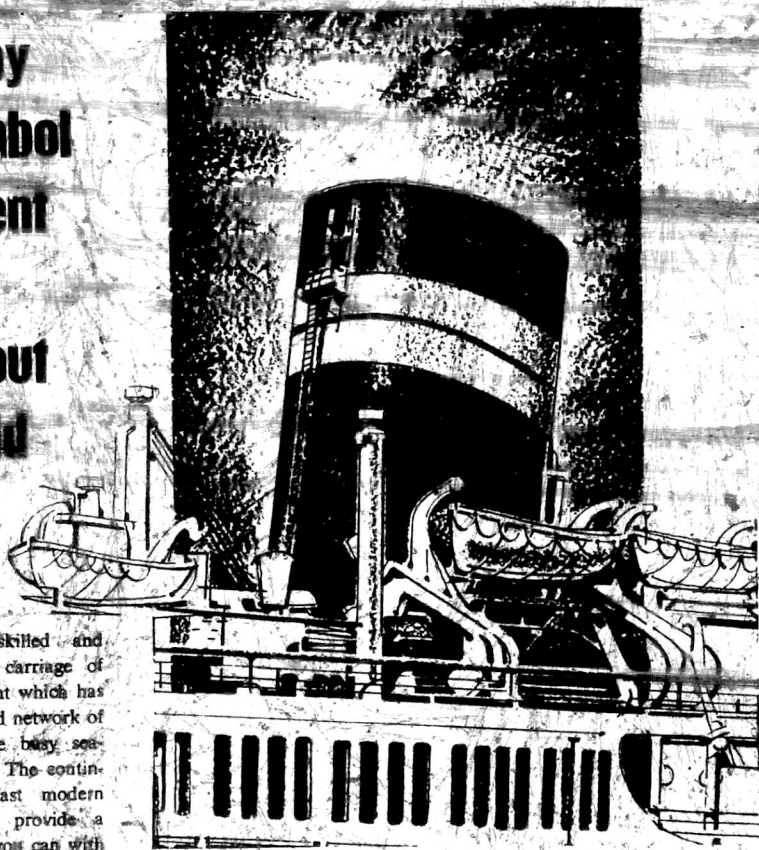


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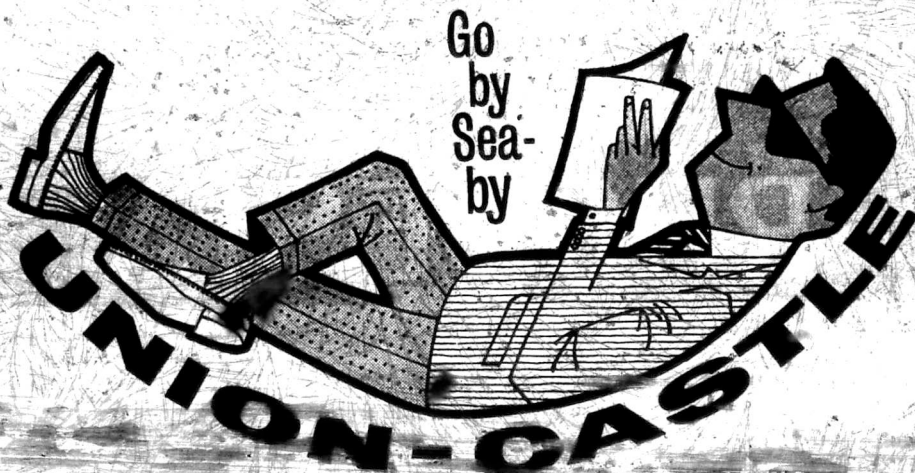
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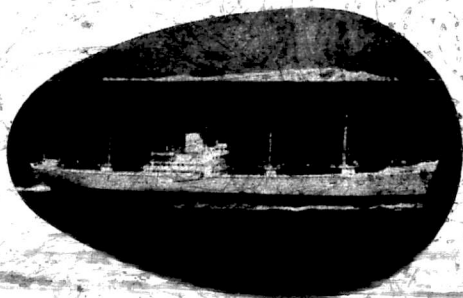
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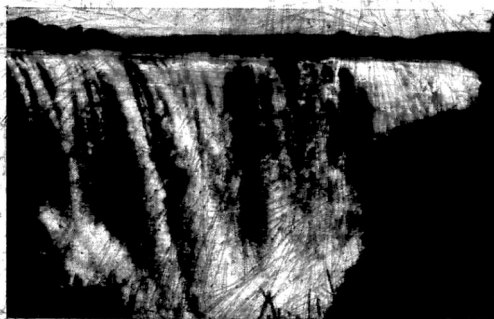


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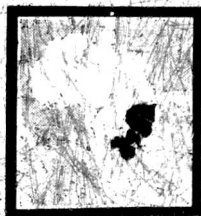


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MATTERS OF MOMENT

A **STURBING SUMMARY** of the situation in Tanganyika, made by the British Broadcasting Corporation's representative in East Africa, Mr. Douglas Willis, is published in full in this issue because

Sad News from Tanganyika. such a report from an independent observer of wide

experience in many countries merits consideration not merely by those who are especially interested in Tanganyika, but also by those who are concerned with political developments elsewhere in East and Central Africa. Though Mr. Nyerere unquestionably held a far greater measure of European respect and trust than any other African political leader in East Africa, and though he and the Cabinet from which he withdrew so abruptly continue to insist that that astonishing step has not diminished his influence, there can be no doubt that confidence in and about Tanganyika was shaken when he resigned from the Prime Ministership, and that it has been seriously reduced since the territory became independent little more than four months ago. While wishing Tanganyika well, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA made no secret at that time that it was not to be numbered among the starry-eyed optimists, and though sad at the rapidity with which anxieties are proving themselves justified, we are scarcely surprised except at the flagrant imprudence of some actions and discourtesy in others which nobody would have expected.

That three of the nine provincial commissioners had been dismissed at three weeks' notice was news to us, but the effect even of that shock in Tanganyika will have been reduced by the sudden dismissal a little earlier of the European who was Permanent Secretary in the Prime Minister's Office. Having almost worked himself out in preparing for the inde-

pendence celebrations, he had been sent home on sick leave, and hurried back as soon as he could, and was met at the airport with a message that he was to be retired within a week in order that his place might be filled by an African, and that despite the fact that Tanganyika is so short of Africans with administrative experience or capability that the substitution could be made only by recalling from London a man who had just taken up his post after spending the best part of a year learning the duties which were to fall upon him. His successor in London, who has had no such training, is a trade union leader still in his twenties. It was significant that another trade union leader was simultaneously given a portfolio in the Tanganyika Government.

That more than four hundred European civil servants should already have resigned, and that Tanganyika should have been suddenly deprived of five of its nine provincial commissioners, three by dismissal and two by resignation, is manifestly serious, and the situation is much

Confidence Undermined. more likely to get worse than better, for once confidence has been undermined, and especially when it is seen that men doing good work are thrust aside merely because their skin is white, those of their race who had hoped to be able to stay and help Africans to qualify for their new responsibilities must inevitably ask themselves whether that further and probably frustrating service is required of them. They hear African politicians working into almost every speech the slogan about making war on ignorance, poverty, and disease, but they see extremely little evidence of any realization that the campaigns will be long and hard and will not be won by words or even by good intentions. Knowledge and experience are essential qualifications, and, unfortunately, very, very few Tanganyika Africans have either.

Perhaps the most distressing part of the report by Mr. Willis—who had been a consistent supporter of Mr. Nyerere—is his assertion that he has lately found him withdrawn, morose, and singularly uncommunicative. If that assessment is accurate, it imports a lamentable new factor into the Tanganyika situation. Mr. Nyerere has hitherto shown himself to be a good-humoured, well-balanced extrovert, ready, indeed eager, to discuss his country's problems confidently and candidly in any friendly company. He has consequently been a splendid publicist for Tanganyika, and has made many people who doubted its readiness

for self-government, let alone for independence, feel that, though H.M. Government was unwise to run the risk, there was at least a chance that the gamble might not fail too badly if Mr. Nyerere's health could stand the strain and he remained his attractive, sanguine, enthusiastic, resilient self. According to Mr. Willis, he has lost—all must hope merely temporarily—his cheerful buoyancy. If that diagnosis be accurate, there is an obvious risk that his optimism may turn to pessimism and that his leadership may wane; and that would indeed be tragic for the man himself and for the country which he has come to personify.

Notes By The Way

Limuru School

WHATEVER HAPPENS IN KENYA, unless the work of the school is to be wrecked, there should be a place for a girls' school providing a liberal education on Christian principles. That has been the purpose and the triumphant achievement of Limuru Girls' School, of which the Archbishop of East Africa was until recently the chairman and of which Miss V. M. H. Owen is the headmistress; and her predecessor was Miss Anne Fisher, a niece of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, who has been interested in the school for years. Many hundreds of girls have been given an excellent start in life at Limuru, where there are now about 160 scholars, a number which it is planned to raise to 240 when the necessary funds have been found. To increase the intake so substantially at a time of great uncertainty in Kenya is the measure of the faith of the governors of the school, who, after anxious deliberation, have decided to add a strong sixth form, science laboratories, a swimming bath and gymnasium, more class rooms and dormitories, staff flats and other extensions, together costing more than £100,000. Inter-Church Aid has promised £35,000 and the Kenya Government £22,500, and old girls, their parents, and other well-wishers are asked to provide the balance.

Influence of Diplomats

THE PRINCIPLE of admitting any eligible girl, without regard to race, was adopted some time ago, and one African and one Asian are among the present pupils. Few girls of their race have yet the background and training which would enable them to fit easily into the life of the school, but fairly soon there should be many African and Asian pupils, not merely, I imagine, the daughters of Kenya parents, but also of the staffs of the many African and Asian embassies which will be established in Nairobi when Kenya becomes independent. Indeed, a much larger Diplomatic Corps based on Nairobi is likely to bring quicker change to the school than may now be foreseen even by some of those closely associated with it; and such a development should prove a valuable safeguard, for if their own children receive at Limuru an education which ambassadors, counsellors, and other members of foreign missions deem good, they may privately exercise powerful influence against pressure for precipitate and unduly risky change.

Product of White Settlement

THE SCHOOL was the creation of a farmer, Mr. Arnold B. McDonell, who still lives near Limuru. Because there were no educational facilities for his four daughters in 1922, he engaged a school for two years, who started on his farm a school for boys and other European girls. Bishop Heywood was so interested and impressed that four years later the school and 60 acres of land were taken over and guaranteed by an Anglican trust. Ten years later the responsibility passed to the Commonwealth and Continental Church Society, who are still the trustees. But the school must be counted a direct and highly beneficial by-product of white settlement. Mr. J. Nyagah, lately Deputy Speaker of the Legislature, who came to know the school through his connexion with the Christian Council of Kenya and the Christian Churches Educational Association, has warmly commended the plan of expansion because he is convinced of the importance of maintaining the standard. A daughter of the Speaker, Mr. Humphrey Slade, is an old girl; Sir Richard Turnbull, Governor of Tanganyika, who served for many years in Kenya, has written of "Limuru's fine record in scholarship and in the civilities"; and Mr. A. F. Beakbane, chairman of Brooke Bond (East Africa), Ltd., strongly supports the appeal on the ground that "Christian teaching and education have never been more needed than they are in East Africa today". Anybody who knows anything of the work done during the past 40 years must hope that it will be continued and expanded. Donations (which should be sent to the headmistress) will be thankfully received and faithfully applied.

Boosting Kenyatta

KENYATTA'S NAME will live for ever among our people, regardless of the slander campaign which some British newspapers have engaged in for the last ten years. Mr. Tom Mboya, secretary general of the Kenya African National Union, wrote recently in the *Daily Telegraph*. Not long afterwards he said in a letter to *The Times*: "There have been efforts to discredit Mr. Kenyatta as leader of K.A.N.U., and especially to try to imply that his leadership was failing the party, and in some cases even to try to instigate K.A.N.U. members to think that

Mr. Kenyatta's leadership was a liability. These statements have not only been proved false by events, but have become disgustingly mischievous on the part of those who persistently spread them". He added that he would remain a member of K.A.N.U., and would not break away from the party, as had been frequently prophesied.

Mr. Mboya's Opposition

MR. MBOYA might, as the politicians say, have declared his interest, for if he broke with Kenyatta he might fall even to get a seat in the Legislature at the next election. He was born on a small island, Rusinga, in Lake Victoria, has no standing in his tribe, and would be unlikely to win against any well-known Luo anywhere in Nyanza. As a trade union leader, his support is in Nairobi and Mombasa, but even in Nairobi, a very high proportion of whose residents are Kikuyu, he would almost certainly be defeated by a Kikuyu opponent who was backed by the politicians of the tribe. His sole count on success is his own support as a good candidate with great support. Mr. Mboya's support for Kenyatta has thus its obvious self-protective character. It hardly doubts his ability; but Africans in both parties speak openly of the essential weakness of his position for the above reasons.

Lari Massacre

WHAT BRITISH NEWSPAPERS have run a "slander campaign" against Kenyatta? Not one—for the elementary reason that any which committed libel would quickly receive a writ, Kenyatta and his associates having never lacked the advice of very capable and experienced lawyers in the United Kingdom, some Q.C.s. among them. There is all the difference between what Mr. Mboya calls a "slander campaign" and reminders such as those which EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA publishes because it believes that the bestiality and criminality of Mau Mau ought to be kept in the public mind for the public good. In connexion with Mr. Mboya's reference to the publication of slanders "for the last ten years", it needs to be recalled that it is nine and a half years since the outbreak of the Mau Mau rebellion. The implication is that there should not have been criticism of that blood-drenched conspiracy and foul cult even during the worst Mau Mau excesses. "Kenyatta's name will live for ever". Does his lieutenant imagine that it is honoured in, say, the vicinity of Lari, where about one hundred defenceless Kikuyu men, women, and children were slaughtered by Mau Mau in one dreadful night in March, 1953?

Foul Crimes

THE OFFICIAL HISTORIAN of Mau Mau has recorded that the agents of that atrocious organization drank the blood of some of their human victims; held others down while their heads were slowly sawn off; cut in swain the child of a chief and flung the two halves at the mother, who was then killed; split open pregnant women; exhumed bodies and ate the putrified flesh; cut off the ears of persons who declined to take the Mau Mau oath, so that they might be identified in future and victimized; and buried alive some men and women, and tied others in sacks and dropped them into wells. This short selection from the catalogue of crimes committed by the movement which the courts found Kenyatta guilty of managing might well have been published by the British Press when he came to London, for it would have been a very timely reminder. Fleet Street, far from running a "slander campaign" against Kenyatta, has treated the man with staggering tolerance.

Folly in London

A NORTHERN RHODESIAN FRIEND, who is wholeheartedly in favour of African advancement but highly critical of the United National Independence Party because of its bad record of violence and intimidation, said in my hearing the other day: "Almost any article about Northern Rhodesia in any English daily paper or week-end review describes Kenneth Kaunda as the African national (or nationalist) leader. That shows complete misunderstanding. He was nobody until Mr. Macleod unwisely started to make a fuss of him; and nearly all the people associated with him in the top jobs in U.N.I.P. are without achievement of any kind and devoid of experience and any sense of responsibility. Mr. Kaunda's father and mother both came from Nyasaland. He has no chief in Northern Rhodesia. To Africans in general he is therefore not even a Northern Rhodesian; let alone the accepted leader. The chiefs hold U.N.I.P. in contempt, and so do the masses of their people. It is in and from London that Mr. Kaunda and his movement have been built up. If instead one-tenth of the attention had been paid by politicians in the United Kingdom to the moderate African leaders, U.N.I.P.'s power would have been negligible. As in so many other continents our problems have been immensely aggravated by thoughtlessness or recklessness in London, and especially by Members of Parliament of whom I do not wish to have any judgment about Africa even if they have a modicum of knowledge".

Uhuru na Moto

SLANDER MAKING has become a flourishing industry in Africa, not least in Tanganyika, where African politicians, having driven a serviceable word or phrase into the minds of their followers, have not hesitated to substitute some other chant. *Uhuru* was given such general currency that in quite remote areas it became a form of greeting. In a Swahili-speaking country the customary salutation *Jambo* gave way to *Uhuru*; and this last word was even adopted by Negroes in the United States! Then Mr. Nyerere, creator and leader of the Tanganyika African National Union, and at that time the Minister, used *Uhuru na Kazi* as his challenge, meaning independence and work. His successor as head of the Government, Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, has now a variation, *Uhuru na Moto*, used so far as I know for the first time in Kongwa, where he told his hearers that the phrase "indicates the intention to burn out all forms of colonial government in Africa". *Moto* means fire. Considering the immense benefits which Tanganyika has had, and will continue to have, from the British connexion, would it not have been better to endeavour to fire the people with the wish and the will to accept the best in what is nowadays decried as "colonialism"?

Thieving for the Party

AFTER REVISITING KENYA a man well known in the City of London has written in the course of a private summary of his impressions of which I have had sight: "A considerable sum of money was stolen from my room at my hotel in Nairobi. The security officer told me that the African servants were under considerable pressure to steal whatever money and valuables they could in order to support their party's funds. He said it was noticeable that thefts always increased during conferences at Lancaster House!" The writer doubts whether hotel servants who steal to order qualify for the governance of their country, and he is highly critical of the "indecent haste" of United Kingdom politicians in thrusting independence upon Kenya and other African countries.

Communist Problem in Congo Not Understood by U.N. or U.S.A.

Professor van den Haag's Report on His Inquiry in Katanga

AFTER INQUIRY ON THE SPOT on behalf of the American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters, PROFESSOR ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG, of New York University, has written a report entitled "The War in Katanga", which gives in considerable detail an assessment of the blunders of the United Nations in the Congo and a gruesome catalogue of crimes committed by troops of various nations supposedly under United Nations control in Katanga.

From the report, which is obtainable at one and a half dollars from the American Committee (at 79 Madison Avenue, New York), the following passages are taken:—

"Parts of the United Nations operation were and remain useful to the world and to the Congo. But the U.N. also intervened in Congolese domestic affairs (on behalf of those of its members who were so disposed) and, contrary to explicit promises, attempted to force the surrender of Katanga to the Central Government by military aggression. In this action the original purpose was betrayed and a disservice rendered to the Congo and the world.

Had they succeeded, the actions of U.N. troops and troops would have led to (a) a peacefully communitarian Congo; (b) a Congo dominated by Ghana and its allies; or (c) if there was enough resistance to these threats, to civil war.

If both Communism and civil war were avoided, this is due to (1) the defeat by the Congolese of the U.N. attempts to sustain the Lumumba Government; (2) the defeat of Ghanaian intervention by the Congolese (without U.N. support); (3) the defeat of the original U.N. attack on Katanga and the continued Katangese resistance.

U.N. Did Not Oppose Congolese Communists

"It was not Mr. Dayal, the U.N. representative, who opposed the Lumumba-Gizenga Government even when it was engaged in obviously illegal acts. It was President Kasavubu, under Mr. Dayal's strenuous opposition and attempts to interfere, who dismissed Lumumba despite the threat of direct U.N. intervention. Lumumba did not regain power thereafter, owing to Kasavubu's shrewdness and Colonel Mobutu's decisiveness, supported by Tshombe's stand: secession rather than knuckling under Lumumba.

"The military activity of the U.N. in Katanga contrasts with its passivity in regard to (a) the political secession of and opposition to the Central Government of the Stanleyville region; (b) the barbarities—murder of missionaries; murder and torture of Natives; murder of U.N. soldiers on peaceful missions—committed by the Stanleyville troops.

"I cannot see why the elimination of 'mercenaries', accused of no crime except being in Katanga, justifies harsh military action of which the civilian population was the main victim; whereas the protection of the civilian population against a Communist-inspired murderous rabble in Stanleyville, Kivu, and North Katanga called for no action whatever.

"Where and when the Katanga Government was allowed to function, no disorders or anti-white atrocities comparable to those occurring in the rest of the Congo have so far taken place. However, the U.N. prevented the Katanga Government from functioning in much of the northern region. It has opened these regions to invasion by mobs of soldiers originating in Stanleyville and elsewhere outside Katanga. As a result, numerous Natives, as well as white missionaries and priests, have been murdered.

"The State Department [of the United States] insists that the ability of the Aduka Government to deal with Gizenga depended on a U.N. victory in Katanga; i.e., the ability of the Central Government to deal with Communists and lawless bands rests on the defeat of law-abiding anti-Communists. On the face of it, this contention is odd. It seems odder still if we remember that the original Katanga secession was reaction to Lumumba's lawless and pro-Communist Government. This secession was recognized by President Kasavubu and his

Central Government, who were in explicit accord with the Katanga Government.

"As for the U.N., far from helping, it probably delayed the establishment of a democratic and federated Congo republic. The U.N. (a) first helped the pro-Communist and lawless factions actively (Lumumba); (b) then indulged them passively (Gizenga); (c) attacked the orderly and anti-Communist factions.

"The explanation for the State Department's support lies in (a) incompetence; (b) an unjustifiable feeling (no one would be willing to present it as a doctrine) that U.N. decisions must always be supported, even when originally opposed by the State Department; (c) unwillingness to engage in a policy that would separate us from the uncommitted Afro-Asian nations. In effect, such an unwillingness means that the U.S. gives up its independence in favour of the African nations; since we seem unwilling to separate ourselves from them and they do not follow us, we follow them.

Mercenaries Helped to Avoid Civil War

"The U.N. demand was clearly aimed at maintaining a Central Government (and a Congolese State) against the Congolese (African) desire to weaken and eliminate the Katanga Government by weakening its army. The Katanga army had already been staffed by white mercenaries, but the U.N. sent the Congo army. Thus, the mercenaries were nothing new. Katanga had not dismissed all its white officers (as had the rest of the Congo) at Lumumba's orders, and it placed many of those who left. Far from constituting a threat of civil war or disorder, these 'mercenaries' helped to avoid it: they kept the Katanga army disciplined; if never degenerated into a murderous rabble, as did other sectors of the Congo army.

"U.N. planes conveyed Bocheley-Davidson to Elisabethville at the time of the September attack. Bocheley-Davidson was admittedly sent to Elisabethville as a representative of the Central Government in order to effect the elected Government of Katanga headed by Moke Tshombe. He never went beyond the Elisabethville airport; he spent two days there waiting for the U.N. to conquer Katanga. When it became clear that the U.N. could not even safely get him into Elisabethville, and the U.N. attack was being beaten back, Bocheley-Davidson returned to Leopoldville, again by U.N. plane."

"This happened despite Dag Hammarskjöld's explicit statement that 'the United Nations Force cannot be used on behalf of the Central Government to subdue or to force the provincial government to a specific line of action.' It further follows that United Nations facilities cannot be used, for example, to transport civilian or military representatives under the authority of the Central Government to Katanga against the decision of the Katanga Provincial Government. No doubt Hammarskjöld was both right and in good faith. There is no doubt either, unfortunately, that his good faith and that of the Katanga Government, which relied on his word, were betrayed.

Notorious Pro-Communist Selected

"Why a Central Government not itself Communist commissioned the former Agriculture Minister in Gizenga's pro-Communist Stanleyville Cabinet to rule Katanga, I do not know. Bocheley-Davidson was selected, even though his unsavoury past—apart from political acts, he was charged with murder and torture—had been publicly exposed by President Kasavubu himself. When I asked him, Premier Adoula conceded the above facts. He did not explain or attempt to justify them."

"The U.N. objective went far beyond the elimination of 'mercenaries' or the avoidance of civil war. The U.N. fought to replace the elected Native Katanga by a non-Native, non-elected commissioner. When the Central Government chose a notorious pro-Communist, the U.N. did not demur and transported him to Elisabethville. Thus its victory would have meant the rule of Katanga by a pro-Communist commissioner, charged with atrocities by the Government that sent him."

"Yet the evidence shows beyond a doubt that, had the U.N.—supported by the State Department—won its battles in Katanga, this most important part of the Congo would now be under pro-Communist rule.

"Although the U.N. never asked the Leopoldville Government to get rid of foreign specialists, it insistently asked the Katanga Government to do so. No such demands were made on Stanleyville either. Their specialists were not called 'mercenaries', but 'experts' (including Soviet and Eastern bloc pilots, et al).

Apart from the casualties of combat, a number of acts which are unrelated to any legitimate military purpose appear to have been committed by the U.N. forces in Katanga. These include: (a) deliberate murder of unarmed, non-combatant civilians, white and black, including women and children; (b) deliberate injury, rape, and robbery of unarmed civilian non-combatants, white and black; (c) damage to buildings, including hospitals, churches, and business establishments which were not, and could not reasonably be believed to be, for military purposes; (d) shooting at ambulances; (e) thefts; and (f) arbitrary arrests.

Dr. O'Brien established a camp for Baluba, protected by U.N. troops, on the outskirts of Elisabethville. Originally 200 persons were so sheltered; now there are 40,000. I visited the camp accompanied by Swedish officers and soldiers with sub-machine guns at the ready. (I was told that otherwise the security of visitors could not be insured.) The 40,000 Baluba are allowed to come and go at any time.

Indoctrination in Baluba Camp

The camp is totally dominated by the Jesuite Balubakat, which terrorizes its inhabitants. No protection is extended by the U.N. against this terror group; intra-camp murders are common and unpunished.

The campers are being indoctrinated in tribalistic propaganda and Katanga doctrines by Jesuite Balubakat. The camp streets have been named in honor of Communist leaders: (A) Com. Khabinev, and (B) Com. Khabinev. The camp works as a training school for hatred, subversion, and violence.

Under the administration of Dr. Connor Cruise O'Brien, the U.N. tried to rule Katanga even while attacking it. Direct pressure on persons to get out of Katanga, an oath of arrest and punishment by the U.N. compelled many to leave. Since U.N. soldiers had committed murders and other crimes, acts by this time the threat carried weight. O'Brien, thus

arbitrarily removed civil servants, executives, lawyers, journalists, and professors from the local university.

In these deportations civil rights and equitable let alone legal procedures were ignored. I do not know how O'Brien compiled his black list. But the fact is indisputable that the U.N. had a list of whites to be deported and did deport many of them by threats of violence. None of the blacklisted persons was given a hearing.

State Department's Dangerous Illusion

"In addition to blacklisting, arresting and deporting an assortment of persons that had incurred its displeasure, the U.N. also removed (in accordance with resolutions of its deliberative bodies) the major civilian advisers, administrators, and civil servants from the provincial administration. These were Belgians, often with many years of service. And they are the people most competent to fill civil service positions until Natives are ready to take over. For the time being they are needed in Katanga as well as in the rest of the Congo. Tshombe therefore rightly asked them to stay—and to prepare their successors . . .

The State Department of the United States has fostered the dangerous illusion that the Communist problem in the Congo will disappear once the Katanga problem is settled. Yet the Katanga situation arose in reaction to Lumumba and Gizenga. Katanga insisted on decentralization, and even separation, in fact—I hope now grounds, but originally all too well founded. It is a pity that the Congo might be taken over by the present Communist Government.

It seems incredible in retrospect that the U.N. attempted to force the surrender of the Katanga to the Communist Congolese—the Katangans—and to hand them over to a Communist commissioner supported by the U.S. Yet we did this. And our State Department insisted that this was the best to defeat Communism in the Congo.

Little Confidence in Tanganyika, Says B.B.C. Reporter

Mr. Nyerere Now Morose, Withdrawn and Singularly Incommunicative

HIGHLY CRITICAL COMMENT on Tanganyika has been made by Mr. Douglas Willis, the B.B.C. correspondent in East Africa, in a talk which has been broadcast from London and from Nairobi.

Mr. Willis said:—

"The returning visitor to an independent Tanganyika is not reassured by the contemporary scene. Things that were being done in minutes are being done in hours or not being done at all. There is a growing bureaucracy in the Government and civil service where professional bureaucrats are in short supply.

"The other day the Government decreed that all stationery bearing the imprint 'On Her Majesty's Service' should be destroyed, and would have got rid of several tons of it, but didn't when it was pointed out that it would be cheaper and less wasteful to print stickers to paste over the offending words. The incident is symptomatic on a state of mind among some leading Tanganyika Africans that the old order has passed and that its passing should be speeded up, even if it doesn't quite make sense to the ordered and disciplined European mind, and indeed to the African mind.

General Air of Run-Down

"The withdrawal of a taut British authority and the gaining of independence may have added to the happiness of the masses and the African politicians, but it has detracted from the efficiency of the public services and perhaps the eventual well-being of the community. There is a general air of run-down, and there is a suspicion that this may be a continuing thing. There is no great confidence on any side, and no great worry on one. But if the present exodus of European and Asian technicians and executives goes on, the administration of the country and some of its important services may come to a halt.

"A large number of these people are leaving or have

left. They have accepted their golden handshakes, amounting in some cases to as much as £10,000, and gone back whence they came. Others are being encouraged by extreme African trade union and nationalist pressure to follow suit. In the capital city of Dar es Salaam all the top European officials, with the exception of the town clerk, have resigned, in spite of the fact that there is no compensation for them.

"Over 400 European civil servants have resigned from the Government service, and three out of nine provincial commissioners have been dismissed on three weeks' notice; two others have left of their own accord.

Asian Community Hard Hit

"There is an African demand for the removal of Europeans and Asians from the railways, the post office, and the customs services. The European head of the Tanganyikan Broadcasting Corporation has been replaced by an African. The Government's chief press officer resigned this week.

"The capital city of Dar es Salaam will soon be without a medical officer of health and a chief engineer, and has been without a chief fire officer for some time.

"The one remaining European Cabinet Minister, Mr. Derek Brogan, who has become a Tanganyika citizen, has warned that his Agriculture Ministry faces difficulties unless its departed engineers are replaced. There are very few skilled Africans of any kind in Tanganyika, and only 38 African students are studying engineering.

"Doubts for the future of Tanganyika are bound to grow until there are enough able men to run the country. At present the upper crust is so thin that to Africanize the post of Secretary of the Cabinet the Government had to recall the Tanganyika High Commissioner from London after he had served there for only eight weeks.

"The present campaign against European and Asian executives has been deplored in Parliament by African Ministers and by the Prime Minister. It stems mostly from the unions. Yet the Government's stated policy is that, other things being equal, if there are black, white, and brown candidates for an office, the man with the black skin will get it. This is described to me as not localization but Africaniza-

tion—not jobs for citizens of the country, but jobs based on a colour discrimination.

"The hardest hit so far are members of Tanganyika's large Asian community, who previously, because of their higher education, monopolized middle positions in the civil service. They are now being replaced by Africans. Most of the Asians were born in East Africa, have been given no compensation, and have nowhere else to go—unless they go back to India or Pakistan, which most of them do not want to do.

"It may be said that this British view of a situation does not reflect a point of view which an African, and in particular a Tanganyika African, would take; it may also be said that the present situation there was inevitable, and that a newly-independent country, the most backward of the three East African territories, was bound to have testing troubles.

"But it's certain that there is a growing depression and a lack of confidence in the minds of the immigrant communities. The bottom has dropped out of the property-market, and the recent abolition of freehold tenure has shaken the farming community, on whom the economy of the country largely depends. Money is said to be leaving the country at the rate of £200,000 a month.

Government Breaks Pledges to Colonial Officials

The Case for Non-Designated Expatriate Civil Servants

H.M. GOVERNMENT have broken their pledges to British officials serving in East Africa, said Mr. PATRICK WALL, Conservative M.P. for Salisbury, when he introduced a short adjournment debate in the House of Commons recently.

"Tribute to the civil servants working in our overseas dependencies and the need for trained administrators to serve these countries as they move towards independence within the Commonwealth have been stressed year after year in this Chamber. But if we expect these officers to carry on serving during a critical period just before and after independence, it is clear that they must require certain assurances both as regards their salaries and pensions and possible discrimination against them because of their race and similar matters.

"It is because it was believed that these assurances were given that more than 75% of the expatriate civil servants in Tanganyika decided to stay on in that country after independence. Since December, when Tanganyika became independent, the situation has deteriorated. It is now clear that the assurances given to certain categories of those civil servants have not been implemented. Anxiety is therefore spreading to Kenya and Uganda, which still come under the control of the Colonial Office.

Two Categories Prejudiced

"Those who belong to H.M. Overseas Civil Service are called designated officers. There are two other categories—the non-designated expatriate officers and the local officers. Members of the last two categories believe that H.M. Government have broken their pledges to them.

"In 1954 the Colonial Service was reorganized. Further amplification to this reorganization was given in Cmd. 1193 of October, 1960. That second paper introduced the principle of inducement pay by which H.M. Government in this country would pay the difference in salary required by the expatriate civil servant compared to the local indigenous civil servant and thus make it easier for expatriates to continue to serve. Subsequent negotiations about the future of members of H.M. Overseas Civil Service were satisfactorily concluded.

"Members who wish to retire upon independence being attained will receive adequate compensation, and there are good terms for those who intend to stay on. I am sure that the House will hope that as many as possible will decide to stay on in all the countries of East Africa when they reach independence.

"It is, however, about the latter two categories that I want to speak. There are about 8,000 non-designated officers in East Africa, of whom some 500 are European. These officers are permanently employed and are pensionable, and have their leave home to India, Pakistan, or the U.K. paid. This category of officer received an assurance in White Paper

"While Tanganyika has been successful in raising public money from Britain, Germany, and the United States, little private investment is taking place.

"The biggest factor of all in lack of financial confidence in the country stems from the resignation of Mr. Julius Nyerere from the Government. He is now engaged on rebuilding his monolithic party, the National Union. It is uncertain whether he would accept the Presidency of the Republic when Tanganyika becomes one later this year. It is said that he dislikes the detail involved in high office and that as Prime Minister he was hesitant in making clear decisions.

"The previously effervescent nationalist, still regarded by Tanganyika as its real leader, now appears to one who likes him to be morose, withdrawn, and singularly uncommunicative about his country's growing pains.

[Editorial comment appears under Matters of Moment].

Colonial 306 of 1954, of which paragraph 10 says: "H.M. Government recognize that there are certain other categories of overseas pensionable officers who have been overlooked in the scheme of territorial Governments other than by selection by the Secretary of State. These officers may be assured that their interests will not be overlooked when the agreements referred to in paragraph 7 are being negotiated." Paragraph 7 refers to the agreements made between H.M. Government and these States as they were made. It says: "and when the territory concerned has agreed to ensure the observance of these conditions by securing their embodiment in a formal agreement... The White Paper published in October, 1960 repeats this promise.

"In December last year these promises appear to have been broken. Tanganyika reached its independence without officers of this category having received any assurance about their future. The same applies to the officers serving in the East Africa High Commission which was wound-up, the officers being transferred to the new Common Services Organization. "In December, 1960, talks took place in London, and there was an understanding, given by the Colonial Office, that soon after there would be a statement on compensation rights and security of conditions and pensions of these non-designated officers. This statement was expected about March 1961. However, no statement was issued.

Agreement Rejected

"Further negotiations, then proceeded on a scheme for retirement benefits. This reached a deadlock on the question of whether or not this category of officer should have the option to leave on the independence of the territory in question. A further round of talks took place in London last October and November, and on November 6 a satisfactory compromise agreement was reached—one month before the independence of Tanganyika and the establishment of the East African Common Services Organization. At that time an undertaking was given to re-convene this conference in the event of any major changes in the agreement.

"The agreement was sent for ratification to the East African Governments. Quite recently it has been rejected by the Government of Tanganyika as being too expensive, and the staff association concerned—the staff side of the Whitley Council—in Nairobi, has been informed by the Kenya Government that it was not possible to commit itself to the principle that pensionable non-designated officers should be permitted to give notice of retirement on pension earned to date when full voluntary retirement pensions scheme for designated officers comes into operation in Kenya.

"I take it to mean that these non-designated expatriate officers are required to stay on, and perhaps be discriminated against and jettisoned when they are no longer required.

"The staff association representing them has been put in a completely impossible situation. It started negotiations in East Africa but came to deadlock, and then came over to London and reached a compromise agreement, but that agreement has now been rejected locally. I hope that the Secretary of State will reconvene this conference as soon as possible, which I understand was the undertaking given in November should things go wrong.

"In the case of officers who are recruited locally there is

a considerable difference between European and non-European. The non-European, generally speaking, is an indigenous inhabitant of the country and intends to stay on. That does not always follow, but quite a number do wish to stay.

There are very few Europeans. They fall under four main categories. There are those recruited from or in the U.K. and who have their passage paid to East Africa. There are ex-Servicemen who left the Army in East Africa and then entered the civil service. There are those recruited from civilian firms in East Africa. There are those born in the country who are therefore citizens of East Africa.

H.M. Government have some—I emphasize 'some'—responsibility for the first two of these categories. There are 262 Europeans in Kenya who are permanent and pensionable and known as local officers. Those who were recruited before the Lidbury Committee were treated as members of H.M.O.C.S., but those recruited after the Lidbury Committee reported were treated as local civil servants. It is true that when they signed on they knew the terms, but when the Lidbury Committee reported it was expected that the status quo would be retained for at least 10 years.

I will quote an example. An officer serving in the Army in East Africa discussed the possibility of entering the police force in Kenya. He returned to the U.K. on demobilization and was then offered a job in the police force in Kenya while in England. He had his passage back to Mombasa paid, yet he was treated as a local civil servant.

In Tanganyika there are about 120 European local officers, mostly ex-Servicemen. Of these, 100 are to return to the U.K. They are being employed in training local Africans to relieve them. In some cases their leave has been stopped in order to speed up the training of these reliefs. Surely they should at least be assisted with their passage and finding a job in the U.K.

These men received an increase of pay under the Fleming Report and are very hard up, but they want to return home and have not the wherewithal to do so and establish themselves in some sort of business on arrival. The Secretary will know that I have raised this case with him and his predecessor for the past 18 months. I have been told that negotiations are proceeding, but now that Tanganyika is independent it is going to be very difficult for the Colonial Office to bring pressure to bear.

Discrimination

"In all these categories of officers when they joined there was no expectation of independence coming in so short a period. There is discrimination against them as today. In Tanganyika a senior Minister has said: 'As between an African and a non-African of similar qualifications I shall always choose the African'. In Kenya a Minister said: 'It is the Government's intention to reflect the population ratios in the civil service'.

Discrimination, therefore, is certain and careers are bound to be ruined.

The nature of qualified administrators is one of the prerequisites of a stable transfer of power in East Africa. I believe that the Government have failed to live up to their promise, especially in Tanganyika and in the East Africa High Commission. This has caused great dismay in Kenya and Uganda, which could result in positive action which could only cause further deterioration of the present unstable conditions in those countries.

I call upon the Government to make an agreement with the East African Governments concerned and for a very early statement on the safeguards for non-designated officers in East Africa in accordance with the agreement negotiated freely with the staff associations in London last year. I hope that statement will include a scheme for assisting local officers who desire to be repatriated to the United Kingdom."

MR. DINGLE FOOT (Soc.) (Ipwich): "I should like to refer to the position of the Asian civil servants. In Tanganyika there were about 1,000 Asian civil servants, of whom approximately 750 were Indian nationals. When independence drew near they were offered terms which were very substantially worse than those offered to European officers. The European designated officers were given the option of retiring on compensation, but the position of the Asians was very different.

"It was made clear that in future the Asian officer would be bypassed in promotion, if there was an African capable of taking his job, irrespective of comparative merit, and that the Asian would be bound to go if the Government required him to do so.

"The Asian officer did not have the option of retiring. When he came to leave, either at his own request because somebody else was promoted over his head, or because he was required to leave, he would receive only the pension appropriate to his years of service, without any compensation at all. The House will agree that, by any standards, those were very harsh and

unjust terms. I hope that the Government will pursue this matter, as I understand they have undertaken to do, with the Government of Tanganyika.

"Last year I had a meeting in Nairobi with representatives of the Asian civil servants of the Kenya Government. They were looking to the future with great apprehension, and the same thing must be true of Uganda.

"All of us sympathize with the desire of newly-independent African States to Africanize their public services with all convenient speed. We should also have sympathy for the Asian civil servants who have carried out a vital public service in all these territories. They are not indigenous, and they have very little to look forward to. I hope that we shall hear something from the Minister today about the provision to be made for them."

Mr. Hugh Fraser's Reply

MR. HUGH FRASER, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, said in the course of his reply:

"This vital matter is of great importance to us and to East Africa. The case of the designated officer is infinitely easier than that of the other two; the reason is that H.M. Government and this country have to them a special obligation. The special status of these officers is recognized.

"It is recognized in Colonial Paper 306. My hon. friend referred to paragraph 12 of that paper, in which the key words are that the designated officers are not to be overlooked. We have attempted to do what we can in their interests. Our obligation is not the same as it is to those who are members of H.M.O.C.S.

"Broadly speaking, arrangements have been reached with the Governments of East Africa to the effect that once the Public Officers Commission has accepted the full weight of our Public Officers' Agreement with those countries and their membership of our Overseas Aid Scheme takes effect, full weight has been given to these undertakings, which were reaffirmed in 1960, and they are having a considerable effect in East Africa.

"The latest figures which I have are that in Tanganyika out of a total of 1,630 officers under the scheme 416 have decided to move because of the change in the conditions of employment. This is less than would be the loss to the Tanganyika Government which at one time was expected. I believe that the scheme which we have put forward has had a very considerable effect. It seems to be working satisfactorily in the East African inter-territorial commission also.

"Unfortunately, we are left with those two other categories who present the real problem to us and to the local Governments, which are faced, on the one hand, with the belief that there is a need for Africanization, and, on the other, with their duty to see that these individuals are looked after. This problem always occurs when a country becomes independent, and when thousands of people are involved.

"It is easy to carry my hon. friend's argument in respect of local service even further, when not just thousands but tens of thousands would be involved, and the danger could emerge of attempting discrimination in favour of the purely local officer because he was European, taking him out of the category to which he must be regarded as belonging—the category which includes all these people.

Minister on "Our Embarrassment"

"In East Africa, unlike a number of other territories which have achieved self-government in recent years, there is a considerable number of officers with overseas connexions who are not the direct responsibility of the British Government, who were not recruited by or on behalf of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and who are therefore not members of H.M.O.C.S. The majority of these officers are Asian in origin, although there are several hundred European officers serving mainly in Kenya and with the Common Services Organization.

"These officers are recruited direct by the East African Governments and administrations, some from overseas and some locally, but their overseas origin is recognized by the fact that while their salaries are the same as those of local officers their terms of service include overseas leave privileges. They do not come within the undertakings given by the British Government in Colonial Paper 306 to members of H.M.O.C.S.

"The question whether the transfer of power which is proceeding should entitle them to special retirement benefits has to be considered on its merits and in the light of the fact that no undertakings have been given by either the British or the local Governments. This is precisely the point of their complaint, the point of the local Governments' difficulty, and

(Concluded on page 835)

Parliament

U.N.I.P. and Mining Company Politics Discouraged in Township

MRS. CASTLE asked if the Secretary would take steps to ensure that in future the rights of free speech and of political association and meeting were not denied to the inhabitants of the mining townships of Northern Rhodesia.

MR. BUTLER: "There is no restriction under the law of the rights of the inhabitants of mining townships to free speech or of political association and meetings. Certain companies, in their capacity as property owners, do regulate political activities on their own property, but generally the residents enjoy the same rights as any other persons, subject only to compliance with statutory laws which do not discriminate."

MRS. CASTLE: "Is the right hon. gentleman aware that I have here copies of correspondence which has passed between the national secretary of the United National Independence Party and the general manager of the Northern Rhodesian Broken Hill Development Company showing that the latter prohibits the holding of political meetings in the African mining township of Kaswe and also the sale of political party membership cards? Is not this a gross interference with personal liberty? Do you consider that they have bought the freedom of African townships and thus they provided them with free houses?"

MR. BUTLER: "I too have a copy of this correspondence. The company reply was that it was not responsible for police action against certain party officials. The company said that it did not interfere with its employees' private activities and that there was no discrimination against the union. I believe that to be true; but it is quite true that the company discouraged political activities within this particular township. That means that political meetings must be held in other particular township or outside townships owned by these companies. In that sense, not able to interfere."

Question of Civil Liberty

MRS. CASTLE: "Would we not consider it quite intolerable in this country if a farmer, for instance, was able to say that one of his tenants in a tied estate could not have a political meeting in that tied estate? Would we not take steps to deal with this as a gross violation of civil liberties? Is it not within the power of the Northern Rhodesian Government to take action to prevent the abuse of the private rights of individuals?"

MR. BUTLER: "The hon. lady must not underestimate the importance of the early part of my answer—that there is no restriction under the law of the rights of the inhabitants of these townships in their political life, and nobody intends that there should be. The only thing that I am not able to control is the actual behaviour inside the property of these companies."

MR. BROCKWAY: "Does the right hon. gentleman remember that 50 years ago this issue was fought out in the U.S.A. where mining companies in a similar way prohibited political activities in their towns? America has remedied this. Is it not time that our Government did so in a colonial territory?"

MR. BUTLER: "I am perfectly ready to receive information which I can pass on to the administration locally, and I will certainly do so; but I do not wish to give any undertaking today which I cannot carry out."

MR. HEALEY: "Will the Home Secretary at least assure the House that he will bring his influence, which is not inconsiderable, to bear on the mining companies to implement the views he expressed in the first part of his reply?"

MR. BUTLER: "I will certainly communicate with the mining companies; but in this case, as I have said, the company said that it was not responsible for police action against certain party officials. That I cannot interfere with. However, I will certainly have a general discussion with them on the points raised today."

MR. WALL asked the value of economic aid in grants or loans given or promised to Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland since 1957.

MR. R. A. BUTLER: "Loans and grants paid or promised since April 1, 1957, from Government sources are as follows:—*The Federal Government*.—Colonial Development and Welfare Grants, £225,815; Commonwealth Assistance Loan (from April 1, 1962), £5m.; Colonial Development Corporation loan (Kariba Dam), £14,250,000; Total, £19,475,815.

In addition, grants for the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland at Salisbury total £1,452,222 for the period in question out of a commitment of £2,875,000.

The Federal Government have also raised since 1957 loans of £20m. on the London market.

The total C.D.C. loan for Kariba Dam is £15m.

Southern Rhodesia.—There have been no Government loans or grants direct to the Southern Rhodesian Government since 1957. The Commonwealth Assistance Loan of £5m. is towards the development programmes of both the Federal and Southern Rhodesian Governments; its allocation between them is a matter for those two Governments to decide.

Northern Rhodesia.—C. D. & W. grants, £1,861,865; Loans (exchequer), £1m.

Nyasaland.—C.D. & W. grants, £3,952,640; loans (exchequer), £1,500,000; C.D.C. capital sanctions, £2,235,000; Colonial Services vote: grant-in-aid, £1,613,000; special loan, £522,000; total, £9,822,640.

Decentralization in Uganda

MR. WALL asked if the Secretary of State for the Colonies would consider introducing a greater degree of decentralization into the system of government in Uganda on the lines now proposed for Kenya.

MR. H. FRASER: "The present Constitution of Uganda is based on the arrangements made at the Uganda Constitutional Conference last year and allows for a considerable measure of decentralization."

MR. WALL: "Is my hon. friend aware that representations are being made by the rulers of certain kingdoms in Uganda? Is it right that Buganda should have a federal status while the other kingdoms should have a semi-federal status? Would it not be wiser to introduce a regional system throughout the country?"

MR. FRASER: "I think this was decided at the conference last year and it is quite clear that if anything is to be done, it must be done as covering the whole of Uganda. There will certainly be an opportunity in June for these matters to be reopened at a national level although, as my hon. friend knows, there are talks going on with some of the rulers now."

MR. WALL asked for publication of the Mohan Report on Uganda.

MR. FRASER: "I have nothing to add to the reply of March 22."

MR. WALL: "Can my hon. friend say how long his hon. friend has had this report in his hands? As it may alter the Constitution, would it not be right to publish it before any general election in Uganda, so that people may cast their votes with full knowledge of the implications?"

MR. FRASER: "No, sir, I think that the whole point about this report, whatever its proposals may be, is that it should be discussed between the kingdoms concerned as dispassionately as possible. I think that to have issued the report prior to the elections would merely have added heat to a generally inflammatory situation, and I am sure that my right hon. friend is perfectly correct to delay publication of the report. In any case, it would only have been a matter of days before the election—until after the election."

Molson Report on May 3

MR. G. M. THOMSON: "Will the hon. gentleman ensure that the report is published as soon as possible afterwards, so that there may be ample time to consider it before the next stage of the constitutional talks?"

MR. FRASER: "I think that it will be published on May 3."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies how many refugees had entered Uganda from Ruanda-Urundi; why they had done so; to what ethnic groups they belonged; and what provision has been made for their reception.

MR. MAUDSLING: "The total number of refugees from Ruanda-Urundi who have entered Uganda is about 30,000. I understand that they are leaving Ruanda because of fears for life and property arising from political and tribal disputes. Refugees from the Bahutu and Batutsi tribes have entered Uganda in about equal numbers. The Uganda Government is providing relief for those in need, and is trying to resettle as many of the refugees as possible."

MR. G. M. THOMSON asked what educational assistance was being given to the Somali Republic by way of scholarships in the United Kingdom and help with teachers and textbooks in the Somali Republic.

MR. VOSPER: "Apart from contributions to the Somali Exchequer by the British Government, my Department has in 1962-63 offered two scholarships for teacher-training, three for technical education, and one for a course at the B.B.C. all payable in the U.K. An offer has been made to provide and meet the cost of an adviser to help with adult education in the Somali Republic. In addition, the British Council provides 13 scholarships and five teachers of English, supports two libraries, and provides textbooks."

MR. THOMSON: "Does not the Minister agree that our responsibilities in relation to the Somali Republic are particularly important? Is he aware that there is a very big Communist effort in that country—that the Minister of Education Mr. Egal Mohammed, is doing his best to make English the language of instruction there, and that there is a real thirst for text-books? Will he try to do more to help that country because of our special responsibilities in regard to it?"

MR. VOSPER: "I will take note of what the hon. Member says. The Somali Republic cannot benefit under the special Commonwealth assistance plans, and therefore must be dealt with in other ways. Any reasonable request will receive very favourable consideration."

Kenya's New Parliamentary Secretaries

TWO EUROPEANS, an Asian, and 12 Africans have been appointed Parliamentary Secretaries in the new Coalition Government in Kenya, in which the Kenya African Democratic Union and the Kenya African National Union are equally represented.

The Ministry of State for Constitutional Affairs and Administration, headed by Mr. Ronald Ngala, has two Parliamentary Secretaries, Mr. Phoderick A. Macleod (brother of Mr. Iain Macleod, M.P., lately Secretary of State for the Colonies) and Mr. M. M. Mwanambwa. The Ministry of State for Constitutional Affairs and Economic Planning, of which the Minister is Kenyatta, has as Parliamentary Secretaries Mr. Chanan Singh and Dr. J. G. Kiano.

The other appointments are as follows: Ministry of Education, Mr. R. S. Matano; Works and Communications, Mr. P. J. H. Okondo; Finance, Sheikh M. M. Alshedy; Defence and Internal Security, Mr. J. K. Mwangi and Mr. H. N. Muli; Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, Mr. D. Mwangi; Health and Housing, Mr. J. E. W. Konchellah; Labour, Mr. A. Kileli; Local Government, Mr. P. D. Marrian; Tourism, Forests and Wild Life, Mr. J. H. Angaine; Land Settlement and Water Development, Mr. A. M. Jebby; Lands, Surveys and Town Planning, Mr. C. M. G. Arwings Kodhek.

Appointments remain to be made to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and the Ministry of Social Services.

It was simultaneously announced that the two Masai Parliamentary Secretaries, Mr. Ole Tipsi and Mr. Konchellah, had informed the Acting Governor that, "with the reservation that they and their people are pledged to pursue the Masai land claims by all constitutional means, and that they will within the Government honestly and forthrightly represent the interests of the Masai people in regard to their land claims, they accepted the constitutional framework which was agreed in London and they have assured the Acting Governor of their loyal support of the Coalition Government."

SIR MICHAEL BLUNDELL, who returned to Kenya from London last Thursday, was that day sworn in as Acting Minister for Agriculture, pending Mr. Wilfrid Havelock's recovery from illness and his assumption of his office.

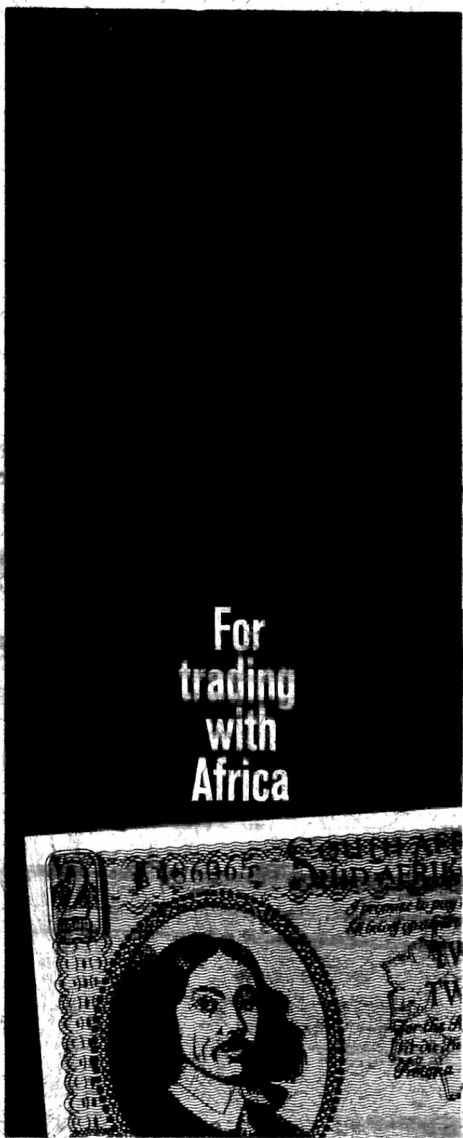
Adoula-Tshombe Talks to Continue

MR. CYRILLE ADOULA, Prime Minister of the Congo, and President Moise Tshombe of Katanga, are expected to resume their talks this week. There had been an adjournment to allow Mr. Adoula to tour the country.

Before Mr. Tshombe could fly back to Elisabethville last week he had to wait in his aircraft at Ndjili Airport, Leopoldville, for 15 hours while United Nations officials argued with Congolese who had driven fire-engines on to the tarmac in order to prevent a take-off. They asserted that they had orders to prevent departures. Eventually the Congolese admitted that they had been mistaken, and the Acting Prime Minister, Mr. Jean Bolikango, next day denied that there had been any intention of preventing Mr. Tshombe from leaving. He complained that the U.N.—which gave the Katanga President a guarantee of safe conduct before he went to Leopoldville a month earlier—had not informed the Central Government properly about the departure.

Mr. Tshombe told a cheering crowd of some 5,000 Africans in Elisabethville that the U.N. chief of civilian operations in the Congo, Mr. Robert Gardiner, an American Negro, told him: "You will leave even if we have to fight". Nigerian troops had eventually used force to clear the runway.

When he flew into Elisabethville from Europe the U.N. authorities last week arrested the American Negro Mr. Herbert Julian for investigation under the terms of the Security Council resolution on mercenaries. He has been described as Mr. Tshombe's "ambassador-at-large".



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Visit of United Nations Sub-Committee

No Sharing or Shifting of U.K. Responsibilities

THE VISIT TO LONDON of the six-member sub-committee of the United Nations Committee on Colonialism was described in the House of Commons by Mr. PETER THOMAS, Joint Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as "useful in demonstrating our willingness to co-operate to the fullest reasonable extent with the United Nations in providing information on colonial matters and in bringing home the facts to the members of the sub-committee particularly in regard to Southern Rhodesia."

Mr. G. M. THOMSON: "I am most welcoming the fact that the Government have met the members of the sub-committee in London, may I ask the Minister to bear in mind that Britain enjoys an immense amount of good will at the United Nations, and deservedly because of her record in advancing political progress in colonial territories. Will he seek to use that good will to minimise the European minority in Southern Rhodesia to make the kind of changes that are necessary to a peaceful colony?"

Mr. THOMAS: "Our wish to co-operate with the U.N. has been made clear and has been generally appreciated by the U.N."

Mr. DENIS HEALEY: "Is the Joint Under-Secretary aware that the members of the sub-committee were somewhat disturbed by the refusal of Ministers to make any posture even towards meeting their views on Southern Rhodesia? At this late date could H.M. Government adopt one of the courses of action suggested to them by members of the sub-committee, and at least give the lie to the statement by the Joint Under-Secretary in another place that H.M. Government did not intend to be influenced in any way in their colonial policy by the views of the United Nations?"

Mr. THOMAS: "The information both here and in New York on the facts of the situation in Southern Rhodesia in particular was very full. While expressing the concern which some of them feel, the members of the sub-committee made it clear that they recognised the strict limitations upon the powers of H.M. Government in Southern Rhodesia and that the U.N. should not seek to arrogate to itself the responsibilities of Government there."

Tribute Paid to British Colonial Policy

SIR RICHARD FULKINGTON: "Has this sub-committee paid any tribute to British colonialism for ending tribal warfare, slavery and witchcraft and for promoting law and order in so many territories?"

Mr. THOMAS: "The sub-committee certainly did pay tribute to British colonial policy."

Mr. DUDLEY WILLIAMS: "In view of the enlightened policy which has been followed by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, does my hon. friend think that this continual sniping and opposition in the U.N. can be anything but bad, and the means of encouraging extremist elements, black and white, in that territory?"

Mr. THOMAS: "I certainly agree that one cannot take just one side without knowing the full facts about both sides. We recognise the interest of members of the U.N. in the steady progress of our overseas territories. Our sympathy with this interest cannot, however, extend to sharing or shifting our responsibilities."

Mr. GOOPHEW: "Will my hon. friend suggest to Dr. Jha and his sub-committee that they might look at countries in which the people are not moving towards self-determination in anyway, such as Kashmir and the countries behind the Iron Curtain, rather than territories where great strides are being made towards this end?"

Government Double-Dealing

Mr. THOMAS: "I think that Dr. Jha and his sub-committee appreciate that the British colonial record is a good one, and, indeed, paid tribute to it."

Mr. FERNYHOUGH: "Would not the hon. gentleman agree that in taking this attitude H.M. Government are guilty of double-dealing? Does he not recall that when Russia cruelly suppressed the rising in Hungary H.M. Government joined with other nations in demanding that the U.N. should be given the right to go and see what happened? Does he agree that we have no right to demand that the U.N. should be given facilities of that kind in an Iron Curtain country unless we ourselves are prepared to accept the decision of the U.N. when it wants to investigate territories under British control?"

Mr. THOMAS: "I entirely disagree. The very fact that we were hosts to this sub-committee in London and gave it the very fullest facts indicates that we are perfectly prepared to discuss these facts and give the fullest information."

Kenya's Agricultural Problems

Germany Being Pressed to Help

MR. MAUDLING, Secretary of State for the Colonies, told the House of Commons last Thursday:

"Twenty-six thousand acres in Kenya have so far been bought for the economic smallholder schemes, and settlement started with some 730 families; 54 projects involving the purchase of nearly 18,000 acres have been approved under the yeoman schemes which the International Bank is helping to finance. In addition, 140,000 acres have been bought for the new smallholder schemes, for the settlement over the coming months of some 3,200 families."

"The total cost of these schemes is estimated at about £13½m. towards which the International Bank has agreed to lend £3m. and the Colonial Development Corporation £1½m. H.M. Government have undertaken to provide at least £7½m. and it is hoped that the Federal German Government may also participate."

Mr. PATRICK WELLS: "Would my hon. friend agree that unless the problem is tackled on a massive scale these schemes will make little impact? What is needed is a really impressive scheme for the purchase of at least a million acres for African resettlement and it should be done by this summer at the latest."

Mr. MAUDLING: "This particular scheme is substantial and the difficulty from the time point of view is not so much the availability of money as getting the land and people qualified to take it up. I know that there are claims for much larger land resettlement. I have been approached from Kenya and I am not yet in a position to make a reply."

Mr. GOOPHEW: "Can my hon. friend say when he will be in a position to make some reply to these very modest proposals put forward by the settlers in Kenya, because this problem is extremely urgent?"

Mr. MAUDLING: "As to my hon. friend's definition of very modest, when £10m. or £12m. is required it is not to be a very substantial degree of modesty."

Mr. PATER: "With regard to the Federal German contribution, is the Minister aware that at the Kenya Conference held recently the West Germans expressed a desire to help more in the under-developed countries of the world, and will he press that with the Germans?"

Mr. MAUDLING: "We certainly are pressing the Germans to help in these East African territories, and I am quite hopeful that we shall get substantial assistance."

East African Airways Good Year

EAST AFRICAN AIRWAYS CORPORATION reports an operating profit for 1961 of £262,519, and a net surplus of £249,359 after providing for interest and dividends—despite the fact that reductions in fares cost £150,000 in revenue and that an additional £120,000 had to be spent on increased salaries in consequence of recommendations by the Flemming Commission.

£3.1m. was earned by the international operations of E.A.A. which on all its services carried 16.3% more passengers, a rise of 24,392 to 173,811. The carriage of cargo totalling 3,425 tons represented an increase of 18.3%, and mail totalling 819 tons a gain of 11.4%. In the domestic services cargo was up 25%, the passenger total 15.4%, and mail 10.9%.

Orders have been placed for a third Comet IV jetliner and for three F.27 Friendship aircraft.

Sir Alfred Vincent, chairman of E.A.A. has announced that on the recommendation of his board the East African Air Transport Authority had appointed Captain P. A. Travers as general manager of the corporation with effect from May 1, in succession to Colonel M. C. B. Mostert. Captain Travers joined E.A.A. as a pilot in 1946, became deputy operations manager in 1952, sales manager two years later, and commercial manager last year.

Hippo Meuniere

COOKING EXPERIMENTS with hippo flesh are to be undertaken for the Uganda Government by the recently formed Wild Life Development Co., Ltd., following a suggestion by Dr. Igor Mann of the Kenya Veterinary Department that about 2,000 of the 15,000 hippos in the Queen Elizabeth National Park should be killed annually to provide 1½ lb. of high protein meat a week for more than 38,000 people, realising an annual revenue of £45,000. Some tribes in Ankole and Toro eat hippo flesh occasionally.

Mr. Nyerere Still Father of Nation

Tanganyika May be Republic on December 9

EVERYONE CONCERNED had tried to persuade Mr. Julius Nyerere to remain in office as Prime Minister when he decided to resign in January because he felt he could best serve the country through the Tanganyika African National Union, Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, the present Prime Minister, said in Dar es Salaam recently. There had been no pressure against him from the trade unions or any other groups.

"He is still father of the country, and he tells me about it if he thinks something is not going right".

Mr. Kawawa — who at 35 is the youngest Commonwealth Prime Minister — said that as soon as the new Constitution, now being drafted, had received Parliamentary approval, a proclamation establishing Tanganyika as a republic within the Commonwealth would be made, if possible on December 9, the anniversary of the country's independence.

Trade unions, reportedly revived, struck or threatened to strike in bad conditions in their particular industries, not against the Government. The A.N.U. was developing arbitration machinery to settle such strikes and to improve conditions. There had been acceleration recently in Africanization of Government posts, which might, he admitted, mean impairment of efficiency in some cases; but the people wanted a country run by Africans.

The Government had no racialization or nationalization schemes. "We want private investment and will guarantee its security. Our action in revoking all freehold land concessions has received greatly exaggerated significance. No concessions were given after the German occupation in the First World War. Only small areas are affected, which we wanted to bring into line with other lands. We also want to be able, in very much the same way as the British Government, to step in when there is neglect or abuse of land".

The Government attached primary importance to its programme of village self-help schemes. Much could be learnt from the Israeli co-operative systems, particularly the *moshav* communal farming groups.

More Inter-Party Murders

EIGHT AFRICANS WERE KILLED and a score or more injured over Easter in clashes between U.N.I.P. and A.N.C. members in the Ndola and Fort Jameson areas of Northern Rhodesia. After a mob with sticks and axes on Sunday had battered to death in Chifubu township, Ndola, two teachers and a bank clerk who are said to have been Congress men mistaken for U.N.I.P. supporters, rioting spread and a church and houses were stoned and the teachers' vehicle was set alight. Police with tear-gas had to intervene. The fighting is thought to have begun as a reprisal for the murder on Good Friday of Mr. Tekete Mapuka Malonga, an African National Congress official. Mr. Kaunda was reported to have said in New York that a company which he declined to name had given £25,000 to the A.N.C. to foment violence and delay the country's independence.

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East African Safari

A VOLKSWAGEN driven by two Kenyans, T. Fumal and Bernard Schmitter, has won this year's East African Safari, in which 46 of the 104 starters completed the 3,000-mile course. Second were Messrs. "Nick" Nowicki and "Paddy" Cliffs, also of Kenya, in a Peugeot 404. Third came Mrs. Ann Riley and Miss Pat Moss of Great Britain, in a Saab. Peugeot cars won the team prize. When the rally started last Thursday night drivers were stoned by Africans who had improvised road-blocks in the Mount Kenya area, where more than 30 vehicles were damaged.

Cable and Wireless (Holding), Ltd., reports group earnings for the three months to March 31 at £510,000 (£415,074 in January-March, 1961). U.K. tax takes about £210,000.

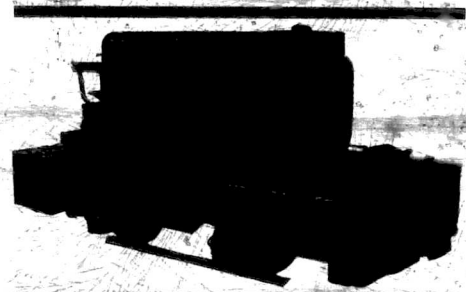
More than 50% of the issued capital of Hecht Levis and Khan, Ltd., has been acquired by Minerals Separation, Ltd., a company with large Northern Rhodesian interests.

The **Tanganyika Cashew Nut Company** closed down when all its 300 African employees struck work. The managing director has said that it will not re-open without guarantee of re-education from the workers.

Turner and Newall, one of the largest large Rhodesian interests, has acquired a substantial stakeholding in Zirconite Products Corporation, United States manufacturer of building products, who will take over the Zirconite pipe factories in America owned by a Turner and Newall subsidiary.

The output in March Bird & Co. (Africa) 1,515 tons, making 12,128 since July; Central Line Sisal Estates, 40 tons, making 3,071 tons for nine months (2,888); Ewa Plantations, 122 tons, making 396 tons for three months (319); East African Sisal Estates, 88 tons, making 1,165 for nine months (1,423 tons).

Chitanga Cement Ltd., reports its output for the first six months at £16,358 (£142,884) and sales of cement and clinker at 126,448 and 114,987 tons respectively (139,121 and 134,807 tons in 1961). Shareholders receive 3d per share (51d.). The issued capital is £17m. Fixed assets, £11m. Investments, £32,250. Net current assets, £696,525.



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Company Report

The Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Co. Ltd

(Incorporated in Northern Rhodesia)

New Plant Commissioned

MR. H. F. OPPENHEIMER REVIEWS METAL PRICES

THE FOLLOWING is from the review by the chairman of The Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Company, Limited, Mr. H. F. OPPENHEIMER, which has been circulated with the annual report and accounts:—

Production of lead and zinc for the year under review was again satisfactory, and we have been fortunate in that our Southern African markets have, as hitherto, readily absorbed the greater part of our production. The profit for the year, however, was substantially affected by the further weakening of the London Metal Exchange prices for these metals, particularly zinc, during 1961. Our operating profit on zinc was over 45% less than in 1960 and as zinc sales comprised nearly 70% of the total tonnage sold during the year, this factor was mainly responsible for the fall in the profit before tax to £1076,000, as compared with £1,156,000 in 1960.

I told members that during the period of the installation of the Imperial Smelting Furnace plant, the capital redemption allowances would increase materially and our liability to taxation would accordingly be reduced. In 1961 these allowances exceeded the profit assessable to tax, and no Federal income tax is payable. It has, however, been necessary to appropriate the sum of £15,000 to cover the additional tax payable on the profits for 1960, following the increase in the Federal rates of tax from 7s. 6d. to 8s. in the pound.

Fall in Metal Prices

By the beginning of 1961 the London Metal Exchange cash prices for lead and zinc had dropped to £63 and £80 per long ton respectively. Slight rallies in the price of both metals during the first few months of the year were not sustained, and prices deteriorated until at the end of the year lead stood at £60 10s. per ton and zinc at £71 17s. 6d. per ton. The zinc price subsequently weakened still further during the current year.

Markets for both metals in the United Kingdom suffered from increased deliveries from the Eastern bloc, and, as a result of competition from this source, Commonwealth producers found it necessary to reduce their premium for high grade zinc by £3 per ton with effect from October 1, 1961. The reduction has been passed on to our Southern African consumers, and therefore represents an additional drop in our realized prices from that date.

When it was decided in January, 1960, to proceed with the installation of the Imperial Smelting Furnace and ancillary plant, it was anticipated, on the basis of the estimated cost of the plant and prevailing metal prices of £70 per ton for lead and £95 per ton for zinc, that dividends could be maintained at a rate of 9d. per unit per annum until the new plant was commissioned after which it was expected that increased distributions might be practicable. However, the capital cost of the plant has proved substantially higher than originally estimated, and, coupled with the lower revenue from sales, this has placed a severe strain on the company's cash resources.

Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Limited, has assisted us to a major extent in financing the

increased cost of the new plant by granting additional loan facilities of £750,000 at 6½% per annum until December, 1963, but in the circumstances the maintenance of an annual dividend rate of 9d. per unit was not justified, and we were compelled to declare a final dividend of 3d. per unit, which with the interim of 3d. previously declared makes a total of 6d. (net) per unit for the year.

Increased Installation Costs

The increase in the cost of the Imperial Smelting Furnace installation, presently estimated at £3,400,000 as against the original estimate of £4,350,000, has been due to a number of factors. In the first place the original cost estimates were prepared on the assumption that the design supplied by the licensors, as used in the initial installation in Swansea, could be adopted without significant differences at our mine. In the event, it was found that certain sections of this design required extensive modifications, partly because of experience gained in the operation of the Swansea plant, which is now under construction.

Other major factors which raised the cost of the plant were difficult foundation conditions, statutory wage increases, a re-valuation of the Deutsch mark, and the necessity to aim at a higher standard of waste gas cleaning for health reasons. Finally, it became necessary to employ a design staff in Salisbury to provide the liaison necessary to ensure that the installation at Broken Hill would be up to date and efficient.

At the time of writing the Imperial Smelting Furnace plant is still undergoing commissioning trials. Although it has not yet been possible to obtain a complete assessment of performance, continuous production of lead and zinc has recently been achieved, following initial teething troubles with accessory equipment. It is expected that as experience is gained the plant will soon achieve its full rated production on a steady basis.

The Federal Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Sir Roy Welensky, K.C.M.G. accepted an invitation to open the new plant on April 7, 1962.

Future Outlook

The mine is now equipped to produce large tonnages of zinc and lead at reasonably low cost, although the profits earned will, of course depend on metal prices. While we may have to face a period when low prices will strain the company's resources, I am hopeful that prices will soon be restored to more satisfactory levels.

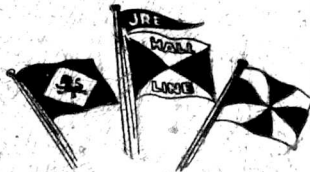
In view of the difficulties I have referred to, the complete installation of the Imperial Smelting Furnace on due date has been a considerable achievement, and I wish to thank all concerned. The general manager and our employees have had to work very long hours during the commissioning of the plant, and they and the consulting engineers have not spared themselves in their efforts to get the plant into efficient operation at the earliest moment.

Copies of the annual report and accounts are obtainable from the London office of the company, 43, Holborn Viaduct, E.C.1.

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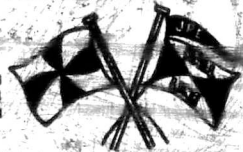
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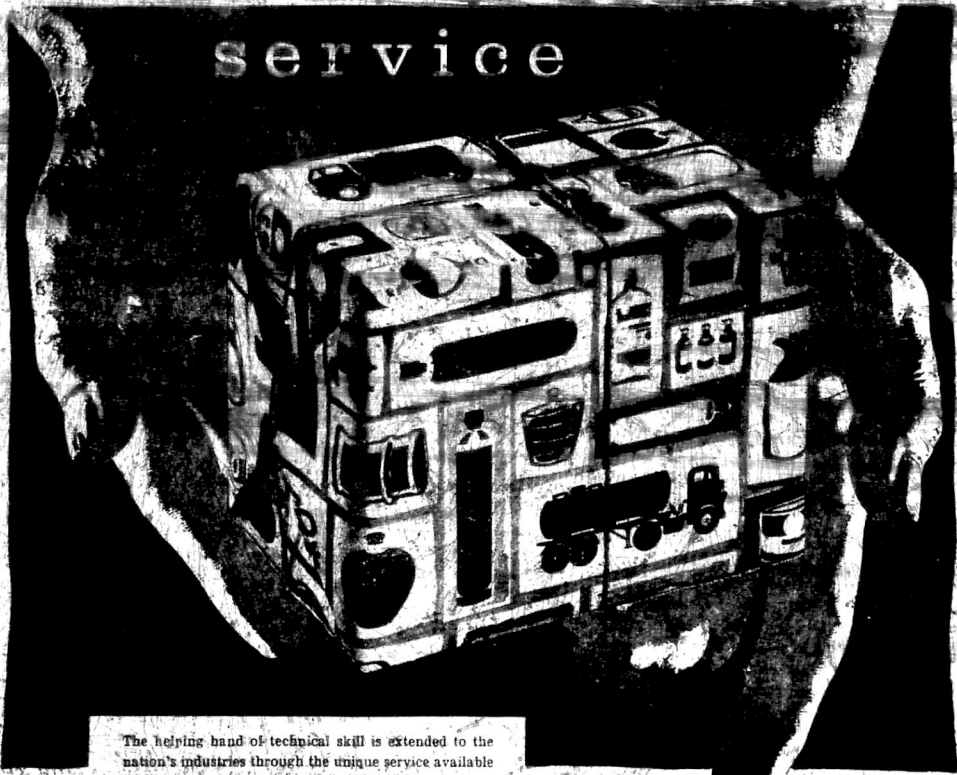
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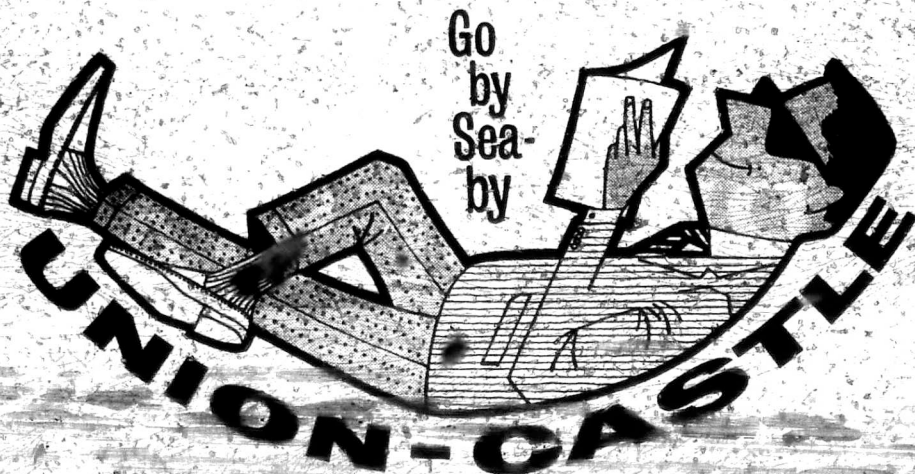


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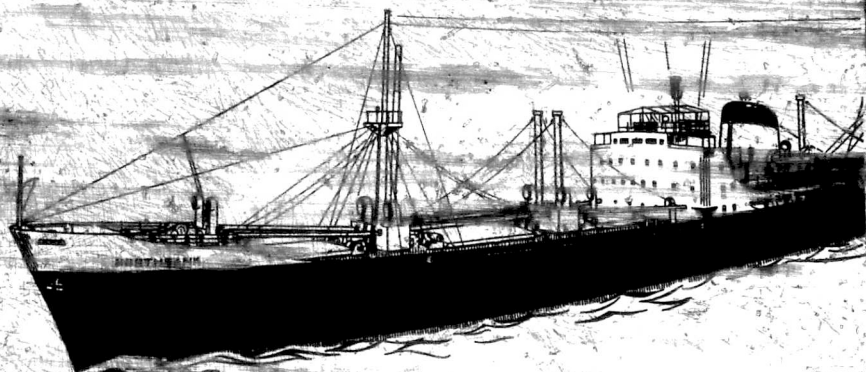
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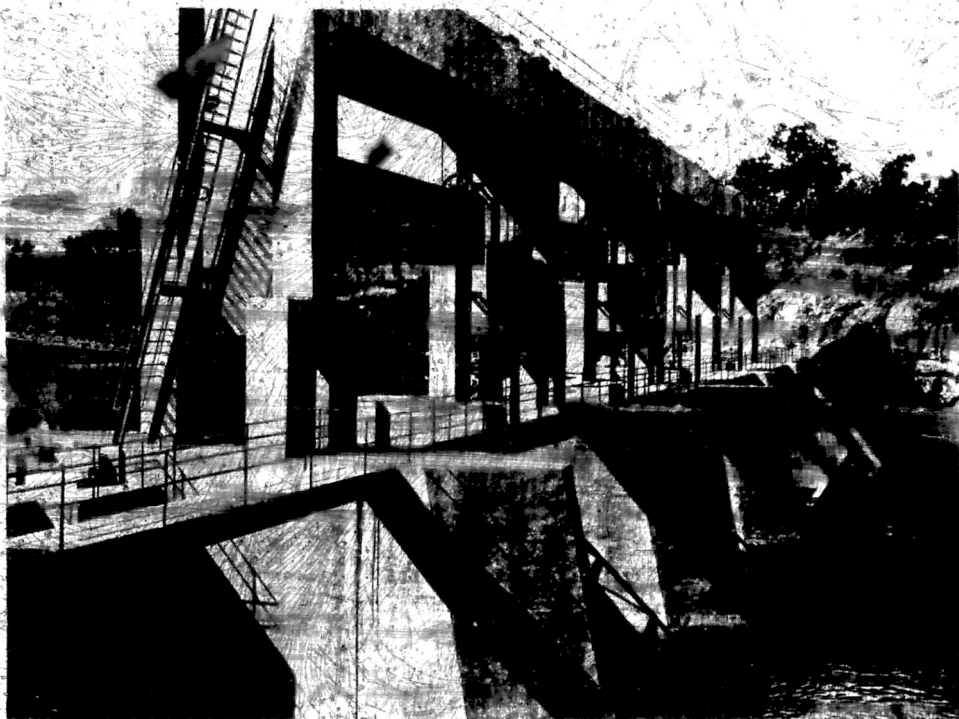
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

MISREPRESENTATIONS about the Federal general election have been almost universal in United Kingdom newspapers and, more surprisingly, in many in Africa, in which reality has sadly frequently had to make way for superficiality and sensation. The consequence has been widespread public misunderstanding of Sir Roy Welensky's motives and of the reasons for the decisions of all the recognized political groupings except the United Federal Party to boycott the poll. Had there been fair reporting on these matters it would have been impossible to gain credence for the suggestion made in many quarters that the Federal Prime Minister had blundered badly through angry impulsiveness and that what followed was an inevitable farce which he should have foreseen. We share neither opinion, for the basic facts are not as they have been made to appear. When Sir Roy Welensky flew to London on the last day of February it was not, as is still commonly believed, to appeal at the twelfth hour to Mr. Macmillan to reverse a Cabinet acceptance of Mr. Maudling's amendment of the Macleod revision of his "dog's breakfast" version of a Constitution for Northern Rhodesia, but to protest in the strongest possible terms against continuing drift over major Central African issues, probably for another year and, perhaps for a still longer period.

Much Misunderstood General Election

causes of anxiety were not to be faced but left to grow and multiply. Federal loans had lost a quarter of their value on the London market, and the price tended downwards day by day until it touched the sixty mark, at which the yield was the factitious 10 per cent. Was that not justification enough for Sir Roy's determination to take action against political irresolution in London which was doing accelerated harm to his country's economy and its good name in the world? For two and a half days he emphasized his apprehensions in the plainest way to senior members of the United Kingdom Government but he found them so unresponsive and alarmingly unconcerned with the need for urgent action that he was driven to an initiative of his own, one which would have been unnecessary if he had been met with candour, sympathy, and evidence that practical steps were to be taken to deal with a rapidly deteriorating situation.

Convinced that he must act, he chose a general election as the course best calculated to demonstrate that there must be an end to the trifling which had marked the whole period since Mr. Lemnox-Boyd (now Lord Boyd of Merton) had withdrawn from the Colonial Office. When Sir Roy told Mr. Macmillan of his decision he was given no hint of any intention to change the division of responsibility for Federal affairs between the Commonwealth Relations and Colonial Offices which had continued since the establishment of the Federation nearly a decade earlier, greatly to the detriment of the territories. Within a few days, however, it was announced that the Commonwealth and Colonial Secretaries were to surrender all their duties in Central Africa to Mr. Butler, the Home Secretary, who would also take charge of a new Central African Office in Whitehall. That was the immediate result of

That prospect was far more damaging for the Federation than its Government could be expected to tolerate, for confidence had already been dangerously shaken by Macmillan's Macleod amateurism, and it would unquestionably have been still more seriously weakened if financial, industrial, and commercial interests had known that the

Fault of United Kingdom Ministers.

would unquestionably have been still more seriously weakened if financial, industrial, and commercial interests had known that the

Sir Roy's resolve, a result of such significance that Lord Malvern was soon to describe it as the most important development since the creation of the Federation (of which he was the first Prime Minister), while Sir Roy has said that he would not have asked for a dissolution if he had been aware that Mr. Butler was to be appointed. Even before the election campaign began it has produced striking recognition by the United Kingdom Government that it must cease its temporizing. That prompt gain for the Federation has, unfortunately, been disregarded by the British Government and British politicians, whom it has suited to pretend that Sir Roy Welensky had acted impetuously and injudiciously because Mr. Macmillan had refused to make concessions over Northern Rhodesia. That wholly erroneous idea, which was immediately exposed in this journal, and we believe by this time has since been given currency in leading articles in almost all the most influential daily, Sunday, and weekly publications in this country with the consequence that the dissolution has now been accepted almost everywhere.

Two years were left of the life of the Assembly. Whereas the mandate given to Sir Roy in 1958 was to achieve Dominion status by 1960, he was now confronted with

Need for Changes in Federal Constitution.

the threat of the destruction of the Federation unless drastic changes were made; and there was no guarantee from Great Britain, whose Parliament had founded the Federation, that it would even be maintained. Sir Roy Welensky told his House that he had recommended a dissolution in order that he might ask the electorate to empower him to resist attempts to break up the Federation, but also to authorize him "to negotiate over a wide range within the Federal field in an endeavour to improve the Constitution to the utmost". Recognition of the need for change has been interpreted by many commentators as the reluctant and belated appreciation of harsh facts by a reactionary Federal Government which had hoped to fight off all proposals for amendment of its Constitution. That that interpretation is false is evident from the fact that the Constitution itself provided for reconsideration within seven years as a minimum or ten as a maximum; and the negotiators who were most insistent on that provision were Lord Malvern and Sir Roy Welensky, because they had failed to induce United Kingdom Ministers to listen to their prophecies that parts of the Constitution were

bound to cause trouble and require correction.

Though there were sound grounds for appeal to the country, Sir Roy knew that the election was certain to be boycotted by the African nationalists, whose opposition to the Federation has become pathological.

Violence Preferred To the Ballot-Box.

both the Rhodesias and Nyasaland the Governments—two of them under Colonial Office control—have in the quite recent past had to proscribe African nationalist parties because of their subversion and violence, which had expressed itself in murder, arson, and outrages of all kinds. Africans who would not do their bidding have been soaked in petrol and paraffin and set alight. Petrol bombs have been thrown into motor cars, stores, houses and dormitories containing sleeping children, black and white. Attempts have been made to dynamite mining prospects and to wreck trains. Intimidation has taken many forms, including the use of witchcraft, and there have been numerous assaults, many involving death, by day and night, not merely on political opponents but on their womenfolk and infant children. The nationalist parties in all three territories, though their leaders talk a great deal about the ballot-box, have preferred violence—partly as a means of frightening the overwhelming proportion of their own people who would prefer peaceful progress. Because of the actions of the party thugs, however, thugs whom the leaders will not or cannot control, the masses fear to resist this harsh dictatorship—except in such an area as Barotseland, which will have no truck with the firebrands and scorns the idea of submission to the United National Independence Party, so few of whose prominent officials have any achievement of any kind to their credit. Only the other day one of the most voluble of their number, Mr. Sikota Wina, publicity secretary of the party, referred publicly to its plans to "demoralize the white man".

What nobody had foreseen was that the European opposition parties in Southern Rhodesia would decide not to participate in the election. That irresponsible act has been deservedly castigated

Sophistry of the Rhodesian Front.

by Sir Roy Welensky, who expressed his amazement that those who had criticized his handling of public affairs should deny the voters the opportunity of passing judgment. "The Federal Parliamentary Opposition", he said, "have run away from the issue, thus washing their

hands of any part in settling our future. The barren policy of boycott and rejection, so long employed by the immature left [the African nationalists] has now become the method of the right. It is a negation of the parliamentary system." The justice of that criticism had by inference been recognized in advance by Mr. Winston Field, leader of the Federal Dominion Party and of the official Opposition in the Assembly, for he had wished to contest the election in the normal way. He had to abandon that intention, however, as the price of a merger between the Federal Dominion Party, the Southern Rhodesia Dominion Party, the Rhodesia Republican Party, and the Southern Rhodesia Association, which agreed to unite as the Rhodesian Front, a right-wing organization which might, it was thought, be strong enough to unseat the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia at the general election in that Colony six months hence.

The excuse given by Mr. Field—that his group wanted to keep emotion out of the Federal election—is unconvincing: from a consortium which is designed to stimulate emotion in the Southern Rhodesian contests for which it is preparing. Is not the real reason for abstention the recognition that its candidates would have been scorned by the Federal electorate and that abject defeat would have greatly damaged their prospects in Southern Rhodesia later in the year? In Northern Rhodesia a recently formed extremist Rhodesian Republican Party which had nominated nine candidates was regarded so lightly that all but one of them forfeited their deposits. But this R.R.P. diversion did not of course repair the harm done in the sister country by the evasion practised by the Dominion Party and its allies, for the virtual absence of serious opposition to the U.F.P. caused gullible observers to dismiss the hustings as farcical. Yet on the main issue, that of the maintenance of civilized rule, all the white abstentionists agree with Sir Roy Welensky.

Real Reason for Its Abstention.

Forty U.F.P. candidates having been returned unopposed, only thirteen of the ordinary elective seats were contested. One went to an Independent, and the rest to Welensky supporters, bringing their number to eight more than in the last Parliament. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland will each elect two "special" African members and the Governor of each of those territories will nominate a European to represent African interests.

The Southern Rhodesian European representing African interests was returned unopposed. Low polling figures were inevitable, partly because the electoral rolls were so badly out of date that thousands had moved meantime from the constituencies in which they were registered, and partly because the opposition to the U.F.P. was deemed so poor in most areas that many people did not trouble to vote. The new Parliament, though embarrassingly pro-Welensky, has nevertheless the opportunity of proving itself a Council of State which will concentrate on the crucial task of preserving a modified Federation as a true multi-racial partnership in an Africa beset by strident, irresponsible and threatening racialism.

Coming to United Kingdom falls, primarily that of Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod, far too much power was transferred much too quickly to unready Africans in Nyasaland,

Touchstone Of Merit.

but the basic are so fundamentally different in the Rhodesias that similar surrender there is inconceivable. Advancement of Africans on merit is and always has been the fundamental tenet of Sir Roy Welensky, and for that principle his new Government will assuredly fight. Precisely the same principle was enunciated by Mr. Macmillan in his "wind of change" speech; but, unhappily, he has cynically disregarded that pledge ever since. It will now be dinned into him and his most powerful lieutenant, Mr. Butler, for those who are entrusted with the future of the Federation will not see it sacrificed to the convenience of a distant Cabinet which has appeared revolutionaries, compromised with its principles, flagrantly broken its promises, and so wrought boundless havoc in East and Central Africa. Mr. Butler's grave problem is to undo as much as possible of that damage. He will not find that Sir Roy Welensky's power to co-operate in a sound plan has been diminished.

Statements Worth Noting

"Having baffled and bemused whole populations in Africa as Colonial Secretary, Mr. Macleod now bemuses and baffles the voters of Britain"—Mr. Douglas Clark

"The honeymoon is over. Now is the time for us to put into practice all the things that *uhuru* makes possible"—Mr. O. Londo, Dar es Salaam regional chairman of F.A.N.U.

"The present leader of the Conservative party has brought it to disrepute and appears likely to lead it to temporary oblivion"—Lord Lambton, Conservative M.P. for Berwick-upon-Tweed

Notes By The Way

Uganda's New Prime Minister

MR. MILTON OBOTE, who this week became Prime Minister of Uganda at the age of 36, has sat in the Legislature for little more than five years, but he has been keenly interested in politics since he went to Kenya in 1950 and became one of the founder members of the Kenya African Union, the Kenya organization. Mr. Obote remained in Kenya throughout the work of the Mau Mau movement, working as a sugar factory as a clerk with a construction company, and as an oil salesman, was also a founder member of the Kenya African National Union. When he returned to Uganda in 1957 there was trouble about land in his native district of Lango, and, considering that the Uganda National Congress, of which he was a member, was in a practical sense, he set himself to energize the local branch and was so successful that at the end of the year he was chosen by the District Council as a member of the Legislative Council. After protracted discussion within the U.N.C., of which Mr. J. E. Kivunika was leader, Mr. Obote broke away, taking with him most of the members of the executive committee, and merging two years ago with the Uganda People's Union to form the Uganda People's Congress. Within about a year the U.P.C. was to win more seats outside Uganda than the rival Democratic Party, which nevertheless formed the first African Government in Uganda because it had 20 of the 21 Buganda seats in consequence of a boycott of the election in that kingdom. Mr. Obote thereupon became Leader of the Opposition.

Difficult Task

SIX MONTHS AGO he came to terms with Buganda, where a Kabaka Yekka (Kabaka Only) party was formed. Now it has strong representation in Mr. Obote's Ministry. He has the difficult task of holding the loyalty both of Buganda and of the great areas of the country which are highly suspicious of Buganda. There are inevitable doubts about an alliance between a radical nationalist party and tribal traditionalists who look for guidance to the Kabaka. Mr. Obote's reference to this matter in the party manifesto took the form of a pledge to "be the guardian of African personality in upholding the dignity, status, and prestige of the four African monarchs and all constitutional heads". The difficulties of that task are bound to be made manifest once more during next month's constitutional conference in London. That Mr. Obote is one of the ablest of Uganda's politicians is generally agreed. He has a much wider experience than most of them, good-humour, self-possession, and substantial support.

Another U.N.I.P. Calumny

MR. KAUNDA, president of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, can always count on generous space in leading United Kingdom newspapers for whatever he may say; and, as he has just proved by his statements in New York and London, discretion is not his distinguishing characteristic. Last Thursday's *Scotsman* gave to its report of his remarks on arrival in London from the U.S.A. the scare headlines "Northern Rhodesian Fears Over 'Boer

Troops': May Have to Ask for British Protection, Says Kaunda". Anyone reading those words—and many busy people skip quickly through newspapers nowadays and judge or misjudge the news largely from the captions—must have received the impression that the U.N.I.P. leader confessed to fear the invasion of his country by armed men from the Republic of South Africa and that Britain might be called upon to resist such an intrusion. That idea is nonsensical, of course; and, to do him justice, it is not what Mr. Kaunda had implied. He had said, in effect, that some of the detachments already stationed in Northern Rhodesia consist of men who are Boers. If it is not true, let the Federal Government deny it. The Boers are these men take a different attitude on racial matters. They will not hesitate to shoot at their fellow-men if those men are black".

Murder Incorporated

THOSE WORDS were reckless, ambiguous, unkind, deplorable, but so are many of the U.N.I.P. leader's utterances. What does he mean, "Boer origin"? Would he go back two or three generations, as the Nazis did in their anti-Semitism? Even if he means a man whose father and mother were Dutch South Africans it is unlikely that he could find any military detachment, however small, stationed in his country by the Federal Government in which four out of five of the white men are by that definition "Boers". If they were, however, none but the lunatic fringe would accept the allegation that "they will not hesitate to shoot at their fellow-men if those men are black". That is an outrageous calumny—even from Mr. Kaunda, sometime president of a political movement in Northern Rhodesia which practised violence so freely that the then Governor publicly described it as "Murder Incorporated". Now head of U.N.I.P., more than two thousand of whose officials and members were recently jailed for crimes of violence, he blandly asks for British protection from "Boers" who live hundreds of miles away and have not the slightest interest in the Kaundas built up by boundless political folly in the United Kingdom and at the United Nations.

Regrettable Recklessness

AS EXPLAINED on another page, statements which were not unreasonably attributed to the Christian Council of Kenya prove in fact to have been the personal suggestions of its industrial adviser, Mr. Andrew Hake. Both he and the C.C.K. were reckless in not making it quite clear to all recipients of the typewritten statement that its controversial passages had not even been submitted to those in whose name proposals of a highly political character nevertheless seemed to be made. Kenya's economic straits—the direct result of the catastrophic Macdonaldism against which this paper has protested from its initiation—need to be emphasized, and it was clearly the right, and I think the duty, of the Christian Council to direct public attention to the tragic facts of a situation which would never have occurred but for the foolhardiness of Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Iain Macleod, and Mr. (now Sir Michael) Blundell in particular. They are primarily to blame for what the C.C.K. describes as "a rising tide of human misery, a growing threat to security, a tragic waste of human resources".

Ultra Vires

MANY CHRISTIANS will regret, however, that the C.C.K. should have allowed itself to appear to sponsor such statements as: "We would impress on those in authority a sense of urgency in moving forward to complete independence". Religious faith and fervour do not necessarily imply political wisdom; and in this case a large majority of Christians knowledgeable about the situation would probably disagree with Mr. Hake. Still more would presumably disagree with his individual opinions being set forth in terms which represent them as the collective judgment of the Christian Council, which should likewise not have been committed in such matters as taxation and investment.

Why Hurry?

THE ABOVE REPORT of the East Board of Tanganyika is of such a character that it could easily be com-

pleted within a few weeks of the end of the year. That for 1960, however, was not signed until September 27, 1961. If those who should have been concerned to make the facts promptly available were so clearly unconcerned, the Government Printer might not unreasonably argue that the typescript could go to the bottom of the pile because it would not much matter if many more months passed before the printed version appeared. It reached London last week — about a year later than it would have done if any sense of urgency had been felt. The report is signed as chairman by Mr. D. J. Mahoney, but his name does not appear in the paragraph listing the names of the members of the Land Board or in those which record changes in the membership. If departmental and similar reports cannot be published with reasonable promptitude, why should public money be spent on printing them at all?

United Nations Muddle and Confusion in the Congo

Points from Damning Indictment by Lord Russell of Liverpool

MUDDLE, CONFUSION AND HESITANCY characterize the United Nations headquarters in Leopoldville and Elisabethville, says LORD RUSSELL OF LIVERPOOL in a pamphlet, entitled "The Tragedy of the Congo", in which he records his convictions after a three weeks' visit to the Congo.

He corroborates, often in considerable detail, charges of atrocities in Katanga by U.N. troops which have been reported by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA in recent months, and supports the proposal for inquiry by a panel of international jurists.

In his 16 page, closely printed brochure Lord Russell writes:

"The Congo was economically the most advanced country in black Africa. No other capital in Central Africa was as large, beautiful, modern, clean, or urbanized as Leopoldville.

Congolese Praise for Belgians

"The country had been rid of the great endemic illnesses. Congolese salaries were the highest in Africa. In no other country in Africa did such a large proportion of Natives own a house built with permanent material, a car, or even a bicycle. The social security system, including family allowances, pensions and industrial compensation, was unequalled anywhere else in Africa. This assessment was not written by a Belgian. It appeared in a leading article in the *Courrier d'Afrique*, a Leopoldville newspaper written and controlled entirely by Congolese.

"Independence was declared on June 30, 1960. On July 2 tribal fighting broke out. On July 15 the first contingent of U.N. troops arrived.

"General Alexander, commanding the Ghana contingent, wanted to round up the mutinous bands of the former Force Publique, which by then had become the Congolese National Army, and disarm the whole force. He was prevented. If only this suggestion had been followed and a new gendarmerie enlisted and trained by white officers, the U.N. could have begun the long uphill task of helping the Central Government to regain its economic and political balance and creating an atmosphere of confidence in which some kind of federation could have been built up with the help of a large number of selected Europeans speaking French, including Belgians, without which this can never be done.

"At that time Katanga was the only province with stable government and almost complete law and order, a place where independent Africans and Europeans were living and working in complete harmony.

"Instead of being used to restore law and order in the areas over-run by the rampaging bands of the Congolese National Army, who were murdering priests and missionaries and terrorizing the civilian population black and white, the U.N. became involved in a conflict with the Katangan armed force in Elisabethville on September 13, 1961, an ill-conceived, ill-prepared, and ill-conducted operation, which ended in com-

plete failure, and accomplished nothing more than to split the whole of South Katanga, Belgium, and the U.N. and all its works.

"After the first battle was over the U.N. troops continued to threaten Elisabethville, attacked it a second time in December with indiscriminate savagery, and when I left the town less than three weeks ago they were still in military occupation — while the whole of north Katanga, from which the Katangese armed forces had long since withdrawn, was left completely bare of U.N. troops. Had they been in the right place many atrocities might have been prevented, such as the massacre of 19 European missionaries near Sola and the burning of many African villages.

"The first paid European officers engaged by President Tshombe to train the new Katangan army after all its Belgian officers had left numbered 300. All of them have now had their contracts terminated and received a gratuity.

"The Katangan army is undoubtedly the worse for it. If some of the new and inexperienced States who are now members of U.N.O. and the Soviet bloc and other enemies of the free world think it a good idea to have undisciplined soldiers rampaging through Central Africa, they have contributed to this end in no mean fashion by forcing all the European officers to leave.

Europeans Helping President Tshombe

"There are, however, many whites fighting with the Katangan forces today. Many are young men born and bred in and around Elisabethville who regard Katanga as their own country. They have been fighting for it, not for money. In similar circumstances I should have done the same, and would have been outraged if some supra-national authority had said that I was war-mongering.

"The real mercenaries cannot number more than 200 and the number is probably much smaller. When I saw Tshombe on January 23 he told me he was just about to ask the U.N. to allow him a month in which to get rid of these mercenaries, after which he suggested, a mixed commission of the civil representatives of the U.N. and the Katanga Government should be set up to supervise their dismissal. This arrangement could have been arrived at much earlier, had the U.N. representatives, particularly Mr. Conor O'Brien, behaved like diplomats instead of conspirators.

"Was it really wrong for the President to strengthen his forces? Was it not a logical consequence of his declared determination not to be coerced by a military force? And was such a decision not justified? The weapon was to be purely defensive.

"What constitutes a mercenary? When visiting the Baluba refugee camp, another white elephant for which the U.N. have only themselves to blame, I asked the commanding officer of a battalion in the Swedish contingent whether his unit was part of the Swedish Regular Army. He told me that they were all volunteers, the pay of a simple soldier, being about £70 a month, plus about 10% a day foreign service allowance. I said that £100 a month was good enough pay for a mercenary! He did not share my little joke.

"So far as most of the U.N. troops are concerned, a mercenary is anyone in Southern Katanga, not wearing the

U.N. blue cap who has a white face. And how else can a mercenary be described to an Ethiopian, a Dogra, a Gurkha, a Malayan, or, for that matter, a Swede or an Irishman? So far, as they are concerned the orders are similar to those given to the Indonesian parachutists chosen for the invasion of Dutch New Guinea: "If he has a white face, shoot on sight; if he is coloured, question first". The Ethiopians obeyed this order to the letter.

Having satisfied myself in Elisabethville that the conduct of some of the U.N. troops between December 5 and 19 required some explanation by the U.N. authorities who presumably issued the original orders to the military commanders, I went to Leopoldville to see Dr. Linner, chief U.N. representative in the Congo, and arranged for an interview with the Force Commander, General Linnér, and his military legal adviser so that I could get them to answer a few questions.

"I saw Dr. Linner on January 31. He spoke to someone on the telephone and then told me that the Force Commander was not in the headquarters but that he hoped to arrange for me to see him or his deputy General Yakub, next day. Knowing that Dr. Linner was going on his post in a few days, I thought I should think about the future of the Congo. He said he would be extremely busy in the next few days.

"I said to General Yakub, I had him that I had collected evidence regarding the alleged reports of the murder of innocents in Elisabethville by United Nations troops and that I wanted to ask him some questions. He said: 'No offences have been committed; there are only rumours'.

"I told him that I had come merely to ask whether any inquiries had been set on foot to find out whether there was any foundation for the allegations. He refused to say any thing and told me that only Dr. Linner or the Force Commander could answer such questions. I said that Dr. Linner had arranged for me to see General Yakub for that very purpose. The general said nothing, he just got up and started. I concluded that the U.N. wished to suppress the reports establishing precisely the excesses of certain U.N. troops.

Atrocities by U.N. Troops

The provincial government of Katanga and the Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland have collected formidable evidence of atrocities committed by U.N. troops. I hope that H.M. Government will try to persuade the General Assembly of the U.N. to set up an independent international commission to ascertain the facts. Should it prove impossible to get such a resolution through the General Assembly in the teeth of the Afro-Asian bloc, it would probably be the case, H.M. Government should themselves appoint such a commission under the chairmanship of a British judge, and invite Belgium, Katanga, and the U.S.A. each to appoint a member. All the members of the commission should be persons who are holding or have held high judicial office.

"The fact is that the Afro-Asian bloc, which with the U.S.S.R. and its satellites now controls U.N. policy, wanted to destroy Katanga for the simple reason that it was turning out to be a successful experiment as a multi-racial province.

"Throughout the rest of the Congo the most appalling atrocities have been committed by Africans against Africans, and in parts of Katanga the Garde Nationale conducted a reign of terror on the Baluba living in the communes of Elisabethville. In the mines and workshops of the Union Minière, however, all are working and living, no matter what their tribe, in complete harmony, happy and contented.

"I talked also to some of the women who in large numbers were attending the pre-natal and post-natal clinics at the magnificently equipped Union Minière hospital in Jadoville. They were smiling and chatting. They had only one fear. Were U.N. troops coming to spoil it all?

"It is entirely wrong to allege that Welensky was behind Tshombe's decision to declare secession. He has been accused of interfering in the Congo. If speaking his mind against the use of force and intimidation amounts to interference, then he readily admits having done so. He has never once, however, encouraged Tshombe to believe that there was any future for Katanga separated from the rest of the Congo; and he has consistently done all in his power to bring about a rapprochement between Tshombe and Adoula, Prime Minister of the Congolese Central Government. I had long interviews with Welensky and Tshombe and there can be no doubt that this is true. There is not a scintilla of evidence to support allegations to the contrary. Welensky's interest in the maintenance of law and order in Katanga is a very practical one. Northern Rhodesia and Katanga have a common frontier of 2,000 miles and about 30% of the power which works the mines in the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia is supplied by a Katanga power-station at La Mariner.

"The folly of trying to undermine the stability of Katanga is unforgivable. But for the statesmanlike attitude of Tshombe during the last few weeks, it might have inflicted a wound

upon the body politic of the Congo from which it would never have recovered. It has made the real job for which U.N. intervention was justified much more difficult to carry out; and it must be some years before a peaceful federation in the Congo can be set up and made to work.

"How can this end be attained? First and foremost, there must be a strong and efficient gendarmerie, carefully recruited trained by whites, and for at least five years largely officered by whites. It should be possible within 18 months of such a force being established to withdraw all U.N. troops.

"Meanwhile care must be taken that these troops are never again used to secure political ends, and that they are employed for the sole purpose of restoring and maintaining law and order throughout the whole of the Congo, and not only in Katanga.

"The civil service must be reinforced by experienced French-speaking Europeans, and a gradual hand-over to the Congolese planned to take place over a period of years. A European judiciary must be recreated until there are competent Congolese judges to take their place.

"Once this has been done, Belgian and other French-speaking industrialists and technicians should be encouraged to return and help the Congolese, in an executive and advisory capacity, to restore and develop the country's economy.

Not Impressed by U.N. Staff

"I visited the U.N. headquarters in Leopoldville and Elisabethville and spoke to the chief U.N. representatives, to a number of important officials, and to some of the military commanders and their staffs. With very few exceptions, I was not impressed. Both headquarters appeared to me to reek of muddle, confusion, and hesitancy. Neither seemed to have a policy; or, if one existed, they would not or could not say what it was.

"One of the toughest problems is the Baluba refugee camp on the outskirts of Elisabethville. In it are not less than 42,000 Baluba in conditions of overcrowding, dirt and filth, and disease, intimidated by organized gangs of youngsters within the camp. In six months the camp will be one vast cess-pit. I asked the officer in charge what would happen if this were an epidemic. I received the enlightening reply: "I don't like epidemics. He knew of no plans for the rehabilitation of these Baluba somewhere else.

"When I asked Dr. Linner how U.N.O. intended to solve the problem, all he said was that it was very difficult. It was the same with almost everything else. If I asked a question in Elisabethville I was referred to Leopoldville. When I asked the same question in Leopoldville I was told that I should have asked it in Elisabethville.

"It is essential that there should be both a change of policy and a change of staff. The latter has already begun. Mr. Robert Gardiner, who is an excellent choice for the job, has taken over from Dr. Linner—but I was horrified to hear that he is expected only to remain two months.

Lord Reith in the Federation

Confidence in Mr. Butler's Mission

LORD REITH said in Bulawayo at the week-end when he opened the Central African Trade Fair that the problems of the Federation could not be solved by transferring "full Westminster institutionalism and practice all at once", adding: "both the old Africa and the new Africa are authoritarian, and before any realistic and definitive policy can be settled and established this essential authoritarianism must be recognized". He continued:—

"It was a happy day for the Federation when United Kingdom responsibility for its affairs was put under one Minister, and there is no Minister in the U.K. who would approach the complex problems of Central Africa with more understanding, sympathy, and wisdom than Mr. R. A. Butler. He will soon be here, and I believe that what he eventually suggests will be just, safe, and settled."

As background to Mr. Butler's discussions there were already equal opportunities for all men, irrespective of race, colour, or creed, and a multi-racial franchise would in time result in the voters being predominantly African. It was essential that minorities should be able to continue to make their contribution.

The British pavilion at the fair has for the second successive year won the Governor-General's trophy for the outstanding industrial commercial exhibit, and Great Britain has won the gold medal for the best international pavilion.

France, Italy, and West Germany are exhibiting for the first time.

"We Know Federal Cabinet Secrets," Says Mr. Kaunda

U.N.I.P. President's Claims and Allegations at London Meeting

ALTHOUGH NORTHERN RHODESIA is an island of peace compared with its neighbours, racial co-operation within it is currently impossible. MR. KENNETH KAUNDA, president of the United National Independence Party, told a meeting in London last Thursday. It had been organized by the Northern Rhodesia Freedom Fund, of which the chairman is Mr. Dingle Foot, M.P.

U.N.I.P., said Mr. Kaunda, was prepared to accept the challenge of providing a Government which would protect individuals as such, so that society as a whole would be safeguarded. Such a responsible, stable, Government would show the whites of Southern Rhodesia that there was nothing to be gained from the African rule, which was capable of serving the best interests of all the people if the basic factor of democracy, which the Europeans claimed to be teaching the Natives, were accepted.

"We are fighting against oppression. We do not want to replace the present one with another form of our own, for oppression is oppression anywhere and in any colour. Black oppression is just as wrong as white oppression."

Once we are free we shall free our white friends from their moral bondage."

U.N.I.P.'s shadow, he continued, loomed over the Federal Cabinet, causing the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, to shake.

"We know about their most private moves. He was waiting for us to reject the new Constitution and take our proposed general strike action so that he could send in his troops, declare Northern Rhodesia a disturbed area, shoot a few thousand people, and then make the country part of the Federation by force."

Took Away Sir Roy's Breath!

"What a tragic plan! We changed our tactics, not because we are cowards—and we have wrong sides to us and have made mistakes—but because we realized the danger to the country. So we made five conditions for taking part in the elections. This took Sir Roy's breath out of him and put us one step ahead. I knew then when he would dissolve Parliament as his next move."

"The friends of the Federation in Britain are in a rather difficult position. They are busy portraying it as a bed of roses, blossoming peacefully in sweetness, where the African lion lies down with serene confidence with the European lion. But the Africans, implacably opposed to the Federation, are determined to destroy it at the earliest possible opportunity. This aim is dominant in all three territories."

"Vicious and cowardly attacks to show me and U.N.I.P. as engaged in an evil conspiracy are made. We are held guilty of intimidation, although in our whole lives we have not composed the vile forms of intimidation of the police and other officials. We are accused of getting money from Moscow, a claim as baseless as it is perfidious. It is alleged that we are organizing Communist training in Acera through Mr. Sipalo."

"Lord Colyton has raised these hoary colonialist fables in a recent speech which the Earl of Lucan described as 'character assassination'. The House of Lords seems to be a little short of chivalry today. Because of the laws of libel, Lord Colyton has not had the courage to repeat his remarks outside his protected Chamber. I challenge him to do so in full in the House of Commons, where we will be on equal ground."

"The hopelessness of their case makes the federalists regard the instrument of Federation as sacrosanct as the Statute of Westminster. But it will die because the African people are determined to build a society responsible to and reflecting their own interests and traditions."

"In 1922 H.M. Government postulated the paramountcy of African interests in what we regard as our own Magna Carta by stating that where the interests of the Indigenous races collide with those of the immigrants the Africans' interests should always prevail. Africans fought to defend Western democracy in World War I; in the second we were told that as the Germans called us 'dogs and monkeys' our people should fight with Britain for Christianity and the West. But even as our men were dying side by side with their English

counterparts there was discrimination in the ranks; we were called askari, not soldiers, and we had different uniforms."

"Then Sir Roland Welensky came to the fore as leader of the European community. Although most of them are Africans, since they were born there, I prefer to call them 'whites'. Astute politician that he is, he realized that he would not get what he wanted because of the paramountcy policy. So he came here in 1948 to hoodwink Britain with some handicapped Africans to say that there would be a genuine partnership."

"The Africans rejected this, not because of racialism or because we did not want to live side by side with men of a different colour, but because we realized it was an attempt to usurp Britain's protecting powers. We sent delegation after delegation to tell H.M. Government that we opposed federation; but our protecting Power imposed it on us. We were told that we were children who could not think for ourselves and did not know what we were doing."

"We were told that Sir Roy Welensky knew better and had thought for us. We were posed to humble ourselves before him and say: 'You are doing wonders for us; we obey you.'"

Partnership

"What is the definition of partnership? Lord Malvern said he looked forward to a partnership between black and white like that existing between a rider and his horse—and

that by the personal architect of the Federation, Sir Roy Welensky, power and right in his hands to change the constitution and hospitals should be provided for his race and that 'As a white thought that his fellow beings were horses and he the human being. Like him, Federation was meaningless. Britain should have found the courage to tell him off and dissolve it.'"

"Sir Roy—whom we call *marzambani* [Sindbele for 'monkey nuts—Ed.]—and that for the next 100 years the Africans could not be dominant in the Federation. This was harming the very policy of partnership. The new franchise made it impossible for Africans to participate in political life, set as it was at an annual income of £740 in a country where the African's income was £189 and a white man's £1,310. Yet your representative in the United Nations says that we are well on the way to improvement. Nothing could be farther from the truth."

"Legislation against racial discrimination has been enacted but is ineffective. For seven years we conducted a non-violent campaign for social changes, but thousands of our people were imprisoned for picketing and for refusing to buy their meat through pigeon-holes. Yet Sir Roy Welensky is supposed to be doing wonders for us!"

"I will not mention the massacre by the army of 70 of our people at Wenbe in 1958. The Federal Government was responsible for sending experts to find out what was killing Africans in a new area they had been moved to, but the mysterious disease was never discovered. When the Kariba was flooded some animals were marooned—and people claiming to be Christians and exemplars of Western values left their fellow men to die and raised thousands of pounds to save wild animals. I like animals and want to conserve them, but man must come first. 'We have the right to release these values, though I know this story does not represent the white man's way of life.'"

"In 1958 the new Northern Rhodesian Constitution gave eight seats to 3m. Africans and 26 (with six Colonial Office officials who betrayed us with the Federation) to 70,000 whites. Is this democracy?"

"We did not accept this, and wrote to the Governor and world leaders. But our party was banned from holding meetings. We warned that we should be obliged to take steps against this, and complained that we were being denied the right to put our views to the country because we had rejected the Constitution, although the Governor's puppets supporting it had that facility."

"So I was obliged to take a step to harm myself, not anybody else—to organize meetings without permission, knowing that I should be arrested. Welensky and Governor Benson called that violence. The party was banned on March 11, 1959, and its leaders were flown away to where the Governor believed we should have no influence."

"The people in those areas were told that I was a cannibal, with an especial liking for children. But though they ran away at first when I approached, the students among them began to think and ask questions about me, and the people came to me. I had to be banned from addressing meetings even in rustication."

"In 1960 we were able to continue our agitation—yes, I am

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PERSONALIA

THE EARL OF INCHCAPE is visiting Australia. MR. DAVID COLE is in London from Southern Rhodesia.

GENERAL SIR RICHARD HULL, C.B.E., is visiting the Federation.

COLONEL LAURENS VAN DER WEST is spending some weeks in Russia.

HERR MAX RINGELMANN is now German Consul-General in the Federation.

MR. P. W. YOUNG, Deputy Chief Secretary, is on leave from Nyassaland.

THE REV. and MRS. D. KENYON have arrived in England from Northern Rhodesia.

MR. ARTHUR SHEKHU (Mwambwa) has been appointed Special Consul-General in Kenya.

MR. A. G. OBIILI is acting director of the Uganda Water Development Department.

SIR CHRISTOPHER MARSHALL, Chief Scout of the Commonwealth, will shortly visit the Federation.

DR. MAX YERGAN passed through London last week on his way to New York to Brazzaville.

SIR FRANK BRIGGS is acting as Chief Justice of the Federation while SIR HENRY CLAYTON is on leave.

MR. A. J. A. DOUGLAS has succeeded Mr. S. V. LAMONT as Government Secretary in Bechuanaland.

MR. BUDENE BLACK, president of the World Bank, is to receive the honorary D.C.L. of Oxford University.

MR. K. A. PHILLIPS, a geologist in Northern Rhodesia, has been appointed chief geologist in Fiji.

LORD TWEEDSMUIR has been re-elected chairman of the Canadian Section of the London Chamber of Commerce.

MR. C. P. CONNELL and MR. R. H. KEATINGE, puisne judges respectively in Kenya and Uganda, are in England on leave.

MR. AMOS LAHMAN, Ambassador of Haifa, Israel, is about to visit Tanganyika to advise the Government on cargo handling problems.

MR. DUNCAN SANDS, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, has written a booklet on the Commonwealth. It is due for early publication.

PROFESSOR DAVID ALLBROOK, Professor of Anatomy at Makerere College, is the new chairman of the board of trustees of the Uganda Museum.

The appointment of MR. C. S. K. TUMBO to be High Commissioner in London for Tanganyika involves a by-election at Mpanda. Polling day is May 21.

DR. STURE LINNER, lately chief of U.N. operations in the Congo, has been temporarily assigned to Brussels as U THANT'S special representative on Congo affairs.

COLONEL F. L. ORME, of Friars Park, Backford, Chester, and formerly of Tanganyika, has been appointed a deputy lieutenant for the County of Chester.

MR. RASHIDI KAWAWA, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, has accepted the invitation to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London in September.

MR. P. F. BARRETT, Deputy Federal High Commissioner in London, is to become Counsellor for the Federal Government at the British Embassy in Washington. He is now visiting the Federation.

MR. T. M. CHAKERA, son of Dr. M. J. CHAKERA, of Dar es Salaam, has been adjudged the best biology student of the year at Norwood Technical College, London, where he took pre-medical studies.

MR. JAN LINDSTROM is the new director of the U.N. information centre in London. He succeeds MR. JOHN REEDMAN, who has returned to New York. MR. GRANVILLE FLETCHER, head of the U.N. information office in the Congo for the past year, has been transferred to Rome.

MR. EDWARD HALWENGE has succeeded MR. W. WOOD as Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in Tanganyika. He is the third African to be appointed a Permanent Secretary.

SIR ALEXANDER MACFARQUHAR, who has served at the United Nations for the past decade, latterly as special adviser to the Secretary-General on civilian aid to the Congo, has been appointed director of personnel.

THE RT. REV. NIGEL E. CORNWALL, Bishop of Borneo for the last 13 years, and previously a U.M.C.A. missionary in Tanganyika, is to resign in September when his present see is split into two new dioceses.

MR. K. W. S. MACKENZIE, lately Minister for Finance in Kenya, who has been appointed Financial Secretary in the Kenya Treasury, will at the end of this month retire from service with the Kenya Government.

MR. P. F. D. WILSON, Assistant Labour Commissioner in Kenya, has been elected this year's president of Nairobi Rotary Club. MR. W. W. SCHLEIER is the new vice-president. MR. E. A. PASSELLA is honorary secretary.

MISS MARGARET KENYATTA is chairman of the organization for a conference of African women to be held in Limuru, near Nairobi, from May 3 to 11. It is to consider "The Role of African Women, Past, Present, and Future".

THE REV. JOHN STOTT, pastor of All Souls' Langham Place, London, has just left for a lecture and preaching tour of six African institutions of higher education, those in Sierra Leone, Accra, Ibadan, Nairobi, Kampala, and Salisbury.

MR. J. H. A. WATSON, who was head of the African Department of the Foreign Office from 1956 to 1959, and then went to West Africa as Ambassador to Senegal, Mauritania, Togo, and Mali, is to spend a sabbatical year at Oxford as a fellow of Nuffield College.

MR. OSIAH MWAMBUNGU, an assistant secretary in the Tanganyika Ministry of Commerce and Industry, is at the C.A.T.T. secretariat in Geneva studying commercial policy and economic development. He recently spent three weeks in London at the Board of Trade.

VISCOUNT MALVERN, first Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyassaland, and for more than 20 years previously Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, and VISCOUNTESS MALVERN sailed in the WINDSOR CASTLE on Thursday for Cape Town on their way back to Salisbury.

MRS. PHOEBE ASIYO has been appointed the first African woman assistant superintendent of prisons in Kenya, and has been posted to Langata women's prison near Nairobi for training under Mrs. M. P. ROCHFORD, the officer in charge of all women prisoners and staff in the Colony.

MR. G. S. GEORGE, managing director of Burroughs Machines, Ltd., and previously general manager of the group's organization in Africa, will shortly return to Africa, with headquarters in Johannesburg, but with responsibility for the subsidiaries and agencies in Central and East Africa.

MRS. LASSIE NDONDO, a 26-year-old teacher at Hope Fountain Mission, Butawayo, is the first African woman in Central Africa to have had a novel accepted for publication. Entitled "Qaphela Inyane" (Sindebele for "Take Care of the Child"), it is to be published by the Southern Rhodesia African Literature Bureau.

Seven members of Legislatures in East and Central Africa are attending a course in Parliamentary procedure and practice now being held in London under the auspices of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. They are MR. SEBETSE KHAMA and MR. D. J. C. MORGAN, from Bechuanaland; MR. WAFULA WABUGE, from Kenya; MR. A. M. NYASULU and MR. J. Z. U. TUMBO, from Nyassaland; MR. C. M. KAPILIMA, from Tanganyika; and SHEIKH HILAL M. HILAL, from Zanzibar.

MR. C. J. HATTY, Finance Minister of Southern Rhodesia, is acting as Prime Minister this week during the brief absence for a holiday at sea of SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD.

MR. G. P. G. MACKAY, general manager of East African Railways and Harbours, has arrived in the United Kingdom on three-months' leave. MR. J. H. BALDWIN, deputy general manager, is acting in his stead.

MR. A. D. DODDS-PARKER has been appointed chairman of the Conservative Commonwealth Council in succession to LORD SOUHLI. MR. DODDS-PARKER, who was M.P. for Banbury from 1945 to 1959, has been Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and for Foreign Affairs, and is a past chairman of the Joint East and Central African Board.

MR. PAUL BOMANI, the Finance Minister, said when he returned to Dar es Salaam from London that H.M. Government would provide a further 20 student places next year and so save Tanganyika more than £100,000. It had also agreed that Tanganyika should draw this year's instalment of £14m. by way of grant which was not due to be paid until 1963-64.

MR. MOHAMED HYDER having graduated from the Andrews University, with honours in zoology, has returned to Mombasa, where he was born. The son of SHEIKH HYDER MOHAMED EL KINDY, MR. HYDER is to do research work for the East African Freshwater Fisheries Organization, especially in connection with fish breeding in artificial ponds.

MR. G. W. BAKER, Controller of Information Services in Tanganyika, has left Dar es Salaam this week for the United Kingdom via South Africa, his appointment having been suddenly terminated by the Tanganyika Government in order to provide for the promotion of an African, MR. JOSEPH YINZA, lately information officer to the Tanganyika High Commission in London.

MR. K. M. CAMPBELL, who recently became chairman of the British India Line, has joined the board of two other companies in the F. & O. group, the New Zealand Shipping Co., Ltd. and the Federal Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. He has also been elected a director of the Chartered Bank to fill a vacancy caused by the retirement of MR. E. J. PAKES.

Recent arrivals in London from the Federation include MR. A. L. ANDREWS, MR. J. L. G. ANGELL, the REV. F. C. BARR, MR. P. J. F. COGHELL, MR. & MRS. C. R. COLLARD, MR. & MRS. R. W. DICKINSON, MR. & MRS. P. G. S. GILBERT, MR. G. W. G. HARRIDGE, the REV. & MRS. D. JENKINS, MR. G. KILBEF, RABBI AND MRS. M. KONVISER, MR. & MRS. J. LESSEM, MR. N. C. McLAREN, MR. J. MAKSFIELD, MR. D. S. MITCHELL, SIR ERIC & LADY MOSS, MR. & MRS. K. K. PARKER, MR. & MRS. H. W. ROSE, MR. F. J. SAUNDERS, MR. & MRS. G. SELLERS, MR. & MRS. B. SPARROW, MR. D. R. G. WOOD, and MR. & MRS. F. H. YATES.

Obituary

MR. M. M. GOLDBERG, who has died in Southern Rhodesia, aged 68, was a brother of Mr. B. D. Goldberg, Federal Minister of Health and Education.

M. GUY DE LAYN, Conservator of the Kaggira National Park in Ruanda-Urundi, was recently murdered in his bungalow at Gabire by a gang of Tutsi.

MR. LAWRENCE MAKATA, a leading member of the Executive of the Nyasaland Malawi Congress party and a close confidant of Dr. Banda, was killed recently in a road accident.

MR. JOHN SPURGEON HENKEL, who has died in South Africa, aged 90, was Southern Rhodesia's first forestry officer. He arrived in the Colony in 1920 and founded what has now become a most efficient Forestry Commission.

More Seats for United Federal Party Members of New Parliament

FIFTY-TWO out of a possible 53 seats are now held by the United Federal Party in the Federal Assembly, eight more than previous, as a result of polling for the 13 contested seats last Friday. Forty U.F.P. candidates had been elected unopposed on nomination day.

Mr. Robert Williamson, who sat in the last Assembly as a Federal Dominion Party member, retained his Midlands seat in Southern Rhodesia as an Independent.

All the extremist Rhodesian Republican Party candidates in Northern Rhodesia lost their deposits except Dr. G. A. Smith.

Two "special" seats each remain to be filled by Africans from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and the Governors of those two territories will each nominate a European to represent African interests.

Mr. Robert Burns had an unexpected win for the U.F.P. in Lusaka West over the Independent Mr. John Gaunt, a popular member of the Assembly since its inception.

Blantyre was the only contested constituency in Nyasaland, where the former U.F.P. member, Mr. F. G. Collins, retained his seat against an Independent, Mr. J. H. Brezee.

The successful candidates were:
Southern Rhodesia: Sir Donald Macintyre (Bulawayo); Mrs. Ethel Ruth (Salisbury West); and Messrs. J. M. Macdonald (Kaituma); A. Clark (Belmont); E. W. Gray (Sorrento); W. H. Eastwood (Bulawayo Suburbs); J. M. Caldicott (Darwin); P. Staub (Eastlea); H. J. Foskett (Fort Victoria); A. C. Birch (Glenoda); E. J. Nelson (Hartley/Calcutta); R. Williamson (Midlands); J. W. Swan (Mount Pleasant); J. R. Beaumont (Mrewa); A. J. Pillay (Salisbury); J. P. G. Duncan (Salisbury District); S. Udwin (Salisbury East); H. D. Wightwick (Salisbury South); S. S. Sawyer (Salisbury Suburbs); R. H. Thyne (Sebakwe); J. M. Greenfield (Umguza); C. H. Fox (Umtali); B. J. Goldberg (Umtali Town); K. F. Halstead (Western); B. Z. Swanhai (Lusaka/Sabi); J. S. Moyo (Gwa); C. M. Chipunza (Harare); Mr. Justice (Lusaka East); and Mr. Justice (Southern Rhodesia special electoral district).

Northern Rhodesia: Sir Roy Welensky (Broken Hill); and Messrs. E. M. Rich (Lusaka East); A. W. Anderson (Kitwe); J. C. Graylin (Livingstone); D. A. Sparrow (Lusaka District); G. van Eeden (Lusaka Rural); R. Burns (Lusaka West); S. F. Turner (Mazabuka); V. T. Joyce (Mufufira); D. W. Winekester-Gould (Ndola Rural); F. S. Owen (Ndola Town); G. W. R. Lange (Nkana); F. B. Robertson (North-Eastern); G. S. Magrath (North-Western); J. J. Simukonda (Kafue); G. Lewanga (Luanshya).

Nyasaland: Sir Malcolm Barrow (Luchenza); and Messrs. F. G. Collins (Blantyre); J. W. Stratton (Lumbo); R. C. Bucquet (Shire); J. Foot (Lake Nyasa); C. Bryden (Zomba); C. J. Matting (Nyasaland South special electoral district); and B. W. M. Phiri (Nyasaland North special electoral district).

Inchcape Group Appointments

INCHCAPE & CO., LTD., announce that Mr. A. F. Orr Deas, having already attained the normal age for retirement from full executive duties, has at his own request vacated the office of deputy chairman but that he will remain a member of the board. Mr. H. Shedden, a director, succeeds Mr. Deas as a deputy chairman. Mr. J. M. Sim, Mr. R. E. Castell, and Mr. H. C. Bannerman have been appointed to the board. Mr. Sim has also been appointed a deputy chairman and managing director of Gray, Dawes & Co., Ltd., and Mr. B. R. T. Greer a managing director of that company.

Corona Dinner

THE CORONA DINNER this year, the 52nd in the series, will be held in the Connaught Rooms, Kingsway, London, W.C.2, on Thursday, June 14. Mr. Maudling, Secretary of State for the Colonies, hopes to be able to preside.

U.P.C. Wins Uganda Elections

MR. APOLLO MILTON OBOHE has been appointed Prime Minister of Uganda by the Governor, Sir, Walter Coutts.

He was sworn in on Tuesday with his Cabinet of 12 Ministers, after having defeated the Democratic Party in the general election last Wednesday, in which his Uganda People's Congress won 37 seats to 22 for the D.P. A further 21 seats have been filled by indirect election from the Buganda Lukiko of members of the Kabaka Yekka (Kabaka Only) party.

The new Uganda Cabinet comprises:

Prime Minister: MR. APOLLO MILTON OBOHE (U.P.C.);
Minister of External Affairs: MR. WILBERFORCE K. SEMPA (U.P.C.);

Deputy Minister of External Affairs: MR. NARANDA M. PATE (U.P.C.);

Minister of Finance: MR. AMOS K. SEMPA (Lukiko, K.Y.);

Minister of Agriculture and Cooperatives: MR. MATHIAS M. NGOBI (U.P.C.);

Minister of Health: DR. EMMANUEL B. S. LUMU (U.P.C.);

Minister of Works and Labour: MR. FELIX K. OKANDA (U.P.C.);

Minister of Minerals and Water Resources: MR. JOHN W. LWAMAYA (U.P.C.);

Minister of Education: DR. JOSHUA L. LOYIBAZI ZAKE (Lukiko, K.Y.);

Minister of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism: MR. AKHBAR A. NEKYON (U.P.C.);

Minister of Economic Affairs: MR. JAMES T. SIMPSON (Lukiko nominee);

Minister of Justice: MR. GRACE S. K. IBINGIRA (U.P.C.);

Minister without Portfolio: MR. BAKAKI K. KIRYA (U.P.C.);

The Attorney General is MR. GODFREY K. BINAIISA (Lukiko, K.Y.) who will act as principal legal adviser to the Government.

MR. ALEXANDER A. OJERA (U.P.C.) has been appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister's Office.

Polling takes place today for the remaining two seats in the 82-member National Assembly, the candidates in Toro having refused to be nominated until the kingdom's demand for federal status had been met.

Quiet Polling

In the last legislature the D.P. had 24 non-Buganda seats and the U.P.C. 35; and, because of a boycott by the Buganda leaders, the D.P. gained 20 of the 21 Buganda seats. Because on this occasion, the Lukiko had opted for indirect elections from its own ranks, neither party was able to contest the former Buganda constituencies. One consequence was that Mr. Kiwanuka himself did not stand, but he may re-enter the Council as a specially elected member.

A 66% poll—lower than expected—was recorded. The police stated that the mood of the election was "even quieter than expected", the only incident reported occurring on Wednesday at Makerere College where riot police had to make a baton charge to disperse some 300 Africans who were told they were not entitled to vote as they had not registered in that particular constituency.

In Bunyoro, previously regarded as a U.P.C. stronghold, the D.P. won both seats. In Busoga the U.P.C. took all seven seats.

After a Speaker has been chosen, the new Assembly will meet to elect nine more special members, the voting system for which is such that the U.P.C./Kabaka Yekka alliance can take nine if it desires.

Voting seems to have been determined almost entirely by tribal, clan, and personal loyalties, and the impression

is confirmed that federal status is a demand manufactured by the political leaders", cabled the correspondent of *The Times*. Discussing the position of the 21 Lukiko-elected Kabaka Yekka representatives in the National Assembly, he said:—"The most unpredictable element in the new Assembly will be the 21 Kabaka Yekka members. Observers were puzzled that 44 candidates stood for election by the Lukiko, for it had been expected that a list of just 21 candidates, covertly approved by the Kabaka, would be presented.

Internal differences of opinion delayed the production of the list until after nomination time. In the end, party discipline was maintained, and the 21 approved candidates all received between six and eight votes while the remainder mustered hardly a dozen votes between them.

Some notable Buganda figures are missing, in particular Mr. A. K. Mayanja, the Buganda Minister of Education. Mr. Mayanja and several others who might have been included are all people known for their efforts to make Buganda an effective part of the country as a whole. Prominent in the list of approved candidates are Mr. A. Sempa, the Buganda Minister, and Mr. J. T. Simpson, whose reputation as traditional separatist.

This poses the question of Buganda's future role, which the fate of Uganda largely hinges on. It is suggested by the fact that about half of the chosen candidates would probably favour Mr. Mayanja rather than Mr. Sempa.

Mr. J. T. Simpson, Chairman of the Uganda Development Corporation, who is expected to be Minister of Finance. [He has taken over Economic Affairs.—Ed.]

"One interpretation of the constitution of the 21 is that the Kabaka is playing safe, being sure to get 21 votes, to concentrate his power within Buganda. It is suggested, by the national Legislature, that it is important to have some of the National Assembly some effective members but to encourage them from too advertisement a policy by berating them of their leaders."

No Independents or candidates of the smaller parties succeeded anywhere.

Uganda's Choice of National Flag

THE UGANDA GOVERNMENT has decided that, subject to there being no infringement of an existing flag, the flag of an independent Uganda shall be of three vertical bands of green, blue, and green, separated by two gold bands. The approved design is thus officially described:

"There shall be three vertical bands of green, blue, and green, separated by two gold bands. The centre blue band is one-third of the total length of the flag, and the gold bands are flanking the blue right and left, one-twentyfourth of the total length of the flag. There shall be a gold crested crane in the central blue. The British Colour Standard specifications (International List) are: Blue B C C 148; green, B C C 22; and gold, B C C 6.

The Green represents the green vegetation of the country. The Blue represents the Great Lakes and the river. Blue is placed in the middle to portray the River Nile, which traverses almost the entire country.

Gold.—This is a minor colour used to separate the green from the blue; it is also meant to represent the sun, which shines over this country all the year round.

Ratio: Length to breadth, three to two.

Africanization of the Police

AFRICANIZATION of the Uganda Police is proceeding apace. At the end of 1961 there were 60 Africans holding the rank of assistant superintendent, compared with 36 at the end of 1960 and 18 a year earlier. African inspectors and sub-inspectors now number 217, as against 137 and 139 one and two years previously. The number of European assistant superintendents fell last year from 184 to 169.

Gifts to Tanganyika

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DAR ES SALAAM, has received from the Ford Foundation of America a grant of £310,000 for its initial building programme, which will cost rather more than £1m. George Cohen (East Africa), Ltd., have given all the equipment of the Uruwira mine hospital.

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*Letters to the Editor***Treatment of Girl Guide Commissioner
Ingratitude of Abrupt Letter from London**

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA
 Sir,—For the last 20 years Mrs. Dorothy Peterkins has been working up the Girl Guide Association movement in Nyasaland, spending a lot of her own money and devoting a considerable part of her time in travelling the length and breadth of Nyasaland in her worthy endeavours. That she was successful is proved by the fact that four and a half years ago she was appointed Chief Commissioner for Nyasaland. As you know, the Guide Association is non-racial and Mrs. Peterkins has without doubt done a great deal to cement race relations in these parts.

Mrs. C. Peterkins' husband has a distinguished record dating from the 1914-18 war, and has been interested in local politics since party politics came here. At present he is a United Federal Party member of the Nyasaland Legislative Council.

Last month Mrs. Peterkins received a letter from the Chief Commissioner for Overseas Territories of the Girl Guide Association in London, which states, *inter alia*,—Now that your husband is so actively associated with a political party your position as our commissioner has become very vulnerable. Under the circumstances the only wise thing for you to do is to hand over the job to some one not associated with politics and to do this quite soon—not waiting for the completion of your five-year appointment.

Could anything be more crude or humiliating?

Mrs. Peterkins tells me that she has never taken part in politics or party politics since they came to Nyasaland, and she did not accompany or assist her husband in his campaign in the recent election. If the people in Britain think that this is the way to foster race relations, they should think again, and quickly.

I wonder what the reasons would have been if the husband had other political views?

Blantyre, Yours faithfully,

Nyasaland, J. W. STRATTON,
 [Mr. Stratton is U.F.P. member for Limbe.—Ed.]

Change the Political System**Disadvantages of Party Politics**

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Sir,—When will populations realize that all the political strife which East and Central Africa and many other countries suffer is due to the political party system? A political party consists of a body of people who have combined together for their own self-interest. Rival parties vilify each other and strive for supremacy, splitting the population of their countries into mutually hostile groups, and this often leads to intimidation, rioting, and international disputes, particularly when the leading rulers succumb to megalomania.

One main cause of political friction is the lack of any sensible qualifications for candidates for Parliament. A young man with only a smattering of school knowledge (which is soon forgotten) without wisdom, and with no experience, may become a candidate if he has raised a sufficient following to support him. Hence the rise of agitators—individuals who often hanker after the large (or relatively large) income that election to power provides, by contrast to the modest livelihood obtained from employment at some useful task.

Another main cause of friction is the lack of sensible qualifications for exercise of the franchise. Why confer the vote on those who have only a hazy idea of what the voting is about, and who merely go through the

motions as instructed by some agitator or intimidator? Income, property, schooling, and other qualifications are all very well, but what is really needed is not emotion but the ability to reason, and that can come only from intelligence and long experience. Since experience can be accumulated only with age the minimum age should be raised from 21 to 40 for candidates for Parliament and from 21 to 30 for voters. Merely these changes would do much to diminish the political strife from which all countries suffer.

A political party achieves power by winning a majority of seats, although it may have received only a minority of votes. The Zanzibar general election of January last year was won by the Afro-Shirazi Party by one vote—and that disputed—in one of the 22 constituencies. A splinter group with three Pemba seats was in a position to drive a hard bargain for its support. The stupidity of such a system should be obvious to all.

The "Ins" always striving to retain their jobs and legislate accordingly. The "Outs" will always endeavour to unseat them. Hence they develop political tactics and strategy and M.P.s. who do not vote on measures relating to their conscience and conscience but on the question of whether the reigning party shall continue to rule. One does occasionally get a free vote in a House, but very occasionally. Every vote should be a free vote, and ideally every vote should be an expert technologist with wisdom, and not a politician with power or seeking power. A country could then progress in peace and contentment with less expense.

It is a mistake to elect M.P.s. for a fixed term, usually five years. Why should they not be removable at any time if they cease to satisfy a majority of their voters? It is also a mistake to allow over-age politicians to continue in Parliament. Much disaffection is caused by keeping younger and more up-to-date men from advancement. There should be an upper age limit for all, as well as a lower.

If all M.P.s. were independents, none would gain any advantage or suffer and disadvantage from the way he voted on a measure. That is an ideal for which to strive. Many books have been written on the inequities and disadvantages of the political party system. What is needed is the creation of a public agitation to change it.

Marandellas,

Southern Rhodesia.

Yours faithfully,

A. M. CLOSE.

Points from Letter**Misleading Press Comments**

"ALMOST EVERY DAY I read something about Africa which is seriously misleading. Today I have picked up a monthly magazine which takes itself quite seriously but has nevertheless written editorially: 'What Africa needs is the firm prospect of united nations with able government, efficient administrations, and expanding economies. If the Kenya dilemma can be resolved the much discussed East African Federation would soon emerge.' What unrealistic nonsense! What East Africa has is disunion. Governments of less and less ability, administrations with rapidly decreasing efficiency, and economies which must contrast alarmingly with the swift spread of black racism. It is not by any means certain that an East African Federation would quickly follow a settlement of Kenya's political problem; and only super-optimists would assume that any 'settlement' reached at this month's Lancaster House Conference will really mean much. We should remember that what the Kenya African politicians signed in that building two years ago they promptly tore up."

Kenya Africans Seeking Employment Christian Council's Statement on Situation

NEWSPAPERS in the United Kingdom and in Africa recently suggested that the Christian Council of Kenya had advocated the grant of independence to that country at the earliest possible moment and immediate large-scale investment in the Colony.

Doubting that a responsible Christian organization would commit itself to recommendations of so political a character, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA withheld publication until it could obtain from the C.C.K. the full text of its statement.

It proves to be in two parts. The first, briefly describing what is called "Kenya's Unemployment Crisis", says, *inter alia*:

"... Statistics figures point to the existence of at least a quarter of a million Africans in Kenya who want wage employment but cannot get it. With some 500,000 Africans in employment and 250,000 jobless, one in three of Kenya's wage-earning African labour force is now out of work.

"... There is a growing class of families who cannot return to the rural areas for subsistence. Others cannot return to the reserves penniless for fear of arrest for non-payment of taxes.

Young Children

"African housing is fearfully overcrowded in Nairobi, and in the 15 people in a room is not unusual. There have been cases in Makadara where 30 people have been found living in one room. Certainly over half the Africans in Nairobi now have less than the official minimum of 40 square feet of living space. The City Council's Housing List is 16,000.

"The problems of women, especially widows or unmarried women with children, are often desperate. Together with many old people they often have no home outside Nairobi, and without means of subsistence are reduced to pitiful extremities. "The children of such women form the nucleus of juvenile vagrants and juvenile prostitutes, some aged as young as nine years. "Prostitutes" in this connexion is a most misleading term but serves to describe the problem.

"It is reliably estimated that something like 600 boys who should be committed to approved schools will have to be turned free during 1962 because of the lack of vacancies in the approved schools. This means that Kenya is producing a growing criminal class.

"With more and more 'vagrants' being 'rehabilitated' to the reserves from Nairobi, with increasing numbers of dismissals from European farms, and with the threat of arrest for non-payment of taxes awaiting the penniless unemployed who return to the African land units, is it to be wondered at that men are reported to be 'taking to the forests'? Where else, indeed, are they to go?

"The present situation represents a rising tide of human misery. It presents a growing threat to security. It involves a tragic waste of human resources.

"Apart from a handful of problem cases, we believe that these men want to work and are willing to work hard in suitable employment. Their energies are desperately needed in developing Kenya."

Industrial Adviser's Proposals

The second part of the statement, headed "What Is To Be Done?", consists of remedies proposed by Mr. Andrew Hake, industrial adviser to the C.C.K., but it is not made clear that the recommendations represent only his personal views and would not necessarily be supported by the member Churches.

Despite the fact that the proposals are merely those of Mr. Hake, the word "we", not "I", is used throughout—with the not unnatural result that many publications have attributed to the Christian Council remarks which it may collectively regret, modify, or even reject.

This second section of the paper states (in part):

"The Christian Churches have had a considerable share in the development of Kenya, especially in education. We pledge ourselves to serve the Kenya of tomorrow, and we thank God that there are now countless Christian men and women in all walks of life who are dedicated to serve their fellow men in society, whatever the difficulties, with righteousness, integrity, and cour-

age. Our confidence is not a naïve optimism, but a deep faith in God and the people of God in this land.

"We would impress on those in authority a sense of urgency in moving forward to complete independence. Independence itself does not solve all problems, but economic confidence will not be established until an independent Government has proved itself in the eyes of the world. Every week that elapses before independence is likely to see a worsening of the economic situation. Delay in holding elections will exacerbate the threat to security.

"We wish to see the establishment of confidence among private investors, and we urge those who control financial policy to take heed of the voices of hope (and there are many) and not give undue weight to the scaremongers and prophets of doom. But there is a danger that if we wait for private investors to commit themselves, the worsening situation in Kenya will create a situation where confidence is impossible.

"We therefore urge the people of Britain and the countries of the West to consider whether the present time is the moment of great opportunity to provide a massive injection of capital into East Africa. We are indeed grateful for what has been done and we believe that it commensurate with the wealth and resources of the West and with the urgency and poverty of East Africa.

"Our present situation in Kenya is a situation of two nations: the affluent few and the poverty-stricken many. We shall become one nation only when rich and poor alike are freed from the gradation of poverty and the rapid and chaotic development of the economy.

"We believe that those who are well-off must willingly accept new burdens and sacrifices for the common weal. We believe that those who control the taxation policies of central and local governments should not be too ready to exact sacrifices from the better-off (and especially from the coloured races) for the sake of accelerating our development, and expanding the economy, and enabling those at present out of work to contribute to the life of the nation.

"Finally, we make two suggestions about wages policy in the towns.

"(a) Women of all ages at present need not be paid more than the 'youth wage'—which in Nairobi at the moment is 74s per month (plus a 'bed-space' or 13s. in lieu). Since so many women have families to support, we submit that the present practice is intolerable, and that legislation should be introduced without delay to ensure that adult women are paid not less than the appropriate adult minimum wage.

"(b) It has long been recognized that the Carpenter formula for establishing the youth wage is now hopelessly out of date and utterly inadequate for the needs of even a few young people in urban areas. Its complete revision is long overdue. [Comment is made in Notes By The Way].

Christian Newspapers for East Africa

THE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF KENYA is appealing for at least £70,000 for the establishment of two fortnightly Christian newspapers, one in English and the other in Swahili, which would carry some news but concentrate on providing Christian comment on current affairs. It is assumed that the gap between expenditure and revenue should be closed in about four years by the employment of well qualified persons and hard work. The plan provides for an editor from overseas (at a salary of about £2,000), an African assistant editor (£1,100), a promotion and circulation manager "who will need boundless Christian enthusiasm as he travels around on a pioneering job" (estimated to cost £1,800), two African editorial assistants (£770 p.a. each), and two circulation assistants (at similar salaries). The appeal is issued by the Rev. S. Booth-Clibborn, editor of *Rock*, a monthly published in Nairobi (P.O. Box 5009).

Africanization

MORE THAN A QUARTER of the senior and middle grade officials in Tanganyika are now Africans: they hold 1,170 of 6,033 posts with minimum salaries of £300 in the case of secretarial jobs and of £444 in other cases. In the administrative and professional scales 22.8% of the officials were Africans at the beginning of this year. In the executive scale, the proportion was 28.1% in the technical, 22.5%; police and prisons, 41.9%; secretarial, 18.6%; and teaching, 12.2%. In the Prime Minister's Office 249 Africans hold senior and middle grade posts.

Slanging Matches in Kenya Again Partition Country Between Us, Says Mr. Muliro

VILIFICATION was again the order of the day at political rallies in Kenya over the week-end, only 11 days after the party leaders had solemnly sworn to work together and refrain from inflaming inter-party strife after the first meeting of the Provisional Council of Ministers.

Mr. Ronald Ngala, leader of K.A.D.U., told several thousand Samburu that under his party's regional plan their fears for the future would be groundless, adding a warning against "those who wish to dominate their fellow Africans and want the Central Government to control all land so that they can settle their fellow tribes-

men." Mr. Ngala, president of K.A.D.U., told the Nairobi meeting that K.A.D.U. had been the biggest obstacle at the London constitutional conference, "and much more of a hindrance than the British Government."

His vice-president, Mr. Oginga Odinga, claimed that "the imperialists" had been responsible for the K.A.D.U. regional plan and had rallied behind that party because they wanted Africans to fight among themselves."

The K.A.N.U. general secretary, and now Minister of Agriculture, Tom Mboya got his audience in a K.A.D.U. meeting to pass a vote of no confidence in the sitting members. Mr. Mwanje Mwangi, general leader of K.A.D.U. and Minister for Commerce and Industry.

Mr. Muliro said that Mr. Odinga had transported a lorry full of K.A.N.U. supporters in order to rig the meeting and had asked Mr. Mboya to share a platform with him at Bungoma, the administrative centre of the constituency, "where 30,000 people gave me a vote of confidence yesterday." He admitted holding the meeting despite the refusal of the D.C. to grant a licence, "because I would sooner go to jail than be deprived of the opportunity of telling my people the truth about the Lancaster House Conference."

Kenyatta's statements were, he said, the final blow. "If we are not to have a regional Constitution, then we should stop all the nonsense and partition Kenya between K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U. areas. It is childish to talk of a truce while both parties are striving to win the next election, as I have told the Governor."

Broadcasting in Swahili on Radio Moscow, Mr. John Keen, the Masai organizing secretary of K.A.N.U., who is leading 10 Kenya M.L.C.s. on a tour of Russia and Communist East-European satellite countries, has said that Kenya could not always rely on America and Europe for all forms of aid. "It will be useful therefore for us to be friendly with the peoples of other countries. If the Americans display any signs of pig-headedness, as they usually do, Russia's aid will be available to come to our rescue."

Earlier last week the first secretary with the Ghana High Commission in London, Mr. J. A. Afari, told a K.A.N.U. meeting in Nairobi that "when the Kenya struggle becomes serious Kwame Nkrumah will help you."

Threats By Mr. Adoula Against Katanga More Asian Military Aid if U.N. Does Nothing

NO MEETINGS were held last week between Mr. Adoula, Prime Minister of the Congo, and President Tshombe of Katanga, as had been tentatively expected, but at the beginning of this week Mr. Adoula said a fresh round of discussions would start in Leopoldville, whither Mr. Tshombe had said he would return "with no great enthusiasm to retain those who wish to rebuild the Congo."

Mr. Adoula has accused the Katangese leader of "double-dealing" by stalling at their first talks in order to gain time to build up the province's military strength with arms from certain unnamed countries which were "interfering in Congolese affairs and giving him moral support in his defiance of the United Nations."

A time limit was to be set on the new talks. If agreement were not reached the Central Government would "seek military help from the Afro-Asian bloc and other friendly countries to liquidate the secessionist province; and so far the responses we have received have been very encouraging."

"If the U.N. considers that its present mandate is not sufficiently clear and does not permit more direct action in safeguarding our integrity, it is necessary that the U.N. clarify this mandate and define the role which has been given it for intervention in the Congo. With confidence and discipline, with respect for order and the rights of all, we are ready to engage in the final battle if we are so obliged."

U.N. authorities in Elisabethville were reported to have discovered a "plot" to supply 60m. worth of arms to Katanga, but New York had no details. The U.N. secretary-general, U Thant, said that although there were still a number of foreign mercenaries in the province, he had no intention of having U.N. forces arrest or expel them, since they were being directed at achieving a settlement between the two leaders.

In Elisabethville, where he has been under treatment for strain, Mr. Tshombe said that he had been tempted to "drop Leopoldville with its rivalries, vain talk and glorious illusions; Katanga's true vocation is to integrate itself in a bigger grouping than the Congo, something on the scale of the whole of Africa". Mr. Adoula had not understood that their negotiations could not involve "capitulation pure and simple."

Federation Stamps

THE FIRST DEFINITIVE ISSUE of postage stamps of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has been withdrawn from sale, and will be demonetized in about three years. Stamps of the issue held by the public will meantime remain valid for postal purposes. The issue, comprising 16 denominations with a portrait of the Queen as the main feature of the design for each value, was made shortly after the inception of the Federation. The second definitive issue, made in August, 1959, consists of 14 pictorial stamps from 1d. to £1. On May 15 a new 9d. stamp will be on sale. It will depict two passing trains, with the words "Rhodesia Railways"



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Close Friend of Two Lions

Mr Norman Carr's Convincing Story

MR. NORMAN CARR, sometime warden of the Kafue National Park in Northern Rhodesia, the largest reserve of the kind anywhere in Africa, has written a delightful and exciting story of two lions under the title "Return to the Wild" (Collins, 21s.); and his modest and convincing narrative has the confirmation of many excellent photographs, a number of them in colour.

For three years he has his close companions two lions which were brought to him as cubs when only a few days old, the mother having been killed at point-blank range when she sprang at an African game scout. Mr. Carr brought up the two orphans with devoted care, but deliberately decided not to domesticate them. During the training period was over they were free to do what they wished.

Their choice was to sit with him in his tent or, especially beside him while he fished, to walk and romp with him, and to travel in his lorry. Their chief pleasure was his company; and their affection was undiminished after they had fully grown, had learned to stir with their kind and kill their own food, and could consequently be safely left to fend for themselves in a territory of their own (and lion groups are very jealous of intrusion by other lions into their "territory", of about 50 square miles).

Perhaps the public will have an opportunity of seeing a filmed record of these three amazing years of man-lion association, for the author mentions cinematography as one of his recreations (Spoke-milking is another). If there is such a picture in prospect, it should rank high among those taken by enthusiastic amateurs in Africa.

Mr. Carr, a lover of all wild life, has evidently the inexhaustible patience and quiet courage essential to success in the life he chose. His straightforward style cannot hide the fact that the story, which he tells us as much of a tribute to him as to the lions for which he so successfully evokes sympathy—but not sentimentality. He is warmly appreciative of his African helpers, especially Nelson Chilanga, who shared his master's love for Big Boy and Little Boy.

In this book—which I read at a sitting because I could not put it down—there is frequent contradiction of the statements about lions which so often appear in volumes on Africa, sometimes by writers whose experience should have prevented them from generalizing from a few incidents. Mr. Carr is ever on guard against that fault.

His book can be warmly recommended to the general reader and to those with specialist knowledge of Africa's wild life.

F.S.J.

Saved Hunter's Life

AN AFRICAN GUN-BEARER, Kiebe s/o Ndala, has received the Queen's Commendation for Brave Conduct. The citation reads: "At great personal risk Kiebe ran to the assistance of Mr. P. J. Kingsley-Heath, a hunter, who was being savaged by a wounded lion. With Mr. Kingsley-Heath's rifle Kiebe shot the lion in the loins; he then collected a second rifle from another of the party and twice more shot the lion from a distance of two feet. A fatal shot was difficult because of danger to the wounded hunter lying under the beast. Kiebe's cool courage undoubtedly saved Mr. Kingsley-Heath's life. This incident took place on August 12, 1961, on the Ruaha River in Central Tanganyika. Mr. Kiebe is Mr. Kingsley-Heath's personal gun-bearer."

Committee on Co-operatives Overseas

MR. DENNIS VOSPER, M.P., Secretary for Technical Co-operation, has appointed a committee to advise him on the provision of technical assistance from Britain for the promotion of co-operatives of all kinds in developing-territories. Lord Peddie, a director of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, is chairman. His colleagues are Mr. W. Coldrick, formerly an M.P., and a past chairman of the Parliamentary Group of the Co-operative Party; Miss M. Digby, secretary of the Plunkett Foundation for Co-operative Studies; Mr. R. L. Marshall, principal of the Co-operative College, Loughborough; Mr. J. A. E. Morley, chief executive officer of the Agricultural Central Co-operative Association; Mr. A. E. Oram, M.P., chairman of the Parliamentary Group of the Co-operative Party, and Mr. B. J. Sidridge, adviser on co-operatives to the Department of Technical Co-operation.

Africans Living with Lions

MENTAL TELEPATHY BETWEEN AN AFRICAN family and a pride of lions in the Singida district of Tanganyika has been suggested as possible by Mr. Marvin Cowie, director of the Kenya National Parks, who told the Fauna Preservation Society in London last week that there was "a certain measure of proof" that some Africans were living with lions, almost joining with them and sharing their prey. When a chief and his people were attacked after villagers had protested about killings by lions, the "lion-controller" had given a warning that unless the man was free by nightfall he would go for lions to kill the chief's cattle. The chief refused. Next morning 14 of his cattle lay dead.

M.T.D. (Mangula), Ltd., milled 307,000 short tons of ore in the quarter to March 31 for 3,162 long tons of copper.

The January-March profit of Falcon Mines, Ltd., Southern Rhodesia, was £58,706 from 66,950 tons milled for 12,752 oz. gold. No tax liability arises. The issued capital is £2,000,000.

The upper and lower advisory councils of the Litunga of Barotseland have held joint meetings to discuss possible accession of the country from an African nationalist-dominated Northern Rhodesia.

Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., produced 8,246 long tons of zinc and 2,382 of lead in the quarter ended on March 31, compared with 7,514 and 3,728 tons respectively in the previous three months.

Terrestrial rain in Zanzibar—with 144 inches falling in 14 hours on Saturday—disrupted electricity and communications and rendered scores of people homeless in floods which wrecked about 40 houses and seriously damaged another 50.

A British-Combined Services rugby team arrived in Kenya today to play an East African XV before going to the Federation for matches against Northern and Southern Rhodesian fifteens, a Federal Combined Services team, and a Rhodesian national team.

Globe and Phoenix Gold Mining Co., Ltd., reports profit for 1961 at £315,753 (£314,695 in 1960) subject to taxation of £117,900. Shareholders receive 7s. per 5s. unit. Fixed assets appear at £177,005, investments at £155,435 and current assets less current liabilities at £491,341.

The British South Africa Company's estimated revenue from mineral royalties, rents and fees for the quarter to March 31, after providing for payment to Northern Rhodesia of 20% of the net revenue derived from the exercise of its mineral rights in that country, amounted to £2,736,000, compared with £2,671,000 in the corresponding period of last year. For the last two quarters the total has been £5,618,000, compared with just over £5m in 1960-61.

Gallaher, Ltd., a group with large interests in the Federation, reports consolidated profit for 1961 after tax at £5,350,881 (£5,334,300). The general reserve is increased by £4m; shareholders receive 20%, and the carry-forward is £3.3m. The issued capital is £30m. Fixed assets stand in the books at £12.2m, and current assets less current liabilities at almost £73.5m. Revenue reserves amount to £17m, and loan capital to £22m. The chairman fears that this year's Rhodesian tobacco crop, though likely to reach a record weight of 250m. lb., will result in another difficult buying season owing to drought over large areas during the period of growth. A subsidiary company has been formed to extend exports.

U.N.I.P. Meeting in London

(Report concluded from page 851)

an agitator—but in June an entirely new Constitution was drawn up after Welensky had been allowed to intimidate the British Government. As positive action of a non-violent nature, I had to call for a ban on our identity certificates. My wife had to burn her marriage certificate. But I was not arrested or charged for this offence. Perhaps they realized what British and world opinion might be then.

"But the authorities went to five provinces in which we had told the people to burn their certificates and started demanding to see them. They beat up the people, destroyed their property, and took away their chickens and goats. The people retaliated, not by hitting back at the so-called security forces, but by destroying bridges and felling trees. When I was allowed to go there I asked them why they had done so. They replied: 'You have told us to be non-violent. We had to protect ourselves and our women, so we did these things to the police.'"

"The people were killed in cold-blooded murder, but not one policeman, black or white, was killed. European missionaries, white ones, living in isolated places, where my people could have killed them, were not touched. Where the murder I have been charged with."

"But my findings in 'A Grim Peep into the North' were not accepted, and the Commissioner of Inquiry from this country was not appointed. The Northern Rhodesian and British Governments must have something to hide.

"There are difficulties over holding public meetings. In some places we must be registered, paying £1 each time we apply for the registrar of meetings can refuse without giving a reason, and so we have to apply again, and again, all the time providing the Government with more money. For most meetings we must apply to the D.C., a police officer, or a senior magistrate. Some poor chap walks 40 miles to get permission and is told that because we suspect there will be disturbances, no meeting will be allowed. But at the U.N. the world is told that all is well!"

Socialist Leader's Speech

MR. DENIS HEALEY, the Labour Party's colonial affairs spokesman, said that the issues in Central Africa far transcended party politics and posed a direct challenge to Christians and humanists concerned for moral values.

Most people in Britain realized that the Federation had been a tragic error. In an area in which Africans outnumbered Europeans by 25 to one it had for eight years been a dangerous and disastrous brake on the progress of the inhabitants towards democracy and nationhood; it was the only place in Africa in which the people still had more or less colonial status without representation in the political institutions.

"Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would unquestionably be free countries today were it not for the unwillingness of a small white minority in Southern Rhodesia to surrender their privileges. It would be a big mistake to treat the white community as composed exclusively of devils from hell—though there are one or two to whom I would not totally deny that description—and we must understand their feelings in their tragic predicament even though we do not approve or share them. We have responsibility, however, not only for the welfare and aspirations of 300,000 Europeans but for those of nine million Africans as well, and must conduct our policies in this knowledge if we are not to fail politically and morally."

"Britain brought the Federation into being and has the sole responsibility to decide if it shall be brought to an end. Failure to carry out this responsibility will mean suffering disastrous political disadvantages throughout the world. It is ironic that Britain, which 17 years ago began to end colonialism with such astounding and magnificent success in India, continued under the Conservatives in West Africa and the Far East, should now be treated as public enemy No. 1 by those who want to end colonialism. She is now the only country in the world, with Portugal and South Africa, which is obstructing the movement of colonial peoples towards the freedom which is their due."

"She has lost her genuine reputation for liberalism. The whole of the U.N. is mobilized against her in its welcome dedication to ending colonialism. I welcome it because it offers people a peaceful way to freedom. One cannot blame them if they take drastically and catastrophically to the way of violence."

"The Federal elections dramatize to the world the inequality and injustice of the political situation throughout the Federation, in which 15,000 out of nine million people will vote. Even from Nyasaland, where there is already an African

majority in the Legislature, there will not be a single representative of African nationalism in the Federal Assembly. It is easy to condemn the pathetic ritual into which the white electors are being forced. Not a single British Government Minister would want to say a word in its defence.

"The proposals for the Northern Rhodesian Constitution and the October elections have been deliberately drafted to ensure the uncertainty of an African population of two and a half million getting as many seats as 70,000 Europeans. Hypocrisy can go no further."

"The wind of change has grown into a hurricane since the overwhelmingly Conservative Monckton Commission told the Government to proceed immediately with producing an African majority in the Northern Rhodesian Legislature."

"Immense Debts to Kaunda"

"Britain owes an immense debt to Kenneth Kaunda for his patience and restraint and for his being ready to contest the elections even within the monstrously unfair Maudling limits—provided they are not further increased by duplicity in the conduct of the elections themselves. Kenneth Kaunda is a man with whom friendship and a friendly relationship is the priority and the only one which is of any value today. Rhodesia is profoundly fortunate to have him as a leader of the struggle for independence. The direction in which he has set the African national movement is one of the greatest value to all the people of Central Africa and to this island. Under his leadership there will be a real chance of a peaceful change in the Federal Government in Rhodesia. Our control there is all too little, which aggravates the difficult problem. We must justify and fairly deal with the European minority to create conditions in which largely European Southern Rhodesia may at two minutes to twelve realize that the only future for Europeans in Central Africa is to accept the wind of change and working as citizens in a free community, knowing that they must be led, and can only be led, by Africans."

THE BISHOP OF WOOLWICH, who presided, said that the Federal elections would show the real bankruptcy and weakness of Sir Roy Welensky's position. Northern Rhodesia was the most crucial territory in all Africa, as what happened in the continent would be determined by events in the Federation, in their turn influenced by the outcome of the territorial elections in October.

SIR STEWART GORE-BROWNE, who farms in Northern Rhodesia and is a member of U.N.I.P., said that he had confidence in the country's future, unlike those white settlers who spoke of leaving because they feared a black Government—"which is just rubbish; Kenneth Kaunda has said he will accept all men must pull together." He added that Mr. Kaunda, although his father came from Nyasaland, had been accepted by the Bemba tribe in Northern Rhodesia. An "intense colour bar" still operated on the Copperbelt, where Africans might had hardly any chance of getting tenth-class, let alone first class, positions.

Freedom Fund

Appealing for contributions to the freedom fund, Mr. David Ennals, its vice-chairman, said that the campaign of vilification against Mr. Kaunda did credit not just to Sir Roy Welensky but to Dr. Verwoerd of South Africa himself. Lord Malvern made special visits to the House of Lords to warn of "millions of decent Africans being handed over to some barbarous dictator"; and Lord Colyton had described Mr. Kaunda as "a ruthless man using the weapons of murder, violence, sabotage, and intimidation to achieve his own ends."

"The truth was that Mr. Kaunda had always stood for a non-racial society based on equality. He could have followed racialism and gained more support, but he had stood against it, despite provocation. "He is fighting a life-and-death struggle against extremists on the right and the left. If he cannot achieve racial harmony by his non-violent methods for Northern Rhodesia, what future will there be for those countries still in bondage—Mozambique and Angola, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, South-West Africa?"

Four League of Empire Loyalists were forcibly removed from the hall, one for heckling the Bishop, and the others when Mr. Kaunda began to speak.

Copperbelt Strike

MORE THAN 20,000 African miners on the Copperbelt were expected to strike yesterday in support of claims for an overall increase of 8s. 2d. a shift and 36 days' paid leave yearly. A commission of five members set up some months ago to investigate the deadlocked dispute between the mines and the African Mine-workers' Union should reach Ndola at the end of next week, led by Sir Ronald Morison, O.C., chairman of the British Iron and Steel Federation's executive committee.

S. Rhodesia's "Twilight Status"

U.N. Committee's Report on London Talks

SHOULD BRITAIN fail to make a genuine attempt to revise the policies hitherto adopted for Southern Rhodesia, "a mood of desperation may set in which might lead to serious conflict and violence", the repercussions of which might not be limited to the Colony, the sub-committee on Southern Rhodesia of the United Nations 17-member committee on the abolition of colonialism has reported in New York.

The sub-committee emphasized during its recent discussions in London with British Ministers the "great urgency and gravity" of the situation and the "unwisdom of transferring power to a minority Government of settlers". Were the constitution to be "forced upon the territory in face of the total opposition of the African population, approval would result only in a state of not, it suggests, accept "a twilight status" for Southern Rhodesia. The sub-committee also declines to recommend earnestly in connection with a new or revised Constitution acceptable to the overwhelming majority of the population, and recommends that the General Assembly should debate the position in June or at a special session, "in view of the grave and potentially explosive situation".

At a press conference on May 1, 7,000 Africans heard Mr. Leopold Takawira, director of external affairs for the African People's Union, say that within a year the party leader, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, would have taken over the Government of Southern Rhodesia and renamed the country Zimbabwe.

To do that he would require complete obedience of the African people in order to unite them. They would have to be free from the ground and tell Mr. Nkomo: "Here we are, your people, tell us what to do".

U.N.I.P. Conditions for Election

U.N.I.P. IS PREPARED to fight the general election in Northern Rhodesia later this year if five conditions are fulfilled, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, the party leader, told a press conference in London last week on his return from New York where he had addressed the U.N. Committee on Colonialism.

The conditions were that an independent commission headed by a British High Court judge should delimit the constituencies; that bans on political parties and meetings should be lifted and all political prisoners released; that no Federal review conference should be held until the Protectorate had representative government; that elections should be held before October, or at least this year; and that should any seats remain vacant, nominees should not be appointed by the Governor, as the vacancies would prove the unworkability of the Constitution, and a fresh constitutional conference should be called.

Mr. Kaunda said that he intended to put those points to the Home Secretary, Mr. Butler, when he met him at the Central African Office. He would also ask for an assurance that if foreign troops—"I mean Federal soldiers, who are 80% Boer by origin, and would not hesitate to shoot their fellow men if they are black"—were to invade the territory, Britain would intervene to protect the population.

Party Fighting Continues

After a 45-minute meeting with Mr. Butler on Friday, Mr. Kaunda said: "We had a good chat" and that he was more confident that U.N.I.P. would be able to contest the Northern Rhodesian elections.

He returned to Northern Rhodesia at the week-end, saying that he intended to prevent further violent clashes between his supporters and the African National Congress.

Russia has proposed to the anti-colonial committee that Britain should be pressed to grant the Protectorate independence by the end of this year.

Mr. Justin Simukonda, a former Federal M.P., said in Luanshya last week that Mr. Kaunda instead of being dishonest about his party's discipline, should have mentioned to the U.N. committee "the fights that fill our hospitals and make law-abiding men and women sleepless with fear".

The Protectorate Government has banned all public meetings in Ndola and Luanshya for 17 days, warning that the sternest measures will be taken against criminals who show contempt for the rights of law-abiding citizens. This action followed assaults on Thursday night with iron bars upon six African National Congress members, three of whom had to be taken to hospital with serious injuries.

Nyasaland Settlers and Federation

Total Support for Sir Roy Welensky

IF BRITAIN SHOULD ENGINEER the dissolution of the Federation—which would be "the climax of perfidy"—she could not avoid making the implicit admission that the vision of non-racialism in Africa would not work, Mr. John Ness, chairman of the Nyasaland Settlers' and Residents' Association, has said in his review of the past year's activities. He continued (in part):—

"We must be ready to resist any betrayal of our cause. Let us have no illusions. Those who would encompass secession—either through venality or gutlessness or for their own craven ambitions—are many. In their eyes we are expendable.

"Modern politicians and politicians thrive upon successive crises, but we and our country are the victims of this practice and the uncertainty and instability which it causes. Against this background, a vigorous, non-partisan organization, representing our interests of supreme importance,

"Nyasaland has been saddled with a novel and complex set of all its dark trappings. The reversion of non-African education to territorial control—to expose our children, our future generations, to political indoctrination and racial propaganda to invest greater powers of taxation in the hands of Zambia conjures up a nightmare. But the erosion of Federal power will not prove to be enduring. Appeasement never is.

"It is not enough for us simply to remain in the Federation. Federation is not an end in itself. We must remain within the scheme and take full advantage of the opportunities which the Federation offers. That means remaining on a well-established basis of sound development, dispel uncertainty and obtain the primacy of a decent future.

The association re-affirmed its "total support" for Sir Roy Welensky and for the continuance of the Federation.

After an investiture in Dar es Salaam this week, the Tanganyika Government announced that it would no longer recommend Tanganyikans for British honours.

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Fear of Dictatorship in Nyasaland Non-Party Members Lose Their Jobs

A DOSSIER containing photographs of schoolchildren in the Central Province of Nyasaland being given military drill by a Malawi Congress Party official is to be shown by the Federal Government to Mr. R. A. Butler when he visits the Federation next week as Minister for Central African Affairs.

The correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* cabled last week that a motorist passing through Linthipe had photographed the children marching in file and carrying wooden sticks roughly shaped like rifles. The "sergeant-major" has been identified as a senior M.C.P. branch official.

The message continued:

"Authoritative sources in Blantyre indicate that Dr. Banda is planning to ask Mr. Roy Welensky to resign Nyasaland a day for independence. Sir Roy Welensky is planning to counter this with facts which point towards a dictatorship and political indoctrination in schools.

"In the African schools in Nyasaland teachers are allowed to use the word 'federation' only in a derogatory way. All textbooks which mention the word are being withdrawn by the Minister of Education, Mr. Kanyama Chiume. African teachers have been told that they must be Malawi Party members and that failure to renew party subscriptions would prevent their promotion.

Women's 'Amazon Army'

Mr. Chiume has ordered all women's welfare work at Mpeamba School of Social Development to stop because it does not agree with the political ideology of the Malawi Party. He has alleged that the school was for the privileged few only. More than 100 European and African teachers have been dismissed. At a recent visit to the school Dr. Banda alleged that it was indoctrinating people with the propaganda of Sir Roy's United Federal Party. Now Mr. Chiume plans to bring in members of the women's 'Amazon Army', led by Mrs. Rose Chibambo, wife of a leading trade unionist, to take over.

He refused to say what would now happen to the £28,000 promised by U.F.P.C.O. for additional trading centres for handicraft and baby care. In 1959 there were 24 such groups. Now there are 100.

"Premature Africanization of the civil service in Nyasaland is another thing that worries Sir Roy. The country has only two African doctors—Dr. Banda and one employed by the Federal Government. The only African lawyer is Mr. Orton Chirwa, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Law. There are no architects or engineers and only a handful of trained nurses.

"African civil servants who served under the former Governor, Sir Robert Armitage, are worried about their future. Some have been labelled as 'stooges'. They have been warned that if they try to take or apply for bursaries at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury their jobs will be in jeopardy.

"Many of Dr. Banda's senior party lieutenants are unemployed. They are clamouring for jobs such as those given to the 28 members of the Legislative Council.

"A typical case was that of Mr. Lawrence Makata, one of

Dr. Banda's closest friends (who was killed in a road accident his trend of thought at the funeral when he admitted that he had asked the Governor, Sir Glyn Jones, to 'arrange' a job for Mr. Makata. Alternatively, Dr. Banda said, he would have seen to it that Mr. Makata was made the first African mayor of Blantyre-Limbe.

"Sir Roy Welensky and the white and the black moderates all agree that Dr. Banda and the Malawi Government are steadily moving toward a dictatorship. This could quickly retard the progress of this already backward country."

African Woman's Career Threatened Teachers Must Conform in Bandaland

THE FIRST AFRICAN WOMAN to graduate at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Miss Sarah Chavunduka, a Southern Rhodesian who was appointed to the teaching staff of Blantyre Secondary School, Nyasaland, in January, was bitterly attacked in a leading article in last week's *Malawi News*, the official organ of Dr. Banda's Malawi Congress Party.

It alleged that Miss Chavunduka had attacked Dr. Banda and his Kanyama Chiume Minister of Education, because they had criticized the University College and dissuaded Nyasaland African students who had been given Federal Government scholarships from taking them up.

The leading article said: "If Miss Chavunduka does not know the people of Malawi, she will find that they are not pleasant Malawians are pleasant people, but they are not using their political principles they can be tough, tough, and unpleasant. Even Europeans know this very well. In this country, among the African people, Dr. Banda's word is law. Nobody can challenge it."

Having accused her of meeting Mr. B. D. Goldberg, Federal Minister of Health and Education, the article suggested that she should be dismissed by the school governors, adding that if that was not done the Malawi Party would call upon the students to have nothing to do with her.

About 200 German students are now studying in Western Germany.

African languages now being taught in Russia are Arabic, Amharic, Swahili, Zulu, Hausa, and Yoruba. The main instructional centres are Moscow University, Linnumba University, Leningrad University, and the International Relations Institute in Moscow.

The Federal Trades Union Congress, which met in Salisbury on Monday and Tuesday, had for the first time Africans as delegates of the Associated Mineworkers of Rhodesia and the United Steelworkers of Central Africa. There are now two Africans on the executive committee of the Associated Mineworkers.

An exchange of visits between the Federation and Nigeria has been arranged. Members of the Nigerian Federal Parliament and Regional Legislatures, accompanied by industrialists and journalists, are to be the guests of the Federal branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, and a football team representing both Rhodesia and Nyasaland left last Thursday to play the strongest teams in Nigeria.

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Playing Communists' Game in Africa

MR. PIETER LESSING, who recently spent more than a year touring East, Central and West Africa, has written in the *Sunday Telegraph* under the heading "Building up for Black Revolt":

"Towards Kenya two alternative policies are ready in both Peking and Moscow—full co-operation if an independent Kenya emerges with the Kenyatta and Odinga faction in control; subversion, sabotage and even bloodshed if the moderates triumph."

"The same applies to Tanganyika. The country is to be disrupted if Nyerere carries the people with him in his current fight to preserve sanity; but there is to be help and co-operation if his militant opponents win the next round:

"Since the beginning of this year Moscow Radio has been devoting 10½ hours a week to broadcasts in Swahili beamed to Tanganyika in what can be described as the battle for East Africa. Peking Radio is giving 2½ hours a week to transmissions in Swahili."

"The theme from both is already constant. Britain is placing Kenya well on the way to becoming a new East African version of the Congo. The leaders of the Kenya African Democratic Union have been hand-picked by the Communists for their role as British stooges. In Tanganyika the hero has become Zuberi Mtemvu, the extremist leader of the Tanganyika African National Congress, who at a banquet in Peking recently described the suffering of the masses as being the imperialists'."

"Communist funds for Africa are normally channelled through the Afro-Asian Solidarity Fund which was set up in 1959 at a meeting in Conakry and is supported almost entirely from Moscow and Peking. It is administered by a board of which Ismail Touré, a brother of President Sékou Touré of Guinea, is chairman. The Russian member of the board is Professor B. G. Gafurov. The Chinese member is Chin Tzu-chi."

"Last September it was announced that 400 Ghanaian cadets were being sent to Moscow for training. In quick succession similar prestige victories were gained over China in Mali and Somalia."

Clandestine 'Partisan' Armies

"Not willing to accept defeat gracefully, China countered by offering military training clandestinely to individual Africans in order to build up a nucleus for an underground army in a number of key areas. Moscow soon set up in competition, using Czechoslovakia and East Germany for the purpose. Two special 'schools for partisans' were opened, one at Houska, 20 miles from Prague, and the other at Bernau, near Dresden."

"I have met Africans from Rhodesia, Mozambique, Tanganyika, Kenya and Nigeria who have completed their training in China and Africans from the Congo, Uganda, Senegal, Nigeria, Kenya and Tanganyika who have had their training in Czechoslovakia or East Germany."

"Many people in Africa, both black and white, are firm allies of the West. Many others have sold out to Russia or China or are willing to sell out. The time is long overdue to discriminate between them. By constantly rebuffing the many friends we have and by consistently giving preferential treatment to precisely those who are our main opponents, the West is running the real risk of eventually losing the whole of Africa — of losing it in a violent eruption of bloodshed and terror."

Commonwealth P.M.s. and Europe

A COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS' CONFERENCE is to be held in London in September to discuss Britain's entry into the European Common Market.

An amendment motion with 44 Conservative signatures has been tabled in the House of Commons by Mr. Robin Turton, Viscount Hinchingsbrooke, Sir Derek Walker-Smith, Sir Donald Kaberry, Sir Harmar Nicholls, and Mr. Peter Walker.

It proposes that "as maintenance of a multi-racial Commonwealth partnership is vital, H.M. Government should emphasize to the Common Market countries the importance to the whole of the free world of an expansion in Commonwealth trade, and make completely clear to them the assurance of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, that, if we cannot secure special arrangements to protect vital interests in the countries of our Commonwealth partnership, Britain will not join the Common Market."

Other signatories include: Sir Gordon Touche, Sir James Duncan, Sir John Balfour, Sir Cecil Black, Sir Henry D'Aigler, Colonel G. G. D. L. Thomas Moore, Sir William Leach, Sir Beverly Russell, Sir Richard St. John, Sir Henry Strohmeier, Sir Frank Markham, Captain Henry Kerby, Commander Donaldson, Sir Anthony M. D. Farey Jones, Ronald Russell, John Eden, Robert Jenkins, Stephen McAdden, A. R. Wise, Paul Williams, Frederic Harcourt, Sir John P. G. G. Anthony Marlowe, Norman Pannell, Douglas Marshall, John Hollingworth, Gerald Nabarro, A. J. Page, Denys Bullard, Neil McLean, Victor Goodhew, Reader Harris, G. R. Howard and J. C. Jennings.

Commonwealth and Europe

Addressing the Anti-Common Market League meeting a few days ago, Mr. Denis Healey said that the Government must honour its pledges to the Commonwealth, the European Free Trade Area, British farmers and the British nation or "face the anger of the nation and the contempt of the Commonwealth."

"A Commonwealth and European combination, linked in London, could restore the fortunes, freedom, and power of Britain, but whether the negotiations with the Common Market succeeded or not, and indeed to strengthen our bargaining power, we should work out a deliberate and purposeful manner of co-ordinating national economies of the Commonwealth and expanding mutual trade among its members. The cause of the Commonwealth and Europe march together, but for Britain the Commonwealth must come first. Economic interest alone forbids us to join a Continental community if it means a tariff wall against Commonwealth countries or anti-Commonwealth preferences."

Mr. Denis Healey, Socialist spokesman on Commonwealth affairs, has told a United Nations Association meeting: "I am worried by the mounting evidence that some of the most important people we are negotiating with on the Common Market do not understand how important the survival of the Commonwealth is, not only to Britain but to the world as a whole—or who say they understand it but then show that they have no idea of what precisely keeps the Commonwealth together."

Rupturing Economic Links


"We had Chancellor Adenauer's shocking dismissal of the Commonwealth the other week, which lost nothing in its disturbing implications by a later attempt of the Bonn Foreign Office to re-write it. Now the chairman of the Common Market Commission, Professor Hallstein, has suggested to the Americans that the Commonwealth might perfectly well continue unaffected even if its existing economic link were ruptured."

"It is high time the British Government put this sort of nonsense right, and made a public statement of the conditions it considers essential to preserve the solidarity of the Commonwealth. Otherwise we may find that our failure to fight in the open for our Commonwealth partners, will fatally undermine their confidence in our loyalty, and that our negotiations for entry into the Common Market have in themselves dealt irreparable harm to the Commonwealth, even though in the end, as looks increasingly possible, they do not produce agreement."

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions will hold its Seventh World Congress in Berlin between July 5 and 13.

The Portuguese East African Government is to spend about £11m. on the last 461 miles of an all-weather asphalt road between Lourenço Marques and Beira. The total length will be 688 miles.

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Africanization of Kenya Civil Service

MR. R. A. BUTLER answered "No" to a request from MR. JOHN STONEHOUSE to introduce legislation to suspend Southern Rhodesia's new Constitution.

He told MR. DINGLE FOOT that the Government of Northern Rhodesia was still considering the question of the law in that Protectorate under which anyone who had served a sentence of imprisonment for six months or more was disqualified for five years from being elected to the Legislative Council.

Asked by MR. DENIS HEALEY what progress was being made with Africanization of posts in the public service in Kenya, MR. MAUDLING replied:—

"On July 1, 1960, there were 637 Africans in grades higher than clerical scales. By April 1, 1962, this number has reached 1,543. By the end of July, the number of African posts will rise to approximately 100. The total number of African administrative posts at all grades will be more than 400. Four African district commissioners are in full charge of districts, and further appointments will be made following completion of training in July. By January, 1963, at least 12 district commissioner posts will be held by Africans."

Africanization Not Sole Cure

MR. HEALEY: "This report is definitely encouraging, but will the rt. hon. gentleman comment on the very disturbing fact which has appeared recently that in many respects progress in Africanization is deplorably slow? Will he agree that the hold-up and uncertainty in Kenya in achieving a political solution to her problems could be greatly eased if there was acceleration in the Africanization of the administration itself?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I think that this is one of the most difficult problems in Kenya. I am not sure that the cure for it is solely Africanization. We must produce a local civil service including all fact-finding in Kenya. The problem in connexion with Africanization is mainly that of education, and we hope that the efforts in education which have been made in Kenya recently will bear fruit soon. But it would be a great mistake to Africanize at such a rate as to 'undermine the efficiency of the service'."

MR. WALL: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that unless and until an adequate scheme for non-designated officers is worked out there is not likely to be a very good atmosphere for co-operation in Africanization or development of a local civil service?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I do not think that will follow. The problem about Africanization is to find people of sufficient education to handle the task."

Colonial Service Pensions

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY asked if, in view of the rather dangerous situation in Zanzibar, the Colonial Secretary would make a further effort to reach agreement between the Government and Opposition parties.

MR. MAUDLING: "The British Resident will continue his efforts. I am sure that he is the person best placed to bring about success. It was quite impossible at the recent conference to secure agreement, but I very much hope that the parties will find the way to agreement in the near future."

MR. TILNEY asked what steps were taken to inform ex-members of the Colonial and Overseas Civil Services on first

appointment that the responsibility to pay pensions lay with overseas Governments.

MR. MAUDLING: "An offer of appointment is made to the public service of a particular territory. It is accompanied by a statement of the principal conditions of service in that territory, and these show that pensions are awarded under the legislations of that territory."

MR. TILNEY: "Has that always been the case? The Colonial White Paper of 1954 set out that H.M. Overseas Civil Service was one service under the Crown. Does the Minister not agree that the remarks in another place of his predecessor, Lord Boyd, hardly support what he has just said?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I have looked into this question, but I cannot see any discrepancy between the White Paper of 1954 and this system which, I gather, has always applied—that actual pensions legislation is the responsibility of the particular Government. I have looked at specimen documents given to people who are being recruited, and I think that it is made quite clear that it is on the individual Government of the territory that the pensions responsibility rests."

MR. G. M. THOMSON: "But is it not the fact that recruits to the Overseas Civil Service accept their position on the assumption that the Government, including their pensions, is ultimately the responsibility of H.M. Government here?"

Lidbury Commission

MR. MAUDLING: "That is a very different question. The question is whether people on taking up their appointments are clearly informed about this. On investigation, I am satisfied that they have been clearly informed."

MR. WALL asked why, when the Kenya Government introduced non-racial salary scales in the civil service after the Lidbury Commission, women were not given the same pay and serving women officers were not given the same pay with inducement to C, P, and N scales; if the Minister was aware that that decision now prevented a number of women from becoming designated officers, and thus had a detrimental effect on their career compared to men serving in similar circumstances.

MR. MAUDLING: "In accordance with the Lidbury Report, inducement pay was added to women's scales where this was required to attract recruits from overseas. That, after all, is the basic reason for adding inducement pay to any scale, whether for men or women; and it is also the reason which determines the application of the Overseas Service Aid Scheme. The disability which prevents certain officers, some of whom happen to be women, from being designated under that scheme thus equally affects men and women. The reasons for designation are those described in the Aid Scheme Agreement between the Governments of Kenya and the United Kingdom, and they were established at the request of the former and with the prior concurrence of the relevant staff association in Kenya."

N. Rhodesia Violence

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked what measures were being taken to check intimidation of the Northern Rhodesian electorate, in view of threats of violence made by the publicity secretary of the United National Independence Party against Africans who might stand as Independents and against Europeans, and such incidents as the breaking up by U.N.I.P. supporters of an African National Congress meeting in Bancroft, resulting in the death of one African and injury to others.

MR. BUTLER: "I am satisfied that the Governor has adequate powers and will take all necessary measures to deal with intimidation."



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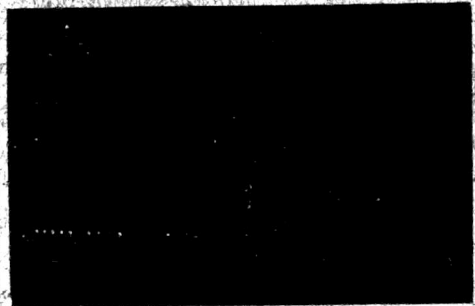
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