer to Northern Rhodesia the burden of Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland's insolvency. Now, it seems, it is hoped to wheedle Northern Rhodesia into a federation with East Africa and Nyasaland. The bankrupt areas are to be fobbed off upon the viable ones.

Tanganyika whose £15m. export surplus has hitherto been lost to the East African common currency, and which needs every cent of that surplus for its own development, is to see it permanently committed to the subsidization of its bankrupt neighbour.

The Colonial Office, with loose talk of "common markets" and "unity is strength", and hints calculated to arouse cupidity and ambition, seems successfully to have sold the federal idea to the African leaders, many of whom are notoriously improvident and indifferent to financial and economic problems of any complexity.

This short-range solution disregards the obvious inability of the present African leaders to establish or maintain governmental discipline over mixed masses

of population extended over huge areas, as well as their inability to cope with the large-scale financial and economic problems involved. It also disregards the grotesque unsuitability, geographic, linguistic, ethnic, and economic, of the national and federal boundaries which it will be necessary to try and demarcate.

It is a solution the long-range price of which may well be a series of civil wars in Africa, the responsibility for which will be Britain's.

Some other solution should be sought.

Tanga,

Yours faithfully,

Tanganyika.

R. N. DONALDSON.

[Mr. Donaldson's references to federation do not seem to us accurate. Far from looking to federation for a solution, the Colonial Office has been inordinately timid at all times, except when the late Leopold Amery was Secretary of State.

Had it been left to the United Kingdom Government, there would still have been no Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the achievement of which was essentially due to the long-continued pressure by Lord Malvern, then Sir Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, who had the strong support of Sir Roy Welensky, Northern Rhodesia's leading political figure. Their purpose was certainly not "to transfer to Northern Rhodesia the burden of Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland's insolvency", but to create a more stable and dynamic union. Southern Rhodesia was very far from insolvent, and Northern Rhodesia, almost entirely dependent upon copper, recognized its vulnerability. The architects and advocates of the Federation believed, and most of them still believe, that all three territories stood and stand to gain from the closest possible co-operation and co-ordination.

So far as we are aware, there has been no attempt whatsoever by any Colonial Office spokesman "to wheedle Northern Rhodesia into a Federation of Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland". Steps of that kind have been made during the past year or two by a few African politicians. One of the surprises has been that Mr. Nyirere, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, a territory in great need of further funds for development purposes, should have expressed sympathy with the view of Dr. Banda, the Malawi Congress Party leader in Nyasaland, that these two territories should unite, for the present state of progress in Nyasaland is maintained only by an annual subsidy from the Central African Federation of about £4m., a sum more likely to increase than decrease; and Tanganyika quite obviously needs every pound which she can attract for her own purposes.

Our correspondent, we are convinced, is quite wrong in thinking that "the Colonial Office has sold the federal idea to the African leaders". His attitude has been, and is, that the decision in this matter must be made by the Governments of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika when those countries have become independent.—Ed.]

Points from Letters

Sordid Record

THE ABOUT-FACE OVER Kenyatta was the last straw. A Government which can place a man with his record back into a position of the highest importance in Kenya is capable of anything. I sincerely hope that your paper will continue to print the facts, so that a permanent record is made of the whole sordid business.

Bristling Pacifist

THE KAUNDA BRAND of non-violence appears from reports from Northern Rhodesia to be decidedly unpacifistic. So were his words here in Dar es Salaam, where, having again emphasized his deep devotion to non-violence, he thought fit to add: "The whole European population is in our hands. If we wanted it, they would not live a day." If this is the kind of language he uses, who can be surprised that some of his U.N.I.P. followers indulge in murder, arson, dynamiting, battery, and other gentle pastimes?"

Urgent N. Rhodesia Solution Needed Nyasaland's Encouraging Progress

MR. MAUDLING, the Colonial Secretary, will not visit Fort Rosebery in Luapula Province, but returns instead today to Lusaka in order to have further discussions with Northern Rhodesian politicians, and to allow for an earlier flight to Salisbury for a final meeting with Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, before returning to Britain.

He told a civic luncheon in Lusaka that he would not disclose his conclusions before leaving, but promised to try to reach an early decision on the constitution.

Britain Not Pulling Out

On arrival in Salisbury from Kenya Mr. Maudling denied that the British Government aimed at "pulling out of Africa in the shortest possible time". He said that British policy "is to see that African countries under our control gain self-government at the right time, not in the shortest time".

A solution of Northern Rhodesia's constitutional problem was most urgent. There had to be a Constitution, which would be introduced in some other way if agreement were not reached. He denied that Britain had given way to violence in the Protectorate.

In Nyasaland Mr. Maudling said that he had been very impressed by statements in the Legislative Council two days previously at its first business session, at which Dr. Banda's "astute and restrained" comments on the situation were noted.

After talks with Dr. Banda, the Malawi leader and Secretary of Local Government and Natural Resources, and with other Ministers, United Federal Party members, representatives of the Senior Civil Servants' Association and the African Civil Servants' Association and the Settlers' and Residents' Association, Mr. Maudling said that he had gained an understanding of Nyasaland's problems and felt that the political progress was encouraging.

Secession Absolutely Essential

Dr. Banda had made it quite clear to him that he believed secession from the Federation was absolutely essential to the country. "I myself have nothing further to add to the last statement made in the House of Commons by the Commonwealth Relations Secretary."

Nyasaland's new Ministers recognized the seriousness of the problems facing them but were confident of being able to deal with them.

As to the next constitutional step, it would take place "at the right time" making public statements about these things never help.

A Malawi Congress Party spokesman stated that Dr. Banda had not pressed his demands for secession because the need to convince Britain that the new Nyasaland Government was working well and that the country was a good investment area took precedence over any statement of plans for secession from the Federation.

A Senior Civil Servants' Association delegation told the Colonial Secretary that its members were not satisfied with the proposals for their future service and salaries. They had been led to expect treatment comparable to that offered to civil servants in East Africa under the Fleming Report, but the terms being imposed were much inferior.

In Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, some 600 police, including riot squads and mounted patrols, were on duty at the airport to control great crowds of U.N.I.P. and A.N.C. supporters, many of whom carried banners and shouted slogans. A sit-down demonstration planned by U.N.I.P. was stopped by the police.

Mr. Maudling's first call next day was on the Lilungwa of Barotseland, Sir Mwanawina Lewanika, who was expected to tell the Colonial Secretary, as he had told his predecessor, that if African nationalists came to power in Northern Rhodesia he would want separate recognition and protection from Britain for Barotseland.

Northern Rhodesia's coming general election and its new Constitution are the last chances which Europeans there will have to establish their basic rights. Sir John Moffat, leader of the Liberal Party, said in Lusaka recently: "All parties should therefore be represented in the next Parliament. If the major African political party was left out again, the new Con-

stitution would not last as long as that of 1958. If Asian voters in the national seats were given the same rights as other voters, and qualifications for national seat candidates were equated, that could be done. But the U.F.P. had rejected such changes.

"Can its leader say why they will not consider these changes?" he asked. "The answer will probably be that the June constitutional pattern was declared settled and must not be changed even to correct injustices. This is a strange argument from a party which refused to accept the declaration that the pattern was finally settled in February and which exerted pressures which won the changes in June."

Agreement had to be reached to prevent the imposition of changes by Britain if the threat of lawlessness were to be removed. If the U.F.P. would not agree, Sir John hoped public opinion would force it to. He added that the election could be held by next April.

U.N.I.P. Still Rejects "Racial" Plans

The United National Independence Party president, Mr. Kaunda, said after meeting Mr. Maudling that he had told him that his party still rejected the constitutional proposals because of their racial approach. U.N.I.P. would boycott any elections held under them. The party, he insisted, was not trying to snatch power quickly and wanted to create conditions of confidence for all communities on a non-racial basis.

The special correspondent of *The Times* cable: "There is no mistaking Mr. Kaunda's distress. He feels that violence will break out again unless changes are announced which can be made to look like a victory for U.N.I.P. He is not sure that he can carry his party with him any longer, and if he fails to win more favourable changes the extreme wing of his party will see it as a defeat for his policy of non-violence."

The British Government has tried to divorce the constitutional discussions from all considerations of security, but Mr. Maudling has only to think of the security measures taken for his arrival at Lusaka and to compare them with the amiable reception he was given in Blantyre to see that he is doing nothing Northern Rhodesian. Constitution with the threat of violence at his back.

"Going Too Far Too Fast"

Mr. John Roberts, leader of the United Federal Party, said that his delegation had warned Mr. Maudling of the dangers of "going too far too fast" in giving power to African nationalists. The U.F.P. realized that there would eventually be an African-dominated Government, but he had put it to the Colonial Secretary that that should come about in the best possible circumstances, and not through a series of tribal clashes and greater political divisions. U.N.I.P. leaders, Britain should stick to the existing constitutional proposals, which the U.F.P. had reluctantly accepted because of the saving grace of the procedure laid down for national seat elections.

Help From the Great Groups Faith in the Federation

ANGLO-AMERICAN CORPORATION has offered to lend the Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland £5.1m. over the next 13 years, mainly to raise African living standards and relieve unemployment, particularly in Northern Rhodesia. A first instalment of £1m. is to be paid this month. There will then be 12 annual payments of £300,000 each.

Sir Roy Welensky said in Umfali on Saturday that the British South Africa Company, which had made a £4m. loan to the Federal Government in connexion with the building of the Kariba hydro-electric scheme, had decided that as instalments were paid over a 20-year period beginning in 1966 they would be returned to the Federal Government for development purposes at the rate of interest to be mutually agreed.

"The interest of hooligans who do not want unity among all Tanganyikans is to see that there is quarrelling and unnecessary opposition, so that instead of waging war against poverty we would be spending our time and energy settling our differences and quarrels."

— Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, Minister without Portfolio in Tanganyika

Inter-Tribal Clashes Stopped in Kenya

Awards for Calmness and Courage

MR. EDWARD C. BROOKS, Chief Parsauti ole Ngoi, and Mr. George W. Matheka, all of Kenya, have received The Queen's Commendation for Brave Conduct.

The citations are in the following terms:—

"On Monday, May 25, Mr. Edward C. Brooks was informed that large numbers of armed Kisii and Masa' tribesmen were massing on the border in the area of Magench market in the Mageo location of Kisii district.

"He proceeded at once to the scene of the incident, collecting the local Kisii chief on the way.

"As they approached the scene Mr. Brooks ordered the armed escort of tribal police to remain out of sight of the assembled tribesmen and went forward to speak to some 1,500 Kisii, who were well armed with Native weapons and in truculent mood. They made it quite clear that they did not intend to follow Mr. Brooks's advice to disperse and to leave matters of law and order to the Government.

"Mr. Brooks then crossed the 400 yards which separated the two gatherings to speak to some 400 assembled and armed Masa'. As he moved towards the Masa' the Kisii moved behind him. The Masa' then charged the Kisii; who retreated to their original position. The Masa' stopped their charge at this point, where they met Mr. Brooks. He persuaded the Masa' to move back to a place beyond their original assembly point. As they were doing so, however, the Kisii charged again and the Masa' retreated. This skirmish was stopped by a Kenya police constable firing a shot in the air.

"Again Mr. Brooks returned to try and persuade the Kisii to disperse. Under the pretence of accepting this advice, a large party of Kisii made a flank attack on the Masa', but retreated when the Masa' moved to meet them.

"A Kenya Police party then arrived, and as Mr. Brooks was discussing the situation with the Inspector in charge in between the two groups, the Kisii again charged towards the Masa', who immediately charged towards the Kisii. This further clash was reduced to a skirmish by the police party opening fire. Mr. Brooks was then able to lead the Kisii party away from the scene.

"It is considered that he showed commendable bravery in persisting in his attempts to persuade the two sides to disperse. He exposed himself to considerable danger from arrows and

spears as he moved between the two groups, who were intent on fighting.

"After assessing the truculent and unco-operative attitude of the Kisii when he first spoke to them, he would have been justified in withdrawing and waiting for police reinforcements to deal with the incident. At great personal risk, however, he decided to try and keep the two sides apart. There is no doubt that his efforts until the arrival of the police party prevented a major clash and serious consequences.

"The Magistrate conducting the inquest on the three tribesmen killed in the skirmishes commented: 'Apart from the medical evidence, the only useful testimony which appeared to me to be completely impartial was that of Inspector Zadock and of Mr. Brooks, the district officer from South Nyanza, who in my opinion behaved with admirable discretion and considerable bravery. Phase II opens with the arrival of the D.O. and his party together with Chief Asa. Acting with commendable coolness, they held parley with both sides and made every endeavour to disperse the two factions, remaining for the most part between them.'

"It is considered that Mr. Brooks's conduct and bravery were outstanding and deserve recognition by the award of the Queen's Commendation for Brave Conduct."

The same award has been made to Hospital Assistant George William Matheka, of whom the citation states:—

"On September 15, 1960, he demonstrated considerable gallantry against superior odds in that he refused to surrender either the safe keys or the keys of the Donyo Sabuk dispensary when demanded from him by an armed gang estimated to be 40 strong, and was in consequence seriously assaulted, receiving stab wounds and broken ribs and suffered serious loss of blood and other injuries which required his immediate admission to hospital. He demonstrated considerable courage far beyond that required by the call of duty."

Chief Parsauti ole Ngoi has been similarly honoured. On September 1, 1960, at approximately 9.30 a.m. on the main Mombasa-Nairobi road, some 20 miles from Sultan Hamud, Chief Parsauti ole Ngoi restrained a band of 200-80 armed Masa' tribesmen, who, having had a considerable number of cattle stolen from them, had gathered there, intending, were intent on seeking revenge and were in an ugly mood.

"For an hour and a half Chief ole Ngoi tirelessly and with disregard for his own safety, endeavoured to dissuade the Masa' from attacking the band of some 200 armed Masa' tribesmen who were gathered about 200 yards up the road. Throughout the whole incident the Masa' were in an extremely agitated state, and completely incapable of listening to reason. Although the outcome of the incident was an eventual clash between the two bands, it was due to the efforts of the Masa' to their reserve. Without his efforts and his devotion to duty the incident might well have resulted in the deaths of many more members of both tribes."



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Famine in East Africa

Masa' Cattle Losses of £14m.

ABOUT 300,000 MASA' CATTLE, valued at more than £14m., are officially stated to have died since February owing to the severe drought. About 38,000 Kenya Masa' are now receiving famine relief, mainly in the form of maize and powdered milk and meat.

More than 200 tons of famine relief food, mainly milk powder, given by various organizations in the United Kingdom, are being carried free of charge by the British India vessel CHLKA, which left London on Saturday for Mombasa and Dar es Salaam.

The Inter-Church Aid Department of the British Council of Churches has given £5,000 for the relief of famine and flood victims in Kenya and the same sum for the same purpose in Tanganyika. During the past five years Inter-Church Aid has spent nearly £250,000 in Kenya, starting with work in the Mau Mau detention camps and spreading into social work in the new villages, and community centres, youth and adult education, and industrial welfare generally. The Christian Council of Kenya has supervised allocation of the funds.

African members of the Society of Friends are working among the flood victims in three areas in Kenya. Food kitchens are being operated at Kisamis, near Ngong, in the Turkana country, and at Ngatataik in Masailand. The Friends Service Council in London has sent £2,250 for these operations.

Prisoners and staff at prisons in Kamiti, Shimo-la-Tewa, Nyeri, Nakuru, Kericho, and Manyani have organized collections for the Kenya National Food Relief Committee. Kisumu prison collected £19.

Warning of Economic Ruin

(Continued from page 345)

also the fact that it would be many, many years before Africans would be capable of occupying the key positions.

Mr. Maundling was told that non-African businessmen—and of the 384 members of the chamber 51 were Asians—deplored the statement of a Kenya African politician that Permanent Secretaries for Kenya's civil service should be recruited from universities and even schools: commerce and industry could not tolerate a state of affairs in which their highly qualified and experienced men would have to give way to Africans with very low qualifications and no experience. That, of course, was also true of doctors, lawyers, accountants, and people in other professions.

Expatriates resident in Kenya feared that law and order might collapse, and their persons and property might be in hazard; in short, that there might be another Congo. Another fear was of the lowering of standards of education for their children by the substitution of Africans with low qualifications for the present non-African teachers with high qualifications.

Yet another fear was that there might be compulsion to take out Kenya citizenship, which might be made a *sine qua non* for property ownership.

It had been suggested a trade mission from the United Kingdom should be sent to East Africa. There had been missions from West Germany, Denmark, Japan, and even Formosa, but none from the United Kingdom. Surely a mission should be sent out to see what new prospects there might be of an African market for U.K. goods.

In conclusion, it had been emphasized that Nairobi Chamber of Commerce did not believe that Kenya's economy could recover from its present plight without entrenched security for investment and stability of contract.

It is an Independent Government, it is a responsible, efficient, and ready to listen to advice, also recovery in the enemy might be expected and new investment might be attracted, but if the new Government were inefficient, corrupt, and thoroughly dishonourable, the whole economy would collapse.

Common E. A. Market Attracts Money

Tanganyika's Refreshing Good Sense

IF THE COMMON MARKET were to break up, East Africa would be less attractive to investors, says the quarterly review of National and Grindlays Bank. The writer states (in part):—

"Tanganyika has shown a real and good sense that is in refreshing contrast to much of the contemporary African scene. A lot of credit for the smooth transition from trusteeship to independence must go to the quality of the leadership on both sides, and to the fact that over the years Tanganyika has been spared the complication attendant upon a 'White Highlands' policy or a 'tribal reserves' policy.

"The gross domestic product of East Africa in 1959, calculated at factor cost, was valued at £526m. The combined population of Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda is of the order of 22m. and the average income per head is estimated at £23.8 per annum, which puts the people of East Africa in about the same income bracket as the inhabitants of the countries of South Asia.

"The Economic and Fiscal Commission of which Sir Jeremy Raitman was chairman, looks at the East African territories as a common market, and quite early in its report stresses that, since the money income of the whole market is more than twice as great as that of Kenya alone, and more than three times as great as that of either Tanganyika or Uganda alone, it is very much more attractive to manufacturing enterprise than any one of the three territories by itself would be.

"But even when the East African market has grown much larger than now, it seems reasonable to expect that many kinds of manufacturing production will be economically feasible only if undertaken by no more than one or two establishments.

"Between 1954 and 1959 population is estimated to have increased by 9% in Kenya and Tanganyika and 12% in Uganda. All three territories are substantially dependent upon their export trade, which takes about 15% of Kenya's total product, 25% of Tanganyika's, and nearly 30% of Uganda's.

"In recent years gross capital formation in Kenya has been

almost as great as in the other two territories together, whilst average income per head of £33.3 is significantly higher than the average for the whole of East Africa or for the other two territories, though doubtless the figure is to some extent swollen by the bigger proportion of Europeans and Asian resident in Kenya. It follows that average per capita levels of consumption are higher in Kenya than elsewhere in the region.

"It is not surprising that the Economic and Fiscal Commission describes Kenya's economic growth as 'remarkable' and asks how far it is dependent upon the existence of the common market. The indications are that the degree of such dependence is high. "At a very rough estimate," says the report, "something like a third of Kenya's recent growth may have depended upon increased sales, or the prospect of increased sales, to the other two territories."

Kenyatta's Monumental Lie

Television Interview Criticized

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA published a leading article last week which sharply criticized the B.B.C. "Face-to-Face" television programme in which Kenyatta, the former Mau Mau leader, was interviewed by Mr. John Freeman, editor of the Socialist *New Statesman*. While that issue was being printed Mr. F. D. Hislop wrote in the course of a letter to the *Scotsman*:—

"A good deal of what Kenyatta said was blatantly tendentious. In particular he was concerned to put over once again the monumental lie on which his whole political career has been founded—that the European settlers in Kenya are in possession of Kikuyu land and that many Kikuyu are consequently landless.

"When European settlement began effectively in 1903, the Government alienated to the settlers of Nairobi, which was uninhabitable. Many years later Kikuyu settlers are alleged that at one time they had cultivated this land. The Carter Commission in 1952, after considerable investigation of this claim, and the claimants were given greater areas of Government land elsewhere, plus cash compensation.

"The Kikuyu tribal lands were never in size than it had ever been before. The vast majority of the Kikuyu are in possession of their tribal lands to this day—incidentally, the most fertile land in Kenya, perhaps in the whole of Africa.

"Mr. Freeman pressed Kenyatta about a future African Government's intentions towards the master of double-talk was in good form. He said that everyone's rights in property would be respected, but he must remember his remarks about the Kikuyu losing their land, that was once his.

"Nothing Kenyatta said (so far as I could make-out, because there was a degree of technical blurring at this point) would bind him not to take up a position in the future that European land anywhere near the Kikuyu tribal borders could be expropriated on the ground of Kikuyu 'rights'. The fact that the Kikuyu incomers would be people who had never had the slightest claim to the land in question would not worry him.

"Kenyatta spoke of land lying undeveloped and said that if the Europeans were not prepared to do this, it should be given out to Africans. The reason for undeveloped land in the European Highlands is that the land in question is waterless, fit only for ranching (if that), not arable farming. Kenyatta must know this as well as anybody, but he safely presumes that the British public does not.

"Kenyatta's attempts to minimize the opposition of the minority tribes to his K.A.N.U. party were fumbling. He asserted that he had been all over Kenya and had been acclaimed wherever he went. The truth is that he went only to selected places where his followers were in a good majority. He was warned off in other places and kept away accordingly.

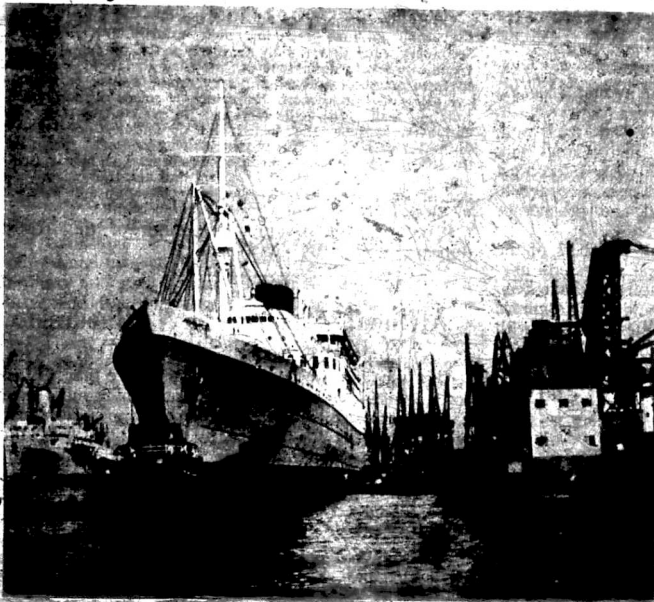
"He is not the national leader, but simply the Kikuyu leader, and it must be held extremely doubtful if all the Kikuyu are really behind him. On this performance it is difficult to imagine that Kenyatta will linger long in the political scene."

Sebel, hitherto a part of Bugisu district, is to become a separate district, the Uganda Government has decided.

Since August this year 23,000 refugees have entered Uganda from Rwanda. The cost to the Uganda Government has been some £18,000.

Nyasaland's first multi-racial club has been formed at Kasungu, birthplace of Dr. Banda. Fourteen Europeans are among the first members.

Kajjalo African District Council has handed to the Consul-General for the United States in East Africa, Mr. Richard B. Freund, a spear and a shield for presentation to Mr. Kennedy, President of the United States.



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Dr. Banda "Will Forget the Past"

Assurances to the Governor

NYASALAND LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL'S first business meeting since the general election began last week.

The Governor, Sir Glyn Jones, said that Dr. Banda, leader of the Malawi Congress Party, had assured him, and has also stated publicly, that he wished to forget the difficulties and bitterness of the past in order to concentrate on building a contented and prosperous country.

"It is my hope and prayer that all members of the Council will support this policy, so that Nyasaland may move forward in peace to a bright future. I have been struck by the keen appreciation the new Ministers have of their responsibilities and the determination with which they mean to measure up to them. I feel sure the same measure of enthusiasm will be found in all members of the House."

Every possible economy would have to be made, for the deficit which was being budgeted for would exhaust the existing small surplus balances and force Government to borrow money to cover recurrent expenditure. Britain had accepted contingent liability for short-term borrowing. The country had to explore every possible source of assistance from the many national and international bodies which realized the importance of investment in countries like Nyasaland.

Putting Nyasaland First

Civil servants, who must adjust themselves to changing times and faced grave and anxious difficulties in the few years. At this juncture in our history it is essential that the representatives of the people and the civil service should do the utmost to promote mutual understanding and tolerance and put Nyasaland first in all things.

The Adu report on localization of the civil service was accepted by the Council, subject to further examination of various detailed recommendations. A grant of £250,000 had been secured towards the cost of a school of public administration.

During the recent visit to London H.M. Government had agreed that officials dismissed under the overseas service aid scheme should be paid gross salaries based on the present Northern Rhodesian levels plus 5%, backdated to April 1. Many details had still to be negotiated, and the Civil Service Association would participate. The Governor hoped that the terms and conditions would encourage expatriate officers to continue to "fulfil their vital role in helping the country towards a prosperous future."

A State For All Races

Dr. Banda, as Minister of Local Government, introduced his first Bill, which prepares for district council elections by next June on a non-racial franchise and for the election of chairmen for the councils.

"As I have said many times, I and my party are not here to create a State for Africans alone, but a State for people of all races who want to flourish in this beautiful land. With this re-organization I hope that new spirit and enthusiasm will be injected into the local government body. In association with the Central Government, the district councils can give our people the benefit of economic, educational, and social services. Responsibility for these councils must be real and placed squarely on the shoulders of the peoples' representatives."

The fact that district commissioners were often chairmen of district councils gave the impression that the councils were no more than extension of activities from the *boma*. That idea had to be removed. "No one must think I want to get rid of district commissioners," he added: "they will still have a very important part to play in guiding the councils and training staff."

Mr. Michael Blackwood, leader of the (United Federal Party) Opposition, said that the Bill represented a substantial step forward on the road to democracy. "Whether the pace is too fast or not is a matter for discussion, since it provides for a clean sweep of all existing councils by July 1 next year."

Replying, Dr. Banda said: "If you have any fears to shed about democracy, prepare to shed them now."

Many chiefs are to be *ex-officio* members of the new councils, which will have power to levy a flat rate on all rates and special rates for approved projects. The term of office of all appointed councillors currently serving will cease immediately after elections in each district.

Other developments planned by the Government which the Governor outlined include: high priority for developing secondary education rapidly to increase the output at School Certificate level; night schools; a review of labour legislation to foster better employer-employee relationships; revision of the African Employment Ordinance to make it non-racial; training staff for field services; more courses for self-employed farmers and fishermen; community development pilot schemes in each province, with selected personnel trained in East Africa; seeking international technical assistance for surveys of potential, agricultural aid, training projects and advisers in specialized spheres; reclamation and irrigation of Elephant Marsh; and a youth training centre.

[Comment on the first paragraph of this report appears in Notes By The Way.]

Affluent Africans in N. Rhodesia

Some Now Earning £1,000 a Year

ONE AFRICAN IN LUSAKA has paid more than £3,000 for a house, and three Africans are earning more than £1,000 a year each at one of the large Copperbelt mines, which had 106 Africans on its pay-roll last year for salaries above the £500 mark, compared with 44 in 1959.

Mr. H. J. Roberts has stated that it is now common to find African motor-drivers earning £30 a month, and that those employed by petrol companies not infrequently reach £80 with overtime.

There are many African clerks and salesmen receiving between £30 and £50 a month, and African foremen in the building trade often earn between £35 and £60.

The latest available figures for Northern Rhodesia show that 40.7% of African industrial workers (excluding those employed in agriculture, mining, and fishing) earn more than £10 monthly, in nearly all cases with free housing provided.

On January 1 a new minimum wage of 91d. per hour for male adults became operative in the industrial sector of Northern Rhodesia.

African Support for U.F.P.

MR. A. T. ADAMS, general secretary of the United Federal Party of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, contradicting a statement by Mr. Richard Bland of the U.F.P. that there were probably not 800 members in Sir Roy Welensky's party, said a few days ago that of the 18,000-odd members of the U.F.P., some 25% were Africans, and the rate of increase of African membership is far higher than that of European membership. At the recent Nyasaland Congress of the party half of the delegates present were Africans, and at the Southern Rhodesian Congress last month 60 of the 200 voting delegates were Africans.

£2,050 Jobs for Africans

THE NYASALAND GOVERNMENT has published a booklet on careers and opportunities for Africans in the Natural Resources Division. Salaries range from £126 to £486 in the technical assistant class, £480 to £1,570 in the technical class, and £800 to £2,050 in the professional class. A training pool and special funds have been set up for the instruction of Africans selected for promotion, and bursaries are available for the post-secondary school training of those entering the technical and professional classes.

New Nature Reserve

THE NYASALAND GOVERNMENT has set aside as a nature reserve about 1,000 acres of Zomba Mountain.

The area covers Chiradzulu and Chirumbe peak, as well as Chingwe's Hole, a natural fissure which plunges several hundred feet into the edge of the southern escarpment. Zomba Mountain plateau is becoming one of the country's most important tourist attractions. Some of the higher peaks offer up to 100-mile panoramic views of distant mountains, plains, and lakes.

Dr. O'Brien Resigns from U.N.

President Tshombe Flies to Paris

DR. CONOR O'BRIEN, chief United Nations representative in Katanga since June, was at the week-end released from his post at his own request. He also resigned from the Irish civil service, saying that he wished to be free to speak. He issued the following statement:—

"I went to Katanga in June in compliance with the resolution of the Security Council, and specifically of the resolution of February 21 which called for the immediate evacuation and withdrawal of all foreign military and para-military personnel, including mercenaries and foreign political advisers. This resolution, passed in February, has remained a dead letter.

"There were more than 500 foreigners in the Katanga gendarmerie, including 200 officers of the Belgian Regular Army. All the key advisory posts in the Katanga service were held by Belgians.

"My instructions from the late Secretary-General were to effect a break-through and end the situation in which the Security Council resolution was being openly flouted.

Tshombe's Hate Campaign

"When I got down to this task I found myself increasingly isolated inside and outside the organization, to mounting criticism not only from Belgium but from permanent members of the Security Council, France and France. If other had frankly opposed the resolution it could not have been carried. They did not oppose its passage, but they did bitterly oppose its implementation.

"One form their opposition took, especially after August 28 when a large number of mercenaries were apprehended and expelled, was a demand for my removal. After August 13, when the U.N. was obliged to take counter-measures against the hate campaign launched by Tshombe, the demand for my removal turned into active and heavy pressure. The U.N. delegation of the U.N. was particularly active and not unduly fastidious about the means it employed.

"My continued presence in the Organization was made a burden both to the Secretariat and myself. The remote end was to bring home to all servants of the Organization that whatever resolutions of the Security Council may say, it is unwise to apply them if these Powers do not wish them to be applied.

"Excessive use of the veto by a permanent member of the Security Council is a danger to the Organization, but a danger not less great and much less known is failure by a permanent member to vote against resolutions which it is in fact opposed to. In this way the Organization becomes committed to tasks the fulfilment of which is obstructed by powerful members of the Organization. Servants of the Organization trying to carry out these tasks on behalf of the Security Council are squeezed out by members of the Council itself.

"I am not the first and am very far from being the most distinguished victim of this ploy.

Mr. O'Brien told reporters in New York that he expected to be divorced from his wife, after 23 years of marriage, by Christmas, and would then marry Miss Moira MacEntee, daughter of the Deputy Prime Minister of Eire. She has resigned from the Irish foreign service, after being attached to U.N. headquarters. She has for some months past been in Katanga. She tried to rescue Mr. Urquhart and Mr. Smith when they were being beaten up by the Katangese soldiers last week.

Katanga at Point of No Return

Dr. Sture Linner, head of U.N. operations in the Congo, reported at the week-end that Mr. Tshombe's régime was "approaching the point where it cannot control the forces it has unleashed, and where it cannot change the direction of its policy away from violence and towards peaceful collaboration with the U.N.

"Elements of the military forces and of the civil population may initiate further hostilities against the U.N. If this course is pursued, the cease-fire agreement and protocol, which have already been repeatedly violated in nearly every article by the Katanga régime, will cease to exist. U.N. forces will be compelled to employ all legitimate and available measures of force necessary to defend themselves and carry out their mandates."

In a letter to President Tshombe a few days earlier he had given a warning that "the U.N. will carry out the definite objectives set it by the Security Council resolution, if possible with the help of the Katanga authorities, but if necessary against any opposition. The choice between peaceful co-operation and the use of force lies with the Katangan authorities". Dr. Linner added that Mr. Tshombe would be held personally responsible for any massacres following his call to arms to his people.

Mr. U. Thant, acting U.N. Secretary-General, on Sunday authorized Dr. Linner to "act vigorously" to re-establish law and order and protect life and property in Katanga.

U Thant Calls Tshombe "Unstable"

At his first Press conference since taking office, he said that Mr. Tshombe was "capable of making any statement; he is a very unstable man". One of three contingencies could cause U.N. troops to be withdrawn from the Congo: satisfactory implementation of the Security Council's resolutions; irrespective of that situation, a decision by the Security Council to withdraw; or inadequate funds to continue the operation.

Mr. Brian Urquhart, chief assistant to Dr. Linner (who is widely expected to succeed Dr. O'Brien), and Mr. George Ivan Smith, now acting in Mr. O'Brien's place, were assaulted last week by Katanga para-commandos.

A Gurkha U.N. major is missing, believed wounded and held by Katanga troops for interrogation; his driver was found shot dead in the back in Elisabethville.

Fighting broke out at Elisabethville airport on Saturday. According to U.N. sources, a drunken Katanga gendarme molested an African woman, an Indian U.N. sentry intervened, and shooting followed. Katanga's Foreign Minister, Mr. Kimba, said, however, that a general fistfight was in progress when an Indian opened fire with a sub-machine gun, 20 men were still missing and some had been killed. The U.N. replied that 12 policemen had been arrested, disarmed, and sent back, and that no one was injured.

Eleven U.N. men were reported missing on Monday. Their staff were moved from their homes into U.N. camps. Road blocks were being manned by troops, and 12 U.N. troops were patrolling the city in armoured cars.

President Tshombe left Elisabethville last Friday, ostensibly to attend a Moral Re-Armament conference in Brazil. En route he stopped at Brazzaville, whence he invited the Congolese Prime Minister, Mr. Cyril Adoula, who was across the Congo River in Leopoldville, to meet him in mid-stream. The proposal was rejected, the Minister of the Interior describing such a move as being out of the question. A provincial president who omits and Leopoldville.

Mr. Tshombe's Mediation Suggestion

Before leaving Katanga Mr. Tshombe had asked Sir Roy Welensky to relay a request to Leopoldville and the U.N. for a distinguished statesman from an uncommitted African independent country to mediate between Katanga and the Central Government.

Justifying his call-to-arms speech, he said: "I am said to be conducting a campaign of incitement. If I understand things correctly, Katanga is not only being forced to let itself be strangled but must also let this happen in silence."

The Katanga officer in charge of the troops who had attacked Messrs. Urquhart and Smith had been severely punished. The incident had been staged by subversive elements anxious to make a bad impression on a visiting United States Congressman. Mr. Thomas Dodds, who has supported Katanga at the U.N. Mr. Tshombe offered his "abject apologies" for the kidnapping of the U.N. major and his driver's murder and dissociated himself from the Movement for Independence and Resistance, a recently active group calling on Europeans in Katanga to rise against the U.N.

Russian, Polish and Czechoslovakian Charges d'Affaires have presented their credentials to the Foreign Ministry in Leopoldville.

Mr. Kimba said on Monday night that any U.N. planes flying over Katanga unannounced or unescorted would be shot down. A helicopter had been fired on the day before.

In a skirmish at one of the road-blocks in Elisabethville a Swedish soldier was killed and two wounded.

President Tshombe arrived in Paris and said that Mr. U Thant's directive for "vigorous action" was an "intolerable provocation; if the U.N. undertakes fresh armed intervention, in violation of the cease-fire, the Secretary-General will bear heavy responsibility for the hostilities. And let us not have invoked again as a pretext the retention of mercenaries in our gendarmerie, for there are none left.

"I give a solemn warning to the U.N. and its executives that any new conflict would today be a major one. Because since September 13 and since the attack by the National Congolese Army the people of Katanga have realized that they

are a free nation and are determined to preserve their liberty and to die fighting as one man rather than live in slavery. All is perfectly normal in Elisabethville and Katanga. From the private to the public sector, from industry to shops, everyone has but one preoccupation: to work in calm, but sheltered from foreign interference and threats."

Military action was threatened by the U.N. unless a road-block on the main road to Elisabethville airport was removed by the Katangese by Monday evening. They agreed to the request.

Mr. Douglas Brown suggested in the *Sunday Telegraph* that Dr. O'Brien's departure suggested that the U.N. might at last be ready to take "a sane view" of the Katanga situation. He wrote (in part): —

"The Security Council has to all intents and purposes ordained civil war in the province.

"The deplorable events in Elisabethville in the last few days need surprise no one. Mr. Urquhart and Mr. Ivan Smith must have been very innocent to believe that they could move around unprotected in Tshombe's capital once the terms of the Security Council's resolution had been made known.

"Perhaps these amateur colonialists were deceived by the appearance of stability that Katanga, alone in the Congo, could still boast. They forgot that this stability was the product of precisely that cooperation between black and white that they had been branded to destroy, and had already, wittingly or unwittingly, gravely jeopardized. Mr. Tshombe's speech calling on his people to sharpen their poisoned arrows was inexcusable, but it was certainly not inexcipable.

"If one clear conclusion can be drawn from the story of Congolese independence, it is that without white officers the Congolese armies degenerate rapidly into drunken, bloodthirsty mobs. One day it will not be so, but U.N. officials, who tend to compensate for their own weakness with an inflated estimate of the automatic virtue of their mission, are the last people capable of hastening that day.

"This is like snatching an infant from its parents' arms and throwing it into the deep end of the swimming-pool—after having shown, on a number of occasions, that one cannot do this oneself. Of all colonial territories the Congo is least able to survive this heartless treatment. The savage tract whose Natives have been left pathetically in charge of maintaining unaided any organization above tribal

Anarchy Has Prevailed Everywhere

"Since the mutiny of the Force Publique a few days after independence, anarchy has prevailed everywhere—except in Katanga, where a normal form of decolonization was rapidly re-established. It is this normality that the U.N. assuaged.

"There can only be one explanation of such behaviour—that the U.N., through the action of the cold war and the accession of so many non-white States, has become in practice a racialist organization.

"Tshombe's real offence is not his secession—(what about Gizenga's?)—but the fact that, to make use of the Belgians, he has remained on good terms with them. None of them is under the illusion that he will need them for ever, or that he will hesitate when the moment comes to nationalize the Union Miniere. It is simply a question of relatively painless disengagement, desirable on both sides.

"The Americans, no doubt, in the present world glut of copper, would like the Katangese mines to close down altogether, or, alternatively, to be run by a consortium dominated by themselves.

"But Britain, with her long and honourable colonial experience, should surely not have associated herself with such a cynical enterprise. It is capable only of extending and intensifying the Congolese agony."

Katangans Killed in New Battle

As this report went to press, fierce fighting was reported in Elisabethville. The U.N. killed 38 Katangans at a roadblock on the airport road and two European mercenaries who directed an ambush at the U.N. headquarters.

Three hundred Swedish reinforcements were flown in. The U.N. Secretary-General authorized the use of jet planes in the battle, which began after Mr. Urquhart had reported the discovery of a Katanga "battle plan".

President Tshombe, in Paris, denied the existence of the plan. "The U.N. attacked our forces", he said. "Katanga radio broadcast a call to arms against the 'United Nations dogs'."

East African Office in London

Commissioner's New Title

COINCIDENT with the attainment of independence by Tanganyika and the establishment in London of a High Commissioner for that territory, the title of the head of the East African Office in London is being changed from that of Commissioner for East Africa to Commissioner, East African Common Services Organization.

In co-operation with the Tanganyika Office and the Kenya Office, the East African Office will continue to deal with immigration, exports customs, income tax, statistical, financial, legal, development, employment, agricultural and general inquiries with publicity on an East African-wide basis.

Sir Arthur Kirby is the Commissioner. Miss V. C. Young deals with tourism and general matters; Mr. H. Griffin-Smith with exports, customs, income tax, statistics, finance, development, and legal matters; Mr. J. Griffiths with immigration and East Africa House (Club) affairs; Mr. E. F. Martin with settlement, employment, recruitment and agricultural inquiries; and Mr. J. Batten with all aspects of information.

"Kabaka Only" Party Now Formed

Denounced by Mr. Bataringaya

ALL MINISTERS in the Kabaka's Government in Buganda have declared their support for the newly-formed group called Kabaka Yekka (Kabaka Only), which aims at the next Lukiko elections to defeat all candidates who do not believe in the kakabashin. It has merged with the United Federal Party. Uganda National Congress members of Buganda's constitutional committee and Basitakange (traditionalists).

Mr. Basil Bataringaya, secretary-general of the Democratic Party, who has resigned as Protectorate Minister of the Government in order to take up full-time party organization, has said that the Kabaka Yekka plan was fraught with great dangers for the well-being of Uganda as a whole and Buganda in particular; being likely to upset the whole kingdom emotionally and to cause antagonism by labelling non-members as anti-Kabaka. "This is just love for power, and it would ruin us all."

"The group had deemed the movement non-political. Why then did they merge with parties in the hope of gaining all the Lukiko seats so that their indirectly elected National Assembly representatives might block the other political parties? This group will cause anarchy and chaos in Buganda."

Uganda's political parties were not against the Kabaka. Mr. Bataringaya declared. Indeed, they were pledged to support the positions of all traditional rulers—"so long as they keep in their proper places". Traditional institutions should not be used to block the country's progress. Baganda members of the Democratic Party were as loyal to the Kabaka as any other Baganda.

"I appeal to the Kabaka Yekka and all our political opponents not to belabour the problems which divide us but rather to explore the problems which unite us."

Crowds gathered in protest outside Rubaga Roman Catholic Cathedral in Kampala last week after Mgr. Joseph Sebaya had been arrested by the Kabaka's police. When he was released, without a charge having been laid, he said that he had been summoned to the Lubiri the previous evening, that an argument had ensued, and that the Kabaka had ordered his arrest.

Archbishop Kiwanuka had written to Catholics a week earlier advising them as to the qualities which they should seek in candidates for the Lukiko elections. The Kabaka was believed to consider the letter a violation of the Buganda Government's instruction to all religious orders not to interfere in the elections and to keep out of politics.

"The birth of a nation is a noble moment. It is also a most critical moment in a country as undeveloped as Tanganyika, where only a very few are fortunate enough to enjoy a good standard of living and where many more are full of hopes and aspirations and are moving with an urge to improve their lot." — Mr. Amir Jamel, Minister of Power, Communications and Works.

Soviet President's Visit to Sudan

Text of Sudanese-Soviet Statement

AT THE CONCLUSION of the eight-day visit to the Republic of the Sudan by Mr. Brezhnev, President of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the following joint statement was issued in Khartoum:—

"In response to an invitation extended by His Excellency Ferik Ibrahim Abboud, President of the Supreme Council for the Armed Forces and Prime Minister of the Republic of the Sudan, His Excellency L. I. Brezhnev, President of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., paid a State visit to the Republic of the Sudan between November 15 and 22.

"President Brezhnev was accompanied by Their Excellencies Jacob Malik, Vice-Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, E. F. Simichatnov, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, E. V. Archipov, Vice-President of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and E. D. Kisilov, Director of the Department of the Near East in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and M. A. Sillin, Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to the Republic of the Sudan.

Cordially Received

"During their stay in the Sudan President Brezhnev and his colleagues were afforded the opportunity to visit Khartoum, Senhar, Wad Medani, El Oberd, Port Sudan, and Erkowit. Wherever they went they were spontaneously and warmly welcomed by all the masses of population and authorities, which reflects the feelings of friendship and cordial relations which exist between the Soviet people and the Sudanese people.

"President Brezhnev and the Sudanese side had meetings and had friendly discussions on the Sudanese side presided over by H. E. Ferik Ibrahim Abboud and the membership of H. E. Idris Ahmed, Chairman, El Bahari, Member of the Supreme Council for the Armed Forces and Minister of Communications, H. E. Miralal Mohamed Ahmed Irwa, Member of the Supreme Council for the Armed Forces and Minister of Commerce, Industry and Supply, H. E. Sayed Ahmed Khatib, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and H. E. Sayed Yacoub Osman, Member of the Republic of the Sudan to the U.S.S.R.

"During their meetings and discussions, which were conducted in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendliness, the President of the U.S.S.R. and his colleagues exchanged opinions with the Sudanese side on questions relating to Soviet-Sudanese relations as well as on pressing international issues.

"The two sides reaffirmed their stand regarding the pressing international political problems previously discussed in Moscow, and declared in their joint statement which was signed in Moscow on July 26, 1961, that the President of the U.S.S.R. and the President of the Supreme Council for the Armed Forces of the Republic of the Sudan.

"The two sides agreed that speedy and complete disarmament, both conventional and nuclear, under strict international control, is an urgent necessity for the safeguarding of humanity against the danger of a new world war, and further agreed to work for the realization of this sacred purpose. Both parties called for the speedy and peaceful settlement of the German problem because of the influence it has on world peace.

Liquidation of Colonialism

"The President of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. expressed his deep satisfaction at the rôle played by President Abboud personally, together with other leaders of non-aligned countries, for the promotion of world peace and human progress.

"The two sides reaffirmed their determination to work in cooperation with other freedom and peace-loving countries for the immediate and unconditional liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

"The two sides expressed their deep anxiety and extreme concern over the continuation of the colonial war in Algeria, the imprisonment and wanton torturing of the freedom fighters, men and women, and their subjection to slow death. They strongly support the demand for immediate release of the Algerian leaders headed by Mohammed Ben Bella and his colleagues.

"The two sides noted with great satisfaction the continued development and strengthening of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of the Sudan, which were based on the principles of coexistence and equality, mutual interest, and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

"Both sides expressed their satisfaction for the marked pro-

gress in trade relations between the Republic of the Sudan and the Soviet Union, and noted with satisfaction that the signing of the long-term trade agreement between these two countries this month, which will be effective up to 1964, forms a landmark on the broadening of the structure of their trade exchange, as well as the agreement signed this day which refers to the development projects mentioned in their joint statement in Moscow on July 26, together with their development projects included therein, which the Soviet side accepted in response to the request of the Sudan side.

"The two sides share the belief that the visit of Mr. Brezhnev has no doubt contributed further to the strengthening of the friendly and cordial relations between the two countries."

Tribalism the Beseating Sin

Mr. Callaghan on Uganda

BRITAIN'S LEGACY IN UGANDA is "spotty", said Mr. James Callaghan, the Socialist M.P., while recently in that country; there had been a lot of bad about it, but the balance was well on the credit side owing to the progress made in education, health, and living standards.

He was extremely disturbed at the amount of political party support given on religious lines. "Parties based on religious differences bring an element of intolerance into a country's politics that can be ill-afforded in a country like Uganda". In Britain party affiliations cut across religious loyalties, and he hoped that elections based on religious lines, which unrelated to religion would be become more evident in Uganda.

It was also to be hoped that tribal differences, "the beseating sin of much of African politics", would give way to regional representation.

Uganda needs to do something else if she is to conquer her problems is a national outlook". The country faced the problems common to other African States of poverty, industrialization, health, and education with an elected Government which was as high as that in some independent African territories. "I am impressed with the youth and enthusiasm of many of the leaders. That is a good start for any country".

Sultan's Challenge to Zanzibar

THE SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR said in the course of his address when opening the 37th session of the Legislative Council: "Our illustrious father, the Sultan, saying: 'At the gate which suspicion enters, love and confidence go out. We hope that the efforts of the Shehna committees, composed of local leaders of all sections, will remove all suspicion and bitterness between our peoples. There is a well-known Swahili saying: 'To him that is gracious to his neighbour, God is gracious also'. We pray that our people may remember this saying, and all make genuine efforts to display tolerance and good will to all. By this means Zanzibar will once again be a place of peace and good will, and one of which all may be proud."

Money from Germany

THE WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT has offered financial aid to assist the development plans of Tanganyika and Kenya. Both territories, in consultation with the British Government, are preparing proposals for consideration by Germany for the best means in which "this very welcome financial assistance" can be employed, the Colonial Office states. The offer was recommended by the German mission which visited Tanganyika and Kenya earlier this year.

Parliament**Commons Questions on the Congo****Britain Has Paid £5.4m. So Far**

THE UNITED KINGDOM GOVERNMENT has so far contributed £4,284,000 to the United Nations operation in the Congo, and has also given £1,129,000 to the Fund for the Congo and for famine in that country, the Lord Privy Seal told the House of Commons a few days ago.

Eighty-seven countries, he added were in default of their assessed contributions at the end of October.

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked whether United Nations forces had now disarmed the Congolese troops who mutinied, robbed, raped, and committed other outrages at Benders, Albertville, and elsewhere.

MR. HEATH: "So far as I am aware the only occasion on which the U.N. forces are reported to have disarmed Congolese troops was at Albertville."

MR. DRIBERG asked what were being taken, in consequence of the report of the United Nations Commission which investigated the murder of the Prime Minister of the Congo, to bring to justice those persons, including Belgian mercenaries and Mr. Tshombe, of whose complicity in the murder there was *prima facie* evidence.

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked what the British delegation had done to dissuade the United Kingdom from and to resist the United Nations resolutions and operations involving further troop intervention in the Congo.

MR. HEATH: "The Central Government have taken over the administration of some towns in north Katanga after the seizure of control by Biafra tribesmen. The United Nations forces took action to restrain some troops from Stanleyville who got out of hand."

Reinforcements of United Nations troops have been sent to Kindu in Kivu province, following the massacre of 13 Italian airmen there, with instructions to bring the murderers to justice. H.M. Government deeply deplore this shocking

massacre, which has also been condemned by the Central Government. The Central Government have not yet nominated their representative to the joint Congolese-United Nations Commission to investigate the circumstances of the massacre.

"The report of the U.N. Commission which investigated the murder of Mr. Lumumba was published on November 11. It will no doubt be considered by the General Assembly should this be requested."

"The Security Council passed a further resolution on November 24, the United Kingdom delegate abstaining. The Acting Secretary-General and the commander of the U.N. forces have both stressed that they regard their task as one to be carried out as far as possible by peaceful means."

MR. WILLIAMS: "Can my rt. hon. friend say what is meant by 'as far as possible by peaceful means'? Would he not agree that this whole chapter of U.N. interference in the Congo is a sorry comedy—a tragedy—of errors, using the extravagant financial support given by H.M. Government? Is it not now time to bring this financial support to an end as a first step to giving proper, sensible support to a State in Africa which is trying to work for co-operation between European and African?"

H.M. Government's Attitude

MR. HEATH: "It is indeed a tragedy that it has not been possible to restore law and order and peace in the Congo as a whole; but H.M. Government are supporting the U.N. operation to prevent intervention by the Great Powers, to provide technical assistance, and to try to encourage conciliation between the secessionist provinces and the Central Government. Those broad issues are worthy of support, and that is why H.M. Government have supported the operation."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "Is not the U.N. attack on mercenaries in fact an attack on technical assistance? Has not what happened at Albertville established the fact that it is only when Congolese forces have the expert advice and leadership of European officers that they can do their job and the running amok of troops do not happen?"

MR. HEATH: "H.M. Government have supported the removal of mercenaries from the fighting zone. It is not at any time supported the removal of those engaged in technical assistance."

MR. WILLIAMS: "Can the Hon. Secretary confirm that a number of foreign mercenaries in Katanga are disguised as officials of the Public Works Department? Are not those the people whom the British Government are protecting? Can he also explain why the British Government abstained from voting for a Security Council resolution which would have strengthened the hand of the new Government in the Congo?"

MR. HEATH: "I have no knowledge of the disguise of the mercenaries. H.M. Government abstained from voting for the United Nations resolution for a number of reasons, all of them important. Among them were that the resolution referred only to the secession of Katanga and not to secessionist activities elsewhere in the Congo. Moreover, it said nothing about conciliation. Indeed, an amendment referring to this was withdrawn under threat of the Russian veto. Moreover, it included no reference to the cease-fire arrangements. Therefore H.M. Government could not support it."

Mercenaries

MR. FELL: "Will my rt. hon. friend say why during the discussion of this resolution, Sir Patrick Dean said in New York: 'We are strongly in favour of getting rid of the mercenaries...'? That includes all the whites, and let us face it."

"Why did he also say, when speaking of the return of the Foreign Minister of the Republic of the Congo: 'We should have preferred him to return armed in either hand to deal with secession and armed action wherever and whenever they may occur in the Congo'? Does the phrase 'return armed' mean physically armed to deal with secession of Katanga and with Gizenga's attempt at secession?"

MR. HEATH: "No, sir; it does not mean physically armed. It refers to the matter which I have already mentioned—that we thought that the resolution should have dealt with secessionist activities in any part of the Congo and not only those in Katanga. We have always maintained, and so has the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Sir Roy Welensky, that the Congo should have a unity within its present borders. That was the policy which Sir Patrick Dean was advocating. H.M. Government have never supported the withdrawal of technical assistance and have continuously supported the withdrawal of mercenaries from the fighting forces."

MR. P. WILLIAMS: "In view of the unsatisfactory nature of that reply, I give notice that I will raise the matter on the adjournment at the earliest possible moment."

MR. HEALEY (by private notice) asked the Lord Privy Seal for a statement on the attack on Mr. Brian Urquhart in Katanga on the previous day.

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MR. HEATH: "We have received reports from New York stating that the acting U.N. representative, Mr. Ivan Smith, an Australian citizen, as well as Mr. Brian Urquhart, a British subject, was involved in this attack. They were dragged from a private house where they were dining in Elisabethville last night by Katangese gendarmerie and armed forces and beaten with rifle butts. It is reported that one or both suffered broken ribs. Mr. Smith managed to escape his attackers, but Mr. Urquhart was released only after strong protest to Katanga Ministers by Mr. Smith. I have called for an immediate report on this deplorable incident from H.M. Consul.

"H.M. Government deplore the indiscipline which led to the attack, and, if the facts are confirmed, have instructed H.M. Consul to lodge a strong protest with the provincial authorities of the Katanga. I have just seen on the tapes that a Gurkha major and his driver were also seized by Katangans. The driver has been found dead."

MR. HEALEY: "The House will have heard with a great sense of shock and dismay the news given to us by the Lord Privy Seal. I should like to express on behalf of all hon. Members our profound sympathy with those concerned, particularly Mr. Urquhart, who served the world as a member of the U.N. Secretariat over the last 10 years with the same distinction as he served this country in the time of war."

"May I ask the Lord Privy Seal whether he can assure the House that H.M. Government will support the efforts which are taken by the U.N. in Katanga to find and punish those who were guilty of this attack? Secondly, does not this incident underline the unwillingness of H.M. Government's delegate in refusing to support the resolution in the United Nations last week which would permit the U.N. in Katanga to use force in the last resort in the pursuit of its agreed aims?"

Deplorable Incident

MR. HEATH: "I am sure that the hon. gentleman in expressing his sympathy for those who have been affected by this deplorable incident, I have had further information from the Consul in Elisabethville confirming the details which we have already received. We must consider what action we can take in these circumstances.

"This incident is indicative of the great tension existing in Katanga between the U.N. and the provincial authorities of their forces. It has always been our fear that a resolution of the kind which passed at the U.N., and others which have followed, would lead to greater tension in that area. That is why we have done our utmost—although, as I know, heavily criticized by it. Now, some hon. gentlemen oppose to prevent this sort of situation occurring. It does not make it any the less deplorable that this incident should have occurred."

MR. HEALEY: "Is the rt. hon. gentleman really suggesting that the provincial authorities in Katanga are responsible for this incident? If not, what is the meaning of his comment?"

MR. HEATH: "The hon. gentleman cannot possibly have misunderstood me in that sense. Of course I am not for a moment suggesting that the authorities themselves are responsible. I am saying that the tension has been heightened by these events. Then we see incidents of this kind, and they arise from great tension. Our object is always to try to lower that tension and ensure reconciliation."

SIR R. GRIMMOND: "I would not say it hon. friend agree that this tension was serious, and certainly has been heightened by the action of U.N. in Katanga last September? Has any inquiry been called for into what happened then, in view of the allegations on the B.B.C. and by other independent witnesses of what was done by the United Nations?"

Greater Tensions

MR. HEATH: "This is the difficulty in which we find ourselves. One incident leads to another. H.M. Government have felt that it would not lead to a reduction of tension to demand inquiries of this kind. We have been working for a meeting between Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Adoula in the hope that between the two of them they could reach a satisfactory solution to the internal problems of the Congo. We shall continue to work for that."

MR. P. NOEL-BAKER: "Is it not the case that the indiscipline of the Katanga gendarmerie was probably caused by the wholly lamentable speech made by Mr. Tshombe two days ago, and was not it in accord, alas, with the reports he mentioned that Mr. Tshombe was present when Mr. Lumumba was murdered?"

MR. HEATH: "All these things are interacting, and at the moment they are creating greater tensions."

VISCOUNT HINCHINGBROOKE: "Seeing that the United Nations resolution of two days ago, coming on top of a previous resolution, was quite capable of making the situation in Katanga worse than it is now, why did not H.M. Government veto that resolution in the Security Council?"

MR. HEATH: "It is the policy of H.M. Government to use

the veto as seldom as possible, and only in situations of the gravest emergency. We were not prepared to use it on that occasion."

MR. GRIMMOND: "In view of this appalling incident in the Congo, which is not the first, can H.M. Government say whether in their view the U.N. is capable of giving protection to its personnel whatever they are doing? If not, what steps are being taken to see that this is done?"

MR. HEATH: "It is primarily a matter for the U.N. commander in the Congo to organize the protection required for his forces, but the new Secretary-General of the U.N. appeared in his speech after the debate in the U.N. for an increase in forces to be sent to the Congo."

Financial Situation of U.N.O. Very Grave

MR. A. HENDERSON asked about the present financial situation of the United Nations Organization.

MR. HEATH: "The latest estimates by the Secretariat indicate that at the end of 1961 the organization will face a total deficit of expenditure over income of about 100 million dollars, of which some 30m. dollars will be an uncovered cash deficit. This may rise to 60m. dollars by the end of the first quarter, and to 90m. dollars by the end of the second quarter of 1962."

MR. HENDERSON: "Is not this a disastrous position? Can the Lord Privy Seal tell us which countries have failed to pay their contributions and what is likely to be done to remedy this serious financial position?"

MR. HEATH: "It is evident from the figures which I have given that the financial situation of the U.N. is extremely dangerous. Eighty-seven countries are in default of their payments."

MR. BIGGS-DAMSON: "Would it not save the United Nations' and, what is more important, British taxpayers' money if the expensive and disastrous U.N. adventure and military presence in Katanga, which has brought peace and order and caused terrible bloodshed, were brought to a speedy conclusion?"

MR. HEATH: "My hon. friend's views are well known to the House. What is important is that the U.N. countries of the U.N. should pay their assessed amounts to its account."

MR. HEALEY: "While strongly agreeing with what the Lord Privy Seal has just said about the duty of the members of the U.N. to pay their contributions, would not the rt. hon. gentleman agree that it is disgraceful that when the U.N. finances are in this state the British Government should have threatened to stop paying our part of the contribution toward the cost of the operation in the Congo if a majority of the Assembly passed a resolution contrary to our wishes?"

MR. HEATH: "The hon. gentleman must distinguish between the assessed contribution and the voluntary contribution. H.M. Government have paid a very substantial voluntary contribution as well."

List of Defaulting Countries

SIR J. VAUGHAN-MORGAN: "Does not my rt. hon. friend agree that it is about-time that some of these countries, which are in almost semi-permanent default to the United Nations, were at least disenfranchised so that they would be unable to vote at the United Nations?"

MR. HEATH: "Under the Charter, that is permissible after a period of two years in default."

"Those countries in default of their (mandatory) contributions to the United Nations regular budget, and to the costs of U.N.E.F. and Q.N.U.C. as at October 31 were: Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Federation of Malaya, Finland, France, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal,

Roumania, Saudi Arabia, Sain, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, and Yugoslavia."

"New members: Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Gabon, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Somalia, Togo, Upper Volta.

"This totals 87. Although in default, Liberia and India are not included. Liberia was only \$209 in arrears. India's contribution to U.N.E.F. for 1960 is outstanding and that for 1959 is not fully paid up; however, India is awaiting reimbursement of certain expenses in connexion with the contingents she is supplying to U.N.E.F."

"The only members fully paid up at October 31 numbered

12, and were: Canada, Denmark, India, Ireland, Liberia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Turkey, United Kingdom and United States.

Mr. HEATH said in reply to Mr. P. Noel-Baker: "Estimates of the number of mercenaries still remaining in Katanga vary considerably. Members of the United Nations Secretariat have informally mentioned a figure as high as 250. Information available to H.M. Consul in Elisabethville, however, indicates that the mercenaries do not total more than 70."

Heinrichs Syndicate, Ltd., will build a cereal malt and a plastics factory in Chingola, Northern Rhodesia.

James Finlay & Co., Ltd., of Glasgow, large tea growers in India, Pakistan and Kenya, are to take over McMeekin & Co., Ltd., of London.

Rhodesian Sugar Refineries, Ltd., report profit after tax of £64,000, compared with £48,000 in the previous year. The dividend is 6d. per 10s. share.

Goode Durrant and Murray, Ltd., shippers to East and Central Africa, report group net profit at £31,486 (£12,228) before taxation of £28,148 (£22,081).

Wankle Colliery's output in November was 244,850 tons of coal and 18,375 of coke, compared with 261,479 and 18,650 tons respectively in October.

The Booker Group, which has large Central African interests, is merging its printing and publishing interests in Trinidad with a subsidiary of the Thomson Newspaper Organization.

An oil milling expert and an economist from the Tropical Products Institute in London are due in Uganda in March to report to the Government on the oil milling industry and to make recommendations for its improvement.

Industrialists in Bulawayo were alarmed last week by sudden wildcat strikes by Africans demanding higher wages. At the same time 20 strikers were arrested and the factory closed for about 100 man-days of lost work that day.

Kamuzu Limited, an investment holding company largely interested in East African sisal, has announced profits for the year ended October 31 after tax of £9,323 (£9,611). A 30% dividend is repeated, and in addition there is to be a bonus of 31% (7½% last year).

Cementation Company (Rhodesia), Ltd. has obtained a £26,000 contract to build a new harbour at Siavona on the northern shore of Lake Kariba. About six miles from the town it is to be the centre of a holiday resort, at which plots for residential use will be made available.

The Phoenix Prince gold mine in Southern Rhodesia was shut down last week, but the installation of a smaller plant is being considered. For September quarter 32,050 tons of ore were treated for a working profit £2,009, compared with 33,330 tons and £5,574 in the June quarter.

Lewisa Sisal and General Investments, Ltd., report profits for the year to June 30 of £17,179, compared with £48,083 in the previous year. Tax takes £8,666 (£3,363) and repatriation of dividends of 22½% on the preferred and 12½% on the deferred stock £16,756 (the same), leaving to be carried forward £15,754 (£23,633).

The Mitchell Cotts Group announces consolidated net profit for the year ended June 30 last after tax at £309,300, compared with £372,311 in the previous year. A final dividend of 10% brings the total to 12½% less tax, and capital increased by a three-for-two rights issue. Last year's dividend on the smaller capital was 10%.

Mr. Amir Jamal, Minister for Communications, Power and Works, said when he fired the first charge in the access shaft to an underground power station at Hale, on the Pangani River, that capital expenditure on public electricity supplies in Tanganyika had more than trebled in the last decade and would more than double itself in the next three years.

Rhodesian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., is stated to be negotiating with the Kawasaki Steel Corporation of Japan in regard to finance for an £11m. expansion programme at the company's present main works and at Bukwe, near the border with Portuguese East Africa, where the company has extensive iron ore deposits. Pan American International Incorporated, in which United States and Italian finance is concerned, had been anxious to make a detailed survey of the prospects of an iron and steel industry at Bukwe. The Japanese are expected to sign a long-term contract for the purchase of pig iron.

The new plant in Umfali of Rhodesian Safety Glass (Pvt.), Ltd., has cost £300,000. The proprietors are Pilkington Brothers Ltd., of St. Helens, Lancashire, and Plate Glass and Shatterproof Industries, Ltd., of South Africa. The two groups compete in South Africa, but are partners in this Rhodesian venture, created primarily to supply safety glass for the local motor industry. The chairman of the Rhodesian company is Mr. O. J. Breakspear and the general manager Mr. L. A. Gallon. Mr. Alastair Pilkington, a representative of the board of Pilkington Bros., said that it had made the investment because it believed the country had a great potential and that it was setting about solving its problems in the right way.

Company Report

Mini Mini (Nyasaland) Tea Syndicate

THE THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF MINI MINI (NYASALAND) TEA SYNDICATE, LIMITED, was held on November 30 in London.

MR. C. A. MEARIN, the chairman of the company, presided.

The following is an extract from his circulated statement:—

The trading profit for the year again shows an increase over the previous season and amounted to £18,752. The directors recommend a final dividend of 15%, making a total distribution of 20% for 1960-61.

Our cash position continues to improve, the bank overdraft has been eliminated, and I hope that it will not be long before we have accumulated sufficient funds to provide for the company's cash requirements during the non-cropping months.

The season under review has been satisfactory from the cropping point of view and a substantial increase in intake was recorded over previous seasons. The board is still not satisfied with the standard of prices which have been obtained, and this continues to receive the close attention of all concerned. In other respects the reports that we have received of the property confirm that the agricultural output of the estate continues to improve.

In so far as the new season is concerned, prospects at the moment are reasonably satisfactory. This position has been safeguarded to an extent by selling forward approximately 40% of the anticipated crop at 2s. 11d. per lb. f.o.b. Beira. This compares with an estimated cost of production of about 1s. 8½d. The above cost of production does not include Depreciation, Insurance and Head Office Expenditure.

The report was adopted.

East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd.

EAST AFRICAN SISAL PLANTATIONS, LTD., report profit for the year ended June 30 after taxation at £4,700, compared with £8,300 in the previous year. Sales of 1,901 tons of sisal and tow produced £126,489, compared with £114,086 from 1,887 tons in 1960, but estate expenses were higher owing to an increase in basic wages, the profit before tax being down from £18,643 to £10,387. A 5% dividend takes £5,193 leaving a carry-forward of £57,439 (£56,735).

The issued capital is £228,000 in shares of 10s. Fixed assets stand in the books at £373,649, current assets less current liabilities at £4,240, sundry debtors at £20,048, investments at £14,580, and cash at £12,146. There is a capital reserve of £64,224 and a general reserve of £75,000.

The company has 7,655 acres under sisal in the Kilosa district of Tanganyika, 440 acres ready for future planting, and 180 acres in fallow preparatory to replanting.

The directors are Messrs. G. R. S. Doyle (chairman), A. L. G. Du Bois, and P. H. Harman Jones.

TANGANYIKA DIAMOND AND GOLD DEVELOPMENT CO., LTD., reports a loss for the year ended June 30 of 17,992 rands (the rand being equivalent to 10s.), bringing the accumulated loss to R.34,162. The issued capital is R.399,600. The company's interests in the wholly-owned Almasi, Ltd., Tanganyika, stand in the books at R.448,300. Current liabilities exceed current assets by about R.80,000. Operations at Almasi were seriously affected by drought. Diamond recoveries totalled 21,904 carats, which sold for an average of R.16.69c per carat. Mr. A. A. Menkin (who was a journalist in East Africa many years ago) resigned from the board during the year. The vacancy has not yet been filled. Some of the directors have waived their fees. The board consists of Messrs. E. J. Dahlsson (chairman), R. W. H. Ferguson, H. R. V. Hoar, and L. H. Oates.

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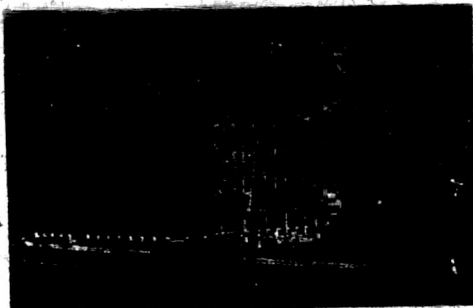
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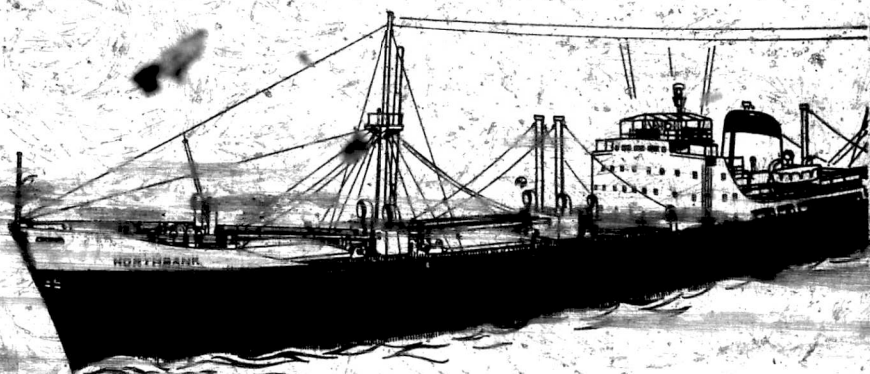


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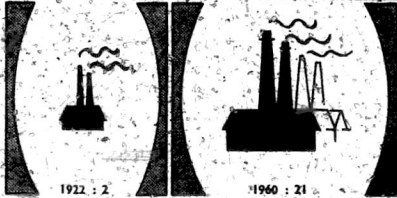
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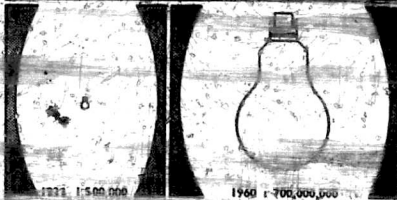
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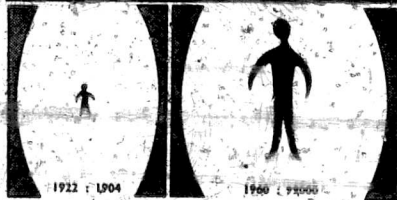
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

ONCE AGAIN the British public has had a clear warning about serious happenings in Central Africa, not from the United Kingdom Ministers whose duty it was to keep the country informed and alert, but from Sir Roy Welensky's blunt condemnation, who, understandably distressed at the behaviour of agents, civil and military, of the United Nations, issued on Monday a characteristically robust statement which is published in full on another page. He spoke of the "long succession of deliberate distortions and untruths" by representatives of the United Nations in Katanga; scorned the idea that highly destructive bombs were needed for the purpose alleged; referred to the United Nations attack in Elisabethville on September 13 as "infamous"; declared that in the present assaults in the city more civilians than troops have been killed; said in the sharpest terms that no bombs might be transported across Federal soil for use against "defenceless people fighting for their homeland"; and asked what the people of Katanga, hitherto persuaded of Britain's honest dealings, must now think.

There can be no doubt of the influence of this statement upon the public mind and upon those Conservative Members of Parliament who were already in revolt against their party's leaders; and it may well have helped to persuade the Cabinet to make its dramatic decision on Monday to withhold the bombs which it had promised at the week-end. Some politicians believe that they will now not be delivered at all. At any rate, they will not be supplied until satisfactory clarification of its policy has come from the United Nations Secretariat and until after a debate in the House of Commons, due to be held today. By

the time Sir Roy Welensky's forthright pronouncement was published it was known that General McKeown, the Irish commander for the United Nations in the Congo, had said that any peace overtures from Mr. Tshombe would be rejected, and Dr. Limmer, the chief civilian representative, had become a controversial figure because he had been reported as making bellicose remarks to a journalist of his own nationality. There has since been a correction rather than a retraction (about which comment appears in Notes By The Way). Considering H.M. Government's insistence throughout that conciliation should be the offer of the United Nations in Katanga, and that no political solution should be enforced by military means, it was high time for it to take overt action.

Its private persuasions had obviously failed, and a situation had arisen in which the United States Government was openly backing the United Nations in the Congo; while the Government of Great Britain, France and Belgium could no longer conceal their alarm and displeasure. Since Britain, France and Belgium have far more experience of Africa than all the other hundred members of the United Nations put together, their demurrers should have produced a new mood of sobriety in New York, Leopoldville and Elisabethville, and in those organs of the United Kingdom Press which have been so strongly anti-Tshombe and anti-Welensky (and which had been ardently pro-Macleod in his wrecking of Kenya). Experience of Africa is, however, at a discount in public discussions and decisions nowadays; and that, of course, is one of the main reasons for the incredible follies committed in the past two years in East and Central Africa by the present ostensibly Conservative Government and by the United

Nations. Only now that the Congo stands on the brink of the abyss (and not only the Congo, unhappily) is there any evidence of twelfth-hour hesitation in the Cabinet. How can such a record do other than frighten

Africa and Africa's friends? The misdeeds of British politicians in relation to Africa in 1960 and 1961 could not possibly have been more flagrant, and the worst of them are irreparable.

Notes By The Way

Great Britain and Tanganyika

FEW NEWSPAPERS in the United Kingdom have written anything about British administration in Tanganyika when recording the attainment of independence by that territory, and the general impression left upon the public mind must have been that this is another case of the departure from what used to be called the British Empire of a great tract of land in Africa which had been grabbed by an acquisitive British Government towards the end of the last century. Probably very few Britons know that the then Sultan of Zanzibar, greatly favoured by human dovishness, tried repeatedly to persuade Queen Victoria's administrators to take under her protection his possessions on the mainland. Because the politicians of the day were completely disinterested, he invited powerful interests in the City of London to undertake the administration by way of a chartered company; but, instead of finding sympathy, they were told that if Germany wanted a sphere of influence opposite Zanzibar she was welcome to establish it for her as H.M. Government was concerned. This, then, was one of the many cases in Africa and Asia towards the end of the last century in which repeated offers to hold the Union Jack were rejected. It is ironical that this country should nevertheless be thought by most of its nationals to have been predatory when it was in fact apathetic.

Germany on the Offensive

NOR IS IT TRUE, as many people imagine, that Britain eagerly seized the opportunity of the 1914-18 war to capture Tanganyika then German East Africa. Its British neighbours (Kenya and Uganda on the north and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland on the south) and the Belgians in the west (on the other side of Lake Tanganyika) hoped that hostilities would be avoided in Africa; and both Governments reminded Germany of the Congo Basin Treaties, which provided for neutrality in Africa if the signatory Powers were at war in Europe. Schnee, the Governor of German East Africa, favoured neutrality, but the commander of his military forces, a brisk, bustling lieutenant-colonel named von Lettow Vorbeck, who had arrived in the country only a few months earlier, was determined that there should be no peace, for he calculated that, by the rapid expansion of black battalions under white officers and non-commissioned officers, he could make such a nuisance of his force that large numbers of British, African, and Indian troops would be diverted from the main war fronts in Europe, possibly for the whole duration of the war.

Cannibals

PRIMARILY BECAUSE of the grossly incompetent British attack on Tanga in November 1914, after repeated German raids into Kenya, von Lettow's gamble justified itself. This is not the place to outline the course of the struggle; but the moment is appropriate for a reminder that hostilities were started by the Germans and that there would not have been war in East Africa

had the British and Belgian representations been heeded. Great Britain and Belgium were later entrusted by the League of Nations with the administration of "German East", which was divided into Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi respectively. A word ought to be said about the Belgian share in the campaign, for it was highly to their credit. Indeed, many Englishmen who took part in the campaign considered the Belgian officers, and especially the colonels and generals, to be far more capable and aggressive than all but a few of the men of such ranks sent from England and India. The Belgian askari were largely recruited from the now troubled areas of Katanga, and fine fighting men they proved to be — though with a not altogether suppressed tendency to cannibalism! I was in one camp one night in which a company of these Mau Mau overpowered British and ate a sentry from a British Indian unit without any European hearing an unusual sound. Nor was this their only escapade of the kind, the culprits could not be identified, of course. I wonder if any of them is now a local politician of some prominence.

Miss Perham's Broadcasts

A GREAT COMPLIMENT was paid to Miss Margery Perham when she was invited by the D.B.C. to deliver the Reith Lectures, for that series of annual broadcasts is entrusted only to people with outstanding reputations in particular fields. If this year's topic was to be "The Colonial Reckoning", and if the speaker was to be selected from the academic world, Miss Perham was the obvious choice. Readers of this paper are well aware of her general attitude to African political problems, for quotations from her writings and addresses have been reported in these pages over a period of fifty years. She has always sympathized with the political aspirations of the still tiny minority of Africans who have been educated in the West (more than a few of whom have been her pupils at Oxford), and the necessarily abbreviated report in other columns of her summary of the problems of white settlement makes it clear that she also understands the dilemma of the European communities in East and Central Africa, and that she recognizes that the United Kingdom Government is deliberately transferring power to the "inexperienced, fumbling, and sometimes violent hands" of Africans. Apparently she does not consider the transfer to be recklessly rapid, as I do.

Lies, Intimidation and Violence

ON TWO POINTS ONLY, one about Mau Mau and the other about the Federation, have I space to comment. "How deep must have been the frustrations of the Kikuyu", said Miss Perham, "to drive them to practices which deliberately violated the sanctities of their own sexual and tribal life!" The root cause of Mau Mau, however, was not the natural growth of almost universal resentment, but anger artificially stimulated by a few agitators within the tribe, whose propaganda was based on gross falsehoods. A few Kikuyu, bent on trouble, were engaged in exploiting the doctrine of the big lie

before Hitler and Goebbels built up their Nazi publicity upon it; and when Kenyatta returned to Kenya after the last war he and his associates employed that technique and the system of organized intimidation and violence which had hoisted Hitler to power and kept him there through years of tragedy for his people. Intimidation and violence, not mere frustration, disrupted Kikuyu custom and tribal life; and it is regrettable that that truth was not impressed on the millions of people in this country who may have listened—with minds predisposed to condone even so foul a movement as Mau Mau because so many politicians and newspapers have taken that line for months.

Socialist Directive

THE ACTIVITIES of a few political extremists, in particular Dr. Banda, were similarly disregarded when Miss Perham suggested that the shock of Federation awoke the still politically non-violent Africans of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. They were stirred to resistance, not by instinctive antipathy to a change which few understood, but by misrepresentations even before the plan had been worked out, beginning with a pamphlet distributed from London by Dr. Banda. Much has been said, however, was the fateful decision of the Socialist Government of the day that the civil servants in the two Protectorates to whom Africans would certainly turn for guidance were not to tell them, as most of them believed, that political union of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland would be to their mutual advantage. Because Europeans whom they trusted were forbidden to encourage faith in the project, the Africans inevitably concluded that they would be prudent to object to it; and there can be no doubt that the spread of that suspicion had far greater influence than the hysteria of a small company of African tribal chieftains.

Warning Ignored

THAT POLICY of a Socialist Ministry denied the Federation a fair start; and, as if that were not enough, the party has lost no opportunity in the subsequent eight years of deriding a great experiment in multi-racialism. Many people have been blameworthy for sins of omission and commission, but none more so than the Socialist hierarchy in Britain. The public memory being so short, this truth is of course now never mentioned. Mr. James Griffiths, the Secretary of State who deprived Africans of the kind of guidance which they had always sought from their administrative officers, was warned in advance of the great damage which his instructions would cause; but he was obdurate, and consequently the best ally whom the anti-federationists could have hoped to find. It was assuredly no coincidence that at that time Dr. Banda, who then practised medicine in London, was much in the company of Socialist M.Ps.

Retraction?

THE SO-CALLED RETRACTION of Dr. Sture Linner, chief civil representative of the United Nations in the Congo, is a curious affair. According to *Expressen*, a popular liberal paper published in Stockholm, its correspondent in Leopoldville, who asked for a definition of the long-term aims of the United Nations in Katanga, was told: "By destroying the political leaders' military strength we are trying to force a political solution of the people of Katanga"; and Dr. Linner answered with the one word "Yes" when the correspondent inquired if the U.N. would "try to eliminate the political leaders of today in Katanga?" He added: "I have *carte blanche* from U.Thant. The attack in Katanga was decided here after consultations with the military chiefs". Since those

statements (which are strangely reminiscent of remarks made by U.N. spokesmen three months earlier, before the September attack on Katanga) contradicted assertions made only last week by the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Swedish national broadcasting corporation telephoned Dr. Linner for an explanation, which was thus recorded: "It is absolutely incorrect to say that the aim of the United Nations would be to destroy the present political leadership in Katanga in order to enforce a political solution on the people of Katanga. On the contrary, the United Nations Secretariat in New York, as well as myself, has repeatedly pointed out that the United Nations action has no political aim whatever. The political solution of the Katanga problem is exclusively an internal matter for the Congolese."

Was the Journalist Right?

IT WILL BE NOTED that Dr. Linner avoided impugning the Swedish journalist's original report, and said merely that the words attributed to him did not accurately describe the aim of the United Nations. The presumption must surely be that Dr. Linner's remarks were accurately recorded, and that their publication promptly brought from United Nations headquarters in New York a reprimand and implicit demand for withdrawal. That withdrawal, instead of being a blunt admission of error, took the form of a repetition of what Mr. U.Thant had previously said. I wonder why the Swedish broadcasting corporation did not ask Dr. Linner bluntly whether he had used the words attributed to him in *Expressen*. But perhaps it did and he declined to reply. There is an all too general disposition to assume that the reporter must be at fault if a man in the public eye contradicts some statement attributed to him by a newspaper. The phraseology chosen by the *Expressen* on this occasion suggests to me that the journalist had truthfully reported his answers to several rather awkward questions, and that the chief civil representative of the United Nations in Leopoldville had to swallow them two days later on order from his superiors.

Mr. John Strachey

SOME YEARS AGO, when he was Minister of Food in a Socialist Government, Mr. John Strachey paid several visits to East Africa in connexion with the groundnut scheme, and, as this journal said in repeated instances of him at the time, his statements in the House of Commons did more than those of anyone else to mislead Parliament, Press and public. Having the backing of the Prime Minister, he survived scathing attacks and remained one of the most powerful of Labour leaders. Since then his standing in his party's hierarchy has decreased, so that he is not even one of the dozen members elected by his colleagues in the Commons to the Labour Parliamentary Committee. It has now been announced, however, that he is to deal for the "Shadow Cabinet" with Commonwealth questions, but under the general oversight of Mr. Denis Healey, who some days ago was appointed by Mr. Gaiskell to act generally in Commonwealth and Colonial matters. In Mr. Healey's case the words "Commonwealth and Colonies" were bracketed in the announcement; about Mr. Strachey only the first word was used. That presumably means that he will not be concerned with Colonial territories, but solely with independent States within the Commonwealth.

E.A.R.-marked

"The Minister's speech is a sand of words amounting to a desert of ideas"—Mr. J. K. Babiha, speaking in the Uganda Legislative Council.

Sir Roy Welensky Denounces U.N. Aggression in Katanga

Representatives Accused of "Deliberate Distortions and Untruths"

WANTON AGGRESSION against a simple people is Sir Roy Welensky's description of the attacks in Katanga by the United Nations.

Its representatives, he said on Monday, had a record in Katanga of "deliberate distortions and untruths". On September 13 they had made an "infamous attempt to subjugate Katanga". In their present assault they had already killed more civilians than troops. If they won Elisabethville, "deadly guerilla war" would continue.

The bombs which the United Kingdom Government is supplying to the United Nations for use in Katanga would not, he emphasized, be transported "across one inch of Federal soil".

The full text of the statement reads:—

"The statement of H.M. Government in the United Kingdom that they have agreed to supply high explosive 1,000 lb. bombs to the United Nations military authorities in Katanga has shocked most thinking people. I must do not believe that the British public will support this unless they see the facts.

Canberra Bombers Not Defensive Weapons

"We are told that it is necessary to use 1,000 lb. high explosive bombs to destroy the few remaining aircraft of the Katanga air force, an air force unit recently made up of fewer than 20 planes, including one Fouga jet trainer (its only jet), two small Dornier executive aircraft, one DC4, one DC3, and one Piper Cub.

The United Nations have already attacked the only two airfields of any value to Katanga—Kolwezi and Jadotville—and have themselves claimed to have destroyed most of the aircraft. I have referred to, including the jet. They have done this with their existing forces of destruction. Yet it is claimed that 1,000 lb. demolition bombs are needed to deal with the remaining few aeroplanes.

"The Government of the United Kingdom have laid down conditions for the use of these 1,000 lb. bombs. We are told that they are to be used for defensive purposes only. But what significance can one give to the undertakings of representatives of the United Nations on the spot? Their record in Katanga is one long succession of deliberate distortions and untruths uttered to suit their own purposes. I for one cannot accept that Canberra bombers armed with 1,000 lb. bombs are defensive weapons.

"There can be no question that these bombs are wanted for the overall purpose of putting down Katanga, and there is now a danger that the weapons of destruction used in London and Hamburg will be used to reduce Elisabethville to rubble, where already the U.N. forces have not spared civilian buildings or apparently given thought to civilian lives.

"Operations in Katanga are now in the hands of the U.N. military authorities, and the British Government are prepared to allow decisions as to when these bombs are to be used to be left to the judgment of these men—men who are known to resent the fact that a cease-fire had come about following the attack on September 13; men who were associated with that infamous attempt to subjugate the people of Katanga.

"The past 48 hours have shown the lengths to which these men will go, for in that time we have learnt that aircraft have been used to strafe buildings in the centre of Elisabethville itself; and there are many thousands of civilians in the city. Indeed, from information at my disposal it is clear that up to now there have been more civilian deaths than military in the struggle that has taken place.

Wanton and Naked Aggression

"Irrespective of the rights or the wrongs of the Katanga issue, I cannot believe that the British people will associate themselves as willing accessories with what I consider to be nothing else than an operation of wanton and naked aggression against a simple people, nor is it made palatable by being carried on in the name and at the request of an organization which was set up for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security and for suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace.

"I think it is time the people of the United Kingdom got to know what is happening in Katanga. We now see white men

from Ireland and Sweden side by side with brown men from India and Malaya killing black men who are fighting for their homeland; but if they win Elisabethville, as they may well do, deadly guerilla war will go on and the hatreds will grow.

"Over the past 100 years Britain has been bringing civilization to the people of this dark continent. Now she is to send bombs.

What Must Katangans Think of Britain?

"Insofar as the people of Katanga themselves are concerned, they are shocked and bewildered. They have respected Great Britain and what she has stood for—fair play and honest dealing. I shudder to think how her name stands today among these people; and I can only hope that the people of Great Britain will express their horror and disgust in unmistakable terms and that their voice will be heard by free people all over the world—and by their Governments.

"This country of mine can play little or no part in deciding the outcome of events in Katanga, but I have made it clear to H.M. Government that the Federal Government will not permit the bombs to be transported across one inch of Federal soil, bombs which we know are destined to be used against almost defenceless people who are fighting for their homeland but who have ranged against them at least one of the Great Powers of the world today."

On the previous Wednesday evening Mr. Macmillan had called a Cabinet meeting to consider an urgent U.N. request that Britain should supply bombs for the Indian Canberras. It was announced on Friday that 24 bombs of 1,000 lb. would be sent, subject to final confirmation in precise terms that these bombs will be used only in preventive action against private aircraft on the ground and the airstrips from which those aircraft are operating."

The acting Secretary-General of the U.N., Mr. U. Thant, confirmed in acceptance that the bombs will be used only in preventive action undertaken in self-defence, confined to aircraft used for military purposes in the Congo other than aircraft operating under the authority of the U.N. or the Government of the Republic of the Congo, and the airstrips from which they operate."

Since then it has been decided to postpone delivery of the bombs.

U.N. Ineptitude and Provocation

On the Thursday evening Sir Roy Welensky had said in a broadcast talk:—

"It is very difficult to form any reliable opinion as to what are the immediate causes of the current fighting in Katanga. Each party has blamed the other, and the whole position is confused. But Katanga accounts of provocation by the United Nations are at least as credible as United Nations stories about Katanga.

"One thing clear to me is that the real blame for what is happening can be laid fairly and squarely on the inept and provocative past behaviour of the United Nations authorities in Katanga. For some time they have identified themselves with bitter policies of those member nations who desire nothing so much as to see the Katanga Government broken by force and a political solution imposed which would be contrary to the wishes of the majority of the Katanga people themselves.

"They have adopted the policy of the big stick; they have seen their rôle in Katanga as that of conquerors, not as conciliators. It is the tensions created by this attitude, of frustrations caused by acrimonious debates and confusing resolutions in the Security Council, and the biased views expressed elsewhere which above all else have caused the present tragic situation.

"The second thing clear to me is that the fighting is developing on a larger scale than can be justified by the undoubted right of the U.N. forces to defend themselves. What we are witnessing can no longer be called police action or an action taken purely to protect U.N. lives and property. African soldiers fighting for what they believe in—whether rightly or wrongly in other people's opinion is immaterial—are being blasted with modern weapons and strafed by modern bombers and fighters. Civilians, among them women and

children, unavoidably caught in this sad conflict have been killed, and more will be killed before it is over.

"Soldiers who have no direct stake in Africa are being marshalled against the small Katanga army. Troops employed come mainly from India, Sweden, and Ireland. Huge American transport planes are running a shuttle service with reinforcements of men and material. Indian bombers and Swedish and Ethiopian jet fighters are being used against Katanga airfields.

"What does anyone think can possibly be gained? Hatred and bitterness between African and African, between African and Asian, and between African and European can be the only result. Political chaos, economic instability, and widespread famine and hardship must follow. Will the Congo people themselves benefit from this? Will the West benefit? Of course not. No one will benefit but the forces of unbridled ambition and disorder—in short, the Communists.

"What appears to be American thinking in all this leaves me aghast. The leading country in the Western world appears to be pursuing a policy which can in my view only end by handing over large areas of Africa to Communist in-

fluence. American official spokesmen are free in their condemnation of President Tshombe, his Ministers and his administration and enthusiastic in their support of the U.N. military actions. Seldom does one hear a voice raised against the Communist-inspired Gizengists, whose opinion of the Central Government has just been given in unmistakable terms.

"I have been accused on many occasions of interfering in the Congo. If speaking my mind against the use of force and intimidation is interference, then I have done so; and I shall continue. But for the record let me say again that I have never encouraged President Tshombe to believe that there was any future for Katanga cut adrift from the rest of the Congo. I have never encouraged him or his Government to believe in secession. All my efforts have been directed at trying to bring about reconciliation between him and the Central Government of Prime Minister Adoula. Had the United Nations or America given anything like as much attention to this only possible lasting solution to Congolese problems as I have, we should not now be facing the crisis that we do."

Reports to Parliament of Lord Home and Mr. Heath

Federal or Confederal Congo the Best Solution, Says Foreign Secretary

LORD HOME, Foreign Secretary, said last Thursday in the House of Lords:

"H.M. Consul in Elisabethville has reported that sporadic fighting is still taking place there. United Nations forces have not yet obtained full control of the road between their headquarters and the airfield. In view of bombing attacks by Katangan aircraft on Elisabethville airfield, the United Nations have taken action to prevent Katangan aircraft on Kolwezi and Jadotville airfields.

"No British subjects had up to 7 a.m. local time this morning been injured, although there had been some very near misses. Some Europeans seeking to leave Katanga and enter Northern Rhodesia had been turned back at road-blocks.

"Mr. Tshombe has left Paris for the Katanga. Before he did so a message was conveyed to him through H.M. Embassy in Paris from Sir Roy Welensky. This message, which had the full support of H.M. Government, urged Mr. Tshombe to return to the Katanga to take control of his Government, since the continuation of the fighting could only do irreparable harm to the chance of reconciliation between him and the Central Government.

Assurances from United Nations

"Senior members of the United Nations Secretariat have assured the U.K. representative in New York that the present operations are strictly confined to securing freedom of movement and security of their personnel in and around Elisabethville. They have nothing to do with the carrying out of the Security Council's resolutions of February or November."

LORD SILKIN: "Is this really a police action or anything more? What numbers of U.N. forces are involved? Does the noble earl see a speedy end to it, or is it likely to go on for some time?"

LORD HOME: "My great anxiety, which I pointed out to the U.N. in September and have never ceased to point out since, is that this operation might develop into a campaign in which the U.N. would be involved for years, and that therefore the proper function to which the U.N. forces should be limited was that of keeping rival tribes and factions apart and preserving law and order.

"But this is a matter, as I understand it, where U.N. forces are in danger from the Katangan gendarmes, and therefore they must defend themselves and keep the lines of their communications open. The scale of the operations is quite small: there would not be more than 100 or 200 involved."

LORD ODOMAR: "Is the Press report correct that the U.N. civil authorities have given way to the military authorities?"

LORD HOME: "I have made inquiries in New York on that point. I consider it absolutely essential that the authorities

in New York should keep control, although, of course, for the purposes of some local action they must devolve authority of a military nature.

LORD HENDERSON: "Are not the circumstances such as to call for special action by the U.N. to bring the African political leaders together with a view to bringing about a peaceful settlement? I think most noble lords will agree that this continued military operation is merely making the situation worse. There is a parallel to what has taken place in Laos. The U.N. should take action and get them all together in some agreed spot, instead of allowing them to talk about meeting in one place or to say they will not meet in another place. The thing is to get them together under the aegis of the United Nations and try to get a peace."

Tshombe and Adoula Should Meet

LORD HOME: "I agree absolutely. The difficulty is that both gentlemen have refused to meet. We have all tried and tried again. There is no reason why the U.N. should not go on trying. I think it essential they should meet. One is afraid for his life and the other is standing on his dignity. But these two difficulties ought to be able to be overcome."

BARONESS SUMMERSKILL: "Does the noble earl not think that one reason why Mr. Tshombe is not prepared to meet Mr. Adoula is because of the activities of what has become known as the 'Katangan lobby' of influential men who have financial interests in Africa?"

THE EARL OF SWINTON: "Nonsense."

BARONESS SUMMERSKILL: "Has the time not arrived when the noble earl should denounce the Katangan lobby and uphold the U.N. without any reservation whatsoever? Apart altogether from the financial interests of these evil men who are using power in this way in Africa, the very existence of the U.N. is at stake. That is why all of us want the noble earl at this moment to declare his allegiance to the U.N. without any equivocation."

LORD HOME: "I am against all who lobby on behalf of one party in the Congo or another, whether the lobby includes some of my friends or whether the lobby includes the noble lady. I make no distinction. What we want to see is a united Congo, and, as I have time and again said, a federal or confederal solution seems to be the best for that country. Still, the question is a practical one as to how to get two men who differ so strongly to come together in order to work out a constitutional settlement in a country in which there is chaos.

"When the noble lady says that the future of the U.N. is at stake I agree with her. If the U.N. gets deeply involved in a war extending over the years, or is tempted itself to become a Colonial Power, that is the end of the United Nations. But I want to ensure that the U.N. performs a policing operation and an operation of pacification, and does not get involved in an extended war."

LORD STONHAM: "Would the noble earl agree that the great difficulty is in deciding the amount of force needed for pacification and the additional force which could be described as aggression? Would he not agree in regard to men of the U.N. who are disinterestedly and dangerously doing their duty and who, being on the spot, ought to know best in difficult questions of this kind, that it would be better always to

give them the benefit of the doubt and give them our full support?"

LORD HOME: "No-one could possibly say that we have not given the U.N. the fullest possible support. We have paid out millions of money and are still paying—there is a bill to be paid of £60m. before January 1 of next year. We are willing to pay our share, and we are willing to go on paying."

"When the noble lord says that you must always take the advice of the person on the spot, that you must always agree, we know a great deal about Africa—we have been there for many hundreds of years—and when you are dealing with Africans you want patience, and more patience, and patience again."

"I do not want to see a situation in which the Secretariat of the U.N., for want of patience, indulges in warlike activities and takes force beyond the point of policing. I agree that it is difficult for the Secretariat and for the people in command on the spot. They have our sympathy and our support. But I shall have to make it clear when and if we feel that the force is being carried to a point where it will lead the U.N. into an endless war and the Congo into chaos."

LORD RATHAVAN: "Is there any truth in the report this morning that U.N. bombers were used to bomb the airport and communications? Presumably they were American bombers?"

LORD HOME: "The U.N. claims the weapons that it needs for police action from any and every member country. From the information I have, I think the U.N. troops in Elisabethville were being attacked by aeroplanes, which had taken off from certain airfields. The Secretariat, it seems, felt it necessary to give authority that the aeroplanes which were being used for the purpose of attacking the U.N. troops should be taken to the airport, and they took action to that effect. I think that comes within the protection of lives which may be in danger."

Outbreak of Hostilities

MR. EDWARD HEATH, Lord Privy Seal, had on the previous day given the House of Commons the following account of the outbreak of hostilities in Katanga.

"When Her Majesty's Consul and his United States colleague saw Mr. Kimba at 9.30 a.m. yesterday, Mr. Kimba said that they had not been able to withdraw their troops because he alleged that United Nations troops had opened fire on them and had established road blocks of their own."

"An immediate attempt was made to establish personal contact between Mr. Kimba and the United Nations, but this was unsuccessful. Mr. Urruhart did, however, speak to Mr. Kimba by telephonic, but about midday the U.N. decided that it could no longer delay taking military action to restore its communications. U.N. troops then infiltrated round the road-blocks, after which small arms and mortar fire broke out. This appears to have been the first substantial action which took place."

"A suggestion by the United States Consul that the area of the main road in the neighbourhood of the road-blocks should be demilitarized was overtaken by U.N. action to secure control. Subsequently H.M. Consul reported that the Katangans opened fire on U.N. headquarters. It is reported that three bombs were dropped last night on Elisabethville airport, which is in U.N. hands."

"This morning H.M. Consul has reported that all was quiet until about 11.30 hours, when fighting again broke out in the area of U.N. headquarters."

"I have had no reports of injury to British subjects. H.M. Consul has been given discretion to arrange for their departure from Elisabethville if he thinks this necessary."

"I greatly hope that it may be possible for the U.N. to re-establish direct contact with the Provincial Government of the Katanga in order that the fighting may be brought to an end, and that the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations will use all his efforts to achieve a solution by conciliation."

MR. WILSON: "Do the concluding words mean that the Government are not giving their clear and unequivocal support to the United Nations in this operation? The United States Government have publicly announced their support of that operation, and have stated where, in their view, the responsibility lies for this outbreak of hostilities? Will the right gentleman be equally unequivocal?"

MR. HEATH: "I shall be equally clear. The view of H.M. Government is that the United Nations should try continually to achieve conciliation between the two sides in the Congo. The U.N. forces are, of course, fully entitled to protect themselves when they are attacked, but they have not got a permit from the resolutions to try to impose a political solution by force."

SIR R. GRIMSTON: "Now that it is quite obvious that, whatever the specious excuses, the U.N. policy is bringing chaos and bloodshed to a part of the Congo where previously there was law and order, what is to happen next? Could my right hon. friend tell me how long H.M. Government are to continue to finance this disastrous and, indeed, wicked policy?"

MR. HEATH: "I have tried to give the House as fair a statement as I can of the incidents as they have occurred over the past two days. I am not prepared to accept that specious excuses have been made. Due to the state of tension in the Katanga, there is very often a conflict of evidence about the facts, and, I think, clear that the U.N. forces have got to defend themselves. H.M. Government will support the main purpose of the U.N. in the Congo as they have seen it in the past and as I have described it to the House."

MR. WILSON: "In view of the suspicions which exist in many parts of the world that H.M. Government seem to be attaching more importance to the pressure of the Katanga lobby behind them than to intelligent people elsewhere, in view of the colour which has been lent to these suspicions by the activity of H.M. representatives when this matter was last raised at the Security Council, and in view of the right hon. gentleman's failure this afternoon to associate himself with the statement made, for example, by the United States Government and even to go as far as M. Spaak has done in these matters, would the right hon. gentleman not recognize that there is now a very urgent case for this matter to be brought on to the floor of the House for debate, so that we can hear the Government's defence of these actions—and even allow the noble Member for Dorset South (Viscount Hinchinbrooke) and other hon. Members who support him to try to justify in the open the pressures which they are applying privately?"

MR. HEATH: "These suspicions, which are apparently echoed by Mr. Wilson, are completely unjustified. I should have thought that the right hon. gentleman and his hon. friends, who have seen the attitude of some of the friends on this side of the House to my own speeches on this subject, would realize that I have stated time and again clearly what the Government's attitude is. If the right hon. gentleman feels that the U.N. is entitled to impose a political solution on the forces in the Congo, he should say so quite clearly. That is not the view of the Government, which working for conciliation we are entitled not to have these suspicions thrown at us."

MR. WADE: "Can the right hon. gentleman give the House any further information about the battle plan discovered by the U.N. representatives?"

MR. HEATH: "I have no information. I am quite certain that the U.N. will publish it in the usual way when it is possible to do so."

Shuttlecock of Party Politics

MR. A. HENDERSON: "Is it not true that the U.N. made an attempt to organize a political conference, say, on neutral territory, such as Geneva, between the various political leaders, having regard to the failure of its attempt to bring Mr. Adoula and Mr. Tshombe together because of Mr. Tshombe's refusal to go to Leopoldville?"

MR. HEATH: "We would gladly support any such attempt by the U.N. We have put forward a party suggestion ourselves to Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Adoula that such a meeting should be arranged. We have suggested many ways in which this might be brought about."

SIR G. NICHOLSON: "Is it not tragic that these events should become the shuttlecock of party politics in this country while in the Congo people are dying?"

MR. SHINWELL: "Did not H.M. Government agree that the U.N. force should be sent to the Congo? If the right hon. gentleman's contention is that the force is not there to impose a political settlement, what is its purpose? Is this not a test of the efficacy of the U.N. If it should fail what is to happen to the U.N.? Is it to be destroyed? Will that suit the policy of H.M. Government?—though it might suit the purposes of some of the right hon. gentleman's friends? What is the proposal of the Government to effect a political settlement?"

MR. HEATH: "The right hon. gentleman is quite right, and is not only a very serious situation in the Katanga, but in the Congo as a whole, and also for the future of the U.N. That is why I think that the whole House does not want it to develop into an international matter."

"The purpose of sending the U.N. force to the Congo was to maintain law and order and prevent outside interference in the affairs of the Congo. That it is perfectly entitled to do."

"The U.N. force has every right to defend itself when there are incidents in which it is attacked—and these have undoubtedly occurred in the last 48 hours, due to the very high tension which exists. But the U.N. force is not there to impose any solution by force, which the right hon. gentleman mentioned at the beginning of his question as being its purpose."

(Continued on page 380)

Tanganyika's Independence Celebrated in Westminster Abbey

Crowded Congregation at Service of Thanksgiving

WESTMINSTER ABBEY was crowded on Saturday morning for "a service of thanksgiving on the occasion of the attainment of independence by Tanganyika".

H.R.H. the Princess Royal represented the Queen, and the Bishop of London, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

In the procession into the sanctuary were representatives of the U.M.C.A., the C.M.S., the Lutheran Church, the Salvation Army, and of the Anglican Province of East Africa.

After the National Anthem had been sung, the Dean of Westminster gave the Bidding in the following terms:—

"Brethren, we are met together in thanksgiving to celebrate before Almighty God the attainment on this day of Independence by Tanganyika, and to pray for God's blessing on that country in the days that are to come.

We commemorate with gratitude all those, whether African, European or Asian, who in times past laboured for the advancement of the peoples of Tanganyika, and by their faith, courage and enterprise laid the foundations of peace, freedom, prosperity, justice and good government.

Great Servants of Africa

We give thanks for the work of Christian missions; for the planting and growth of Christ's Church in Tanganyika, and for all those who, for Christ's sake, gave their lives in the service of Africa, remembering especially David Livingstone, Edward Steere, William Percival Johnson, Frank Weston, Petro Lino, Samuel Schoza and Vincent Lucas; and to the One God and Father of us all, let us pray for all those who are of other faiths, that they with their Christian brethren may live in peace and work together for their country's good.

And as we recall those who have served Tanganyika and are now at rest, let us pray for those who have succeeded them, and now hold high office in that country: Richard Turnbull, the Governor-General; Julius Nyerere, the Prime Minister, his Ministers, and all who serve under them.

Pray we also for the Bishops of the Church in Tanganyika; for the clergy, the leaders of the laity, and all Christian people, that they may keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

"And forasmuch as it is righteousness which exalteth a nation, let us pray that justice, mercy and truth may strengthen and adorn the nation that is born anew to-day."

High Commissioner Reads Lesson

Mr. Dunstan Omani, who had that day become High Commissioner in London for Tanganyika, read the lesson, taken from Romans XII.

Two of the special prayers for Tanganyika were as follows:—

"O Lord God Almighty, who rulest over the kingdoms of men, we humbly beseech thee with thy favour to behold our Sovereign Lady, Queen Elizabeth, and all who are set in authority under her, that in all things they may be guided by thy Spirit and protected by thy power.

Endue with wisdom the Governor-General of Tanganyika, the Prime Minister, and all members of the Government and of the National Assembly of Tanganyika; that all things may be so ordered and settled by their endeavours, upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among them for all generations; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"O God of all the nations of the earth, without whom no people can be great; We thank thee for the peaceful progress and the hope of increasing prosperity vouchsafed to Tanganyika; and for the countless blessings, temporal and spiritual, bestowed upon its people. Visit them, we beseech thee, with thy love and wisdom; and grant them such courage, faith and perseverance in good works, that by their nationhood established on this day, and by their service to the concord of the world thy holy Name may be for ever glorified; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Prayer from Tanganyika

A third prayer, after the sermon by the Dean, was read by the Rev. Martin Sapolika:

Almighty and merciful God, who in thy wisdom dost divide to the nations their inheritance, we yield thee hearty thanks for thy loving kindness in appointing this good land of Tanganyika to be our dwelling-place among the children of men; for the fellowship and happy relations between all our peoples; for the unity of effort and will which has produced our nationhood; and for thy call to be as a beacon on a hill-top to lighten others in these troublous times.

"For all this, and for the opportunity to become a nation to serve the world and thee, we magnify thy holy Name, and, we pray thee, grant us grace so to honour thee in our heritage that the world may know that thou art our God for ever and ever; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

The service ended with the Tanganyika National Anthem, sung in Swahili.

Mr. Nyerere's Message Read in Swahili

On the previous evening there had been receptions at Lancaster House and at the Mayfairia Rooms, Marble Arch, where at 9 p.m. (midnight in Dar es Salaam) a large gathering of Africans, Europeans, and Asians saw the new Tanganyika flag unfurled and saluted by a squad of 30 Tanganyika Police.

The High Commissioner made a short speech and read the message in Swahili from Mr. Nyerere which was distributed to all centres of celebration. The text is given in another column.

The flag was taken next morning to Westminster Abbey and flown from the North Tower.

The United Africa group of companies in Tanganyika including Gallely & Roberts, Ltd., have given £7,500 for the extension of the King George V Museum, Dar es Salaam.

Sir Ernest Vasey gave £100 to the Tanganyika National Fund last week. On one recent day £600 was received in donations at the Dar es Salaam headquarters.

How Independence Was Celebrated in Tanganyika

The Queen Represented by H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh

Mr. Nyerere's message, read at all centres of celebration, at one minute past midnight on December 9, was as follows:

"Fellow countrymen, here is a moment we shall all remember, when for the first time we see our flag flying aloft to mark our country's independence. This is the moment for which we have been working these last seven years, and for which we have longed above all others.

"How have we come to this great event? The answer is that we are free because we spoke with one voice; you have all stood shoulder to shoulder in unity and in a common determination to run our own affairs. So today we can rejoice in our country's triumph, and we can rejoice too in the way this victory has been won—our self-discipline and good temper have enabled us to win our freedom with good will towards all and injury to none.

"Today we rejoice but tomorrow we have our freedom to preserve and strengthen. We Tanganyikans will not seek to do this with armies and navies and air forces. We shall do it by work, work that will increase our riches, so that we do not have to depend on our friends to provide us with our daily bread; and so that we ourselves can live from our own shoulders, free of poverty, ignorance and disease. We shall ensure that all people have the opportunity to make their lives better by day after we are no longer working for our country."

"But this, my friends, is not a time for many words; it is a time for joy. *Ukurupia furaha! Uhuru na Tanganyika! Uhuru na Afrika!*

Uhuru na furaha means freedom and joy!

Independence celebrations began on Thursday last, when the Minister of Education, Mr. Oscar Kambona, opened arts and crafts exhibition, emphasizing the need for building the country's civilization.

Desire for Friendliness with All

Speaking to journalists, the Prime Minister, Mr. Julius Nyerere, outlined Tanganyika's foreign policy. "Our desire is to be friendly to every country in the world—and we have no desire to have a friendly relationship with our enemies for us. Asked if the country would belong to the Western bloc, he replied: "I belong to Tanganyika."

Diplomatic relations would be established with Russia, but not with South Africa, Portugal, and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which had not been invited to send representatives to the celebrations. Although the three African nationalist leaders from Central Africa, Dr. Banda, Mr. Kaunda, and Mr. Nkomo, had been asked for the simple reason that African nationalists both in East and Central Africa do not recognize the Federal set-up, and we don't see why Tanganyika's independence should be made an opportunity to stamp the idea of a federation."

Journalists pointed out that the Federal flag was among those flying at Dar es Salaam airport, whereupon the Prime Minister laughed heartily and commented: "It may have to come down but it is a rather nice flag."

The boycott against South Africa would be increased, including possible measures against ships and aircraft.

Asked about the Casablanca and Monrovia groups of African States, he said that he did not regard them as blocs, but as attempts at over-all African unity, which he welcomed.

As to East African federation, it was not for him to press for it, but for the people themselves to decide. It would be inappropriate to hold formal talks until Kenya and Uganda had Governments with a clear mandate from their peoples.

Mr. Nyerere described himself as both jubilant and anxious about independence. Because the people still had an expectation of rapid change, he was anxious, for it would take a long time to overcome the obstacles that had been inherited, to offset that worry, however, was the hope given by the unity of "our Government and our people."

Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said on arrival at the head of the British delegation that "everyone feels that independent Tanganyika is going to be a valuable new member of the Commonwealth and will certainly play a most useful and constructive part in the unfolding development of Africa."

With the British group were the Aga Khan and the Prime Minister of the West Indies Federation, Sir Grantley Adams. The United States delegation was headed by Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. President Sylvanus Olympio of Togo ar-

rived the same day. Chief Justice Sir Arku Korsah represented Ghana.

In Dar es Salaam harbour the Royal Navy's largest cruiser, the 15,000-ton BELFAST, was hoisted to with two British frigates, a Pakistani destroyer, and the Royal East African Navy's three small ships, ROSALIND, MVITA, and BASSINGHAM.

At midnight on Friday the Duke of Edinburgh, who had flown in via Uganda from Gambia to represent the Queen, piloting the aircraft for much of the way, watched with a wildly cheering crowd of 75,000 as the Union Jack was lowered for the last time in the new national stadium and Tanganyika's flag rose in its place. Sir Richard Turnbull and Mr. Nyerere were near the flagstaff and shook hands as the ceremony ended.

Blazing Torch on Kilimanjaro

On Kilimanjaro, 300 miles away, Lieut. Alexander Nyirenda, the country's first African commissioned officer, hoisted the new flag on the summit and lit a torch symbolizing unity; rockets were fired, signalling to tribesmen gathered on the foothills that the new nation was born.

Next morning the Duke formally presented Mr. Nyerere with the instruments of sovereignty. Sir Richard Turnbull, having been sworn in as Governor-General, administered the oath of allegiance to the Prime Minister and the other Ministers.

Dar es Salaam became a city on Sunday, when the Duke presented the charter and letters patent. He was made the first freeman.

Other events at the week-end included a garden party at Government House, a State ball, and a reception at the Prime Minister's house, where gifts from other Governments included a silver service from Britain, Germany, and the United States announced offers of loans of £3,200,000 and \$34m. re-

A message from the Queen delivered by the Duke said: "I am confident that your country, standing firmly by the ideals of unity and co-operation and the principle of tolerance in human relations, all of which are so evident in your national life today, will make a sturdy and significant contribution to the future of the world."

Prince Philip said: "Population and wealth are not the only criteria of importance and national standing in the long run; it is the influence for good which you can exert in this area, the example of stable government, tolerance and good humour which you can set, and the encouragement you can give to people of good will everywhere. There is no reason why Tanganyika should not make a resounding success of independence."

Self-government was the most difficult hazard with which Tanganyika would have to contend; even countries with many years of experience frequently got into trouble about it. He paid tribute to the "temperate good sense and enlightened political leadership" of Mr. Nyerere, and to the "bold and far-sighted determination to learn all the techniques of a modern State."

Mr. Nyerere replied that in a country as poor as Tanganyika the struggle to raise the standards of the people and the economy would be severe, but that it would be waged with all the confidence and resolve which would inspire the new nation.

Gladly Entering Commonwealth

At the State banquet the Prime Minister said of the Duke: "We welcome the lively and vigorous mind and the alert and original approach which you bring to the many activities in which you take part. You symbolize all that is most fresh and modern in this changing, stimulating Commonwealth which we now so gladly enter."

He asked the Duke to take back to the Queen not only Tanganyika's respect and regard, but also "the simple delight and pleasure with which we simple people in this new Commonwealth country have received her husband."

In the course of his reply, Prince Philip mentioned that one of his offices was that of president of the Zoological Society. In that capacity he appealed to Tanganyika to preserve its wild animals. "You still have the chance to save this unique living heritage. If you can hold the position during the next critical years, you will be doing a service to all mankind."

Prince Philip asked Tanganyikans to remember the devoted work of the British administrators who had given up the greater part of their lives to help Tanganyika to achieve independence. "They tried to bring everything that they thought was best and most useful in the British system, and to protect you from the worst."

Mr. Macmillan telegraphed that all Commonwealth Governments had agreed that Tanganyika should from December 9 be recognized as a member of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Nyerere replied: "Your message will give much gratification to the people of Tanganyika. The ideals which unite the Commonwealth are held in high respect in my country, and we welcome the chance to play our part in that friendly association."

Mr. Maudling, Secretary of State for the Colonies, telegraphed to Mr. Nyerere: "Your far-sighted leadership will, I know, be of immense benefit to your country. Those of us here who have had the privilege and honour of being associated with your territory in past years send to you and the people of Tanganyika our most sincere greetings."

At the unveiling of the Independence Monument, a 30-foot obelisk surmounted by a torch fashioned from bronze and fibreglass, Mr. Nyerere said: "It is a small monument built in stone. It is a modest monument. The real monument is yet to be built. It is going to be a nation."

He walked back to his seat hand in hand with Kenyatta.

In an Independence Day broadcast Mr. Nyerere said: "As we build our own country, we must do what we can to help our brothers who struggle to join our independent status. Our future cannot be assured, however hard we work, until the whole of Africa is free and united."

New Parliament Opened

Independent Tanganyika now had the job of fighting "the poverty and uncertainty that grips us. Government and people must work together to ensure that everyone has enough food and good water, hospitals, roads, and schools. The poverty of our country, the ignorance and disease from which we suffer, did not change last night when our flag was raised."

At the opening of the new Parliament in Dar es Salaam, Monday, following the Queen's Speech from the Throne, he said that Tanganyika would seek brotherly cooperation with other African States and strive to promote and strengthen the close links already existing with its neighbours. The harmonious development of relations with other Commonwealth members would be a constant objective.

The new Government would have particular regard to the principles of the U.N. Charter, and in its conduct of external affairs would seek to establish and strengthen good relations with all Governments which themselves supported its principles. As a natural consequence of our firm adherence to these principles, applications have already been made for Tanganyika to be admitted as a member of the United Nations, the speech continued. [The Security Council met today to consider this application, which was expected to be unanimously approved.]

The Duke outlined four main points of internal policy: a three-year development plan, to be executed with energy and flexibility; conversion of the "outdated Native authority councils into modern and effective local authorities" under a unified Government service; improvement of educational facilities, with priority for expanding secondary and university education; and Africanization of the "civil service" "at the greatest rate compatible with the maintenance of a sound standard in all fields", while still welcoming the continued assistance of expatriate officers.

War on Poverty, Ignorance, Disease

Replying, Mr. Nyerere said that his country's parliamentary history, though young, was founded on centuries of British tradition. Domestic policy was to be "war on poverty, ignorance and disease. Those three enemies beset us hard, and by our own efforts we could perhaps scarcely hope to overthrow them. But generous help is reaching us from the United Kingdom, and from others too with whom our past associations have been less close. Through that help, and above all through the efforts that must be forthcoming from the people themselves, I am certain that, in spite of all the economic difficulties that beset us now, we can raise ourselves to the stature to which we aspire."

The Duke left at midday, dipping a wing of his plane in salute. He is spending two days in the Serengeti National Park before flying back to London.

Mr. Eric Downton, special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, cabled that although Mr. Nyerere continued to reassure British civil servants that their services were needed and that they would be fairly treated, "other Ministers unfortunately give a much less convincing impression". He quoted a strong editorial comment in the *Tanganyika Standard* of Government proposals to impose a £100 licence fee monthly on private doctors in order to get money to provide better rural health services, described by the newspaper as "an incredibly stupid measure liable to do immense harm to Tanganyika at home and overseas."

"If it approves these proposals the Government runs a grave

risk not only of driving out private medical practitioners but also of creating widespread suspicion that this is the thin end of the wedge and the precursor of other measures aimed against private enterprise in Tanganyika."

The special correspondent commented: "This affair of the doctors' licences illustrates again the major flaw in Tanganyika's political structure. Too much is built upon the shoulders of one man, the 40-year-old Prime Minister, both in the Government and in leadership of the Government's political instrument, the all-powerful Tanganyika African National Union."

"Recently from Mr. Nyerere's less polished Ministers have come threats to muzzle the Press and ride roughshod over the bargaining rights of trade unions. Despite Mr. Nyerere's great personal popularity and the octopus-like activity of T.A.N.U., there is a feeling of some fragility around the edges of the present régime."

Training Overseas Civil Servants D.T.C. Appoints Advisory Committee

MR. DENNIS VOSPER, SECRETARY for Technical Co-operation, has appointed a committee "to advise, after such consultation with educational institutions and other organizations as the committee may think necessary, (a) on the training facilities in the field of public administration and related subjects provided in the United Kingdom for Government servants and other public employees nominated by the Governments of overseas countries, and (b) on the arrangements for assistance from the United Kingdom in building up local training facilities in the same respects." Requests received from the Governments of overseas countries will be reported on the suitability and adequacy of the arrangements made for these purposes in relation to the present and foreseeable future demand.

Lord Bridges, Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, 1945-56, is to be chairman, and Professor W. J. M. Mackenzie, Professor of Government, at the University of Manchester, the vice-chairman.

The other members are Mrs. E. M. Chilver, director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London; Gordon Hadow, Adviser on Development, and Commonwealth Commissioner for Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland; Mr. W. F. Houghton, education officer, London County Council; Mr. Guy Hunter, who has studied management training and administrative training problems in Africa; Mr. A. H. Marshall, city treasurer of Coventry; Mr. Raymond Nottage, director of the Royal Institute of Public Administration.

Mr. C. J. Ritchie, director of the Fellowships Department, British Council; Dr. R. E. Robinson, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; Professor W. A. Robson, Professor of Public Administration in the University of London; Mr. P. Rogers, Under-Secretary in the Department of Technical Co-operation; and Mrs. P. M. Bantler, director of the Training and Education Division, H.M. Treasury.

The secretary is Mr. K. G. Ashton, of the Department of Technical Co-operation.

U.N.I.P. Will Jail Opponents Master Plan "Will Destroy Federation"

THE CHAIRMAN of the Chiwempala branch of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia said at a recent meeting on the outskirts of Chingola that as Kwame Nkrumah had jailed the opposition in Ghana, "so we shall do the same here."

Pointing in the direction of police officers who were recording his words, he said: "Some people here will go to prison without trial with the coming of the Zambia Government."

The third stage of U.N.I.P.'s "master plan" would be so strong that it would cause the break-up of the Federation. If Mr. Kaunda implemented the third stage and "compads you to throw stones, you must be prepared to do so."

The deputy national secretary of U.N.I.P., Mr. Aaron Milner, was present.

N.D.P. Permanently Banned in Southern Rhodesia

Reign of Terror on Nazi Lines Brought to an End

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, commented at the beginning of the week on the Proclamation by the Governor of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, banning the two-year-old National Democratic Party, saying that it had shown a steady deterioration from democratic standards and a steady drift into violent courses.

The Prime Minister continued:—

"A year ago this month, during the constitutional conference in London, news reached delegates there of attacks upon the homes and families of some of those taking part in the conference. On December 19 in London Mr. Nkomo and I jointly signed a statement expressly for publication in these terms:—

"We heard with distress of the attacks made on the homes and property of the people in Southern Rhodesia during the constitutional talks in London. Acts of violence are detrimental to the peace and progress of Southern Rhodesia and we condemn them. We call on any person who has any information of who is responsible to inform the authorities immediately."

Intimidation Has Increased Continuously

The leaders of N.D.P. have failed to live up to the statement their president signed. Intimidation has increased continuously, intolerance and violence have grown, and acts of violence against their fellow Africans have resulted in very many members of the N.D.P. being convicted. The agreement to which the N.D.P. subscribed in late February, they repudiated in March. Since then they have increasingly threatened in public statements to destroy the stability of the Colony.

They said isolated disturbances which occurred last year will be minor in comparison, I tried to say, with the catastrophe which might follow. By August a statement by the party was 'industry'—that is white industry—being cleared out.

Intimidation increased in African townships and spread to rural areas. There is clear evidence that it was due to the N.D.P. that there was a refusal to dig canals despite a danger of serious drought ruining the crops, breaking down contour ridges in trial areas—so essential for the conservation of the soil for future generations—and opposition to all rules of improved farming practices.

In recent weeks the party's utterances have been increasingly violent. On November 28 at a Press conference the President insisted they would have popular Government within 12 months although he quite well knew that it could not be achieved by any constitutional means. He had already advised the N.D.P. to prevent their registering as voters and had exhorted existing voters to return their voter's registration cards.

In the last few weeks there have been clear indications that intimidation has been stepped up beyond all bounds. No African who disagrees openly with the tenets of the N.D.P. is safe from molestation. They have attempted to impose a reign of terror against any opponent party. Those who remember the rise of the Nazi party in Germany will understand only too well the symptoms.

Threat to Liberty and Democratic Life

"If the Government of Southern Rhodesia is to permit the continuance of the N.D.P. as presently constituted, there can be no liberty or democratic life in the Colony under the new Constitution.

"Their history has been one of brutality and violence against anyone who disagrees with them. Their aim is a one-party State. That is why the order decided today has been put into force. They have been banned not temporarily but permanently. The party has been abolished for sins committed after two years of very fair trial. Any person who remains a member or attempts to resuscitate the party will be committing a criminal offence. Any person who fails to destroy or surrender his membership card becomes a criminal.

"Our new Constitution demands a spirit of tolerance and non-racialism, which the late party has never been prepared to accept. We are determined to have a society in which everybody can express their own views without the fear of

violence from those who disagree with them. We are determined to implement the new Constitution in the spirit in which it was founded before the leaders of the N.D.P. took fright at the voice of their extremists and ratted at the orders of their overseas supporters.

"We are determined the ordinary men and women of this country shall be able to express their political opinions free from the fear that one political party will burn their homes, offer them physical violence, or injure them in their businesses, and demand that everybody should obey the dictates of a party controlled financially from outside the borders of Central Africa.

Determined to Build Non-Racial State

"With the new Constitution granted us, we are determined to build a non-racial State in which people of all races can live in happiness together, are able to disagree in politics and yet be friends; feeling secure in a rule of law and protection against crime—building together a Southern Rhodesia of the future in which no man is superior to another, working together in their trade associations, whether farmers' unions, commercial unions or trades union, so that the great riches of our country can be developed for the benefit of all our peoples, and so that all the children now growing up in our country can look to a happy future.

"Nothing is more horrible than bullying and intimidation, making life a misery—for the benefit of a few ambitious leaders. We are determined to give the people of our country the opportunity of true peace and happiness for the generations to come."

Immediately the banning of the National Democratic Party was announced, Sir Edgar Whitehead received a number of phone calls and personal callers expressing support for his action, mainly from individuals, including African chiefs and members of the clergy.

In Kingsway, Salisbury, a group of African women welcomed the ban, saying that the N.D.P. had chased them from the townships and prevented their buying food for two days. One Bulawayo woman said in her message: "Congratulations. You have restored happiness to our townships."

The organising secretary of one N.D.P. branch wrote: "The N.D.P. is no longer a party but a collection of thugs. I am going to the police to hand in my card."

Methodist Missionary Supports Government Action

A Methodist mission priest said: "We strongly support the appropriate measures taken at the 11th hour. Please stand firm for justice and true liberty."

Typical of many telegrams were the following: "Banning of N.D.P. fully justified; all peaceful Africans support you"; "Congratulations; this is freedom at last"; "Congratulations on action; common sense behind you"; and "Sincere thanks to you for peace and security your banning of N.D.P. offers hope for future."

Attempts at the week-end to prevent workers from going to work were completely unsuccessful. There was not a single report of intimidation proving successful.

One African was shot dead, 14 were wounded and more than 700, including 645 women, were arrested during three days of disturbances last week in protest against the new Southern Rhodesian Constitution, which came into force on Wednesday. Hundreds of police and reservists, with two companies of infantry, patrolled Harare and Highfield African townships, Salisbury; they were engaged in running encounters with mobs throwing stones and looting shops. Tear-gas had to be used and there were baton charges during which three European policemen and two African constables were injured by stones. Jeering Africans, numbering about 1,000, gathered in Cecil Square, facing the Parliament buildings; they were dispersed by tear-gas.

The trouble began on Wednesday of last week when African women staged a mass sit-down outside the office of the British High Commissioner and the home of Sir Edgar Whitehead. When many had been arrested African men began stoning the police station in which they were held.

Workers resident in Harare and Highfield went to work as usual on Monday despite a call to strike against the banning of the N.D.P. Police guards were provided on the buses.

In Bulawayo also Africans went to work, although during the previous night leaflets had been distributed calling for a week's general strike. Signed by "General Hokoyo, leader of the Freedom Army", they threatened "to fix anyone who worked

Mr. Nkomo met in Dar es Salaam the Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Duncan Sandys, who said afterwards that he had explained that internal security was the sole responsibility of the Southern Rhodesian Government, to which any representations should be addressed.

Mr. Nkomo told reporters that he would fly home as soon as possible; earlier he had stated that if not satisfied with his talk with Mr. Sandys he might go to London to see the Prime Minister, "and no one else". He called on Britain to suspend the Constitution, "as the white people in charge have gone half mad. If Britain fails to do that, then she must accept all the blame for what Sir Edgar Whitehead has done, because he has done it on the basis of the Constitution which Britain has imposed".

He denounced as "a lie" Sir Edgar Whitehead's statement that the N.D.P. had resorted to violence and intimidation, and

asserted that the party had been banned because it set itself against the imposition of a Constitution intended to entrench white supremacy. "If Whitehead has been intimidated at all, he has been intimidated by the knowledge that we are powerful", the party had a paid-up membership of 250,000, Mr. Nkomo claimed, adding that intimidation was ruled out anyway because regular and reserve police patrolled the African townships night and day.

"Whitehead may have banned the N.D.P., but he has not and cannot ban the spirit of the people. He cannot stand against the wave of nationalism. From Dar es Salaam we are carrying back to Southern Rhodesia the fever of independence. I do not want the expulsion of the immigrant races, but they must just accept that we shall rule".

The ban on his party was unnecessary, and Sir Edgar Whitehead was "a coward" to order it.

Problems of White Settlement in Africa

Salient Pages from Miss Margery Perham's Reith Lecture

MISS MARGERY PERHAM dealt with white settlement in Africa in the fourth of her six Reith Lectures, which are being given on Sunday evenings in the Home Service of the B.B.C. and repeated next day in the Third Programme.

In the series in "The Colonial Bookings" from the fourth comes the following passage as taken:

"We usually share the deep bias of all the Germanic-speaking Europeans against inter-marriage with the Negro race. This conscious or unconscious fear of race-mixture accounts both for the white man's insistence on a ring of defence and for all his outer ring of political, social and economic ramparts. It explains many of the wrongs done from the Southern States of America, South Africa, the Rhodesias, and Kenya—and from Nottingham Hill—and the news of occasional retaliatory outrages of raping of white women in the Congo.

Fear

"Many years ago when waiting in Aden for a ship to take me across to Somaliland, then still a pretty wild place, I had a sudden feeling that I could not leave the relative civilization of Aden and plunge into that unknown land. It was not physical fear, certainly not sexual fear. It was the fear that myself, this white, English self-loved, cultivated self, would in some way be overwhelmed among tens of thousands of other beings, not necessarily inferior, but utterly alien and incomprehending. The nightmare feeling passed and I have never felt anything like it in Somaliland—or anywhere else. But how many settlers, and indeed missionaries, especially in lonely places, may not sometimes add this half-conscious dread to all other more rational fears.

"Many Kenya settlers belonged to what we used to call the gentry, if not to the aristocracy. In earlier years they came from a country of still strong class divisions. They saw the African tribesmen living in their dark little huts, naked or in greasy goat skins. At home these settlers had had no social contact with their servants and labourers. How much less contact would seem possible where barriers of race and mutual incomprehension were added to that of status!

"In Southern Rhodesia the settlers, many already toughened by experience in South Africa, had to fight, in conquest and later in rebellion, against Lobengula's Matabele. In the settlers' view this was a meritorious act because of the bloody tyranny of Matabele, had exercised over other tribes. It was not easy for the settlers to adjust their attitudes to the first educated Africans who arose from the masses to imitate, challenge, or caricature them.

"African nationalism now demands compensation for this long and unavoidable inequality. As a result the settlers' future is in the balance; and we in this country carry a great

responsibility for decisions which may have to be made in the next few months; or even weeks, and which might just tip the balance one way or another.

Committed to Africa

"East and Central Africa have mostly poor soil, a scanty and ill-distributed rainfall, and therefore a scanty and ill-distributed population. In general, the soil is backward than in West Africa. Yet there were some areas of high fertility, especially in Kenya, almost uninhabited which white settlers could make richly productive, but only by the use of long practical and scientific experiment in types of soil, of seed and of livestock, in hard-bought experience of the fickle soil. In Southern Rhodesia minerals set the production graphs climbing, and manufactures followed. In Northern Rhodesia between 1945 and 1952 the output of copper rocketed in value from just over £7m. to nearly £70m. It follows that these settled countries have complex economies, highly dependent on scientific research and managerial skill. Many of Central Africa are very dependent upon the wages paid by these new economies. Settlers ask how these new and still precarious economic structures could be put tomorrow under the control of the still almost utterly inexperienced African Governments.

"The settlers, the farmers above all, have committed themselves, their resources, and their families to Africa. They did not go out as philanthropists, but most of them saw themselves, and still see themselves, as agents of civilization.

Cruel Dilemma

"I think especially of Kenya, of friends who put their small fortunes, their officer's gratuity perhaps, into a tin mine in the veld. They broke it into shape, built a small house, ran in and out of debt as prices or climate failed them. The wife would make a garden with the glorious range of Kenya's flowers, would care for their African labourers and their labourers' wives and children. These countrymen of ours have given all their hearts and hopes to this glorious country. Today they must choose—to stay under an African Government or pull out, perhaps in middle or late age, to face a new life, abandoning all they have struggled to create.

"Educated Africans could watch from early days the settlers' angry assertion of his rights, his bitter criticism of the Colonial Government, very often for its protection of African interests. This was no very good example to the African of civic behaviour. It was part of the settlers' earlier case that the Africans were inherently unfit to rule. Here came the argument about the 2,000 years which, they said, it had taken Britain to reach her present civilization. Could it take Africans much less?

"The amount of inhabited land taken away from Africans is a very small proportion of the whole. But few Africans are under Britain's peace and Britain's social services, and because Africans have been taught to produce more and to need more. They look out of their little plots to the large nearby European farms.

"The Kikuyu suffered most from these resentments. They work on European farms, crowd into the capital, gaze at

(Continued on page 379)

PERSONALIA

SIR DUNCAN ANDERSON is now a director of Venesta, Ltd.

DR. R. S. BUNNY left London Airport to return to Kenya.

M. GREGOIRE KAVIBANDA has been elected President of Ruanda.

MR. DANIEL ATAP MOI has been sworn in as Minister for Education in Kenya.

MR. G. HAYTER has been appointed Superintendent of Prisons in Tanganyika.

MR. R. W. ROWLAND has joined the board of Coronation Syndicate, Ltd.

SIR ERIC MACHTIG, a member of the board of Barclays Bank D.C.O., is in East Africa.

MR. A. J. B. OGILVY has been elected a director of Chicago-Gaika Development Co., Ltd.

MR. F. J. PEDLER, managing director of the United Africa Co., Ltd., is revisiting East Africa.

LORD WAKEHURST, Governor of Northern Ireland, and LADY WAKEHURST will pay a short visit to Kenya later this month.

THE REV. R. S. F. PATSON, an area secretary of the U.M.C.A., is to be Rector of Downham Market with Roxwell, Norfolk.

MR. F. K. MUMBELO has been appointed District Commissioner at Gelita, and MR. H. Z. TALAWA D.C. in Biharamulo, Tanganyika.

THE REV. R. F. BOWERS has left Uganda after 14 years as a missionary in order to become education secretary in London of the C.M.S.

MR. A. E. P. ROBINSON, Federal High Commissioner in London, is due back today from a short official visit to Western Germany and Belgium.

SIR DALLAS G. M. BERNARD has joined the board of the proprietors of Hays Wharf, Ltd., which has also elected MR. H. G. JAEGER a director.

MR. YATUTA CHISIZA is reported to have been dismissed by DR. BANDA from the post of secretary-general of the Malawi Congress Party.

MISS C. M. DRAKELEY, who has served the Church Missionary Society in Uganda for 35 years, has retired. She was awarded the M.B.E. for her work.

MR. REGINALD MAUDLING, Secretary of State for the Colonies, returned at the weekend from his tour of Kenya and Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

DR. H. M. STEVENSON DELHOMME, a member of the Legislative and Executive Councils of Seychelles, has been appointed a Serving Sister of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

SIR CHRISTOPHER CHANCELLOR is now chairman of Bowaters Sales Co., Ltd., and of the South African company of the group. He joined the board of the parent company only last month.

SIR CHARLES PONSONBY presided on Thursday last when SIR ARTHUR KIRBY spoke on "Tanganyika Triumphant" at a joint meeting in London of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies.

MR. BINDSCHEIDER, who built a 35-ft. all-steel vessel on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia and had it transported to Beira for launching, recently sailed the yacht single-handed to Seychelles in 16 days.

While it was an African second-lieutenant who was detailed to light the beacon on the summit of Kilimanjaro at midnight last Friday, the party was under the command of MAJOR PAT STEPHENS, Royal Signals.

MR. DENIS BURKITT, a surgeon in Uganda, has said when visiting the Federation that a cancer common among young children in tropical Africa, whom it usually attacks in the jaw, may be caused by an insect-borne virus.

SIR FREDERICK HÖYER MILLAR has been appointed King of Arms of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

EARL WINTERTON, who has owned property in Northern Rhodesia for more than 50 years, has had to go into hospital following a fall in which he fractured a leg bone. He has cancelled his public engagements for the next three months.

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER, who has lived and farmed in Kenya for some years, is reported to have decided to send out of the Colony his collection of old masters and first edition books. Among the paintings are seven Holbeins.

MR. L. F. L. PYMAN was received in audience by THE QUEEN last Friday and kissed hands upon his appointment as Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Mogadishu. MRS. PYMAN had the honour of being received.

MR. A. H. EARLEY, who since 1954 has been chief ports manager of the East African Railways and Harbours Administration; with headquarters in Mombasa, has taken up the new post of Assistant General Manager (Tanganyika) of E.A.R. & H.

Visitors in London from the Federation include MR. & MRS. M. C. BOARDMAN, MR. & MRS. O. J. IRWIN, MR. D. S. KLEIN, MR. P. B. N. JACKSON, MR. P. W. H. MITCHELL, MR. J. W. B. PARKES, PROFESSOR & MRS. H. J. ROUSSEAU, and MR. R. SMITH.

LORD LOVAT, president of the Dukar Club, presided last week at the annual dinner in London. MR. J. WALLACE, the honorary secretary, left hospital to attend the dinner, at which MR. L. K. H. OWEN spoke of the animal rescue operations at Lake Kariba.

On her way back from the Far East, PRINCESS ALEXANDRA flew at the week-end from Aden to the Sudan in order to see the temples of Abu Simbel, which may be submerged by flood waters from the Aswan High Dam. Then she flew to Cairo.

MR. M. RUIZ, lately Latin Commissioner for East Africa for the Federation, is to be attached to the British Embassy in Bonn in order to publicize the Federation as a field for investment by Western European financial and business interests and to help in the expansion of exports to Western Europe from the Federation.

SIR JOHN MACPHERSON, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1956 to 1959, has been elected chairman of Cable and Wireless, Ltd. He is deputy chairman of the Royal Commonwealth Society and a member of the council of the Royal African Society. His only son is an administrator in Tanganyika.

MR. LINDSAY HUNTING, who is now 70 years of age, will retire from the chairmanship of the Hunting group of shipping, aviation, survey, oil and engineering companies at the end of this year, but will remain on the board. The vice-chairman, MR. CHARLES PATRICK MAULE HUNTING, Sir Percy's son, will be the new chairman, and MR. LINDSAY CLIVE HUNTING the new vice-chairman.

An 11-year-old English girl, PAMELA FRANKLIN, who has a part in a film now being made near Nanyuki, Kenya, was bitten last week when she stepped on a lion (the name of the film being 'The Lion'). DR. J. R. GREGORY, who was on the spot, thought that the gash on her hand might have been accidental, not deliberate. Two of the stars are MR. WILLIAM HOLDEN and MR. TREVOR HOWARD.

FURNISHED COTTAGE TO LET

TWO MILES Station, secluded lane, 2 bedrooms and study/bedroom, available Mid-January—Apply: Watts, Combe Cottage, Lower Assendon, Henley-on-Thames, Oxon.

HERREN, KURT PROKOP and REIMAR HOLZINGER, representing the Austrian trade union federation O.G.B., were in Tanganyika for the Independence celebrations and are going to Zanzibar, Mauritius, and Madagascar.

An African from Uganda, MR. J. C. MUMWONGE-MUKASA, who had been employed as a salesman in the Kampala office of A. Baumann & Co., Ltd., has passed the qualifying examination of the Institute of Marketing and Sales Management. He came to London two years ago, and has since worked as a cashier, studying in his spare time. He has had no financial assistance by scholarship or otherwise, and in June next hopes to sit his final examination. He is thought to be the first African from East or Central Africa to take this course of study.

Federation trade union leaders who met in Blantyre, Nyasaland, last week included the president of the Northern Rhodesia Unified Trades Union Congress, MR. J. K. CHIVUNGA; the president of the N.R. Workers' Union, MR. J. PONDE; the president and acting general secretary of the Southern Rhodesian Trades Union Congress, MESSRS. REUBEN JAMHILA and JOHN MTIMKULU; and the general secretary of the Nyasaland T.U.C., MR. K. NYIREBDA. The assistant general secretary of I.C.F.T.U., MR. STEFAN NEDZYNSKI, attended as an observer.

Warm Tributes to Mr. Katilungu

NORTHERN RHODESIA'S LOSS by the death in a motor accident of Mr. Lawrence C. Katilungu was emphasized by speaker after speaker in the Legislative Council, in which MR. WRAY, the Chief Secretary, said on behalf of the Government: "We have lost a courageous and able colleague, and look back on our acquaintanceship with him with appreciation and respect."

MR. JOHN ROBERTS, Leader of the Opposition, said that Mr. Katilungu's public and trade union services had been great, and that he had appeared destined to play a large part in the country's political future. When Minister of Labour he had had cause to recognize Mr. Katilungu's fervent pursuance of the trade union cause.

A forthright and fearless man, he left a deep impression whenever he spoke, and, having once formulated an opinion, he could not be moved from it. Those were qualities of which any politician might be proud.

Mr. Katilungu had held the chiefs and other Native authorities in the greatest respect, for he was concerned for established tradition and custom.

"Perhaps his greatest quality was that he fervently believed that the two major races in Northern Rhodesia could live in peace to the mutual benefit of both, and he was ready to base his policies on that belief."

MR. HARRY FRANKS, Minister of Transport and Works, said that Mr. Katilungu had been a friend for very many years, one who had visited his home and whose home he had visited.

He was truly non-racial, a man with friends in all walks of life, one who thought of Northern Rhodesians as one people. His level-headedness, his quality which he gave his advice so extremely valuable, whether in small councils or in a great commission such as that headed by Lord Munkton, of which he was a member. His forthright speech, and unflinching good humour would be greatly missed.

MR. MUNDISO, a relative, said that Mr. Katilungu would be greatly valued by his people. Mr. MUNDISO considered his death a terrible loss to Northern Rhodesia. From every standpoint, for he was a very great leader, who, if expert would have looked up all roads. He was the right man to take over a Government.

MR. C. E. COLEMAN, who recalled that he had first met Mr. Katilungu in 1948, just before his election as president of the African Mineworkers' Union, said that in that capacity he had agreed to the new procedure of African trade unionists meeting the general managers and personnel managers of the great mining companies.

"From the start Lawrence Katilungu took a prominent part in these discussions. He towered above his fellows. He made his points clearly and firmly. Subsequently Lawrence Katilungu, as president of the union and facing the major complications arising out of disputes in the copper-mining industry.

"He always followed the law and persuaded his followers to do so and I think that, as a result of that, many strikes and strikes were avoided to the great benefit of the country and the community as a whole. I believe also that his influence was great in preventing disturbances and faction quarrels. Many tribes were represented in the Mineworkers' Union, but he seemed to bring harmony and one point of view among them.

"A few years ago Lawrence Katilungu, as a workers' representative, accompanied me to Geneva to attend an I.L.O. Conference; he was a member of the Federal Observer Delegation. At that conference, which is representative of practically every country of the world, with a membership which is complex and involved, he soon found his place and was most co-operative with other members of the delegation.

"He had a pleasant personality, with a fine sense of humour. He had the ability to get along with people, African and European. His untimely death is a great loss to the country, which can ill afford to lose such men at this time."

MR. S. R. MALCOLMSON was sure that he spoke for the whole Copperbelt when he described Lawrence Katilungu as respected and much loved in that part of Northern Rhodesia. He had shown himself a truly great leader, one who believed inherently in the economic and political advancement of his people, who saw no merit in violence and who steadfastly refused to take a short cut by violent methods in order to obtain his aims.

Obituary

Professor Vincent Harlow

PROFESSOR VINCENT TODD HARLOW, C.M.G., Beit Lecturer in British Commonwealth History at Oxford since 1948, was taken ill in his car while driving last week and died before reaching hospital. He was 63 years of age.

After serving in the Royal Field Artillery in the latter part of the 1914-18 war, he read history at Brunel University, and was then appointed keeper of Rhodes House library, Oxford. Ten years later he was elected Beit Lecturer, and in 1938 he succeeded to the Rhodes Chair of Imperial History at King's College, London. During part of the war which started in the following year he worked in the Ministry of Information. In 1948 he returned to Oxford as Beit Professor and to a fellowship at Balliol.

He had visited East and Central Africa, and had served on the Colonial Social Science Research Council and on the governing bodies of the School of Oriental and African Studies and the Royal Commonwealth Society.

The Archbishop of Canterbury had nominated him to the Church Assembly Overseas Council, he was on the executive committee of the British Council of Churches, and for nearly 25 years he was a churchwarden in the parish of Marston, near Oxford.

MRS. MARJORIE TRAVIS, née HOULTON, wife of MR. GEORGE NICOL, of Kipkabus, has died suddenly in Nakuru War Memorial Hospital after a short illness. They had intended to retire from Kenya in a few weeks.

MRS. EVE FARSON, who died suddenly last week, was the widow of the late Negley Farson, with whom she had travelled widely in many countries, including Africa. Like him, she had a great affection for Africa and Africans, and had been an immense help to him over many years.

Parliament

Kenyatta Now Eligible for Election

WHEN ASKED in the House of Commons last week when the Constitution of Kenya would be amended to enable Kenyatta to stand for election to the Legislative Council,

MR. HUGH FRASER replied: "The Kenya (Constitution) (Amendment No. 2) Order in Council, 1961, removing the provision disqualifying anyone who has served a prison sentence exceeding two years from standing for election to the Legislative Council, was laid on December 4."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked what help had been given by other Commonwealth countries in the relief of distress from famine and flood in Kenya.

MR. FRASER: "The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has very kindly made available three Dakota aircraft of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force, and these have given significant help by distributing food in Kenya. Since November 18 these aircraft have dropped 357,000 lb. of food to stricken areas in the Colony."

"No other material or financial assistance has been given officially by Commonwealth or Colonial Governments, but contributions to Kenya's Famine Relief Appeal have been received from many private individuals in the Commonwealth. There have also been offers of foodstuffs from private firms, and one Australian company, for example, has donated 3,000 tins of baby food."

MR. FRASER asked the Government State whether he was aware that members of the United Federal Party in Nyasaland had been found guilty of conspiracy to bring about the arson of members' houses, of bringing charges in the name of these houses against members of the Malawi Party, and of giving false evidence against the latter.

MR. FRASER: "Yes, sir. Three members of the Mbobo branch of the U.F.P., including the chairman, Victor Chialo, were convicted of arson and attempting to defraud by false pretences, and have been sentenced to 18 months' hard labour. One further case of conspiracy involving a U.F.P. official is *sub judice*."

"In the light of the fairly widespread charges

of arson and intimidation which were made against the Malawi Party prior to the elections in Nyasaland, is it not rather scandalous that the U.F.P. supporters should themselves have committed these crimes and falsified the facts in order to discredit their political opponents? Can my hon. friend say that these houses are no longer Voice and Vision tours of hon. Members?"

MR. FRASER: "It is not for me to comment, except to see that the law takes its full and due course in Nyasaland, and that we are ensuring."

MR. HEALEY: "In view of the very wide publicity which was given to the falsehoods by Voice and Vision and the Federal Government, can the hon. gentleman say what steps H.M. Government are taking through their information officers in the Federation to correct this false propaganda?"

MR. FRASER: "It is not for H.M. Government to enter into matters of propaganda, and these facts do outstandingly."

MRS. CASTLE asked why Mr. Kenneth Kaunda had been refused permission to hold meetings in the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia, and why the United National Independence Party had been refused permission to re-register its branches in Abercorn and Kasama.

MR. FRASER: "Mr. Kaunda made a tour of the Northern Provinces in October and again in November. The granting of permits for particular meetings is, however, a matter for the local authority in the district concerned, and I have asked the Governor about any recent refusals of permits to him."

"As regards re-registration of U.N.I.P. branches, the Governor's announcement on November 1 of the revocation of the general order declaring these branches unlawful in certain provinces explained that all such branches were now eligible to re-apply for registration and that each application would be considered on its merits."

MRS. CASTLE: "I thank the Under-Secretary very warmly for that reply. Is he aware that the facts stated in my question were based on letters and telegrams I have received from Mr. Kaunda's right-hand man in the Northern Province? Does he agree that Mr. Kaunda is an outstanding and able African leader who has constantly preached non-violence, and that every faculty should be given to him to conduct his organization? In the Northern Province for him to conduct his propaganda and build his organization?"

MR. FRASER: "I have an official record for Mr. Kaunda, but I must await the official reply from the Governor."

Tanganyika Citizenship

IN TANGANYIKA the Minister for Home Affairs may register as a citizen anyone who is a Commonwealth citizen or a citizen of a scheduled independent African State which grants reciprocal rights to Tanganyika. Those who register as Tanganyika citizens must take an oath of allegiance and provide evidence that they have renounced the nationality or citizenship of any other country of which they were previously citizens or nationals. Citizens by naturalization may lose that status if they show themselves by act or speech to be disloyal or disaffected towards the Queen or the Government of Tanganyika, if they are sentenced to more than 12 months' imprisonment in any country within seven years of becoming naturalized, or if they reside elsewhere continuously for seven years without registering annually with Tanganyika Consulate or notifying the Minister in writing that they intend to retain Tanganyika citizenship.

Africans to Pay Income Tax

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE in Uganda having told the Legislative Council that the exemption of Africans from liability to income tax must end, a Government motion in that sense was carried in the Legislature by 43 votes to 35. Opposition speakers agreed that in principle there should be no racial discrimination in taxation, but they wanted postponement for an inquiry. Mr. S. W. Kulubya took the opportunity of paying tribute to the non-Africans who had made such a "wonderful contribution" in Uganda. The principle that Africans should not pay income tax had been accepted during the recent constitutional conference in London, said Mr. Melmoth; they would still have to pay export taxes, but the African and non-African poll taxes and the non-African education tax would be abolished in due course.



The
finest tobacco
perfectly packed

Miss Perham's Reith Lectures

(Continued from page 375)

European luxuries through the plate-glass windows. They are the most ambitious, most sophisticated, perhaps the ablest of Kenya tribes. Minds full of bitter anger and envy within were early open to incitement from without.

Mau Mau

"So we come to Mau Mau, that most ghastly of rebellions, with its bestial oaths and cult of torture and murder. How deep must have been the frustrations of the Kikuyu and its kindred groups to drive them to practices which deliberately violated the sanctities of their own sexual and tribal life and which morally and physically injured them far more than the settlers. By the end, 89,000 were in detention. How many were killed in fighting, how many loyalists were murdered, cannot be known. Europeans lost strangely few to the Kikuyu knives. I was only twice and briefly in Kikuyu country during the Mau Mau, but just long enough to know what it was to wonder if a noise in the night meant that they were coming, a fear with which the settlers on their isolated farms, often women alone with their children, had to endure for two or three years. Yet if there had been no white settlement would there have been Mau Mau?

"There is nothing we British so hate as the admission that the blackmail of violence can pay. Yet in Kenya, even before Mau Mau ended, the Government had made such efforts to divert the disoriented Kikuyu to agriculture that many of this tribe have developed into the best farmers in Africa. The Government even began to force the immense advance of individual tenure.

"There was even wider reform. The tribe had controlled the whole of the Colony, expanded mobilization of all its resources, the dispatch of British troops, the spending of £60m. There was only one conclusion: that Kenya could never face another tribal movement of this kind, still less a movement wider than the tribe. That meant that Kenya Africans could not for long be denied the independence that had been given to the Sudan and other territories clearly coming to Tanganyika and Uganda, and was internationally guaranteed even to poor neighbouring Somalia. The Lancaster House Conference of 1960, when Mr. Banda shattered such illusions as the settlers still cherished about their future.

"Could anything have been done earlier to narrow even a little the vast gap in understanding and interest between the British and the Africans; for the crushing responsibility they are so over-confidently assuming? I believe much more could have been done. A more intelligent assessment of the growth of African nationalism even since the last war could have been reflected in our Kenya policy.

Sir Roy Welensky

"Sir Roy Welensky is a courageous man, but he has his back to the wall in Central Africa, and he has had some hard things to say about Britain and our erratic competence. Surely the original mistake was in our agreeing to the Central African Federation. We should have realized that this was a highly precarious experiment.

"The case seemed reasonable, but it failed to measure the deeper forces—irrational forces if you will—against it. Its shock awoke the still politically somnolent Africans of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. They suddenly realized that the traditional Colonial Office path leading slowly forward to self-government was being closed, that instead they were being put under the control of the settled Southern Rhodesian Europeans.

"How could it have been expected that tribes on one side of a frontier could accept settler control while tribes just over the border in Tanganyika could be seen advancing freely into independence? The political leaders of Nyasaland deliberately imported Dr. Banda as their charismatic leader from overseas. Soon after they felt driven to prove to us their rejection of Federation by bloodshed. Even the Southern Rhodesian Africans, who had been apparently docile under the very intelligent, paternal rule of their settler Government, began to feel the first stirrings of nationalism.

"Alas, the gap between the races has widened. Attempts were made to close it in Southern Rhodesia with generous educational and other welfare services, and with relaxations of the colour-bar. In both Rhodesias ingeniously weighted franchises were devised favouring education and wealth. These would give the Europeans political predominance but allow Africans to qualify increasingly as they rose in the scale of civilization. On paper this gradualism may seem just what was needed for a measured closure of the gap between the races, reflecting Britain's own step-by-step extension of political and economic equality.

"But the Africans had by now been infected with more impatient hopes. Their leaders preferred to be at the head of the African masses and urge them on to total victory rather than to be the camp-followers tagging along in the rear of the white man's forces. The width of the racial divide is shown by the tragic fall of nearly all, white or black, who have tried to reach across from one side to the other as intermediaries, and also by the relentless intimidation which Africans deal out to those moderate and experienced Africans who try to stand against the extremist current.

"Will the local Europeans be able to retain control long enough to enable them to impose their standards of civilization—and persuade Britain to agree? Will the Africans, especially the workers in the mines and industries, realize their own economic interest in retaining the Federation, and with it that European control of a complex economy which they cannot for many years hope to manage efficiently themselves?

Destiny Placed in Fumbling African Hands

"In Kenya the question is whether the responsibility of power will incline Africans to safeguard the productive agriculture of the settlers. Or will the impulse to extreme racial assertion against the white men, coupled with the determination of one tribal group to dominate the other, lead to violent measures under which no European would care to live?

"In Africa today the Europeans, so long as they retain any authority, must do not what they would like but what they can to guide and assist the turbulent movements that have been let loose by forces outside their control. It is not easy for white men, above all those whose lives are committed to Africa, even to plan a just course between the kind of freedom exhibited in the Congo and the kind of order exhibited in South Africa—all the more since though man does not live by bread alone, he cannot live on it, and which only a stable economy can provide in this physically poor and unproductive continent.

"Africans are taking over their own destinies, with experience, fumbling, and sometimes violent hands. If many of the new leaders have disappointed a watching world, others are showing Africans share the human capacity for success as well as failure. Like us, they can learn the lessons of bitter experience."

[Comment is made in Notes By The Way.]

Television for the Copperbelt

TOMORROW, a year in advance of the date originally suggested, a new television station will begin transmissions from Kitwe, on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia.

When the Bulawayo station opened about 3,000 receiving sets had been sold within its area of coverage. Already the 4,000 mark has been passed on the Copperbelt, where it is expected that the figure will soon reach 10,000. After a year of transmissions from Salisbury about 15,000 sets are in use in that part of Southern Rhodesia.

Of the total viewing time from Kitwe 13% will be occupied by advertisements, charges for which will range from £14. 10s. for 60 seconds at 9.30 p.m. on Sunday to a minimum of £4. 5s. for 15 seconds at times less attractive to advertisers.

Mr. Gerry Wykes, formerly programme director in Salisbury for Rhodesia Television, has been appointed manager in Kitwe. The senior operations controller is Mr. Hugh Duggan, who was for five years a navigation officer in the Royal Navy and later a hotel manager in Southern Rhodesia. In charge of the news department is Mr. Patrick Rogers, who served in the B.S.A. Police, and has been a Government information officer and assistant editor of *Horizon*, a Copperbelt monthly magazine. His assistant is Mr. Tim Knight, a former reporter on South African and Rhodesian newspapers, who has written radio scripts and produced films.

"Your enemy is not a foreign Power or an alien system. Your battle must be waged against prejudice and narrow ambition in your own ranks, against putting sectional interests before the good of the country as a whole, against division and disunity."—Sir Frederick Crawford, Governor of Uganda, at the signing of the new Toró Agreement.

Developments in Katanga

(Continued from page 370)

"H.M. Government have in the past few weeks been using all the influence they could with Mr. Tshombe, as has Sir Roy Welensky, to produce a meeting—[HOW MEMBERS: 'Oh!'] Rt. hon. and hon. Members opposite should not allow their prejudices to govern their judgment in these matters. We have both used our influence to try to persuade Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Adoula to come together and sort out the internal constitutional differences in the Congo. So far we have not been successful, but we shall persist in this effort."

MR. WILSON: "Is the Lord Privy Seal aware that this matter would be less likely to become one thrown across the floor of the House and more likely to become one in which the whole House could agree if the House could be satisfied about the extent to which the Government are backing up their obligations to the U.N.? In view of the statement that he has made three times now, when he accuses or seems to accuse, the U.N. of attempting to impose a political settlement, does he suggest that anyone connected with the U.N. operation has suggested going beyond the terms of the instructions under the Security Council resolution? Will H.M. Government give all possible help to see that that resolution is carried out?"

MR. HEATH: "H.M. Government stand fully by their obligations and will support the U.N. in carrying out the resolutions in the way which has been described in the U.N. with the reservations which we have expressly made when the resolutions have been debated. That is a perfectly sound position for us to adopt."

Decision to Supply Bombs Reconsidered

The Lord Privy Seal, Mr. Heath, said that the House of Commons had today decided to delay delivery of the bombs until discrepancies in U.N. policy in the Congo are clarified.

The Government are now seriously disturbed by the way in which the fighting in Katanga has developed. Attacks on non-military objectives such as power stations, mines, dams, hospitals, and private homes have been reported, although some of these have not been confirmed. There has been some loss of civilian life in addition to military casualties.

The Government are also greatly concerned about certain actions which have been made over the week-end by both military and civil U.N. forces in the Congo about their objectives in Katanga. In this connection they are studying the important statement made by the Secretary-General last night and in particular the latter part describing the purpose of the present military operation. Aspects of this policy will have to be clarified before the Government feel that they can authorize the release of the bombs.

General McKeown is reported in today's British and American Press to the effect that peace overtures from Mr. Tshombe were to be rejected. That is not consistent with the policy of the Secretary-General, as emphasized again last night.

In addition there was the interview in the Swedish Press with Mr. Linner, which has not so far as I know been denied, although the Secretary-General said that it does not represent his views. Mr. Linner said: "Our long-term aim is to force a political solution on the Katangans by showing the military strength of the present political leadership." He made several remarks of this kind and went on to say that he wished to point out that he had *carte blanche* from the Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General, on the other hand, said that is not the case. These matters give us genuine cause for the gravest alarm, and it is right that they should be clarified at the earliest possible opportunity.

The *Sunday Telegraph* said that it was strongly suspected in London that India had deliberately "leaked" news of a long-standing request for bombs from Britain in order to force her hand. The newspaper pointed out that India had about 80 Canberra bombers, with a fair size stock of bombs for them, and asked why she had not provided the purely token quantity of 24.

Hospital Shelled by U.N. Troops

M. Henri Spaak, Belgium's Foreign Minister, cabled a strong protest to Mr. U Thant about the U.N. shelling of the hospital in Elisabethville last week, saying that it did not constitute self-defence and that the whole U.N. operation was being mounted as a full-scale war entirely out of proportion to the main objective.

In an earlier message he had asked the Secretary-General to see that his forces scrupulously respected the Geneva conventions on warfare, saying that the killing of Belgian civilians by U.N. forces was leading to great indignation. If attacks were made on installations of the Union Minière which

might be used by Katangese troops, innocent people might be deprived of their electricity and drinking water supplies.

Appeals to King Baudouin relayed by private transmitters from clergy, doctors and magistrates in Katanga said that the U.N. troops were putting up road-blocks and shooting indiscriminately. Despite Red Cross representations they had twice refused to allow the evacuation of women and children who were without food.

British residents in Elisabethville signed a petition to the Queen protesting against the decision of her Ministers to supply bombs. President Tshombe protested to the British Consul, and the Minister of Information, Mr. Albert Nyanbo, toured the city in a loudspeaker car, appealing in a Christmas message to the Queen for peace and justice, adding: "When you stroke the blonde hair of little Princess Anne and pat the head of Prince Charles, at that precise moment your bombs may be falling on innocent children here."

On his return to Elisabethville from Paris President Tshombe had said that the U.N. was assassinating Katanga—"this young nation whose life or death will show whether or not there exists in our world a place for liberty. The Americans have dropped their mask and are disguising unilateral aid under the blue flag of the U.N., sending dollars, aircraft and diplomats into the Congo—everything except soldiers, because the American is too decadent and cowardly to carry out dangerous duties while he can buy skin and blood from Nehru, who has it to sell."

Before leaving Paris he had appealed to the Queen, Dr. Adenauer of Germany, and other world leaders to intervene to prevent carnage in his country.

Mr. U Thant denied on Sunday that the aim was to "smash" Katanga's political leaders. "The purpose of our operation is to regain and assure our freedom of movement, to restore law and order, and to ensure that for the future U.N. forces and officials in Katanga are not subjected to attacks. U.N. troops have been ordered to react vigorously in self-defence to every assault on our personnel by all means available to us."

"I shall welcome any initiative which would enable us to achieve our aims as peacefully and as quickly as possible. But meanwhile these military operations will be pursued to such time, and only up to such time, that these objectives are achieved either by military or other means, and we have satisfactory guarantees in this regard for the future, not only in Elisabethville, but over the whole of Katanga."

U.N. Secretariat's Faith

The action has been taken with the greatest reluctance and only when it became obvious that it was no longer possible to continue negotiations, which were hindered by repeated instances of bad faith and failure to implement agreed measures on the part of political leaders of Katanga. These leaders indulged in a violent and inflammatory campaign against the U.N. over the Press and radio even while they were engaged in negotiations with our representatives.

"I am fully aware of the need for reconciliation and pacification in the Congo and will continue to strain every nerve and to use all the resources available to me, in the spirit of the Charter, in executing the mandate set forth in the various resolutions."

Previously, replying to one of Mr. Spaak's cables, he claimed that "unimpeachable sources state that officials of the Union Minière have proudly admitted the manufacture of Generaldarmie armoured cars and of bombs which have been dropped on the airport and on military headquarters in Elisabethville. It is also a well-known fact that Union Minière has never denied having made it possible for mercenaries to go underground by putting them nominally on its payroll."

The company replied: "Union Minière vigorously protests against malicious and completely untrue allegations which the U.N. Secretary-General has expressed, and it categorically denies these allegations. Mercenaries had never been on the payroll or been sheltered; all the company's payrolls and dossiers of personnel were at the disposal of the investigators. The U.N. declarations seem, therefore, only to be intended for considering the Union Minière installations as military targets."

Mr. Dean Rusk, American Secretary of State, said the U.N. action was not an attempt to conquer Katanga or to impose a political solution by force. The U.N. had to secure its position in Elisabethville. Katanga had to be integrated, otherwise the Congo would face civil war and anarchy. He blamed the fighting on elements in Katanga who had "once more" resorted to violence. The United States was firmly behind Mr. U Thant and Mr. Adoula—"a man of intelligence, moderation and nation-wide stature."

Lord Home, the Foreign Secretary, called for an immediate cease-fire and a meeting between Mr. Adoula and Mr. Tshombe to obtain a settlement.

Fighting in Katanga Since Tuesday of Last Week

Hospitals Hit and Civilians Killed by U.N. Bombardment

BRITAIN AND THE United States were yesterday reported to have presented proposals for a cease-fire to the U.N. Secretariat and for a cessation of its military operations in the Congo.

Fighting began on Tuesday last week when U.N. forces, clearing a Katanga road-block on the main airport road from Elisabethville, killed 38 Katangans. Two Europeans were killed that afternoon when leading an attack on the U.N. headquarters in the city after the U.N. had announced its decision to take military action against Katanga. Both sides claimed that the other had attacked first.

When the battle began the U.N. said that military command had been assumed "with the greatest regret" because its troops were surrounded and a Katanga "battle plan" had been found. The original aim of the operation had been simply to keep open a line of communication. It was also asserted in dispatches to Leopoldville that the Foreign and Finance Ministers and the Minister of the Interior had been supplanted by the Katangan commander, General Moke, who in turn was being used by Europeans. (But the Ministers were still in Elisabethville, next day, and denied angrily that they were leaving).

U.N. headquarters in New York authorized the use of jet aircraft. Next morning Indian Canberra bombers destroyed four Katanga planes, including a jet fighter, at Kotwa air base, blew up a fuel store, damaged the control tower, and the runway, wrecked a bridge near Leopoldville, and strafed the city. U.N. troops attacked Katanga troops at

began to evacuate them after Indian bombers had wrecked the post office in the city centre, only 50 yards from a refugee-crowded hotel, and also hit shops with cannon fire. Coupled with the bombardment of the radio station the previous day by a Swedish fighter, this stopped all radio and telex communications with the outside world.

The radio station had been attacked "to prevent the civilian population being excited by propaganda", said the U.N., while denying that any targets had been attacked in the city centre, and claiming that bombing runs had been confined to a military convoy and an ammunition dump on the perimeter six miles from the city.

A special train sent from Northern Rhodesia to collect 350 Belgian women and children was stopped at the Katanga border on U.N. orders. It was later agreed that a ban should be put on all rail traffic, except for one empty passenger train which would be let in to take out refugees. Many people were reported to be leaving by air and road via Ndola.

Mr. Tshombe Lost Control?

On Sunday mobs smashed windows and furniture in the American Consulate in Elisabethville. Gendarmes forced the looters to hand back cigarettes and other booty to the consul, who presented to President Tshombe.

General Sean McKeown, Irish U.N. commander, who announced that he would relinquish his post at the end of this month, said that President Tshombe and his Ministers appeared to have lost control and that fighting was continuing against the President.

"Foreign mercenaries are carrying out a dirty war with cars with Red Cross markings for reconnaissance. The Red Cross have only 10 cars in Elisabethville and 50 different vehicles with Red Cross flags or markings. The political leadership behind the fighting appears to be white, with an ultra-political group at the interests of financial concerns in Katanga at the head of it.

Law and order could, he asserted, be restored in a matter of days by the U.N. Mercenaries would be removed and handed over to the Central Government if requested. There was no intention of arresting President Tshombe.

The general estimated Katangese losses at 30 to 40 men, with three U.N. men killed. H.Q. was still in the city, but the Katangese troops held the east and south suburbs and had recaptured a road tunnel leading to the Swedish camp. Indian troops held Elisabethville airport and its approach roads, while Irish troops were posted round the refugee camp and the city outskirts.

Mining Installations Destroyed

Katanga mortar batteries at Camp Massart were attacked from the air, and amateur radio operators in Brussels reported breaking up messages using the code words of the United Nations. Mining installations in Elisabethville and elsewhere, including oil tanks, railway lines, an electricity sub-station, Metallkat Company plants, a hospital, a power station, and residential quarters in Elisabethville.

Manono was reported to be back in Katangese hands after bitter fighting.

In Brussels police charged crowds repeatedly with batons and arrested six people outside the American Embassy after thunderflashes and sticks had been thrown. A procession organized by the Katanga Friendship Society paraded the streets in the rain carrying placards saying "U.N. — murderers", "Kennedy to the Gallows", and "Don't forget Budapest".

News came from Leopoldville that the Central Government had "at last" appointed its members to the commission to inquire into the murder of 13 Italian U.N. airmen at Kindu in Kivu Province last month; but later reports declared that the Congolese Army commander, General Lundula, had refused to let the commission see a number of soldiers said to have been arrested already for their part in the massacre.

Katanga planes made three bombing attacks on Elisabethville Airport on Sunday night. Mortar shells were said to be "raining down" on the city all day Monday as the U.N. tried to oust the Katangese from their strongholds in the north-east sector. Private houses were bombarded. Of 195 wounded people in the two hospitals, 120 were civilians.

Children Killed by U.N. Fire

In Elisabethville the Red Cross reported that two children had been killed and 14 women injured by U.N. mortar fire while being evacuated from a police camp.

Consular attempts to obtain a cease-fire were rejected by both sides.

Fighting continued into the third day, with the north-western part of the city, containing the main refrigeration plant, cut off soon began to suffer. Some areas were without electricity, shops closed, and bread was unavailable.

Twenty-nine men, women and children who had been trapped in a Seventh Day Adventist mission for two days by mortar fire and suffered direct bazooka hits were evacuated. Two were English.

Further rocket attacks by U.N. jets were made on various targets, including ammunition dumps, buildings at Kolwezi, Leopoldville airport, and more planes. The United States airlift of troops and materials into Elisabethville — with 21 large transport aircraft placed at U.N. disposal — was temporarily halted after a Globemaster had been hit. The operations were soon resumed with fighter escorts.

Mr. Tshombe arrived in Ndola on Thursday from Paris and left by road for Elisabethville.

Throughout Thursday night U.N. mortar fire, presumably meant for the Camp Dabonge garrison, landed on Prince Leopoldville Hospital some 200 yards away. Most of the 70 patients, including a woman in labour, and 47 others with 30 babies, fled in panic; nurses and patients were injured by flying glass. The scene next morning was a shambles with wards and operating theatres flooded by water from burst pipes, strewn with glass and debris, and pock-marked by shrapnel.

M. Georges Olivier, the Swiss Red Cross representative, said that he had run U.N. headquarters twice to have the firing stopped. A U.N. civilian official, who said that he got only one call, admitted that he had asked the military commander "to try and avoid the hospital—that was all I could do".

About 200 Congolese students from Lovanium University, Leopoldville, demolished the entrance to the British Embassy and tore down the coat-of-arms, protesting that Britain had refused to support the use of force against Katanga. They then marched to the American Embassy and cheered for several minutes to applaud U.S. support for the U.N. Members of the staff hurried out to photograph them.

Fierce Fighting in Elisabethville Streets

Radio messages reported that Katanga troops had staged a mass counter-attack on the U.N. headquarters in Elisabethville on Saturday and that fierce street fighting was increasing. Private companies employing Belgian and other Europeans

Tanganyika Becomes Independent

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA will tomorrow publish a 8-page illustrated special issue under the above title. The contributors include:—

Mr. Richard Turnbull	Lord Twining
Mr. Julius K. Nyerere	Sir Ernest Young
Sir Edgeworth David	Sir Alfred Vincent
Sir Edmund Teale	Sir Charles Phillips
Mr. F. C. Mackay	Mr. O. S. Kambona
Mr. J. F. Lloyd	Mr. J. M. Hines
Mr. D. C. Brook	Mr. W. G. Dickinson
Mr. J. H. S. Tranter	Mr. J. K. Chande
Mr. John Bellamy	Mr. Paul Bonani

THERE ARE also outlines of the careers of Sir Richard Turnbull, Mr. Nyerere, all Cabinet Ministers in Tanganyika and the country's High Commissioner in London.

COPIES should be ordered immediately from EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, 66 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

PRICE: 4s. post free by surface mail to any address; 7s. 6d. by second class air mail.

Kenya Trees and Shrubs

A SPLENDID VOLUME entitled "Kenya Trees and Shrubs", written by Mr. Ivan Dale and Dr. P. J. Greenway, has been published by Buchanan's Kenya Estates, Ltd., Box 3963, Nairobi, in association with Hatchards of Piccadilly, London, W.1. The Kenya Government commissioned the work and paid the authors, but financial difficulties then caused the authorities to abandon the intention to publish the book.

Considering that such a volume had been badly needed for many years Mr. James Macdonald-Buchanan a shareholder in the above company, then undertook the financial responsibility for publication by the company, which, thanks to his initiative, has done Kenya a real service. At 84s. the book is excellent value; but the guarantor, a keen botanist, may well be called upon to find a substantial sum.

An essential piece of equipment for professionals, the volume will also be of great interest to laymen, who have now a ready and reliable means of identification of all the Colony's shrubs and trees. The vernacular names are given, often in several African languages.

There are 31 plates in full colour by Mrs. Joy Adamson, 18 photograph reproductions in black and white, and no fewer than 110 pages of technical drawings.

Mr. Dale has spent the best part of a lifetime in the forestry services of Kenya and Uganda and Dr. Greenway has been engaged in botanical work in East Africa for nearly 20 years. The authority of the joint authors could therefore not be higher.

Statements Worth Noting

There are now 100,000 African coffee growers in Kenya, more than 60,000 of them in the Central Province". — Mr. Michael Blundell, Minister for Agriculture.

The difference between the D.P. and the Uganda People's Congress is that the U.P.C. is a talking party, while the D.P. is a walking party. It is going somewhere, not just talking". — Mr. A. Nile, M.L.C. Uganda.

"We have the coal, timber and hydro-electric resources which could make this country one of the great primary plastic producers of the world. Not only is that internally, but it is an export industry in which we could face competition". — Dr. M. I. Hirsch, speaking in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament.

"Though only about 7% of the world's population is black, when all the newly-independent black States are admitted this 7% of the world will have about 28% of the votes in the General Assembly of the United Nations, where the Chinese 25% of the world's population have no votes. The United Nations has ceased to be an effective organization, if indeed it ever was". — Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery.

"Lord Portsmouth in his great generosity over the last eight or nine years has allowed many of his family portraits and other paintings and tapestries to hang in Government House. They have added much to the serenity and charm of that fine building. They have been much loved there and much seen and admired by the thousands of people who are our guests every year". — Sir Patrick Renison, Governor of Kenya.

"Had geological advice been sought 26 years ago when Lusaka was selected as the new capital of Northern Rhodesia, the commercial area might not have sprung up on the present site and the expenditure of millions of pounds which blasting, excavation and drainage through limestone and dolomite have already cost could have been avoided. Geologically the situation has little to commend it". — Mr. W. H. Reeve, writing in *Corona*.

Paintings of Zanzibar

Mrs. Patricia Target's Exhibition

MRS. PATRICIA TARGET (pronounced Tar-zhay) is showing in the art gallery of the Commonwealth Institute, South Kensington, London, until the end of this month, 55 of her water-colour paintings of Zanzibar, in which she and her husband have lived for four years.

The largest, of the water-front, was commissioned by the Institute for the Zanzibar section of its new building.

Sir Arthur Kirby, East African Commissioner in London, said in opening the exhibition:—

"In Zanzibar one is surrounded by beauty in all Nature's variety, and, to some extent also by beauty produced by the artifice of man. Zanzibar is a gem of tropical loveliness, surrounded by the almost perpetual blue of the Indian Ocean. It has sun-drenched, palm-fringed, sandy beaches and a profusion of colour in flowers and fruits.

"Throughout the island are the remains of the Arab palaces which were there in their glory a century ago. The pillars of those palaces now stand in a riot of purple and scarlet Bougainvillea, amid which, still to be seen, are artificially contrived lily-ponds as lush as ever. The streets of Zanzibar mingle colourfully-clad Arabs with bearded Africans from the mainland.

"Not far away are the warehouses full of the cloves which are the mainstay of Zanzibar's economy; cloves which will find their way all over the world—to America for apples and Virginia hams, to Britain for headache cures, to India for curry spices, but most of all to Indonesia to flavour their rice.

"The world torn by racial strife and Zanzibar by its measure of this from time to time—the artist gives us something that is entirely beneficial, a unifying factor for all peoples.

"Of Zanzibar's 300,000 people only a few hundred are Europeans and 20,000 Asians. Until late in the last century Zanzibar was the trading centre of the East African coast, the headquarters of the slave trade and the base for most of the many exploratory expeditions, such as those of Livingstone, Speke, Baker and Stanley, which opened up the areas we now know as Tanganyika, Malawi and Kenya. It is now no more than a vestigial remnant of its former glory, critically dependent upon the export of cloves; but it still retains its natural loveliness. It has a fascinating atmosphere of romance, and it is in truth a scented island."

Mrs. Target, an Australian by birth, came to England in 1949, had a water colour in that year's Royal Academy summer exhibition, and in 1953 married Mr. Brian Target, then in the Colonial Legal Service in Tanganyika. Paintings of Tanganyika from her brush were shown in London in 1957, in which year her husband was transferred to Zanzibar. This is her first "one-man show" in England.

Passengers for East Africa

PASSENGERS FOR MOMBASA in the RHODESIA CASTLE, which sailed from London on December 8 via the Mediterranean, include MR. & MRS. P. J. ALLISTER, the RT. REV. DR. RUSSELL BARRY, Bishop of Southwell, and MRS. BARRY, the REV. J. S. BARTON and MRS. BARTON, MR. & MRS. W. J. J. BRUCE, MR. & MRS. J. R. CALDWELL, BRIGADIER & MRS. CHURCH, DR. & MRS. M. N. COURT, the REV. D. DOHERTY, MR. & MRS. J. H. FAIRLESS, MR. & MRS. J. E. M. GRANT, DR. & MRS. A. F. GRAY, MR. & MRS. A. K. HARDYMAN, MR. & MRS. C. R. HARRISON, MR. & MRS. L. B. HAUGHTON, COMMANDER & MRS. G. E. H. HOUSE, MR. & MRS. R. J. HUTCHINGS, DR. J. S. C. LUTWAMA, DR. (MISS) S. B. PATEL, SIR MICHAEL & LADY PETO, MR. & MRS. C. M. SLEEMAN, MR. & MRS. E. T. STEPHENSON, COLONEL & MRS. E. C. G. STRATTON, MR. & MRS. J. L. SWINYARD, MR. & MRS. C. G. N. WARREN, MR. & MRS. D. J. WEBLEY, MR. & MRS. P. A. WHITTINGHAM, and CAPTAIN & MRS. J. C. WORKER.

Partnership in Southern Rhodesia

Encouraging Recent Developments

MR. M. COWLING has written in the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"You assert that the theory of partnership has proved a sham in Southern Rhodesia. The facts show otherwise.

"Southern Rhodesian voters have accepted by an overwhelming majority a new Constitution under which there will be at least 15 African members of Parliament. The Southern Rhodesian Civil Service has been opened to all on equal terms irrespective of race or colour. Amendments have been made to the Land Apportionment Act to open five million acres of land to purchase by persons of all races. This Act has been further amended to provide for multi-racial clubs, hotels and restaurants, and three of Southern Rhodesia's leading hotels as well as a number of smaller hotels and restaurants now cater for all races.

"Likewise, racial film censorship has been abolished to encourage cinemas to go multi-racial, and several have done so, as have a number of repertory companies.

"In industry, non-racial apprenticeship and workmen's compensation legislation has been enacted, and the Industrial Conciliation Act expressly forbids the registration of trade unions based on race, colour or creed.

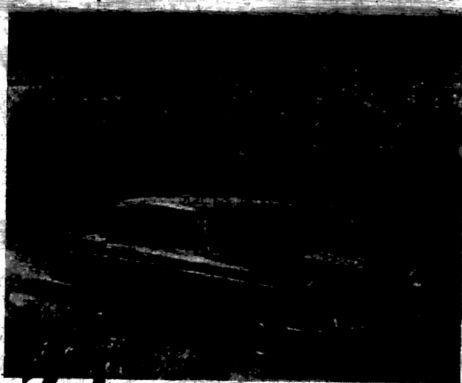
"In the field of sport, multi-racial athletics, boxing and soccer (amateur and professional) are well established. Highly successful "Outward Bound" expeditions have been organised for schoolboys of all races.

"A 'courtesy campaign' launched by a group of women a year ago to foster racial harmony has received widespread support.

"These are just some of the encouraging developments which have taken place in Southern Rhodesia. Similar progress in racial partnership is constantly being made throughout the Commonwealth."

"The hooligans in Northern Rhodesia, generally speaking are clerks, intelligent, but, due largely to an inferior education, dangerously narrow-minded"
Mr. Michael Langley

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Belgian Bases in Tanganyika

Objection to British Government's Actions

THE DECISION of the Tanganyika Government that the bases in Dar es Salaam and Kigoma leased to Belgium must be given up will not take effect for two years. When dealing with the subject in the Legislative Council, the Prime Minister, Mr. Nyerere, said:—

"We shall call on the Belgians to give up the port sites and the buildings and wharves constructed thereon by the end of 1963. Thereafter these facilities will be operated on our behalf by the East African Common Services Organization."

The Prime Minister continued, *inter alia*:—

"The Government is anxious that the emergence of Tanganyika as an independent State should in general cause as little disruption as possible to the relations which previously existed between foreign States and Tanganyika."

"A suggestion has been made by the United Kingdom for the conclusion of an 'inheritance agreement' between Tanganyika and herself, similar to those concluded between the U.K. and other countries coming to independence. The Government has felt unable to accept the proposal. The effect of such an agreement might be to enable third States to call upon Tanganyika to perform certain treaty obligations from which Tanganyika would otherwise have been released by her emergence into independent statehood."

Not Compatible With Tanganyika Sovereignty

"We have therefore decided to take a different path. We have made a formal declaration, which we have included in our application for membership of the United Nations. In it we say that we are willing on a basis of reciprocity to continue in force for a period of two years from Independence Day all valid bilateral treaties which would otherwise have been in force when we became a State. During that two-year period we shall negotiate with the States concerned where appropriate, to continuing or changing these treaties in a mutually acceptable manner."

"Two treaties which call for special mention are the agreements of March 15, 1921, and of April 8, 1951, between the U.K. and Belgium about port facilities in Kigoma and Dar es Salaam. They contained provisions dealing generally with transit across Tanganyika for persons and goods coming from and going to the neighbouring territories of Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, and provisions under which the Government of Belgium was granted a lease in perpetuity at a rent of one franc per annum of sites at Dar es Salaam and Kigoma for the construction of port facilities."

"The Government of Tanganyika has no objection to the continued enjoyment by all persons belonging to friendly nations of the facilities for transit which exist between Dar es Salaam and neighbouring States. Indeed, we welcome the use of our transit facilities."

"We would not object to the enjoyment by a foreign State of special facilities in our territory if such facilities had been granted in a manner fully compatible with our sovereign rights and our new status of complete independence. But such is not the case with the facilities granted to Belgium under the 1921 and 1951 agreements. A lease in perpetuity over land in Tanganyika is not compatible with the sovereignty of Tanganyika when made by an authority whose own rights in Tanganyika were of limited duration."

"No one can give away something which is not his to give. When Great Britain made the 1921 agreement it should have known that Tanganyika was not a territory under its full sovereignty and that its status there was about to be regulated by the Mandate Agreement with the League of Nations. In appearing to bind Tanganyika for all time the U.K. was trying to do something which it did not have the power to do. Consequently, we do not regard ourselves as bound by these Agreements."

"We recognize that the Belgian authorities have spent over the years considerable sums in building the facilities at Kigoma and Dar es Salaam which they will now be giving up. We might therefore be expected to consider a certain amount of their investment from the profits which they have made and to charge for the use of the facilities."

Question of Compensation

"However, it is not just the property of the Government of Tanganyika to deprive foreigners—whether Governments or individuals—of their property without the payment of compensation. We have no intention of doing such a thing, because we believe it to be wrong."

"We are not certain who the people entitled to compensation are. The facilities are public property of the people. But which people? The people of Belgium, the people of the former Belgian Congo, or the people of Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration? We cannot judge. But we cannot assume automatically that the people entitled are the people of Belgium."

"Consequently, we are informing the Belgian Government that if there is any possibility that all or part of the compensation payable is due to the Governments of the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, and if those Governments wish to press their claim, we consider that the distribution of the compensation is a matter to be determined by arbitration or agreement between the authorities concerned. We do not wish to be a party to this arbitration or agreement. That is not a matter for us. We shall simply be prepared to pay the money to the people who are established to be entitled to it."

Military Forces of Tanganyika

BRIGADIER P. S. DOUGLAS has arrived in Dar es Salaam on secondment from the British Army at the request of the Tanganyika Government to take command of the Tanganyika Rifles, the new name for the 6th and 2/6th Battalions The King's African Rifles, the Training Company of the 6th Bn., and the Tanganyika Band of the K.A.R.

Subject to the over-riding responsibility of the Minister concerned with defence matters, the command, discipline and administration of the Tanganyika Rifles will rest with a Military Forces Council.

The Tanganyika Government has informed H.M. Government of its anxiety to retain on secondment British officers, warrant officers, and N.C.O.s and some members of the K.A.R. from Kenya and Uganda who have been serving in Tanganyika.

H.M. Government has promised to continue to provide vacancies at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, and Mons Officer Cadet School for officer cadets from Tanganyika.

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Rhodesian Africans Resist Intimidation

Thugs Now Move from Town to Town

SOME AFRICANS in Southern Rhodesia have become so angry about the intimidation exerted for political purposes by the National Democratic Party and its Youth Wing that they have asked the local Press to publish their protests, giving their names.

A member of the staff of the *Rhodesia Herald* has reported under the title "Africans' Unite Against Political Thuggery, Extortion and Fear".

"Mr. Patrick Rubatika, of Harare, told me: 'In my township intimidation has never been so fierce as in the last two months. The N.D.P. and its Youth League are responsible. They move about in gangs of 10 to 20, demand to see your N.D.P. card, and if you have not got one they will tell you to get one immediately or else.

"They try to find out the house numbers of those who belong to the United Federal Party and those who will not bend to their will, so that they can raid the house at night. The gangs demand protection money from people. Shopkeepers pay these thugs so that their premises will not be stoned or set on fire. At every N.D.P. meeting people have to pay 2s. and even more.

"When the gangs go to the schools to intimidate they strip to the waist so that they cannot be easily identified afterwards by their clothes. Thugs are hired to beat up people who have defied them. It is made to look like a common brawl, when the real motive is political intimidation. Many people intimidated now report to the police. We are openly defying the gangs. The clash is coming.

Mr. Rubatika, who is secretary of the Harare branch of the U.F.P., has worked and fought.

It is suggested that the recent wave of strikes in that city were politically inspired in order to win industries out of the country.

Mr. Alfred Mangwiro, also of Harare, told the reporter that because he would not join the N.D.P. he had been battered on the head, called "Thombos", and threatened that he would see the mill January.

Mr. Robert Mwindura, a bookkeeper, said that he had had to count of the number of times he had been intimidated. He

has also been assaulted, and said that it was too dangerous to walk about in the dark either at Harare or Highfield because of the N.D.P. Youth League gangs.

Gangs from Bulawayo were now sent to Salisbury, gangs from Salisbury to Umtali, and thugs from Gwelo to Bulawayo, so that the intimidators could not be recognized.

Mr. L. C. Mzingiri, whose house has been damaged by thugs, said that he too had been called "Thombos" and been so often threatened that he was past caring. Africans in the townships were at last rebelling against the intimidation; but he knew Africans in business who were paying protection money.

Some of the songs sung by the gangs were the old war chants of the tribes and in Masabaleland the slogans were often accompanied by the battle-cry shouted by warriors at the moment of clashing with the enemy.

Arch. Comments on Rhodesia Riots

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CENTRAL AFRICA, the Most Rev. James Hughes, writes in the current issue of the diocesan magazine that African townships are inadequately policed.

Referring to the recent racial disturbances, he says: "What ought not to be allowed is a spread of a movement which may lead to the establishment of private armies in various centres.

"Disorder does no good. By resorting to disorder, those with just complaints always spoil their case. Inevitably Governments react, and nearly always spoil their case too. Surely we have enough common sense among all sections of the community to enable us to get at the root of such things, to remedy legitimate grievances whatever they are, and so prevent a repetition.

"While the Government is responsible for maintaining law and order and protecting life and property, and has a duty to increase its law enforcement, it has a further duty. It must get to the root of these troubles and remove them.

"If it thinks that by increasing forces it has done all that is needed, it will not only be causing the loss of the confidence of law-abiding citizens. In all communities there are people with complaints, some of them frivolous, some of them genuine and Africa is no exception."

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Women to Vote in Nyasaland

Diluted Democracy, Says Dr. Banda

DR. BANDA, Minister for Natural Resources and Local Government in Nyasaland, said recently in the Legislative Council:—

"We mean democracy, democracy, full, vigorous, undiluted democracy, in this country. If my hon. friend has any tears to shed over democracy, prepare to shed them now. Certainly it will not be only men who will vote. I am very, very, very sensitive on the subject of women, as the mothers of the nation. Therefore I want them to share—to share in full—in the political activities of this country.

"That was why you and I fought at Lancaster House. Don't you remember that? Now I want to give my women a chance. You didn't let me give them a chance when I wanted to at Lancaster House. Here you haven't got a chance to stop me. Yes, it is going to be universal adult franchise. Women are going to vote.

"As for registration, I am advised by the highest authority that it is not necessary. We are going to find means of getting through that. But all the males will be required, the majority of them anyway, to procure the certificate or tax receipt to prove they are over 18 and taxpayers in the particular area. Of women nothing is required except that they are 21, that they live in the district, that they are not insane, and that they have not killed anyone."

Mineral Resources of Nyasaland

A FREQUENT COMPLAINT of African politicians in Nyasaland has been that the mineral resources of the country have not been adequately investigated.

According to a recent statement in the Legislative Council by Mr. Kettlewell, Minister of Lands and Surveys, no fewer than seven different companies have recently undertaken such investigations under licence from the Government, namely: Anglo-American Rhodesian Mineral Exploration Ltd., London Nyasaland Mining Corporation Ltd., Lepoort Titanium Ltd., Rhodesian Chrome Mines Ltd., New Consolidated Gold Fields Ltd., De Beers Prospecting (Rhodesia Areas) Ltd., and British Aluminium Co., Ltd.

Another company, Changakumi Cement Co., Ltd., is working a limestone deposit in the Zomba district.

No mineral prospect of economic value has yet been discovered by any of the above companies.

"At the Arusha conference on conservation Sir Allan Hurley did good service in persistently heckling some rather obscure fellows from agencies of the United Nations about exactly what they were doing in the overlapping portions of their fine-sounding endeavours; but he got no answers that were either clear or satisfactory."—Mr. John Hillary, in the *Guardian*.

Engineers Anxious to Leave Uganda

"Outlook Very Bleak": Chief Minister

MORE THAN HALF THE ENGINEERS in the employment of the Uganda Government have indicated their decision to retire from the civil service when the country becomes independent, Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka, the Chief Minister, told the Institute of Engineers in Kampala a few days ago.

He pleaded with such Europeans to reconsider the matter, and expressed the hope that they would continue to serve in what had been for years the country of their choice. Mr. Kiwanuka also said:—

"Uganda is not embarking on Africanization of the civil service for the sake of Africanization. Where there is not an equally trained African, there will be no question of Africanization.

"Not every engineer in Government service can rise to be the engineer-in-chief. To those who never expected to rise to those dimensions I appeal that they should agree to stay when the time comes for them to exercise their option.

"It will be many years before Uganda stops engaging engineers from overseas. Everybody knows that it does not take just two or three days to train a professional engineer. If it is true that the people who have shown a willingness to leave after independence are really going, the future of our Service is very bleak indeed.

"We have a number of fully trained African engineers. We are proud of them and think they will maintain high standards, but these people are very few in number. In order to preserve what has cost us a great deal in money and human sacrifice, those people who are responsible in high positions for the upkeep of these services should, I think, reconsider their decision to retire."

High Fees for Private Practice

New Regulations in Tanganyika

DOCTORS who want to practise medicine privately in Tanganyika are to be charged substantial fees for the privilege, the Minister for Health and Labour, Mr. Derek Bryceon, has told the Legislative Council, explaining that that principle was to be adopted so that those who profited by work in towns would contribute to the cost of providing medical services in the country areas.

There were at present 420 practising doctors in Tanganyika. Of 188 engaged in private practice, 130 were at work in Dar es Salaam, Tanga, Arusha, Moshi, and Mwanza. Since the total population of those five towns was about 200,000, that meant that the other 50 private medical practitioners were available for more than nine million people.

In addition to the policy of licensing private practitioners, it was intended that all who wished to work in that way in Tanganyika should be required to serve for a number of years either with the Government or with a missionary

"No country can develop with a high level of taxation." Sir Donald Macintyre, Federal Finance Minister.

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Barclays Bank D.C.O.

BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O. reports profits for the year to September 30 after providing for taxation and transfers to inner reserves of £1,597,462, compared with £1,468,809 in the previous year. The reserve fund is increased by £516,125. Dividends of 10% less tax take £916,675, leaving a carry-forward of £738,113 (£573,451).

The issued capital is £17m. in £1 stock units. Cash and bank balances amount to £83.7m., money on call and at short notice £43.3m., bills discounted £82m., remittances in transit £13.9m., advances to customers £306m., investments £111.8m., investments in subsidiaries at just over £3m., and bank premises at £17.7m. Current liabilities stand at £17.4m. and the reserve fund at £13.8m.

The report, with many illustrations in colour, contains the annual statement by the chairman, Mr. Julian Crossley, which appears in full on other pages.

Barclays Overseas Development Corp.

BARCLAYS OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, LTD., reports net profit for the year ended September 30 last after providing for taxation and transfer to contingencies reserve of £185,482 (£209,760 in 1960). Inner reserves are strengthened by £50,000 and a 4% dividend takes £147,000, leaving £69,133 (£80,651) to be carried forward.

The issued capital is £6m., and there is outstanding £7m. in 4% unsecured loan stock. Investments stand in the balance-sheet at just over £2m. and loans and other accounts at £7.7m. Current liabilities amount to £2.3m.

The chairman, the Hon. Sir Geoffrey Cockayne Gibbs, says in his statement that the results, though disappointing, are not unsatisfactory when viewed against the background of the unsettled conditions in various parts of Africa.

At the end of the financial year there were 125 commitments in Africa, totalling £3,859,720, and 56 in Rhodesia and Nyasaland, totalling £2,012,000.

Mr. Lambert, manager of the corporation since 1957, has taken up an important post in the parent bank, and Mr. J. H. Cummins has been appointed manager.

Unga's Profit Sharply Increased

UNGA, LTD., a subsidiary of the K.F.A., reports profit after tax for the year to July 31 at £210,278, against £131,473 in the previous year. The dividend is to be raised from 7½% to 10% and the general reserves increased by £80,000 (£32,500), bringing it to £550,234.

The issued capital is £950,000 in the £1 ordinary shares, £150,000 in A Ordinary, and £350,000 in non-voting ordinary shares of 5s. Capital reserves total £575,872, and there is an outstanding loan of £274,608. Fixed assets stand in the balance at £1.8m., current assets less current liabilities at £575,653, and investments at £651,584.

One of the oldest bakery businesses in Kenya was bought during the year, and later another bread business and a confectionery business were acquired, partly to give the board experience of the problems of popularizing the wider consumption of bread by Africans.

The directors are Captain D. A. Vaughan-Philpott (chairman) and Messrs. James Mackay (president and vice-chairman), A. Bykes, H. S. Smith, A. Krieger, P. M. Wise, J. C. Eksteen, G. A. Lyson, G. R. Edge, C. D. Hill, P. G. A. Smalley, F. I. Holden (managing director), J. G. Smith (marketing director).

British Overseas Mining Association

BRITISH OVERSEAS MINING ASSOCIATION has continued its representations to the Treasury about the taxation of mining companies, and hopes that some of the points still at issue will be satisfactorily solved in the next budget.

Under the educational trust which B.O.M.A. formed in 1957 there are now 27 students in residence at schools of mines or universities in this country.

Mr. H. St. L. Grenfell is president of the council and Mr. S. D. H. Pollen vice-president. Its other members are Messrs. J. N. V. Duncan and Clifford Waite (past presidents), Sir Ronald Prain, the Hon. R. M. Preston, Lieut.-Colonel J. Cross Brown, and Messrs. Robert Atinan, A. M. Bair, E. C. Blair, A. Chester Beatty, W. Blair, C. J. Burns, James Campbell, A. Linton, E. D. McDermott, R. H. MacWilliam, N. F. H. Railing, J. Ivañ Speens, S. E. Taylor, and F. B. Howard-White.

At the annual meeting on December 28 Sir Ronald Prain and Messrs. A. Chester Beatty, J. Campbell, A. Linton, and S. D. H. Pollen retire and offer themselves for re-election, and five others (Colonel Cross Brown and Messrs. Annan, Preston, Spens, and McDermott) will resign. Four of them have occupied the chair, and Mr. McDermott has served on the council since its establishment.

Mr. Railing, honorary treasurer for the past six years, is retiring and will become a vice-president. Mr. W. Blair will be proposed as the new treasurer.

Fourteen companies engaged in mining operations in the Rhodesias are among the 80 members of the association. Among the mining finance house members not included in the 14* are Anglo American Corporation, British South Africa Company, Consolidated Gold Fields, Johannesburg Consolidated Investment, London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Selection Trust, Tanganyika Concessions, and Union Corporation.

Bilka Minerals (PVT) LTD., a company registered in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, has increased its nominal capital from £400,000 to £1m.

Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., will on February 1 pay an interim dividend in respect of the year to March 31 of 1s. 6d. per £1 unit, less tax of 3d. net.

Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., are to pay an interim dividend in respect of the year to March 31 next of 2s. 6d. per £1 unit less tax equivalent to 1s. 6d. net.

Turner & Newall, Ltd., a group with large Rhodesian interests, are to sell the Aycon group of companies to carry out research and development in connection with the use of nuclear fission.

British Mines, Ltd., has issued 1m. shares of 5s. each at a price of 17s. 6d. to the Anglo American Corporation, Rhodesian Anglo American, Rhokana, and Nchanga companies, thus raising £375,000 for mine development purposes.

Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, Ltd., a company with large interests in the Federation, will shortly make an offer to existing shareholders of ordinary shares at 30s. in the proportion of one new share for every 10 held.

Sisal Outputs: Bird & Company (Africa), Ltd.: 983 tons in November, making 5,729 tons for July-November; East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd.: 190 tons, making 835 for five months (717 last year); Dwa Plantations, Ltd.: 174 tons, making 1,363 for 11 months (2,125); Central Fine Sisal Plantations, Ltd.: 297 tons, and 1,768 for five months (1,862 tons).



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Company Report**Barclays Bank D.C.O.****1961—Harvest of Change****Increase in Profit****Mr. J. S. CROSSLEY'S STATEMENT**

THE THIRTY-SIXTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O. will be held on January 2, 1962, at 54, Lombard Street, London, E.C.

The following is the statement of the chairman, Mr. J. S. CROSSLEY, circulated with the report and accounts for year ended September 30, 1961:—

If 1960 was a vintage year for political developments in British territories overseas, 1961 also has produced an abundant harvest of change. This year has seen the first parliamentary general elections in Kenya, Uganda and Nyasaland, Sierra Leone has already reached the goal of independence, and Tanganyika will achieve that status in December. A referendum in Southern Rhodesia has endorsed by a majority of two to one the framework of a new Constitution under which, for the first time, direct parliamentary representation has been given to Africans. Yet another constitutional Conference held in London has at last succeeded in reaching agreement concerning the lines of future political development for Uganda. The former British-administered territory of the southern Cameroons has been merged in the Republic of Cameroon, while in the Caribbean a blow has been struck at the principle of federation as a result of the referendum held in Jamaica.

Further Strains of 1961

These are some of the constitutional changes affecting territories in which the bank operates. I said last year that future historians, when savouring the political bouquet of 1960, though they might pronounce it a vintage year would probably give no more than a passing thought to the stresses set up at the time amongst the peoples concerned. It is, as yet, too soon to assess the full effects of the further strains which 1961 will bring.

There may be doubts, both in this country and overseas, as to whether all these changes in Africa and elsewhere have been for the best, but attempts at interference by one country in the affairs of another are invariably unwelcome and seldom achieve the effect desired. Unfortunately, not one alone but many of the countries of the Commonwealth have their difficult minority problems which call for great care and tact in their handling. They will never be solved by displays of emotion but only by patience and understanding—even a touch of humility at times would not come amiss. Surprising changes, nevertheless, can occur and sometimes in quite unexpected quarters. Even in Russia the monolithic structure, to which we have become accustomed, seems to be undergoing some sort of metamorphosis.

The most outstanding political development has been the establishment of the South African Republic outside the Commonwealth. To those of us who know South Africa well and have a deep affection for that country, the outcome of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference was a severe shock. It is hard, still, to see just what has been gained and by whom.

Whether inside the Commonwealth or outside, however, our ties with South Africa are real and lasting; the association between the two countries has been too long and its roots go too deep to be easily severed by a mere Act of State. Constitutional and legal forms, fortunately, are not everything in life. Interests held in common, problems faced together and experiences shared are the stuff out of which the complex fabric of human relationships is fashioned. Within the great family of the bank, for example, it is such things as these rather than questions of race, nationality or creed that govern our associations with each other.

The Staff and the Spirit of Comradeship

I need not hesitate to speak here of the spirit of comradeship that exists throughout this vast and varied community of men and women who serve the bank. It is by far the most valuable of our unclassified assets. Few who encounter it fail to remark on it. The consciousness of working together for a common purpose draws increasing strength from the continual movement of staff from one territory to another, which broadens the basis of experience. I believe, this to be a most valuable by-product of our training programmes, of which the direct effects are becoming increasingly evident.

When visiting our Branches, wherever they are, for example, I saw unmistakable proof of quickening progress, not least in the keeness and aptitude shown by many of the junior Africans. Gone are the days when their capacity for work in the bank was in doubt; while there are naturally some who cannot "make the grade," as happens with other people in other places, there no longer remains the slightest doubt that many of these young men will do well. Such encouraging progress, while perhaps not sensational enough to reach the headlines, may nevertheless have more significance for the future than many flamboyant utterances.

Training, Expansion, Special Problems—and a Disaster

In thanking the staff once again for another eminently satisfactory year's work I feel that special reference should be made to those on whom the main burden of staff training has fallen. None of us, on joining the bank, expected to be cast in the role of schoolmaster, yet this can have its rewards when the results are as encouraging as they now appear to be. Certainly our bank is unlikely to regret having given such high priority to this work. It is not so long ago since junior entrants, confronted at the outset of their careers by a sea of forms and confused by strange terminology, found themselves left to sink or swim. Although the survivors may contend that this was a healthy experience, it may be doubted whether those who went under would have returned the same verdict.

On the whole, the year has probably seen some reduction in the pressure of work on the staff. The rate of

expansion in many areas has slowed down and, although more new offices have been opened than in the previous twelve months, the figure is well below the level to which we had become accustomed in many recent years.

Amongst the most important new branch buildings occupied during the year are the main offices in Salisbury and in Freetown, both of which have now been completely rebuilt. In both places customers and staff had to endure much inconvenience and overcrowding while the work was being carried on. In Port of Spain, Trinidad, to relieve the congestion at our old Marine Square office, we have opened another branch close by in the Salvatori Building which has just been completed. This was our hundredth office in the West Indies.

The number of offices now open daily for business, 900, has increased by 44, but the smaller agencies, which are not open every day, have decreased by three to 379.

There have been several special instances this year where heavy additional burdens have been thrown on the staff for particular reasons. In South Africa the decimalization of the currency which was successfully carried out in February involved the bank in much extra work. The manner in which this very considerable operation was carried through deserves high praise, and I am glad of the opportunity to give it special mention in this annual statement. Is it too much to hope that one day the United Kingdom will follow suit—and that the day may not be far off?

In Rhodesia, also, the institution of exchange control over sterling area currencies threw upon the commercial staff additional burdens of a considerable nature and some of our staff were subject to call-up for special duties. Again, in the Congo, I should particularly like to refer to our staff in the Crédit Congolais who, as will readily be imagined, have had many difficulties during the year.

I feel bound to mention specially here the shocking disasters which our staff and customers in British Honduras have suffered through the recent hurricane which has devastated Belize and has caused immense damage throughout the country. Although every member of our staff suffered heavy loss, including in some cases practically all their personal belongings, I am glad to be able to say that there was no loss of life. Within forty-eight hours our battered branches were functioning again—an achievement which speaks for itself.

Rights Issue and the Balance-Sheet

The event of the year most directly affecting stockholders was the rights issue which was made during the spring. The result of the offer to subscribe for fresh capital, the first since 1947, may be of interest. Out of 10,879 stockholders, no less than 10,269 exercised their rights. In addition, applications totalling 1,288,465 shares were received for the 188,075 shares which were offered to round off the capital to £17 million. This mark of confidence in the future of our bank, coming at a time of increasing political and business uncertainty, has been a great encouragement. Whatever the immediate future may hold I believe that in the long run this confidence will be justified.

The urge for higher living standards in the underdeveloped countries, particularly in those which have newly found their independence, is a dynamic influence, and the need for services of the kind that this bank can offer is likely to grow in the years to come. In order to play a full part in this we shall need substantial resources. This year's increase of capital marks a further step in building them up and brings the total of capital and published reserves above the figure of £30 million. This is the most significant change in the items on the liabilities side of the balance-sheet, of which the principal component is the figure for current, deposit and

other accounts, which at £637 million shows an increase of £20 million over the previous year's total. That it should show an increase at all in present circumstances is remarkable, seeing that the level of commodity prices has, on the whole, been anything but buoyant during the year and that economic activity in several of our territories has lessened.

We have also had to contend with a situation in which political uncertainties have caused (and are still causing) an outflow of liquid funds from areas in which the bank operates. In some instances exchange control has been imposed with a view to checking the movement. This in practice can be a two-edged weapon; while not always fully effective in keeping money at home, it is apt to be a powerful deterrent to its return, as well as to the investment of fresh capital. The small increases which account for the higher overall total are spread over nearly every area in which the bank does business.

Had To Restrict Lendings

On the assets side the increases are divided between the principal items of advances and investments on the one hand and the liquid assets of cash, market money and Treasury bills on the other hand. The liquidity ratio shows a marked increase when compared with last year, due to a sharp improvement which took place during the closing weeks of the year. The advances fell from a peak figure of £337 million to £305 million as at September 30, but the average figure throughout the whole year was £324 million, compared with £280 million in 1960.

In many areas we were obliged during the year to be more restrictive in our lendings not only to conform to public policy but also, and more important, on account of our already heavily lent position. Credit restrictions in the United Kingdom during the latter part of the year resulted in increased pressure being brought to bear on some of our customers in overseas territories; our resources were also called upon to meet the demands of various businesses, of an international character, which feared the possibility of a rise in interest rates in some places. It became necessary to raise our lending rates in several territories, a tendency which was accentuated when at the end of July the Bank of England rate was sharply, and rather unexpectedly, raised to 7 per cent. Although our rates are in most areas no longer directly linked to bank rate and did not, on the whole, reflect the full increase of 2 per cent. of July last, it is illusory to suppose that higher rates in London do not exert a powerful effect throughout the whole sterling area.

The uncomfortably tight conditions again depressed the market value of our investments which, however, represent a much smaller proportion of our total assets than was the case a few years ago. These investments consist almost entirely of dated Government securities with an average length of life of under seven years. As it was not a question for us of needing to sell investments, the possibility of having to realise a loss did not arise. Nevertheless, for the purposes of the balance-sheet as at September 30 it was necessary to apply a further sum to write down the total of this item to below market value. Four years ago bank rate was raised to 7 per cent. ten days before the date of our balance-sheet; again this year we find ourselves back with bank rate at 7 per cent. on September 30. A few days later with the first reduction (to 6½ per cent.) a recovery in security prices began.

The results for the year show an increase in profits, after tax, of £128,653, or 8.8 per cent. The increase would have been considerably larger had it not been for the higher rate of profits tax, which is beginning to bear heavily upon us. Of all the taxes which have been introduced in recent times this, in my view, is one of the

most insidious, being not only temptingly easy to apply but potentially devastating in its effect on progressive business.

One of the less satisfactory aspects of the profit and loss account is the part played in it by abnormally high interest rates. While the necessity for high rates in the given circumstances is, I think, clear enough, it is none the less regrettable. Although short money rates will presumably not long remain at their present levels, it is not easy to predict any sharp fall in long-term rates. On the other side of the account the rates of interest paid by the bank to its creditor customers were increased, where applicable, and there seems little doubt that the higher rates have had some effect on retaining balances.

Less Activity in Federation

Although our business has shown expansion in some directions, there has been a reduction in economic activity in South Africa and in the Rhodesian Federation; in other parts of Africa and the Caribbean area, too, the business outlook appears somewhat less confident. It may be that the full effect of this slowing up has not yet been reflected in the figures. On the other hand, an improvement in business conditions in the U.S.A. began to show itself during the year. Whether this will be durable and strong enough to influence commodity prices to such an extent as to have a marked effect on the incomes of the primary producers it is too early to say. During the next few years, however, it seems likely that conditions in most of the territories where, as a bank, we do business will be influenced by the mood of confidence more than anything else. In the Congo the situation remains confused and obscure, and the Credit Congolais is operating under considerable difficulty.

The sudden sharp increases in bank rate which we have experienced from time to time in recent years are indicative of the disorders in our economic body. Any patient whose temperature chart showed such wild fluctuations would no doubt be considered on the danger list. The disease in this case is "excessive Government expenditure with complications". It should be diagnosed by an impressive Latin name because this was the form of malady that contributed in no small measure to the decline and fall of Rome. It is, moreover, infectious and quickly spreads and it permeates every walk of life.

Dislocations in the money market and violent fluctuations in security values are the consequences that might be expected to bear most directly on the accounts of the bank. It is, however, the effect on conditions in our overseas territories and the strains which these sudden changes impose on the whole sterling area to which I should particularly like to draw attention. We have, perhaps, been too much absorbed in our own problem to pay sufficient attention to the difficulties that these have caused, and are causing, to others.

It is not enough for us to be able to say that the exchange value of sterling has been maintained by the higher bank rate. The price has been much dislocation of business and additional cost to borrowers throughout most, if not all, of the territories with which we as a bank are concerned. High interest rates in the United Kingdom have not only increased the burden of servicing the internal debt and raised the cost of financing exports—but, by stepping up the bill for interest on overseas balances held in London, they further aggravate the payments problem. The depreciation in Government securities, also, has inflicted embarrassing losses on overseas holders.

Perhaps the worst aspect of all this, however, from the standpoint of our overseas territories is the extra difficulty and expense involved in raising fresh capital. Even

when this can be obtained the cost is likely to compare unfavourably with rates quoted elsewhere. In other words, London, as the financial centre of and banker to the sterling area, may become uncompetitive. The consequences could be serious both for London and for the borrower, who might be driven to accept aid with political "strings" attached.

Last year in this annual statement I tried to show that colonialism in some shape or form marked an inevitable stage in the process of transition from primitive society to modern state—unless a country is to fall a prey to Communism, in which case, of course, the preparatory training for self-government is unnecessary because no question of independence arises. Even today it is surprising how little this seems to be understood. It might have been thought that the events of the year 1961 would have been revealing enough for the most naive observer. For example, if anyone can still believe that Russia's East German subjects are free people when it becomes necessary to add a concrete wall to the existing iron curtain in order to prevent them from fleeing the country—then, as Wellington said, "If you will believe that you will believe anything". While it is impossible not to feel the most profound sympathy with uncommitted smaller nations in their desire to remain uncommitted, it is nevertheless hard to see how "non-alignment" can indefinitely remain a practical policy compatible with true independence.

It is hardly necessary to stress here the immense value of the smoothly working mechanism of the sterling area to our trade and, indeed, to world trade as a whole, as well as to the commodity and other international markets, so many of which are concentrated in London. If, however, the coming year be subjected to shocks of the kind we have been experiencing the whole structure must inevitably be weakened and the effect of these shocks is far-reaching they are in themselves only the symptoms of a more serious imbalance.

Incongruities in our Economic Policy

Future students of economic history should have an interesting time trying to make sense out of the last part of our post-war story. How did it come about, for example, that a people greatly impoverished as we were, it was not apparently thought incongruous that we should, immediately after the war, set up a system of immensely costly social services while simultaneously reducing the hours of the working week and accepting a large American loan? How was it that we seemed to think that the management of the internal debt, which had grown so hugely during the war, could best be handled by making money artificially cheap regardless of other factors even though these might point in precisely the opposite direction? This "simple panacea" was carried to such lengths that anyone who suggested in those days that a higher interest rate, and not a lower one, might prove salutary was regarded almost as a heretic. The students of this epoch may well come to the conclusion that in the sphere of economic policy we have, indeed, never had it so odd.

The inevitable collapse of cheap money and the corrective measures taken thereafter seem to have led, in turn, to an almost mystical belief in the efficacy of bank rate as a weapon. But shock treatment by way of sudden sharp changes in rates, though it may be efficacious up to a point, is necessarily limited in its scope and cannot with safety be repeated too often.

The truth is that monetary measures are not in themselves a cure for our troubles, which stem from the fact that we are living beyond our means. We are told that there is danger in over-simplification, and this is true. But it is more dangerous still to complicate an issue to such an extent that the simple truth is obscured.

Charles Dickens is not, I suppose, commonly regarded as our most profound economist. Nevertheless, Mr. Micawber's famous dictum: "Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure nineteen nineteen six—result, happiness. Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure twenty pounds, nought and six—result, misery" has its message for us today. While his margin of 1 per cent. either way is possibly a little on the low side, we must remember that it is a relatively small variation that affects our own precariously balanced national finances for better or for worse. We need in fact only an improvement of about sixpence in the pound in our balance of payments to achieve a margin on the right side. It is because our reserves are, like Mr. Micawber's, so slender that relatively small variations have a disproportionate effect. Until we have succeeded in building them up to a figure which will enable us to disregard temporary fluctuations in the trend of the balance of payments we must ensure that we live strictly within our means, which, in our case, necessitates making more efficient use of available resources. Certainly it is difficult to believe that we cannot redress this balance to the extent required, and, moreover, without seriously interfering with our living standards.

The Sound Economics of Mr. Micawber

But if Mr. Micawber drives home the point that it is the little extra that makes the whole difference, he also sets fall marks for clarity and brevity. There is no double-talk here. His homages to the gods of logic in language that all can understand, the arithmetic, etc., is impeccable, and he spoke with unrivalled experience of the recurrent payment crisis.

Our only sound course today is to reduce our problem in just the way so the simplest terms. Unfortunately this is what we so signally fail to do. The muted call, accompanied by the incantation of the now familiar refrain during this summer's crisis, carried no firm conviction to the heart of the people. They had heard most of it before, together with much that must now seem contradictory. Since when have the British people been unable to face the plain truth without a gloss on it?

A Time for Plain Speaking

Why, for example, at a time when we are obliged to borrow from the International Monetary Fund should publicity be invited to focus on the resultant increase in our ready cash? It must indeed be hard for the uninformed public to know just what to think. Even the optimist Micawber might have found it hardly credible that a loan could automatically be considered as an addition to his reserves, and this is precisely the impression that the publication of the reserve figures must have conveyed.

We still have to earn the equivalent of that extra expense, or spend sixpence less. It is not a high price for solvency—or is it survival? We cannot wait for "something to turn up" in the shape of the Common Market or increased Commonwealth trade, for neither of these things can cure our trouble unless we first put our own house in order. The problems of living with prosperity may prove as testing for Britain as the years of austerity through which she has so recently passed. Her people then gave convincing proof of their steadfastness when they knew that what was at stake was nothing less than survival.

As will have been seen from the directors' report, Sir James Robertson, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.B.E., joined our board during the course of the year. Well known to many of you as a former Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria, he will long be remembered in the Sudan for his outstanding work as a civil servant in that country. I feel sure that anyone with a knowledge

of either or both of those countries would share our view that we are most fortunate in having the benefit of Sir James's knowledge and advice based on such long experience.

Mr. John Rodway has been appointed a general manager, Mr. F. A. Boreham, formerly chairman of our Ghana board, has been appointed deputy general manager (staff), and Mr. R. H. Oakley has been appointed an assistant general manager.

Senior Staff Changes

In South Africa, Mr. A. A. Penzhorn, until recently a general manager, has joined the Cape board, and I know that this appointment will be warmly welcomed by his many friends in the bank, and not only in South Africa. Mr. G. A. D. Harrison, perhaps best known to many in London as manager of our old Circus Place office, has been appointed to succeed Mr. Penzhorn as general manager at the Cape, and Mr. G. N. Paton has been appointed an assistant general manager.

In Rhodesia, the appointment of Mr. Philip Brownrigg, D.S.O., O.B.E., as a member of our board in Salisbury has been warmly welcomed by his colleagues there.

I was able to announce at our annual meeting in January last that important changes had been made in our board in Lagos, where Chief Sir Kofu Abayomi, M.D., LL.B., D.O.M.S., F.R.S.A., Mr. J. C. A. Okwesa and Mallam Mohamed Tukur, O.B.E., the Emir of Yauri, have joined our board, of which Senator L. C. Daldry, C.B.E., has been appointed chairman. Mr. A. E. Ambrose has also joined the board and has been appointed general manager in Nigeria, the other directors being Mr. D. L. G. Davies and Mr. J. B. Bailey. Mr. P. K. Dolling, manager of Kano branch, has been appointed regional manager for the Northern Region, while Mr. A. W. E. Day at Harare and Mr. J. Blake at Port Harcourt have been similarly appointed regional managers for the Western and Eastern Regions respectively.

In Ghana, Sir Charles Tachie-Menson, C.B.E., and Sir Edward Aduku-Adjaye, well known to many of you as Ghana's first High Commissioner, have joined our board in Accra, of which Mr. J. A. Scott has been appointed chairman and Mr. J. P. O. Wathan a member.

In Sierra Leone, Mr. J. H. K. Snape was appointed Sierra Leone manager when that country reached independent status in April of this year.

In the Mediterranean, Mr. N. Hill and Mr. C. Carolides have become Malta manager and Cyprus manager respectively.

In Mauritius, the manager of our main Port Louis branch Mr. H. G. Aspinall has received the new appointment of Mauritius manager.

In the U.S.A. Mr. A. G. Fleming has been appointed to succeed Mr. Eccles, who was our representative in San Francisco until his untimely death in December last, and Mr. C. A. F. Blair, formerly manager of our principal branch in Salisbury, is now agent in New York in succession to Mr. A. L. Taylor, whose name has for so many years been identified with our American business.

London Posts

In London, Mr. E. J. Butler has succeeded Mr. J. E. Scott as chief accountant and Mr. G. J. Reed has followed Mr. D. H. Stott as superintendent of premises. Mr. A. E. A. Ockenden is retiring after many years' service at our 29 Gracechurch Street branch, and his place as manager is being taken by Mr. G. W. Lambert, until recently manager of Barclays Overseas Development Corporation, Limited. Lastly, I have to report the retirement of Mr. P. J. Swanston, joint manager of Cockspar Street branch, who has been a familiar figure to the South African and Rhodesian communities in London for many years.

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