

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

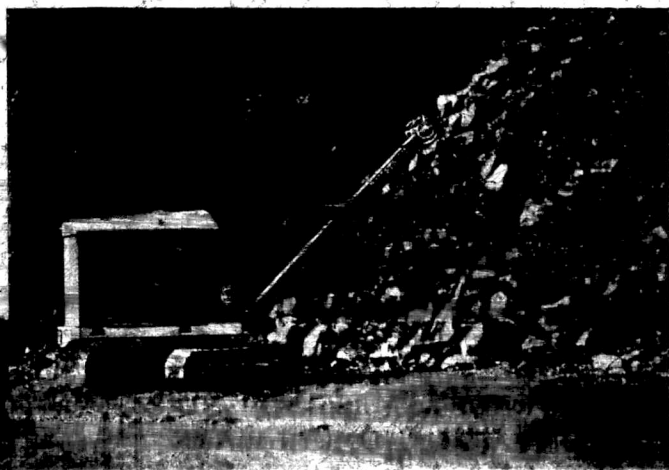
Thursday, January 18, 1962

Vol. 38

No. 1945

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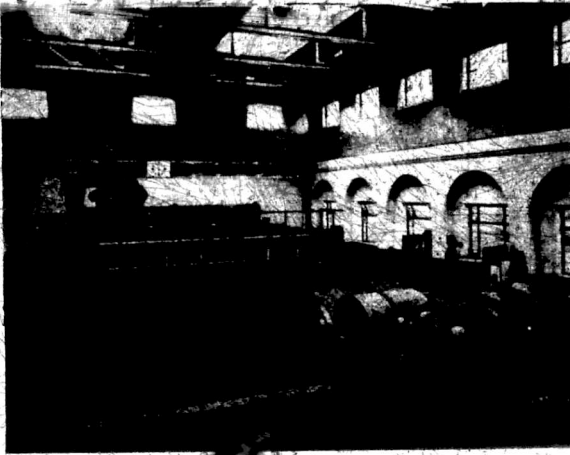
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Founder and Editor: F. S. JOELSON

THURSDAY, JANUARY 18, 1962

Vol. 38

No. 1945

42s. yearly post free

MATTERS OF MOMENT

WITHIN A FORTNIGHT the Secretary of State for the Colonies will probably announce the Cabinet's decision about amendments to the Macleod draft Constitution for Northern Rhodesia. Senior Ministers will meet more than once this month

to discuss this highly controversial issue with Mr. Maudling, who has made no secret of his conviction that the problem recognized to be explosive, ought now to be settled quickly by imposition from London, since his recent visit to the territory satisfied him that, as the Governor had reported, there is no possibility of local agreement on the subject or even of acceptance of a compromise. The basic trouble is that the two main parties concerned both consider, and with good reason, that the United Kingdom Government has broken its pledges to them. Consequently neither the United Federal Party nor the United National Independence Party has that elementary trust in British intentions without which no Secretary of State could hope to be regarded as a disinterested and impartial arbiter between the opposing sides. Undertakings given to Sir Roy Welensky by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom were unquestionably broken with cynical non-chalance, and there can be no doubt that Mr. Kaunda, the African nationalist leader, was equally recklessly misled by Mr. Macleod, whose *volte face* last summer justifiably angered the U.F.P. without conciliating U.N.I.P., which consequently drew up its "master plan" for resistance. Loudly proclaiming its unshakable adherence to non-violence, it deliberately instigated wholesale subversion of law and order, as is proved beyond all dispute by the Northern Rhodesian Government's official report on the disturbances which occurred between July and October.

The extracts from that document which are quoted on other pages could not be more damaging. To open the booklet at random is to be faced with two pages which recall crime after crime.

The U.N.I.P. Idea Of Non-Violence As that sentence was written we turned the page to a page the second line of which reads: "References were made to killing and bloodshed and the adoption of Mau Mau methods; instruction was also given in the manufacture of petrol bombs and the use of explosives". That was said of the Western Province, where "for several months individual members of the provincial executive and the lower echelons of U.N.I.P. were preaching and planning violence; Europeans were threatened with physical violence, and Government servants, members of the police, and political opponents were designated as targets for attack". On the previous page there is a statement that on the road from Kawambwa "men armed with spears and knobkerries and equipped with petrol bombs issued by the U.N.I.P. constituency officials stood by the barricades; bush-knives were also issued from the village store".

Two pages earlier there is an account of paraffin being poured over an African bus-driver, whom thugs tried to set alight; by good fortune a police patrol arrived in time to save him. There were at least four attempts to set fire to dormitories in which children or adults were sleeping. Christian missionaries, women as well as men, chiefs, teachers, and other Africans were threatened with death; and in the Mporokoso district two large armed mobs gathered outside the township "with the express intention of marching in and killing the civil servants and loyal Africans". An Afri-

Many Attempts At Murder. fire to dormitories in which children or adults were sleeping. Christian missionaries, women as well as men, chiefs, teachers, and other Africans were threatened with death; and in the Mporokoso district two large armed mobs gathered outside the township "with the express intention of marching in and killing the civil servants and loyal Africans". An Afri-

can was murdered in the Isoka area, and from Kasama comes the information that "intimidation was rife for a time, one of the methods employed being to threaten individuals with the steel needles which the Bemba customarily used in the past to put out persons' eyes".

Not one publication in the United Kingdom except EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has quoted lengthy extracts from this record of evidence of the criminal actions of the party

Strange Treatment By the U.K. Press.

led by Mr. Kaunda, who for some preposterous reason is generally regarded by Tory and Socialist politicians and the Press as a man genuinely dedicated to peace. A few newspapers gave a few inches in their news columns when the report was issued and then promptly lost interest — which suited U.N.I.P. and its sympathizers in this country. They should be grateful to some papers for the astonishing way in which they handled news which was highly topical and, in the journalistic sense, dynamite. A serious offender, the *Guardian*, which has normally praiseworthy scruples, began a longish dispatch from its correspondent in Lusaka, not with an epitome of the Government's charges against U.N.I.P., but by noting that "admissions that disciplinary action has been taken against some members of the security force involved in quelling the Northern Rhodesian disturbances last year are made in an official Government document published here today". That threw the emphasis completely off balance, and, whether designedly or not, weakened the impact of the accusations made against the Kaunda party. If one of its officials had been the writer of the article he could scarcely have done more for his associates. In a leading article headed "A Sordid History" it was not until the thirty-eighth line that there was any recognition of the guilt of U.N.I.P. officials.

The editorial read: "Except in the eyes of copper miners and Katanga politicians Northern Rhodesia must be on any short list for Africa's least interesting place. Certainly there are no towering issues of Sordid History, principle about which it is worth while to provoke African riots, but that is what the British Government did last summer when it gave way to Sir Roy Welensky and withdrew some of the political advancement it had offered to the two African parties earlier in the year. Since then everything has gone like a bad novel, with a thin and tedious plot and only one character of substance in Mr. Kenneth

Kaunda. The riots from July to September were predictable and must have been weighed in advance against the consequences of offending Sir Roy. The charges of police brutality in putting down the disturbances were predictable. The Government account of the affair, published yesterday, was predictable; and, in keeping with the mediocrity of the whole dispute, it makes no claim to be a detached survey of the disturbances and their causes. It is compiled anonymously from Government sources and cannot be treated with the respect which a judicial inquiry would have received. The report naturally rejects the U.N.I.P. allegation of 'murder, arson, plunder, and savage atrocities', although it is admitted that on 'one or two occasions' houses were burned down by the security forces and that, on different occasions, houses caught fire when the surrounding bush was set alight. In only two cases out of twenty-four, cited by U.N.I.P. is it 'possible to say' that security forces may have rough-handed villagers — but this assurance is valueless unless it can be shown that the investigators were not the same people against whom the allegations were made. Nor is the report justified in attributing the responsibility for the disorders to U.N.I.P. officials — unless the responsibility is traced further back to the Colonial Office or Salisbury — and it is a depressing fall that at village level the parties are lacking in men of education and calibre. One reason for this shortage is the law forbidding teachers and civil servants from playing an active part in politics. The past few years have placed an unfair burden on administrative officers, especially those in rural districts who have gone there because of dedication to the job and who have found their work jeopardized by the sordid political trafficking between Salisbury and Whitehall. Mr. Maudling must have found on his recent visit that the overwhelming desire of Europeans is to end the period of uncertainty and begin the African training programmes which have already been inexcusably delayed. It will be disturbing if Mr. Maudling's plans, soon to be announced, do not give Northern Rhodesia a clear representative majority, let Sir Roy do what he may".

Comment must be brief. There are "towering issues", which ought to be judged on principle, not from the standpoint of the likelihood of Africans engaging in riots — which would be provoked, Vain Attempts to Buy Off Violence, as the grave disturbances of last year were, by U.N.I.P. instigation rather than by genuine disapproval of the judgment

of the protecting Power. As to the withdrawal of some proposals after protests from the Federal Government, the *Guardian* well knows that promises made to the Federal Prime Minister had already been broken. It was from that point onwards that "everything has gone like a bad novel". To suggest that the only "character of substance" has been Mr. Kaunda is fantastic. If he is that, then as president of U.N.I.P. he must be personally responsible for the catalogue of crimes now published by the Northern Rhodesian Government. If he denies responsibility—and so far he appears not to have said a word on the subject—even his propagandists can hardly project him as a man of substance. The suggestion that the Government has not issued a "detached survey of

the disturbances" is unfair. The chronicle of incidents and the moderation of the language must convince any fair-minded reader. Administrative officers whose work in the rural areas has been jeopardized would not, we believe, attribute their frustration to "sordid political trafficking between Salisbury and Whitehall", but chiefly to sordid trafficking between the Whitehall of Macleod days and extremist African politicians, who, recognizing the disposition of the then Secretary of State to appease those who threatened, calculated that any decision which ran counter to their wishes could be altered by clamour, violence or the threat of violence. The vacillating Mr. Macleod thus provoked the violence which he expected to buy off.

Notes By The Way

Sir Roy's Indisposition

SIR ROY WELLESLEY was urged in the middle of last week by his doctor and his Cabinet colleagues to take a short rest, and all his friends will have been glad that he, who never shirks a burden, agreed to leave the Federal capital and spend a few days in the country with friends. He has been under relentless pressure for working without an adequate holiday, and, unfortunately there seems little prospect of his getting away for real relaxation, for a new crisis is more than likely to arise before this month is out over the United Kingdom Government's decision about constitutional change in Northern Rhodesia. Mr. Maudling has had in that country an extremely bad inheritance from Mr. Macleod, his predecessor, and Mr. Macmillan, whose detiousness in Central African affairs put Sir Roy Wellesley under strains which are still only partially understood except by a small inner circle. Exceptional moral and physical courage has been demanded of the Federal Prime Minister ever since he took over from Lord Malvern, and by his conduct of affairs he has won the admiration not only of his supporters but of those opponents who are reasonably far-sighted.

Grossly Misrepresented

UNTIL RECENTLY his political enemies in the United Kingdom were, with a few notorious exceptions, passably moderate in their criticisms. Latterly, unhappily, Sir Roy has been made the subject of the grossest misrepresentation in this country, and in some mass-circulation newspapers absolutely scurrilous allegations have been repeated again and again despite his detailed denials. It is not too much to write of a concerted campaign of hostility being waged with malignity because he is the outstanding critic of Britain's policy of surrender to extremists in Africa. Deride Sir Roy, present him to the public as an ogre, and his attacks will lose their force, the apologists for appeasement have argued. They are so busy in Parliament and the Press and on the wireless and television that millions of Britons are completely ignorant of what has been done in the Federation to create and develop a multi-racial State on a foundation of fair play, with merit as the criterion for advancement. That work demands wisdom, resolution, fortitude, and the other qualities which characterize Sir

Roy. All who want the policy to prosper must wish him well.

Kenyatta M.L.C.

KENYATTA, who was convicted by the courts of organising Mau Mau, the foulest conspiracy in all British African history, is now an elected member of the Legislative Council of Kenya, in which he has immediately become Leader of the Opposition. This disgraceful occurrence is the direct product of the first and worst folly of Mr. Macleod as Secretary of State for Colonies—a shocking, cynical, and reckless act of appeasement in which he had the indispensable and active co-operation of Mr. Blundell, leader of the New Kenya Party. Had he stood firmly against that initial concession to pro-Mau Mau pressure, as he was strongly urged to do by members of his delegation to the constitutional conference being held in London just two years ago, a self-opinionated Minister resentful about Africa could not have taken the disastrous step which set Kenya on the road to calamity. That that would be the result of trafficking with the Kenyan African political extremists who demanded the admission to Lancaster House of Mbiyu Koinange, regarded by the Government of Kenya as second only to Kenyatta in responsibility for the Mau Mau rebellion, was quite obvious, and was immediately stated by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. It was, then, with full knowledge of the iniquity which they were perpetrating that Mr. Macleod and Mr. Blundell blustered ahead, Macblunderism, concerted by two foolish, conceited, ambitious political contortionists, quickly brought a happy, prosperous, promising Colony to the edge of the abyss.

Kenyatta's Oath

LAST SATURDAY, the day after his election for the Fort Hall constituency, Kenyatta took the oath of allegiance to the Queen—on the Bible. Entrails of goats and sheep and other elements too disgusting to be named figured prominently in the abominable Mau Mau oath-taking ceremonies invented by Kenyatta and/or his associates and inflicted by them upon scores of thousands of Kikuyu. If they did not respond sufficiently readily to exhortation, they were "persuaded" by intimidation and violence, including rape and mutilation, and if

necessary strangulation. How many hundreds of Ki-kuyu were murdered in cold blood by tribal thugs before the outbreak of the revolt will never be known. Quite recently the Minister for Internal Security in Kenya has given the plainest public warnings of continuing danger from such gangsters, who now act in the name of a so-called Land Freedom Army, spokesmen for which have said that they will "rub out Kenyatta or anyone else who gets in our way". It is reasonable to assume that Kenyatta, like other politicians prominent in the Kenya African National Union, are under threat. It remains to be seen what weight he and others attach to their oaths of allegiance.

Too Dangerous to Stand

MR. NGALA, Leader of Government Business in the Legislature, said at the week-end that his party, the Kenya African Democratic Union, would have contested the election against Kenyatta but for the fact that that course would have involved "due danger to their candidate. Could there be a worse indictment of the Government which he holds for its failure to guarantee the elementary freedoms to ordinary people if they wish to exercise their right and have the courage to express disagreement with the party now led by Kenyatta? Such a state of affairs in a country still ostensibly under British "protection" is scandalous. Yet scarcely a member of either party in the House of Commons is sufficiently concerned to set himself to awake the public to the offences which are now everyday occurrences in Kenya. The idea of entrusting Kenya in such a state to the dictatorship of a few irresponsible African politicians would have been deemed outrageous in the pre-Macleod era, the most baleful consequence of which is that his party has become resigned to the acceptance of situations which would previously have been regarded as intolerable. If any reader doubts that statement, let him ask himself if it is conceivable that Mr. Macleod's two immediate Tory predecessors, Mr. Lennox-Boyd and Mr. Lytchell, would in any circumstances have allowed themselves to be associated with the Kenya policy of Mr. Macleod—who had the backing of Mr. Macmillan and the Cabinet, be it said to their shame.

Unusual Christmas Card

A CONSTITUENCY which had been represented by Mr. Stanley Evans, one of the most robust and Imperially-minded of Socialists, and has now as its Member of Parliament Mr. John Stonehouse, is scarcely to be congratulated. I only hope that the local Labour hierarchy responsible for the choice as candidate of the Brodcloway-like Mr. Stonehouse will have seen the Christmas greeting sent to his friends by Mr. Evans, who has for some years followed the practice at Yuletide of summarizing his thoughts on major events of the year. The current little brochure—for it is that, not a conventional card—has on the cover the characteristic quotation that "To have powerful and implacable enemies is a mark of character in a man". That certainly applies in the case of Mr. Evans himself; but he and I could list political careerists here and in Africa who, having any amount of ambition and determination but little principle or character, have a host of enemies precisely because they are so unreflexible, so devious, and so alert to the main chance for themselves.

Robust Patriotism

PRESSURE ON SPACE constrains me to quote less of what Mr. Evans has written than I should wish. The following passages, however, will indicate his robust patriotism. "The spirit of adventure that animated Englishmen of an earlier generation has for the time being deserted us. Courage, commonsense and char-

acter, the qualities that made Britain great, have flown. Pride in one's country, daring and determination in pursuit of achievement, are no longer fashionable. That section of the intelligentsia which sees everything through its own image, appalled by what it sees—who wouldn't be?—has thrown in the towel. Too timid to fight, too tired to run, the élite has lost its élan. The oracles of the *Guardian* and *Observer* must feel very proud. How the First Elizabethans would despise us!

Penalty of Moral Courage

"EVEN SO, we must not despair. In man-power, skill, and experience, in all but purpose and faith, we have everything necessary not merely to avoid extinction but to create a new Golden Age. As a nation we have been living far above our means ever since the war. Many countries experience occasional money trouble; but only to Britain does it happen with such distressing and humiliating regularity. . . . Dog-collared exhibitionists, dupes, jackasses and charlatans are the New Elizabethans. With vitamin pills in one hand and a doctor's note for the magistrate in the other, they clutter up Whitehall, apeing the Boy on the Burning Deck until the TV cameras go home. If Krushev fails for this lot he'll think it's a one-horse race". To Mr. Evans's credit it should be recalled that he was one of the very few Socialists in the House of Commons who voted for the creation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, expressly defying the strongest pressures of his party. The price he paid was exclusion from Parliament, in which he would be much more useful than perhaps four out of five of the present members of any of the parties.

Ignorant M.P.

MR. HECTOR HUGHES, Socialist M.P. for Aberdeen North, who has often intervened in the House of Commons on East and Central Africa, is probably regarded in his own constituency as someone knowledgeable on such subjects, for his questions and statements in debates over the years have presumably been reported in the local newspapers. I hope that equal prominence will be given in Scotland to the proof now afforded that his knowledge is much less weighty than his self-assurance. The other day he played right into Mr. Maudling's hands by asking for a statement on "the present state of emergency in Kenya, indicating what steps the Minister and the Government of Kenya have taken to bring it to an end". The rejoinder could have been made memorably crushing, but Mr. Maudling replied merely that "the state of emergency in Kenya was formally ended by the Governor on January 12, 1960". Mr. Hughes was merely 22 months out of date!

"E. A. & R." As Passport

NORTHERN RHODESIA is to be discussed on Wednesday next, January 24, by the Africa Group of the Monday Club, which is to be addressed by Mr. Godwin Lewanika, Federal M.P. for Luanshya, and Mr. Hugh Mitchell. On this occasion the Africa Group is inviting non-members, and Mr. J. J. F. Francis, the chairman, tells me that people interested who are not known to him or his associates will be welcome if they will carry a copy of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. That is his idea, not mine. So far as I know, the paper has not previously been deemed a passport. I am reminded of the days in which British visitors to Nazi Germany thought it prudent to carry prominently a London daily newspaper, which was a protection against assault by Hitler's political followers. The Monday Club is not likely to treat its guests in Brown Shirt style! The meeting will be held in the Onslow Court Hotel, South Kensington, at 7.30 p.m.

How 'Non-Violent' U.N.I.P. Provoked and Committed Violence

Terrorists Used Petrol Bombs and Fired Dormitories While Children Slept

THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia are described in detail by the Government in its Grey Book entitled "An Account of the Disturbances in Northern Rhodesia, July to October 1961", first extracts from which appeared in last week's issue of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

Of U.N.I.P., the party headed by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, the report states: "Disagreement over the territory's political progress was turned by the followers of this one political party into a campaign of intimidation and violence; it waged a widespread campaign of subversion."

When the report went to press 2,691 persons had been convicted by the courts of offences directly arising from the disturbances; 258 of them were known to be members or officials of U.N.I.P.

Of the sentences passed on U.N.I.P. activists, 527 were for proposing violence, riots, and unlawful assemblies; 467 for identity certificate offences, usually those relating to 163 for carrying offensive weapons; 123 for causing loss or damage or damaging bridges; 123 for arson or attempted arson; 87 for threatening violence; 53 for robbery; 27 for assaults on civilians; 26 for possessing explosives or ammunition; 20 for obstructing the police; 17 for stowing vehicles or baggage; 15 for damaging buildings with explosives; nine for assaulting the police; and two for sedition.

Non-Violent Murder

Among the cases still to be tried is one of alleged murder.

U.N.I.P.'s professed policy is one of non-violence.

One chapter of the report describes the disorders which occurred in the various provinces and districts:

Beginning with the Northern Province, it says *inter alia*:

"During the second quarter of 1961 tension had been increased by inflammatory speeches and actions by members of the U.N.I.P. At the end of July disorder and violence swept the districts.

The disturbances followed a definite pattern. Many thousands of obstructions were set across roads, bridges were destroyed, and the outlying communities were isolated and threatened. Later a campaign of arson of public buildings commenced, identity certificates were collected and destroyed, and intimidation was rife. U.N.I.P. officials and minor leaders demanded compliance with their wishes by threats and menaces and many ordinary villagers were cowed into obedience.

Two platoons of the Police Mobile Unit comprising 80 all ranks and one battalion of 517 all ranks of the Federal Army were sent in to reinforce the existing staff. The military were supported by four Provost reconnaissance aircraft of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force, and much use was made of the transport flight of the R.R.A.F. Command to fly in personnel and supplies and to relieve congestion in the prisons by airlifting sentenced prisoners to gaols in other parts of the Federation. Eighty members of the Northern Rhodesia Police and several members of the provincial administration and district messengers were also posted temporarily to the province to aid the administration, to undertake the investigation and prosecution of crime, and to carry out the duties of additional magistrates and coroners.

Provincial headquarters of U.N.I.P. was established in the Mpika district in 1960, but the area was peaceful until the U.N.I.P. delegates returned from the Mulungushi rally at Broken Hill. Excitement mounted and on August 1 an unruly crowd armed with sticks and stones assembled to await the arrival of Mr. Kaunda, who was touring the province. That night two classrooms and an office at Kaole School seven miles south of Mpika were burnt.

"On August 4 Mr. Kaunda addressed a large meeting and told the people that he had reluctantly decided to call the country to action. He said that if the British Government did not change the Constitution within two or three days he would send the call for action to his divisional officers. The villagers returned to their homes and on August 7 nineteen road-blocks were erected on the Great North Road south of Mpika and two buildings belonging to the Mechanical Branch of the Ministry of Transport were destroyed by fire.

"During the next few days bridges were damaged or burnt, a plantation of coffee seedlings was destroyed, and the main roads north to Chinsali and Kasama and south to the line of rail were obstructed by blocks, trenches, and damaged bridges and culverts.

History of Intransigence

"On August 12 a constable accompanying a party of civilians travelling to Kasama encountered a mob setting fire to a bridge 25 miles north of Mpika. He arrested one man, but was almost immediately attacked by a gang of 30 men armed with clubs, and was beaten and robbed of his rifle and ammunition, and his prisoner was rescued. The constable recovered after a few days in hospital and the rifle was subsequently retrieved. Between August 12 and October 3 six schools, and churches, houses, cattle kraals, and stores were destroyed by fire and a court assessor was menaced.

"Chinsali district has a history of intransigence. The general situation has been aggravated by the establishment of the Lentema movement, whose members were involved in riots in 1959. In the same year dwellings were burnt by members of the Zambian African National Congress (which was subsequently declared illegal) and several schools and Government buildings were burnt. Three other cases of criminal arson occurred during 1960. The district is a U.N.I.P. stronghold where tax evasion, intimidation and the people tend to be generally unco-operative.

"On July 3 Chief Nkula's court was smashed by a mob and one of his *kapasus* (tribal police) was beaten. He appealed for help, and the patrol which went to restore order was obstructed by road-blocks when it reached the district. On August 1 Mr. Kaunda visited the district. On this visit he said that, whereas in the past his followers had been required to go to prison in hundreds, they would now have to go in their thousands.

"On August 7 word was sent from the provincial headquarters of U.N.I.P. at Mpika to local leaders that 'cha-cha-cha' was to begin. This is an accepted euphemism for violence. Between August 7 and 12 a large proportion of the population were 'viciously hostile to Europeans' and to all forms of established authority.

Attack on Township Planned

"On August 8 a large gang assembled near Chinsali with the intention of attacking the township, which had been set in a state of siege. Women were concentrated in the houses of the district commissioner and district officers; all available firearms were issued to loyal members of the community, motor-car headlamps were used to illuminate special areas, and patrolling and sentry duty were undertaken around the clock. A mob of 70 persons marched into the township stating that they had come to release prisoners from the gaol, but they were dispersed without force.

"For a period the greater part of the district was in an uproar. The Great North Road and every other road of importance was blocked, and travellers, Europeans and Native Authority employees were attacked. A Central African Road Services bus was burnt out and the passengers were left to fend for themselves for days in the bush.

"Bridges were destroyed or damaged, both roadsides were obstructed, schools and cattle kraals were burnt, and on two occasions the stock killed by the fires was eaten on the spot. Two Roman Catholic missionaries left their stations and fled into the bush for safety. European-owned stores were looted or burnt. At the height of the disorders several thousand people left their homes and took to the bush.

"The law-breakers initially had no fear of the consequences of their actions, for they believed that independence was imminent, and that their connexion with Government was being permanently severed. Their hostility can be illustrated by describing two attacks made on the security forces on August 9.

"The first, which concerns the rescue of Dr. Faust and a party of women and children, is dealt with in Part III, since casualties were inflicted by the security forces. The other

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Greatest Confidence Trick in History

Communist Inspired Propaganda Against British Colonialism

BRITISH AND COMMUNIST COLONIALISM
 were compared by MR. GEORGE GRETTON when he addressed the Royal Commonwealth Society in London.

He said, *inter alia* :—

"Colonialism is not necessarily a bad thing. It is and has been a good institution when it has fulfilled four main conditions: it must be reasonably efficient; it must be enlightened; it must be accountable; it must be transitory.

"British colonial policy has by and large fulfilled all these conditions. Mistakes have been made because colonial administrators are human, but on the whole British administration has given its dependent territories a very high standard of organisation, has respected the character and interests of the native inhabitants, and has departed punctually when its job was done.

"The first African colony was Sierra Leone, which last year achieved its independence and became the 100th member of the United Nations. Sierra Leone was settled in the 18th century, purely from philanthropic motives, as a home for African slaves released by Britain in the great campaign which destroyed the slave-trade wherever the writ of Britannia ran. Slavery in serfdom was not abolished in the Soviet Union until 1861 and in the United States until 1865.

True Protection

In the first half of the 19th century Britain began to send military contingents over West African countries to protect the inhabitants, usually at the request, against slave-trading, slave-raiding, tribal warfare, and other barbarities, in particular, to root out the widespread custom of human sacrifice.

Very few British forces were employed in the suppression of the despotic rulers who were in the habit of raiding, killing, and enslaving their neighbours. The African victims were only too willing to be armed and organised under British officers to fight their oppressors. In the Ashanti war most of the fighting was done by Africans drawn from the Fanti tribes who had been the chief sufferers. The Ashanti chiefs had sacrificed thousands of slaves and prisoners of war every year to celebrate their festive anniversaries.

"Only 64 years ago such brutalities were practised by the King of Benin. An unwarlike British mission sent to persuade him to abandon these practices was massacred, and when a British force returned from the city—known as the city of blood—a few weeks later they found pits filled with corpses and altars dripping with fresh human blood.

"I mention these not untypical gruesome examples to illustrate what has now been completely forgotten—the state of backwardness and savagery in which some of the African dependencies were taken over by Britain. Most of these territories have already been trained for independence and are now members of the United Nations. They have retained their own character and culture, have been given efficient administration and a civilised legal system, and all but the smallest have a viable economy. Most are being helped financially through the first stages of independence.

"The Soviet colonial empire has been in some ways more efficient than the British. A totalitarian regime can always be more efficient in the short term than a liberal regime which takes into account the wishes of the governed. But one test of efficiency is the amount of man-power employed in administration. In the British dependencies this has been minimal. Nigeria, with a population of 32 millions, was administered with an army of 7,600 men and police force of 8,300, both 90% African.

Even the formerly most barbarous parts of Africa have been for decades administered by a handful of district officers and their assistants; and colonial governors have gone about without an armed escort. This is not the practice of many of the most vocal anti-colonialists even in their own capitals.

"Every colonial administrator has been fully accountable through the Secretary of State to Parliament. This has meant that short cuts were ruled out, that a good deal of time was

spent investigating every allegation of injustice, however frivolous; and that administrators often had to spend far longer on teaching someone else to do a job than it would have taken them to do it themselves. Their purpose was not simply to administer but to prepare for the eventual hand-over. Preparing countries to become nations in their own right precluded the more sensational evidences of efficiency which the Soviet Union can show.

Power As A Trust

"In the past 200 years, since British constitutional thinking crystallized in the age of Burke, Fox and Pitt, British colonial policy has been more and more dominated by the concept of power as a form of trust. This principle was re-iterated by Lord Durham in Canada, by Macaulay in India, by Disraeli, and by innumerable other thinkers and leaders, until it became enrooted in British political thought and colonial policy. It underlined the accountability of colonial administration to Parliament.

"It also prescribed the transitoriness of British colonialism, which has resulted in the voluntary handing over of power to all colonial territories as soon as they became capable of standing on their own feet. The reason why countries with a population of over 600 million have been given their independence in the past 15 years is not any sudden yielding to agitation whipped up by anti-colonial propaganda, but the fulfilment of a conscious policy developed over 200 years, the policy of regarding colonial territories as a form of trust.

"In the British colonies there has been no mass attack on illiteracy, but there has been an encouragement of mass education. There has been no centralised authority; every country has been encouraged to develop in its own way. There has been complete religious tolerance, and barbarous religious customs like human sacrifice in Africa and suttee in India have been stamped out.

"There has been far more freedom of thought and speech in the British colonial territories than in most of the anti-colonialist countries whose leaders attack us, Latin American and Arab dictators, Communist régimes, and even some of the newly independent countries, or in any other part of the world to be expressed. One of our own African territories which achieved independence under apparent good auspices has now put its opposition in gaol, even while its leader, Dr. Mzimba, is eloquent in his denunciation of British colonial oppression.

"Although there is much talk of British exploitation of the colonies, Britain has not tried to monopolise trade. When Great Britain undertook the control of great regions in tropical Africa, she not only gave her commercial rivals the same opportunities as were enjoyed by her own nationals, but she assisted in the development of those territories from Imperial revenues.

British Imperialism Saved India

"This would not be possible within the autarchic Soviet bloc. It is not characteristic of American colonial policy, even after the independence of the Philippines they were economically tied to America under the Bell Act. And India could be under Soviet administration today but for the rôle of the British imperialism in the latter half of the last century in halting the Russians along the Persian-Afghanistan frontiers.

"The growth of the British Empire was remarkably haphazard by comparison with the steady, strategically-planned annexation by Russia over three or four centuries of a classic colonial empire. Yet this has passed almost unnoticed, while the British Empire, even towards the end of its handing-over to the colonial peoples, is held up as the classic example of colonialism.

"The most important reason is what Sir Hilton Poynton described in a speech to the United Nations as the 'salt-water fallacy'. This fallacy, he said, was that 'whereas expansion by a country over land and the incorporation of large areas of territory inhabited by other races and peoples is apparently praiseworthy, the extension of one's jurisdiction over sea is stigmatised in certain quarters as colonial imperialism, oppression of subject races, and so forth'.

"This salt-water fallacy is one reason why our American friends are sometimes less than generous to us. They have built up a continental empire and have annexed and absorbed their colonies, instead of offering them complete self-determination.

"From Moscow to the Chukot Peninsula on the Bering Strait is further than from London to any remaining African dependency any Central American dependency. From London westwards it would reach to the Pacific coast of the United States. The north-south spread of the Russian Empire corresponds to the distance from London to Nigeria or Ottawa. Yet this fantastic area, one-sixth of the earth's land-surface, is not generally regarded as a colonial empire, simply because it has no sea communications inside it.

"Marxists believe that colonialism is the Achilles heel of capitalism. If it were true, as they believe, that capitalist economies are based on the exploitation of colonial peoples, then it is an obvious method of attack to stir-up trouble in the colonies. The sympathy for oppressed peoples implied in this concern for their welfare will create an image of Russia as the champion of the underdog and of social justice.

"This policy has paid off, and has been more and more intensively pursued by the Russians in the tactics of their power politics. It has also helped to divert attention from the fact that, while the West European empires are being rapidly liquidated, the Russian Empire is being consolidated.

"In the Russian Empire there is no parallel to the British policy of preserving national identities and educating each territory towards responsible self-government in its own way. On the contrary, there has been a steady pressure against national cultures.

"Religion of all kinds — not merely Christian — has been repressed. Indeed, the most savage persecution has been against the Buddhists; but there has also been a systematic attempt to root out Muhammadanism.

"In finance and economic development there is complete central control. The State and party in Moscow make all decisions (removing local dissidents) and allot proportions of the State budget to the republics. Only a proportion of

the taxes levied in the republics may be retained. In 1957 the share of the whole of the republics (excluding the Russian S.S.R.) was only one-seventh of the total. This means that the dependent countries contribute to the national budget in a way which would be unthinkable in a British dependent territory.

"With this centralization the Soviet empire has achieved one of the requisites of good colonialism: efficiency. There has been great progress in the battle against mass illiteracy and in industrialization and economic development generally.

"Accountability in the Soviet empire does not exist. The rulers are accountable to themselves and no one else.

"Transitoriness need take little time to discuss. In theory autonomous republics have the right to secede. In practice, when attempts have been made, the leaders have been accused of bourgeois nationalism, deposed, and mostly executed. The Soviet empire, far from being transitory, continues to expand on the lines of Czarist policy, as its annexation of European territories since the war illustrates, to say nothing of the suzerainty exercised over the countries of the Soviet bloc.

"The British Colonial Empire has been on the whole enlightened and responsible, and it has kept faith with its principles of withdrawing its power as soon as its trust was fulfilled. British policy has in fact for many years been genuinely anti-colonial, in the sense that it has been engaged in liquidating colonies.

"Yet an oppressive colonial power, the Soviet Union, has succeeded in passing itself off as anti-colonialist, and persuading many gullible people to stand on their heads and regard Britain as a stronghold of colonialism. It has been the greatest confidence trick in history."

American Committee for Aid to Katanga

Country-Wide Opposition to U.S. Government Policy

A **WIDE GREATER RESPONSE** than they had dared to expect was received from all parts of the United States to the first announcement of the American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters, established just before Christmas under the chairmanship of Dr. Max Yergan. The initiative was designed to mobilize maximum public support for the Katangan fight for self-determination against United Nations military aggression, and to protest against the illegal United Nations' operation against Katanga and United States' support for that operation.

"Katanga Is the Hungary of 1961" ran the headlines to a full-page advertisement in the *New York Times*. It aroused so much interest that within a fortnight more than a score of newspapers throughout the United States had reprinted the announcement, the cost being met in each case by funds raised locally by people whose sympathy had been touched. In not one case was the campaign office asked to contribute. Indeed, it was not even told of the intentions to publish locally until after they had occurred.

£10,000 Quickly Subscribed

Within two weeks more than 3,000 Americans had sent contributions to the committee's headquarters in New York, and in under a month the number was above 5,000 and the donations had topped \$30,000 (approximately £10,000).

The sponsors of the campaign include well-known members of the Democratic and Republican parties in Congress and the Senate and professors at 17 universities, including Yale, Columbia, Washington, New York, John Hopkins, Northwestern, Chicago, Georgetown, Dallas, Illinois, and Notre Dame.

Ten days after the opening of the campaign Professor Ernest van den Haag had left New York for the Congo at the head of a survey mission for the commit-

tee, which considered it necessary to have an immediate report which would "break through the propaganda barrage laid down by the United Nations and State Department publicists". A pledge was given that the facts gathered in the Congo would be made available to the American public and to the Senate's committee of investigation.

The Katanga Committee also quickly rebutted statements made by two senior officials in the State Department, Mr. G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs, and Mr. Karl T. Rowan, who were stated to have levelled "unjustified accusations against the Government of Katanga in an effort to justify the State Department's disastrous and abortive policy in the Congo."

Pro-Western and Anti-Communist Leader

Katanga, said the committee's first announcement, "is the one part of the former Belgian Congo that in general managed to preserve law, order, and decency. Katanga under President Tshombe has kept its economy going. Moise Tshombe is far and away the outstanding pro-Western, and anti-Communist leader of the Congo.

"Ten days ago the United Nations, without a trace of legal authority, launched a merciless military action against the people of Katanga. The United States Government has supplied and is supplying the financial and logistical support that makes this act of aggression possible. Our planes transported Nehru's Gurkha mercenaries from India to Katanga. Our planes have been ferrying the armoured cars, weapons, and troops that have been sent in as reinforcements. Our money pays the bills. Our political support makes possible the entire enterprise.

"The people of Katanga believe they are fighting for freedom. They are being overwhelmed by external Powers which are bent on coercively subjecting them to a centralized regime which has proved its incapacity to govern, and has failed to resist Communistic penetration.

"In a bitter moment in the fighting President Tshombe declared: 'The Americans are sending dollars and diplomats and planes but they are not sending soldiers, because they

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PERSONALIA

LORD REAY has left London for East Africa. Mr. D. MFINANGA is Tanganyika's High Commissioner in India.

MISS MARGERY PERHAM is to receive the D.Litt of Southampton University.

MR. HIDEJI TANAKA is now Japan's Vice-Consul for the Federation in Salisbury.

MR. A. K. CHESTERTON is outward-bound for the Cape in the STERLING CASTLE.

THE REV. and MRS. P. BLAKE are on leave in England from Northern Rhodesia.

M. HENRI CHASSAING DE BOURDEILLE is the new French Ambassador in Tanganyika.

MR. H. J. JOURDAIN has retired from the board of Blyth, Greene, Jourdain & Co., Ltd.

MR. AUGUSTINE SAIDI is the first African to be appointed a resident magistrate in Tanganyika.

MR. J. M. SHIKUKU, general secretary of K.A.D.U., was injured when his car was in collision with another near Nakuru.

FIELD-MARSHAL LORD MONTGOMERY sailed last Thursday in the STIRLING CASTLE for a three-week visit to South Africa.

DR. C. F. HICKLING, Fisheries Adviser to the Department of Local Cooperation left London recently to visit India.

MR. R. J. F. HOWARD has been elected to the board of Metal Industries, Ltd., of which SIR CHARLES WESTLAKE is chairman.

THE REV. RONALD PHILLIPS has returned to England after more than 20 years in Northern Rhodesia. He hopes to go to Canada.

THE REV. J. G. CANNING, Rector of Chingola, Northern Rhodesia, is to come to London as Vicar of St. John's, Hammersmith.

MR. E. K. HARLEY, a senior resident magistrate in Kenya, is to become a puisne judge in Sarawak. He has worked in Kenya since 1946.

SIR DENYS LOWSON has been elected chairman of Northern Rhodesia Co., Ltd. MR. G. CANNING REVELL SMITH has been appointed a director.

MR. D. L. DAVIES, Solicitor-General in Tanganyika, has been acting as Attorney-General. MR. P. R. N. FIFOO has acted as Solicitor-General.

SIR CHARLES and the HON. LADY PONSONBY left London yesterday for East Africa and the Federation. They are due back at the beginning of April.

DR. MAX YERGAN, chairman of the newly-formed American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters, was in London last week on a brief visit.

MR. H. J. REAY, an Australian, who has spent many years in the Rhodesias, has been appointed a divisional manager of the Ford Motor Company of Rhodesia, Ltd.

MR. A. J. B. OGILVY has been elected to the board of London and Rhodesia Mining and Land Co., Ltd., from which MAJOR-GENERAL J. DEE SHAPLAND has resigned.

MR. DAVID MORSE, who announced in November that he would resign as director-general of the International Labour Office later this year, has withdrawn his resignation.

MR. AUSTIN FERRAZ, editor of the *Sunday Mail*, Salisbury, who has decided to retire in a few weeks, will be succeeded by MR. RHYNS MEIER, editor of the *Evening Standard*, Salisbury.

DR. WILLIAM LIGHTFOOT, programme adviser to U.N.E.S.C.O. on higher education in English-speaking African territories, has had talks in Zambia with the Nyasaland Minister of Education, MR. KANYAMA CHUMBE.

MR. D. T. ARAP MOI, Minister for Education in Kenya, and MR. DAVID GREGG, Permanent Secretary in his Ministry, are in Delhi for the second Commonwealth Education Conference.

SIR CARLETON ALLEN, O.C., the former warden of Rhodes House, Oxford, is to marry MISS HILDA MARY GROSE, a close friend of his first wife, who died two years ago. Both are 74 years of age.

MR. C. R. HILL, a director of the Standard Bank of South Africa, and previously general manager in London, left on Sunday to attend the opening of new premises for the bank in Dar es Salaam.

CAPTAIN N. A. GIBBS, now on the staff of the International Bank in Washington, and the HON. ELIZABETH BARING, younger daughter of LORD and LADY HOWICK of GLENDALE, were married on Monday in London.

MR. M. M. BUCHAN, formerly M.P. for Gatooma as a Central Africa Party member, has joined the United Federal Party. "because I consider Sir Edgar Whitehead is doing a darn fine job now for Southern Rhodesia".

BISHOP STEPHEN NEILL, who has visited East Africa, has accepted an invitation to serve for five years as Professor of Missions and Ecumenical Theology at the University of Hamburg. His lectures will be given in German.

MRS. IRIS STEVENS, since 1958 assistant training officer at the Scottish H.Q. of the Red Cross, will fly next week to Dar es Salaam for a year to prepare the Tanganyika Red Cross to become an independent society.

PARAMOUNT COUNCILOR HANDEH MUNGU SEISO of Basutoland has been visiting East Africa, accompanied by two Executive Councilors, CHIEF M. MATETE and CHIEF L. MAJARA, and the Government Secretary, MR. C. M. HECTOR.

MR. D. YEO, who has spent 13 years in Uganda and Tanganyika as a physicist with the Tropical Pesticides Research Centre, has been posted to the Mali Republic as director-general for the International Migratory Locust Organization there.

MR. R. H. PRINGLE, who was for many years a lecturer in Kenya and now resides in Ireland, left London by air a few days ago to revisit Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, the Rhodesias and South Africa. He expects to be away about three months.

DR. V. K. KYARUZI, formerly a medical officer, has been posted to New York as Tanganyika's permanent representative at the United Nations. MR. M. M. J. S. LUKUMBUZYA joins him as counsellor, with MR. C. P. NGAIZA acting as a supernumerary counsellor.

DR. CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN, lately United Nations representative in Katanga, having obtained a Mexican divorce from his first wife, married in New York last week MISS MAIRE MACKENDEE, daughter of the Deputy Prime Minister of the Irish Republic.

MR. AMIRALLY HASHAM JAMAL has been elected unopposed to Kenya Legislative Council for the Asian Muslim reserved seat in Kisumu Town. He had been deputizing since June for MR. I. E. NATHOO, former Minister of Works, who has retired and left Kenya.

DR. B. COCKRAN, Director of Information Services in the Commonwealth Relations Office, has been appointed Jan Smuts Professor of International Relations in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, and Director of the South African Institute of International Affairs.

DR. HASTINGS BANDA, Minister for Natural Resources and Local Government in Nyasaland, has again asked European officials to remain in the country, saying: "To the expatriates of the civil service I say, as I have said repeatedly before, that Nyasaland needs you all, and I hope that those of you who are content to work under the new conditions will remain with us for many years to come."

PRINCESS ALICE, COUNTESS OF ATHLONE, president of the Victoria League, attended a meeting of the central council last week to present an inscribed salver to SIR HENRY PRICE, honorary treasurer for the past 14 years. The new honorary treasurer is MR. ISAAC WOLFSON, who has been elected a deputy president.

MR. TRISTAN BETTS will leave London today on behalf of the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief to supervise a programme to raise African living standards in Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland. £90,000 has been allocated for the work over the next three years, Bechuanaland's share being £32,200.

MR. K. P. SHAW, who joined the provincial administration in Kenya in 1950, is about to become Assistant Kenya Agent in London. The post of Agent is not to be filled until after the constitutional conference in London next month. MR. SHAW is an honours graduate in economics and politics of Durham University.

MR. C. S. MUNDY has resigned from the committee of inquiry into shipping services between Britain and Northern Ireland because of long absence overseas following his retirement from the board of the British India Line. MR. E. CAROL BRAINE, vice-chairman of Thos. and Jas. Harrison, succeeds him on the committee.

MR. J. MATHENGE, M.L.C. for Nyeri who went to the United States as a guest of the State Department without obtaining leave of absence from the Kenya Legislative Council, took the loss of his seat due to his absence from the Legislature and his party headquarters having remained unanswered, a writ for a by-election is expected to be issued.

MR. BENEDICTO KIWANUKA, Chief Minister of Uganda, appealed recently to Britons to remain after independence to help in the country's development. Last week MR. L. GREEN, secretary of the European Civil Liberties Association, wrote in an open letter: "Unless concrete assurances are forthcoming, an ever-increasing number of expatriate officials will decide to leave."

MR. W. K. PHILLIPS, an agricultural economist, is about to spend six weeks in Kenya to advise on the Kenya African National Union's plan for agricultural and educational development. MR. ARTHUR GAITSKELL, who will revisit Kenya later in the month, will also advise on the plan. From Nairobi he will go on to Ethiopia and then return to Kenya for a few days.

MR. A. D. DODDS-PARKER, who was M.P. for Banbury from 1945 to 1959, and who had served in the Sudan from 1930 until he joined the Grenadier Guards at the outbreak of the last war, is one of three candidates short listed by the Cheltenham Conservative Association. He is a past chairman of the Joint East and Central African Board and of the Commonwealth Producers' Organization.

Passengers for Mombasa in the WARWICK CASTLE, now outward-bound via the Mediterranean, include the REV. & MRS. G. V. BENSON, the REV. J. DELANY, the REV. & MRS. E. W. C. EXELL, MAJOR & MRS. F. C. GIBAUD, MR. & MRS. G. GRACE, MR. & MRS. J. H. GREENFIELD, MR. & MRS. J. HALSTEAD, MR. D. E. C. HORLEY, MR. & MRS. P. J. LEONARD, the REV. & MRS. W. B. NORMAN, and MR. and MRS. J. M. REID.

MR. ANDREW A. OPIO, chairman of the Jinja branch of the Uganda People's Congress, and a member of the Busoga region executive, has resigned, alleging that, at a meeting attended by five party M.L.C.s and "a gang of non-party people who were bribed to attend by gifts of beer," he was abused for being a Kenyan and threatened with expulsion from the country after Uganda had become independent. He said that he was also criticized for having recruited Asians into the party, and for siding with the Uganda Textile Workers' Union during the recent strike.

MESSRS. W. DICK, B. A. SABEL, N. C. S. DALLING, and A. A. J. HUNTER are the first directors of Lee, Vos, Dick, Sabel, Ltd., formed by the partners of Lee, Vos, Dick, Sabel & Company, insurance brokers with substantial East African business. Mr. Dick has visited East Africa.

MR. N. M. KENNY has been elected president of Mufulira Golf Club, which has two vice-presidents, MESSRS. C. A. O'CONNELL and P. S. MELVILLE. The captain is MR. FRED HARBOR, the vice-captain MR. PETER EMMOTT, and the honorary secretary MR. WALLACE DICKERSON.

MISS RACHEL YELD, of Milford-on-Sea, Hampshire, a social worker, and MISS THEA BORGEN UHRE, a Danish nursing sister, are the first two volunteers selected by the International Service Department of the United Nations Association to go to Tanganyika to help with the refugee problem.

THE QUEEN has appointed SIR MAURICE DORMAN, Governor-General of Sierra Leone, to be a Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order, and SIR EDWARD WINDLEY, Governor-General of the Gambia, to be a Knight Commander. SIR MAURICE DORMAN, who is to retire this year, served in Tanganyika from 1935 to 1945. SIR EDWARD WINDLEY, a Rhodesian, was in the Colonial Service in Kenya from 1931, until he went to West Africa in 1958.

DR. EDUARD ZELLWEGER, who has been in Kenya on engagement by the Kenya African Democratic Union as its constitutional adviser, was at one time Swiss Ambassador in Belgrade. He has dealt with constitutional matters in Libya and Nigeria, and in 1960 was the personal representative of the late MR. HAMMARSKJÖLD. He has served on an international committee based in Geneva, which is investigating the cases of gaoled or exiled Ghanaian politicians.

SIR JOHN CLAYDEN, Chief Justice of the Federation, is to be chairman of the commission set up by the Federal Government to inquire into the cause of the air crash near Ndola in which the late Secretary-General of the U.N., MR. HAMMARSKJÖLD, died. SIR GEORGE LLOYD-JACOB, a High Court judge, will represent Britain. The other three members are to be nominated by Sweden, the United Nations, and the International Civil Aviation Organization.

MRS. U. K. HICKS, Reader in Public Finance at Oxford University, and PROFESSOR R. C. TREES, Professor of Political Economy at Bristol University, have been appointed by the Governor of Uganda, SIR WALTER CRADOCK, as joint members of a fiscal commission for the Protectorate. Professor Trees served on the Kaimson Commission which reviewed economic and financial co-operation in East Africa in 1960. Mrs. Hicks has written several works on taxation and rating.

LORD COLYTON, chairman of the Joint East and Central African Board, and LADY COLYTON left London at the week-end for Nairobi, where they are staying with SIR PATRICK and LADY REMISON. After visiting Mombasa they will go to Dar es Salaam, fly on to Nyasaland, spend about three weeks in the Federation, and then go to Uganda. They may spend a few days in the Sudan before returning to London early in March. This is Lady Colyton's first visit to East and Central Africa.

MR. JOSHUA NKOMO, leader of the new Zimbabwe African People's Union, and former leader of the now banned National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia, said in Nairobi a few days ago that since leaving Salisbury some days earlier he had discussed with the Prime Minister of Tanganyika and the Chief Minister of Uganda means of persuading H.M. Government to change the new Constitution of Southern Rhodesia. He intended to press his point of view upon the Governments of Nigeria and Ghana.

Monday Club's Africa Group

Young Tories Critical of the Government

THE MONDAY CLUB was formed in London some time ago by a group of young Conservatives, most of them professional men, who were alarmed at the trend of the Conservative Government's policy, particularly in regard to Africa, and felt that something should be done to halt the drift to the left within the party.

The statement of policy expresses concern that "there has been a tendency of Conservative Governments to adopt policies based on expediency rather than Conservative thought".

An Africa Group was formed, and it has just published a leaflet entitled "Wind of Change or Whirlwind?" It reads as follows:—

Abandonment of British Responsibilities

"When the Conservative Government was returned to power two years ago the great majority of its supporters believed that whilst Conservative Colonial policy was aimed at the steady advancement of dependent territories towards self-government, that independence would not be granted to any territory before, in the words of the previous Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, genuine confidence and conditions of fair play have been established, so as to ensure that when power is transferred it will be to responsible people of different races who live there. In certain territories it is clear that there is no honourable alternative to continuing to maintain our control for quite a long time."

"In particular, the party seemed fully committed to the establishment of multi-racial communities in which the rights of individuals would be respected in these Colonies in Africa in which emigrants from this country had been encouraged to settle."

"Can we still believe that such wise principles still guide Government policy? The evidence of the last two years indicates that instead of a policy of hasty abandonment of British responsibilities in Africa has been decided upon."

"Whether this policy has been the result of a sincere attempt to cope with changing conditions or is the result of an obsessive desire to present a 'progressive façade' at home and abroad is immaterial. The results have been disastrous."

"Few of those who voted Conservative in 1959 could have foreseen the dismal picture British Africa now presents. Kenya has been brought to the edge of bankruptcy and civil war; the confidence of both white and coloured populations has been lost in the Rhodesias and the foundations of the Federation severely shaken; serious disturbances have occurred both in Northern Rhodesia and Zanzibar; South Africa has been driven point-blank from the Commonwealth; whilst the news from West Africa grows daily more ominous."

Abdication and Appeasement

"Can it be said that this policy of abdication and appeasement has even won the favour of world opinion? Even to this the answer must be no. 'Anti-colonial' abuse continues to be heaped on Britain, whilst leaders of the 'emergent nations' seem united only in their support for extremist movements in those countries for which Britain is still responsible."

"Much damage has undoubtedly been done, but this need not prove irrevocable. In his final speech as Colonial Secretary Mr. Macleod stated that he believed in what used to be called the British Imperial mission. This mission may still be brought to its proper fulfilment in large areas of Africa if the Government returns to a policy firmly based on Conservative principles."

"It is suggested that such a policy must include the following measures:

(1) Constitutional advance must be based on the educational and social progress of the Native population of each territory. In accordance with the Prime Minister's Cape Town statement, that advance must be dependent on merit.

(2) The firm maintenance of law and order, and the eradication of terrorism and intimidation. Appeasement in the face of threats of violence by extremists must cease.

(3) Priority should be given to raising African standards of living throughout British Africa and the creation of a re-

sponsible African middle class, capable of playing a full part in all the complex tasks of a modern society.

"(4) The aim of constitutional advance should be the establishment of multi-racial Governments under which full provision would be made for the rights and security of Europeans and other minorities.

"(5) Every effort should be made to rebuild the confidence of the white communities by adequate guarantees for security of land tenure or provision for compensation.

"It has been truly said that little can be done to guide or shape the future of newly created States once they have achieved independence. Britain having introduced the basis of civilization and democratic government into much of Africa, it is surely essential that the task is not prematurely abandoned, for civilization is a way of thought that can be acquired only by successive generations. To abandon our responsibilities now would not only be to jeopardize the interest of both Africans and Europeans, but would be to leave behind a legacy of weak, unstable States and a situation ripe for exploitation by the forces opposing us in the cold war, with all the consequent dangers to world peace."

Four quotations follow, namely:—

"H.M. Government are not likely to lend themselves to encouraging people to come to Kenya if they intend to betray them. They will be entitled to feel confidence in the possession of the homes that they have built for themselves or will build for themselves and their children".—The Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1954.

"It has been our aim in the countries for which we have borne responsibility not only to raise the material standards of living but also to create a society which respects the rights of individuals, a society in which individual merit and individual merit alone is the criterion for a man's advancement, whether political or social".—Prime Minister, and of course, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1960.

"Fear is the enemy, and before we dare take our eyes from the tiller of any country we must be to ensure that fear has gone. See to it that respect for human rights, including property rights, for an independent judiciary and for an impeccable public service are deeply entrenched in the Constitution and more important still, entrenched in the minds of those who will inherit our responsibilities. . . Our duty is plain before us. A Tory can follow no other road".—The Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1960.

"Without security, without respect for law and order, without respect for the rights of minorities, there can be no true justice and no true peace between man and man".—The Secretary of State for the Colonies, October, 1961.

Government's Responsibility in Kenya

Another leaflet issued by the Monday Club says:—

Colonial.—The grant of independence should be conditional on the general rate of social, economic and educational advance in each individual territory and on the responsibility of the political leaders.

"Kenya is an example of where the present Government has shown itself devoid of responsibility in that it is attempting to hand over the Government to an unprepared African leadership without having obtained guarantees for the future of the European, Asian and other minorities."

"We fully support the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland under the leadership of Sir Roy Welensky."

Commonwealth.—The preservation of the Commonwealth should be the keystone of British foreign policy. To give this best a two-tier structure is necessary: on one level those members who owe their allegiance direct to the Crown as their Head of State; on the other level those who recognize the Crown as Head of the Commonwealth only.

"Closer co-operation between member countries should be encouraged, particularly in the fields of economic and foreign affairs and defence, so that the Commonwealth can be a greater force on the side of the free world in world affairs."

Mr. Paul Bristol, chairman of the club, served in the Army in Malaya and Germany for four years, and is now employed by a finance company in London.

Mr. Angus Nicol, vice-chairman, served in the Royal Navy, was for a time with a publishing firm, and is now reading for the Bar.

Mr. Antony MacLarin, the other vice-chairman, lived for some years in Kenya. He studied law at Cambridge University and is articulated to a London firm of solicitors.

Mr. Cedric Guntery, honorary treasurer, served in the Army in the Suez Canal Zone; graduated in engineering at Oxford University, and now holds an executive position with a London company.

Mr. G. I. Greig is the honorary secretary. The chairman of the Africa Group is Mr. Jeremy Francis.

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Kenya: "Regionalism or Civil War"

Parties' Preparations for London Conference

MR. WILLIAM MURGOR, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and Internal Security in Kenya, told some 5,000 fellow Africans in Eldoret last week-end that if K.A.D.U.'s plan for regionalization were not accepted when it came before the constitutional conference in London next month, "I will sound a whistle to my people declaring civil war. When we go to London, remain calm, but when you receive my telegram, prepare with bows and arrows, because we shall be fighting for our freedom."

Mr. Ronald Ngala, leader of K.A.D.U. and of the Legislative Council, said that he thought Britain would not reject the party's regional plan, for she had been ruling Kenya on similar lines for 40 years. The plan would not lead to another Congo, he said.

At the Eldoret meeting, the Minister for Commerce and Industry, Mr. Mung'ala Muiiro, declared that if the party's plan was not accepted, its leaders would return from London to implement a "secret master plan."

The Minister for Local Government, Mr. Wilfred Havelock, told the crowd that most people in Kenya did not want a Kikuyu to dictate to them from Nairobi. Proposals were prepared to divide Kenya into Kenya but driven by Africans — but not with Kenyatta — the wheel.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Education, Mr. Rhoderick Masloob (brother of Mr. Iain Masloob, then Colonial Secretary), described regionalism as the only policy for peace in Kenya, and remembered that you fought in the second world war to remember that you fought to preserve your liberty against Mau Mau when pregnant women and little children were being butchered.

The Attorney-General's Department announced on Monday that it would investigate the speeches made at the Eldoret meeting.

Kenyatta called on the Governor to dismiss Mr. Murgor and institute proceedings against him, saying that failure to do so would have serious repercussions. He (Kenyatta) was "deeply shocked and disturbed" at remarks that were an obvious incitement to violence, and found it very disheartening that while K.A.N.U. leaders were campaigning actively for peace and good order members of the Government should be calling for civil war.

Mr. Clyde Sanger cabled from Nairobi to the *Manchester Guardian*: "Since speeches of this nature have been disowned subsequently as misquotations by inefficient journalists, a reporter read a verbatim note of his speech to Mr. Murgor after the meeting and he agreed that it was correct. In October Mr. Murgor was reported as telling a Kalenjin crowd that any Kikuyu houses left in the Kalenjin region after independence would have to be burnt, and to have warned them that the Kikuyu had murdered each other during Mau Mau and would murder them (the Kalenjin) after independence."

When Opposition leaders complained at the time in an adjournment debate in the Legislature that they would have been prosecuted for making such speeches, they were assured by the Minister for Internal Security that no favours would be shown about prosecutions. Mr. Murgor was not, however, prosecuted.

Internal Wrangling

The correspondent of *The Times* cabled that because of internal wrangling K.A.N.U. had still not welded into a commonly agreed general policy its detailed memoranda on many aspects of a constitutional framework for presentation to next month's conference in London. "Surprisingly in view of its earlier success in securing a large amount of its work in co-operation with the constitutional adviser appointed by the Colonial Secretary, Sir Ralph Fone, whose name is said to be one of the reasons why a last-minute line has not yet emerged. Preparations have been conducted by a sub-committee animated by Mr. Mboya and other younger party members."

Though the cry of Kenyatta has been heard during the past year, some K.A.N.U. members were no longer prepared to make an issue of it. "An obvious issue presenting a dangerous pitfall is whether the British Government will be prepared to underwrite Kenyatta's leadership."

From other quarters it is said that K.A.N.U. would stand by its memorandum submitted to the Mau Mau in November, when the Mboya faction was in the ascendancy, or whether the forces led by Mr. Odunga and Mr. Ngei are going to call a different and independent line.

On Monday Mr. Mboya met privately the Prime Minister of Tanganyika, Mr. Nyerere, who was paying a brief visit to Nairobi in connexion with the East African Common Services Organization. It was presumed that they discussed the future of the Royal East African Navy, which is under sentence of disbandment because Tanganyika feels that it cannot continue to bear its share of the cost.

The special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, Mr. Eric Downton, had cabled in the previous week that "it is obvious that relations between Mr. Masloob and Kenyatta are cool; there has been a polite exchange of telegrams between them with Kenyatta denying claims made public in Dar es Salaam by the Tanganyika African National Congress that he supports the K.A.N.U.'s vice-president, Mr. Odunga, is believed to be using Communist funds to make the first serious attempt to undermine Mr. Nyerere's position and has provided funds for T.A.N.C. The Congress opposes Mr. Nyerere, a staunch Roman Catholic and anti-Communist."

A telegram in Tuesday's *Times* stated that detailed discussions among K.A.D.U. leaders had dealt with possible steps for re-alignment among Kenya's political parties, with particular reference to a split in K.A.N.U. "It is recognized that Mr. Mboya, even if he brings himself to leave K.A.N.U., can hardly join K.A.D.U. as it stands, and that it might be necessary to form a new party; but this would still have to include all the present elements of K.A.D.U. Mr. Mboya had commented that his party was particularly interested in the possibility of a new force emerging."

Oaths That All Land Is African

FOURTY-FOUR KIKUYU men and women, including a boy aged 11, were forcibly oathed or intimidated to swear that all land in Kenya belongs to Africans, by two path administrators who charged 1s. per person. The ceremony occurred on a farm 10 miles from Nakuru. After reports of the oath-taking had reached the authorities 44 Kikuyu admitted being involved. They had also sworn to hand over any guns to other oath-takers or to "the Government of Africans or our people."

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Viscount Boyd on the Commonwealth

Address to Overseas Employers' Federation

VISCOUNT BOYD OF MERTON, who has accepted an invitation to become the first president of the Overseas Employers' Federation, said in London last week at the 16th annual general meeting:—

"Independence is not of itself any guarantee of the economic and social progress of the people. You cannot have political progress without economic stability, and you certainly cannot have economic stability without good industrial relations.

"Having regard to the tremendous influence of the international trade union movement—not always, may I say, of a constructive nature—and of our own Trades Union Congress, I think there was a danger of a slightly one-sided approach to industrial relations, which is another reason why I welcome the work of the Federation.

Not Expensive Luxuries

"We are beset on all sides by forces of destruction, and there is much to be done by us and our affiliated organizations. I am convinced of the need for well-founded and well-briefed organizations of progressively-thinking employers. Many employers here and overseas regard their associations as expensive luxuries. This is a false and dangerous attitude.

"The time taken to do some of the work which seems little enough to you, but which you are doing, last year, in the way of less than half that figure, but I am glad that you expect to increase your revenue by another £5,000 or so this year. This is still a long way from your target. I would not wish increased subscriptions to the Federation in London to be at the expense of local associations elsewhere; the one is complementary to the other. The local associations cannot work without an efficient, well-staffed, well-briefed headquarters at the headquarters of the same value without

Greatness Won by Personal Qualities

"I have an enduring faith in the British Commonwealth and the lasting place that it has won in the councils of the world. May I say what pleasure it has given me to find that the Federation has links with Australia and New Zealand, who in turn are giving a friendly hand to our affiliates in their parts of the world—Singapore, Malaya, Hong Kong, and Fiji. I hope that Canada will be ready to follow their example.

"Our political ties are becoming looser and looser, and we look to commerce and industry to take their place. Our greatness in the past and the development of the natural resources of large areas of the world, which benefited both us and the peoples concerned, was not due to the presence or absence of Governments, legislation or force, but to the personalities of the people we saw and to their qualities of invention, resource, enterprise and leadership.

"One has only to think of the John Company days; of Raffles in Singapore, under whose guidance the population grew in six months from 150 to 5,000, in two years to more than 10,000, and within seven years it had become the largest port save Calcutta in the East; of Dr. Brower and David Whippy in Fiji; or of those who founded Hong Kong 120 years ago on an almost uninhabited island of which Lord Palmerston said 'a barren island with hardly a house on it which would never be a mart of trade'; and whose total trade now is over £600m. sterling a year; of Sir Nicholas Lawes in Jamaica; of H. N. Ridley in Malaya, who by maintaining the fertility of the Brazil rubber plant in charcoal and taking it to Malaya made possible the immense rubber industry of Malaya; and of George Grey and the Copperbelt—to bring to the minds of all in this room those pioneers who first laid the foundations of our prestige and immense influence.

"Conditions have radically changed with the growing sophistication of the peoples concerned, and something more is needed. Individual personalities alone no longer carry the day, and time is not on our side. Enterprises have grown in size and importance, and there comes a time when we have not only to train and educate our own people in every way we can to fit them into their appropriate niche all along the line, but to impart this knowledge and understanding to the local people. To my mind this opens up a whole new field of endeavour, and one in which I feel sure your Federation will play a leading part."

The annual report for the year ended on July 31 last records the election to the chairmanship of Mr. James Campbell in succession to Sir Frederick Seaford, who held the office for 10 years. The new vice-chairman is Mr. L. F. Mallan.

Of a committee of 21 members, the following have East or Central African interests: Mr. R. Annan, Mr. Donald C. Brook, Sir Duncun Cummings, Mr. C. W. Dumbleton, Mr. J. H. Lascelles, Mr. Barclay Leechman, and Mr. J. H. S. Tranter. The director, Mr. E. M. Hyde-Clarke, served for many years in the Colonial Service in East Africa, and the secretary, Mr. G. W. I. Shipp, is a former member of the Sudan Civil Service.

Fifty employers' associations are affiliated to the O.E.F., which has also more than 100 individual members. Among 16 new members during the past year were the Nyasaland Tea Association, the Tanganyika Tea Growers' Association, Henkell Du Buisson and Co., Ltd., The Kenya Coffee Growers' Association, and the Tanganyika Association of Agricultural Employers.

Previous Members

Previous members were the Federation of Kenya Employers, the Federation of Tanganyika Employers, the Federation of Uganda Employers, the Kenya Tea Growers' Association, the Northern Province (Tanganyika) Association of Industrial and Commercial Employers, the Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association, the Uganda Cotton Association, the Federation of Employers of Northern Rhodesia, the Nyasaland Employers' Association, the Nyasaland Planting and Agricultural Employers' Association, and the Southern Rhodesian I.L.O. Employers' Liaison Committee.

Mr. Hyde-Clarke is about to re-visit East and Central Africa, in order to attend the bi-annual inter-territorial meetings between the Employers' Federations of Tanganyika, Kenya, and Uganda, to acquaint himself with the local training schemes now in operation, and to have informal discussions with employers, trade unions and Government officials.

He will leave London by air on February 15 for Uganda, to Kenya a week later, by air from Nairobi to Swaziland on March 1, arrive in Salisbury on March 7, return to London three days later, and on to Nyasaland on March 14. He is due to Dar es Salaam on the 17th, in Tanga on the 22nd, and to Beira and Salama on the 27th. On March 31 he will fly to Madagascar, from which he expects to be back in London by April 19.

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United States and Katanga

(Concluded from page 485)

are too cowardly and decadent. Instead they hire the skin and blood of the men of Nehru, who has plenty of them, to sell. America is unaware that in perpetrating these crimes it is rendering the greatest service to the Soviet Union, which would draw an incommensurable profit from these Katanga events. The Russians, if the U.N. operation succeeds, will have reduced a Western bastion without having to spend one rouble or one man."

In reply to an expression of sympathy telegraphed by the committee, President Tshombe cabled: "The Katangese people and myself are grateful to the American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters for your understanding. The first thing we ask is that you intervene with your State Department, so that the U.S.A. will stop furnishing 'planes which are transporting men and material to bomb our cities and villages and slaughter our people. Men, women and children have been killed, and hospitals, schools, churches, missions and workers' camps have been bombed and destroyed by 'planes which fly the United Nations flag'."

United States and United Nations

Dr. Yergan and his colleagues have called on the American public to demand that President Kennedy, Senators and Congressmen, Mr. Adlai Stevenson, U.N. Ambassador to the United Nations, and U Thant, Secretary-General of U.N.O., should cease to provide United States support for the U.N. operations in Katanga; that all U.N. military forces should be withdrawn from Katanga; that President Tshombe and his Government should be recognized as its legitimate spokesmen; that reconstruction should be undertaken by the U.S. and that destruction wrought in Katanga by U.N. military operations.

President Kennedy having announced that he would ask Congress for \$100m. to buy half a new United Nations bond issue, the committee promptly booked another full-page advertisement in the *New York Times*—at a cost of about £2,000—to ask: "Shall We Bail the U.N. Out of Bankruptcy?"

It emphasized that the United States already pays one-third of the operating budget, one-fourth of its budget for specialized agency work in food, health, education, etc.; half the expenditure on technical assistance, malaria eradication, the Children's Fund, and support of refugees in Palestine; and half of such special "peace-keeping functions" as U.N. action in the Congo and the U.N. troops stationed in the Gaza Strip.

The public was asked to reject the idea of "bailing the United Nations out of the bankruptcy into which its own policy has plunged it; to prevent further U.N. military operations against Katanga, with U.S. support, direct or indirect; to demand a thorough Congressional investigation in public into the U.N. Congo operations; and to protest against approval by Congress of the purchase of United Nations bonds until the findings of the investigation have been published.

American Critics of American Policy

By this time well known politicians of both parties had publicly criticized United States policy. Ex-President Hoover had said: "It is a sad day for the American people when American resources are being applied to those in Katanga who are seeking independence and self-government free from Communist domination."

Senator Thurmond, a Democrat, called for the withdrawal of moral and financial support for U.N. aggression against Katanga, which was solidly anti-Communist.

Senator F. J. Lausche, another Democrat, declared: "We have always advocated the principle that a people has a right to determine for itself what its type of Government will be. The precedent established by the U.N. in the Congo is dangerous. If the U.N. is allowed to send troops into any country, it necessarily follows that it can send them into any country of the world for the purpose of settling domestic political problems."

Representative W. E. Miller, a Republican, emphasized the need for "a deep Congressional investigation of United States Congo policy, a policy which seems to have the effect of helping the Soviet Union against Western interests, including the positions of some of our staunchest allies. American money, men, planes, equipment, and avowed policy are being used to punish anti-Communist Katanga."

Another Republican, Senator B. M. Goldwater, said: "In recent weeks, events in the Congo have given most concerned Americans reason to regret our blind support of U.N. policy. We now find ourselves financing armed aggression levelled at a people who asked nothing more than to be independent. The United States is paying most of the cost of this U.N.

adventure. Can we avoid responsibility for what the U.N. is doing?"

Mr. Richard Nixon, lately vice-president, used strong terms, condemning the United Nations for "killing civilians indiscriminately from the air by bombing and destroying hospitals and places of worship in Katanga, while Moïse Tshombe, the educated, Christian, anti-Communist head of Katanga has been pleading for peace and negotiations. Even the Red Cross has protested. The U.N., instead of serving as an agency to mediate differences among the various factions in the Congo, has been attempting to force Tshombe to join the Central Government of the Congo, which is infiltrated by Communists and Communist sympathizers. The United States is supplying transport planes and the money—\$77m.—to finance the disruptive, aggressive acts of the U.N. forces, made in the name of police action."

According to the *National Review*, of New York, Senator Dirksen, who had been invited to be one of the sponsors of the campaign, telegraphed his concurrence, but within a few hours of the publication of the first announcement by the committee told journalists that he had not authorized the use of his name although he agreed with the aims of the organization.

National Review, whose editor is a member of the executive committee, wrote: "The Senator could not be reached by telephone, although his office, when informed that the committee intended to turn his telegram over to the Justice Department to inquire whether somebody had illegally forged his name, admitted that he had sent the telegram, but clung to the story that it did not authorize the use of the senator's name. It transpired that at about 10 a.m. the Senator had had a call from the President of the United States. A few minutes later he repudiated his own telegram."

The point is also made that several hours after publication of the committee's first statement Mr. Kennedy promised for the first time that he would work for a cease-fire in Katanga.

Kenyatta Leader of the Opposition

Failure as National or Party Leader

KENYATTA was last Saturday sworn in as M.L.C. for Fort Hall after being returned unopposed in a by-election the previous day. K.A.D.U. had nominated a candidate to contest the seat but he had had moment to withdraw him because of fear of assassination and personal violence.

The special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* cabled:—

"That Kenyatta is now the burnt-out case of Kenya's politics has been made obvious this week-end with the lack of African interest over his swearing in as a member of Kenya Legislative Council. He took the oath on the Bible, pledging allegiance to Queen Elizabeth II, her heirs and successors. He spoke in a mumble and behaved in an uncertain and nervous manner. 'Yesterday's ceremony in Nairobi not only marked the former Mau Mau manager's full return to political life, but it highlighted the completeness of his failure to emerge as either a national or party leader. His domestic popularity among Africans, including his own tribe, the Kikuyu, has never been lower at any time since he returned from London just after the war to launch his anti-British campaign, which became controversially interlaced later with the Mau Mau uprising."

"His claims to leadership to-day are rejected by much of Kenya's African population. His inability to give inspiration or leadership since he assumed its presidency has brought his party, the Kenya African National Union, the country's biggest political faction, into its worst internal crisis. Even if a party break-up is averted during the next month the National Union will go to the Kenya constitutional conference in London in February seriously weakened by rivalries and a behind-the-scenes struggle for leadership which involves clashing with pro-Communist and pro-American influences."

Kenyatta said after he had taken the oath: "I do not think that election to this House is necessarily the fruit of my sufferings in prison. It is my rightful place, and I shall be working here for my people." He added that he would automatically become Leader of the Opposition with a £1,020 yearly salary. Only about 100 supporters greeted him.

K.A.N.U.'s Machakos branch has decided that there is no need for either of its M.L.C.s. to resign to allow Paul Ngei to enter the Legislative Council, but has agreed that one of them should stand down to permit him to attend the constitutional conference in London.

Officials Likely to Leave Uganda Unless Satisfactory Conditions Are Guaranteed

CIVIL SERVANTS IN UGANDA are far from happy about their position and prospects.

Mr. L. Green, honorary secretary of the Uganda European Civil Servants Association, issued a few days ago a statement which contained the following passages:—

"Many expatriate European civil servants would be happy to continue to serve in an independent Uganda, provided their future and that of their families is assured.

"In a recent statement the Chief Minister said: 'We shall need the services of expatriate officers in the great majority of cadres for some time to come, especially in the professional and technical cadres'. There must be more definition than this, particularly in view of the Chief Minister's further remark that 'I therefore appeal most earnestly to all those expatriate officers who will be requested to stay to remain in the service for as long as possible to help us in building up an independent Uganda'. As the country will attain self-government in a few weeks, when will these requests be made, and by whom?

"There exists today a genuine concern amongst expatriate officers about the future, and unless some concrete assurances are forthcoming there appears to be little doubt that an ever-increasing number will decide to leave. They will be forced to do so in order to make adequate provision for themselves and their families.

Vague Assurances

"It is not the policy of this association or the expatriate officer to make extravagant demands as a condition of service after independence. All we seek, through negotiation, are equitable terms of service with contractual guarantees, so that the expatriate officer will be able to continue to serve the new Government without fear or favour.

"Vague verbal assurances will not suffice. An official policy is required which has the support of all the political parties in the country. The assurances sought by my association are nothing more than the normal conditions of agreements between an employer and his servant.

"The following are some of the particular points at issue:—
(1) That a survey be undertaken of Government staff appointments which will clearly and openly indicate to everyone the expected rate of the Africanization programme, as a result of which African and expatriate officers of all grades, categories and posts will know where they stand, and will be able to plan their future accordingly. Presumably this will be the first task of the envisaged Commissioner for Africanization, although, as this matter has been under constant consideration for some years, plans presumably do exist on which decisions can now be taken.

"(2) That proper negotiating machinery should be set up which will take into account the fact that a large part of the cost of the conditions of service and salaries of expatriates are subject to reimbursement by the British Government.

"(3) That there should be no discriminatory taxation or monetary restrictions.

"(4) That contracts should reflect existing world market rates, and must have terminal benefits which are unaffected by tax; e.g., the present terminal gratuity is often halved by taxation.

"(5) That conditions of service in general shall not be subject to arbitrary alteration, but only after agreement has been reached through the negotiating machinery.

"(6) That salaries and conditions of service shall be kept under constant review and a section set up in Government which annually shall present a report on these matters to be made available to Government and the staff associations.

"(7) That all terminal benefits which now exist, e.g. pensions and widows' and orphans' pensions, shall be fully guaranteed.

"Of late much emphasis has been laid on the necessity of retaining the services of professional officers such as doctors and engineers. This is undoubtedly true, but these officers are helpless unless their work is supported by the ancillary services, staffed by technicians and others of known high standards, and in the circumstances created by a sound administration.

"We therefore suggest that the structure of the Service as a whole is of paramount importance. The ultimate objective must always be to train the people necessary in a modern Uganda. The best way to achieve this is through an efficient Civil Service, in which at present all races can work together loyally and without doubts.

High Commissioner on Tanganyika

Address to London Chamber of Commerce

MR. DUNSTAN OMARI, High Commissioner in London for Tanganyika, said when he addressed the London Chamber of Commerce last week:—

"The public of Tanganyika were clearly told that independence would not mean a miraculous solution to their problems, but would demand from them harder work and self-sacrifice in the big task of developing the country. The Government thus created an appropriate atmosphere in which the new nation was to embark on its venture.

"The three-year development plan is an attempt to raise the standard of living and bring about general prosperity by carefully planned development of our resources. The plan aims at an expenditure of £24m., or £6m. more than was recommended by the World Bank Mission. If it is satisfactorily fulfilled future plans may be more ambitious.

"One often hears that Tanganyika is a poor country incapable of much development. Tanganyika is not poor in the sense that its soils are worked out or that its ground is stony and unable to support crops. It is poor in the sense that its present revenue reflects the extent to which its resources are unexploited.

"Government policy is to guide and foster an ever-increasing production of foodstuffs and of cash crops, consistent with sound land use. It is hoped that primitive methods will gradually be superseded by modern techniques, and to increase production in livestock, and to improve methods of control of disease, improved husbandry practices, and improved breeds of livestock.

"Fishing, both sea and fresh water, is becoming an increasingly important part of the economy. Current production is estimated at 50,000 tons, valued at £24m. This industry is almost entirely in the hands of African fishermen.

"Marketing co-operatives deal with coffee, cotton, tobacco, rice, mica, and cattle. Progress is also being made with the development of consumer co-operatives.

"In Dar es Salaam, Arusha and Tanga there is a healthy growth of secondary manufacturing industries. The Government encourages industrialization, and is prepared to offer potential investors and manufacturers, and there are possibilities of concessions in the form of refund of customs duties, protective tariffs, and tax relief schemes. Most industrial equipment, chemicals, raw materials, implements and tools are exempt from customs duty.

Secondary Education

"There are plans for educational development at all levels, the main emphasis being on secondary education. We must produce our own administrators, technicians and skilled workers, without whom development of the country is bound to be slow. We are very grateful to the Governments of the United Kingdom, United States, Western Germany, Switzerland, Israel and Japan, who have promised to furnish assistance.

"Adult education is being encouraged in every way. In one district, Singida, we have the largest percentage of adults attending classes in the whole world outside the Soviet Union.

"In our campaign against the tyranny of disease, Government aims at the provision of a balanced curative and preventive medical service covering the whole country. At present medical services are provided by the Government, local authorities, missionary societies, and other voluntary agencies. It is proposed to bring all the available resources into an integrated plan, which will be used as a foundation for more ambitious programmes to prevent disease and improve public health.

"Our battle against poverty, ignorance and disease is going to be a hard fight, and we in Tanganyika are prepared for it. But our determination will not be enough. We shall require financial and technical assistance from outside. We believe that our policy of human equality, moderation and reasonableness makes us creditworthy, and we are confident that the development of our country is assured.

The former Mau Mau leader Jesse Kariuki and Elijah Omodi Agaa, editor of the banned Nairobi People's Convention Party's paper *Uhuru*, have been completely de-restricted.

The first hotel ship of the Union-Castle line, the TRANSVAAL CASTLE, will leave Southampton this afternoon on her maiden voyage to the Cape. She was launched a year and a day ago.

Students from Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nyasaland, and the two Rhodesias are among those attending a course at the Afro-Asian Institute for Labour Studies and Co-operation in Tel Aviv, Israel.

U.N.I.P. Violence in N. Rhodesia

(Continued from page 483)

concerns a patrol of one subordinate Special Branch officer and four other ranks of the Mobile Unit which was led by the district commissioner. The party, travelling southwards on the Great North Road, encountered numerous road-blocks which were negotiated with great difficulty. Eventually they came upon a group constructing a barrier and succeeded in arresting one man and dispersing the others. Another gang was encountered and a spear was thrown at one of the constables. After 20 miles a large gang was seen ahead and it was decided to return to Chinsali.

"On the way back the patrol was constantly menaced by groups of armed men from the verges of the road, and was eventually halted by an insurmountable block. The patrol disembarked, and while they were endeavouring to edge the vehicle through the forest to pass the block they were attacked. The D.C. tried unsuccessfully to parley with the gang from the roof of the Land-Rover and fired warning shots with his revolver to keep the attackers at a distance. Stones and spears were flung at the party as the vehicle was inched forward. The prisoner escaped, but the patrol finally managed to draw clear and re-enter the vehicle while it was still creeping forward. If they had not pressed forward with resolution there would have been no alternative but to shoot if they were to save themselves from being overwhelmed.

Disorder in Kasama District

"Chitimukulu, Paramount Chief of the Bemba, has headquarters in the Kasama district. A number of former leaders of the unlawful Zambia Congress live in the district, and these persons play a dominant part in the local organization of the U.N.I.P.

"The U.N.I.P. was unacceptable to the Native Authorities which regarded it as a continuation of the illegal Zambia Congress, therefore insufficient grounds to demand registration of branches. Intimidation and the preaching of violence began again during 1959, although public meetings were not permitted until May 1961. A few arson cases occurred in the Chambeshi area in the second quarter of the year, but little overt hostility against Government servants and authority appeared until towards the end of July. Thereafter, disrespect, defiance, and threats became increasingly common.

"An armed gang of 100 persons gathered near the Mungwi development centre, 17 miles from Kasama, with the object of beating up the settlement. When a patrol and one European officer and three other ranks entered Kanyanta village near Mungwi it was attacked by a mob of about 100. The party was surrounded by men armed with spears and miscellaneous weapons who advanced in extended order despite warnings that they would be fired upon if they did not halt. Eventually a number of shots were fired by the police in self defence and to cover the party's entry into their Land-Rover. Six casualties were inflicted. As the police withdrew, their vehicle was stoned and attacked again from the verges of the road. It is thought that this engagement shocked the malcontents, who had not previously realized that the security forces would use firearms if necessary, and prevented an attack on Mungwi that night.

Threatened With Steel Needles

"The situation continued threatening for several days. Roads were blocked, the power line which supplied the township was sabotaged, and an attempt by a band of 63 persons to destroy a bridge on the Luwingu river was frustrated by district messengers. Intimidation was rife for a time, one of the methods employed being to threaten individuals with the steel needles which the Bemba customarily used in the past to put persons' eyes out.

"In the Munkonge area, where road-blocking had been particularly heavy, villages were evacuated for a period of about two weeks and as many as 3,000 people took to the bush. For a time armed gangs roamed the area, but it is estimated that there were only about 1,200 malcontents in the district and that others in the gangs had either been intimidated or did not have their heart in the lawlessness. Many villagers rallied to their Native Authorities and turned out to protect their own property. A court-house, two *kapasus'* houses, and 10 churches were destroyed by arson.

"Mpokosoko district has a history of political ferment. There were disturbances during 1959. Since then the general position has been insecure, and the Native Authorities, which are not strong, have been subjected to considerable pressure.

"On August 5 mobs gathered at Chishamwamba village, headquarters of the local U.N.I.P. constituency organization. All Europeans had concentrated at the district officer's house and preparations for defence with the small force available had been made. The Mobile Unit arrived at midnight, having been delayed by a burning bridge and numerous defended road-blocks and after eventually being obliged to open fire to repel attacks and force their way through. The attack which had been expected did not materialize, although it was subse-

quently confirmed that two large armed mobs had taken up positions outside the township with the express intention of marching in and killing the civil servants and loyal Africans.

"District headquarters was then isolated because all roads leading to it were extensively blocked, and for several days communication and supplies could be provided only by air. On one stretch of 70 miles of road 1,070 trees had been felled. The Mukupa Kaoma road was even more heavily obstructed, and a great number of bridges had been destroyed.

"For days gangs of malcontents roamed the district collecting identity certificates and intimidating the inoffensive section of the population. Before contact with the outlying areas could be re-established a number of savage attacks had been made upon people who refused to surrender their identity certificates; a gang of 70 had threatened the schoolmaster at Pemba; Chief Chitoshi's house and two other houses at his village had been set on fire when they were occupied by members of his family; and Chief Mukupa Kaoma had been menaced with spears. The Native Authority court-house and buildings two miles from the *boma* at Chishamwamba were wrecked.

"Isoka District is the only district in the Northern Province where violence and disorder were not widespread. U.N.I.P. influence is comparatively weak, except near Nakonde on the Tanganyika border and at Muymbombe on the Nyasaland border. It is not Bemba country. No gangs operated in the district and there were no collisions with the security forces.

"Disorder was confined to the collection and destruction of identity certificates, intimidation on a limited scale, arson of houses owned by supporters of the African National Congress, destruction of a plantation of 500 coffee trees owned by another Congress member, and the furtive burning by night of a few schools and buildings owned by the Agricultural Department of Government.

(To be continued)

Z.A.P.U.'s Plan

"DR. T. S. PARENYATWA, deputy leader of Z.A.P.U., told journalists in Salisbury a few days ago that the new Zimbabwe party had plans to stop Africans from enrolling as voters, but that there would be no violence. "If people get hurt it will not come from us. Z.A.P.U. (Zimbabwe African People's Union) considers it essential to set aside the new Southern Rhodesia Constitution as a prerequisite to a new deal. It will therefore organize intensively against the Government's campaign which, by placing a few Africans on the lower roll and reserving the upper roll for Europeans, is meant to deceive the outside world into believing that the African will then have a substantial measure of participation in the running of this country when in reality about 99% of the total African population will be excluded."

U.N.I.P.'s New Threat

MR ROBERT JENKINS, Conservative M.P. for Dulwich, sent a circular letter last week to a number of fellow members of the House of Commons. It said, *inter alia*:—"Mr. Kaunda has now issued a new threat to the British Government—that he will implement the third stage of his 'master plan' unless Northern Rhodesia's new Constitution is announced by a certain date and if he considers that Constitution a 'bad one'. All who are concerned to see the peaceful development of non-racial government in Northern Rhodesia will deplore this latest attempt to influence constitutional decisions by violence and intimidation. It is vital that the British Government should not retreat from the June White Paper in the face of such threats. Some reports in the British Press have played down the violent methods used by U.N.I.P. to gain their objectives, and few newspapers have reported Mr. Kaunda's new threat."

40 Banned from Meetings

MR. JOSHUA NKOMO, president of the recently-formed Zimbabwe African People's Union, is one of the 40 persons whom the Southern Rhodesian Government has banned from attending public meetings until April. He is at present touring African countries trying to secure recognition for his new party.

Federal Appeal to Journalists

"Unfounded Reports and Malicious Rumours"

AN APPEAL for responsible handling of news by journalists in the Federation was made on Saturday by Sir Malcolm Barrow, the Acting Prime Minister, who said:—

"The Federal Government is not condoning any irregularities on the border between Northern Rhodesia and Katanga. Our policy is to keep the border open to normal civilian traffic, and we are following that policy. In spite of the mischievous allegations against us, the Federal Government is seeking accurate information about events in Katanga in order to refute unfounded reports and malicious rumours, many of them manufactured by enemies of the Federation, referring to our relations with Katanga.

"In recent weeks these allegations and expressions of opinion have increased and grown more virulent. Many have undoubtedly been based on news stories sent from Katanga or the Federation, and it is clear that no attempt has been made to check either the accuracy of the so-called news or the validity of opinion.

Constant Denials

Despite constant denials by the Federal Prime Minister himself, the Federal Government is alleged to be turning a blind eye to gun-running and other illegal activities, and is openly accused of failing to stop mercenaries entering Katanga from Northern Rhodesia. If the Government's denials are ignored, what proof can these newsmongers produce that their accounts are accurate?

"So-called first-hand knowledge of events all too often is only hearsay acquired at third-hand in a public place. Some journalists have admitted to senior officers of the Federal Government that their 'news' stories have been drawn from conversations in hotel bars. No journalist so far as I know has witnessed any wrong action by a Federal Government representative in regard to border control, the alleged passage of arms, or the movements of mercenaries.

The Federal Prime Minister and the Governor of Northern Rhodesia issued a joint statement in Lusaka on December 29 expressing their firm belief that there had been no official violations of the border in any way. Absolute control over a border more than 1,200 miles long, however, was impossible, and individuals seeking gaps for crossing between the control posts at Okambo, Kasumbalesa, Kipushi, Solwezi and Mwinini could not doubt find them. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that police and military patrols have been instituted to guarantee as far as possible that abuses are not practised.

'Sensational' Reports

"A disturbing feature has been the constant attempt to turn normal events into sensational incidents. Trade between the Federation and Katanga continues, with this Government making every effort to see that its disruption as a result of the unfortunate events in Katanga is kept to a minimum. The Press knows this, yet a convoy of Landrovers ordered by a firm in Elisabethville and delivered through Kipushi is described as 'a convoy of jeeps' (a vehicle which has a warlike connotation) driven by 'white mercenaries and mounted with machine-guns'. Of the 30 vehicles which passed the Kipushi post on December 23, 1961, 13 were Landrovers and 17 were three-ton trucks. Four of the drivers were non-African (all were foreigners) and the remainder were African. No vehicle was armed.

"Trucks passing through Kasumbalesa with boxes and cartons of foodstuffs were by implication in news reports carrying crates of firearms. A B.B.C. commentator who found a suspicious cargo—coal under wet leaves—in a truck must have been chagrined to learn that charcoal (not coal) and leaves were used as refrigerants for a load of chilled meat from the cold storage works in Kitwe.

"If some persons boast in public of being mercenaries when they are known to be businessmen travelling between Rhodesia and Katanga, several journalists are also careless with the truth. A radio commentator who claimed that he had never been checked did in fact sign official papers on four or five occa-

sions. A journalist who has told his colleagues on the Copperbelt that he always leaves or enters Katanga near Kipushi because he sees no officials or soldiers when he evades the post, has entered Katanga subject to the normal immigration and customs formalities three times through Kasumbalesa and once through Kipushi. It is not thought that, having regard to the time spent on journeys and dates of entry, he could have made any more trips.

"A South African newspaper declared that a white army 1,000 strong had been massed on the Katanga border. It is believed that an ex-mercenary spread this tale in Johannesburg. Despite the fact that there was no shred of truth in the story—a fact which many journalists in the Federation not only knew but openly stated—the newspaper used this piece of fiction, and several newspapers overseas repeated it.

Federation's Enemies

"Public memory may be short, but the Federation's enemies and critics would gladly hoard such stories and then spread them, in circles where little time would be spent on critical assessment of the probability of the story.

"Last week a Northern Rhodesia newspaper published a story which no doubt went round the world—that five Belgians who had arrived at Ndola from Livingstone had declared that they were mercenaries travelling to Katanga to fight for Mr. Tshombe. Whatever they might have said elsewhere, at an interview on arrival at Ndola no Belgian made any such statement, as a French-speaking witness could testify.

"At a time when certain forces overseas are seeking the disruption of the Federation it is essential that the truth should be the single standard on which news is based. I want to ask the Press to co-operate with the Federal Government. If a journalist's first loyalty is to his newspaper, he also has a responsibility towards the State.

"At all times the Government will welcome news, especially background news, and any news which any journalist cares to give it. I appeal to responsible newsmen to co-operate with the Government in this way."

Rhodesian Republic Party Formed

Mr. Kaunda's Allegation Sharply Denied

MR. COLIN CUNNINGHAM, the Lusaka lawyer who was one of the founders of the Federation of Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia, a body which had a very short life, was the main speaker at the inaugural meeting of the newly-formed Rhodesian Republic Party.

He challenged the United Federal Party to fight by-elections at which there could be F.R.P. candidates, criticized the Northern Rhodesia Government for "stuffing the higher electoral roll with Africans", and proposed progressive deportation of Asians.

Mr. Aubrey Martin described a republican form of government independent of the British Crown as well suited to Rhodesian aspirations, which would be served by the motto "Rhodesia First". The policy of the new party was that of just and equal treatment for all parts of the Rhodesias and impartial recognition of the rights and privileges of every section of the population.

Mr. C. Wienand, former chairman of the F.F.P. and Mr. F. Wastell, who also held office in that body, dissociated themselves from the new movement because they believed it to be racialist.

Mr. Kaunda, leader of the United National Independence Party, which is almost wholly African, alleged after the meeting that the new party had been formed by agreement between the F.F.P. and Sir Roy Welensky, who "wanted someone to his right to make him look moderate" and to strengthen his hand in Britain.

Mr. John Roberts, leader in Northern Rhodesia of the U.F.P., said that there was not a word of truth in Mr. Kaunda's statement.

Nyasaland Legislative Council has adjourned until March 6. Edinburgh University has a Jumbo Club. The university has collected nearly £600 for famine relief in Tanganyika.

Seychelles has made a special stamp issue to commemorate the opening of the first post office. At that time Seychelles was a dependency of Mauritius, stamps of which were used and cancelled with the numeral B.64. Few of the 1861 stamps still exist. Off covers they are worth about £20 each, or double as much if still on the envelope. The first separate Seychelles stamps did not appear until 1890.

Gizenga Dismissed as Rebel

Katanga and Russia Denounce 'Tutelage' Plan

MR. ANTOINE GIZENGA, pro-Communist Deputy Premier of the Congo, has been dismissed from office after being censured by the Chamber of Deputies for rebellion. He remains a deputy, but his Parliamentary immunity is likely to be lifted to allow for his expected trial after an inquiry into his conduct is completed.

Gizenga's first reaction to the Congolese Parliament's resolution on Monday of last week giving him 48 hours to appear in Leopoldville to defend himself against charges of secessionist activities in Stanleyville during the past three months, and of refusing previous Government demands that he should return to assume his regular duties as Deputy Prime Minister, was to telegraph to the Premier, Mr. Adoula, saying that he would return to take his seat only when attempts to end Katanga's secession became more determined. If he was being accused of some offence, his advisers should go to law, not to Parliament. Furthermore, Mr. Adoula had the right to reply to demands for an explanation about his deputy's actions in Stanleyville.

Mr. Adoula's office countered with this statement: "It is hardly right to claim that Mr. Gizenga's activities in Stanleyville are in accord with those of the Government. Mr. Gizenga was not entrusted with any mission in Stanleyville or any other part of the Congo. His trip to Stanleyville was authorized for a period of eight days for the purpose of arranging his personal affairs." [Gizenga left Leopoldville in early October last year.]

His next move was to order the arrest of General Victor Lundula, his army commander, and the U.N. members of the commission investigating the murder of 13 Italian airmen in Kinshasa last November. The gendarmes refused to comply. Gizenga notified Leopoldville that he would return to Stanleyville as soon as possible.

A motion of censure against Gizenga was tabled in the Chamber of Deputies on Friday because he had defied Monday's resolution. In Stanleyville four of his officers were arrested by General Lundula. Lumumbist youth groups demonstrated in protest, and mixed U.N. and Congolese patrols were mounted to maintain law and order.

Fighting in Stanleyville

An emergency Congolese Cabinet meeting authorized General Lundula "to take all necessary measures" for the security of the province, which specifically included taking over Stanleyville radio station and the telex lines in order to prevent calls for help to Gizengist supporters. It was also assumed that Gizenga was to be arrested, though Mr. Adoula later denied that this was so. When Lundula's troops moved in on the town fighting broke out. The U.N. force was told from New York to "exert all possible effort to restore and maintain law and order in Stanleyville and to avert civil war there".

Various reports stated that between six and 17 Congolese soldiers had been killed in the first clash. Gendarmes loyal to Gizenga dug in round his house on the banks of the Congo River and began sniping at pro-Government troops, supported by youths with bicycle chains, bows and arrows, and spiked clubs. Mortar fire was exchanged with about 200 Gizengist troops in their camp before they surrendered on Sunday. After receiving an ultimatum to surrender or be annihilated within 30 minutes, 34 gendarmes guarding Gizenga's home dropped their guns and were taken prisoner. Casualty figures were then given as eight Gizengist and six Central Government soldiers killed.

Murder Inquiry Hoaxed

Gizenga cabled Leopoldville asking for a U.N. plane to collect him tomorrow with his staff, and asking for his office and residence in the capital to be prepared.

Mr. Felicien Kamvay, vice-president of the Parti Solidaire Africain, announced that Gizenga had been deposed as its president for having accepted the leadership of the Lumumbist People's Party.

A correspondent in the Congo of the *Daily Express*, Mr. Clifford Eaton, cabled that the Congolese Army had "completely fooled" the joint U.N.-Congo commission inquiring

into the murder of Italian airmen by handing over 39 "suspects" who had since been found to have "cast-iron alibis". He said that the hoax had been kept secret for many weeks, as had a U.N. paper giving details of how the men had been shot one by one and then hacked to pieces.

In Katanga it was reported that President Tshombe had retired to bed suffering from complete exhaustion and had cancelled all engagements for a week.

Professor Ernest van den Haag said in New York last Thursday after returning from a short fact-finding mission in Katanga on behalf of the American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters that United Nations troops had committed "unbelievable atrocities". In Elisabethville hospitals he had seen dozens of wounded African children, whose mothers had told him that they had been bayoneted by Ethiopian troops in the United Nations Force.

Economic Tutelage

Mr. Evariste Kimba, Katanga's Foreign Minister, said on his return to Elisabethville from Brussels and Paris at the beginning of last week that a plan was being formulated to place the Congo under an international council of tutelage from this year until 1987; the council to be composed of Powers directly interested in the Congo and neighbouring countries; it would deal with administration and finance. The arrival of Tunisian civil servants and Ethiopian magistrates was "imminent". "Katanga will never allow this," he declared. At a time when Katangese and Congolese deputies were meeting in Leopoldville to find an African solution to the Congo's problems, neither the West nor the U.N. nor any other Power can be allowed to impose on us a formula which would put an end to our independence and to our international sovereignty.

Calling on all African Heads of State to denounce the plan, he continued:

"In practice this solution would have the effect of confining the administration of the Congo to a few civil servants and to incorporating the Congolese and Katangese troops... those of the U.N. Economic tutelage will follow. Under the pretext of assuring an equal sharing of revenues between the companies among all the regions of the country, the authors of this project envisage the creation of a chartered company which would replace all the existing companies."

Anglo-American "Plot"

At the weekend the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* published a story of a "serious new plot" against the Congo by Britain and America to conclude an agreement in the Congo and to establish "a semblance of law and order", call a multi-party conference of the Congo's neighbours and Antergoese Colonial Powers to settle the transfer of the Congo to the U.N. Trusteeship Council for 20 to 25 years; draft a new Constitution for a Federation with autonomous provinces; "a reversion to divide and rule"; and to liquidate individual mining companies, setting up instead a joint cartel with a special charter paying lip service to the creation of a viable Congo State but actually ensuring free Western access to raw materials.

"The monstrous argument being advanced for this is that the Congolese people are not yet ready for self-determination. The chaos in the Congo was created not by the immature independence but by the perfectly mature colonialists... Last September brought the country to the brink of economic bankruptcy to declare it insolvent and place it under trusteeship", the report added.

Senator Jose Ruiz-Benedict, of Guatemala, acting director of the trusteeship division of the United Nations, has been appointed chief U.N. representative in Elisabethville in succession to Mr. O'Brien.

Union Miniere has denied that a map found in its offices during recent fighting showed mortar positions, claiming that it was marked only for evacuation points for civilians.

The U.N. denied reinforcing its positions since the fighting stopped. It claimed that a hard core of mercenaries supported by an influx of arms and foreign personnel was still at large and making hit-and-run raids.

The president of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Professor Leopold Boissier, has asked U Thant to appoint an independent commission of inquiry into the death of the committee's representative in Elisabethville, Mr. Georges Olivet, and two other Red Cross members.

Growers of Turkish tobacco in the Federation should aim at producing about 10m. lb. this year because of a world shortage. Mr. G. Pavlovitch, a leaf expert with the Central African Turkish Tobacco Association, has urged.

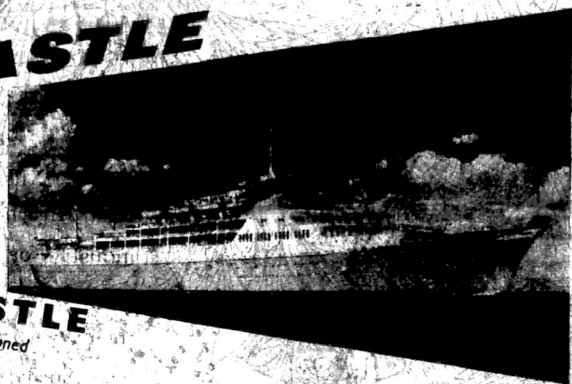
Copra exports from Seychelles fell again last year, to 4,800 tons (1960, 4,921; 1958, 5,600). The price dropped to an average of £58.6d. from the previous year's £73.4s. 6d. a ton. Lob. Neglected soils, palm senility, and the *mellitomma* trunk-borer bug were mainly responsible, but increased local consumption and bad weather were contributory factors.

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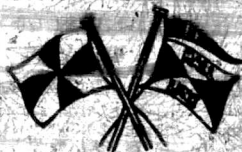
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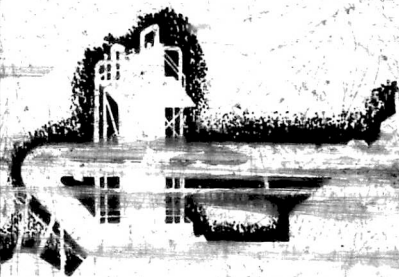
EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, January 25, 1962

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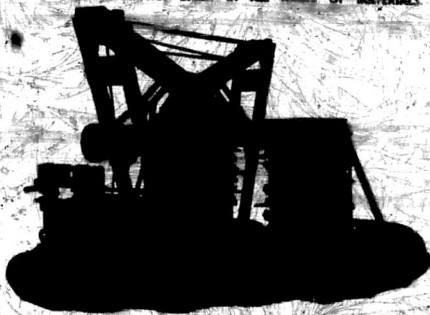
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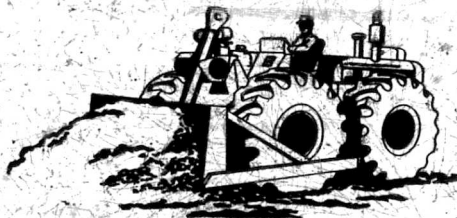
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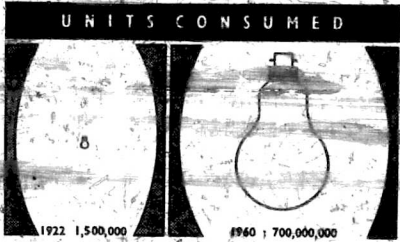
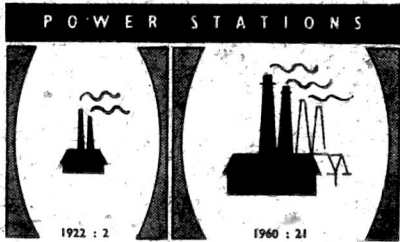


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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, JANUARY 25, 1962

Vol. 38

No. 1946

42s. yearly post free

MATTERS OF MOMENT

MR. NYERERE'S RESIGNATION of the

Prime Ministership of Tanganyika forty-four days after his country had attained independence under his leadership has given a

Mr. Nyerere's Resignation.

fragger shock in responsible circles than he seems to have realized, judging by his statement in Dar es Salaam on Monday. Too bland to be convincing, it fails to remove the impression that the wrecking of the Tanganyika African National Union and of Tanganyika's independence has stepped smartly sideways in order to escape being run down by his own convoy. The suggestion that the ministerial changes are "a reflection of our unity" will be received with scepticism, for if unity had prevailed in the hierarchy of the party discussion about his intentions could scarcely have lasted for days (as Mr. Nyerere admits). Nor would a united Cabinet have allowed its leader to withdraw with his work scarcely begun, for though Mr. Nyerere has generously described it as composed of "a very able set of Ministers" the most that a friendly but impartial judge would say at this stage is that some are doing well, that some show promise, and that others cause concern. Given substantial unity among the leaders, a measure of dissatisfaction among the rank and file could have been handled quickly, with good humour, and without damaging publicity. As recently as December 9 Mr. Nyerere wrote in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA: "The country is united behind T.A.N.U. 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". If that was the happy situation six weeks ago—and we have not the slightest doubt that Mr. Nyerere believed every word he wrote—it is impossible to think that country-wide support can have collapsed so suddenly. It must therefore have been in the inner circle that the crisis developed.

The wish was doubtless likewise father to the thought when Mr. Nyerere declared that there would be no change in policy. The new Prime Minister is on the political left of his predecessor, and two other Ministers whose stature has been raised, Mr. Kambona and Mr. Swai, are still further to the left. Until he entered the Council of Ministers, Mr. Kawawa now head of the Government was president of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour, which has for some time caused anxiety to Mr. Nyerere. Indeed, its secretary-general had talked of starting an opposition party. Even before last week's meeting of the national executive of T.A.N.U., a body with well over a hundred members, there was evidence that its president was being driven to uncharacteristic actions. That which aroused most discussion and disquiet was the expulsion from the country by executive order of five Europeans said to have shown incivility to Africans: the accused were given no fair opportunity of answering the charges, which would have been better dealt with by the courts under the law. Almost simultaneous evidence that Mr. Nyerere was under strain is to be found in his letter to *The Times* which is quoted in this issue: the phraseology was not that to be expected of the urbane political leader whose genial personality was so important a factor in the negotiations which led to his country's independence.

Under Strain As Prime Minister.

Though wishing Tanganyika well in its new status, this journal made no secret of its opinion that the United Kingdom Government had taken an unjustifiable hazard in rushing constitutional change merely because it had confidence in one man, who might, we emphasized, suddenly disappear from the leadership. We did not

Penalty of Precipitancy.

disappear from the leadership. We did not

of course, foresee his voluntary or involuntary resignation almost on the morrow of independence, but had in mind the risk of his death or physical incapacity. For that reason we considered that it would have been wiser to move more slowly. Indeed, Mr. Nyerere himself recognized the danger of precipitancy, and as late as the middle of last year he was telling his friends to expect independence within twelve or eighteen months. The impetuous Mr. Macleod, however, fell into the trap of offering *Uhuru* in December. Perhaps even he can now see that a delay of some months would have been beneficial to Ministers who had little or no experience of administration and no real conception of the complexities and burdens of government. In extenuation of the enforced resignation from the Ministry of Finance of Sir Ernest Vasey, Mr. Nyerere has said that it was "not proper that a non-citizen of Tanganyika should be a member of the Cabinet." If it was proper in December, why should it be improper in January? The real reason is racialist—that some members of the Cabinet and many more members of the party resent the idea of important posts (including those of Permanent Secretary in the Ministries) being held by non-Africans. During the debate on the Citizenship Bill, indeed, Mr. Nyerere had to threaten to resign if his back-benchers did not desert from their racialist extremism.

It is significant that he retains the presidency of the party and that he should have stated publicly that it was he who arranged the reconstruction of the Cabinet and chose the new Prime Minister.

Non-Racialism or Pan-Africanism? Mr. Kawawa has been a loyal supporter and close confidant of Mr. Nyerere, who still in control of the T.A.N.U. machinery, holds a position of strength, one which his ability and energy may substantially reinforce in the next few months. It is not at all impossible that he may then resume the headship of the Government—which may not find everything plain sailing meantime and, except for the most ambitious members, may be glad of his return. The real present difference is between Mr. Nyerere's faith in non-racialism as a policy and the pan-Africanism of the militants in the Ministry and elsewhere in the party. For all too short a time Mr. Nyerere, though every inch a nationalist, has been a kindly light in the gloom which encircles East Africa. It will be greatly to Tanganyika's loss if he does not soon return, with the lamp of his confidence burning brightly.

KENYATTA, again boasting that he had not changed, told a great party rally in Nairobi on Sunday that Europeans in Kenya must learn to call Africans "*bwana*"

and that those who refused to do so would have to leave the country when it became independent. His predecessor as president of the Kenya African National Union said last year that Europeans would soon have to "kneel" to Africans; and though Mr. Gichuru afterwards endeavoured to put a gloss on that incautious statement, it is not likely to have faded from the memory of Europeans or Africans. The man for whom he made way, one who had been condemned by the courts for managing Mau Mau, the most degrading movement and foulest conspiracy in all British African history, has now made it clear that he, who expects to become Chief Minister of Kenya at an early date, is determined to humiliate those Europeans who might have been willing to stay in the country. Kenyatta is a past master of disingenuous speech, as was emphasized repeatedly by Mr. Corfield in his history of Mau Mau. *Bwana* is the Swahili word for "master" and it is reasonable to assume that the master-servant relationship will have sprung spontaneously to mind in the case of almost all who heard the remark. Apologists, black and white, were quickly at work explaining that the word should now be considered to mean merely "sir" as a form of address.

Even if that unconvincing suggestion were accepted, the statement would be inexcusable, for at the very least it constitutes incitement to discourtesy; and the successive movements with which Kenyatta has been connected have used discourtesies to African chiefs, elders and others, and to Europeans, as a foundation for arrogance, insolence, intimidation, and violence. Having this knowledge, Africans will have read into Kenyatta's latest dictum the association of ideas which was doubtless intended.

To drive home his point, he declared that Africans would be unwise to buy land from Europeans before Kenya becomes independent because they would then be given it free. Though propaganda

Consequence of Macblundellism in this sense has been spread by K.A.N.U. for years, it has not previously been enunciated so authoritatively, brazenly, and damagingly. As this issue was about to be printed Kenyatta denied that his words had been correctly reported. However that may be, one of the purposes of Mau Mau was to rid Kenya of its white

farming community—which has done more than anything else to develop the country and provide Africans with the medical, educational, agricultural, veterinary and other services which have raised them from savagery and placed them on the road to civilization. It is now sought to drive out Europeans by double-barrelled attack. Scarcely any of the farmers retain any confidence in their future under the African Government which, to Kenya's enduring hurt, is soon to be imposed as the inevitable result of the disastrous policy with which the names of Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod, and Mr. Blundell in particular will always be associated. These new K.A.N.U. threats to the self-respect of Europeans and to their property rights must further weaken what little hope remained in a minority of the immigrant communities; and they will inevitably make external capitalists still less inclined to invest in Kenya.

Kenya's outburst cannot be written off as an unfortunate indiscretion. It was obviously a deliberate bid for popularity, timed to stir up renewed emotion on the one side and anxiety on the other. As a result, the opening of the Kenya Constitutional Conference due to start in London in mid-February. Because

in pursuit of its policy of appeasement the United Kingdom Government has recently rigged the law of Kenya in Kenya's favour, a law which forbade election to the Legislature of anyone who had served a prison sentence of two years or more on a criminal charge, he now sits in the Council and is consequently qualified to attend the Lancaster House gathering. His vanity and ambition make it quite certain that he will then seek to extract all possible personal publicity, partly because he has craved it all his life, and partly because he calculates that it will serve his purposes if, as is quite on the cards, his party splits asunder under the pressure of bitter enmities among its most prominent personalities. There is no semblance of unity in the "union" which has now the liability of Kenya as president. Indeed, he holds that office only because K.A.N.U. is so torn with dissension that none of the other possible candidates could tolerate the idea of serving under any rival. Whether they can masquerade as a party three weeks hence is still doubtful, for again and again during this very month explosions within have been avoided by the narrowest of margins. Kenya may have calculated that an outright onslaught on European susceptibilities would divert anger among his closest associates from him and them.

Notes By The Way

Deliberate Discourtesy

WHY IS IT THAT, whereas Africans in the mass have excellent manners, so many of their extremist political leaders are often abominably rude? A very good illustration of this practice has been provided by Mr. Mainza Chona, national secretary of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, who in a short article in the left-wing Socialist *Tribune* has written: "If Mr. Kaunda meets Maudling" . . . and, a couple of paragraphs later, "Welensky announced while in London that he will write letters to Dr. Banda, Mr. Kaunda, and Mr. Nkomo". The president of U.N.I.P., it will be noted, is "Mr. Kaunda", and the leader of the Malawi Congress Party in Nyasaland is "Dr. Banda"; but the Secretary of State for the Colonies is "Maudling", and the Prime Minister of the Federation is "Welensky" and the discourtesy of omitting the prefix to their names was repeated in both cases. A regular offender in this regard is the secretary-general of the Kenya African National Union, and some other prominent leaders in that body (called by many Kenya Africans the "Mau Mau Party") are similarly disrespectful. What would these men think and say if a spokesman for the Conservative Party had said that "Mr. Maudling will have talks with Mboya and Chona?"

Kenya

TO FORESTALL the rejoinder that in these columns no "Mr." appears before the name of Kenya, it may be well to explain that that exception to normal practice has been made because of the man's record. In no circumstances should I refer to "Mr. Stalin," "Her" Hitler, "Baron" von Ribbentrop, or "Her" Goebbels; and I likewise decline to follow the new fashion of referring to Kenya as though he had shown himself a normal member of Kenya African society. By their stubborn stupidity at Lancaster House Mr. Macleod, then Secretary for the Colonies, and Mr. Blundell, leader of the New Kenya Party, began the political rehabilitation of Mau Mau, and they continued their co-operative folly until it led not merely to the release as an act of clemency of the Mau Mau leader, who had been condemned by the courts to seven years' imprisonment and indefinite banishment thereafter, but to his re-emergence as a national political leader, well knowing, of course, that the natural consequence of their recklessness would be his later appointment as Chief Minister and then Prime Minister—even though the Queen might in consequence be faced with the gross indignity of having such a person as the head of a Government in a territory of the Crown.

Decencies Disregarded

THE GOVERNMENT of the United Kingdom, which in the past two years has shown such dishonourable disregard of the elementary decencies in East and Central Africa, has amended an Order in Council for the convenience of Kenya. If it will change the law for him, might it not, when he has been Prime Minister for a period, make him a member of the Sovereign's Privy Council, and so a "right honourable gentleman"? Though the very idea is an outrage, it is not therefore impossible of realization. Was not the dignity of privy councillor conferred upon Dr. Nkrumah, the dictator of Ghana, while he was busily and openly engaged in spreading subversion in other African territories under the Crown? Mau Mau was a treasonable conspiracy. But even treason is now regarded by many politicians as merely a slight aberration of which it is bad form to complain overlong. My ideas in the matter may be old-fashioned, but, I hold, all the better for that.

Intimidation Widespread in Kenya

MAU MAU—which Kenya was adjudged by the courts to have been guilty of managing—could not have established its ruthless dictatorship without its cunningly developed system of oathing, by which the bond-slaves of the conspiracy were obligated under peril of death to commit murder if so ordered, even the murder of father or mother, brother or sister, wife or child. The dire consequences of this barbaric conception of compulsion, enforced by indelibly foul rites, are known at least in outline to every regular reader of this journal. Yet in the United Kingdom, and even in Kenya itself, there is now a widespread disposition to act as if these frightful degradations had not been planned and practised for years and in scores of thousands.

Ruthless Underground Movement

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE has now had to tell the Legislative Council of Kenya—which has a history of flagrant complacency—that "intimidation was never more real, more constant, and more widespread than it is today", adding that during the previous six weeks the police had discovered three instances of illegal oath-taking by Kikuyu who had sworn to kill Kenyatta—not, be it noted, for his complicity in a blood-drenched organization; but because they disapprove his policy since he was released in July. If three such cases have been brought to light, there are probably scores, perhaps hundreds, of which only the participants know. This development should surprise nobody, for members of the Land Freedom Army, the present alias of Mau Mau, said openly months ago that it would liquidate Kenyatta or anyone else who "got in the way". That obviously meant that Kenyatta himself, when released, would be under intimidation, as other African politicians in Kenya are known to be. Some of the people who make noisy speeches are not the bold buccaners they pretend to be: they are kept up to the mark by pressure from a ruthless underground movement.

Crash Programmes

MR. T. J. MBOYA, the ebullient secretary-general of the Kenya African National Union, has declared that the many senior civil service posts in the different Ministries, "most of permanent secretary, ought now to be Africanized," so that the political Ministers may not be obstructed by civil servants. He also wants a Ministry of Africanization! A civil servant who replied, presumably at the Government's behest, evaded the first point and made the gentle rejoinder about the second that ten thousand senior civil service posts could not be "localized" as quickly as seats in the Legislative

Council, that a doctor could be replaced only by another doctor and an engineer by an engineer, in short, one qualified man by another. That truth is not palatable to African politicians in a hurry.

For Services Rendered

THE ELAIN FACTS are that there are, in round numbers, 6,000 Europeans, 4,000 Asians, and 50,000 Africans in the employment of the Government of Kenya, and that almost all the senior posts are still occupied by non-Africans—for the simple reason that Africans qualified for such tasks do not yet exist. The first African trainee district commissioners, for example, were appointed only quite recently. It is easy to talk about crash programmes of Africanization; but it is extremely difficult to find Africans with the knowledge and experience required for appointments demanding special skills and a real sense of responsibility. Nevertheless, political parties will doubtless put many unsuitable men into jobs which they have no prospect of filling satisfactorily. Party zealots expect *uhuru* to provide them with money, position, and at least some measure of power.

Uhuru

UHURU, the Swahili word for freedom or independence, is no longer the political battle-cry of African nationalists in Swahili-speaking countries only. Perhaps because it has been used so often at pan-African gatherings in Accra, Cairo, and elsewhere, it has been adopted in lands many hundreds, and even thousands, of miles from any Swahili-speaking community. For instance, when Mr. Albert Luthuli, leader of the African National Congress in South Africa, arrived in Durban the other day to fly to Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace Prize, the crowd roared "*Uhuru*", not the Zulu equivalent (for he is of Zulu origin, though born in Southern Rhodesia). Still more remarkable is the fact, of which I was recently told, that it is not now at all unusual to hear American Negroes in many parts of the United States greet one another with the word "*Uhuru*". The Swahili use in exactly the same way as the Zulus use "*Uthlu*".

A Question of Colour

MR. JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON, one of the few Conservative M.P.s. who is prepared to be outspokenly critical of his own party, especially on African questions, has written in a letter to the *Observer*: "Your columnist Penderennis says that I go 'pink when passion comes'. According to the esteemed *Guardian*, I go paler and paler. I have sometimes thought there was something odd about the lighting of the Commons chamber. Now I know."

Sir Patrick Renison

"SIR PATRICK RENISON, Governor of Kenya, joined in singing 'For He's A Jolly Good Fellow' at the reception in Nairobi after the marriage of the Kenya nationalist leader, Mr. T. J. Mboya." No comment seems necessary on this statement in *The Times*.

"The nations which send delegates to New York are united only in having a common meeting place, a forum in which to abuse each other and intrigue against each other, and above all, to forward their own individual claims and interests. The so-called 'organization' has no organic unity."—Lord Altrincham.

"That black nationalists are vocal in their demands for universal suffrage proves nothing. What is wanted is not black government or white government, but good government. This requires reasonably high standards of education and integrity in public life."—Mr. J. H. Humphries, of Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

Mr. Nyerere Resigns Prime Ministership of Tanganyika

New Government Headed by Mr. Rashidi Kawawa

MR. JULIUS NYERERE resigned his office as Prime Minister of Tanganyika on Monday, six weeks and two days after leading his country to independence.

Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, lately Minister without Portfolio, is the new Prime Minister.

Sir Ernest Vasey has been replaced as Minister of Finance by Mr. Paul Bomani, formerly Minister of Agriculture, but will continue to aid the Government as adviser on finance and economic development.

Mr. Derek Bryceson, hitherto Minister for Health and Labour, has taken the portfolio of Agriculture.

Mr. Oscar Kambona, previously Minister of Education, has become Minister for Home Affairs.

A new post, that of Minister for Co-operative and Community Development, is entrusted to Mr. J. S. Kasambala.

A former Minister of Health, Mr. S. N. Eliufoo, has been appointed Minister of Information Services.

Chief A. S. Fundikira remains Minister for Legal Affairs, and Mr. A. H. Jamal retains the portfolio of Communications, Power and Works.

Mr. Nsilo Swai takes over as Minister for Health and Labour, being replaced by Mr. George Kahama, the former Minister of Home Affairs, as Minister for Commerce and Industry.

Mr. I. S. Tewa and Mr. Job Lusinde retain their portfolios for Lands, Forests and Wild Life, and Local Government and Administration respectively.

Mr. S. A. Maswanyā becomes Minister without Portfolio.

The new Prime Minister, M.N.A. for Nachingwea, is the president of the Tanganyika African National Union. Before his appointment in 1960 as Minister for Local Government and Housing, he was president of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour.

At a Press conference in Dar es Salaam on Monday Mr. Nyerere said that he would remain a Member of the National Assembly (for Dar es Salaam) and president of T.A.N.U., and that he had personally selected the new team of Ministers before tendering his resignation to the Governor-General, Sir Richard Turnbull.

He continued:—

"I have taken this action and won the support of my colleagues after a long debate which has gone on for days because of our firm belief that this is the best way of achieving our new objective—the creation of a country in which the people take a full and active part in the fight against poverty, ignorance and disease.

"To achieve this it is necessary to have an able elected Government which has the full support and co-operation of the people. This we have had and will have.

"It is also necessary to have a strong political organization, active in every village, which acts like a two-way all-weather road along which the purposes, plans and problems of the Government can travel to the people and at the same time the ideas, desires and misunderstandings of the people can travel direct to the Government. This is the job of the new T.A.N.U.

"These two needs can best be served by the Government being carried on by a very able set of Ministers in whom I have full confidence while I myself devote my full-time to the work of T.A.N.U.

"Through these means co-operation between the Government and the political organization can for the present best be secured, and their common plans and desires more quickly and more effectively carried out."

Sir Ernest Vasey's absence from the Cabinet was explained on the ground that he did not qualify for inclusion because he was not a Tanganyika citizen.

"Though I have full confidence in his loyalty and devotion to this country, it is not appropriate that any non-citizen should be a member of the Cabinet. I have asked him to make his knowledge and experience available to the new Government by becoming the Government's adviser on finance and economic development. He has agreed to do this.

"I want to say definitely and categorically that the policy of the Government has not changed either internally or externally. The changes I have announced are a reflection of our unity and of our determination to give every Tanganyika citizen a full opportunity to take part in the struggle which confronts us.

"I know my move comes as a shock. It is unusual for a Prime Minister to step down as leader of the Government and undertake the leadership of the party which supports the Government.

"But we do not believe that it is necessary for us to copy the institutions of other countries. We do believe we must work out our own pattern of democracy, and the step I have announced is the best way for us to proceed at the present moment. I ask our friends abroad to understand these changes and not to try to read into them a different significance than they have."

[Editorial comment appears under Matters of Moment.]

Cabinet Crisis Over N. Rhodesia

VISCOUNT LAMBTON, Conservative M.P. for Berwick, said on Monday that a severe Cabinet crisis over the future of Northern Rhodesia had now ended in sheer deadlock after weeks of discussion, and that resignations which would have split the party had been only narrowly averted. The difficulties would recur. Mr. Macmillan, a tired and disappointed man, must find "wind of change" and "you have never had it so good" words as unpleasant as Calais was to Queen Mary. If the Tory Party was not to become a mere party in the hands of professional politicians, the party must continue for that purpose it was supposed to be following.

"I see Kenyatta as a leader of a party and as a colleague in our fight for independence." — Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka, Chief Minister of Uganda.

"Most of the Togo Government's members have never got beyond senior secondary education. After all, they all started their careers as clerks." — Mr. Samson Rusoke, Omuhikwira of Togo.

"Even the soft-headed kind of British Socialist must now recognize that the Congo needs strong government by impartial, capable administrators. These cannot be found among the Congolese themselves, who have hardly produced a single able leader since independence." — *Time and Tide*.

"I have tried to influence the President of Katanga to support a federation in the Congo. He was quite willing to negotiate for the distribution of the wealth of the mines in Katanga, but he was determined to maintain the political entity of his country, as I think he was entitled to." — Sir Roy Welensky, addressing the Federal Assembly.

"Officials hope to popularize donkey-carts in Kikuyu-land, where until now the main beasts of burden have been the Kikuyu women. But they may not succeed in totally replacing women for two reasons: they cannot be taken across country, and they are on the whole more expensive to maintain." — Mr. Clyde Sanger, in the *Manchester Guardian*.

"It is utterly wrong that there should still be anything on the part of some Europeans that they are closer to foreigners who happen to be white than they are to their own people who happen to be black. It is quite wrong also for Africans to feel that they are closer to some Arabs in North Africa than to the Europeans born and bred in Rhodesia who are as good Rhodesians as they are themselves." — Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, addressing the Rhodesian Institute of African Affairs.

Sir Roy Welensky's Analysis of U.N. Blunders in the Congo

Federation Would Repulse any Military Violation of Its Borders

TROUBLES IN THE CONGO, now running into their second year, are likely to persist for years.

A whole era of Congolese history will be devoted to the processes of laboriously building up what has been broken down in the way of political institutions, administrative machinery, and economic growth. This is the real problem of the Congo, submerged though it is beneath the froth of constitutional conflict between Leopoldville and Elisabethville.

The prominence which this particular conflict has received is out of all proportion to its basic significance for the Congolese people. It is not, after all, particularly unusual for a territorial unit to wish to claim for itself a greater measure of autonomy in the conduct of its regional affairs than is provided for in existing constitutional forms. This frequently happens in stable and well-ordered communities.

It does not seem to me to provide any particular cause for wonderment, or even less vituperation, that it should have happened in the Congo. Here was a country which dissolved into disorder within days of the attainment of its independence—disorder which has persisted in varying degrees in different parts of the country ever since. It is not greatly to be wondered at that one region should have wished its stability should wish to insulate itself from surrounding chaos.

There was no binding contract. There was a blueprint of a Constitution in the shape of a fundamental law which was drawn up at a round-table conference before the Belgian Government withdrew. That law has never been ratified. These facts should be understood as the background to what has happened in the Congo over the past 18 months, particularly in relation to the United Nations operations.

To Maintain Law and Order

The United Nations Organization was invited into the Congo by the Central Congolese Government to carry out two principal tasks—to restore law and order when units of the Congolese Army were completely out of control, and to assist the Congolese authorities to re-establish an efficient administrative machine. It was made very clear that U.N.O.'s presence was in no way to be used to influence the outcome of internal political conflicts; and there was no mandate for the use of military pressure to impose a political settlement.

The Security Council on August 9, 1960, reaffirmed that "the United Nations force in the Congo will not be party to, or in any way intervene in, or be used to influence the outcome of, any internal conflict, constitutional or otherwise." On February 21, 1961, the Security Council expressed the conviction that "the solution of the problem of the Congo lies in the hands of the Congolese people themselves without any interference from outside, and that there can be no solution without conciliation."

Mr. Hansmarskjöld stated in July, 1960, that it was not the function of the U.N. force to intervene in the Congo's internal affairs, and Dr. Bunche informed Mr. Tshombe in August, 1960, that "United Nations forces are a force of peace, not a force of war; they are under the exclusive command of U.N.O. and will accept no order from any Government; and by Government it must be understood that this includes the Government of the Congo, provincial governments, and Governments of countries who have furnished contingents."

Dr. Bunche added: "This force does not serve the interests of any Government and is not at the disposal of any Government. Moreover, it has received strict instructions not to interfere in the internal politics of the country."

Later that month Mr. Hansmarskjöld pointed out that the U.N. could not properly intervene in an internal constitutional dispute between the two sections of the Congo, or allow its troops to be used for any purpose other than to ensure the maintenance of law and order. To employ its forces in any way which might give the impression that the U.N. was taking sides in a constitutional dispute would be not only contrary to the principles of the Charter, but in contradiction to

the understanding on which troops were made available by the various sending Governments.

All these admirable statements were entirely in line with our conception of U.N. responsibilities in the Congo. As the U.N. operation developed, it soon began to appear, however, that some very different views were taken of its nature.

In April, 1961, Mr. Nehru said that he was putting his troops at the disposal of the U.N. to be used only for "the freedom of the people, and not in support of the gangster regime now ruling there". This curious statement admitted no other interpretation than that India supported the displaced Lumumba regime against the provisional government established by President Kasavubu. It was an expression of partisanship completely out of line with the terms and spirit of the U.N. objectives—and this from a country exercising considerable influence over U.N. operations by reason of its contribution to the U.N. military presence in the Congo and its membership of the Secretary-General's Congo Advisory Committee.

Incidentally, that committee contains a heavy preponderance of Afro-Asian members; many of whom have made no secret of their partiality for one party to the internal constitutional conflict. This partiality has been largely motivated by a psychopathic hatred for Mr. Tshombe's regime in Katanga, hatred which is typical of certain Afro-Asian attitudes towards regimes which derive much of their stability from the presence of non-indigenous administrative and technical skills. A regime, in other words, which measures up very closely to our own concept of partnership.

Vulgar Afro-Asian Claptrap

In the current Afro-Asian terminology, Mr. Tshombe's regime has been characterized in such phrases as "imperialist puppet and stooge". Being used to that kind of vituperation, we are not surprised to be attacked by it. What is a serious matter for concern, however, is that it has been but a short step from shouting vulgar insults to applying arguments behind the scenes to bring about a particular kind of political solution.

A number of statesmen, particularly in the Afro-Asian world, have made it quite clear that they regard the principal object of the U.N. operation to be the ending of the Katanga secession. Some statements of this nature have had a similar slant. Last October the Assistant Secretary-General Cleveland talked of the need to solve the problem of the Katanga secession "by a combination of military force and political negotiations". The kind of emphasis has invariably been reflected in the conduct of the U.N. operation itself, not least by a heavy concentration of U.N. forces in Katanga to the neglect of security considerations in other parts of the Congo, where brutal acts of lawlessness have gone unchecked. It is significant that when the U.N. attempted a trial of military strength against the Katanga forces last September, their senior representative in Elisabethville, Dr. O'Brien, did not initially represent those operations in terms of establishing law and order or averting civil war, which are objectives within the U.N. mandate; but in terms of ending Katanga's secession, which are outside it.

Meantime we have witnessed acts of savagery at Kindu and more recently at Kopololo—acts committed by troops nominally under the control of the Leopoldville authorities—against which it ought to have been the first duty of the U.N. forces to guard. The apparent unwillingness of the U.N. authorities in Leopoldville to take effective action to prevent such atrocities or to punish the culprits is proof positive that they attach more importance to their political rôle than they do to their task of restoring and maintaining the rule of law—one of the main reasons they were called into the Congo.

Thus there has emerged a pattern in which, against reasonably clear directives and top-level interpretations, there have been subtle and insidious moves behind the scenes to direct U.N. activity in the Congo in a way that was never authorized by the Security Council. I have pointed out about these tendencies because I believe, they are fraught with the most serious consequences for the future of U.N.O. in general and the future of the Congo in particular.

U.N.O. was primarily created for the peaceful conciliation of international disputes, not for the forcible settlement of domestic disputes. In the absence of any self-denying ordinances on the part of member Governments that they will refrain from interfering in one another's domestic affairs, it seems to me to be of paramount importance to restrain interference in other people's affairs by rigid adherence to the strict terms of the Charter. Once U.N.O. falls into the rôle of adjudicating domestic differences by a majority verdict we

have substituted international anarchy for international conciliation.

That is the general danger I see. I sincerely hope that it may have been recognized in the discussions that have taken place between the British and American Governments.

I have greatly feared that the more sinister influence behind the U.N. operation in the Congo would result in a forcible subordination of Katanga to the Central Government regime in Leopoldville. I have never doubted for one moment that it is most desirable to find a constitutional formula that would enable the Government and people of Katanga to play their part in a wider Congo, but I have always maintained that this must come about through negotiated processes of conciliation and not through the application of force majeure.

The solutions for the Congo problem must be found in the Congo by the Congolese people themselves. They cannot be found in New York by complete outsiders. Any solution imposed by force against the will of a substantial body of Congolese people will not outlast the force that is used to impose it. The unwilling party will kick over the traces, and we shall be back to the chaos of July, 1960 — only next time it would be right on our borders.

Confusion of Objectives

One day it may be possible for me to publish the various messages I have sent to President Tshombe. When this is done — and of course it cannot be done until a final settlement has been reached in the Congo — it will be seen that I have consistently and with the persuasiveness at my command urged him to settle his differences with the Central Government by negotiation and in a spirit of friendly compromise. What is now happening is what I have urged all along. I have never by word or deed given any support to any proposal that Katanga should be independent of the rest of the Congo.

There has been a great deal of confusion and overlapping between the political and international objectives of the Congo, and it is our belief that the intervention of the U.N.O. has been largely used as an instrument of national objectives culminating in the deplorable military operations of last September and December. Before that one can trace a long record of U.N. activity in regard to Katanga in which words and deeds have been strangely at variance. I do not pretend that it has been an easy operation for the U.N. authorities to conduct, but I believe that the Organization as a whole must bear the responsibility for the choice of some of the highly unfortunate actions for the looseness of direction which left those actions to be carried out in ways which have seen the most disastrous consequences.

Though the facile pen of Dr. O'Brien, now happily a retired agent, we have learned that the tragic events of last September were precipitated by operational orders of a very far-reaching nature which were given by Mr. Khouri, and which in reality as it may seem, were not known to Dr. Linder in Leopoldville or Mr. Hammankjoeld in New York. This astonishing admission is not the only example of misrepresentations being at variance with approved objectives. This, I believe, has been one of the basic tragedies of the U.N. operation, and one of the reasons why relations between the U.N. and the Katanga authorities have been so severely strained.

I sincerely believe that U.N. actions in Katanga have delayed, not hastened, reconciliation between the Central and Katanga Governments. What is important now is that the mistakes of the past should not be repeated, and that there should be a determined effort to create an atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding. This is desperately important if the U.N. is to come out of this operation with credit and if the Congo is to come out of it with some hope of future stability and prosperity.

Mr. Tshombe's Initiative

There are some distinctly hopeful signs. Mr. Tshombe has taken statesmanlike initiatives as a result of the Kitona talks, and there are reports that the Katanga Assembly is approaching the eight points of the Kitona declaration in a constructive spirit that represents a substantial advance in the process of reconciliation. It is my profound hope that that atmosphere will continue with good will and restraint on all sides. There is every reason to believe that the whole problem will yield to negotiation.

It is encouraging that disruptive influences represented by Mr. Gizenga have been substantially eliminated. That in itself must go a long way towards removing Katanga misgivings about a closer association with Leopoldville. One must expect, I suppose, that Mr. Gizenga's Communist friends will take a hand to restore the influence that they stand to lose with the waning of his star. That will be an interesting test of the determination of U.N.O. to keep foreign influence out of the Congo.

I must now say a few words about the Congo as a Federal Problem. I am not now referring to the effect of Congolese

domestic events over our borders, although that is serious enough. I refer to the Federation's international involvement by reason of its closeness to the Congo in geographical terms and by reason of our temerity in publicly questioning the conduct of U.N. policy.

In view of certain criticisms I have voiced in the past about the conduct of U.N. operations in the Congo, it is not surprising that powerful influences in the Congo Advisory Committee in New York should have sought to discredit the Federation. This has principally taken the form of a propaganda campaign calculated to demonstrate that we have given active military support to Katanga in defiance of the Security Council resolutions calling upon member States to refrain from activity of that kind. We have thus found ourselves faced with allegations of gun-running into Katanga over the Northern Rhodesian border and aiding and abetting the recruitment of mercenaries. Nearly all these allegations have been canvassed publicly, and none has been followed up by any solid evidence.

U.N. officials spoke freely about Rhodesian pilots flying Katanga aircraft, whilst knowing full well that there was not an atom of truth in these stories, which received wide publicity in the world Press. Subsequent denials hardly got any mention. Such is the power of malicious propaganda. If you tell a lie often enough it assumes the trappings of truth.

At one time a great deal was made of the allegedly illicit traffic by air and road that was supposed to be passing through Kipushi. Kipushi is a tiny earth airstrip on the Northern Rhodesia-Katanga border which is incapable of taking anything bigger than light executive aircraft in dry weather conditions. Investigation showed, as we knew it would, that no arms or mercenary traffic was passing through the place. In order to demonstrate the Government's good faith, however, I took steps to reinforce the border control there with both military and civilian units.

Visits have been paid by representatives of the British High Commission and the American Consulate-General, all of whom expressed themselves as perfectly satisfied with the situation. The Governor of Northern Rhodesia has also associated himself with the denials that any kind of military assistance has been rendered to the Government over the Northern Rhodesian border.

U.N. Predicted Rumours

It was against this background that my Government received at the end of last month a request from the Acting Secretary-General of U.N.O. for the posting of U.N. observers on certain Federal airports and roads. It was implicit in this request that the U.N. disbelieved our assurances and preferred to attach greater significance to wild and unsubstantiated rumours. It would have been perfectly proper to request that the observers at what they regarded as strategic points on the Katanga side of our border. That would have been a step forward in the way of assisting controls if they were disabused of our side. It would also have been greatly effective if there was any real danger of men or supplies passing through. The U.N. authorities have mandatory powers to deal with illicit traffic arriving in Katanga. They have no such powers on Federal territory.

Serious Misconceptions

There was clearly a disposition on the part of the U.N. authorities to detract from the Federation's constitutional status, and to assume that we do not have the power to take our own decisions in matters affecting certain of our relationships with a world organization. That misconception could lead to serious misunderstandings in the future, and my Government considered it necessary to act in such a way as to ensure that those misunderstandings would not arise.

In particular, it was necessary to leave no shadow of doubt in the minds of the Acting Secretary-General and his advisers that the Federal Government exercises full and exclusive responsibility for whom and what passes over its borders. Whatever ultimate responsibility the British Government may have for the external relations of the Federation, it does not extend to interference with the exercise of those powers. It is most important that this position should be well understood.

Proceeding from these considerations, my Government concluded that there was no justification for the U.N. request, and we accordingly regretted that we could not accept it. At the same time the request was itself an indication of the persistence of misunderstandings on the part of the U.N. authorities about our attitudes and actions in regard to the implosion of the Security Council resolutions which it was most desirable to remove.

It was, moreover, most desirable to find an opportunity of talking to U.N.O. at the highest level about a matter which was causing us great concern, namely very disturbing reports which had come to our ears of brutal behaviour by certain U.N. units serving in Katanga. I was not prepared to play

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Accusations of U.N. "Crimes Against Humanity"

Elisabethville Doctors and Lawyers Want International Inquiry

FORTY-SIX ELISABETHVILLE DOCTORS have asked the Bar Council of Brussels to prosecute members of the United Nations forces in Katanga who have committed "crimes of war".

They have signed an affidavit stating that United Nations forces attacked hospitals and maternity homes in Elisabethville and elsewhere in Katanga, made attacks on civilians and civilian property of other categories, and committed breaches of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, of the Charter of the United Nations, and of the Loi Fondamentale of the Congo, all of which guarantee the life, liberty, and property of the individual.

Members of the legal profession in Elisabethville have likewise petitioned that legal action should be taken by the Bar Council in Belgium. In a statement addressed to "our colleagues throughout the world", the signatories declare that the crimes against humanity perpetrated by the United Nations in Elisabethville are such that their impunity is a danger to international morality, to the future of humanity, and to peace.

The United Nations is alleged to have sought to mask the truth "by its *communiqués*, its pressure on witnesses, camouflage and other manoeuvres, such as that of the inquiry into the death of M. Onvet, delegate in Katanga of the International Red Cross".

The statement accuses the United Nations of arbitrary arrests, secret detention of persons without charge, encouragement of denunciations, arrests of minors, and refusal to permit legal or consular representatives to intervene on behalf of persons arrested.

Members throughout the world are invited to demand an international commission with full powers to investigate "the crimes committed by certain members of the United Nations Organization in Katanga, especially since September 1961". One suggestion is that the International Court of Justice at the Hague should undertake the investigation. Another proposal is that it should be made by the International Committee of Jurists.

Civilian Deaths

What casualties were caused during the recent fortnight's fighting in Katanga can still not be stated with accuracy. Belgian newspapers have published the names of 22 European civilians known to have been killed and of 44 who were wounded. The correspondent in Katanga of *Figaro*, Paris, however, reported 64 deaths and 215 people wounded. Both calculations excluded the three members of the International Red Cross who were shot dead by Ethiopian troops.

Final official announcements of the military casualties on either side have not been made.

Mainly as a result of mortar and machine-gun fire, great damage was done to private houses, business premises, and public services, including electricity and water supplies.

The offices on the outskirts of the town of the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, in which about 150 people had taken shelter, were repeatedly attacked from the air and were set on fire. Greater damage was done later by Ethiopian troops who occupied the building and left it in a disgraceful state. They looted many private houses, as did other troops of the United Nations Force.

Outside Elisabethville damage was done by United Nations action to various properties of the Union Minière, to the tin mining plant of Géomines at Manono, to the hospital at Shinkolobwe, to oil tanks at Kolwezi, to workshops at Jadotville, to the copper refinery at Lululu, and to repair workshops of the B.C.K. railway at Lubudi.

Some three thousand Europeans, mostly women and children, have left Elisabethville and neighbouring towns since the U.N. attacks occurred and many more Europeans intend to leave as soon as they can get permits.

In consequence of the exodus of Europeans and of the

damage done to commerce and industry by military action, many Africans are now unemployed. The public services have run down, and there are queues for food.

Most shops are closed or empty, all bars have been closed, and the only brewery to resume work has had its output commandeered for the Katanga Gendarmerie.

Stocks of flour are reported adequate, but there has been a shortage of bread in consequence of the closing of three of the five main bakeries. Meat has continued to arrive from Rhodesia, but supplies have been short, as also of vegetables. Tinned food has become practically unobtainable.

The postal service is still erratic. All mail arriving at the airport is examined before distribution by United Nations representatives.

A telegram from Elisabethville last Saturday stated that in the Baluba camp outside the town, which now holds about 45,000 men, women, and children, someone was murdered practically every day, and that another four or five usually vanished without trace every day. In the previous week an African informer had reported to Swedes guarding the camp that he had seen a body being cut up for food.

Impossible to Prevent Gun-Running

The Federal Government has genuinely tried to stop gun-running into Katanga, a special correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, Mr. Peter Youngusband, telegraphed a few days ago. The message contained the following statements:

"I am here in Katanga, and I have seen many unobserved in broad daylight, imagine how much more easily crossing the border could be done at night! This is my answer to those who insist that smuggling arms into Katanga is an impossible matter."

"I say, too—and I have substantial evidence—that the Rhodesian authorities have genuinely tried to stop the gun-running. It is impossible to prevent it. The border from the Angola frontier in the west to Lake Tanganyika in the east is 2,340 miles long. It runs through jungle, bleak bushland, malarial swamps, crocodile-infested rivers, and tsetse fly areas. Much of it is the tribal homeland of sometimes hostile natives."

"To police this border effectively would require the forces of 205,970 men, each standing guard for 24 hours, and the whole European population of the federation of 16 times the number of U.N. troops now engaged in the whole Congo."

"I have evidence of a 750,000 consignment of rifles, machine-guns, sten guns, hand grenades, and ammunition, acquired in South Africa, being driven into Katanga through here. The consignment was carried in 11 lorries on a truck driven by a man disguised as a monk, who told a U.N. patrol that he was driving smallpox victims to a burial ground. He was allowed to pass. He told me: 'We actually had a dead African in the coffin nearest the lorry's tailboard in case someone peered inside.'"

"I also have evidence to support Prime Minister Welensky's claim that everything possible is being done to stop this traffic."

"Twice in September my car was stopped by a U.N. military patrol and searched as I was driving through Kapusini into Katanga. Suspected mercenaries have been deported and declared prohibited immigrants because they were in Rhodesia without correct documents. This hardly squares with allegations that Federal authorities are turning a blind eye to smuggling."

Consuls' Vital Role

Mr. David Grant-Adamson, special correspondent of the *Sunday Telegraph*, cabled from Ndola on Saturday that Mr. Colin Black had said as spokesman for Sir Roy Welensky:—

"The Prime Minister has never attempted to deny that enterprising individuals might be getting across the border into Katanga at a variety of points, but he has not the idea of taking one or two firearms into the Congo. He has absolutely denied that the Federal Government has organized the passage of arms or carried them in."

The correspondent thought that the number of mercenaries in Katanga had lately increased by about two or three a week, and that many of the newcomers were Rhodesians.

The consuls in Elisabethville had, he thought, played a vital part in Katanga affairs as couriers, witnesses to agreements, and honest brokers. Relations between the British consul, Mr. Dunnett, and the U.N. had, however, not been particularly happy, for he had aroused the suspicions of Dr. O'Brien and since September had seemed to be labelled pro-Katanga. "Mr. Dunnett is a thoughtful person who likes to take his time over his statements, in contrast to Dr. O'Brien, who does not."

Tanganyika Expels Europeans

"Humiliated and Insulted Africans"

EXPULSION ORDERS were served last week by the Tanganyika Government on five people accused of racial discrimination against Africans.

Mr. Felix Arensen, a German-born naturalized British subject who has lived in East Africa for 30 years, was on Tuesday given seven days to leave the country with his wife and family because of an incident on New Year's Eve at his Palm Beach Hotel, Dar es Salaam. He had asked the mayor, Sheikh Amri Abedi, and his wife, together with an African woman National Assembly member, other African women, and an African Parliamentary Secretary, to leave because they were not buying food or drink.

Next day Mr. and Mrs. Monchoungny, who went to Tanganyika from the Seychelles 30 years ago, and now own the the Travellers' Inn motel at Korogwe, and Mr. A. D. Taylor, a Scottish engineer employed by Hale Estate, Mnyusi, were ordered to leave. According to a Government statement, they were being expelled because of their part in the forcible ejection from the motel on New Year's Eve of Mr. J. D. Namfua, Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury, who had called for a meal *en route* to Dar es Salaam from an up-country visit, and was refused to drink on the grounds that the bar was closed. When he pointed out that Mr. Taylor was drinking, an altercation occurred, and it is alleged that he was "thrown out".

"The Government will not tolerate such demonstrations of an attitude of mind on the part of a few members of immigrant communities which offend the dignity of the African people of Tanganyika. Mr. Namfua would not have been humiliated in the humiliating fashion which has been an affront to the state."

On Thursday a Swiss engineer on a sial estate at Mbezi, near Lindi, Herr Bernhard Romann, who arrived in 1952, was told to leave for having pinned "ghurka" laral badges to his dog's collar two days before Independence Day. The badges bore the name of the Prime Minister, Tanganyika's flag, and the party flag of the Tanganyika African National Union.

Mr. Romann was heard to say that his dog was just as good as the people celebrating independence, a Government spokesman said. "There is no doubt that his actions were calculated to anger and insult local people. There have been other reports of similar incidents in the past."

It is considered that such an attitude manifested so deliberately cannot be tolerated in Tanganyika if harmony between the different communities is to be maintained. As long as people of this attitude of mind remain here there is constant danger of incidents which could well lead to violence being sparked off.

Britain's recently appointed High Commissioner in Dar es Salaam, Mr. Neil Pritchard, saw the Prime Minister, Mr. Nyerere last week, to ask that the British subjects concerned should be allowed time to appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council, and should at least be given time on humanitarian grounds to settle their affairs.

H.M. Government is said to have assured Tanganyika that it was fully within its rights to make expulsion orders, but to have added an expression of hope that they may have no adverse reaction upon the British community as a whole, which has still its contribution to make to Tanganyika's development.

Mr. Nyerere's Sharp Rejoinder

P.M. Expresses "Disgust" and "Anger"

MR. JULIUS NYERERE, while still Prime Minister of Tanganyika, sent the following sharp comment to *The Times* on an article which it recently published.

"I have no intention of dealing with your comments on the internal affairs of Kenya. I must, however, express my disgust at the gross inaccuracy of the references to myself and to the events which took place during our Independence Celebrations.

"I would like to assure your correspondent and yourself ostensibly on our behalf, the dress worn by one of our guests at the Independence Celebrations. Also I would be interested to know on what authority your correspondent makes the astonishing assertion that I was antagonized by some supposed actions on the part of Mr. Kenyatta.

"I would like to assure your correspondent and yourself that we invited guests to our Independence Celebrations in the

hope that they would join us in an occasion of rejoicing and that they would relax and enjoy themselves. We are not in the habit of judging a man by his dress, whether habitual or otherwise. We judge every individual by his actions and his character. Least of all would it occur to us to pass judgment on the leader of a neighbouring country on such grounds.

"I am sorry also that we apparently entertained your correspondent so badly during the Independence Celebrations that he had nothing to do except investigate the various places in which we were forced to house our guests in the absence of adequate hotel accommodation. If he makes a mental jump from these fortuitous circumstances to the imminent break-up of a great political party I can only feel sympathy for him.

"It is anger, however, not sympathy, which I feel in relation to his obvious attempts to sow suspicion and hostility between the Government and people of Tanganyika on the one hand and the people of Kenya on the other. These snide insinuations of underlying conflict can only be intended to promote such conflict.

"Let me state quite categorically that the time for a policy of divide and rule has passed. We intend to unite Africa, and we shall not tolerate interference from those who desire us to remain weak and divided, prey for all those who wish to take part in a second, and this time economic, scramble for Africa."

An editorial footnote to the letter read: "Our Africa correspondent wrote the sentences to which Mr. Nyerere objects on the basis of firm information from Kenyans and Tanganyikans who confirmed his own direct observation."

Tanganyika's Flag and National Anthem

Minister Calls for Greater Respect

MR. RASHIDI KAWAUA, while Minister without Portfolio in Tanganyika, issued the following statement:

"Many people still do not show proper respect for Tanganyika's national flag and national anthem. Some are treating the national flag as an advertisement for their businesses. Some even use it as an advertisement for themselves by wearing it as a dress. Such behaviour brings our flag into contempt, and the Government will not tolerate it. The Government will have to have the law used to prosecute such people if they hesitate to do so if these practices continue.

"National flags of other countries are still flying in some places. Commonwealth High Commissioners and foreign ambassadors are very welcome to fly their own countries' flags at their houses and offices and on their cars. I am thinking of those other people who are still flying foreign flags without any reason or right. I hope they will see that these flags are taken down.

"During the playing of the national anthem at the beginning of a cinema performance some people remain seated or start walking about. This practice must stop. Cinema audiences should stand to attention when our national anthem is played.

"I have decided to make a public statement about these matters for two reasons: firstly, the dignity of our country demands that we show respect for our national flag and national anthem; secondly, if disrespect is shown, some members of the public may quite likely take the law into their own hands and compel people to show respect to our flag and our anthem. If this happens—and there have already been instances—only disorder can result."

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PERSONALIA

MR. J. P. McDONAGH has returned to London from a visit to the Rhodesias.

LORD CLITHEROE has resigned from the board of Town Investments, Ltd.

MR. A. M. F. WEBB, Kenya's Solicitor-General, has been appointed a Queen's Counsel.

DR. J. G. KIANO, a former Minister for Commerce and Industry in Kenya, is at present in London.

MR. IAN McCULLOCH, public relations officer to the Government of Kenya, is in London on a short official visit.

MR. MALCOLM ARCHER, public relations officer for Kenya in London, left at the week-end for a short visit to the Colony.

MR. JOHN PROFUMO, Secretary of State for War, had to curtail his visit to East Africa by two days. He was therefore not able to visit Uganda.

MR. and MRS. R. W. J. WALLACE, of Lilongwe, Nyasaland, are passengers for the Cape in the TRANSVAAL CASTLE on her maiden voyage.

MR. JOHN FOSTER, O.B.E., has flown to Uganda as chief counsel for Bunyoro before the Privy Council commission into the "lost colonies".

SIR RICHARD HALLAGE is due in Aden today in the capacity of constitutional adviser. He is a former chairman of the Uganda Public Service Commission.

LORD DELAMERE has been re-elected president of the Kenya National Farmers' Union. The three vice-presidents are Messrs. R. C. LONG, J. B. POLLARD, and M. ROBINSON.

MR. F. EAGHTON left London by air on Sunday to revisit all the East and Central African territories, including Portuguese East Africa. He will be away about six weeks.

CANON B. J. HARPER, who was for 25 years chaplain in Khartoum and then Archdeacon of Northern Sudan, will next month preach in Khartoum on the 50th anniversary of the cathedral.

DR. CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN, former U.N. chief representative in Katanga, will shortly fly to Accra to discuss an invitation from President NKRUMAH to take up a university post in Ghana.

MR. M. TOMBAZI, a director and vice-president of Italli Bros. Ltd., will retire from the board next Wednesday. Mr. J. BALLY, a director, will become a vice-president of the company.

LORD HOWICK OF GLENDALE, chairman of the Colonial Development Corporation, has left London for a month's tour of C.D.C. projects in Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak, and Fiji.

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR PEVERIL WILLIAM POWLETT, a former Governor of Southern Rhodesia, is on his way to South Africa in an 8,000-ton merchant ship. His purpose, he said before leaving, was to get some peace and quiet.

MR. W. M. ROBSON, a director of the Standard Bank of South Africa, of the British South Africa Company, and of the Campbell Booker Carter group, will leave London today for a two-months' visit to South, Central, and East Africa.

MR. D. RHIND, Adviser on Agricultural Research in the Department of Technical Co-operation, arrived Kenya early this week for a visit of about 10 days. He is to attend a meeting of the East African Agricultural and Fisheries Research Council.

MR. G. P. DEARSON, a director in London, and MR. D. SMITH, managing director in Johannesburg, of Alexander Fraser & Son, Ltd., have been visiting the Federation with a view to expanding operations in Northern Rhodesia in particular.

Miss S. A. OGILVIE, formerly director of the Inter-African Labour Institute in Bamako, West Africa, has had her report on "The Employment and Conditions of Work of Women in Africa" considered by a committee of the International Labour Office, Geneva.

LORD HINCHINGBROOKE, Conservative M.P. for Dorset South, last week opposed "One man one vote in Africa now" at a London University Students' Union debate with MR. JOHN GOLLAN, of the Communist Party, who spoke in favour of the proposal.

MR. WILLIAM CLARK, director of the Overseas Development Institute, is to talk to a joint meeting of the Royal Commonwealth Societies in London at 1.15 p.m. on Thursday next, February 1, on "After Independence in East Africa". SIR JAMES ROBERTSON will preside.

MR. BENEDICTO KIWANUKA, Chief Minister of Uganda, is expected in London shortly to seek a loan from the British Government to enable his Government to pay its half share of the £4m. compensation for civil servants when independence is attained in October.

MR. W. A. WELLS, director of the Commonwealth Industries Association since 1953, and its director of information from its establishment in 1927, will retire at the end of this month, but will continue to act in an advisory capacity. He has edited the monthly bulletin for 21 years.

MR. TOM MBOYA, K.A.N.U.'s general secretary, was last Saturday invited to Mrs. PAMELA ODEDE in Nairobi, where a reception for more than 1,000 people in the City Hall was attended by the Governor of Kenya and Lady Renison. The couple are on their honeymoon in Israel.

MR. FROBERTY NYE, Agricultural Adviser to the Department of Technical Co-operation, and formerly in the Colonial Office, has left London to study recent agricultural developments in the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Basutoland. He will return early in March.

PROFESSOR RICHARD LLEWELYN DAVIES, who holds the Chair of Architecture at London University, has been appointed consulting architect for the multi-racial medical school and teaching hospital to be built in Salisbury at a cost of about £1.5m. He will visit the Federal capital in March.

MR. M. HOTINE, Director of Overseas Surveys, and Surveys Adviser to the Department of Technical Co-operation, has left London to revisit Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. He will attend the forthcoming Central African Federal Survey Conference in Salisbury.

COLONEL BRIAN ADAMS, chairman of Rhodesian Sugar Refinery, Ltd., has succeeded SIR THOMAS CHEGWIDDEN as president of the Association of Rhodesia and Nyasaland Industries. The vice-presidents elected at the annual congress in Salisbury are MESSRS. R. H. ANNAN, D. T. COLUMBELL and D. J. DIVETT.

MR. P. M. REES, Director of Economics and Statistics in the Kenya Treasury, and MR. O. S. KNOWLES, Under Secretary in its Development and Planning Division, are Kenya's representatives at a meeting in Addis Ababa between January 15 and 27 of a United Nations Economic Commission for Africa working party on economic and social development.

SIR NICHOLAS CAYZER, chairman of British and Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd. and LADY CAYZER, MR. J. S. BEVAN, a director of the group, and MRS. BEVAN, MR. J. A. THOMSON, another director, and MRS. THOMSON, and MR. A. E. LEMON, a director of Clan Line, are passengers for Cape Town in the TRANSVAAL CASTLE on her maiden voyage. SIR JAMES McNEILL, deputy chairman of the builders, John Brown & Co. (Clydebank), Ltd., and LADY McNEILL are also making the trip.

Thought Inaccessible by His Cabinet

Sir Edgar Whitehead's Failure

THE ROUND TABLE was sharply critical of the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia in a recent issue, which said in the course of an article on the Mosekton Report:—

"It becomes clearer day by day to more and more that the policy pursued by Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Southern Rhodesian Premier, for containing African political aspirations is failing. His technique has been to follow up sharp repression of 'nationalist' activity by the Africans (marches, strikes, or demonstrations) with gestures of a liberal nature within the framework of the Constitution, such as, for example, his recent legislation to enlarge the size of the Assembly and thus increase the value of the African vote on the present franchise.

"The failure of this method is only just becoming apparent to Sir Edgar himself, who, rather deaf and somewhat of a recluse, is hampered from assessing the emotional forces that are building up about him. He is regarded by the majority of his Cabinet as extremely inaccessible.

"Although Sir Edgar is at last showing readiness to modify his unucky policy, he can at the present stage move only rather to the right, unless he is to forfeit all chance of retaining power. The Dominion Party is lying in wait for him. Under their leadership, Mr. W. H. Harper, a political arrivé yet a young man of Southern Rhodesia, has been making new allegations and threats through the Parliament, while elections as the crisis deepens. Mr. Harper offers the bitter what their gray heads in white Southern Rhodesia seceded from the Federation and wholly independent of British interference.

"The Africans of the northern territories are pulling away from the Federation, while the whites of Southern Rhodesia are pulling away from the northern territories. Meanwhile, whites and blacks alike in Southern Rhodesia are approaching a subtle desecration in their separate camps.

"The failure of the appalling failure of the ideal on which the Federation was founded that Sir Edgar's territorial United Federal Party would have been so gravely threatened from the right. It is not as if seven years of supposed progressive partnership had produced any basic changes that would have disturbed Europeans. After seven years there is not even multi-racialism in sight. Yet in their despair and fright the political attitude of the whites has hardened."

Sir John Rankine Criticizes C.R.O.

Fundamental Faults in Recruitment

SIR JOHN RANKINE, lately Governor of Western Nigeria, and before that British Resident in Zanzibar, has written to the *Economist* criticizing the reluctance of the Commonwealth Relations Office to make adequate use of former members of the Colonial Service. His letter said:—

"The reasons given officially for making so little use of the Colonial Service are that they are 'tainted' with colonialism and that people who have been engaged in government are unsuitable for diplomatic or representative work.

"But few, if any, of the Colonial candidates can have had any say or influence in the determination of British Colonial policy. They were merely agents carrying it out. How is it that those from Whitehall, particularly the Colonial Office, who are far more likely to have some responsibility for Colonial policy, are unsuited?

"Again, if ex-Colonial officials are unsuitable because they have been engaged in government, why are Whitehall officials more suitable? Some of those recently appointed to senior posts have never held high office in the Government!

"There is clearly something fundamentally wrong with our system of recruitment and management in the public service if at a time when we are admittedly short of staff for senior posts overseas we make so little use of staff who have served with distinction overseas. Britain not only loses the services of many potentially valuable officers but into the bargain does them a grave injustice."

Mr. Dodds Parker

MR. A. D. DODDS PARKER, who was M.P. for Banbury from 1945 to 1959, during part of which period he was chairman of the Joint East and West African Board, was on Saturday selected by the executive committee of Cheltenham Conservative Association as prospective candidate for the division, but immediately the decision was announced a former mayor of the town, who had hoped to get the nomination, said that there was very strong feeling that Cheltenham should be represented by a local man. He would not stand as an Independent Conservative.

In addition to Mr. Dodds Parker on the short list were Mr. Malcolm St. Clair, M.P. for South-East Bristol and Mr. H. Howe, editor of the Bow Group's *Crossbow*. Mr. Dodds Parker, who was in the Sudan political service until he resigned to join the Grenadier Guards in 1939, was Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations from October 1954 to December 1955, and Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs from November 1953 to October 1954 and from December 1954 to the beginning of 1957.

Protests from 17 Professors

SEVENTEEN PROFESSORS at universities in England and Scotland, have signed a letter of protest against remarks and recommendations in the report of the committee under the chairmanship of Sir William Hayter which recently made proposals in regard to Oriental and African studies at United Kingdom universities. In a letter to *The Times* they have stated that the report contains errors of fact which it is difficult to understand, and outlined other objections. Among the signatories are Professors Malcolm Guthrie and A. N. Tucker, of London University, and Dr. Edward Ullendorff, of Manchester University.

Youngest Mayor

MR. W. E. OGLE, mayor of Que Que, Southern Rhodesia, who at 33 is the youngest man in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to hold the office, is in the United Kingdom for a few weeks. He went to Que Que in 1952 without any financial resources. In the next year he was elected to the town council, has served on all its committees, and was elected mayor last August after being deputy mayor for two years. He is now the managing director of a supermarket company.

Obituary

Sir Shenton Thomas

SIR SHENTON WHITELEGGE THOMAS, G.C.M.G., O.B.E., who died in London last week at the age of 82, had been Governor of Nyasaland, the Gold Coast, and Malaya, and had also served in Kenya, Uganda, and Nigeria.

Eldst son of the late Rev. T. W. Thomas, he was educated at St. John's, Leatherhead, and Queen's College, Cambridge. He went to the East Africa Protectorate (now Kenya) as an assistant district commissioner in 1909, but was soon transferred to the Secretariat, in which he remained until he went to Uganda as Assistant Chief Secretary in 1918. Three years later he was promoted to Nigeria. He became Colonial Secretary in the Gold Coast Colony in 1927, and was Governor of Nyasaland from 1929 to 1932.

Playing cricket on the Zomba ground, he scored a century; and was fond of asserting that no previous or subsequent Colonial Governor had the same feat to his credit.

Later he was Governor of the Gold Coast and of the Straits Settlement. On the fall of Singapore his wife and he were made prisoners by the Japanese, who separated them and treated them harshly.

After his retirement from the Colonial Service in 1946 Sir Shenton became chairman of the Royal Overseas League and of the British Empire Leprosy Association. He was a vice-president of the Fauna Preservation Society.

Africans Distrust Their Politicians

Plea for Federal Basis in N. Rhodesia

MR. GODWIN LEWANIKA, Federal M.P. for Luangwa, said when he addressed a luncheon meeting last week of the Edinburgh Branch of the Royal Commonwealth Society that the great mistake made by the Colonial Office in Northern Rhodesia had been to take too little notice of the chiefs.

Because an overwhelming majority of Africans still trusted their chiefs and distrusted African political extremists, H.M. Government would be very unwise to proceed with a Macleod type of Constitution; the right course would be a federation of the great tribal areas in Northern Rhodesia within the wider Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

In the course of his address Mr. Lewanika said:—
 "All the talk about nationalism among Africans in Central Africa is untrustworthy. Nationalism must spring from a common language, customs, religion and history, and there is no such basis in Central Africa. What is being preached here by a small number of political extremists is racialism.

Trust in the Chiefs

Except for a tiny minority in the towns all Africans in Northern Rhodesia still look to their chiefs, who have not lost influence with their people. They remain the tribal and spiritual heads; they still hear and settle cases, apart from criminal cases, according to Native law and customs; land in the rural areas is still vested in the chiefs, who distribute it, and all know that they look after the welfare of their people, with a special regard for the old people, orphans, cripples, and the blind. They share with their people the subsidies received from the Government, and they accommodate and feed strangers, Europeans as well as Africans.

It is the chiefs, then, who are the true protagonists of African interests. They, not the self-seeking politicians, are the undisputed and trusted leaders. It should be through the chiefs, therefore, not through those who want a short cut to power that constitutional change should be made. It is a great pity that the British pay so little attention to the chiefs politically, and favour African racialists.

The dangerous assumption that Africans are united is unreliable. The differences between what Europeans call tribes, and what in Northern Rhodesia are small nations, are similar to those existing in nations in Europe and Asia. Everyone knows that Ireland has been divided and that similarly what was British India has been partitioned into India and Pakistan. I do not agree about dividing Central Africa into black States and white States, and I do not consider the unitary form of government satisfactory for my country, which, apart from Barotseland, has seven provinces, each headed by a paramount or senior chief.

Chiefs Regard U.N.I.P. as Youth Club

"The real answer to our problem would be to create in each a provincial council, with the paramount chief as Head of State and the provincial commissioner as president of the council. On the official side there should be chiefs, councillors, and senior Government officials, ex-officio, while on the non-official side there would be elected Africans, missionaries, and representatives of commerce, industry and farming. Beneath the provincial councils there should be district councils. Each province should send to the central Legislature a chief and an elected representative of each race. That would bring understanding and peace.

Barotseland should become a fourth State within the Federation.

"Many people think that the chiefs agree with the African racialists because they have not openly opposed them. Their silence certainly does not mean acceptance. They regard U.N.I.P. and other racialist parties as youth clubs, and find it difficult to believe that H.M. Government can attach importance to their utterances. There will be violent reaction if it becomes clear that Ministers in this country do attach importance to the views of racialists. In that event there could be

real trouble, perhaps something more serious than that in the Congo.

"U.N.I.P. and the Liberal Party want to restore Asians and Euro-Africans to the national roll. That would enable those two groups to hold the balance of power between Europeans and Africans. As Indians are mainly traders, they could be easily intimidated by the African racialists, as is happening already, and they might have guidance about voting from the Indian Government, which is well known to be anti-European. Though India is itself a federation, Nehru does not approve of the Central African Federation.

"The many Africans who think as I do believe in the Federation: If it were to break up there would be no stable economic area in Central Africa. As for Barotseland, there would be no one to defend her against aggression; and on this subject there is deep anxiety in that country.

Concessions to Violence

"U.N.I.P. to achieve its ends, promotes violence. The official report by the Government on the disturbances in the Northern and Luapula provinces gives details of violence of all kinds. What is scarcely ever mentioned is that at the burial of the murderers of Mrs. Burton some people prominent in U.N.I.P. identified themselves with the murderers and made heroes of them.

"It ought to be understood that the reopening of constitutional talks with the racialists is regarded by right-minded Africans—who are in the majority—and by Europeans in Rhodesia as a concession to violence, which has frightened the British Government and again paid a big dividend. Africans, including some chiefs, are saying: 'You see, by its violence U.N.I.P. has made the British Government change its mind'.

"The only way to save Northern Rhodesia from bloodshed is to bring the chiefs into the Government, not merely in an advisory capacity. It is the firm hand of British justice, not interference and intervention from Nkrumah, Nasser, Sekou Toure, or Nehru.

"I have been surprised to see how the United Kingdom Press has played down the violent methods employed by U.N.I.P., and that few newspapers have reported Mr. Kaunda's determination to implement the third stage of his master plan unless the new Constitution favours his party. There can be no hope in a U.N.I.P. Government.

"I believe in progress by stages, knowing that an African majority is inevitable in time; but it should be attained by merit. The Europeans have withdrawn their support from U.N.I.P., knowing that they will ultimately be overthrown by the Government. That is the measure of their greatness. The only worthwhile future in this country is in peace, friendship and co-operation, not in fear, intimidation, violence, and dictatorship of African racialists."

Don't Trust the Politicians

MR. W. KAZOKAH, M.L.C. for the South-Central constituency of Northern Rhodesia, has said in the Legislative Council: "If at all you want to hand over the country to the African people, will you please do so through the chiefs and not through African political leaders of any type, because the chiefs in the rural areas will eventually be wiped out on the record once these African political leaders come into power. They will not continue to exist as chiefs. They will be forgotten. Therefore I appeal to the Government please to remember the chiefs and their people. I appeal to the British Government that whenever they decide to hand over power to the indigenous people that the rural chiefs should not be forgotten."

Lion as Alarm Clock

THE PARISH COUNCIL of Sea Palling, Norfolk, having asked the Smallburgh Rural Council to act under the Noise Abatement Act against a lion which is living with his tamer on a local caravan site, 40 villagers have signed a petition testifying that they are neither worried nor inconvenienced. The owner of the site on which Zimba's cage stands has said: "The lion is an asset, roaring when any strangers are about, and hungrily at eight o'clock each morning, providing a good alarm clock."

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Europeans Must Call Africans "Bwana"

Kenya's New Threat to Farmers

KENYATTA, president of the Kenya African National Union, addressing a party rally of some 10,000 persons in Nairobi Stadium last Sunday, said that Europeans in Kenya must learn to call Africans "bwana", and that if they refused to do so they would have to leave when the country became independent.

Unused land should be given to landless Africans. It was a mistake for Africans to buy land from Europeans before independence, for they would be given it afterwards; he would "fight" to see that that was done.

If European farmers wanted to leave Kenya, they must ask H.M. Government for compensation, which Kenya could not afford to pay.

"If there are Kikuyus here who think that by taking oaths they will come to rule other people, they are cheating themselves", he continued, adding: "Do not be cheated by anyone who wants to administer oaths to you."

"Those who were opposed to secret meetings at night and the taking of oaths were asked to raise their hands. That having been done, he said: "We do not want any party except K.A.N.U., which meets by day."

Addressing the K.A.N.U. Youth Wing, Kenyatta then said: "Please behave yourselves and respect the law, and tomorrow be the country's leaders."

"All Land Belongs to Africans", Says Ngi

A great ovation was given to Paul Ngi, the Kamba leader, who was introduced by the chairman of the meeting as "Bwana Mashamba" (Mr. Land).

Repeating his statement that all land belonged to Africans, he condemned a transaction last week by which a European farmer had been bought for £9,000 by Elgeyo farmers. The Africans had been told land, he emphasized, were those who had no money and not even enough ground on which to build their homes.

Mr. Taita Towett, Minister of Labour, who had commended the Elgeyo transaction, ought, said the speaker, to be thinking of white children eating meat, fish, and other fine foods while African children could get only maize meal.

According to the Nairobi correspondent of the *Guardian*, "Ngi's brilliant oratory which outhone Kenyatta's, was enthusiastically received by the meeting. The crowd refused to let the chairman intervene when Mr. Ngi overran his allotted time to pursue his contrast of European and African living standards in Kenya. He sat down to tumultuous applause."

On the following day Kenyatta denied the Press reports that he had said that Africans would receive land free after independence. His statement, he declared, was that Africans would receive loans on easy terms with which to buy undeveloped land.

"Non-Designated" Officials in Kenya Position as Independence Approaches

OVERSEAS OFFICIALS IN KENYA who were not engaged through the Colonial Office—and are described as "non-designated"—have made repeated representations about their position when the country becomes independent.

The following official statement on the subject was issued in Nairobi a few days ago:—

"The Government of Kenya, having duly considered the proposals of the Secretary of State, has agreed that the pensions of non-designated overseas officers payable to them on their retirement, whenever that takes place, should be safeguarded under the terms of a Public Officers' Pension Act at the time that full self-government comes into effect. This means that the pensions of these officers will be safeguarded in precisely the same way and to the same extent as the pensions of other Overseas Civil Service Officers. Any pensions payable to the dependants of these officers, including widows and orphans, will be safeguarded in the same way.

"The Kenya Government is also agreeable to the introduction of a limited retirement scheme whereby non-designated officers on overseas terms who voluntarily wish so may be permitted to retire either to public or private employment, because the Civil Service Commission has certified that they have individually been suspended for promotion by local officers.

"In such a case not only will the officer receive the pension he has earned to date, but he will also be eligible for an additional allowance. This additional allowance may be commuted in full in accordance with a special table of factors. This would be over and above any sum paid under the rules normally applying to the commutation of pensions, under which one-quarter of the earned pension can be commuted.

"The proposal that all non-designated overseas officers should be permitted to opt to retire at the time of independence has not been accepted, as it is considered that these officers are local employees of the Government of Kenya and that when Kenya becomes self-governing they will not be subjected to a change of employer, as is the case with the designated officer; any fears which they may have for the future are not substantially different from those of other persons of all races outside the public service.

"The London talks in October were for the purpose of finalizing proposals for submission to the East African Governments and Administrations. The Kenya Government has accepted in principle many of the recommendations which emerged from the conference.

"It has not felt able to agree that non-designated officers should be allowed to retire voluntarily at the time of self-government, as the conditions under which they joined the service are not considered to warrant such treatment. The Government sees no reason why these officers should not continue to have careers in the Kenya Civil Service. Those who will be affected by the Government's policy of localization will be able, should they so wish, to avail themselves of the opportunities afforded by the limited retirement scheme, the operation of which will doubtless continue after the attainment of self-government.

"So far as is known, the right to retire at the stage of self-government has not been conceded to non-designated officers by any of the East African Governments or Administrations."



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Kenya's Institute of Administration

Half the Cost Met by the United States

THE FOUNDATION-STONE of Kenya's Institute of Administration, a joint and equally shared creation of the Governments of Kenya and the United States, has been laid at the site in Kabete, near Nairobi, of the old Jeanes School.

Mr. Ronald Ngala, Leader of the Legislative Council, said that the purpose was to train staff for the administration service, the senior grades of local government, and the executive grades of Government. The institute would also house the East African School of Co-operation, the Community Development Training Centre, and the Colony Sports Organization.

An application for financial assistance to the Agency for International Development of the United States Government resulted in the magnificent gift of £110,000 being made available.

"This gift will be used to build an accommodation block for 64 students which includes 16 in double bedrooms, complete with lounge, dining, and kitchen facilities; two blocks, each accommodating 48 students and a staff flat; a tuition block incorporating 11 classrooms; a block of four staff flats; a guard-room, telephone exchange, and a mains electricity switch-room.

"The Kenya Government has undertaken to carry out site works to the value of £23,000, to provide furniture and fittings to the value of £4,000 and equipment to the value of £4,000; and to meet the annual recurrent expenditure which will start in the year of £36,000.

A team of experts from a distinguished American university which visited Kenya in the latter half of 1961 has now produced a report on administrative training programmes in Kenya which may provide the basis for further United States Government participation. Whatever further assistance can be given will be deeply appreciated.

Training in "Character and Leadership"

Patrick Renison, who had laid the foundation-stone, said in the course of his address:

"The techniques and expertise of administration are learnt only by years of experience of people and affairs; nothing can replace this experience, which is as necessary to the administrator as his professional qualifications are to the lawyer or doctor.

"The institute opened in temporary premises on July 1. This first course for 22 administrative officers ends in two days. We are limited in accommodation until these fine new buildings are completed, but the next course for 20 administrative officers will start on January 29, and a second, for 14 officers, at the beginning of April. Two more courses will be run concurrently in the new buildings in September. By early 1963 a total of 100 administrative officers will have been trained in this institute out of a total cadre of 249. In addition, 11 administrative officers will have been trained at Oxford and Cambridge, and four will have been specially trained in the field so as to be appointed district commissioners in February.

"The courses are designed to give as broad a background as possible and to cover all the duties normally performed in the field. As much practical work as possible is included, and the greatest stress is laid on the development of character and leadership. To assist in the development of these qualities, these officers attend the Outward Bound Mountain School at Loitoktok.

"I attach great importance to this training in character and leadership, for these are the qualities of the greatest importance needed in our administrators, the main agents of the Central Government in the field.

"Without men of the highest calibre and integrity in these posts all Government work will suffer and standards will inevitably be lowered all round. The privileged young men entering these courses have been set a very high standard in the past.

"The need to train men to fill the executive posts of Government is most important and urgent, and arrangements are in hand to start a series of courses, on February 19 which will result in approximately 200 executive officers being trained by the end of this year.

"The work of the local authorities always has been and inevitably will continue to be very closely allied to that of the administration. It is fitting, therefore, that courses for both classes of officer should take place in the same institute. The first need is to train clerks and treasurers. Two courses, starting in May will cater for 24 clerks and 24 treasurers

concurrently. The courses will last a year.

"It is important to get as many local officers as possible in positions of responsibility, learning their work while there are still expatriate officers of experience to assist and guide them. It is in the districts and small sub-stations that the great mass of the people have their most frequent dealings with the Central Government, and we must therefore ensure that officers leave this institute with that spirit of service which has engendered in the population a confidence and respect for good and orderly government. To instil this spirit must be the first concern of all working at this institute."

Civil Servants the Backbone of Governments

Mr. Richard B. Freund, the American Consul-General, said:—

"Six months ago, when I was about to depart on home leave, I asked the Governor whether he had any message for me to convey to my superiors in Washington. He replied that he knew of nothing that warranted higher priority than the localization programme, and, specifically, the establishment of the Kenya Institute of Administration.

"This request came when the United States Congress had not yet acted on the appropriation request for foreign aid for the fiscal year that had already begun on July 1. I have not the slightest doubt that this compelling message from His Excellency played a great part in assuring United States participation.

"This sense of high priority for localization has also been demonstrated to me by officials and political leaders throughout the Government and outside it. Even those for whom the institute will mean that they are working themselves out of their own jobs and who have devoted many years of faithful service to the Government of this State in this country.

"We in the United States recognize civil servants as the backbone of government. Politicians come and go, political parties in charge of the administration change frequently. Civil servants serve politicians and political parties with equal loyalty to ensure that the national constitution, and the policies of the administration in power, are carried out. Since I am one myself, I assure you that I believe the civil servant to be the most important person in any Government."

"The United States contribution to the construction of this institute amounts to 300,000 dollars. The Government of Kenya is committing equal sums to the purchase of land, construction, staff, and other related matters. Such a joint effort by our Governments demonstrates one of the underlying principles of our Agency for International Development programme, for we believe that the most rewarding efforts are the shared ones.

Bases of A.I.D. Programmes

"Some of the premises on which the United States International Development programme is based are:

"(1) Continued progress in any less developed country will not be assured until that country accepts and fulfils its own responsibilities to help itself.

"(2) Any development assistance programme of the United States must take into account all the factors that contribute to growth—capital, technical assistance, the development of sound public administration and modern institutions, skilled labour forces, managerial skills, and the creation of the necessary motives and interests.

"(3) Each nation must be permitted its inherent right to develop in its own image. Aid not responsive to this principle is destructive.

"The Kenya Institute of Administration admirably fits all these premises and deserves every bit of support that we have been able to give or may subsequently extend to it.

"May the graduates of this institute have a glorious career in loyally advancing the orderly government of their country.

"I would close with one suggestion to them. Whenever helping a new Minister or other political appointee through his running-in period, it is well somehow to contrive that the bright ideas you have been waiting to get across emerge as his. He is the one with the popular backing. You and I are the civil servants, with the emphasis on the word 'servants'. By maintaining that emphasis we go a long way to assuring ourselves long and gratifying careers—to the benefit of our peoples."

Mr. Victor H. Skiles, representative in East Africa of the American Agency for International Development, said:—

"Perhaps the greatest challenge facing Kenya today, once some of the political issues are settled and laid aside, is to produce sufficient sound, honest, intelligent, trained and dedicated managers of the public business adequately to capture the romance of development."

Priests Shot and Mutilated in Congo

Eye-Witness Account of Massacre

GIZENGIIST TROOPS are now known to have machine-gunned 18 Belgian, Dutch and German missionary Catholic priests and a brother at Kongolo in northern Katanga on New Year's Day, to have mutilated the bodies, and forced 20 Africans studying to be priests to throw the bodies in a river.

An African seminarist who escaped to Bukavu has given this eye-witness account to the U.N. authorities:—

"When the Congolese troops entered the town on December 31, 58 students and a large number of civilians, including women and children, took refuge in the Holy Ghost College, where we had hung out a white flag. The soldiers assured us that they were looking only for Tshombe's endarmes, who had left the previous day after three days of fighting.

"Trouble started in the evening after dinner when two jeep-loads of troops returned with the Vicar-General, Mgr. Gerard Kabwe, and marched us all to their camp with our hands in the air. We were locked in a room, the priests in cells, after they had been beaten up.

"The morning the priests were forced to remove their shoes and wash their faces with bicycle chains on the feet. We were taken to a terrace outside the building and told: 'You will see how your priests are killed'. Half an hour later, groups of civilians were brought out—they were singing and praying—and were shot down by soldiers with machine-guns. We did not dare to look. Many were killed.

Parts of Bodies Eaten

"Then the priests were led out. They had only time to call out 'Pray for us' before they too were shot. We were taken back inside and told: 'Tomorrow, it will be your turn'.

"Later that evening 20 of us were taken to the corpses. They were lying on the ground, completely stripped, their hands cut off, eyes stabbed, and with other unmentionable mutilations, as well as arrows planted in the bodies which transfixed them to the ground. We were forced to throw the bodies into the river. Next day we were freed, after the soldiers had tried to persuade us to give up our vocations.

"The officers in charge of the troops did not appear to be drunk. The soldiers who did the shooting simply followed orders."

Other reports state that parts of the mutilated bodies were eaten.

It is thought that the troops responsible for the outrage belong to the group which murdered 13 Italian airmen at Kindu in Kivu Province in November. They are led by a Colonel Alphonse Pakassa, a strong Gizengist. Both men have been condemned as rebels by the Central Government.

Fr. Jules Darmon, a Belgian, was saved by an African soldier who held him back as the others were led out. Mgr. Kabwe and Abbé Gevais Banza, believed to be Congolese, also survived.

No news has been received of the 27 nuns at the mission, or of eight priests, including an African, and 12 nuns at Lubunda and Sola missions, near Kongolo.

A U.N. spokesman in the Congo said last week that his organization had no troops within 150 miles of the area at the time of the murders. An investigation would be faced with almost insuperable difficulties, but he hoped that General Victor Lundula, commander of the Congolese Army in the Orientale and Kivu provinces, would be able to make inquiries, although the troops concerned were rebellious supporters of Gizenga.

Archbishop Cornelius of Elisabethville has appealed to U Thant for an international inquiry.

President Tshombe declared that words were insufficient to describe the crimes committed by armed bands of the National Congolese Army on Katanga soil, adding that they could never have entered his province without aid from the United Nations.

Gizenga Under Congolese Guard

Mercenaries' Removal Talks: Katanga and U.N.

THE U.N. AUTHORITIES in Leopoldville have moved the deposed Congolese Vice-Premier, Mr. Gizenga, to his former villa, where Central Government paratroops are 'protecting' him.

Gizenga was flown to Leopoldville in a U.N. aircraft last week and at his own request taken to U.N. headquarters for protection. One reporter described him as a pathetic figure and looking strained; others said that he looked confident and relaxed. Investigations into alleged misappropriation of funds and other charges have been started by the Orientale Provincial Government in Stanleyville.

Three More Gizengists Arrested

His cousin and chief military supporter, Colonel Alphonse Pakassa, believed to have been in command of troops responsible for at least two massacres of Europeans during the past three months, was arrested with a Major Marong by General Lundula's troops, as was Mr. Valtin Lubuma, *chef de cabinet* in Stanleyville.

In Albertville Congolese soldiers fought among themselves and U.N. troops had to intervene, arresting the Congolese commander and five other officers.

At Bagira, near Bukavu, hoodlums attacked seven clerics at St. Paul's College, and local police had killed four and wounded one of the Congolese before Malayan U.N. soldiers moved in and restored order.

President Tshombe is reported to be having formal talks with Mr. Brian Mulroney, a Canadian representative in Elisabethville, about more positive efforts to remove the remaining mercenaries. A "secret" visit made by the President and his Foreign Minister to Brazzaville, which was widely reported to have been to Rhodesia, although other reports said that the President had flown to Brazzaville. Both men are believed to have had meetings with Kipushi, near the Northern Rhodesian border.

Mr. Tshombe in Salisbury

On Tuesday, Sir Roy Welenski, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, reported that Mr. Tshombe had met him secretly in Salisbury for two days.

Katangan troops repulsed a Congolese attack in the Piana district 120 miles north of Elisabethville, where it was claimed that the invaders had razed and pillaged all the villages and massacred the inhabitants on a sortie from Piana, 40 miles south-east of Manono.

At the invitation of the Japan Engineering Consulting Institute, Tokyo, a group from East Africa has been visiting Japanese industrial plants.

Contracts to a value of £1.3m. have been placed by the Uganda Electricity Board for transmission and distribution lines in order to provide electricity to areas not now served. Supplies should be available in Fort Portal, Kasese, and Gulu within two years, and in Hoima and Masindi a little later. Lira may expect a connexion within about 12 months. Two of the four main contracts already placed have been awarded to the Uganda subsidiary of an Italian company. The other two are for U.K. factories. Sub-contracts for equipment have been placed in the United Kingdom, Canada, the U.S.A., Italy, Spain, Finland, and Japan.

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K.A.D.U. Defence Ministry Official Resigns

A FORMER MAU MAU DETAINEE, Victor Wogabi, has been returned unopposed to the Kenya Legislative Council in a by-election for the Nyeri seat. The former member, Mr. J. P. Mathenge, had been declared unseated by the Speaker after being absent in the United States without leave and without nominating a deputy.

Mr. William Murgor, who last week told K.A.D.U. supporters to prepare for civil war if his party's regional plan were rejected at the constitutional conference in London in February, has resigned as Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Defence "in order to devote more time to the needs and wishes of my constituents".

Kenyatta had demanded that Mr. Murgor should be prosecuted for "obvious" incitement to violence, and K.A.N.U.'s organizing secretary, Mr. John Keen, had threatened to tell his party's supporters to prepare for civil war if the K.A.D.U. proposals were accepted.

Coffee's Palmy Days are Past

Sectional Interests Must Combine for Prosperity

CENTRAL DIRECTION is needed more than ever before in the coffee trade in connexion with export quotas, price stabilization and the financing of required supplies. Mr. D. K. N. Brown, chairman of the Uganda Coffee Marketing Board, told the annual dinner of the Hard Coffee Trading Association of Eastern Africa.

"Everyone wants a free and prosperous industry, with quality finding its own level and market free from restriction," he said, "but whether we like it or not, there will be state intervention in the coffee trade.

We cannot avoid international obligations. Others will not hold the umbrella for us. Uganda's production is too big for her to stand aside. She has got out of the International

Coffee Agreement the other African robusta producers would get out, and then Brazil, unbridled competition, and economic chaos would be upon us.

In order to weather the present world coffee surplus and the political hotter-skeeter, it is essential that the different branches of the industry should hang together; else they may well hang separately. If all branches of the industry subordinate their sectional interests and are prepared to work together, it will bring greater prosperity than will otherwise be the case.

"We have said goodbye to the palmy days of very high prices. They cannot return for five or 10 years".

Overseas Doctors Wanted 25 Years More

IT MAY BE 25 YEARS before Uganda can produce enough doctors of her own to meet the country's needs, the new Minister of Health, Mr. Gaspare Oda, told the Uganda Medical Association's annual dinner in Kampala. He said—

"No matter how we may try to increase the output from Makerere College medical school in future years, we cannot hope to maintain an adequate number of doctors without assistance from overseas.

"I am well aware that expatriate officers of all kinds are becoming uncertain about the future as independence approaches. I should like to state quite categorically that every professional officer, expatriate or otherwise, at present engaged in the service of the Ministry of Health is needed, and will be welcome to remain in Government service after independence."

One of the Government's greatest obligations was to provide an adequate health service and doctors, nursing sisters, and technical and lay administration staff to maintain what had so far been achieved.

The Minister expressed pleasure that the association had become an independent body affiliated to the British Medical Association instead of remaining a branch of the latter. It was a matter of commonsense for such organizations to decide clearly where their interests lay and to act accordingly as the country moved to independence.

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Investing in Federation's Health

Government Spends £1 per Head per Annum

MR. B. D. GOLDBERG, Federal Minister of Health, said last week when addressing Blantyre Rotary Club:—

"In spite of difficulties and shortages in other countries, a steady stream of doctors is now joining our service. Resignations of medical officers have halted, and in the last six months of 1961 the permanent staff of the Ministry lost only two medical officers from the whole Federation. In the same period 12 M.O.s. were recruited, and five specialists from outside the Federation. This month five more specialists and six Government medical officers are due to take up their duties in the Federation. In Nyasaland out of an establishment of 50 M.O.s. we now have 38 in posts, and the remaining vacancies we hope will soon be filled.

"We have recently introduced a one-year short-term contract for nurses, and this policy is proving very successful.

"There are now nearly 5,000 beds for the sick of all ages in Nyasaland in Government hospitals and Government-aided mission hospitals. In 1955 the figure was 2,000. In the year before Federation just under £300,000 was spent on health services in Nyasaland; this coming year we shall spend £1,100,000. The grant to missions towards building costs, staff salaries, equipment and running costs in 1962 was £10,000; in 1961 it was £65,000.

"In the Federation we spend roughly £1 per head of the population per year on health services. Many countries in Africa spend infinitely less. It is to the credit of the Federal Government that it invests 12% of its annual budget on health services. I use the word 'invest' advisedly, the dividend being one of health for the people."

"We cannot expect to go on importing skilled staff for our health services. There is a world-wide shortage of such staff, therefore train our own. Accordingly, we have planned a medical school attached to the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, with a teaching hospital nearby. The first students will enter in 1963. I foresee with confidence that this teaching hospital will attract students and post-graduate doctors from the whole of Africa, if not from outside.

"With its new look in medical education, its liaison with Birmingham, its wide field of clinical teaching material, its vast fields for original research in Africa, it has a great future. Our young doctors should be trained in an atmosphere of eager research, sharpening their minds and their clinical acumen by mingling with workers from all over the world. What an opportunity for the young man with a mission in life!"

Need for Clearer Federal Trade Policy

Primary and Secondary Industries Might Collide

MR. R. G. HOSKINS DAVIES, president of the Rhodesia Tobacco Association, told the annual congress in Salisbury that a vital need was the immediate formulation, in consultation with agricultural, industrial and mining interests, of an economic policy that would determine the correct balance between the Federation's primary exports and its secondary industries.

The Ministry of Economic Affairs had not yet performed that most important task. If necessary, the Minister should be relieved of his second "burdensome" portfolio, that of Defence and Public Service, so that he might devote himself to planning such a policy.

"The present method of deciding each case on its merits and *ad hoc* improvisation is fraught with real danger. It can lead to a head-on collision between primary and secondary industry and economic chaos, which may do this country more harm than the present political uncertainties are doing."

Some degree of protection for developing secondary industries which provided necessary employment and raised living standards was, sometimes justified, but it was harmful economically when carried to such a point that it hampered primary exports.

For a long time the Federation would be largely an exporter of primary products, output of which would have to be increased in order to pay for the imports required for develop-

ment, for manufacturing industry would for some time be unable to export much, judging by the degree of protection constantly being sought on the home market.

"Unlike minerals, which are limited naturally, tobacco can be grown in most countries and is commonly used as a revenue-producer and a bargaining counter in international trade. For this reason we are concerned that Government trade policy—or the sheer lack of any policy—might hamper our future expansion. If growers are not hampered by a restrictive trading policy introduced by Government piecemeal, and only in response to tariff protection requests from various basically unsound industries, the Federation could in a few years assume a dominant position in the world export trade in tobacco."

Self-Government for Ruanda and Urundi

SELF-GOVERNMENT in internal affairs has been granted to Ruanda and Urundi as from the beginning of this year as a result of discussions held during most of December in Brussels between the President and Prime Minister of Ruanda, the Vice-Prime Minister of Urundi, and the Belgian Minister for Ruanda-Urundi.

External relations, financial control, defence and internal security are to remain a Belgian responsibility so long as the countries remain under trusteeship. It was agreed, however, that the new African-dominated Governments should be associated as fully as possible with the exercise of the real powers.

While some of these powers have already been common to the two States to devolve upon the two Governments postal, telegraph and telephone services, water supply, meteorology, social security, national defence and civil aviation matters are to be conducted by a new organization which is to be established before the territories move forward to independence. The representatives have agreed that there shall be a monetary union, a common customs policy, and a co-ordinated economic policy.

Mr. Muhiirwa, Prime Minister of Urundi, in a message to his people expressing great satisfaction with the attainment of self-government, has said that the Government (Belgian) and the Government that they (Belgian) have negotiated for the goodwill, patience, and generosity shown during the negotiations.

It is the hope of the Urundi Government, Mr. Muhiirwa confirmed, that Belgians resident in the country would remain and collaborate in its development. Promising that all their rights and property would be respected, he asked: "Why go away and oblige us to find from other sources people to carry on a task which you are much better able to discharge if you are prepared to adapt yourselves to the new times?"

The Belgian Foreign Minister, M. Spaak, told the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations last week that a date for independence of the two territories would be decided by the end of April, and that meantime a provisional system of "aided autonomy" would operate. Political independence, when it arrived, would be both from Belgium and from each other.

Karamoja has been declared a disturbed area by the Uganda Government following fresh outbreaks of cattle raiding in which children are reported to have been killed.

Failure of the early rains in the Gwanda, Tuli and Beitbridge areas of Southern Rhodesia has made the cattle position "very serious", states the Ministry of Native Affairs.

Three K.A.N.U. Youth Wing members have been charged with causing grievous bodily harm to an African youth by pouring paraffin over him and setting him alight.

Ratings of the Royal East African Navy have received increases backdated to April, 1960, which bring their pay into line with the new scales recently agreed for other ranks in the K.A.R.

One of Salisbury's oldest hotels, Meikle's, has been opened to all races to coincide with the coming into force of Liquor Act amendments which remove restrictions on the supply of alcohol to Africans.

Because of a ban on overtime working, only 600 tons of a consignment of 2,000 tons of maize from America for famine relief in Tanganyika were unloaded at Tangar during a ship's seven-day stay recently.

Experimental TV for 20 African and four European Copper-belt schools will begin next month, financed by grants of £10,000 from the Dulverton Trust, £2,000 from the Ndola Lottery, and £1,500 each from two mining companies in Northern Rhodesia.

Strains on the Commonwealth Structure

Interference in Affairs of Fellow Members

MR. A. E. P. ROBINSON, Federal High Commissioner in London, said last Friday when addressing a Victoria League meeting in Birmingham:

"The unity of political purpose of the old Commonwealth was best demonstrated at the outbreak of war in 1939. Within days all the Commonwealth countries had taken free and independent decisions to join with Britain in the war against Germany.

"If war broke out today on the same global scale, there is certainly no likelihood of the Commonwealth countries taking similar decisions to join with Britain in whatever policy she might pursue; and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that one or more Commonwealth countries might find themselves drawn in on the opposing side to the British. This example of the change that has taken place is given merely to demonstrate how deep has been the movement away from the concept held by those who founded this great free association of independent sovereign States.

"It would be a tragedy if the Commonwealth consisted only of predominantly white States, or alternatively, predominantly coloured States. Ideally, to be an effective influence in world affairs it must continue to have members drawn from the continents of the world, which means that it must be multi-racial in character. Any attempt to make it an exclusive club for a few countries would weaken its influence and status in world affairs.

Danger of Irreversibility

"On the other hand, the conventions governing members of the club, which have grown up during the past 40 years, may well require to be added to by more explicit rules and regulations in the future if the whole concept is not to be destroyed by the irresponsibility of some of the members, more particularly insofar as their interference in the internal affairs of other member countries is concerned. The South African withdrawal was a dangerous precedent. Whatever one's views on the South African Government's policies, these are already the point.

"It may well be that other Commonwealth countries will find themselves attacked in the future because they do not conform in their internal policies to the political views of some members of the Commonwealth. In my view the leaders of the Commonwealth will have to examine ways and means of securing a greater sense of common purpose if the whole organization is not to become less idealistic in world affairs.

"If developments in the Common Market should radically alter the pattern of Commonwealth economic and trading relationships, then the only real substitute would be to secure closer political understanding between those nations of the Commonwealth who are prepared to abide by certain freely-negotiated principles, the most important of which should be that in the event of any one Commonwealth country seeking to interfere overtly or otherwise in the affairs of other member States, then it should be clearly understood that its continued membership was definitely at risk."

Rhodesians Want to Return

ABOUT 30 LETTERS A WEEK are reaching the Federal Immigration Department in Salisbury from Europeans formerly resident in the Federation who now live overseas and want to return. There are also frequent applications from Britons in East Africa, Belgians in or formerly in the Congo, and Germans in South-West Africa. In recent weeks, moreover, about 25 people daily have called at the Immigration Department to inquire about permit formalities for relatives or friends overseas who wish to return. Some ex-residents, especially those who have been living in South Africa, have returned without a permit in the hope and expectation that a resident's permit would be granted. Such cases now average about six a day.

Five Somali students at Czechoslovakia's new foreign students' university in Prague have left the country after some Somalis had complained of the "dirty behaviour of a patriotically, morally, and academically corrupt student who has tried to break our unity for his personal ends by dividing us into tribes."

Hammarskjöld Air Crash Inquiry

Two Planes and Explosions, Witnesses Say

WITNESSES AT THE INQUIRY into the air-crash near Ndola in which the late Secretary General of the U.N., Mr. Hammarskjöld, and 16 members of his party were killed, have told of hearing or seeing two planes between about midnight and 3 a.m. Rhodesian time on the night of September 17, followed shortly afterwards by explosions.

Mr. B. Virving, chief engineer of the Swedish airline Transair, which owned the plane, said that he was suspicious that holes which he had discovered in the cockpit during daily visits to the scene of the crash might have been made by bullets.

Major Delin, the senior Fouga jet pilot with the Katanga air force, said that no aircraft had taken off from his base at Kolwezi that night, as all night flying had been stopped since July. A Fouga plane would, moreover, have been unable to fly the 250 miles to Ndola and then return because its combat range was only 150 miles.

The commissioners were told that the plane's radio operator had no radio experience, and that no navigator was on board; the pilot, however, was chief of Transair's navigation department. The page relating to Ndola in the flight manual was missing, the book being opened instead for Ndolo, the airport at Leopoldville.

An ambulance driver who arrived to collect the bodies next afternoon claimed that Mr. Hammarskjöld had not died immediately and had been able to crawl from the wreckage, which he said he had deduced from the absence of floor marks in the body.

But a pathologist's post-mortem examination of the body showed that he had died almost instantaneously.

The doctor who treated the only surviving American guard (who afterwards died), said that the pilot told him that Mr. Hammarskjöld had ordered the plane to turn back because it was about to land. Examination of the wreckage had confirmed that the plane was low for a landing.

Traffic control officers on duty at the time the plane was reported missing, said that attempts were made from Salisbury Airport to get information from other airports, but as Leopoldville did not reply until six hours later, no search was begun, in accordance with normal procedure. No search action was started unofficially before the plane had come.

When Ndola Airport lost contact with the plane, a search was not instituted until next morning because it would not have been possible during the night to distinguish between bush fires common at the time and flames or distress flares from the crash.

Mladote Ecumenical Foundation, Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia, plans a £140,000 agricultural training establishment for Africans.

U.N.I.P. states that five Europeans in Kitwe have joined the party, "but we are afraid to announce their names because they will lose their jobs."

Four Tanganyika Africans have flown to Germany for 31 years' study of road engineering on scholarships provided by an engineering contractor there.

A memorial hall in Kisumu named after Mr. Ambrose Otafi, who was killed by a Mau Mau gunman in Nairobi in 1953, was opened recently by Kenya.

Afro-Asian agitation directed from a proposed Tanganyika office to "wrest Mozambique from Portuguese colonial rule" was planned at a secret session in the Lebanon of the Indian-backed World Peace Brigade, according to a *Daily Telegraph* correspondent.

Mr. Clement Were, an unsuccessful candidate in the last elections, has formed "a compromise party," called the Kenya People's National Party, which will choose its policies from those of K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U.

Higher wages agreed in Uganda for 20,000 sugar estate workers will cost the industry a "colossal amount," a Sugar Manufacturers' Association spokesman has stated. They hope that the new basis will be an incentive to greater output.

After warnings that entry to schools this year for their children would be refused to those Africans who had not paid their 1961 rates, £21,000 was collected by Fort Hall African District Council, Kenya, in the last two months of last year.

A motion introduced in Bunyoro Kukurato by its only female member that women in the kingdom should be allowed to sit on bicycles and motorcycles like men was defeated. Opponents emphasized that "good morals are the essence of humanity."

Sir Roy Welensky Attacks U.N.O.

(Continued from page 507)

the U.N. game of publishing wild stories for their propaganda value, but I was not, on the other hand, able to overlook these reports.

We have, because of our geographical position, had to play an important part in the evacuation from Katanga of some hundreds of civilians, mostly women and children, who have been forced by recent events to leave Katanga. We have, of course, been glad to do all we could to help and ease the burdens of these sad victims of international politics. We have had the responsibility to help these people, and by the same token we have the responsibility to inform the U.N. of actions taken under its authority which have made the mass evacuation of civilians necessary. I do not think any reasonable person would deny this.

Serious U.N. Lapses

Moreover, if U.N.O. is to retain the respect of the civilized world, it must be above reproach in the conduct of its operations and scrupulously careful in its choice of agents. I have appointed a senior official of the Federal Government to examine the numerous reports that have reached us and to probe carefully into their authenticity, obtaining sworn declarations wherever possible. The findings confirm the widely-held view that there have been serious lapses from discipline and from the recognized rules of war, and I propose to arrange for the evidence to be presented to the Acting Secretary-General of his report. I should like to see the Acting Secretary-General considered view that the Acting Secretary-General should appoint an impartial investigator and report upon these reports. The U.N. will want to know that I have not yet received a reply either officially or unofficially from U Thant. I would advise hon. Members not to be disturbed at this. We all know that other critical issues are now engaging his attention.

As far as physical controls of arms and mercenary traffic are concerned, it is necessary to bear in mind that we have 1,200 miles of open and largely unenclosed frontier with Katanga over wild and sparsely populated territory. It is impossible to guarantee with absolute certainty that smuggling or mercenary movement has taken place over that frontier. Nor could anyone reasonably expect us to give such a guarantee. Determined men will cross any border, as the Russians, for example, well know for all their walls, fences, sentries and guard dogs.

What can be guaranteed is that there has been no smuggling of arms over the border of Northern Rhodesia and Katanga with the consent or knowledge of Government authorities federal or territorial, and there is as certain is that any smuggling that has taken place can have been on only an insignificant scale. The nature of the country is an effective deterrent to any large-scale operations, apart from the vigilance of Government officials in outlying areas.

Economic Activity Hindered

I have never regarded it as the policy of any party to the U.N. Congo operations to deprive the inhabitants of Katanga or its industrial installations of essential supplies. I would certainly not be party to any such policy. On the contrary, I have considered that we had a neighbourly and humanitarian duty to ensure that those supplies continue to go forward. They have done so on the basis of strict control. The basis of control, which is well known in every Ministry and Department of the Government, is that all supplies may go forward except those which are designed to be used for military purposes. I am satisfied that this interpretation is being rigorously applied, and that there have been a number of cases of dubious commodities the export of which has been forbidden. Last week, for example, we did not permit a consignment of military clothing to go forward. Maintenance of the Katanga economy at a high level of productivity and efficiency is of the most profound importance.

Most of the political pressure that has been exerted against Katanga has been directly attributable to the fact that she is the goose that lays the golden eggs. I am disturbed to find that, notwithstanding the general relaxation of tensions in Elisabethville, there has been such little progress made in the resumption of the economic activity. I am informed that this is largely due to the hindrances imposed by the U.N. authorities.

U.N. Forces are still in occupation of all Union Minière installations in Elisabethville and production there is at a standstill. This has meant that a further 2,000 men have been added to the already large number of unemployed. I need not say what that means in terms of human suffering and social unrest. I believe that the U.N. authorities have a special responsibility to see that the wheels of economy are kept

turning, and I find it difficult to understand why they seem to be deliberately obstructing this object.

We have recently also taken steps to improve the control that we are able to exercise over aliens in transit from the Congo in order to avoid irksome delays to legitimate travellers. The issue of transit visas is normally left largely to the discretion of visa-issuing officers in various parts of the world. We now require that applications referring to the intention to enter Katanga should be referred to us. We have visa abolition agreements with a number of countries which exempt their nationals from the necessity to obtain visas to enter the Federation. We are considering a temporary and limited suspension of these agreements to enable us to exercise a measure of control over the movements of nations of these countries. These measures are distasteful, and I look forward to reverting to normal practices as soon as possible. I hope that what we are doing will be recognized as a genuine attempt to show our good faith in this difficult matter.

As to the difficult question of mercenaries, I do not think there is a State in Africa which does not employ expatriates in civil or military capacities or both. It is a cardinal assumption of international technical assistance programmes that expatriate skills are vitally necessary to newly-independent countries of Africa. A great deal of money and energy goes into supplying those skills, and a great deal of healthy productivity results from the application of them. The American Peace Corps is conceived in that spirit.

The Security Council resolution of February 21 said: "The Security Council urges that measures be taken for the immediate withdrawal and evacuation from the Congo of all Belgian and other foreign military and para-military personnel and political advisers not under United Nations command, and the Security Council calls upon all States to take immediate and energetic measures to prevent the departure of such personnel from the Congo from their territories and for the denial of transit and other facilities."

Mercenaries: What Definition?

What is a political adviser? What is a mercenary? No satisfactory answer has been given. One of the biggest misapprehensions of the U.N. operation in Katanga has been the exaggerated importance a has attached to the influence exercised by Belgian and other foreign elements in holding Mr. Tshombe and his Ministers back from seeking a reconciliation with the Central Government.

There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that Katanga Ministers are masters in their own house. It is not clear whether Belgians or from other nations are so much afraid of them by getting rid of expatriates—and the U.N. appears to consider every expatriate in Katanga a potential mercenary. If you create a more compliant Katanga is a dangerous misjudgment. You may be reducing the ability of Katanga to resist the imposition of a forcible political settlement, but that is outside the terms of the U.N. mandate. Anyway, the miscalculation I mention seems to have become so deeply embedded in U.N. thinking that they appear to us to have greatly exceeded any reasonable interpretation of the resolution of February 21 in the persons they have expelled or sought to expel.

Many of these persons held key posts in the Katanga administration, and their removal has seriously undermined its efficiency. It seems to us that there are better reasons for keeping Belgian administrative and technical personnel in their positions than for removing them; and that appears to be the view in Leopoldville, where arrangements have been made with the Belgian Government for the re-introduction of large numbers of Belgian professional and technical personnel. The same considerations apply of course to industrial and commercial life in Katanga. One of the principal arguments advanced in favour of Katanga's re-integration with the remainder of the Congo is the argument that her industrial wealth is a vital factor in building the Congo into a viable State.

Katanga's Contribution to Congo

Whilst there is a tendency to overrate Katanga's potential contribution to the national economy having regard to the enormous tasks of reconstruction that lie ahead—particularly since the disastrous operations of December—there is a great deal of force in this argument, and it is one of the reasons why we have consistently urged our influence to bring about a reconciliation between Leopoldville and Elisabethville.

It is important to recognize, however, that the industrial strength of Katanga is highly dependent upon imported techniques and skills, and that any deliberate policy of cutting off those techniques and skills must inevitably have the most damaging effect on Katanga's industrial output, and therefore on the resources which she can make available to the wider Congo.

In order to keep that large industrial complex going at maximum efficiency, there must be a certain amount of movement

of persons to and out of Katanga—personnel going on leave, returning from leave, being replaced, or taking up employment for the first time. It is even likely that these movements will be greater than in normal times. One effect of the U.N. occupation of Katanga has been to disturb the even tenor of life and cause a quicker turnover of staff than under normal conditions.

Elisabethville airport has been denied to civilian use for several weeks, and most of this movement inevitably takes place through the Federation. There is every humanitarian and economic reason why we should facilitate it.

But we have made every effort within our legal powers to discourage the movement of military adventurers. We have taken vigorous action under our Immigration Law to remove a number of persons whom we believed were employed solely as fighting men. Last week we returned 26 passengers to Brazzaville because they were not in possession of transit visas.

Federal Defence

There are, however, very definite limits to the action we can take. There are enormous difficulties of identification. How are we to know what kind of employment a transit passenger is proceeding to? And to what obstacles in the way of persons transiting the Federation should be in plain conflict with a number of international obligations designed to facilitate world travel. Our Immigration Law was conceived in that spirit, and I am not aware that any other country has changed its laws to enable it to give greater effect to the Security Council resolutions of February 21 or November 13—and the text of the resolutions which I have just cited calls upon all States to take immediate and energetic measures to prevent the departure of persons from the Congo.

There has been a certain amount of speculation about our constitutional position in regard to defence. Federal responsibility for defence flows directly from the Constitution. Our understanding of the constitutional position is that the Federal Government has full power to defend itself against any form of attack from beyond its borders. It would be nonsense to suppose that we should have to await the action of any other party before we set about taking steps to defend our borders if the need arose before we reacted to repulse any case that sought to violate our borders. I can assure my members that we should react swiftly with the forces at our disposal.

I make no apology whatever for having criticized U.N. policy when I believe it has gone off the rails. There is a very real tendency in some quarters to treat U.N.O. as some kind of sacred cow and to regard it as an act of sacrilege to lay a finger of criticism upon it. I do not subscribe to that view.

Condoning Aggression

I think U.N.O. is more realistically to be seen as something analogous to nuclear science. It has an immense capacity for good or evil, depending on how it is used. If it is prepared to condone aggression, as it has done in Portuguese India, it is acting as a force for evil. This is not an isolated instance to be deplored and forgotten; it is an incident in the direct tradition of Hungary and already there are signs that it may shortly be followed by another similar incident in Dutch New Guinea; and so we shall go on from precedent to precedent to the end justifying the means.

Once that pattern has been well and truly set you may as well throw away the Charter, because it will have become a worthless scrap of paper. We shall be back to the law of the jungle once U.N.O. abandons the rule of law and condones or connives at the unbridled pursuit of national passions. It will have outlived its usefulness and become a positive danger to international peace. These dangers are beginning to be recognized, albeit belatedly. What remains to be seen is whether there is sufficient will and determination to guard against them. Meantime I shall not be deterred from speaking frankly about these things merely to spare embarrassment to those who prefer to take the line of least resistance.

The freedom of Salisbury will be conferred on the 1st Bn. The Royal Rhodesia Regiment in May.

Biantyre Commercial Training Centre, which is to open next Wednesday, will have a wide study programme ranging from evening classes in single subjects to a two-year course in stenography and secretarial training.

A new competition trophy for the Southern Rhodesia National Anglers' Union is the Parliamentary Cup, provided by subscriptions from every M.P., all of whom have been invited to compete by the chairman, Sir Hugh Beadle. He suggested that the winner should be the fisherman who persuades the judge that he lost the biggest fish of the day.

The British South Africa Company

Commercial Expansion in the Federation

The President of The British South Africa Company Group has recently stated that it is the Board's policy that the primary field for investment by the Group will continue to be the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyassaland.

The profits of the Rhodesian Milling Company in which the Group is associated with Anglo-Siam Limited have been reinvested for many years to meet the requirements of a fast-growing community. The Company is at present modernising and expanding its mills in Salisbury and Bulawayo at a cost of over £1 million, and it has in the last few years built a modern flour and maize mill in Lusaka and a depot in Kitwe.

The Ridgeway Hotel in Lusaka, in which a Subsidiary is the largest shareholder, is an outstanding hotel which has benefited Northern Rhodesia by the high standards it provides for visitors many of whom have contributed to the general development of the country. In Charter and Ridgeway Villages near Lusaka The British South Africa Company Group together with associates has given a lead in the provision of model housing for their African employees.

Very recently a Subsidiary agreed to make a total of £200,000 available for the development of African home ownership schemes in Lusaka and Salisbury. A Subsidiary has also undertaken, together with the Rhodesian Milling Company, to lend £250,000 to the Southern Rhodesia Government's African Housing Scheme which is designed to provide more and better housing for Africans employed by the Group and its associate in Salisbury and Bulawayo.

The British South Africa Company Group has made substantial contributions to the main Rhodesian University College of Rhodesia and Nyassaland, the Bernard Mizeki College for Africans, loan funds for agricultural settlement of ex-service personnel and young Rhodesian farmers, and for the Central African Archives, the Cathedral at Lusaka, the Barotseiland Development Fund and the Oppenheimer College of Social Service in Northern Rhodesia. These—to name a few—are investments in the progress and stability of the territories in the Federation.

Liebig's Extract of Meat Company

LIEBIG'S EXTRACT OF MEAT CO., LTD., a group with three subsidiary companies in Southern Rhodesia and one each in the Sudan, Kenya, and Tanganyika (in this case, jointly with the Government), reports consolidated group profits after tax for the year ended August 31 at £604,835, compared with £638,265 for 1960. A 15% ordinary dividend is repeated at a cost of £413,438, the general reserve is increased by £100,000, and the carry-forward is £20,210 (£46,640).

The issued capital is £47m in ordinary shares and £2m in preference shares, and there are debentures for £34m outstanding. Fixed assets stand in the books at just over £97m, current assets less current liabilities exceed £134m, and investments of a book value of £44,507 had a market value at the end of the year of £631,077.

The directors are Mr. K. R. M. Carlsle (chairman), Sir Francis Glyn, Sir Lancelot Royle, Mr. J. G. Phillimore, and Messrs. W. J. Gunther, J. V. Cooper, J. R. Stourton, the last three being executive directors, as is the chairman, extracts from whose annual statement appear in other columns.

Outlook for Pyrethrum

MR. NORMAN HARDY, executive officer of the Pyrethrum Board of Kenya, said in Nakuru a few days ago on his return from a 10-week tour of Australia, New Zealand, and the Far East, that an all-out effort had to be made to persuade people all over the world of the unique properties of pyrethrum as an insecticide, an aim which could certainly be achieved. Kenya's present production, exceeded market requirements, and since reduction of output would be the only decision, possessing strong arguments made to increase sales. The market for pyrethrum was expanding and could be further widened. Not possessing large cash reserves, the Pyrethrum Board would have to face financial problems in temporarily holding surplus stocks.

To help the Rhodesian factory of Dunlop, Ltd., import duties on some sizes of car and lorry tyres and tubes have been waived.

The *Ministre du Haut-Katanga* is now again quoting a price for copper. Quotations were suspended in mid-December owing to the disturbances in Katanga.

The liquidator of Motopa Gold Mining Co., Ltd., Southern Rhodesia, has realized £106,849 for the company's assets, more than double the £48,000 offered by the highest bidder.

A bid worth £438,000 has been made for the equity capital of E. H. Benthall & Co., Ltd., agricultural machinery manufacturers of Maldon, Essex, who have an African subsidiary.

More than 1,000 new companies were registered in the Federation last year, with a combined nominal capital of £17m. Nearly 900 of them are domiciled in Southern Rhodesia, 153 in Northern Rhodesia, and 20 in Nyasaland.

The board of directors of the International Coffee Agreement, meeting in Washington, have agreed to continue the existing export quotas for the present 28 member nations, which include Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika.

Union *Ministre du Haut-Katanga* has rescinded its decision to pay an interim dividend of 600 Belgian francs, per share, owing to the lack of authorization by the Katanga authorities for transfer of funds for payment of the dividend and also the impact of the present situation in Katanga. The copper output of the company last year was 293,500 metric tons, compared with 300,675 in 1960. Cobalt output, however, increased to 8,400 tons, against 8,222.

African Explosives and Chemical Industries, Ltd., a group with large interests in the Federation and East Africa, have reached agreement with the Government of South Africa for the establishment of three ammunition factories in that republic.

Globe and Phoenix Gold Mining Co., Ltd., which operates in Southern Rhodesia, reports net profits of £200,058 (£184,892) after tax of £114,637 (£107,387). The total dividend is 140% (120%), and an unchanged interim of 100% is declared in respect of 1961.

Car parking meters of U.K. manufacture installed by Nairobi City Council at a cost of nearly £13,000, though intended for 50 cent pieces (6d.), did not reject one cent pieces, and on one recently nearly 200 such coins were inserted. Meters made in Sweden have caused no trouble.

Cable and Wireless (Holdings), Ltd., is maintaining its first quarterly dividend of 1½d. per 5s. share on capital increased by recent scrip and rights issues. Group net profits for the quarter after meeting U.K. tax of £165,000 amounted to £245,000, against £213,853 in the corresponding period of 1960.

Benson International, Ltd., the largest international British advertising agency, which has two Nairobi connections through S. H. Benson, (East Africa), Ltd., and Dunford, Hall and Partners, Ltd., is now linked with Wilson Research, Ltd., also of Nairobi, which has done a number of opinion surveys in East Africa.

F. W. Woolworth & Co., Ltd., a group with a subsidiary in Rhodesia, reports consolidated net profit after tax for the year to December 31 last at £14,984,734, compared with £14,998,250 for 1960. The general reserve is increased by £24m. A final dividend of 1s. 3d. per 5s. unit is proposed, making 1s. 9½d. for the year.

On the London coffee market Uganda robusta has reached 160s per cwt. and March futures have risen another 3s. to 154s. These being the highest prices reached since the latter part of 1960. Simultaneously it has become known that the U.K. will provide more than £4m. to raise the export price of coffee from six Latin American countries.

Sisal fibre outputs: Bird & Co. (Africa), Ltd.: 1,143 tons in December, making 7,872 tons for July-December; Central Line (Africa), Ltd.: 782 tons in December, making 7,053 tons for six months (2,128 in 1960); Dwa Plantations, Ltd.: 177 tons, making 1,782 for 1961 (2,306 in 1960); East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd.: 95 tons in December, making 930 for six months (1,950 tons).

David Whitehead & Sons (Rhodesia), Ltd., a group with a subsidiary company in Southern Rhodesia, reports group net profit at £386,927, against £144,100 in the previous year, and a dividend of 27½% on the capital as increased by a one-for-three rights issue compared with 25% on the lower capital. Fixed assets stand at £2.2m. and current assets less current liabilities at £1,981,878.

African workers in the Ndolo copper refinery struck work suddenly at the beginning of this week, saying that they were leaving because their houses in the Masala township had no electric light. The Northern Rhodesian African Mineworkers' Union not having followed the prescribed procedure for conciliation and arbitration, the refinery manager, Mr. C. W. Nightingale, described the strike as unconstitutional. It lasted only one day.

Despite continuing difficulties in overseas markets, reduced demand at home, and the crisis months of last winter, the production figures for 1961 of the Ford Motor Co. Ltd., Dagenham, were the second highest in the company's history, 486,000 cars, commercial vehicles and tractors having been manufactured. About 40% of the cars, truck and vans were exported, and more than 50,000 of the 71,000 tractors.



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Company Report

The Lancashire Steel Corporation

MR. PHILIP E. HOLLOWAY ON RHODESIAN DEVELOPMENTS

THE THIRTY-SECOND GENERAL MEETING OF THE LANCASHIRE STEEL CORPORATION, LIMITED, will be held on February 14 at Warrington, Lancashire.

The following are extracts from the circulated review of the chairman, MR. PHILIP E. HOLLOWAY:—

I regret to report a fall of nearly £700,000 in the manufacturing and trading profit for the year compared with 1960. Despite this disappointing result, the manufacturing and trading profit for the year under review is still the third highest in the company's history. It is, in fact, only some £150,000 below the profit for 1959, which, until surpassed by 1960, was itself a record by a considerable margin.

Although the available income shows a considerable fall for the year, it still amounts to £1,532,000, and the directors feel justified in maintaining the dividend on the ordinary shares at 11%.

The Year's Trading

Productions of the main sections of the steel works compared as follows with those of the year 1960:—

	1961	1960
	Tons	Tons
*Coke	423,000	355,000
Pig Iron	364,000	432,000
Ingots	598,000	599,000
Rods	354,000	385,000
Re-Rolled Products	62,000	66,000

The production of coke and pig iron for the year, in each case, constituted a record to date.

Unfortunately, the production figures are by no means reflected in the manufacturing and trading profit, due to increased costs and a fall in demand for products.

Exports

During the year efforts were made to expand the sale of our products in export markets, but so far with only limited success, due to the extraordinarily low prices which at present rule therein. It is almost impossible to match these prices without a reduction to a level approaching the bare cost of production.

I fully appreciate the need for increased exports so often stressed by Government spokesmen, but certain aspects of official policy do not help to achieve this end. With low profit margins at home, it is clearly impossible to accept orders from abroad at unprofitable levels, and in my view it will be extremely difficult to meet the intense competition in the export market until home margins are restored.

Overseas Development

Unfortunately, the installation of the wire rod mill which it was anticipated would be in operation early in 1961 at the works of our subsidiary company at Que Que, Southern Rhodesia, has been delayed by late delivery of equipment. In addition, due no doubt to the political conditions, there has been a severe falling off in trade generally throughout the Federation, and the two factors have seriously affected the company's opera-

tions. The rod mill is now expected to begin rolling in the early months of 1962, and will, I hope, improve matters considerably.

During the year additional galvanizing and other equipment has been installed, and the company is now in a position to supply a wide range of galvanized and bright drawn wire, and well placed to take advantage of a revival in trade.

The adverse trading conditions in the Federation have also affected the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company, in which the Corporation are shareholders. The first development scheme of that company is now complete, and further developments are being explored.

I am confident that, given a satisfactory solution of the present political difficulties, there will be a prosperous future both for the country and the two companies in which we are interested.

Prospects

Summing the many factors which make it difficult to forecast the immediate future, I may mention that the steel industry at the present time has large surplus capacity, which, due to the fall in demand, is far from being utilized, and that new plant now in process of construction or planned will considerably increase this capacity within the next few years, that "destocking" by steel users is by no means complete, and that it is unlikely that they will again carry stocks to the same extent as in the past; that the industry is labouring under increased costs which have not so far been offset by commensurate increases in selling prices; that further increases in costs, e.g. in transport charges and in certain coals, are coming into effect in the new year; that strong opposition which may well result in industrial disputes or further increases in wages is developing to the "pay pause"; and that the Restrictive Trade Practices Act will shortly affect to an unknown extent conditions in the wire industry.

There are, however, hopeful aspects so far as this company is concerned. At the end of August the demand for our rods showed some improvement, which I am glad to say has been maintained, and normal working is in operation in the two rod mills. We expect very shortly to be in a position to supply bars of all types for reinforcing work, and anticipate that this market will materially improve the load on the steel works. Furthermore, development schemes which will come into operation during the year will undoubtedly strengthen our competitive position.

I am confident, therefore, that given an opportunity to conduct our business on normal commercial principles, this company can face the future with reasoned confidence.

I must, however, warn shareholders that the profits of the current year to date are appreciably below those for the corresponding period of 1960-61, and, unless there is a marked upsurge in demand in the immediate future, and an alleviation of some of the burdens under which we are labouring, the profits for the current year are unlikely to equal those of last year.

Company Report

Liebig's Extract of Meat Company, Limited

Excellent U.K. Results Offset by Activities Overseas

THE NINETY-SEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF LIEBIG'S EXTRACT OF MEAT COMPANY, LIMITED, will be held on February 8 in London.

The following is an extract from the statement by the chairman, MR. K. R. M. CARLISLE, which has been circulated with the report and accounts:—

Last year I expressed the hope that profits would show some expansion, provided no shocks were forthcoming from primary activities overseas. In fact, as the year progressed further it became apparent that, with the exception of excellent results in the United Kingdom, profits were not going to come up to expectations.

Substantial losses were incurred on production of canned meats and meat extract in Argentina and to a lesser extent in Paraguay, while profits from these activities in Southern Rhodesia and Tanganyika did not, when their accounts to December 31, 1960, were finally prepared, reach expectations. Returns from farming in Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Southern Rhodesia were, however, slightly better in total than those brought into the previous year's accounts.

Profits from the Continent of Europe were much lower than in the previous year.

Consolidated Profit and Loss Account

The group profit before taxation was £2,059,031, being £129,000 less than for the previous year.

The year's charge for taxation amounted to £1,148,000, as against £1,085,000 for 1959-60, and the Group profit after taxation was £911,031, compared with £1,103,254 for the previous year, a reduction of £192,000.

Your directors recommend the payment of a final ordinary dividend of 41 per cent., less income tax.

Oxo Limited

Trading in the United Kingdom, on every side of the company's activities, was highly successful.

Sales of the Oxo Cube were again greater than ever before, and sales of products under the FRAY BENTOS label continued to expand. FRAY BENTOS Corned Beef has now reached the stage where it is the clear brand leader, commanding a greater share of the consumer market than all other brands together. Sales of Stewed Steak have progressed satisfactorily. New FRAY BENTOS products, particularly Steak and Kidney pie, the quality of which has been widely acclaimed, were successfully introduced during the year.

OXOID Culture Media continue to enhance their reputation throughout the world, and the manufacturing unit was reorganized during the year to meet the demands of increasing sales. Products under the OXOID name now serve humanity in no fewer than sixty-eight countries.

Continent of Europe

Our products have been on sale in the Common Market countries for the greater part of a century, and with the passing years their variety has increased. We now have a network of sales and manufacturing companies covering all the countries in question.

We have thus been active on the Continent for some considerable time, and it is unlikely that the Treaty of Rome will lead directly to any dramatic changes in our affairs. The scope for rationalization and standardiza-

tion is however considerable, and these aspects are being closely watched.

After a detailed review of the Group's activities in the River Plate, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay, the statement continued:—

Africa

The financial results of most African primary factories for the year ended December 31, 1960, were less satisfactory than had been anticipated.

In 1961, conditions for all the meat canning activities were more favourable, and the plants all worked to virtual capacity. Drought in certain areas brought increased quantities of cattle to the markets, and in East Africa in particular it is to be hoped that the depletion of herds will not have been such as to affect adversely the 1962 supply position.

In the Central African Federation the processing of vegetables and fruit was not profitable, and it has been decided to close the Cabel factory and concentrate on making the Dintali factory a more profitable unit.

KENYA. We are again glad to have been of service to the Kenya Meat Commission in operating their canning plant at Athi River, and I should like to record with appreciation the friendly co-operation we receive at all times from them.

Sales of Oxo (East Africa) Limited, showed an improvement in 1961 as against 1960.

TANGANYIKA.—Both the Dar es Salaam and Arusha factories have been working well in 1961, and profits should be up on those for 1960.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA. Once more we were grateful to the Rhodesia Cold Storage Commission for their co-operation in supplying our West Nicholson factory with meat. The results of factory operations in 1961 should show an improvement over 1960.

Sales turnover in the Central African Federation again increased in 1960, and there was a further increase in 1961.

Our ranch again suffered drought conditions, but once more the water developments made during the last few years saw the herd through without undue loss.

It was decided to strengthen the boards of our companies in Southern Rhodesia, and I am happy to be able to announce that Mr. Fergus Dean has consented to join us and give us the benefit of his very considerable experience in Southern Africa.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA.—Oxo (South Africa), Limited, in 1960 earned a fair profit from goods imported prior to July, 1960, when the Union/Federal Trade Agreement came into force, imposing a punitive duty on products emanating from West Nicholson factory.

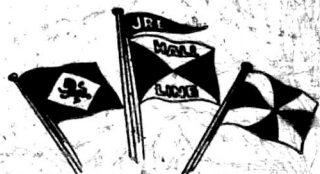
Sales in 1961 were down, because of short supplies of canned goods. The packing of certain products commenced at a small factory at our Johannesburg depot, and I hope that this, combined with economies effected, will enable the company to remain profitable.

Outlook

The accounts for the current financial year are expected to include better results from the United Kingdom and Africa, but how we shall fare in South America with its background of increasing costs, and on the Continent of Europe is as yet uncertain. It is therefore too early to give any definite forecast of profits for the current year.

CLAN-HALL-HARRISON LINES

JOINT



SERVICE

EAST AFRICA

from SOUTH WALES, GLASGOW and BIRKENHEAD
to MOMBASA, TANGA, ZANZIBAR, DAR ES SALAAM and
if inducement LINDI, MTWARA and NACALA

	Closing	Glasgow	*Sch. Wales	S'head
† JOURNAL	Jan. 27	Jan. 29	Feb. 7	
† CLAN LABES	Feb. 8	Feb. 12	Feb. 21	
† CITY OF LUCKNOW	Feb. 22	Feb. 26	Mar. 7	

*If inducement

† also PORT SUDAN

† also PORT SUDAN and ADEN

also by arrangement.

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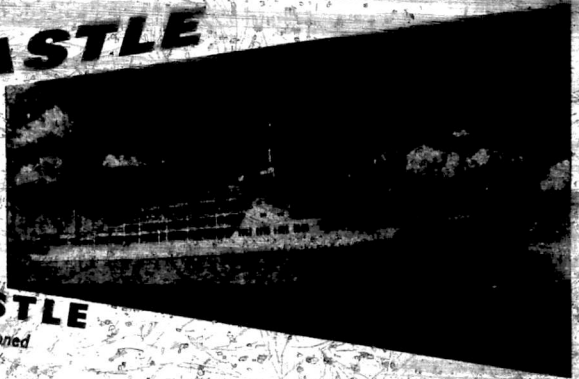
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The Hotel Ship, "Transvaal Castle", 33,000 tons took her place in the Weekly Mail Service to South Africa when she sailed from Southampton at 4 p.m. on Thursday, January 18, 1962. This latest addition to the Union-Castle fleet takes passengers in hotel comfort and carries freight under the most modern conditions safely and punctually to its destination.

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