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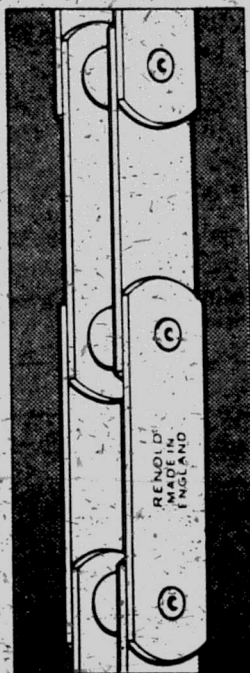
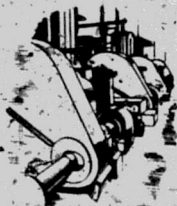
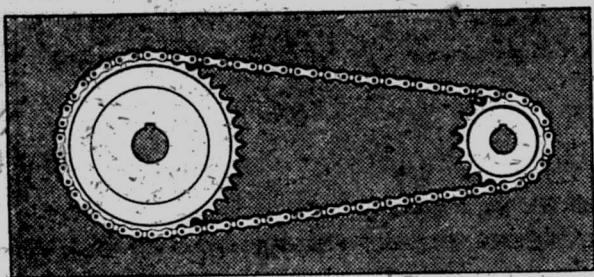
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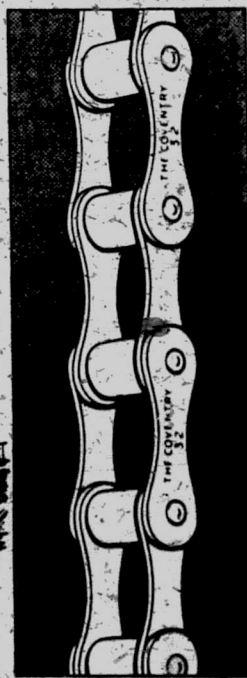
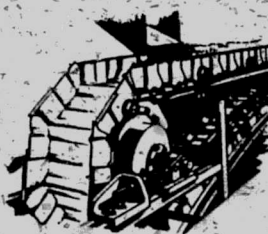
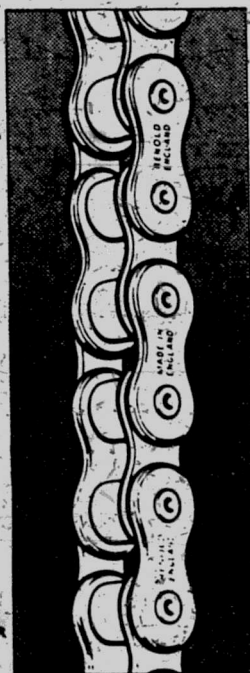
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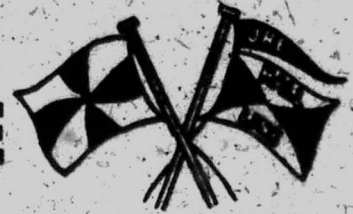
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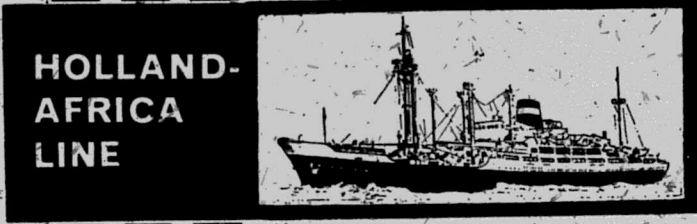
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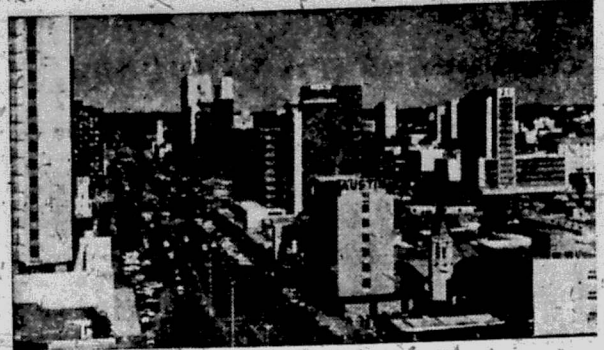


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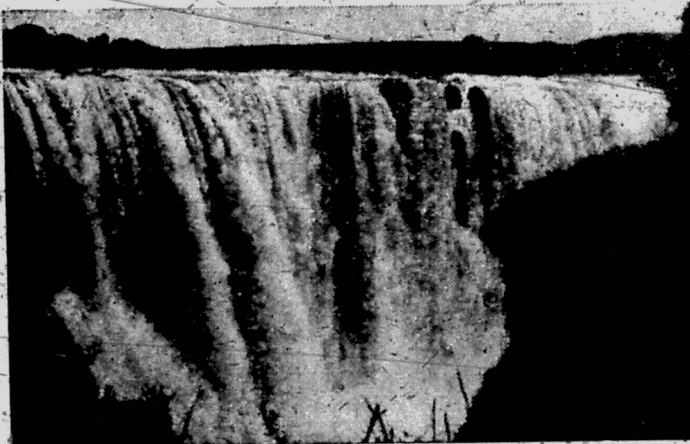


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Principal Contents

	Page		Page
Notes By The Way	168	Personalia	176
Southern Rhodesia Expansion	169	British P.M. on Common Market	178
Barotse National Party	172	"Kenyatta Day"	181
Rhodesian Front's Programme	173	Congo Confusion	184
A Year Later in Tanganyika	174	Commercial News	188

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

MONUMENTAL is the right word for the Report of the Advisory Committee on the Development of the Economic Resources of Southern Rhodesia, extracts from which appear on other

Southern Rhodesia's Great Development Plan.

pages of this issue. The volume, of 484 pages and thirty maps and diagrams, weighs nearly five pounds, and it must represent a far more comprehensive development plan than that published by any other African territory. This impressive production is the result of almost eighteen months of concentrated study by an exceptionally able, experienced, and persuasive committee. It consisted of Dr. John Phillips, than whom there can be no agriculturist better informed about East, Central, West, and South Africa; Sir John Hammond, of the School of Agriculture of Cambridge University; Mr. Roger Swynnerton, whose far-sightedness, practical initiative, and courage were abundantly demonstrated in Kenya; and Mr. Leonard H. Samuels, who was selected on his reputation as an economist. They were commissioned to survey the whole field and devise plans for a balanced development programme over a period of years, with special emphasis on the African sectors of society and activity, and they have discharged that responsible duty with meticulous care. Acceptance of their proposals by the Government of the Colony would involve over a five-year period additional expenditure of about thirty-four million pounds, a sum well within the capacity of the Colony to provide and borrow if stability be sufficiently maintained to keep agriculture, commerce and industry prosperous and to encourage investment by investors overseas. Only on a foundation of confidence can a plan of anything like this magnitude be financed and brought to fruition.

Winning the confidence of Africans, encouraging among them a greater sense of responsibility and self-help, and swiftly extending co-operation between the two races for their mutual benefit are

The Crux of The Matter. stated emphatically to be essential factors in the process of building the nation.

That, the members of the committee are convinced, requires the leaders of all political parties to "set their seal upon the spirit and practice of team-work". How the African political leaders, most of them racialists, are to be induced to approve and foster closer inter-racial co-operation is not indicated—at least not in these parts of the great tome which we have been able to read so far. Yet that is the very crux of the matter. Indeed, the major troubles of the federated territories have been the product of the determination of African misleaders to wreck inter-racial endeavour in its early stages because they know that their personal ambitions will be defeated if the mass of the people can be shown the rich harvest of true co-operation, with Europeans contributing the moral, mental and practical guidance which it is within their power to give, and Africans accepting and expanding the opportunities for their own advancement. Genuine good will on both sides could achieve miracles, but, as the writers frankly acknowledge, that prospect could be frustrated by intransigent African politicians. Unhappily for their countries, most of them are obsessed with the Nkrumah doctrine that they should concentrate on securing the political kingdom, and leave the material well-being of their people to chance. Southern Rhodesia's leaders, being responsible and mature, necessarily reject such recklessness, for they know that political progress, if it is to be sound, must rest on a solid economic base. But that does demand genuine co-operation by Africans, by no means least for the sake of Africans.

Notes By The Way

Glorifying Mau Mau

IT IS NOT SURPRISING that an exhibition in Nairobi arranged to glorify Mau Mau should have been opened this week by Mr. Tom Mboya, for since Mr. Odinga set the precedent in the Legislative Council several years ago, Mr. Mboya, his chief rival for the favour of Kenyatta, has lost no opportunity of showing that he could be counted upon to whitewash Mau Mau and the man who was convicted as its organizer and manager, the sentence of the courts in Kenya having been upheld by the Privy Council, the highest tribunal in the Commonwealth. In any self-respecting society there could have been no possibility of a man found guilty of such offences re-emerging in any position of leadership. Indeed, the trial judge recommended indefinite banishment, and on innumerable occasions officials of the Government of Kenya, including the Governor, assured mass meetings of Africans that Kenyatta would never be allowed to return to Kikuyuland, but would live his life in a remote area after he had served his prison sentence. That decision was recognized by the tribal elders as just, and was believed by them to be irrevocable, with the consequence that more than a score of them (including Mr. Gichuru, now Finance Minister in Kenya) signed a statement urging the Kikuyu to mend their ways and accept the fact that Kenyatta would never again appear among them.

Macblundellism

MR. IAIN MACLEOD, M.P., is largely to blame for destroying the conviction of the tribe that the greatest misleader in all its history would never again have the opportunity of misdirecting it. When he summoned a Kenya Constitutional Conference in London in January, 1960, Mr. Macleod, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, found just before the inaugural session that the African delegates wanted as an "adviser" the man whom the Government of Kenya considered to be second only to Kenyatta in responsibility for the indescribably foul Mau Mau movement. The Minister refused him admittance to Lancaster House, but then weakly rescinded his own ruling, though that indubitably involved recognition of Mau Mau and the certainty that its apologists would press for further concessions. Unhappily, Mr. (now Sir Michael) Blundell, leader of one of the European delegations, rejected the promptings of some of his colleagues and others (including EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA) to decline to continue in the conference if the mantle of respectability remained over the person whom his own Government was anxious to see brought to trial. From that tragic folly of Mr. Macleod and Mr. Blundell stemmed a series of incredible stupidities, which this journal promptly labelled Macblundellism. It has dragged a fair and flourishing land to the verge of civil war and the brink of bankruptcy; and has led to the release of Kenyatta, who not many weeks earlier had been described by the Governor, with Mr. Macleod's express consent, as the "African leader to darkness and death".

Darkness and Death

KENYATTA—staggering though the thought must be to those who know his record and that of the seditious and bloodthirsty conspiracy which he was condemned for managing—was made a Minister of the Crown some months ago; and last week newspapers in the

United Kingdom published photographs of him shaking hands with the Duchess of Kent. That she should have been unable to escape that ignominy is, of course, the responsibility of the Macmillan Government, which has in this respect clearly (and deliberately) failed to protect and uphold the dignity of the Royal House, as was their elementary duty. But expediency, however ignoble, not principle, has marked Macmillanism in Africa since Mr. Macleod was installed in the Colonial Office in order to obey his master's voice and appease the worst elements among African political agitators. Whether the blood on their hands was new or old meant little. They were not to be excluded from negotiations or even Legislatures merely because thugs in their movements had split infants in twain before the mothers' eyes, buried men and women alive or strangled them slowly for fun, killed others by soaking them in petrol and setting them alight, gouged out the eyes or chopped off arms and legs of others who would not obey, and engaged in general terrorism and intimidation.

Resentment

THIS IS THE BACKGROUND which will certainly not be shown in the Nairobi exhibition. Why, incidentally, should an Asian trader in that city, Mr. Ambulal Patel, think it worth his while to spend a couple of thousand pounds or so on this piece of lop-sided propaganda? It will inevitably be resented by the non-Kikuyu and especially by the anti-Mau Mau party, the Kenya African Democratic Union, whose leaders are unlikely to forget this pro-Kenyatta gesture of Mr. Patel. Is he so confident that K.A.N.U. will soon govern Kenya that he thinks any risk justifiable if it wins the approval of that party? He must be naive if he counts on continuing gratitude from such a quarter, and equally so if he underestimates the resentment which will be felt by many of his own race. Mau Mau's obscenity cannot be obliterated by the display of selected exhibits, whether accurately or falsely described; and there will, of course, be no copies of the Corfield Report, of the unexpurgated text of the revolting Mau Mau oaths or of descriptions of its loathsome ceremonies. Such omissions cannot deceive mature men of any race in Kenya. Some of them know that a genuine and therefore nauseating Mau Mau exhibition was staged in many United Kingdom towns some years ago, and that millions of Britons still loathe everything they know about Mau Mau. Mr. Mboya's reputation will not be improved by his identification with this exhibition.

Blood-Suckers

KENYATTA'S DOUBLE-TALK, which was held by the official historian of Mau Mau to have been one of the main causes of the Kikuyu rebellion, has been exercised repeatedly of late. On Sunday, the tenth anniversary of his arrest, he told a "Kenyatta Day" rally organized in Nairobi by K.A.N.U. (which is very understandably known to Africans as "the Mau Mau party") that those present should stand for two minutes "in honour of those who died in our cause". The form of tribute was obviously intended to suggest sacrifice comparable with that for which the Commonwealth has observed a Two Minutes' Silence annually since 1918. That in itself was the vilest insult, but one not surprising from an organization which regularly employed blasphemy, using

in its "creed" and hymn-book "prayers" and songs in which Kenyatta's name was substituted for that of Christ. Yet simpletons in the Western world, and even in Kenya, have erased such outrageous behaviour from their memory, and foolishly treated Mau Mau as just another expression of nationalistic exuberance.

Kimathi Glorified

TRADING ON SUCH PUERILITY, Kenyatta has now coupled an assurance that "we do not hate anyone" with the explanation that "we want only to see those who have sucked our blood and ruled us join hands with us and work with us". Several times recently he has spoken of "blood-sucking imperialists". Now again blood-sucking is equated with British rule. What a way to invite co-operation! A few European and Asian band-wagoners are nevertheless reported to have paid subscriptions to K.A.N.U. in response to such an invita-

tion—which recalls the gruesome German jingle "*Willst Du nicht mein Bruder sein, schlaeg' ich den Schnaedel ein*". (If you will not be my brother I'll smash in your skull). The sycophantic Mr. Mboya improved the occasion by suggesting that Europeans who were offended at the display of a photograph of Kimathi should quit the country—Kimathi being a Mau Mau gang-leader who was responsible for many hundreds of African deaths and every imaginable form of torture and degradation. This thug has now been publicly praised by K.A.N.U.'s three chief leaders, Kenyatta, Odinga (who wants a statue of Kimathi to replace that of Lord Delamere in the centre of Nairobi), and Mboya. Is that not evidence enough of the kind of Kenya that men of this type would produce? Is it not adequate justification for the decision of thousands of Europeans who love the country that they will not remain if K.A.N.U. wins the general election a few months hence?

£34m. Development Plan for Southern Rhodesia

First Extracts from the Report of the Phillips Committee*

IT IS IMPERATIVE to draw and weld the African pastoralist, cultivator, farmer, trader, and industrialist, and the traditional and other local authorities, into a concerted team for the saving of the natural resources, their amelioration and their steady development.

Furthermore, there must be allied with the rural African—whatever his particular sphere and status—the mental, moral and practical co-operation of the European farmer and man of business for the general advancement of human and agricultural development throughout the country, but in the formative years very particularly where African interests are paramount—the Purchase Area, unreserved land owned by Africans, and the Tribal Trust land.

Were all this public and private co-operation for a common purpose to be achieved stage by stage, it still could not attain its full objective of a happier and a more prosperous country—particularly on Trust land—unless the political leaders set their seal upon the spirit and the practice of the constant team-work that alone will draw the two communities closer.

Special Reference to Africans

Our task has been to examine the economic setting and potentiality of the country, with special reference to the potential contribution of agriculture by Africans, but we would be purblind were we unable to perceive the fundamental necessity for men and women of the two communities to work together to build a nation. Because of this we look across the border into the field of politics, and record our sincere appeal to all concerned to strive for the good of the country as a whole, and not merely for sectional interests.

Our theme embraces also the urgent need to stimulate an interest and a vital and growing sense of responsibility in the African community, rural and urban, for the improvement of their lot and that of their fellows, and for working together constructively for the advancement of local and thus in principle the national community.

* These passages are taken from "The Development of the Economic Resources of Southern Rhodesia with particular reference to the Role of African Agriculture", being the report of an Advisory Committee consisting of Dr. John Phillips, Sir John Hammond, Mr. Roger Symmerton, and Mr. Leonard Samuels. It is published by the Government Printer, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

Here we direct the eye—and, we know, the interested eye—of the Government and of all others responsible to the theme of self-help through local government in diverse forms and various aspects of social and economic development, in which Africans at all levels of education and of varying status could and indeed must play a part.

We appeal particularly to all African leaders to set an example in this vital matter of self-help.

Unique Potentialities

While our theme extols self-help, we recur ever and again to the related necessity of the European and African communities learning to understand one another more and more. Although divergences in background, traditional beliefs, lore, and customs exist, there are many points of common interest where a harmonious association of thought and effort could advance the welfare of the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

Among the means for welding a closer understanding are the learning of the vernacular by all those working with Africans and an intensive instruction in the elements of English for Africans. In the rural areas a better reciprocal understanding of the language would be particularly helpful, because the community development and agricultural extension officers must be responsible not only for guidance and demonstration in detail but also for a reasonable measure of background to that detail.

To understand the mind of the African and win his confidence are the foundation of much of what we have suggested for the development plan.

The political, sociological and economic potentialities in Southern Rhodesia for working together are indeed unique in Trans-Saharan Africa.

Historically the way of progress has been the product of the labour of the European, with the participation of hundreds of thousands of Africans from the very beginning. While labour opportunities in agriculture, mining and other sectors have been restricted, the African community has been able to develop its own potentialities in the direction of Africanisation of the economy and the development of a more self-reliant and diversified economy. The Government is committed to the development of a more self-reliant and diversified economy, and to the development of a more self-reliant and diversified economy.

earnings in specific directions. Manufacturing and construction together are making a considerable contribution to employment and incomes and could expand further were the general political and economic setting satisfactory. But the major rôle in development must for a long time be played by agriculture.

The administration and furtherance of agriculture should be the responsibility of a single Government. Until this be possible through appropriate legislation, the Federal Government should be responsible for agriculture wherever any form of individual ownership exists—as on the European-owned properties, African purchase area farms, and the properties in the unreserved land category owned by either Africans or Europeans. Meantime agriculture on Tribal Trust land should continue to be administered and encouraged by the Government of Southern Rhodesia.

We consider a Ministry of Agriculture, Lands and Water Development the most suitable organization for the development of agriculture in the African areas. There must, however, be close co-operation with the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and other appropriate Federal and Territorial organizations.

Ideally, the Forestry Commission, the Natural Resources Board, and the Department of Wild Life Conservation should be under one Ministry, along with agriculture, lands and irrigation. We have, however, included only agriculture, water development, and forestry as probably being as much as could be achieved in the immediate future.

The post of Secretary for Agriculture—whether the present Federal Ministry and the projected Southern Rhodesian Ministry of Agriculture be merged or remain apart for a time—should be filled by a distinguished professional officer with a flair for and a long experience in administration. We press this upon the attention of the Government because of the very heavy tasks involved in providing inspired professional and other leadership and in directing the implemation of the many and varied recommendations made in our report.

Because of our by no means inconsiderable experience in the study of the administration of Ministries of Agriculture in various parts of the under-developed world, we know that while specially gifted administrative but non-professional officers with appropriate background could lead and develop a Ministry of Agriculture, this is likely to be rare in the earlier years of any new organization emergent from an older one which has suffered undue criticism and experienced for a number of years a constant and heavy pressure in its attempts to carry out the requirements of successive Governments.

Self-Help

Self-help on the part of Africans we emphasize as a major necessity for their successive development. Agricultural extension, the provision of credit and its administration through co-operative societies, and community development are among the means that should encourage the steady growth of a sense of responsibility and self-help.

Although there undoubtedly is considerable local pressure by man and domesticated animals upon the land occupied by Africans, suitable policies and practices could relieve this in due time. It is therefore imperative that a wiser use of land and the related natural resources of soil, water and vegetation be applied as widely as possible.

Moreover, it is essential that all suitable naturally endowed land no matter by whom owned—the State, Europeans or Africans—which is neither adequately developed nor in the process of such planned development should become available for progressive usage.

The development of tenancy for both Europeans and Africans—more extensively for the latter, because of the greater need—and the steady reclamation and settlement of suitable areas at present under wild or heavy infestation by tsetse also could relieve the pressure.

Some of its special instances, irrigation is worthy of priority investigation and, in specific instances, of strong financial support.

Similar measures, following the repeal of the Land Apportionment Act and the revision of or the substitution of new legislation for the Land Husbandry Act, also would provide a stronger foundation for a better balanced, more intensive usage of land.

Cash Economy a New Process

We stress the urgency of moving practical help towards the introduction of a cash economy. However African hold the land in Tribal Trust areas and on Trust land, to a cash economy. Because to have the desirable change cannot be brought about by any other means, it is imperative that steps be taken to encourage the development and the progression of all that stands against the development of a cash economy. This includes the substitution of the cash economy for the present cash usage upon Tribal Trust land, the development of cash economies on the land in the purchase area, and the development of cash and efficient

marketing. The availability and wise application of cheaper fertilizer, nitrogenous and phosphatic, and lime also are essential.

We emphasize the absolute necessity for the strengthening in numbers and in quality of the staff at all levels responsible for agricultural extension. Unless this be done within a reasonable period—say, during the first two years—the likelihood of a really successful and widespread upsurge in African rural production and economy by the end of the fifth year of the plan is bound to be seriously reduced.

While we advise that all the senior staff should be given special training where necessary, we emphasize more particularly the even greater need for training and re-training of African staff in intimate contact with the people on the land.

Diversification of production for the local, the Federal, and the export markets is imperative so as to lessen the country's dependence upon tobacco. We advocate, *inter alia*, enhanced and balanced production of good quality beef, mutton and pork, wheat, groundnuts, sunflower, soya, cotton (seed and lint), vegetables, seed and fruit production, and the stimulation of consumption of products such as sugar (especially among African peoples of the Federation) through a reduction in prices and intensified sales promotion.

Against a world background, the potentialities and prospects for an expanded export of beef are encouraging. We stress the need for better husbandry, management, pasturage, protection against pests and disease, and marketing. Africans should avail themselves of the opportunity of disposing of young stock to feeders, to the mutual advantage of producer and feeder and the advancement of the beef industry generally.

Prospects for Beef

We commend for special and concerted attention, particularly in the African areas, the control of intensification and encroachment of bush because this directly bears upon the future of a large beef export industry.

We are certain that the transference of the responsibility and sanctions relating to dipping of cattle from the district administration to the veterinary services of the Federal Government would be wise, because this should not only relieve the administration of a thankless task and much odium, but also would greatly enhance the efficiency of livestock production, and particularly of beef for local and export markets.

Credit facilities form an essential linkage with education, community development, agricultural extension, and self-help through co-operative societies. We trust that, in addition to the balanced and reasonably rapid expansion of the co-operative movement along the lines we suggest, there may come into being an organization prepared to undertake the responsibilities for running a co-operative bank.

Such a body could be a suitable agency for the extending of required forms of credit. It could also become the channel for the administration of funds provided by the Government and other bodies, and in turn could be backed by the Government in its venture into the field of risk investment.

Co-operative Bank

Following discussions in the City of London with a leading banking organization with extensive experience in the financing of co-operatives in several parts of the under-developed world, we recommend that the Government should welcome the investigation of the possibilities of the establishment of such a co-operative bank. It is possible that more than one banking organization might be interested in participating, were the results of an objective survey by a senior and widely experienced specialist in co-operatives and the extension of credit considered to be satisfactory.

Costs of production of tobacco, maize, and beef constantly should be examined critically so as to render these competitive in a changing world market or in the instance of maize for local consumption by man and livestock. We counsel more intensive study of the economics of production, both upon progressive farms and elsewhere. Marketing also should be examined much more intensively, particularly in relation to the needs within the Tribal Trust land. The linkage of this with policy-advising bodies under the auspices of the Federal Government must be more intimate.

Good support is already granted by the Federal Ministry of Agriculture to the authorities responsible for the administration of agriculture in the African areas, and we recommend that this be continued and increased wherever desirable.

Suitable subjects for this support are soil and water conservation, veterinary services (with special reference to dipping), animal husbandry, economics and marketing, agronomy, soil fertility, and management, and other aspects of research and specialist services.

There is considerable scope for the better usage of much of the existing irrigable land and a potential for an appreciable expansion of the acreage under irrigation. We advise, however, that certain fundamentally important investigations be carried out before any larger schemes are undertaken.

The Division of Irrigation is fully engaged in the heavy and continuing task of water development, and does all that is possible to further hydrological and other studies relating to irrigation development. But the division clearly requires support from consultants, surveyors and the like.

We make a special point of the necessity for constantly examining the problems of the methods of application and the gainful usage of water, according to region, topography, soil, crop and form of management. Drainage we stress as being as important as irrigation—many a splendid scheme having been ruined in various parts of the world through reckless application of water and poor drainage.

Although the Sabi pilot scheme is a Federal Government responsibility, we have studied it because of its great potential significance for Africans: hence we are able to say that this project itself deserves further investigation along lines we have outlined before it is authorized for development. In similar manner a number of schemes mentioned should be examined prior to any decision to start work upon them.

Irrigation of Crops

Supplementary irrigation should be encouraged where desirable. Among the crops to which special attention should be paid on irrigated land, irrespective of ownership, are wheat, cotton, groundnut, sunflower, soya, out-of-season vegetables, crops for canning, and fodder. Livestock production warrants special study and support.

Excellent progress has been made at the Sabi Valley Experimental Station, elsewhere in the Federal Ministry of Agriculture, and within the small wing responsible for irrigation work in the African areas (Ministry of Agriculture of Southern Rhodesia). Co-operation between the Ministries and with the Division of Irrigation is close and harmonious.

We advise continuing and extending support for the study of agronomy, soil, fertility, water usage, water duty, economics of production and related topics.

A co-ordinating Irrigation Advisory Council or equivalent body responsible for reviewing and advising upon all matters relating to irrigation should be established through collaboration between the Southern Rhodesian and the Federal Governments. Survey research, specialist, development and economic aspects together with sociological aspects of irrigation should be included within the purview of this body, which would be advised on professional matters by a suitable technical committee. Other committees responsible for research also are advocated.

We advise that support be given to an expanded study of the potentialities of development of artesian and other ground waters both for human and livestock consumption and local, small-scale irrigation.

The forestry policy revised in November 1961 is sound, and compares with the best anywhere in the world.

We commend the work of the Forestry Commission, both on indigenous woody vegetation of economic and other interest and the production of exotic softwoods (conifers) and hardwoods (mainly eucalypts). We advise that the Commission be assisted in every way possible, so as to complete its programmes of protection, maintenance and development. This is important for the extensive stands and projected areas of conifers and other exotics, but has significance also for the indigenous woodlands.

Costs of production and transport must be studied constantly and intensively, so as to bring these more into line with imported timbers of roughly similar quality.

Simple "farm" forestry—woodlot planting, maintenance and exploitation—and the wise conservation and exploitation of indigenous woodland in the African areas should be given as much support as possible. Agricultural extension services could be strengthened by means of suitable staff—mainly African—being given simple instruction in the basic tenets of forestry.

The possibilities of local training of non-professional staff, European and African, should be examined, with the object of making a small start at an early date.

Conservation of Wild Life

Although good work is being accomplished by all involved in wild life conservation and "cropping", we advise that a simpler organization should be established for the administration of reserves and other areas dedicated to the conservation of wild life.

We commend the concept of "cropping" of game animals for sale, but make the plea that veterinary as well as European and African farming interests within the regions involved be granted every possible attention before this policy and practice be decided upon.

Africans should be encouraged to conserve wild life, but should be granted reasonable usufruct from the conserved areas.

Since the Federation enjoys great advantages in having an

abundant supply of energy, we believe that every effort should be made to stimulate this resource—so vital for industrial expansion. The lowering of the price of electricity ought to be a prime objective of policy. We realize the practical and other difficulties in quoting special development tariffs, but believe that the exploration of these possibilities, in consultation with the major participants in the financing of the Kariba project, is of the highest importance in order to foster rapid economic development.

Maximum Encouragement for Mining

We commend the mining industry to the Government as an economic activity worthy of as much encouragement and support as possible. The main directions in which these could be given are:—

(1) Providing financial, technical and other assistance for the encouragement of small mining ventures, where these are known to be basically sound and to be satisfactorily worked and managed.

(2) Aiding the industry—and notably the smaller mining interests, through the Department of Mines and the laboratory of the Chief Mining Engineer—by funds for a sufficiency of staff and equipment.

(3) Assisting the industry through the expanded activities of the Exploration Section of the Geological Survey in such matters as prospecting, guidance regarding exploitation, and advice upon processing.

(4) Reconsideration of the pattern of taxation, so as to stimulate and encourage risk-taking and enterprise.

The manufacturing and constructional industries have progressed at a spectacular rate during the post-war years, despite the difficulties inherent in the limited size of the domestic market. We have little doubt that as the opportunities for profitable production increase these industries will become of even greater importance in the economic life of the country.

But the conditions for their continued progress depend primarily not on tariffs and other forms of assistance but their increasing capacity to produce economical substitutes for the imported product and compete in the external markets. Our recommendations dealing with technical training, improvements in labour productivity, financial and other assistance to the small enterprise and the rôle of Government are primarily concerned with these aspects and also with the creation of conditions for a further expansion of the industrial structure.

Overall Research Council

We recommend the establishment, in close co-operation with the Association of Rhodesia and Nyasaland Industries (A.R.N.I.) of an appropriate body to consider the most pressing problems that surveys and investigations could help to solve.

A contribution from industry and the Governments could finance a small installation charged with the study of subjects either initiated by or referred to it. A modest beginning might result in an expansion of the existing Council for Agricultural Research into a Council for Agricultural, Scientific and Industrial Research of the kind so active in Britain, Australia, and South Africa.

Since commerce plays such a pivotal rôle in the expansion of the market and the general growth of the economy, we have been much exercised at the paucity of statistical and other information relating to this vital sector of the economy.

It is of the utmost importance to work towards a census of distribution and to undertake expenditure, market and other surveys, in order to learn as much as possible about consumer incomes, patterns of demands, the changing expenditure habits of the economically advancing African, and such matters as the problems and potentialities of trading in the rural areas, as well as the changing character and organization of distributive activities in the more developed urban communities.

(Further extracts will appear next week.)

Later Retirement

RETIRING AGES for members of the Federal Public Service are to be raised to 65 for men and 60 for women.

African Graduates

FIFTY-ONE AFRICAN GRADUATES are now employed by the Government of Northern Rhodesia—36 in the Department of Education, seven in the provincial administration, three in the Agricultural Department, and one each on information, rural development, works development, social welfare, and veterinary work. Fourteen are in administrative or professional posts, 33 are masters or mistresses in schools, and four hold technical or executive appointments.

Barotseland Will Never Accept U.N.I.P. Leadership

Kaunda Party Denounced by Spokesman for Barotse National Party *

BAROTSELAND means not merely the Barotseland Protectorate. My remarks include what we used to know as Barotseland before Europeans came to this country, most especially those areas which still look to His Highness the Litunga of Barotseland as their spiritual and national head.

The 1900 treaties and some subsequent agreements were made and signed at Musi-O-Tunya (Victoria Falls). The first passengers on the first railway train which crossed the Zambezi in 1904 were the late Paramount Chief Yeta III and the late Chief Mukuni. That was a clear indication that Malozi (Barotse people) and Batoka were one and came from the same stock. Approval for the train to cross the river came from them as a united nation.

Chief Mukuni's village is situated a short distance from Machenje, where the late Mulena Mukwae (Queen) Matauka-Namuchoko and her sister Mukwae Mboanjikana Akatoka were hidden by the Barotse and Batoka royalists during the 1886 rebellion. As you know, no one can give or take shelter from an enemy.

The geographical area of Barotseland before the white man came was approximately 200,174 square miles. That was from Balovale in the north to Wankie in the south and from Mazabuka in the east to the Mashi strip in the west. What is generally referred to as "Wankie" was at that time known as "Wange", a Siluyana name meaning "mine" (what belongs to me), and Kalundu-ka-Barumbu or Kalundu-ka-Malozi (Barotse hill) was the signpost of the boundary between Barotseland and Matabeleland.

Abdicating to Pan-Africanism

Mashi is where Chief Lukama's headquarters, Naunga, was. Unfortunately, through no authority of our own, the place has been annexed to Portuguese West Africa by international Powers. I say all this for the sake of history, because we have no intention of claiming our lost territories unless the inhabitants of those areas desire to be re-annexed to Barotseland in view of the British Government's motives to quit from Africa in abdication to pan-Africanists. We shall welcome such people because they are our kith and kin.

It is wrong to suggest that Barotseland seeks to secede from Northern Rhodesia. What we want is separation from Northern Rhodesia. The word "secession" is wrongly used, because Barotseland has never been an integral part of Northern Rhodesia. We only worked and are still working together with Northern Rhodesia. We are two separate parts. Therefore what we want is separation.

Let me remind my listeners of certain things U.N.I.P. supporters and other African nationalists have been saying about Barotseland. Some African leaders were angry when the British Government invited the present Litunga to attend the 1952 Coronation, which is proof enough that they did not regard the Barotse people as their fellow-countrymen.

Some African nationalists were bitter over the Barotse Native Government's mineral rights and have made pleas to the Northern Rhodesian Government from time to time to have the rights revoked, which is a clear indication that they are diametrically opposed to the rights and welfare of Barotseland.

Contrary to Barotse Native laws and customs, U.N.I.P. supporters have publicly insulted and abused the Litunga of

Barotseland through the medium of the Press. These are insults not only to the Litunga as an individual but to the whole of the Barotse nation. It is something the Barotse people will never tolerate. We can forgive and forget any mistake, but we shall never forget and forgive anyone who insults the Litunga. Whatever U.N.I.P. may try to do now, there will never be any reconciliation between that organization and the people of Barotseland.

In Colonial territories in Asia and Africa which have achieved self-government and independence traditional rulers and their councillors have completely disappeared. No true Malozi would wish the position and status of the Litunga and Barotse Native Government to disappear. We, like the British, are proud of our monarchy. We do not want the Royal barge "Nalikwanda", the Royal drums "Maoma", and the procession drums "Mikubele" to be dispensed with—which could be the case if a U.N.I.P. Government could be the central authority in Northern Rhodesia and Barotseland. These are things sacred to us and for which our forefathers fought and died. It is our earnest determination to preserve them and pass them on to our children.

Alien Leadership

Some people think that we are against black Government and want to be dominated by Europeans. That is wrong. We already constitute a black Government, and have never been and will never be dominated by Europeans. Barotseland enjoys self-government in all internal affairs. U.N.I.P. is asking for Northern Rhodesia what Barotseland has already got.

It would be wrong for anyone to suggest that we do not want to work with other African States; we are quite willing to do so with a separate State, like Nyasaland, but not with a province of Northern Rhodesia, like the Northern Province.

We know that Northern Rhodesia will eventually become a Colony of Nyasaland through Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, whose father and mother are Nyasalanders and he himself was born in Nyasaland. Although Moses was made a prince in Egypt, he never forgot that his motherland was Israel. In the same way, blood being thicker than water, Mr. Kaunda will never forget that he is a Nyasalander. No one can suggest to me that if war broke out between Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Mr. Kaunda could shoot his kith and kin in Nyasaland. He will do what Moses did when his fellow Israelite fought with an Egyptian.

It is only by mere words of mouth that Mr. Kaunda claims to be a Northern Rhodesian. In the innermost feelings of his heart he knows he is a Nyasalander and belongs to Nyasaland, not to Northern Rhodesia. Like Cecil John Rhodes, who annexed Central Africa to the British Empire, Mr. Kaunda will also eventually annex Northern Rhodesia to Nyasaland's empire, and as Barotseland does not lack leadership, we have no intention of accepting alien leadership. If Africans of Northern Rhodesia are prepared to accept such leadership, Barotseland will never do so.

Salvation in Cairo?

I do not know whether Africans in Central Africa have lost reason and logic. I am puzzled because those who claim to be nationalists have forgotten overnight that their own brothers and sisters were sold as slaves by the Arab traders. Today Mr. Kaunda and the other so-called nationalists turn to Cairo for their salvation. I cannot see any sense or logic in their complimenting the Arabs for selling their own kinsmen as slaves. The Barotse people have no room for the Arabs. We bow only before Dr. Livingstone who fought the slave trade.

The Barotseland National Party is accused by U.N.I.P. intimidators of being sponsored by the Welensky régime. This is a false and unfounded accusation. They do not want to mention that they themselves get their finance from Cairo and other places. In actual fact, Kaunda and his group, having saved nothing of their own earnings, have become beggars and parasites. They burn the houses and property of those who do not subscribe to their funds.

Court case records all over Northern Rhodesia show that the political group that has most criminals is U.N.I.P. This group does not only have a great number of habitual criminals but it is also a bunch of loafers—men who have failed in life. Those of them who have worked continuously for six months to a year or longer can be counted on the fingers of the hand. The Barotse people, being hard working, will never put in office lazy men. It is a pity that most U.N.I.P. followers think that they can get into power as easily as they get funds from foreign countries.

* The above extracts are taken from an address given in Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia, by Mr. Goro-Browne Mapani Chalinga, chairman of the Barotse National Party in the Southern Province of Northern Rhodesia.

Rhodesian Front's Policy of Community Development

Separate Racial Amenities Except in Multi-Racial Areas of Southern Rhodesia

THE RHODESIAN FRONT, in which the Opposition parties in Southern Rhodesia were merged some months ago, has held a congress in Bulawayo at which unanimous approval was given to a policy statement running to 18 foolscap pages.

Mr. Winston J. Field is president of the Rhodesian Front, whose other officers are: deputy presidents, Mr. W. J. J. Cary and Mr. J. D. Smith; vice-presidents, the Duke of Montrose and Mr. D. C. Lilford; chairman, Mr. C. W. Dupont; deputy chairman, Colonel D. Tanner; hon. treasurer, Mr. R. A. D. Baddeley; hon. secretary, Mr. A. P. Smith.

The party's statement of principles reads:—

"(1) The party affirms its loyalty to the person of the Queen, but rejects the principle of subordination to any external Government. English will remain the official language of the country.

"(2) The party believes in the right of each community in Southern Rhodesia to preserve its own identity, traditions and customs, but requires that members of each community shall give undivided loyalty to the country.

"(3) The party will ensure that the Government of Southern Rhodesia will remain in responsible hands.

"(4) The party believes that, to ensure the maintenance of proper standards, advancement must be on merit, and that all men have the right to the opportunity to develop their individual ability.

"(5) The party will uphold the principle of the Land Apportionment Act.

"(6) Recognizing the different customs and modes of living of the various communities in Southern Rhodesia, the party opposes compulsory integration, and recognizes the right of government at all levels to provide separate facilities and amenities for the various groups to enable them to preserve their customs and ways of life.

Changing Present Federal Structure

"(7) The party WILL [printed in capitals in the original] ensure that law and order are enforced.

"(8) Realizing that the Federation cannot continue in its present form, the party seeks the co-operation of the constituent countries to preserve those aspects of an association of the territories which are of mutual benefit.

"(9) The party will promote the full economic development of Rhodesia, and to this end will seek the co-operation of all our peoples.

"(10) The party will encourage private enterprise, subject to the right of the State to intervene when necessary in the interests of the country.

"(11) The party will ensure the permanent establishment of the European in Southern Rhodesia.

"(12) The party will build a strong and prosperous State based upon the fundamental principles which effect a sound society, including (1) the recognition of the family as the basis of society; (2) the rights of the individual to private ownership and freedom of worship, speech and association within the framework of the law.

"(13) The party recognizes the desirability of consultation and co-operation with neighbouring States in the solution of common problems.

"(14) The party will (1) create conditions that will ensure for all the inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia reasonable standards of housing, health and social services and employment; and (2) take steps to secure the pensions payable to public servants, including members of the B.S.A. Police.

"(15) The party will protect the standards of skilled workers against the exploitation of cheap labour."

The policy statement contains the following passages:

"EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.—In the event of the total dissolution of the Federation the policy of the Front is: (a) to seek under a suitable Constitution sovereign independence within or outside the Commonwealth; (b) to promote and establish harmonious relations with other territories and States in Africa and elsewhere for the promotion of trade and mutual security.

"In the event of the continuance of the Federation in an acceptable form, the policy is to preserve and maintain the self-governing status of Southern Rhodesia to

the fullest extent compatible with its position as a constituent member of the Federation.

"COMMUNITY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT.—The guiding principle of Government must be to ensure that conditions are created and maintained whereby the communities of Southern Rhodesia may co-exist. People of all races must be afforded the opportunity of sharing in the development of their communities, subject to their acceptance and competence to assume the responsibilities thereby imposed. The African and European peoples have different philosophies and ways of life, and a policy is now advanced in which neither group is forced to live under a system or in a manner alien to the group concept.

Encouraging Local Initiative

"In terms of the Front's policy on land, this would mean:—

"(1) Promotion of the sociological development of communities, thereby securing the active and voluntary participation of local communities in plans for their economic progress and social improvement, in the belief that the strengthening of community bonds and the promotion of plans for self-help and self-reliance, assisted where appropriate by Government resources, will be the surest means of achieving progress and stability of all peoples.

"(2) Promotion of the establishment of local and regional authorities, with emphasis on local or regional political and economic progress.

"(3) Establishment of rural industry consistent with development of communities (this is an urgent problem in tribal trust land areas where employment must be found for the increasing population which cannot be absorbed on the land); conditions for investment to be laid down by the regional or local authority concerned.

"(4) Encouragement of localized systems of government including the executive, administrative and judicial aspects, thereby encouraging the decentralization of Government functions and administrative apparatus.

"(5) Provision of separate amenities for the use of each race and multi-racial amenities where such facilities are required.

"(6) Recognition of the responsible position of the chiefs in the tribal structure and the urgent need to increase their powers of jurisdiction.

Unwanted Social Integration

"LAND.—As the peoples of Southern Rhodesia differ in many respects, the pattern and principle of racial differentiation in the ownership, use and tenure of land established under the Land Apportionment Act must be maintained. Accordingly,

"(a) In so far as urban residential land is concerned, the Front's policy will be to establish and preserve areas open for occupation and use only by persons of a given race, thus avoiding unwanted social integration and social conflict between peoples of different racial cultures;

"(b) In so far as rural agricultural land is concerned, it will likewise seek to establish and preserve areas which will remain open for occupation and use only by persons of a given race; but

"(c) In so far as zoned industrial and commercial land is concerned its policy, whilst seeking to establish and preserve areas which will remain open for occupation and use only by persons of a given race, is to permit in this instance and in consultation with local authority such land to be open for use by persons of any race.

"It likewise recognizes that only in a limited degree and in special circumstances residential land may be set aside, in consultation with local authority, for the use and occupation of such land by persons of any race.

"The Front recognizes that the continued existence of unoccupied land may be inimical to the national interest.

"FRANCHISE.—The Front recognizes that inherent in the new Constitution there is the intention to ensure the dominance by the African of the European before the former has acquired adequate knowledge and experience

(Continued on page 186)

Tanganyika's First Year of Independence

Rejection of the Westminster Model of Government*

MANY PEOPLE ARE SURPRISED that the Westminster model and some of our other cherished institutions are unacceptable to Africans and if introduced are quickly discarded. We have a deep pride in our monarchy, our judicial system, our Parliament, our civil service, and our system of local government, which have been built up slowly in the light of experience and changing conditions. But we are quickly learning that our export models are often unsuitable or unwanted in some countries which we have administered and to which we have granted independence.

Independence in Tanganyika was attained painlessly, with good will and moderation shown on all sides. Yet but a few weeks after independence had been achieved a number of things happened which turned outside opinion from one of confidence to one of misgiving if not foreboding.

The first event of importance was the sudden and unexpected resignation of Mr. Julius Nyerere, the Prime Minister, whose position as national leader had been regarded as impregnable. It is rare for national leaders, especially in Africa, to give up power voluntarily.

What then were the reasons? First there was a sense of disillusion, notably among party officials. Independence did not bring the millennium. Europeans and Asians seemed to retain the same privileged position as they had held under British administration. They continued to hold lucrative jobs, they drove about in expensive cars, and they lived in comfort in substantial residences. Government House was still occupied by a white Governor-General. If most of the Ministers were black, they were advised by white civil servants.

Rabid Racism

This led the extremists in T.A.N.U. to give vent to a more rabid form of racism than had previously been in evidence. Africanization of the civil service was speeded up and senior European officials were unceremoniously dismissed. A number of incidents of alleged discourtesy by Europeans to Africans were magnified for political purposes and the Europeans concerned were summarily expelled. Organized labour, which had to some extent come under the influence of rival international organizations, began to make demands which it was difficult to meet and showed signs of becoming a serious rival politically to T.A.N.U. The up-country Africans felt that they were being neglected and manifested their displeasure by the non-payment of taxes.

In the face of these and some other pressures it seems that Mr. Nyerere was considering how best he could organize the country in accordance with his ideas of the sort of modern African State that Tanganyika should become. He is a practical leader who puts first things first. He recognizes that if Tanganyika is to be truly independent it must be viable and that this can be achieved only by rapid economic development and raising the standards of living of the population.

By remaining president of T.A.N.U. and appointing his vice-president, Mr. Kawawa, as Prime Minister, he

has retained his position as the most influential leader in Tanganyika. By the consequent reshuffle of the Cabinet and certain key positions at home and abroad, and by the appointment of nine trusted party men to the posts of regional commissioners (who have replaced the former European provincial commissioners) he has deployed his limited resources of able men, loyal to the party, to what he feels to be the best advantage.

There has been a strong urge, especially among the extreme racialists, to demonstrate to the world that Tanganyika supports the ideals of pan-Africanism. There have been comings and goings in Dar es Salaam of African politicians and nationalists from countries which have not yet gained independence. Not much practical assistance could be given, but brave statements of support, the offer of asylum to political refugees, and the use of the Tanganyika Broadcasting System for propaganda were all outward signs of where sympathies lay. In the United Nations Tanganyika took its place in the Afro-Asian block and strongly supported the anti-colonialists.

Undefined African Socialism

Internally, while the extremists have done everything they could to destroy the last vestige of colonialism, the T.A.N.U. party executives seem to have decided that their objectives can be achieved quickly only by a united people, and that therefore the political power must lie with T.A.N.U. alone, as a monolithic party which will brook no opposition. The most urgent need is to meet the challenge of labour, which possesses some organization in the main towns and those rural plantations, farms and mines.

To create the feeling that the welfare of the workers would be in the forefront of Government policy, T.A.N.U. have proclaimed that they intend to pursue a policy of African Socialism. They have not yet defined quite what is meant by such a policy. A practical step to appease labour was the setting up of a territorial minimum wage board.

Government has introduced two measures which should go a long way to remove the embarrassing pressure brought to bear on Government by the threat of widespread strikes and to lessen the challenge of agitation to political power. The first measure is a highly controversial Trades Union Bill, which makes strikes illegal and brings the trade unions virtually under Government control. The Bill was passed unopposed. The other measure was a Bill which transfers from the police to the regional commissioners the authority to grant permission to hold political meetings. Since all the regional commissioners are party men, it looks as though it will be difficult in the future for any body but T.A.N.U. to hold such meetings. Two of the present Ministers are former presidents of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour—Mr. Kawawa, the Prime Minister, and Mr. Kamaliza, the Minister of Labour.

Economic Hopes Less Razy

The economic problems facing Tanganyika are very difficult. Hopes that great mineral wealth would be discovered have so far proved in vain. Although there has been extensive prospecting for oil and minerals by companies with great resources and an international status, little of importance has been discovered. The valuable lead mine has closed down. Gold, which at one time seemed promising, has not come up to expectations. Even the long-term future of the important diamond industry is not assured. The total value of mineral production stands around \$2m. per annum.

It is clear that Tanganyika will have to live primarily on an agricultural and pastoral economy. There are many natural impediments to rapid expansion, such as soil deficiencies, bad distribution of rainfall, and long distances to markets. There is also the conservatism of the peasantry, who are reluctant to adopt modern methods, and the unfortunate fall of the world prices of the principal products, such as sisal, cotton, coffee and cashew nuts.

Considering the size of Tanganyika and its population of 10 million people, the present development plan, which envisages something less than \$20m. of capital expenditure by Government over a period of three years, is modest. But even so the funds required are not enough, despite the generous aid promised by the U.K., the U.S.A., West Germany, and other Western countries. Private enterprise is being encouraged and several important industries are to be established by foreign firms. But this is hardly enough if any

*By the courtesy of the editor of the "Round Table" we are able to quote these extensive extracts from a much longer article appearing in the current issue of that quarterly journal.

substantial impression is to be made in the fight against ignorance, poverty and disease. Here comes the dilemma: while capitalist enterprises are needed, they may be reluctant to come in if too much emphasis is placed upon an undefined policy of African Socialism.

The arguments used in favour of African Socialism are that the traditional way of life among Africans is basically socialistic and that in any case Africans do not possess and never have possessed capital resources. This is to a large extent true—though those Africans who have had the opportunity of entering the economic field as capitalists have shown a strong sense of individualism and a capacity to run their own business. But in Tanganyika the co-operative movement has become well and widely established and has undoubtedly been a very great success. It is understood and liked by the majority of African producers, and has not only brought with it great benefits to them but has become a predominant factor in the economic life of tens of thousands of Africans.

The regional commissioners have been charged with the task of bringing enthusiasm for self-help to the rural population down to village level. This is likely to be reasonably easy to achieve in the short term but difficult to sustain, and will probably only succeed where tangible results can be obtained quickly. Pressure, of course, can be exerted, but unless it can be made profitable, resistance is likely to grow. There is a greater possibility that success may result from the efforts of their own officials than from those of the colonial régime, however competent and sympathetic they may have been. In those areas which are favoured with good soil and climate some progress may be expected, but even here it may be difficult to introduce diversification which will be necessary in the face of world over-production and falling prices. It is in the less favoured areas that real difficulties will arise unless there is a considerable expenditure of money on development, particularly on the conservation and use of water supplies.

The regional commissioners may find themselves in an unenviable position, for if they succeed it may be at the expense of popularity with the people, while if they fail they will incur the displeasure of the party.

Co-operative Movement Expectations

It is probably to the future of the co-operative movement that we must look for the best results. Mr. Paul Boman, the Minister of Finance, and others have seen what has been done in Israel and would like to introduce similar methods in Tanganyika. Already steps have been taken to establish a co-operative bank, which it is said is to become a workers' bank. There have been suggestions that the stevedoring companies should be nationalized and part of the capital vested in the Railway Administration and part in the dockers' trade unions. Some attention has also been given to the future of insurance business. An Israeli-managed and partly financed Consumer Co-operative Organization has already been launched with the objective of taking control of the country's wholesale and retail trade from existing overseas firms and the Asian *daka* owners.

We may expect to see other ideas of this sort borrowed from Israel; and if they are suitably adapted to Tanganyika conditions and properly administered they have much to commend them. The next five years will be a testing time for Tanganyika; and if enthusiasm can be sustained and the plans can be developed so that they touch the lives of the people, particularly those in the more backward areas, the future should be set fair. But it will need firm direction without distraction arising from internal political strife. It is for this reason that the T.A.N.U. leaders are determined to set up a strong governmental structure.

Mystical Prudg

The proposal to become a republic does not imply any disrespect towards the person of the Queen, whose position as Head of the Commonwealth is widely acknowledged. The Government expresses the belief that the new constitutional form proposed is more likely to inspire a sense of loyalty to Tanganyika than any other form of government. The constitutional system can be so easily changed.

Although Whiting and the study staff will have an important part to play in the life of the country, they have been kept out of power. The chief, as the leader of the tribe, will hold a position of great importance in most areas. He has been to some extent deprived of much of his authority since the advent of the colonial Government. He will be a member of the tribal council of ruling law and custom in a tribal area and the administrative system.

Most tribes have a certain tribal group, known as a clan. This is a group of people who are related to each other by blood. The clan is a group of people who are related to each other by blood. The clan is a group of people who are related to each other by blood.

for instance, there is an antipathy towards chiefs, born of an inherent fear that chiefs might become too powerful, and the chiefly office has been abolished or at least curtailed. But by and large the chiefs have retained the affection and loyalty of their people, and, since it a monarchical system, it might be thought that the idea of monarchy was acceptable to the people and that in some areas it was strongly entrenched. There is, however, a difference between the monarchical idea of chieftainship and that of an alien monarch who is a European and lives thousands of miles away and is never seen. The days have gone when the English Sovereign can be expected to command the personal loyalty of African subjects in the same way as people of British origin.

Some features of the Constitution may be contrary to what we think to be right, and they certainly give the impression that Tanganyika is likely to become a dictatorship. But both Mr. Nyerere and Mr. Kawawa, besides other leaders, have emphatically denied this.

There are grounds for disquiet. Despite the safeguards in the Constitution, it would be very easy for the power of the President to grow to the extent that it was dominant and that a one-party parliamentary system would become just a cipher to rubber-stamp approval of laws. The Constitution which gave Tanganyika independence was based on the Western conception of democracy and this was accepted by the African leaders. It may now seem that they made use of what we consider to be democratic practice in order to attain power and that as soon as possible they have cast this off.

"Entrenched" Safeguards Overthrown

It is very doubtful whether there is much that is genuinely African about the thinking that has been given to drawing up this new Constitution. Apart from some features which have been borrowed from Ghana, there are American and Fabian influences clearly visible. It is hardly to be expected that the people of Tanganyika will understand the niceties of the White Paper. The T.A.N.U. party machine will ensure that there is no opposition to its contents; and no doubt emotional speeches at mass meetings will obtain the appearance of popular response which will be used to prove to the critics that the African population have got what they want.

Apart from the internal results in Tanganyika, it can hardly give much confidence to the minority groups in Kenya or the Rhodesias. Here is an example where a Constitution has been radically changed and safeguards thrown over within a year of the attainment of independence. When British politicians hopefully refer to entrenched positions in Constitutions so laboriously negotiated, they must have some inward feelings of uneasiness about the future.

The changes have been, or at least appear to have been, thought out by the Africans themselves. European critics may scoff and suggest that this is only a manifestation of the African inferiority complex; but this is a rash attitude to take. The African has a respect for authority and likes to be ruled. He has his own way of showing his displeasure and of making policies unworkable which do not win his approval. It will be best if we keep our reservations to ourselves and leave it to the Africans to work out their own political salvation.

Africanisation in Tanganyika

AFRICANS SERVING ON PERMANENT TERMS in the Tanganyika civil service in senior and middle grade posts and earning £444 yearly or more numbered 1,481, or 33.2% of the 4,462 officers in those grades at the beginning of July, compared with 1,337 out of 4,469 three months earlier. A progress report from the Prime Minister's Office states that 1,540 vacancies exist in an establishment of 6,416 posts, and emphasizes the "urgent need of trained man-power and the necessity to continue to recruit from overseas, at least for the time being." Ministry by Ministry, Co-operative and Community Development has 76% Africanization; Home Affairs, 45.1%; Prime Minister's Office, 45.2%. "The lack of African accountants and lawyers is reflected in the fact that the Judiciary has achieved only 13.7%, the Enquiry and Audit Department 13.1%, the Treasury 8.2%, and the Ministry of Justice 8.2%."

Quitting Tanganyika

Several hundred persons who have so far left Tanganyika to work for the Government of their intention to do so number 704. Mr. Saidi Maswanya, Minister with Portfolio, said the other day.

PERSONALIA

MR. R. J. DAPHTARY has been appointed a resident magistrate in Uganda.

MR. W. KYOBE is now deputy engineer-in-chief of the Uganda Ministry of Works and Labour.

MR. R. P. ARCHER, chairman of A. Baumann and Co. (London), Ltd., left for Kenya last week.

THE REV. ALAN JAMES SMITH is now minister of Kalulushi United Church, Northern Rhodesia.

MR. E. A. JOHNSON has been appointed as an assistant director of Hogg Robinson and Capel-Cure.

MR. R. L. E. DRESCHFIELD has been made an honorary life warden of the Uganda National Parks.

MR. J. R. HOBBS, a Crown counsel in Kenya, and DR. J. D. F. LOCKHART are on leave from that Colony.

THE REV. N. Q. KING has been appointed first Professor of Religious Studies at Makerere College, Uganda.

MR. ALAN POOLE, branch manager in Salisbury of Atlas Copco Rhodesia, has been attending a symposium in Sweden.

MR. MATTHEW WAKATAMA has been appointed a lecturer at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

MR. S. L. PATERSON is now Director of Water Development and Irrigation in the Tanganyika Ministry of Agriculture.

MR. JOSEPH MALEKIA is now principal immigration officer in Tanganyika. He succeeds MR. T. P. FORDE, who has retired.

MR. JUSTICE K. G. BENNETT has been acting Chief Justice of Uganda while SIR AUDLEY MCKISACK, is on leave prior to retiring.

DR. HERMAN D. STEIN, Professor of Social Work of Columbia University, U.S.A., is to be lent to the Government of Tanganyika for some months.

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, has been advised by his doctors to leave Salisbury for a few weeks' rest in the country.

MR. M. MANSELL is spending seven months at London University to study community development patterns for the Southern Rhodesian Government.

MR. CHESTER BOWLES, special adviser to PRESIDENT KENNEDY on Asian, African and Latin American affairs, is in Nyasaland for a short private visit this week.

LORD ALPORT, British High Commissioner in the Federation, is due in London at the weekend for talks with MR. BUTLER, Minister of Central African Affairs.

SIR WAVELL WAKEFIELD has resigned his directorship of Park Royal Vehicles, Ltd., a subsidiary of Associated Commercial Vehicles, Ltd., on the board of which he remains.

MR. R. S. MATANO, Parliamentary Secretary to the Kenya Ministry of Education, is attending the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference in Nigeria.

MR. E. KANGYE is now chairman of the Uganda Land Commission. The other members are MESSRS. Z. BARATI BULUBA, C. M. S. MUKASA, Y. M. MUSAMALI, and B. OTIM ETURA.

MISS HANNAH STANTON, warden of Mary Stuart Hall at Makerere College, Uganda, has recently had a book published about her four years' stay in South Africa until her deportation in 1960.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Commonwealth Relations secretary, was host at a luncheon at Marlborough House last week for the Uganda High Commissioner in London, MR. T. B. BAZARRABUSA.

SIR ERIC HARRISON, Australian High Commissioner in London since 1956, will continue to serve for another year. The normal term of the appointment is five years. SIR ERIC has visited East and Central Africa.

MISS R. STEPHEN, who joined the Colonial Nursing Service in Nyasaland in 1943 and has been principal matron in that country since 1955, is about to retire. She intends to live in South Africa.

MR. J. G. D. RUDD and MR. A. D. MCCORMICK have been appointed directors of the British-American Tobacco Co. Mr. McCormick, who is the company secretary, will be director in charge of public relations.

MR. D. C. TAVARES, Jamaican Minister of Housing, who represented his country at Uganda's Independence celebrations, has had discussions with Tanganyika and Ethiopia on agricultural settlement in those countries for Jamaicans.

MR. NATHAN SHAMUYAYIRA, who recently resigned as editor of the African *Daily News*, has suggested to the United Nations Trusteeship Committee that U. THANT, the acting Secretary-General, should "mediate" in Southern Rhodesia.

MR. P. KWEBIHA, formerly principal co-operative officer, has been promoted to be deputy commissioner of the Department of Co-operative Development in Uganda. His previous post has been taken by MR. C. H. M. BARLOW.

MR. JUSTICE J. P. WEBBER, Deputy Public Prosecutor in Kenya, and lately a temporary puisne judge, has been appointed Attorney-General in Gibraltar, for which he will sail from Mombasa early in December. He has been in Kenya since 1951.

MR. HAROLD CORDUKES, for the past five years manager of the Kalulushi branch, Northern Rhodesia, of Barclays Bank D.C.O., is now in charge of the Highfields branch, Salisbury. He was at one time amateur golf champion of the Federation.

MR. F. G. SEMBEGUYA is chairman of the commission set up in Uganda to inquire into recent disturbances between the Baamba and Bakonjo people of Toro district. Two other M.Ps., MR. J. M. OKAE and MR. G. O. B. ODA, complete the team.

Following the resignations from the board of United African Explorations of MESSRS. G. F. B. GRANT, S. BUTLER HENDERSON and J. A. MORRELL, three new directors have been appointed—MRS. R. K. E. GRAHAM and MESSRS. H. H. S. MYGIND and I. G. SCHMIEGELOW.

Recent visitors to the Northern Rhodesia Office in London have included MR. D. J. LAWSON, a medical practitioner in Kitwe, and the REV. R. J. THOMPSON, MAJOR P. M. CHETWYND-PALMER, and Messrs. G. E. B. ANTHONY, G. A. E. HOLT, and W. A. S. LENNOX, all of Lusaka.

MR. C. E. B. SOMERVILLE, managing director of British Overseas Stores, Ltd., a group with interests in the Federation and Mozambique, has resigned. Some months ago the chairman, MR. R. J. BLACKADDER, retired, and MR. SOMERVILLE had since acted as chairman.

GENERAL SIR RICHARD HULL, C.I.G.S., and LADY HULL were the guests at a dinner in London last week of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club. Sir Richard recently visited military establishments in the Federation. VICE-ADMIRAL SIR PEVERIL WILLIAM-POWLETT, the new club chairman, presided.

Two United Nations officials who were prominently involved in the Congo operations, SENOR JOSE ROLZ-BENNETT and GENERAL INDAR RIKHYE, have both been posted to former Dutch West New Guinea as acting Administrator and head of the observer team respectively of the U.N. temporary executive authority.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY

SELF-SERVICE LAUNDERETTE for sale, central S.W. London. Densely populated, fully developed flat area. Eighteen machines, dryers and extractors. Established six years. Long Lease. Sound investment. £10,000.—Box No. 138, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, 66 Great Russell Street, W.C.1.

A book entitled "Towards Unity in Kenya", by CANON MARTIN CAPON, has been published by the Christian Council (Box 5009, Nairobi). It describes relationships between Protestant missionaries in Kenya in the early days and the steps leading to the formation of the Christian Council.

PROFESSOR DOUGLAS ANGLIN, a Canadian political scientist who has been visiting Northern Rhodesia, suggested when lecturing on a "University of Zambia" that for £2½m. an arts and science college linked to the University of East Africa should be built just outside Lusaka, instead of a fully-fledged university.

MR. SAM GOZO, a B.Sc. of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, who for the past two years has been in the secretarial department in Northern Rhodesia of the Rhodesian Selection Trust, has gone to Atlanta, Georgia, on a Charles E. Merrill scholarship to study for the degree of Master of Business Administration.

MR. COLIN NIGHTINGALE, manager in Northern Rhodesia of Ndola Copper Refineries, Ltd., will leave early next month to take up an appointment as director and general manager of British Copper Refineries, Ltd., in Prescott, Lancashire. MR. NORMAN G. WRIGHT, the metallurgical superintendent, is to succeed Mr. Nightingale as manager of Ndola Refineries.

MR. ARVIND JAMIDAR, Kenya's Minister of Tourism, Forests and Wild Life, said when he returned to Nairobi from a month's visit to Europe that he was "bursting with new ideas" for promoting tourism and intended mounting an "unprecedented onslaught" on the European market. This year's tourist income figures were already higher than last year's, he added.

MR. SARTE ALMEIDA, who has been visiting Tanganyika from India, has presented a £500 cheque to the Minister of Education and Information Services, MR. SOLOMON ELIUFOO, to start an F. P. de ALMEIDA student welfare fund for pupils at Dar es Salaam Technical College who are not Government-sponsored. The fund is in memory of Mr. Almeida's father, who lived in Tanganyika.

MRS. JOY ADAMSON, author of the "Elsa" lion books, was the guest of honour at a recent literary luncheon in London. In order to raise funds for three wildlife reserves in Kenya she has arranged to give lectures in 20 U.K. towns in the next month and then to visit the Continent and the U.S.A. She gave £5,000 from the royalties of her books to the game preservation work for which she is now appealing.

During their recent two-month cultural exchange programme study tour of the United States, three Tanganyika women, MRS. ELIUFOO, wife of the Minister of Education and Information Services, MRS. FUNDIKIRA, wife of the Minister of Justice, and MRS. KUNAMBI, wife of the Sultan of Waluguru, were presented with the freedom of the cities of San Francisco, Mansfield (Ohio) and San Juan (Puerto Rico).

The only woman information officer in Nyasaland, MISS KATHIE SMITH, is retiring after 25 years' service. A Chinyanja expert, she was appointed official Government interpreter in 1938, and later began to edit vernacular news-sheets. Born in Nyasaland, the daughter of a Baptist missionary, MISS SMITH calls herself "Scottish Ngoni" because her childhood was spent mainly in the Ncheu district.

DR. P. J. MUNANO and DR. Y. OTSYULA, who have recently returned to Kenya from London and Canada respectively after obtaining diplomas in public health, have been appointed deputy provincial medical officers for Central and Nyanza Provinces respectively. DR. ARTHUR MBUTHIA, medical superintendent of the Coast Province General Hospital, has been appointed deputy provincial M.O. at the Coast.

Seven East African scholars who have been awarded Commonwealth scholarships in Britain this year are, from Tanganyika, Messrs. M. KASHINDYE (political and economic science), G. LUENA (analytical chemistry) and A. S. MSANGI (applied parasitology and entomology); from Kenya, Messrs. R. S. AHLUWALIA (medicine), H. P. OJAMBO (medicine) and W. A. J. OKUMU (economics); and from Uganda, MR. S. K. CHAND (philosophy, politics and economics).

SIR FRANK LEE, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MR. A. W. TUKE, lately chairman of Barclays Bank, and MR. C. T. POTT, a director of Union Corporation, Ltd. for more than 30 years, have accepted invitations to join the London advisory committee of the corporation, which recently moved its headquarters from London to South Africa. SIR CHARLES HAMBRO is chairman of the committee, whose other members are MR. H. W. HIGGINSON and MR. R. H. MACWILLIAM.

In his first report as director of the Rhodes-Livingstone National Museum of Northern Rhodesia, MR. GERVAS CLAY has suggested that retiring officials and old residents should donate their papers in order to augment the historical collection of diaries and documents which throw light on the early administration of the Protectorate. He also wants uniforms, past and present, from Government departments, mines and railways, and programmes of their major activities from sporting and other societies.

SIR MALCOLM BARROW, Deputy Prime Minister in the Federation, has been awarded costs in a case brought for £500 damages by MR. MICHAEL FABER, a former economics lecturer at the University College, who claimed that Sir Malcolm had defamed him in 1960 when he told the University Teachers' Association that the Immigration Department had been informed that Mr. Faber had said that he had a resident's permit when he joined the college staff, although this was found later not to be the case.

DR. NOGUEIRA, Foreign Minister of Portugal, told the United Nations General Assembly last week that African countries should heed India's "grab of Goa and aggression against Kashmir" as warning signs that were a foretaste of "Indian colonization and exploitation of the African peoples". He said that the Indian Prime Minister, MR. NEHRU, had stated years ago, when recalling that there were nearly 1m. Indians in Africa: "When we have achieved our sovereign rights, it is our intention to make East Africa part of the Indian Empire".

PROPERTY FOR SALE

WELL-BUILT FAMILY RESIDENCE together with small cottage in lovely Surrey, close schools and station. Ground floor: study, breakfast and dining rooms, lounge, usual offices, cloakroom, etc. First floor: two bedrooms, each 17 feet 9 inches x 15 feet 6 inches; a third, 22 feet by 10 feet 9 inches; a fourth, 14 feet by 9 feet 9 inches. Wash-basins, built-in wardrobes, bathroom and toilet. Cottage: kitchen, etc., double bedroom, sitting room, bathroom, toilet. Rayburn heated throughout both properties; solid fuel. Gas and electrical points all rooms both properties. Two garages, storage sheds, tennis lawns, orchard, well-stocked garden. Price freehold, including fixtures and fittings: £15,500, partly on mortgage if necessary. Low rates.—Box 139, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, 66 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

Europe and Commonwealth Together

Mr. Macmillan's View of the Common Market

BRITAIN, THE COMMONWEALTH AND EUROPE are "inseparably linked" by their essential long-term interests, the Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, has stated in a leaflet on the Common Market negotiations, which he describes as "perhaps the most fateful and forward-looking policy decision in our peace-time history".

At the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference in London last month, the British Government had stated why, "only after a searching study of all the facts", it had decided that British membership of the European Economic Community would be a source of new strength to this country and the Commonwealth as a whole, and, conversely, that a Britain detached from Europe would mean inflicting permanent injury on the common cause. He continued, *inter alia*:—

"I totally reject the view that Britain is faced with a choice between the Commonwealth and Europe. To state the argument in these terms seems to me a complete misreading of the situation. We are dealing with two entirely different types of organization.

"The Commonwealth possesses no formal ties or obligations. Its strength lies in its world-wide diversity and its ability to bring so many different races and creeds together in a common approach to the great international problems of our time. With some of its older members, we share special bonds of kinship and allegiance to the Crown. With some, we are linked in regional defence pacts such as N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O., and C.E.N.T.O. Others seek to pursue an uncommitted line. In most cases the sterling area provides a financial and economic link, but the Commonwealth is not a single economic unit. Nor, to be honest, is there any practical possibility of making it one.

Great Changes in Commonwealth

"Conditions in the Commonwealth have greatly changed since the Ottawa Agreements were signed some thirty years ago. At that time the industrialization of the Commonwealth was still in a very early stage. We could agree on a pattern of trade in which Britain exported manufactured goods to the other Commonwealth countries, while they sent us mainly foodstuffs and raw materials. Since then, the political character of the Commonwealth has been profoundly changed by the attainment of independence by our former colonies. A number of Commonwealth countries have rapidly developed their own industries and have sought to protect them, quite legitimately, with tariffs against industrial products from other countries, including Britain. With equally good reason, they have developed new channels of trade outside the Commonwealth. As a result of all these changes, although total Commonwealth trade has greatly increased, the proportion of total Commonwealth trade done with other Commonwealth countries has fallen.

"Now compare this flexible grouping of independent nations with the closely knit organisation created by the European Community, based on common frontiers, a common determination to build a new Europe from the ashes of war, and buttressed by a common market. These are two wholly dissimilar forms of human co-operation, both of vital importance to the modern world and hence to Britain's place in that world. The problem before us is to reconcile these two structures, not to divide them.

"We in Britain are Europeans. That has always been true, but it has now become a reality which we cannot ignore. In the past, as a great maritime Empire, we might give way to insular feelings of superiority over foreign breeds and suspicion of our neighbours across the Channel. For long periods, we were able to maintain a balance of power in Europe which served us well. Indeed, if we had not turned away from Europe in the Imperial heyday of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it is even possible that the slaughter of two world wars might have been avoided. Are we now to isolate ourselves

from Europe, at a time when our own strength is no longer self-sufficient and when the leading European countries are joining together to build a future of peace and progress, instead of wasting themselves in war?

"We have to consider the state of the world as it is today and will be tomorrow, and not in outdated terms of a vanished past. There remain only two national units which can claim to be world powers in their own right, namely the United States and Soviet Russia. To these may soon be added what Napoleon once called the 'sleeping giant' of China, whose combination of a rapidly multiplying population and great natural resources must increasingly be reckoned as a potent force in world affairs. A divided Europe would stand no chance of competing with these great concentrations of power. But in this new European Community, bringing together the manpower, the material resources and the inventive skills of some of the most advanced countries in the world, a new organization is rapidly developing with the ability to stand on an equal footing with the great power groupings of the world.

"By joining this vigorous and expanding community and becoming one of its leading members, as I am convinced we would, this country would not only gain a new stature in Europe, but also increase its standing and influence in the councils of the world. We would bring to the inward preoccupations of a continental land mass the outward-looking vision of a great trading nation whose political and economic horizons span the globe.

Interpreting the Commonwealth

"Britain would be the chief spokesman of the Commonwealth in Europe and the interpreter of Europe to the Commonwealth, reconciling the interests of these very different systems and acting as a bridge between them. On the other hand, for Britain to stay out and isolate herself from the mainstream of European strength would, I believe, have very damaging results both for ourselves and for the whole of the Commonwealth. There might be no immediate disaster, but we could not hope to go on exerting the same political influence.

"If we remain outside the European Community, it seems to me inevitable that the realities of power would compel our American friends to attach increasing weight to the views and interests of the Six in Europe, with others who may join them, and to pay less attention to our own. We would find the United States and the Community concerting policy together on major issues, with much less incentive than now to secure our agreement or even consult our opinion. To lose influence both in Europe and Washington, as this must mean, would seriously undermine our international position and hence, one must add, our usefulness to the Commonwealth.

"Our main economic value to the Commonwealth countries is our ability to provide a large market for their goods and to supply them with funds for their development. A Britain which gains in strength from membership of the Common Market, as I believe we would, would be in a much better position to help the Commonwealth than a Britain living in political and economic isolation from Europe. Moreover, the European Community is already providing very large amounts of capital for overseas development, and as a member we would make it our business to ensure that the Commonwealth got its full share.

Aiding Poorer Countries

"Our entry into the Common Market would mean an end to the present system of free entry and preferential treatment for imports from the Commonwealth. But the British market is not big enough to absorb the growing production of the Commonwealth countries. An increasing proportion of Commonwealth trade is now done with countries outside the Commonwealth, and not least with the Common Market countries. The further development of these outside markets is therefore of paramount importance to the Commonwealth countries.

"At the same time, the economic growth resulting from a reduction in trade barriers should make it easier to develop plans for disposing of food surpluses from the Commonwealth and elsewhere through programmes of aid to underdeveloped countries.

"There are people who fear that the Commonwealth will never be the same again, if Britain goes into Europe. But it is not the same today as it was ten or even five years ago. It is a continuously developing organism. The essential long-term interests of Britain, Europe and the Commonwealth are inseparably linked. The crux of the problem is to work out their co-operation for the future."

Victimized by Dr. Banda's Party Plight of Students from Nyasaland

DR. J. COOK, who as an observer on behalf of the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth recently attended a meeting of the council of the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has said in the course of a letter to *The Times*:—

"The head of the Nyasaland delegation to the U.N.E.S.C.O. conference in Madagascar on the development of higher education in Africa spoke to that gathering about the 'so-called University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland'.

"In Salisbury I learnt that of 12 Nyasaland students who were in residence at the college at the beginning of the session only four now remain. That the initial number was so small is due principally to lack of sixth forms in the Nyasaland schools.

"Six of the 12 had been compelled or persuaded by the Nyasaland Ministry of Education to withdraw from the college early in the second term. Now two more, neither of them holding a Nyasaland scholarship, have received telegraphic instructions to leave immediately, and have been told that places have been found for them at the University College of Sierra Leone.

Senseless Vindictiveness

"The case of one of these two is particularly illuminating, as it is distressing. Aged 24, she was the first woman student from Nyasaland to graduate from the college in Salisbury. At the date of her withdrawal she was within five weeks of the completion of her course for the Post-graduate Certificate of Education, for which she was expected to qualify. She would then have been available to Nyasaland as a qualified graduate teacher at the opening of the new school year in January, 1963. She will not now be able to qualify until towards the end of next year.

"It is hard to see how such victimization of promising students can benefit a country so lamentably short of educated personnel. The withdrawal of these students—and in some cases their scholarships—while their courses are still incomplete seems a particularly senseless act of indirect vindictiveness towards the Federal Government, which provides funds for the recurrent expenditure of the college.

"Nor is this necessarily the end of the matter. There have been indications of reluctance on the part of prospective students from Northern Rhodesia to embark on a university course which may be terminated before completion at the whim of a new Government. All this is contrary to the sense of urgency of African university development which was so manifest at the Madagascar conference".

Intimidation in Central Africa

A TWENTY-FOUR PAGE PAMPHLET published by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA under the title "Intimidation in Central Africa: Vote for Me . . . or Else" summarizes the proven cases of intimidation, assault, arson, and similar crimes in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland in recent months as part of the plan of African politicians to destroy the support of people of their own race for the Federal Government and so open the way to power for the extremists.

Intimidation, one of the ugliest aspects of African politics, is also one of the most successful methods, for most Africans deem it wiser to obey than to risk being victimized.

The pamphlet gives an authoritative survey of a situation which is all too little understood even by Parliamentarians, leading contributors to the Press, and other moulders of public-opinion.

The brochure may be obtained at 1s. post free, or 10s. for 12 copies, from EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, 66, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

Uganda Becomes Independent

This 72-page profusely illustrated special number of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA contains contributions from many present and past leaders of Uganda, including

The Governor, Sir Walter Coutts
His predecessor, Sir Frederick Crawford
The Prime Minister, Mr. Milton Obote
The Anglican Archbishop of Uganda

and

Earl De La Warr Sir Arthur Kirby
Sir Alfred Vincent Sir Handley Bird
Mr. A. K. Sempa Mr. J. T. Simpson
Mr. Ernest Haddon

There are also career sketches of all Ministers, and articles on Makerere, Namulonge, Kilembe, the Railways, the recommendations of the World Bank Mission to Uganda, and other subjects.

Price: 5s. post free from

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66 Great Russell St., London, W.C.1.

No Z.A.P.U. Under New Guise

Government Will Not Tolerate Racial Animosity

PUBLIC MEETINGS on Sundays and public holidays have been banned in Southern Rhodesia as from last Sunday until January 13 next year because of the outbreaks of violence resulting in injury to people and damaged property after meetings in various townships the week-end before last. Religious gatherings and normal recreational, sporting and social meetings will not be affected. The Minister of Justice may permit any particular meeting not included in the list of exceptions contained in a Government Gazette Extraordinary.

The Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, has reaffirmed that the leaders of the banned Zimbabwe African Peoples Union will not be allowed to form any new party. "Z.A.P.U. was not banned because of its political opinions", he said, "but because its members adopted terrorism as a weapon to force people to support its cause."

"An African party expressing the legitimate aspirations of the African people, working on constitutional lines, and keeping within the law, need have nothing to fear. What I will not tolerate is a party which seeks to obtain money by threats, commits murder and physical assaults on innocent people and compels people to join it by intimidation, deprives people of their liberty by compelling them to attend political meetings when they would rather have gone to church or a football match, declares that it will take over the government of the country by unconstitutional means, communicates with foreign powers with a view to overthrowing the legitimate government of the country, and

stirs up racial feelings and encourages hostility between the races. No party will be allowed again to attempt to force a one-party state on those who have a preference for other, legitimate political parties. This is the unambiguous policy of the Government."

Last week goods in a Salisbury store were destroyed by fire, and a Salvation Army hall was burned down. A European house in Bulawayo was gutted by fire. St. Peter's Church at Chiduku, near Tandi, was burned down, and a Salvation Army school at Chigwide was completely destroyed by fire. On the Glen Norah estate seven miles from Salisbury, 78 tobacco seed beds were burned out. A classroom at St. Augustine's mission at Chikare was set on fire.

A semi-military funeral attended by 1,000 mourners, including many fellow reservists and Government representatives, was given for Kaitano Kambadza, an African police reservist who was killed by a gang of Africans who stoned him and set fire to him after dousing him with petrol.

"Ring of Steel"

Mr. Garfield Todd, a former Prime Minister of the Colony, told a congress of African trade unionists in Salisbury at the week-end that he agreed with the reaction of Mr. Joshua Nkomo, the former Z.A.P.U. leader now in restriction, that if industries maintained by a large amount of British investment "blocked" the political advancement of Africans, then those industries would have to be temporarily destroyed.

The Africans, "hemmed in by a ring of steel denying freedom of action" might yet find a friend in Britain despite the British Government's policy of expediency in Southern Rhodesia's affairs, and close links should be kept with Labour in this country because of the pressure it could exercise on the British Government. It was a fearful and regrettable thing that the Africans' hatred of the territorial government was being extended to white people in general because they had lost confidence in the European and his government and were determined that racial privilege should go. The country's fundamentally highly promising economy was being severely strained by the cost of security operations.

A new Salisbury African weekly newspaper, *The Nationalist*, "initiated, financed, managed and edited entirely by Africans for Africans", has accused the police and military forces of excesses, claiming that "if this is allowed to go on it is logical to demand the banning of the United Federal Party because it has failed to control its youth wing". The publisher is Mr. S. J. Samkanga, and the editor is Mr. W. A. D. Musarurwa, who have dismissed the new Constitution as "a mockery of representative government" and stated that the vote is an unalienable right.

Mr. Jasper Savanhu, who resigned recently from the Federal Government, told a meeting of the National Affairs Association that Europeans were unfit to govern an African country. The statement by the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, that he had resigned because of extremist African pressures, had been "unkind and untruthful". The "last straw" had been when the Prime Minister wrote to him asking for his support in the U.F.P.'s election campaign in Northern Rhodesia. Mr. Savanhu said that he had not since joined UNIP.

Specious "National" Aspirations

CAPTAIN HENRY KERRY, M.P., has written in the *Daily Telegraph*:

"Constant references to Mr. Nkomo as 'the national leader' are damaging to those hundreds of thousands of black Rhodesians who fear and detest the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union, fully support Government action against terrorism, and desire only to progress peacefully under the rule of law.

"As a former member of the U.F.P. and as a man who has seen the Rhodesian situation from the inside, I have no doubt that the U.F.P. is the only party which is capable of leading the people of the Rhodesian territories to a peaceful and democratic future. It is the only party which is not a mere tool of the U.F.P. and which is not a mere tool of the U.F.P. and which is not a mere tool of the U.F.P."

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PLAYER'S
please

THE WORLD'S
BEST LIKED CIGARETTES

Mau Mau Extolled in Kenya

K.A.N.U. Organize "Kenyatta Day"

GLORIFICATION OF MAU MAU as a "nationalist struggle" and the observance of a "Kenyatta Day" to pay respect to the convicted leader of Mau Mau "because he refused to consent that his people should be fleeced to death by British imperialists, bloodsuckers and barbaric plunderers" marked K.A.N.U. activities in Nairobi over the week-end.

The party's general secretary, Mr. T. J. Mboya, who is also Labour Minister in the Kenya Coalition Government, opened 'The First Historical Exhibition of Kenya' on Sunday—a display of some 650 items shown at a cost of about £2,500 by an Asian book-binder in Nairobi, Mr. Ambulal Patel, a professed adherent of Gandhian non-violence who has stated that he believed in Mau Mau. Exhibits include relics of Mau Mau and Kenyatta, and Press cuttings of the sayings and doings of African nationalists and Mau Mau terrorists, with some of their photographs.

Gold lettering over the chief exhibit, a photograph of Dedan Kimathi after his capture, describes the since-executed murderer as 'the great hero of the forest army, "Field Marshal Sir Dedan Kimathi"—the title given to him for his extra-ordinary leadership in bush fighting and his tenacious spirit'.

Mr. Mboya said that Europeans who were offended by the picture should return to Europe, where statues had been erected to people "more rotten than anyone I can think of in Kenya". It was soon to be decided, he added, whether some of the statues in Nairobi "deserved" to remain and whether certain street names were merited. (Mr. Odinga, the party's deputy leader, has suggested that a statue of Kimathi should replace that of Lord Delamere now set on the city's main boulevard.)

"Kenya's Nationalist Effort"

Mr. Mboya continued by asserting that nothing could prevent Mau Mau, its leaders and "those who fought in the forests" from becoming part of Kenya's history. "Whether or not some people like that part of Kenya's history is immaterial". K.A.N.U. confident that it would form the next Government, would help Mr. Patel to stage a fuller exhibition in "expert" fashion next year to complete the history of "Kenya's nationalist effort".

Mr. Mboya also spoke of his "disgust" that so few Africans had been invited to the opening of the Kenya Television Centre last week by the Duke of Kent. "I was most ashamed when I sat there. All around me was a sea of white faces with only a few islands of black specks. One would have thought the ceremony was taking place in Kent, not Kenya. I consider there were many Africans who deserved to be invited instead of the petty typists who attended. It would be better if those who want to maintain their colonial way of life leave the country while they can".

Mr. Welwood's Challenge Sidestepped

He was taken up on his allegation of the previous week that Europeans were bribing Africans to take oaths by Mr. L. R. M. Welwood, leader of the Kenya Coalition Party, who asked in the Legislative Council from what "tainted" sources Mr. Mboya had gleaned his information. "He made it clear in his speech at Molo that he intended to blame Britons for all that goes wrong in Kenya. If that is the view of the Government the future of this country is dark indeed. Mr. Mboya has told this Council before that chaos is preferable to a delay in independence. If the Government supports these views, I must tell Europeans that they will have to seek other countries where they will not be treated as a hated minority".

Mr. Welwood asked the Government and Kenyatta to rebut Mr. Mboya's accusations. Mr. Mboya claimed that he had been speaking as a K.A.N.U. official, not as a Minister, and said that he thought it his duty to make public the rumours that were current in the Rift Valley. There was no indication there over security measures, and people were being harassed during interrogation.

The acting Defence Minister, Mr. G. J. Ellerton, who told the House that an investigation would be made on the basis of some general allegations contained in a letter from the Labour Minister, stated when presenting his Ministry's estimates that next day that tension between the Colony's

various tribes was a more immediate danger to security than any Land Freedom Army activities. The 'Army' had recruited fanatics of the 1950s who did not realize that the times had changed. Thugs and criminal elements, common in any society, supported them, together with the chronic unemployed and inveterate tribalists. "We are dealing with a minority only, and anyone who seeks to condemn or smear the whole tribe from which the minority derives does Kenya a grave disservice at the present time."

Government action against the L.F.A. had been salutary. It was thought that infestation was not deep, since people were providing information voluntarily all the time. At Molo 45 men and women have been gaoled after admitting their membership of the 'Army', eight for the maximum seven years, including the local leader. Seven of the accused had taken a killing oath.

Two former Mau Mau detainees, one described as the third in command of the L.F.A., have been gaoled for seven years and a third has been sent to prison for three years for administering oaths to 1,500 Kikuyu.

M.L.Cs. Implicated

The Machakos member, Mr. George Nthenge, of K.A.N.U., called for a full campaign to smash the L.F.A. "even if it means taking some honourable members of this House to court—some of them condemn subversion in public but are friendly in private with the men behind the Land Freedom Army". This was denied by Dr. J. Kiario, Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry held by Kenyatta. He advocated a public inquiry into the prevalent rumours, so that the co-operation of innocent people could be obtained.

A K.A.D.U. motion brought the previous day asking the Government to legislate against the importation of Communist money into Kenya was supported by allegations that such funds were financing L.F.A. activities and that several Kenyans were receiving terrorist training in Communist countries. Mr. P. Okondo warned that on attaining independence the country would find a Communist-guided army on its hands to impose another form of colonialism.

The Parliamentary Secretary in the Finance Ministry, Sheikh M. A. Alamoody, said that it would be impossible to pass such legislation—if the money came directly in roubles, it would be easy, but it was channelled through Europe and Britain.

For "Kenyatta Day", some 15,000 Africans in Nairobi Stadium were asked to observe two minutes' silence "for those who died for our cause". There should be no bitterness against those who had "tortured the Africans", Kenyatta said. "I forgive those who did these things to us because whether they like it or not Kenya will be independent. Those who are ready to co-operate with us will be our friends. Those who believe God created them differently should go back to their own countries. We do not hate anyone. We only want to see those who have sucked our blood and ruled us come and join hands with us and work with us."

"Follow Our Law"

"From today those Europeans and Asians who want to co-operate with us and who agree that Africans should govern this country, have the door open to them, I welcome them to join our party if they will agree to follow our law". Several Asians and a European came forward then to pay their membership fees.

The K.A.N.U. organizing secretary, Mr. John Keen, had announced that a "23-gun salute" of fireworks would be given for Kenyatta on the anniversary of his arrest and the beginning of the emergency in Kenya 10 years ago, "because a 21-gun salute is for kings, queens and emperors and *mzee* Kenyatta is more important—he is the father of the nation". Police disallowed both the firework 'salute' and a procession planned through Nairobi.

Arthur Ochwada, deputy general secretary of K.A.N.U., and general secretary of the East African Federation of Building and Construction Workers' Union, has appealed against the sentence passed on him of 14 months' imprisonment after being convicted on 11 charges involving £117 of union funds.

The *Daily Telegraph* has commented editorially: "Ten years after Mau Mau began its atrocious killings, and only two years after the Corfield Report showed that movement in its full and gory horror, attempts are being made to glorify it. Mr. Patel's exhibition is at least useful in tempting Kenya politicians to come out in their true colours. Before and during the emergency, certain Asians aided and abetted Mau Mau, despite the fact that many Indian and Pakistani settlers were among its victims. No doubt Mr. Patel has solid reasons for a gesture that must ingratiate him with the rising extremists. Fear in this time of change must be leading many in Kenya to make friends where they can."

"Mr. Mboya, Minister of Labour, has opened this first exhibition of 'Kenya history'. No doubt he was conveniently doing so in his capacity as Secretary of the Kenya African National Union, rather than as a Minister of the Crown. He defends inclusion of a photograph of a notorious terrorist fighter on the grounds that Mau Mau is becoming part of Kenya's history. The glib Mr. Mboya was not quite in tune with his master, Mr. Kenyatta. For Mr. Kenyatta was yesterday declaring the door of Kenya open to all races, where as Mr. Mboya said that those Europeans who objected to the exhibition should 'go home'. Thousands of loyal Africans whose relatives were butchered by Mau Mau will also object to features of this exhibition. As long as the massacre of Lari is remembered, Mr. Mboya will find it hard to put haloes on Kenya thugs".

General Election Next Week

List of 144 Candidates

THE FOLLOWING LIST gives the candidates for the forthcoming general election in Northern Rhodesia on October 30.

UPPER ROLL CONSTITUENCIES: —
Broken Hill: H. J. Roberts (United Federal Party); I. B. Nkonde (United National Independence Party); A. Price (party unknown).
Chingola: S. W. Magnus (U.F.P.); C. M. Morris (Independent supported by U.N.I.P.).
Eastern Rural: A. E. Carlisle (U.F.P.); O. C. Carruthers (Liberal Party); H. W. Gardner (U.N.I.P.); Mrs. E. F. M. Randolph (African National Congress).
Kitwe East: G. E. Mushikwa (U.N.I.P.); Mrs. J. Percy (Liberal); J. J. Steyn (U.F.P.).
Kitwe West: K. A. Mills (Liberal); U. G. Mwila (U.N.I.P.); H. J. E. Stanley (U.F.P.).
Livingstone: N. A. Mabutwe (A.N.C.); J. D. Macmillan (U.F.P.); J. C. N. Hunt (U.N.I.P.).
Luanshya-Kansenji: C. D. Burney (U.F.P.); T. L. Desai (U.N.I.P.); M. W. Wijnberg (Liberal).
Lusaka East: Mrs. R. Allard (Liberal); G. M. Musumbulwa (U.F.P.); Mrs. L. Terry (A.N.C.); F. J. G. Triegaardt (Rhodesia Republican Party); S. A. Wateridge (Independent).
Lusaka West: S. Hutt (Liberal); E. Krefit (Independent); H. R. E. Mitcheley (U.F.P.); G. S. Mwanza (A.N.C.).
Mufulira: A. C. Stevens (party unknown); P. J. Wulff (U.F.P.).
Ndola East: T. P. V. Lawler (U.F.P.); T. M. D. Mtine (U.N.I.P.); C. D. Smith (Liberal).
Northern Rural: U. J. Moffat (party unknown); J. M. Mwanakatwe (U.N.I.P.); V. A. Shone (A.N.C.).
Southern Rural: J. J. Burnside (U.F.P.); R. Harvey (Liberal); C. F. Kinstein (R.R.P.); M. M. Nalumango (U.N.I.P.); G. A. Patel (A.N.C.).
Roan: W. Kirby (Liberal); H. J. Lienberg (U.F.P.); M. K. Nayooto (party unknown).
Western Rural: N. Coates (U.F.P.); R. E. Farmer (Liberal); J. W. Shaw (U.N.I.P.).
LOWER ROLL CONSTITUENCIES: —
Bangweulu: H. Kasokola (A.N.C.); K. D. Kaunda (U.N.I.P.).
Barotseland East: F. L. Suu (party unknown); A. N. L. Wina (U.N.I.P.).
Barotseland West: B. M. Akombelwa (party unknown); G. M. Mukande (party unknown); M. Nalilungwe (U.N.I.P.); I. M. Singulwani (A.N.C.).
Copperbelt Central: E. M. Daimon (U.F.P.); L. B. Lombe (A.N.C.); A. G. Zulu (U.N.I.P.).
Copperbelt East: S. P. Chanda (A.N.C.); J. Chisata (U.N.I.P.).
Copperbelt West: L. J. Chindetu (A.N.C.); S. Wina (U.N.I.P.).
Eastern: N. T. Chabinga (Liberal); W. P. Nyirenda (U.N.I.P.); J. S. Soko (A.N.C.).
Lusaka Rural: S. Kalulu (U.N.I.P.); E. M. Liso (A.N.C.); M. J. Mkabika (U.F.P.).
Midlands: J. E. M. Michello (A.N.C.); E. H. K. Mwendu (U.N.I.P.).
Muchinga: G. M. Kabichi (U.F.P.); A. M. Milner (U.N.I.P.); C. Sinyangwe (A.N.C.).
Northern: S. M. Kapwepwe (U.N.I.P.); D. B. Lisuba (U.F.P.); D. L. Yamba (A.N.C.).
North Western: Y. Chikombe (Liberal); C. S. Chizawu (A.N.C.); S. C. Mbelishi (U.N.I.P.).
Southern: C. J. A. Banda (A.N.C.); H. J. Hahanyama (U.N.I.P.).
South Eastern: R. C. Kamanga (U.N.I.P.); H. A. Thornicroft (A.N.C.).

South Western: C. S. Mukando (U.N.I.P.); H. M. Nkumbula (A.N.C.).

RESERVED NATIONAL CONSTITUENCIES: —
Chambeshi: P. G. Chibuye (U.F.P.); F. M. Chitimukulu (Liberal); Sir Stewart Gore-Browne (U.N.I.P.); J. W. Mitchell (U.F.P.); R. L. Moffat (Liberal); M. Mwendapole (U.N.I.P.); S. Ndilila (A.N.C.).
Kabompo: P. Byrne (U.F.P.); M. Chamululu (Liberal); J. Fleming (party unknown); K. T. Lewis (A.N.C.); B. T. G. McKay (Liberal); M. R. Mangangu (A.N.C.); W. Nkanza (U.N.I.P.); I. H. Nkholola (U.F.P.); A. S. Sardanis (U.N.I.P.).
Kafubu: L. B. S. Estcourt (Liberal); Z. J. Kafulubiti (Liberal); C. E. Kapota (A.N.C.); S. R. Malcomson (U.F.P.); D. C. Mwiinga (U.N.I.P.); M. M. Temple (U.N.I.P.).
Lower Kafue: H. J. Butler (R.R.P.); F. B. Chembe (A.N.C.); A. H. Duff (party unknown); J. B. Eaton (U.F.P.); I. E. Kalima (Liberal); G. Percy (Liberal); R. C. Puta (U.N.I.P.); A. Tidder (U.N.I.P.).
Luangwa: C. E. Cousins (A.N.C.); A. Dahl (R.R.P.); A. H. Gondwe (Liberal); Sir John Moffat (Liberal); I. C. Mumpansa (U.N.I.P.); J. J. Skinner (U.N.I.P.); P. C. Zidana (U.F.P.).

Luapula: A. E. Beech (U.F.P.); W. M. Chakulya (U.N.I.P.); A. Chisunka (A.N.C.); R. H. Howard (Liberal); A. M. T. Mubanga (U.F.P.); L. H. Ngandu (Liberal); F. N. Stubbs (A.N.C.); C. H. Thornicroft (U.N.I.P.).

Zambezi: J. S. S. Anderson (U.N.I.P.); G. B. M. Chalinga (party unknown); W. J. Curtis (A.N.C.); H. Franklin (Liberal); E. N. Kamitondo (party unknown); J. M. Mayanda (A.N.C.); M. N. Nganga (U.N.I.P.); M. G. Rabb (U.F.P.); G. A. Smith (R.R.P.).

SPECIAL NATIONAL CONSTITUENCY: I. M. Bagas; J. D. Naik (supported by A.N.C.); K. N. Patel (supported by U.N.I.P.).

A 35-year-old European candidate for U.N.I.P., Mr. Hunt, was found dead in his car outside Livingstone last week. A length of hose led from the exhaust pipe into the car window, and a letter was found.

Confidence

THE FINANCE MINISTER of Northern Rhodesia, Mr. T. C. Gardner, has said in the Legislative Council: "Overseas investors, who are timid folk, will risk their money here only if we demonstrate that we believe in ourselves and that our various communities have a sense of common purpose which will enable them to work together to develop our resources for the general good. Our economic as well as our political future therefore depends upon our success in retaining good relations between the races in the economic sphere and in inspiring them with the faith that, if they work together, they can achieve the important advances in productivity which are necessary if we are to raise the general standard of living of our people. I believe that all sections of our community have demonstrated in the past year that this sense of purpose does exist and that ordinary people are willing to work together".

NORTHERN RHODESIA

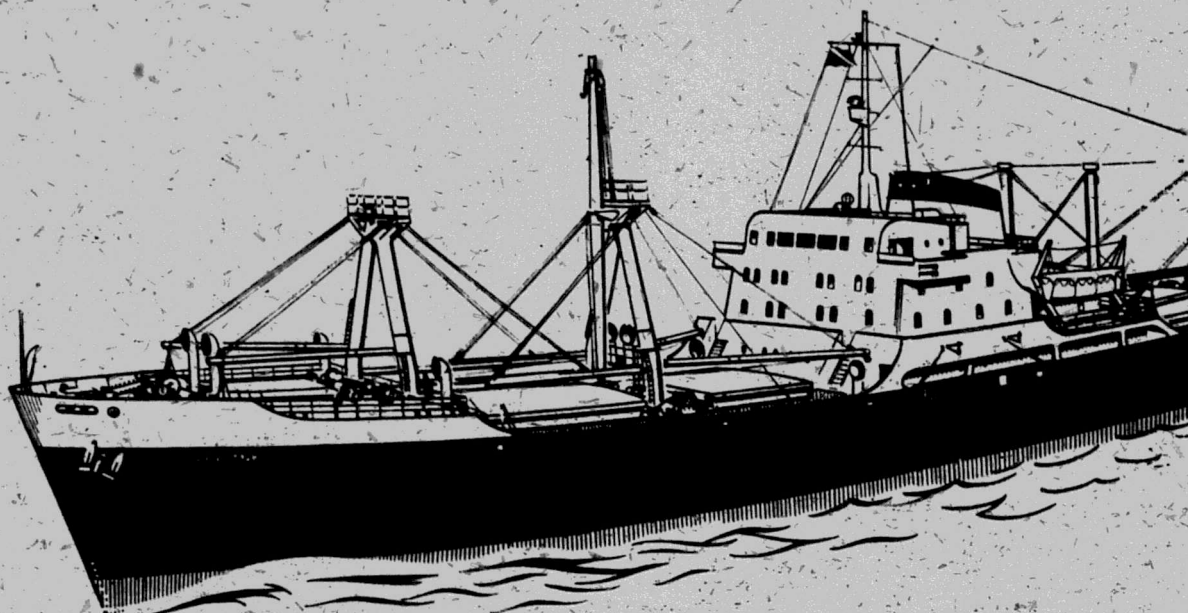


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Leopoldville Repudiates Cease-Fire

MR. CYRILLE ADOULA, Prime Minister of the Congo, last week rejected the cease-fire for northern Katanga signed in Elisabethville by his Government's Education Minister, Mr. Joseph Ngalula, and Katangese and United Nations representatives, denying that it had anything to do with the U Thant plan for reunification. The plan was not negotiable—it was on a "take it or leave it" basis—and he would not accept any further delays in its implementation.

Another agreement initialled at the same time as the cease-fire, on procedure for sharing currency reserves, was also unacceptable. There had been "scandalous interference by certain consular missions" which had been actively involved in drawing up the two agreements, and pressure had been exerted on the Central Government delegation to sign them. "We are not in a state of war with Katanga—Katanga is in a state of rebellion against the central authorities". The U.N. had failed to transmit his instructions to his delegation in Elisabethville. The U.N. denied this, and in New York it was stated that Mr. Adoula had been seeking clarification of the agreements, and had not repudiated them.

The Congolese Army Commander, General Mobutu, said that he had first heard of the cease-fire on the radio and had not given his soldiers any orders about it.

Ethiopian jets of the U.N. force have been ordered to shoot down any aircraft in hostile action over Katanga following reports that Katangese Harvard planes have bombed Congolese forces at Kitenge in the north and villages elsewhere, killing nine people. Katangese gendarmes were said to be manoeuvring in the Malemba-Nkulu area, where Congolese troops are positioned.

Dr. Ralph Bunche, U.N. Under-Secretary for special political affairs, is in Leopoldville for talks with Mr. Adoula and the U.N. Congo head of operations, Mr. Robert Gardiner.

Uganda's Early Postage Stamps

UGANDA'S INDEPENDENCE STAMPS have caused a correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* to write as follows about the earliest issues made in that country:—

"The first Uganda stamps were crude typewritten efforts by missionaries. In March, 1895, the Rev. E. Millar, of the C.M.S., made a series of nine with denominations expressed in cowries. He typed the letters U G in the top corners and the figures of value in the middle. They range from five to 60 cowries. These are now valued at about £10 each. In April he produced a similar series slightly narrower in size.

"In May he made a series of provisionals by applying new denominations by pen. This series is quite valuable. The colour of the typewriter-ribbon was changed from black to violet at the end of 1895. In June 1896 a new series appeared with 'V. 96. R.' typed at the top and 'Uganda' at the bottom, with the figures of value in the centre.

"On November 7, 1896 the Rev. F. Rowling printed a series of eight stamps at Luba's in Usoga. They bore the inscription 'Uganda Postage' and 'V R' and had the values expressed in annas and rupees. Some of these were overprinted with a large 'L' at Kampala.

"The first Government issue, in 1898, bore the von Angeli head of Queen Victoria, palm trees and elephants or lions".

White Hunters

MR. JAMES STEWART, the American film actor, who has been on safari recently in Kenya with his wife and son, has written of white hunters: "These fellows are amazing men, the most independent, self-sufficient, uncomplicated, vital men I know. They know every bird that flies, every tree that grows, every bug that bites, every thorn that tears. They recognize every sound and spot, every sign and track, and they love most of all the animals".

P.M. Preaches Gospel of Fear

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR EDWARD SPEARS, who has been an ardent advocate of the Commonwealth all his life, and during the inter-war years one of the very few public men in England who campaigned against the return of Tanganyika to Germany, has written in a letter in the *Daily Telegraph*:

"The Prime Minister in his pamphlet on the Common Market preaches the gospel of fear. Cowering between 'two World Powers' we are to creep into Europe in the hope of having the American umbrella held over us. His argument makes abundantly clear what many have suspected.

"We are to join the Common Market to propitiate the United States, who may otherwise attach increasing weight to the views and interests of the Six and less to our own.

"The Prime Minister states that had we been part of Europe the two world wars might have been avoided. This would be true only if we had been part of a united Europe which included Russia as well as Germany. The European Economic Community is potentially an anti-Russian alliance dominated by Russia's worst enemies, which may well lead to a war we should be powerless to prevent.

"What an insensitive suggestion Mr. Macmillan makes when he says that we should be the chief spokesman of the Commonwealth countries in Europe! Having turned our backs on them, it is likely that we would be the last people they would turn to to advocate their cause. They will no doubt try to make the best arrangements for themselves that they can, regardless of us, realizing that, as part of Europe, we have abdicated our rôle as senior Commonwealth partner.

"There are still some of us so stupid as not to understand what benefit will accrue to us by keeping out cheap food from our real friends in favour of expensive European food we shall ourselves have to subsidize".

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Rhodesian Front Manifesto

(Continued from page 173)

of democratic government. The Front believes that this must be avoided. It will therefore, *inter alia*, seek, in consultation with other groups, amendments to the Constitution to avoid this situation arising.

"SECURITY, DEFENCE AND JUSTICE.—The Front will allocate sufficient funds to ensure the security of Southern Rhodesia, which it considers to be of first priority for good and stable government. It will plan to mobilize if necessary the full resources of the country, and will seek to negotiate defensive alliances with neighbouring friendly States.

"POLICE.—In order to make the force an attractive full-time career, the Front will review the rates of pay and conditions of the B.S.A.P. since these appear inadequate for the services rendered, particularly in the lower grades. The Front will give the utmost support to the force where the full implementation of the laws of our country is concerned. Regular police will be backed by a strong reserve. A selected proportion of full-time conscripted service training intakes will be encouraged to serve in the force.

Widest Possible Self-Sufficiency

"ARMED FORCES.—The rôle of the armed forces will be to combat (1) disturbances beyond normal police duties and control, and (2) any threat of armed invasion and to give assistance in support of any defensive alliances, and to Commonwealth armed effort, subject to the prevailing interests of Southern Rhodesia.

"The self-sufficiency of Southern Rhodesia, in its widest sense, will be the major consideration in defence planning against the eventuality of international hostilities. The Front believes that it is not in the best national interest to change the differential racial pattern that has hitherto existed in the police and armed forces.

"CONSCRIPTED TRAINING.—Financial considerations preclude the upkeep of large standing forces. The country must therefore rely on efficient reserves for its security. Conscripted training will continue, but will be extended to provide for the police as well as the army, based on careful man-power planning.

"JUSTICE.—The Front will review the present system of over-centralized control and will ensure an impartial and speedy administration of justice. The possibilities of reducing the costs of litigation will be investigated. The Front will introduce a wide system under which local non-stipendiary magistrates will take an active part in the administration of justice and the maintenance of law and order. The Front will establish local courts having criminal and civil jurisdiction, and will include village and headman tribunals, a chief's court and a chief appeal court.

Private Enterprise

"(1) The Front intends to build a strong and prosperous Southern Rhodesia in which men and women of all sections of the community may find gainful employment and opportunity for the proper maintenance and economic security of themselves and their families.

"(2) To this end the Front will foster the development of the country's natural resources by the encouragement of private enterprise, with State intervention only when in the national interest.

"(3) The Front believes that its policy of community development will ensure the full utilization of natural resources and the provision of opportunity and full employment, and it will therefore regard this policy as a matter of urgency.

"(4) Pursuing these policies for industry, agriculture and mining, the Front will encourage the establishment of a Development Council, which, working in close conjunction with representative organizations of agriculture, mining, industry, commerce, finance and financial houses, will be charged with promoting and advising the various community establishments in the development zone.

"(5) The Front will be paid to economy in administration, the promotion of our financial resources, the fair distribution of income, and the just and prudent expenditure and investment of funds.

"(6) Legislation affecting commerce and industry will be reviewed and brought constantly up to date to meet changing economic requirements.

"(7) The Front is aware of the importance of raising capital for the development, in addition to seeking external loans. Accordingly, the Front considers that all agricultural, industrial and mining, and all secondary conservation, extension and other projects should be provided for all areas—tribal and European areas and unreserved land.

"There should be established an independent Agricultural Production and Marketing Promotion Council to be advisory on the co-ordination of all production and marketing in relation to local and world demands and to promote the expansion of agriculture, to maintain it in a viable state, and make the necessary recommendations for the protection of all branches of the industry against dumping by external producers. Members of this council representing all sectors will be specially selected and will appoint an executive on a full-time basis.

"Loan funds should be made available to individuals for long- and short-term agricultural development, and special long-term financial arrangements should be instituted for the development of water supplies. Large-scale irrigation schemes should be developed to promote agricultural and manufacturing activities and general economic development. Large-scale afforestation schemes should be carried out in all suitable areas.

"STEPS TO ENCOURAGE INDUSTRY.—Emphasis must be placed on the rapid expansion of primary industries which will in turn further develop our secondary industries. Encouragement will be given in every way possible, including: protection of selected local industries by the use of customs tariffs, with due regard to the interests of consumers; tax relief and other concessions that will encourage the efficient industrialist to establish his business, fullest co-operation between Government and industry, particularly in the field of research for existing and intending industrialists.

"The Front will establish without delay a Board of Trade composed of experts drawn from industry and commerce. Front recognizes the need for more external trade representation, provision of adequate services at reasonable costs, and the adjustment of railway rates and electricity charges to give the maximum assistance and encouragement to local industry.

Mines A Basic Need

"MINING.—The fullest exploitation of the mineral wealth is a basic necessity to our national economy. The Front will therefore promote the discovery, exploration, development and production of the mineral resources of Southern Rhodesia by private enterprise; undertake the geological survey and mapping of the mineral occurrences in the Colony and conduct special geological investigations; provide technical, mining and geological advice to the mining industry, bearing in mind the particular needs of the smallworkers; promote within the country the processing of the country's minerals; introduce a taxation formula to encourage the exploration and development of mineral deposits, particularly with reference to the exploitation of low-grade orebodies; and encourage the youth of the country to obtain internationally recognized mining diplomas by granting bursaries or financial assistance.

"COMMUNICATIONS.—The Front considers that the State railway and railway-road motor services should be based on improved services and facilities, including participation in the future development of the African reserves and other partly developed areas by providing better communications.

"In the event of the Federation being dissolved it will be necessary to decide whether the existing railway system serving Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Bechuanaland could or should continue under joint ownership as one operating entity or if, due to the policy of the Governments of the two Protectorates, it may better serve the interests of Southern Rhodesia to own and operate the railway system in its own territory (or in Southern Rhodesia and Bechuanaland).

"The existing air services will be developed and encouraged.

Tourist Amenities

"TOURIST TRADE AND PUBLICITY.—The Front, recognizing the importance of increasing the tourist trade as a useful contribution to the overall development of the economy, will foster the provision and development of tourist amenities with a view not only of attracting international visitors but also of encouraging Rhodesian residents to spend money in their own country; maintain close reciprocal co-operation with those countries which are the main sources of our tourist traffic; improve and increase our national parks, particularly the game-viewing and rest-camp facilities; foster interest in the unique history of Rhodesia and preserve and maintain as tourist attractions our national monuments and objects of historic interest; encourage controlled hunting in areas where it is in the national interest.

"LABOUR.—It is of vital importance that the relationship between management and labour be on a basis of stability and harmony conducive to full productivity. Accordingly, the Industrial Conciliation Act will be examined with a view to:

"(a) Assuring that the principles of the 'rate for the job' and 'no fragmentation of labour' are firmly entrenched in practice as well as principle, and that the skilled worker is protected from discriminatory wage practices and unfair competition arising from a lowering of standards and the exploitation of cheap labour;

"(b) Ensuring that all industrial disputes are settled strictly in accordance with the provisions of the Act; and to this end all trade unions will be required to register before operating in the industrial field;

"(c) Investigating anomalies that have occurred in the Act. The Front will take immediate steps to ensure that the interests of indigenous labour, including the provision of training, housing and other services, are not subordinated to the pressures of migratory labour.

"That an Unemployment Assurance Benefit Scheme on a contributory basis be introduced, excluding persons employed in the civil services, agriculture, mining smallworkers, statutory commissions, and domestic service, contributions to come from employer and employee.

"EDUCATION.—The Front will decentralize education to local education authorities. It will look to national institutions of religion, commerce, transport, industry, agriculture, etc., to sponsor schools, affording parents the maximum choice for the type of education which they select for their children.

"Central direction by the Minister will be through one common department, the main duties of which will be general organization, allocation of funds to local education authorities, teacher training, inspection (in conjunction with local authorities), standardization of instruction and examination by properly constituted examining boards, co-ordination of educational establishments to meet planned vocational requirements, and vocational advice to school leavers.

Religious Training to Combat Communism

"The right of religious denominations to their own schools is accepted, as is the right of parents to have their children educated among their own kind. Any sort of enforced integration will not be tolerated—whilst conceding that any families that may wish to educate their children in such a way may be allowed to do so.

"The Front recognizes that the teaching of ethics cannot be divorced from education, and will endeavour to ensure that proper religious training will be provided in all schools. Care will be taken to ensure that the youth of our country are not corrupted by the inculcation of Communist and other ideologies opposed to Christian concepts.

"HEALTH.—Strenuous efforts will be made to ensure the eradication of diseases, such as malaria and bilharzia, which undermine and retard individual development. Over-centralized Government control will be discontinued. In its place will be substituted a National Health Board working through subsidiary regional authorities. The medical and allied professions and public organizations concerned with matters of health will be encouraged to provide representation on these bodies.

"Contributory health and medical schemes will be fostered, and provision of adequate facilities for the care of the aged ensured.

"Separate hospital and other health facilities will be provided for the different races. Highly specialized and costly services which cannot be provided separately for the different races will, wherever possible, be located in multi-racial areas, and proper regard will be had to racial differences in the planning and layout of accommodation and the provision of medical staff.

Multi-Racial Areas

"SOCIAL WELFARE.—The Front believes that pensions provided under the existing old age pension scheme should be related to the marked increases in the cost of living. The Front will investigate the introduction of contributory old age pensions on a non-racial basis.

"Residential institutions managed or aided by the Department of Social Welfare will make separate provision for different groups. Exceptions may be permitted in multi-racial areas.

"The Front recognizes the family as the basis of society, and believes that a contented and stable family life is the best bulwark against juvenile delinquency and other social evils. The Front will therefore at all times endeavour to encourage family life and will take positive steps in this regard, including the provision of adequate and reasonably priced housing and cheap transport. The possibility of assisting in the financing of home ownership will be investigated.

"PUBLIC SERVANTS.—In the event of the dissolution of Federation or its substitution by some alternative arrangement, the Front will endeavour to assimilate into Southern Rhodesia all those Federal citizens resident in the northern territories who wish to reside in Southern Rhodesia. Particular attention will be given in this regard to public servants, including railway personnel and employees of other statutory bodies."

Addressing journalists in Salisbury a few days ago Mr. Winston Field said that the Front, which had

received more support than he had expected, now represented Conservative opinion in the Colony.

"Far too much publicity has been given to our constitutional and racial problems, with a tendency to examine these entirely apart. To try to solve them separately and divorced from the major problems of development is quite wrong. Solution of our development problems in human and material terms will provide a major means of easing the tensions which today divide our society.

"The policies of the present Government have led to financial instability, discord, unemployment, uncertainty, and racial hatred. They offer nothing but Western solutions to problems of Africa. We are reaping the fruits of that policy, which, if pursued, can lead only to disaster.

A Rhodesian Approach

"The approach of the Front is a Rhodesian approach—developed by people who have lived in Africa most of their lives. They are people of all races who have no other loyalties. We reject the fancy solutions imagined by the extremists of the left who press for the post-haste imposition of tyranny, seeking to end liberty and to prepare the way for Communism.

"Men in Africa, like all men, want peace and prosperity, but, above all, self-respect. They are ambitious to shake off for ever the shackles of poverty, ill-health and ignorance, and thus to achieve that needed respect. We propose to take positive steps to meet those needs.

"Our policy of community development, which I cannot over-emphasize, ensures the permanence of the European, with his technical knowledge and ability, and the development of the latent talents of our African people. It offers them an immediate part to play in building our country."

Mr. C. W. Dupont said that the Front aimed to rid Southern Rhodesia of probably the weakest Government it had ever had. He added:

"We are not the extremists or reactionaries that certain people would have the world believe, and we are determined to have the co-operation of all races in presenting an approach to our problems which is acceptable to the vast majority and capable of being carried out."

The Soviet Union is to establish diplomatic relations with Uganda.

An Arusha and Northern Tanganyika Tourist Association has been formed.

An African taxi co-operative has been formed in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika.

Fourteen Africans have been appointed by the Kenya Education Ministry as provincial and district administrators.

A conference of African women has just ended a week of discussions in Dar es Salaam on social, economic and political problems.

A new laboratory at Monkey Bay is to be the headquarters of the Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia Joint Fisheries Research Organization.

The first international tobacco trade congress will be held in Salisbury next March after the third international tobacco scientific congress the previous month in the same venue.

Education in Uganda is to cost £52m. (27% of the budget) in the coming year, with a fourfold increase in secondary school places and 8,300 Cambridge School Certificate candidates.

The Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa is setting up a fund for Europeans from Kenya, some 2,250 of whom have arrived in the Republic during the past 18 months to settle.

Accra Radio has told Arabs in Zanzibar (they form 16% of the population) who allegedly maintain that the island is not integrally part of Africa that unless they accept Africans' majority rule "they must either pack up and go or be forced to surrender to pan-Africanists' just demands".

Self-help schemes launched in Tanganyika six months ago are estimated to have saved some £150,000, with the erection of 165 schools, 134 community centres, 83 dispensaries, and markets and co-operative stores; more than 7,000 miles of village roads, incorporating six bridges, have been built; 321 water pipes have been laid, and 142 dams constructed.

Incompetence, complete disregard for Government instructions, and interference by some councillors have led to staff reductions and other economies instead of expanding services in several Tanganyika district councils, the Minister for Local Government and Administration told a conference of rural local authorities at Mzombe training centre. Financial difficulties had been aggravated by the failure to collect local rates.

Sisal Prices Seem Set Firm

THE SISAL MARKET looks set firm for the rest of the year, says the quarterly review *Hard Fibres*, for supplies from Brazil are not plentiful and Continental buying has been good, especially from Eastern Europe.

No. 3 long grade has risen on the London Market from £98 to £103 per ton in the past month, this being the first time since March 1961 that sales have been made at £100 or more.

To the end of June East African production was 5% below the total for the first half of 1961, but by the end of July the shortfall was under 3%, and Tanganyika's production for the seven months was rather above the corresponding 1961 result. On that date Kenya's output was 12% lower than in the previous year.

While the market for line fibre has become firmer, tow has remained in the doldrums.

Top grades of East African fibre remained steady from mid-May to mid-September, when they began to advance in price. Lower grades have risen in price by up to £13 a ton since the middle of May. Tow prices fell by £6 a ton up to September, but, with the firmness of the fibre grades, have since recovered £4 of this.

Two years ago the differential between the price of U.G.'s and Tow/1 was £9 a ton; a year ago it was £12 a ton; by the end of September this year it was £26 a ton. The last time Tow/1 was at its present price of £66 a ton, in September 1961, No. 1 grade East African sisal was quoted at £86 and 3L at £84. Now these grades are £14 dearer than this.

Tea Exports from Africa

IN THE FIRST SIX MONTHS of this year the tea exports of Kenya totalled 16,764,900 lb. (9,507,400 lb. in 1961), of Tanganyika 5,930,400 lb. (4,257,200 lb. in 1961), and of Uganda 5,886,100 lb. (3,476,900 lb. in 1961).

The United Kingdom was in each case the largest buyer, taking from Kenya just over 11m. lb. (5.9m. in 1961), from Tanganyika 4.9m. lb. (3.5m.), and Uganda nearly 3m. lb. (1.7m. lb.).

Kenya's second best customer was the U.S.A. with 2.2m. lb. (1.4m. lb. last year), followed by Canada 733,000 lb., South Africa 689,900 lb., the Netherlands 668,300 lb., Sudan 480,200 lb., Australia 272,000 lb., Eire 247,400 lb., and Zanzibar 205,100 lb.

Up to August Kenya's production had been 23.4m. lb., a large increase on the 15.9m. lb. for the first eight months of 1961. Uganda's output for January-August was also substantially higher at 8.9m. lb., against 6.8m. lb., and Tanganyika's was somewhat higher at 6.4m. lb. (5.8m. lb.). The figures for the first seven months in the case of Nyasaland were 22.4m. lb. (22.9m. lb.), Portuguese East Africa 16.1m. (17.3m.), and Mauritius 1.5m. (1.8m.).

In the first nine months of the year 16,438,658 lb. of tea were offered in the Nairobi auctions, against just under 12m. lb. in the corresponding period of last year. The increase of nearly 44m. lb. was due partly to last year's outturn being reduced by drought.

Nordic Aid for Tanganyika

DR. LARS BOMAN, leader of a six-member Nordic delegation to Tanganyika, has handed to the Prime Minister a cheque of £39,000 from the Nordic Ministerial Committee for the improvement of a hospital in the Karagwe district, development of a boat-building school on Lake Victoria and other purposes. The Governments of Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden would, he said, build a Nordic-Tanganyika Education Centre consisting of a secondary school, a farm institute, and a health centre, with a staff supplied by the Nordic countries. They were also considering other ways of helping Tanganyika.

E. W. Terry & Co., Ltd., South African and Rhodesian merchants, report a loss after taxation for the year ended on March 31 of £26,363, as against a loss of £12,684 in the previous year. The issued capital is £150,000 in 6% cumulative preference shares and £437,500 in ordinary shares. Net current assets slightly exceed £1m. and fixed assets total £455,717. There is an outstanding debenture stock of £314,500.

A Japanese Trade Mission is visiting East Africa.

British Central Africa Co. is halving its interim dividend to 5% for the year to September 30.

Fisons Horticulture is to purchase the share capital of the Quillet lawn fertilizer firm for an undisclosed sum.

A 4m. gallon capacity oil terminal costing £500,000 has been opened at Mombasa, Kenya, by the Italian group Agip.

The East Asiatic Company has offered to help in marketing Nyasaland's agricultural produce overseas, and is to open a branch in Blantyre-Limbe.

Zoheir Enterprises Ltd. of Khartoum have been granted the agency for Sudan of Nuckey, Scott and Co. Ltd., the British taps, dies and screw thread firm.

Tanganyika Screw Works, Ltd., Dar es Salaam, an enterprise which has just come into production, is the first producer of wood screws in East Africa.

Federal mineral production at £83.7m. in the first seven months of this year was £1.6m. down on last year's corresponding period because of lower values in Southern Rhodesia.

The first deep test oil well in Kenya is to be sunk by B.P. Shell at Walu, near the Tana River in the Lamu area of north-eastern Kenya. The rig has been brought from Pemba island.

In the last seven months 565 new companies have been registered in the Federation, with a total nominal capital of about £4m., a reduction of £1m. from last year's total for the same period.

E.S. & A. Robinson (Holdings), Ltd., a group with a subsidiary in Rhodesia, have declared an unchanged 6% interim dividend for the year ending February 28 next though results to date are below those for last year.

Lewa Sisal and General Investments have shown a recovery for the year to June 30 with net profits of £16,328 compared with last year's £8,876. Tax takes £17,776 (£8,663); the carry forward is £15,326 (£15,754). The 12½% dividend is repeated.

Rhodesia-Katanga Company, Ltd., has resolved in extraordinary general meeting, subject to confirmation by the High Court, on the reduction of the existing £1 ordinary shares to 2s. 6d. and their subsequent consolidation in 10s. ordinary shares.

Natal Estates shareholders have been advised by their directors not to accept a cash offer of R4 for each R2 share from Sir J. L. Hulett and Sons. There are 2,818,515 shares in issue. Negotiations have been reported between Natal Estates and the Tongaat Sugar Co.

Record Federal Reserves

Aberfoyle Plantations, Ltd., a rubber growing group in Malaya, but with tea growing interests in Rhodesia, report that group profits for the year ended March 31 were down from £77,532 to £48,619 before tax of £20,376 (£34,873). The dividend is halved to 4%.

At the end of July the external banking reserves of the Federation reached the record level of £62.6m., an increase of £15.6m. over the comparable figure in 1961. For the first seven months of this year the favourable trade balance was £42.9m., an improvement of £13.2m.

Tanganyika mineral output up to August this year at an estimated £4,675,655 compares with last year's corresponding figure of £4,915,193. Diamond production has dropped from 455,047 carats worth £3,753,997 to 414,385 carats valued at £3,608,116; gold is down from 66,921 oz. at £840,640 to 63,000 oz. at £786,823.

The Tanganyika Plantation Workers' Union having demanded revision of the existing wages agreement, Mr. R. M. Makange has been appointed arbitrator. He is to be assisted by Mr. R. Bradstock, of the Tanganyika Sisal Marketing Association, Ltd., and Mr. N. Kazimoto, vice-president of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour.

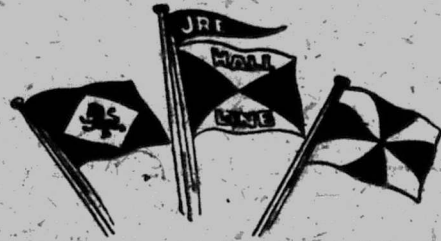
Credit Guarantee Insurance Corporation of Africa has ended the year at June 30 with a R24,271 surplus, as against one of R16,301 last year. Tax has taken R15,473 (nil). Fixed assets are R210,385 (R103,634); current assets, R300,437 (R327,087); liabilities, R168,717 (R139,176). The adverse balance forwarded is R12,253 (R21,462).

Sixteen distributors of pyrethrum from many parts of the world recently met in conference at the headquarters in Nakuru of the Pyrethrum Board of Kenya. Increased sales and better prospects were reported from the representatives in Germany and France. Sales to Iron Curtain countries were reported to be better, a large consignment having been sold to Communist China.

East African sisal outputs for September: Bird & Co. (Africa), 1,775 tons, making 5,351 for three months; East African Sisal Plantations, 171 tons, making 600 tons for three months, compared with 449 tons in the corresponding period of 1961; Central Line Sisal Estates, 375 tons, making 1,071 for three months (1,104); Dwa Plantations, Ltd., 127 tons, making 1,295 tons for nine months (1,286).

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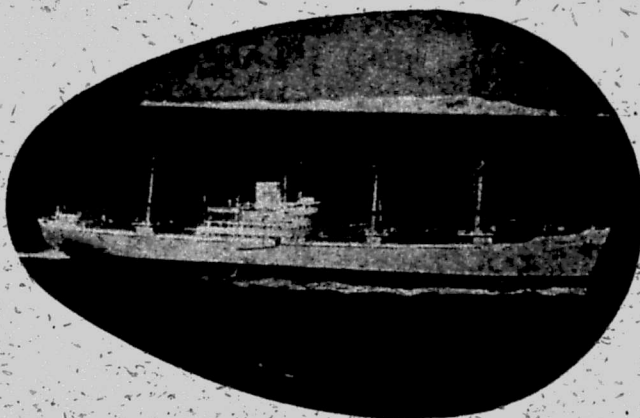
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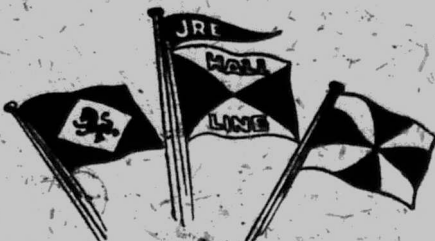
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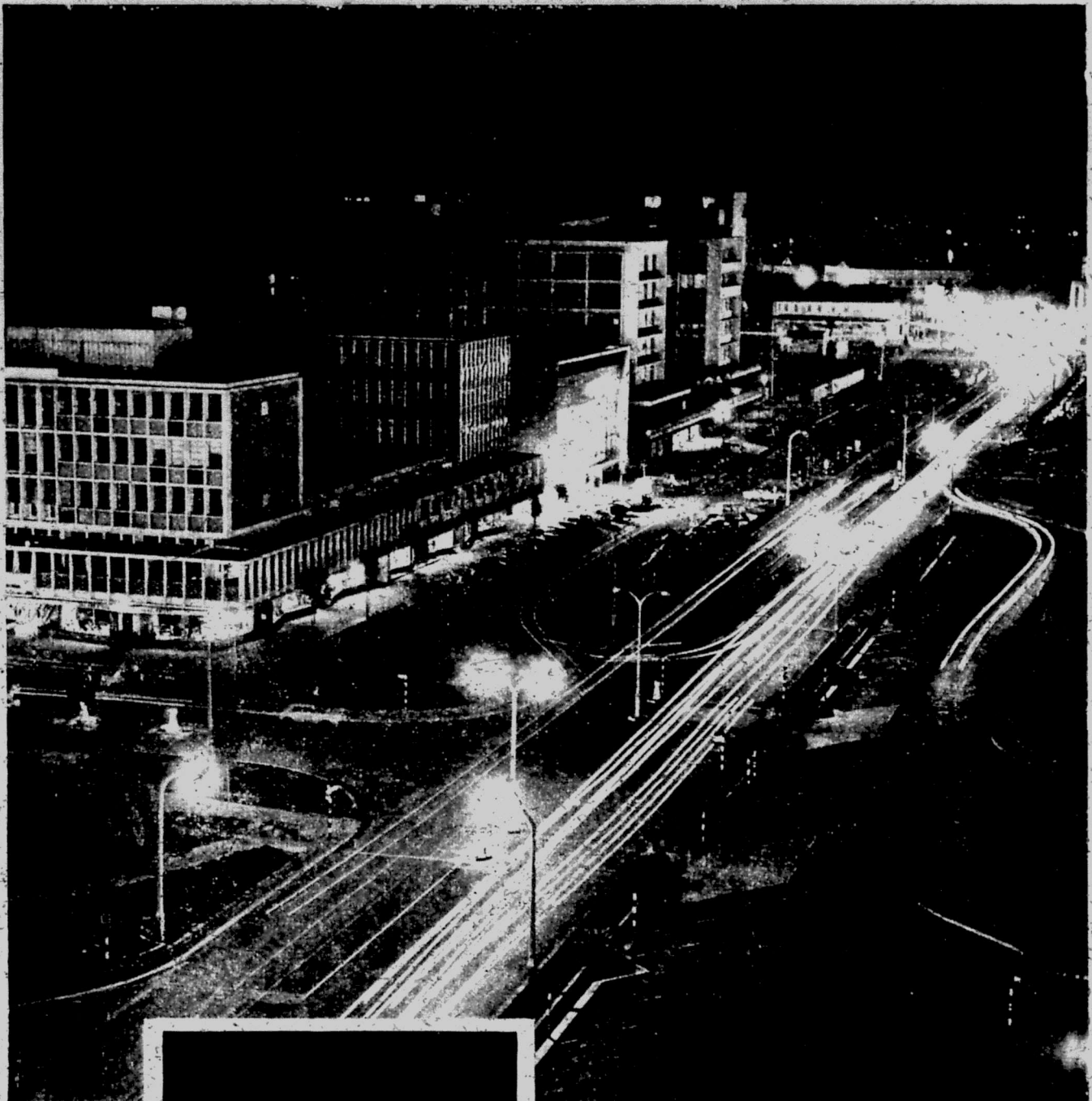
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Principal Contents

	Page		Page
Notes By The Way	192	Mr. Mboya's Allegations	200
S. Rhodesia Election Date	194	Polling in N. Rhodesia	202
Phillips Committee Urges Mutual Help	195	Tension and Confusion in Kenya	204
Building A Nation	197	New Congo Constitution	205
Personalia	198	Prejudicial Pressures on Rhodesians	207

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE COMMUNIST ADVANCE into Africa is not from below, as had been expected by Kremlin authorities who until quite recently knew nothing of Africa and its peoples, but from above—

Russian and Chinese Interest in Africa. through politicians, trade unionists, journalists and students who are taken behind the Iron Curtain either for courses of instruction and indoctrination or for short spells of sight-seeing and red-carpet treatment. In the latter category young men, and sometimes women, often quite without status in their own community in Africa but considered to be potentially useful as disruptors of the established order, are received as if they were very important persons and entertained by senior Soviet leaders, frequently including Mr. Krushchev and the Head of State. Not surprisingly, many of those who for the first time in their lives are thus flattered—and who are also often given substantial sums of money on one pretext or another—return home with a new idea of their own importance and a sense of obligation to their Russian or Chinese hosts; for China has been swift to copy the sustained Russian initiative. Last year alone China invited to Peking trade union and other delegations from the Somali Republic, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nyasaland and the Rhodesias (not to mention other parts of Africa), and between March and June of this year delegations arrived from at least ten African States. In return China sent to Africa in the same three months nine delegations, among them being jurists, writers, trade unionists, jugglers, and table-tennis players! Thus widely is the net being spread.

making propensities and powers are feared in that Protectorate and on the mainland, especially by some leaders of the Tanganyika African National Union. Not many months ago, indeed, one of the ablest, best balanced and most influential of them, when asked by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA what he considered to be the most serious problem which Tanganyika would have to face in the next couple of years, replied "Communist activity from Zanzibar". China, which already had diplomatic missions in Khartoum and Mogadishu, has since opened an embassy in Dar es Salaam. Whether an approach for similar facilities in Uganda has been made to the newly-independent Government of that country is not yet known, but Peking, having provided large subventions for some Kenya Africans in the past couple of years, will certainly not be likely to miss the opportunity of appointing an ambassador to that Colony when it is abandoned to the dictatorship which will be misnamed independence. Meantime, broadcasts from China in English, Arabic, Swahili and other African languages can be clearly heard all over that continent, in which large numbers of listeners have grown accustomed to the glorification of Mau Mau thugs as selfless fighters for freedom, to daily denunciations of imperialism and neo-colonialism, and to sedulous encouragement of any terrorist or other movements which are or may be subversive of law and order.

Mischief-Making From Zanzibar.

In his recently published "Africa's Red Harvest", an arresting survey of the Sino-Russian attack on Africa, Mr. Pieter Lessing emphasizes that Peking rejects the concept of slow transition under Communist guidance and insists that Africans must be taught that their way forward is through bloody re-

Kenya's Fifteen Strikes A Month.

There are indications of notably strong links with some extremist individuals and organizations in Zanzibar, whose mischief-

volution: Russia, however, except for her abortive military stroke in the Congo, has preferred to promote industrial strife by infiltrating the inexperienced, incapably managed, and often nearly bankrupt trade unions with its paid stooges and other sympathizers. Early successes have not always justified the optimistic expectations which they appeared to promise. In the Sudan, for instance, almost every union was at one period controlled by Communists, who caused great losses and dislocations in public services and private industry. But the agents of Moscow (and Cairo) in the political parties and the unions so overplayed their hands that patriots in the Army swept them away. Attention has since been concentrated on Kenya, which has been the victim of one hundred and fifty strikes in the first ten months of this year, and in which general strikes were only narrowly averted in March and again in June. Millions of man-

hours have been lost, and scarcely a service, trade or industry has escaped damage. Many of these threats to an economy which had been gravely weakened by British political folly were the inevitable consequence of allowing almost any agitator to form a so-called union and misuse it as an instrument of blackmail. No responsible person doubts, however, that Communist money and influence had been at work in many cases, as leaders of the Kenya African Democratic Union have repeatedly declared. It is the other party, the Kenya African National Union, headed by Kenyatta, Odinga and Mboya (and commonly called the Mau Mau party), which has the closer contacts with the unions—and with China and Russia. Because of the gravity of Communist plans and machinations, Mr. Lessing's book ought to be pondered by all guardians of the well-being of African States.

Notes By The Way

Precept and Practice

KENYATTA, president of the Kenya African National Union, often called the Mau Mau party, and its secretary-general, Mr. T. J. Mboya, have made outrageous statements about Europeans in Kenya in a number of recent speeches. On Wednesday of last week, however, they were two of the signatories of a pronouncement by the Council of Ministers which proclaimed the "resolve to foster tolerance, understanding and friendliness among the people of Kenya of all races and tribes" and expressed the hope that "the recent slanderous attacks on the European community will not be repeated". It will be interesting to see what effect, if any, their formal endorsement of the statement may have upon their future conduct. Only three days before it was released Mr. Mboya had said publicly in Nairobi that Europeans who objected to the display of a photograph of Dedan Kimahi, a Mau Mau gang-leader responsible for hundreds of African deaths and every conceivable form of torture and degradation, should return to Europe, "where statues have been erected to people more rotten than anyone I can think of in Kenya". Since nothing fouler than the Mau Mau ceremonies can ever have been devised by man, that remark was manifestly unreliable. Does Mr. Mboya or any of his colleagues consider it likely to "foster tolerance and friendliness among the people of Kenya of all races"? A few days previously he had twice made the nonsensical accusation that European farmers had bribed Africans to fabricate home-made guns for the Land Freedom Army, the latest Mau Mau organization. Who can doubt that that charge was reckless, baseless, and slanderous?

Sacrilegious Affront

THREE DAYS before he signed as Minister of State for Constitutional Affairs and Economic Planning, Kenyatta spoke of European officials as "those who have sucked our blood and ruled us". Was that not a "slanderous attack"? Did he imagine his words to be a contribution to inter-racial tolerance, understanding and friendliness? He also called upon his audience to stand for two min-

utes "in honour of those who died in our cause"—that being his fantastic euphemism for the Mau Mau thugs who slaughtered thousands of their fellow Kikuyu, terrorized the whole tribe, dishonoured its traditions, and indulged regularly in practices too disgusting to be described in print. Was the call to remember such debased servants of sedition in the manner reserved for the dead of two world wars calculated to "foster tolerance, understanding and friendliness among the people of Kenya of all races and tribes"? On the contrary, it was an almost sacrilegious and seemingly deliberate affront, not only to the European community, but to the majority of Africans, for few outside the Kikuyu tribe supported it in its conspiracy and rebellion or now regard that ghastly occurrence as anything but the worst episode in all Kenya's history. By their signatures Kenyatta and his Luo henchmen were condemning their own behaviour that very week. Only super-optimists will expect their acceptance of the Government statement to have much influence on their future conduct. Kenya has had a plethora of promises. What it desperately needs is responsible action.

Mild Precedent

MISPRINTS OF QUOTATIONS are always annoying—except when they are amusing—and those in a foreign language (which this journal avoids unless they seem especially appropriate) are exceptionally so. Apology must therefore be made for two errors in a Note paragraph last week. It should have read (in part): Several times recently Kenyatta has spoken of "blood-sucking imperialists". Now again "blood-sucking" is equated with British rule. What a way to invite co-operation! A few European and Asian band-wagoners are nevertheless reported to have paid subscriptions to K.A.N.U. in response to the invitation that "we want only to see those who have sucked our blood and ruled us join hands with us and work with us". That recalls the gruesome German jingle "*Willst Du nicht mein Bruder sein, schlaeg' ich Dir den Schaedel ein*" (If you will not be my brother I'll smash in your skull). Teutonic intimidation, thus epitomized, had provided a mild precedent for Mau Mau.

Pessimistic Summary

TANGANYIKA, about which *The Times* has been surprisingly optimistic in many of its comments during the past couple of years, has now been the subject of two articles by its Africa correspondent, who has supplied several cold douches to the editorial euphoria, as will be evident from such passages as the following: "For area commissioners T.A.N.U. had to scrape the barrel. Of those met in one short tour, one turned out not to be literate in English, and another was not literate in anything. Some were clearly party malcontents who had been given a job to keep them happy. Several senior officials assert that they have suggested to Dr. Nyerere that the area commissioners be replaced by civil servants of proven loyalty to T.A.N.U., whose political exuberance might be tempered by administrative experience. All report that Dr. Nyerere agreed with them, but could do nothing in face of objections from the party. The Government is under the control of Dr. Nyerere, and it seems that he is under the control of the party. The regional administration has been weakened almost to breaking point by the departure of expatriates and transfer of the ablest Tanganyikans to Dar es Salaam. One African administrative officer, alone in a district formerly administered by several, complains: 'I ought to be doing the work of six men; I am not even doing the work of one, because I spend my whole time repairing the damage done by the area commissioner'."

Pressure upon Non-Africans

THAT REPORT corroborates information which EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has received from a number of sources in recent months; but, severe though its comments be on the area commissioners, they might justifiably have been harsher, at least in respect of some localities, in which these petty party bosses act as unchecked tyrants. Some of them, knowing that their prospects of promotion, or even of continuing to hold their jobs, depend upon impressive "self-help" schemes by the local people, exert such pressure that the official description of such efforts has been made ludicrous. Forced labour would be the true definition in some districts, and perhaps many, for latterly the practice has spread of ordering the villagers to give one day a week to "voluntary" work for the community and fining those who fail to "volunteer". Nor is this compulsion restricted to Africans (though it is sometimes extenuated as a revival of tribal custom). Asian shopkeepers and their families have in some places been told that their businesses will be boycotted if they do not work as unpaid labourers on road-building and other projects, and I know of Europeans who have been visited by an arrogant area commissioner and abruptly asked to "turn out with the road-building gang tomorrow, preferably without your boots, as that will be showing that there is no difference between you and the people". Refusal brought the dual threat that "you will be reported to the party in Dar es Salaam", and that "the people may be angry and may burn down your house". For obvious reasons, no indication of the area concerned can be given, for disclosure would further jeopardize persons whose predicament is already unenviable.

Party Bosses in the Provinces

ACCORDING to *The Times* correspondent, Dr. Nyerere has been badly shaken by recent security reports, at least two Ministers have let it be known that they fear for their personal safety, the political leaders show surprising scorn for the good sense of their people, and Dr. Nyerere has no greater control of the party today than when he resigned as Prime Minister nine months ago

in order to devote all his time to its reorganization. If that be a fair assessment of the situation, the outlook must be much worse than any daily or weekly newspapers in Britain have yet admitted. By the appointment of party representatives throughout the country, however, T.A.N.U. control must surely have been partially improved. At least some, and perhaps a majority, of the regional commissioners are reasonably competent; but that of course involves the constant likelihood of their being transferred to the capital, where there is a frightening lack of Africans with the knowledge, judgment and experience for the many tasks to be attempted as a consequence of recklessly hasty Africanization. That the district and area commissioners are often hopelessly inadequate is freely admitted in private by a number of Ministers, who daily discover anew the high price being paid for the premature displacement of the non-Africans who provided the territory with its civil service. Now that service is "unhappy because of the steady erosion of the principles of impartial administration; whenever they behave as civil servants ought to behave, they are abused for showing 'colonial attitudes'". In the light of this appreciation by a correspondent who has been generally tolerant of the aberrations of African nationalist politicians, is it surprising that so many European officials, including many of the most senior and valuable, should have decided to leave Tanganyika?

No Censorship

UNITED KINGDOM NEWSPAPERS have suggested that a veiled censorship has been imposed by the Government of Southern Rhodesia in connexion with the proscription of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union and the restriction of residence of its officials and some other members. There is, in fact, no justification for any such impression, nor has there been at any time. Indeed, for the first ten days there were daily briefings of journalists in Salisbury, and on at least two occasions the Prime Minister attended. My information is that neither he nor any other official spokesman dodged the questions put, apart from the occasion on which a Minister declined to give a legal ruling on the ground that the answer would be a matter for the courts if the point ever arose. He might have phrased his answer more happily and helpfully. Temporary indignation also led a Minister who is normally cool and collected to make an ill-considered remonstrance which would have been far better given in strict privacy and as a piece of friendly help. These little incidents — which harmed the two Ministers more than the Press — did not, however, indicate repressive or suppressive intentions, and I am not aware of any interference with the free flow of news and comment.

Discipline

DR. V. K. R. RAO, director of the Indian Institute of Economic Growth, who recently visited Nyasaland, is reported to have said in New Delhi that the British Civil Service in Nyasaland is far more disciplined than the British Civil Service in India was before partition. I wonder what he meant by "discipline". Immediately before that remark he had said that Dr. Banda was as popular in the country of his birth as Mahatma Gandhi had been in the India of 1921. By no means all Europeans in the Indian Civil Service regarded Gandhi with unalloyed delight then or later. Is that reserve deemed indiscipline by Dr. Rao? Does his tribute to British officials in Nyasaland stem from the fact that the Governor has done everything in his power to appease Dr. Banda and the Malawi Congress Party?

General Election in Southern Rhodesia on December 14

British Re-affirmation: "No Authority for United Nations Intervention"

A GENERAL ELECTION will be held in Southern Rhodesia on December 14 under the new Constitution, which comes into force today on the dissolution of the Southern Rhodesian Parliament.

The Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, has flown to New York "to put the facts about Southern Rhodesia" to the United Nations trusteeship committee "because there has been so much quite ridiculous talk about this part of the world that has no semblance of truth". He expects to return on Saturday to see the Minister for Central African Affairs, Mr. R. A. Butler, who has been having talks since the week-end with the British High Commissioner in the Federation, Lord Alport.

The Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, said that Sir Edgar, though taking a calculated risk, had made the right decision at a most appropriate time, and he could think of no one more suitable to put Southern Rhodesia's case to the U.N. Sir Edgar, who arrived in New York at the beginning of the week, has been speaking as a member of the British delegation.

Outside Provocation

The British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Joseph Godber, told the trusteeship committee last week that to allege that the violence in Southern Rhodesia was a "threat to world peace" was a "complete misuse of words. None of the unrest that did occur spread outside Southern Rhodesia, and unless there is intervention and provocation from elsewhere, we see no likelihood of its doing so". The U.N. had no authority under its Charter or otherwise to intervene in the Colony's affairs.

"No decisions have been reached and circumstances have not arisen which could give rise to any further changes in the constitutional relationship between the United Kingdom and Southern Rhodesia. If such a question were at any time to arise, consultation between the two Governments would, of course, be involved. H.M. Government are anxious to see re-established in Southern Rhodesia a political climate favourable to liberal and orderly constitutional development and are ready to give what help they can consistent with their constitutional relationship with the Government of Southern Rhodesia".

The United States delegate, Mr. Jonathan Bingham, said that his Government would support a resolution calling on Britain to influence the ending of racial discrimination in Southern Rhodesia. The new Constitution set too slow a pace for the advance of Africans, who could not be expected to wait for "anachronistic" educational and property standards for voting. All sides should meet to form a different constitution as an interim step towards doing away with discrimination.

Hysterical Outbursts

Three Africans and two Europeans from Southern Rhodesia have told the trusteeship committee that a "solid mass of Southern Rhodesian people of all races" supports the concept of a non-racial State, contrary to the "hysterical outbursts of racial fever from black and white extremists" who have attempted to create an "explosive" situation where none exists. The group, which financed its trip to New York independently of political party or Governmental support, was led by Mr. Alan Butler, an aircraft dealer from Salisbury. The other members were: Mr. W. A. F. Burdett-Coutts, a farmer; Mr. T. J. Hlazo, a retired teacher now farming at Goromonzi; Mr. Josiah Gondo, a butcher in Fort Victoria; and Mr. J. J. Dumbura, a former teacher who is now a field organizer for the Build A Nation campaign.

Mr. Burdett-Coutts told the committee that there had been no alternative to banning the Zimbabwe African Peoples

Union. "When you have gangs of thugs marching about throwing stones and petrol bombs, when an individual member of Z.A.P.U. is set upon and killed by a mob because he went to a football match on Sunday morning instead of a political meeting, when storekeepers and tradesmen are boycotted because they do not subscribe to a particular political party, when decent law-abiding citizens cannot sleep for fear of a stone through the window, when churches and schools are burnt down, and when even the children of political opponents are victimized at school, then you have a situation which no government can tolerate". Since the ban, there had been a considerable lowering of tension.

One of the tragedies of the past had been the slowness of Europeans to recognize African aspirations—"but I contend that today a genuine effort is being made to build a non-racial State where merit is the only criterion". The former leader of Z.A.P.U., Mr. Joshua Nkomo, had initially commended the new Constitution for the assurance it held that the country would not follow a policy that would exclude Africans permanently from the government of the country.

Petrol Bombs No Solution

"It was only when he subsequently came under pressure from his more impatient followers that he decided that the Constitution was unacceptable to his party. He has proved himself incapable of controlling the extreme elements in his party and has never publicly condemned the use of violence and intimidation. The problems of land, housing, education and employment in Southern Rhodesia are immense, but they will not be solved by petrol bombing or the destruction of churches, schools and railway lines.

"Mr. Nkomo has made great play with the parrot cry of 'one-man-one-vote'. This is a very laudable aim, but support for it comes oddly from many nations in the General Assembly. Nowhere in Africa do you have one-man-one-vote, nor in many other countries which are most vociferous in their support for Mr. Nkomo. Anyone who knows Africa, and Southern Rhodesia in particular, and is honest with himself, knows that one-man-one-vote is impracticable at this stage".

Mr. Dumbura said that however dissatisfied people might be with the new Constitution, "it is an outstanding effort in providing a clear-cut blueprint on which to build. To reject it and refuse to take part in the elections is childish and is like cutting one's throat".

Mr. Gondo said that his business had been boycotted on Z.A.P.U.'s instigation. In addition to losing £1,000 worth of business, damage to his property estimated at £400 had been done, and others had suffered even greater losses from Z.A.P.U. violence.

Failure of African Leaders

Rejecting accusations from committee members that the group was a "bunch of stooges", Mr. Gondo remarked that far from being remunerated for his political beliefs, he had sustained considerable losses. "But some people in Southern Rhodesia have lived on money subscribed by party members and donations from foreign powers. These men have commitments to the ideologies of their financiers and so have failed to follow their own convictions independently and freely. These are the gentlemen who will not appreciate any advance in the right direction, for it would quickly close up the source of their income. These are the people who have stood in the way of progress and are doing considerable harm to their people.

"Our difficulty is our failure to get honest and sound leadership from among Africans. Mr. Nkomo would not have rejected the Constitution which he worked so hard to bring about if he had not been confused by his friends who were afraid of losing their means of livelihood. Pressure was brought to bear on him by his lieutenants, whose 'diplomatic' offices would otherwise have been closed".

Mr. Butler told the committee that anyone claiming to be the spokesman for all the white or all the black people in the Colony was sure to be speaking "the most utter nonsense, as anyone who visits Southern Rhodesia finds out in less than a day". Similarly, contentions that the Constitution was such that white supremacy would be entrenched forever were "absolute tripe". A massive expansion in education and higher wages provided absolute guarantees for the participation of black Rhodesians in government on a basis which would compound itself every few years. There were no barriers to an African majority in the Parliament; but common interests were becoming more important than colour, and it was sincerely desired that a man should be elected for his policies and not his colour.

Southern Rhodesia was responsible for its own fate. Only "bloody, armed aggression from outside" could alter this. A vital factor was the utter dependence of Africans and Europeans on each other.

Mr. Nkomo's claim that he represented all 3m. Africans in the Colony was not supported by the fact that most of the politically inspired crimes had been perpetrated by black Rhodesians on black Rhodesians. People had been trained and financed by political agents to build up at all costs evidence that an 'explosive' situation existed.

At a Press conference in London last week before returning to Salisbury, Mr. Butler said that the group had met the Minister for Central African Affairs, Mr. R. A. Butler, and had received a firm assurance that he sincerely believed in the non-racial approach of the Southern Rhodesian Government and that Britain did not accept that the U.N. had any right to interfere in the Colony's internal affairs.

Mr. (Alan) Butler said that "vicious" attacks had been

made on his group by some of the trusteeship committee's delegations, notably Tanganyika, Ghana and Egypt, with open accusations that he had been offered a "plum" Government post if his mission were successful, and that the African members had been bribed by Sir Edgar Whitehead to pretend that they supported his policies of "suppression". Questions had been of the 'have you stopped beating your wife?' nature—and if the petitioners had attempted detailed replies, they were told to stop wasting the committee's valuable time (its daily sessions cost \$24,000); brief replies were dismissed as evidence that the group had nothing to say that was worth hearing.

Nonetheless, the more moderate committee members had been keen to obtain more detailed information, so much so that Mr. Burdett-Coutts had stayed on for a further week for private meetings with the interested delegations, which included a number of Afro-Asian countries. Mr. Butler felt that the committee had been made to understand that Z.A.P.U. had been responsible for the violence in Southern Rhodesia.

Little Progress Unless All Sectors Co-operate

Further Extracts from the Report of the Phillips Committee*

BECAUSE OF ITS FUNDAMENTAL NATURE, the education of Africans should be supported to the limits of the capacity of the Government, but in relation to its heavy responsibilities in the economic sectors.

As there is to be a Royal Commission on African Education, we content ourselves with only a general review of the existing system and the suggestion that funds considerably less than those estimated by the Division of Native Education be found in the interim period. We recommend, therefore, that £5.3m. (or 16% of the total additional sum of £33.6m.) additional expenditure be provided—instead of the £15.56m. actually estimated by the Division to be required. We urge, however, that special efforts be exerted to raise funds to increase the amount we have felt possible to recommend at this stage.

African Education

Among the more detailed recommendations we have made are these:

(a) Completion of the Teacher Training College, Gwelo, should be given the highest priority; this centre might also serve for the training of African administrative and other officers.

(b) Rural upper primary schools should be increased sufficiently to reduce the movement of families to the urban areas in search of admission to schools.

(c) The raising of the number of secondary schools to provide opportunities for the promising pupils in Standard VI should be given the most serious attention, because an increase in the proportion of persons with an education higher than the primary and lower than the university levels is in itself an essential. As a means towards entry to university and other higher education, secondary education has a very particular significance.

(d) More lower primary schools are essential.

(e) Teaching of "spoken" English must be intensified.

(f) The education of girls demands the most serious attention.

Although some contribution to the costs of schooling is made by Africans, we suggest that more should be sought in this connexion.

* These passages are taken from "The Development of the Economic Resources of Southern Rhodesia with particular reference to the Role of African Agriculture", being the report of an Advisory Committee consisting of Dr. John Phillips, Sir John Hammond, Mr. Roger Swynnerton, and Mr. Leonard Samuels. It is published by the Government Printer, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

A contribution toward the costs of secondary schooling should be found by parents, irrespective of race.

Technical education should be encouraged, and its non-racial character preserved.

Agricultural education for Africans is the subject of a number of recommendations, and should be given serious consideration, because upon an educated agricultural community depends the true progress of development of Africans, socially and economically.

We recommend that:—

(a) Accommodation and the output of the agricultural schools be increased to meet the needs of the enlarged extension service which we have proposed;

(b) The Agricultural Colleges—Gwebi and Chibero—become non-racial;

(c) A Standing Committee for Agricultural Education be appointed to co-ordinate and plan the needs of this facet of education and to make recommendations to the Ministers of Agriculture, Education, and, as necessary, Local Government and District Administration. This committee should include Federal and Southern Rhodesian Government representatives, while the University College and the Colleges of Agriculture—Gwebi and Chibero—also should be called upon to serve.

Every reasonable effort should be exerted to encourage indigenous Africans to work on farms, in mining, and in industry. Terms of employment should be examined in collaboration with the principal classes of employer.

Team Spirit

Recreation for leisure should be encouraged through local African committees, so as to inculcate increasingly the team spirit so valuable in every-day life and in employment.

Continuous study is required of the techniques, sociological conditions, systems of wage payments, methods of training, and other requirements for raising labour productivity, and thereby the wages, especially of the poorer members of the working force.

The desirability and financial implications of a contributory fund for the care of aged and infirm Africans in the urban areas should be investigated.

Although Public Health is a Federal Government responsibility, its importance in a study of development is such that we have outlined what is being done for the community by both the Christian missionaries and the Government. The record is impressive, but undoubtedly more is required in the African areas.

Nutrition, also a Federal subject, we discuss in some detail, and suggest that a vigorous Federal Nutrition Council be established, and that it be responsible, *inter alia*, for the Federal Institute of Nutrition and Food Technology which we consider necessary.

We trust that collaboration upon these matters will be initiated by the Government of Southern Rhodesia, because of their territorial as well as Federal importance.

There is an urgent need for a co-ordinating body responsible for studying and guiding economic development. We suggest that this might be done by the Cabinet appointing from its members an Economic Development Committee, which, assisted by a small secretariat, would consider plans for public expenditure in relation to the projected expenditures of private con-

means. Otherwise a satisfactory rate of progress of development will be either greatly retarded or even impossible.

We emphasize the following principles for any Development Plan purporting to be realistic:

(a) It must be sufficiently flexible to permit of suitable adjustments to circumstances and to the tempo of significant economic and social events; it must be kept under constant review.

(b) Responsibility for a plan naturally devolves upon the Government, which would be wise, however, to attract the interest of private enterprise.

(c) A suitable authority—preferably a Committee of the

Cabinet itself—should provide the guiding inspiration and direction for the fulfilment and necessary modification and expansion of the plan.

(d) A suitable balance should be struck among the economic sector and the social services, and both these must be related to the existing and the required infra-structure. Social services such as education are most desirable, but must not absorb more than a reasonable proportion of the funds available for development.

(e) With particular reference to Southern Rhodesia, we reiterate that all sectors of the community must be drawn in to co-operate, otherwise full success will be impossible.

Varying Views on Nation Building in Southern Rhodesia

Emphasis on Need for Great European and African Leaders

RHODESIA'S POLITICAL DILEMMA, says the Rev. F. B. Rea in his short foreword to "Nation Building: Three Points of View", is to decide whether to have white rule, black rule, or best-man rule.

"It will require a very great African leader, when he finds himself confronted with the task of welding his people into a nation, to overcome the temptation to appeal to the pan-African ideal of common colour and the fear of a common enemy, white colonialism. No less great will be the European leader who is prepared to renounce the white race myth and work for the only sort of New Africa that gives any hope of a future for all races in Central Africa.

"In the last resort what unites a people into one nation is 'the deep urge to survive'. Are we prepared to unite in this common will to survive? If so, what pledges are we prepared to grant each other as tokens of mutual faith and trust?

"The European fears that under African rule he will be told that he is only a foreigner. With equal reason the African fears that the European is determined to preserve at all costs his present political advantages. How are we going to break through this vicious circle of mutual distrust?"

The 18-page pamphlet (9d.), published by the Capricorn Africa Society, is the first of a projected series of "study books."

Realism, Not Idealism

There are three contributors, Miss Stella Greenway, editor of *Rhodesian Woman and Home*, who has no party political affiliation; Mr. Cliff Pocket, a Salisbury businessman who was chairman of the Dominion Party and now supports the Rhodesian Front; and the Rev. Nicholas Sibeko, national chairman of the since banned Zambabwe African People's Union.

His basic political philosophy is summarized as "one man one vote", acceptance of which principle would, of course, result in black domination.

Mr. Sibeko writes, *inter alia*:—

"A nation is not forged on the anvil of idealism but rather on that of realism. People become united in order to survive. People do not unite for the sake of unity, but to survive.

"Building a nation involves uniting the people, moving them to one common goal for their country, instilling in them a common loyalty and a spirit of patriotism. It involves the problems of ruling with the consent of those ruled and equalization of opportunity for all the inhabitants of the country, and this means equal educational facilities, equal pay for equal work, equal job opportunities, equal treatment for all the people in general, equal hospitalization, equal civic amenities, and equal social security facilities.

"In brief, it means justice for all, and in practice equity is next to impossible where equality does not exist. Equality and justice are the reverse sides of the same coin.

"Building a nation further entails free association of men, women and children of all races, and since this association can only take place in the homes, workshops, hospitals, restaurants, hotels, swimming pools, schools, churches, cinemas and other institutions, it follows that any legal barrier to such association directly militates against the idea of building a nation. The colour bar, like the tribal bar, tends to violate the unity of the people, and hence destroy the nation. He who sets out to build a nation side by side with racial or tribal discrimination is either ignorant or just a trickster.

"Unless nation-building in Southern Rhodesia transcends the visible and superficial externals of tribe, race, culture, language, history and tradition, it is bound to be a dismal failure.

Sense of Belonging

"Unless a sense of belonging to one's country is fostered, any other effort to build a nation is misdirected. A sense of belonging is the very soul of any nation. Break this sense of belonging, and you break the very unity of the people. Therefore any social, political, economic or educational set-up that tends to be divisive, discriminatory and oppressive is antithetical to a sense of belonging together, and hence inimical to the unity of the people.

"In political, economic, social, religious, and educational isolation you cannot develop a sense of belonging. You cannot develop it by pursuing a franchise which enfranchises the greatest number of whites but disenfranchises the greatest number of blacks.

"In building a nation what principles should be closely followed? I propose the following:

(a) That the Government derive its authority from the majority of the people over whom it exercises its protective, coercive and directive functions. The source of authority in building the nation is the people themselves. A Government is merely an executive instrument of that authority.

(b) That the majority of the people shall retain the final authority of choosing their Government and of voting out of power the same Government. Unless the people retain this authority they merely become the instruments of Government instead of the Government becoming the instrument of the people.

(c) That the Government shall not be European or African centred but rather people-centred. European-centred government in a country that has a preponderance of black people violates the spirit of national unity.

(d) That people—i.e., all citizens—shall be treated as such, and not as this or that race, and that the colour of a man's skin shall not prejudice his standing in the country politically, economically or otherwise.

"In accordance with these principles, all those who set out to build a nation must be colour-blind. No racialist can succeed in building a nation in Southern Rhodesia."

Miss Greenway suggests acceptance by the white community of "Sikelele Afrika" as the country's national song.

"The words 'God Bless Africa'—are surely as full of meaning to them as they are to others, and its hymn-

(Concluded on page 208)

PERSONALIA

MR. RICHARD MARTIN, Nyasaland Government Printer since 1954, has retired.

SIR EVELYN WRENCH was 80 on Monday, on which day MR. JOHN GIBSON JARVIE was 79.

MR. C. A. G. HUGHSON, chairman and managing director of Ozalid, is visiting the Federation again.

MR. HUBERT GEORGE ASPINALL has been appointed a local director in East Africa of Barclays Bank D.C.O.

The RT. REV. LESLIE STRADLING, lately Bishop of South-West Tanganyika, is now Bishop of Johannesburg.

MR. NEPHAS TEMBO, a regional secretary of U.N.I.P., has been acquitted in Ndola High Court of a charge of sedition.

SIR CHARLES and LADY WESTLAKE arrived back on Monday in the QUEEN ELIZABETH from their visit to the United States.

SIR HUMPHREY GIBBS, Governor of Southern Rhodesia, and LADY GIBBS returned to the Colony last week after leave overseas.

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is due to address the South African Institute of International Affairs tomorrow.

MR. D. K. DANIELS, secretary-general of the Royal Commonwealth Society, will during the next two months visit branches in Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand and Malaya.

MR. A. M. JENEBY, M.L.C. for Tana-Lamu in Kenya, has called on people at the Coast who want autonomy to stop "flogging a dead horse" and join one of the major African parties.

Kenya will face a deficit of some £4m. next year, excluding the cost of compensation for expatriates, MR. J. S. GICHURU, the Finance Minister, told the Legislative Council last week.

MISS ROSE ANN RAFFERTY, matron of Lusaka Central Hospital in Northern Rhodesia, is taking over as principal matron in Nyasaland from MISS ROBINA STEPHENS, who retired yesterday.

MR. NELSON P. MWANZA, a technical assistant in the Nyasaland Agriculture Department, has gone to the United States on a Ford International Fellowship award to study plant pathology for a year.

MR. GEORGE WOODS, chairman of the First Boston Corporation of the United States, is to succeed MR. EUGENE BLACK as president of the World Bank when the latter retires on January 1 next year.

MR. CHARLES E. A. HAMBRO has joined the board of Taylor Woodrow and Co., Ltd., in a non-executive capacity. He is a managing director of Hambros Bank and a director of various other companies.

Following MR. JOHN MSONTHI'S recent discussions in Rome as Minister of Trade and Industry, representatives of the Italian petrol firm Agip are visiting Nyasaland to examine the prospects for building motels.

MESSRS. J. L. BOUTILLIER, an economist, and K. C. CHERIYAN, a statistician, are making a United Nations survey in the Central Province of Kenya on the effect of land consolidation on subsistence and market production.

MR. C. J. HATTY, Minister of Mines and Industrial Development, African Education and Public Service in Southern Rhodesia, has been acting as Prime Minister for the past week while SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD was resting in the country on his doctors' advice.

When the Ambassador of the Somali Republic, MR. M. A. ARRALEH, was visiting Somali families in the East End of London at the week-end, the windscreen and windows of his car were smashed. A 27-year-old Somali has been arrested for causing malicious damage.

LORD COBHAM, who returned to England a few days ago after completing his five-year term as Governor-General of New Zealand, has joined the board of the National Bank of New Zealand. He has for many years been interested in East African affairs, especially those of Kenya.

MR. P. G. BAGSHAW, lecturer for the past five years in agricultural chemistry at Egerton College in Kenya, has been appointed deputy principal and is currently acting as principal while MR. M. A. BARRETT is on a study tour in the United States under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation.

MR. L. O. KIBINGE and MR. P. M. ECHARIA, who have been training at the Foreign and Commonwealth Relations Offices in London for the past month, have been seconded as third secretaries for three months to the British Embassies in Oslo and Stockholm respectively for further instruction as Kenya's first diplomats-designate.

Speaking to the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia on Britain's "delicate task" of leading her remaining African dependencies to independence, the British Ambassador in the United States, SIR DAVID ORMSBY-GORE, said that if they were "rushed too quickly into independence, a large part of the European population may leave and the countries' economies will collapse".

MR. A. MILTON OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, said when he left London for New York that his Government would take up the question of the Central African Federation at the United Nations to obtain quicker constitutional development. "Welensky and Whitehead don't seem to realize that this is the age of the common man. They have not got his confidence—they are sitting on the edge of a volcano".

SIR LESLIE ("GROUNDNUTS") PLUMMER, Socialist M.P. for Deptford, was awarded £2,000 damages in the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court last week in an action against three British National Party candidates in last year's London County Council elections who had referred to him as "your pro-black M.P. . . . who comes down solidly on the side of coloured spivs and their vice-dens". The jury considered the statement defamatory and not fair comment.

MR. F. K. ONAMA, Minister of Works and Labour in Uganda, was the guest at a luncheon in London last week of MR. JOHN HARE, Minister for Labour. The other guests were MR. A. B. ADIMOLA, counsellor at the Uganda High Commission, MR. M. KAGGWA, MR. WILLIAM WHITELAW, M.P., MR. R. SHARPLES, M.P., MR. VICTOR FEATHER, MR. J. F. C. HONEY, MR. P. H. ST. JOHN WILSON, MR. H. F. ROSSETTI, MR. G. W. ST. J. CHADWICK, and MRS. G. M. ANDREWS.

PROPERTY FOR SALE

WELL-BUILT FAMILY RESIDENCE together with small cottage in lovely Surrey. Close schools and station. Ground floor: study, breakfast and dining rooms, lounge, usual offices, cloakroom, etc. First floor: two bedrooms, each 17 feet 9 inches x 15 feet 6 inches; a third, 22 feet by 10 feet 9 inches; a fourth, 14 feet by 9 feet 9 inches. Wash-basins, built-in wardrobes, bathroom and toilet. Cottage: kitchen, etc., double bedroom, sitting room, bathroom, toilet. Rayburn heated throughout both properties; solid fuel. Gas and electrical points all rooms both properties. Two garages, storage sheds, tennis lawns, orchard, well-stocked garden. Price freehold, including fixtures and fittings: £15,500, partly on mortgage if necessary. Low rates.—Box 139, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, 66 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

Obituary

THE MOST REV. ASTON IGNATIUS CHICHESTER, D.D., S.J., titular Archbishop of Velébusdo, who became the first archbishop of Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, in 1955, died suddenly last week in Rome while attending the Second Vatican Council. Born at Bruges in Belgium in 1879, he entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1897 after attending Mount St. Mary's College, Stonyhurst, in England. After holding various teaching posts at Wimbledon and Windsor, he went to South Africa in 1929 and was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Salisbury, being consecrated two years later as titular Bishop of Ubaza. He founded a seminary for local clergy and a congregation of native nuns. In 1955 the vicariate was raised to an archiepiscopal see and Mgr. Chichester became the first archbishop. He retired next year and returned to this country to serve in a Jesuit parish. He later obtained permission to return to Southern Rhodesia to assist in African parishes, and served under his successor initially in Salisbury and then as auxiliary bishop in the country.

LADY ALICE MARION FYNN, widow of Sir Percy Fynn, has died at her home in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

African Game Wardens

MR. B. G. KINLOCH, chief game warden in Tanganyika, in announcing the appointment of two African game wardens, said that both had proved themselves the hard way and would do credit to the department. Mr. Hamed Mahinda, aged 40, became a game scout in 1945, trained under the game biologist, and for the past three years has concentrated on wild life publicity work, lecturing to schools and councils throughout the country, writing pamphlets in Swahili, and doing a weekly radio talk in that language. He is to take up an F.A.O. fellowship for a year's study of wild life areas in the United States, Canada, and Africa. Mr. John Jonathan, aged 34, who was born in Nyasaland and has been in the Game Department in Tanganyika since 1951, was the first African game assistant and has latterly had much experience of combating intensive poaching in areas to the west of the Serengeti National Park.

Remaining Colonies

MR. DENIS HEALEY, Socialist M.P. for Leeds, East, said in the House of Commons recently: "Of the 45 Colonies remaining under British responsibility, only eight have a population of over a million. Six of those eight will be independent by the end of next year. Then we shall probably have 37 colonial territories all with populations of under a million, and 20 with populations of under 100,000. We should have some hard thinking on both sides of the House about what to do with these territories, most of which will find it absolutely impossible to survive as independent States, and some of which may be in areas of great strategic importance and may therefore before long become the subject of very dangerous take-over bids from one Great Power or another".

1,000 Kenya Students in U.S.A.

MORE THAN 200 KENYA students will enter United States universities and schools this year, Mr. R. B. Freund, the American Consul-General in Nairobi, said a few days ago. In proportion to its population, Kenya has sent more students to the U.S.A. than any other African country. The arrival of this year's students will bring the total studying in the United States to more than 1,000.

First Congress of Africanists

AN INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AFRICANISTS is to be held at the University of Ghana from December 12-17 at which 150 delegates, including university representatives from East and Central Africa, Ethiopia, and the Sudan will discuss history and archaeology, religion and philosophy, social and economic problems, languages and literature, folklore and art, social and political institutions, education and psychology in relation to African development. The Royal Anthropological Institute, the American African Studies Association, and the Russian Africa Institute have been invited to send six delegates each. Costs of £22,000 are being met by the Ford Foundation (£10,000), the Nigerian Government (£5,000), Ghana (£4,000) and U.N.E.S.C.O. (£3,000). Dr. Kenneth Dike, principal of the University College of Ibadan, Nigeria, is chairman of the organizing committee, which it is hoped to replace with a permanent body that will establish the congress as representative of all academic disciplines concerned with African studies and of all African universities.

Payment of M.L.Cs.

SIR CHARLES HARTWELL, chairman of the Public Service Commission of Northern Rhodesia, has been asked by the Government to review the emoluments, fees, allowances, benefits and facilities received by the elected and nominated Members of the Legislative Council other than Ministers and nominated officials, and to include in his review the question of whether, and if so in what manner, rest-house and transport facilities should be provided for Members.

Lower Ocean Fares

THE FIRST CLASS FARES to Cape Town by the CAPETOWN CASTLE, ATHLONE CASTLE, and STIRLING CASTLE have been reduced by about £20. The minimum single fare for a single cabin is now £155, and a first class return passage for the 12,000-mile journey need be no more than £279, or less than 6d. a mile. The minimum tourist class single fare is £79, and the minimum return fare £142, or less than 3d. a mile.

Passengers for East Africa

PASSENGERS OUTWARD-BOUND in the S.S. KENYA CASTLE for *Mombasa* include:—

Mr. & Mrs. F. E. Barnes, Mr. & Mrs. C. F. Blake, Mr. & Mrs. N. Braithwaite, Mr. & Mrs. A. V. Brent, Mr. & Mrs. E. Bruce-Hay, Mr. & Mrs. J. R. E. Carr-Gregg, the Rev. & Mrs. P. F. Chidwick, Capt. & Mrs. W. E. Clifford, Mr. & Mrs. J. D. Cowan, Mr. & Mrs. G. M. Cuthbert, Mr. & Mrs. V. S. Chersie, Mr. & Mrs. H. St. J. Grant, the Rev. & Mrs. R. Harrison, Mr. & Mrs. R. Hendry, Mr. & Mrs. C. Hindley, Mr. E. R. Inkpen, the Rev. P. Jones, Mr. & Mrs. R. G. Knight, Mr. D. H. Kydd, Mr. A. J. Loveday, Mr. & Mrs. I. S. McTaggart, Mr. & Mrs. A. T. Marshall, Mr. & Mrs. R. Minnery, Mr. & Mrs. R. Moyle, Mr. & Mrs. W. H. B. Parkinson, Mr. & Mrs. W. H. Pitt, Mr. & Mrs. G. Puntun, Capt. & Mrs. F. Spooner, Mr. & Mrs. R. K. Stott, Colonel A. Tozer, Mr. & Mrs. A. R. Tredget, Dr. Joyce Wigram, Mr. & Mrs. A. A. Windsor, Mr. & Mrs. J. M. Wolfenden, and Mr. & Mrs. J. Zeal.

Dar es Salaam: Mr. R. W. Bartholomew, Dr. R. Dreaper, Mr. & Mrs. D. S. Farquhar, Mr. & Mrs. I. C. Hamblin, Mr. & Mrs. H. A. J. Howard, Mr. & Mrs. E. W. L. Jones, Mr. & Mrs. A. V. Knights, Mr. S. B. P. McCullagh, Mr. D. J. Massey, Mr. H. G. Meiron-Jones, Mr. I. Palfreeman, and Mr. & Mrs. D. B. Patterson.

Beira: The Rev. R. Anders, Mr. C. M. Hannaford, Mr. & Mrs. S. C. Newbigging, Mr. & Mrs. M.R.T. Oldcorn, Mr. & Mrs. D. W. Renshaw, Mr. & Mrs. T. J. Rowland, Mr. & Mrs. I. P. Scarborough, Dr. & Mrs. J. G. Thuysma, Mr. & Mrs. V. F. Urban, and Mr. & Mrs. M. W. Viney.

Mr. Mboya Stands by Allegations

"Africans Cannot Rely on Europeans"

LAST WEEK we published an abbreviated report of an adjournment debate in the Kenya Legislative Council in which Mr. L. R. M. Welwood, the Kenya Coalition Party member for Kenya West, asked the Minister of Labour and general secretary of K.A.N.U., Mr. T. J. Mboya, to substantiate his allegations made at Molo the previous Sunday that Europeans had bribed Africans to take illegal oaths. A fuller report from the *Hansard* received this week is given below.

Mr. Welwood said that Mr. Mboya had made three allegations at Molo — "that Europeans were bribing Africans to take illegal oaths; that the British would see that before they went they would try to stir up trouble in this country; and that 'we all dislike the British and Europeans, but there are worse devils, those who seek money'".

"I would like to ask the Minister, and more than the Minister, the Government of this country, what evidence he has got and from what tainted source he obtained it, perhaps from the Land Freedom Army, and for whom he speaks. I wish to know whether, in this matter, the Minister was speaking for the Government, or whether he was speaking for himself, and if he was speaking for himself, how it is possible, in a Government with Cabinet responsibility, for one member of it to make a speech containing dangerous allegations, if they are not supported by the Government as a whole. Unfortunately he has not taken the opportunity that I had hoped to withdraw his statement; rather he has added to them, and again I would ask the Government to explain how a Minister can publish a Press statement in which he reiterates these allegations without producing any evidence whatsoever, even dragging in the spectre of the Congo into Kenya affairs.

Favouring Freedom Army

"On many occasions the Minister concerned has spoken on the need for confidence to reduce unemployment. By this speech he has increased unemployment, and by this speech, unquestionably, he has shown, as it were, a favouring for those beliefs that the Land Freedom Army stands for, which I believe stands condemned by the Government of this Colony. If he considered that such a speech was to the advantage of himself or his party, then I am appalled, for it is the assumption that his audience would support statements of this sort, and that is indeed an insult to the people of this country he was addressing. The House has a right to know whether the whole of this Government supports those allegations and statements made by the Minister for Labour, and if the Government does not support those statements they have a clear duty to deal with the Minister and tell this House what action they propose to take, when a Minister of the Government makes such allegations.

"Some Ministers have already made it clear that this is a Coalition Government, and that they do not approve of the speech of the hon. Member, but the whole Government is responsible for peace and good order. I want to ask directly in this debate for the Minister of Defence to say whether he has any evidence of the allegation made by the Minister of Labour at Molo to the effect that Europeans were bribing Africans to take illegal oaths, and I shall not rest content unless the Minister for Economic Development and Planning, who is the leader of the party to which the Minister for Labour belongs, rises to his feet and states whether he is a party to the statements made by the Minister for

Labour as the leader of that party of the Coalition Government, or whether he repudiates them.

"In this matter I am very conscious that I speak for all men of good will in this country, who seek an orderly road to independence, but also I have a special duty to the Europeans of this country who must chiefly look for guidance to the small group that I represent in this House, and let Government consider very carefully their answer to this; for if they let this matter go by default then indeed I must tell the Europeans, the settlers of this country who have been so attacked by the Minister of Labour, that if that party wins the next elections their future in this country is perilous indeed and that they will have to seek other fields of endeavour in other countries where they will not be treated and referred to as a hated minority.

Ruin and Starvation

"The Minister has made it absolutely clear that he intends to blame the British people for all that goes wrong in this country both now and in the future. If that be also the view of the Government, and I refer particularly to that section of the Government to which party the hon. Minister belongs, for I do not believe that these statements are supported by the other wing of the Government,—then the future of this country is dark indeed. The skills and capital that are so badly needed now will be driven permanently from this country and then it will not alone be the British whom the Ministers thought to attack. It will not alone be the Europeans who can escape; it will be the masses of the people of this country who will suffer despair, ruin and starvation through too rapid a change over to a purely African country. I have heard the Minister state in this House before that delay of independence was so disastrous that he would prefer chaos. I do not believe that the people I know in this country of all races concur with that belief. I believe that it is the duty of this Government to clarify this issue now and I demand that they explain whether they support the views of the Minister of Labour or whether they do not".

Only General Allegations

The temporary Minister for Defence, Mr. G. J. Ellerton, said that the Minister for Labour had handed him a letter containing a number of allegations of the kind mentioned by Mr. Welwood: "These allegations, which I am bound to say are of a somewhat general kind, are now under investigation. I must say that at this moment there is no evidence or information in my possession to support these allegations, either generally or particularly".

Mr. Mboya replied: "I would like to deal with the points as I feel they should be brought out rather than dwell on emotions as appears to be the case on the other side. The position is that in my visit to the Rift Valley on Sunday I found very strong allegations made on a number of points. I considered it my public duty to bring these out publicly so that they may not continue to be used by various people who are dissatisfied with what is happening, or with what measures are being taken, and also so that we can be sure about whether there is any truth in them or not. It has been suggested that perhaps as Minister I should have come to the Minister of Defence quietly and asked him if there was any truth in these allegations. In certain circumstances I would have done so. In these circumstances, I feel it is absolutely necessary that what the people believe is happening in the Rift Valley, or what the people generally walk about talking about as happening in the Rift Valley, should be brought out, because

it is not I who has to be corrected if I was wrong on any of the happenings in the Rift Valley; it is the people in the Rift Valley who ought to be assured that the allegations made are either true or not true. I would have thought that the Member for Western Kenya would perhaps have been more anxious to join up with me in demanding that there is a thorough investigation to clear once and for all whether or not there is truth in the allegations which are being made.

Rumours in Rift Valley

"I am not responsible for the way people understand what I say or what I am reported to have said. That is entirely their business, but I want to repeat here and publicly that I believe any measures—if we are going to take measures to ensure there is law and order and there is peace and harmony in any part of this country—should enjoy the confidence of the people in the area. This confidence is not going to be forthcoming when it is undermined by the currency of rumours and allegations as strong as I know exist in the Rift Valley today. The onus is, of course, on those who make allegations to prove them. I concede that point, but I want to add this: that it is my considered opinion that in the situation such as we face, the Government has definite responsibilities, not just to wait for people to prove what allegations have been made, but to go out of their way to disprove if they are untrue that they are untrue, because the measures which are being taken are being taken by the Government in the interest of harmony and in the interests of restoring confidence. I do not believe that we are going to restore confidence by merely picking up one or two persons and locking them up if we cannot win back the confidence of the general population in the country and in the area concerned.

"The various allegations which have been made include strong allegations that there is an interrogation camp at Molo where people have been sent, and that they have been beaten up in order to confess. There are very strong allegations that police and Europeans are implicated in some of the present Land Freedom Army or gun-running in the area. There are allegations that the fact that most of the guns, if not all, have been found in and around European farms and houses and so they must be implicated. There are allegations in the area that some people, who have been arrested for implication in gun-running or making guns, have been released by the police, suggesting that the police were implicated in these releases in order to further activities of the gun makers. People here may want us to keep quiet on these allegations, but I ask what good would it do to be quiet about them when at public meetings in the Rift Valley people stand up in open daylight and shout back these allegations to the speakers, including myself and the hon. Member for Fort Hall who accompanied me? How does it help the police force or the Europeans in that area or any other person who is involved in trying to restore law and order in the area, if we are going to keep quiet and merely think that people would be satisfied by a small statement from the Government saying there is no truth in it whatsoever?"

MR. WELWOOD: "Are you stating that you made no allegations?"

"Emotional" Call for Protection

MR. MBOYA: "I have issued a statement which the hon. Member is quite free to read if he cares to. I have said that these allegations should be looked into, should be investigated, and if they are untrue, it should be so publicly declared in a manner that we shall be able to win back the confidence of the people in the area, that the measures being taken in the area are justified in every case. There should be no doubt whatsoever that the measures being taken are in the name of law and order and not to victimize anyone in the area. I am afraid the hon. Member for Western Kenya is so strongly and emotionally asking for the protection of the European community, but the other question referred to was relating to a meeting of Europeans at which a resolution was passed seeking the dismissal of all Kikuyu labour."

MR. WELWOOD: "I never mentioned that."

MR. SPEAKER: "This is not relevant, Mr. Mboya, to the point we are discussing now."

MR. MBOYA: "I am referring, Sir, to what I said at the meeting."

MR. SPEAKER: "Mr. Mboya, we are discussing the three passages referred to by Mr. Welwood. Time is very short and I hope we are going to hear some other Minister."

MR. MBOYA: "If there is time. Reference has been made to the British Government. I spoke in the two meetings as an African. I appealed to the people to realize that we can no

longer depend on the British, or for that matter on the Europeans, to safeguard the future interests of this country. I said that as far as the future was concerned it was upon us, and in practically every case upon us alone, to determine whether or not we were going to have a peaceful progressive country or not. I said that if it was true that any African was receiving money in order to make guns, then I considered that the African was betraying the trust which we expect in him as an African. I said we cannot rely on the British Government."

After a further injunction from the Speaker to keep "strictly to the point", Mr. Mboya continued: "The question of my reference to the British Government was referred to, and I am referring to that and to what I said. I said that the British Government would use security as an excuse to delay independence—and I do not believe that I should withdraw this at all. I state it again here and I state it emphatically: the British Government would use as an excuse to delay independence the security position of this country."

HON MEMBERS: "Question, question"

MR. MBOYA: "I see no question at all in this. If there was a state of emergency today in the Rift Valley or in Kenya, I doubt highly whether the gallant Members are suggesting that the British Government would not then say that independence could not come during a state of emergency. It is my considered opinion that the British Government would not grant independence, and would use the security position as an excuse. I have said to the people what I believe they ought to know. Let me make this quite clear. There was no question of sympathising or comprising with those who are criminals. With respect, the hon. Member for Western Kenya has said that I said things favouring those for which the Land Freedom Army stands, and I want to make it quite clear that at no stage in my speeches did I say anything which can be regarded as a compromise or in sympathy with criminals. But I refuse to believe that we can regard a whole tribe as criminals or a whole race as criminals."

African Devils, European Angels

"Where criminals are concerned it should not be a partisan attitude, a tribal attitude, or a racial attitude. I do not believe that the Africans are the only devils in this country or that the Europeans are the only angels. I spoke in Molo and Njoro as secretary general of the Kenya African National Union, and I have said so in the Press very publicly. I was not sent to speak as a Minister; I did not speak as a Minister; and as my colleague has confirmed, the allegations of what exists in the Rift Valley are being investigated. As a Member of the Government I hold very strongly that it is our responsibility to investigate them and to establish the truth."

Kenyatta, Minister of State for Constitutional Affairs and Economic Planning, supported Mr. Mboya. "I have been in the Rift Valley, and the rumours and the allegations are very, very strong. Some people laugh; they think it is a very good thing to laugh. It is very serious that the whole country should be concerned with the situation which prevails in the Rift Valley at the moment. There are people who think this is why we asked the Minister for Defence to investigate this situation, because there are beliefs that some people in Rift Valley have been used just as they were used with regard to pseudo guns, and as far as the people who are planting guns and so on, some people think that the same guns which were captured during the Emergency have been used to

The Speaker then adjourned the sitting as time was up.

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High Poll, No Violence

Early Northern Rhodesian Election Results

AS THIS ISSUE goes to press we learn that the United Federal Party has so far won ten upper roll seats and the United National Independence Party one lower roll seat in the Northern Rhodesian general election. Polling on Tuesday was reported to be without any violent incidents, with between 76% and 90% of the 129,585 voters eligible thought to have cast their votes.

The ten U.F.P. candidates returned are: C. D. Burney (Luanshya/Kansenji); T. P. V. Lawler (Ndola East); H. J. Liebenberg (Roan); S. W. Magnus (Chingola); H. R. E. Mitchley (Lusaka West); G. N. Musumbulwa (Lusaka East); H. J. Roberts (Broken Hill); H. J. E. Stanley (Kitwe West); J. J. Steyn (Kitwe East); and P. J. Wulff (Mufulira). The first successful U.N.I.P. candidate on the lower roll is W. P. Nyirenda (Eastern).

An A.N.C. branch official, Mr. Danwell Kuseka, was killed on Friday night when he and seven other party members were ambushed and stoned near Kitwe after attending an election meeting. Three other men were admitted to hospital, two with head injuries and one with a broken back. The U.N.I.P. president, Mr. Kaunda, told his officials to co-operate with the police in tracing the gang responsible. The party asked its supporters to observe a voluntary curfew at night, to abstain from liquor on pain of expulsion from the party, and "even in the face of extreme provocation" to restrain themselves from retaliation. 'Peace and calm' meetings were held on the Copperbelt at the week-end.

African U.F.P. candidates were reported to be enduring a "living hell of intimidation", and candidates of other parties, including U.N.I.P., claim to have received threatening letters.

Mr. Kaunda spoke at more than 100 meetings during his election campaign and stressed that his party stood for racial co-operation. In Lusaka on Sunday he told some 12,000 Africans: "We do not intend driving the white man into the sea. We value our white population for its knowledge and skill. Let bygones be bygones and let us all start afresh." He said that votes should not be cast on racial lines.

An appeal for £20,000 for U.N.I.P.'s election campaign launched in Sweden by members of the ruling Social Democrat and Opposition Liberal parties—coupled with virulent attacks against "the sabre-rattling Welensky, leader of the white Fascists"—has met with a poor response, only about a quarter of the proposed sum being obtained. U.N.I.P. was unable to collect £1,700 worth of election literature from Tanganyika through being unable to pay the Federal Customs duty.

Federation At Stake

Sir Roy Welensky told a U.F.P. meeting in Lusaka that he was intervening in a territorial election because his party's two principal opponents, U.N.I.P. and the A.N.C., clearly favoured the break-up of the Federation. He continued, *inter alia*:

"This is the most important election Northern Rhodesia has faced. There are two main issues: whether there should continue to be any political association between the three territories, although on this occasion we are concerned with only Southern and Northern Rhodesia, and whether control of the instruments of government should pass into the hands of a political party which has shown quite clearly that it has little regard for the rule of law or the rights of individuals to express their views without fear of intimidation, without fear of being terrorised, without fear of seeing their homes burnt down, and they and their families beaten up."

"There is no election past in existence between the U.F.P. and any other political party. Where we have been faced with the choice of voting U.N.I.P. against the A.N.C., the U.F.P.'s attitude is that if we have to be represented by either of these two political parties, it would be far better for victory to go to the A.N.C. who, although heavily opposed to Federation, have made it quite clear that they believe in the rule of law, who have in the last few years clearly indicated that they are, as far as government is concerned, in the best of the world. I firmly believe that a successful approach to my problems, and also have proved that they have not been responsible for the widespread bloodshed and trouble in the country."

Results in Provinces

Some groups had claimed that Southern Rhodesia had been won by the U.F.P. because of Federation, but I would have been glad to see a similar claim for Northern Rhodesia. The U.F.P. has a strong record in the Copperbelt, and I should be pleased if the Southern Rhodesians would never have been able to provide

the military forces commanded today by the Federal Government for the protection of each territory's stability, authority and freedom against intervention from outside their borders.

"I have never hesitated to use those forces in full support of any Government in the Federation when there has been any question of a serious attempt made to subvert law and order. Does anyone really believe that in the days which lie ahead things are likely to prove easier than they are at the moment? If so, I should like to disillusion them. The tendency in this continent today is to balkanize, break up and fragment the continent. This means that there is going to be constant intervention by so-called independent states in the affairs of others.

"There are some leaders today who are suffering from illusions of grandeur and who believe that they are going to become the equivalent of black Napoleons in this continent. They lose sight of the fact that even in such advanced countries as Europe there has been no unity. Frenchmen still think of themselves as Frenchmen, Germans as Germans and Italians as Italians. They don't sink all their differences and merely consider themselves white men living in Europe. The same thing applies to Africa. All men on the African continent are not prepared to sink their national or tribal differences and change their widely differing outlooks merely to satisfy the wishes of some political leader who sees himself as a new Napoleon.

"Most African leaders who condemn Federation know in their heart of hearts that it is almost impossible now for any of the states of Central Africa to stand on their own, without having to face the severe burdens of defence which they can ill afford and which would retard their own development. I have no hesitation in saying today—and I direct my remarks particularly to the Africans of Northern Rhodesia—that if the present Federal links were broken, they would be replaced by links which in my opinion would be much more detrimental to Northern Rhodesia than anything these people may believe they are suffering today.

Vulnerability to Avarice

"Avaricious eyes are being cast on the mineral resources of Northern Rhodesia and its unoccupied land, and in view of its isolated position, its dependency on others for power, coal, transport and routes to the sea, anyone with any sense must recognize how vulnerable Northern Rhodesia standing alone would be to pressures, and those pressures are growing."

The Protectorate had contributed more than £39m. to the Federation in its first eight years of existence, receiving in return such benefits as power from the Kariba Dam—the territory would have had to spend £37m. for a hydro-electric scheme of its own—Rhodesia Railways services at cheap rates, with over £8m. spent in Northern Rhodesia alone; £12m. out of £16m. spent on roads serving Northern Rhodesia; a telephone system expanded 350 times, compared with 100 for the rest of the Federation, and expenditure of £11½m. on postal and related services against the territory's contribution of £8½m.; 11 Government secondary schools with 4,500 pupils, where there had been none, and 60 Government primaries compared with 42 before Federation. In fine, the Protectorate had had nearly £1m. more spent on its capital expenditure than it had provided for Federal loans, even after allowing for £20m. from the copper companies for Kariba.

Fuel to Feed Pan-African "Crocodile"

"There are those who think it is possible to make a deal with pan-Africanism. I have always been alive to the fact that there is an element among the European population which believes it can feed the crocodile and so save itself from being eaten. In many ways, this is rather pathetic, because by looking round the African continent one would have thought the lesson was quite clear. I need to take only three cases, Ghana, Tanganyika and Nyasaland, where we have seen, within a few short years and in some cases a few short months, that all necessary steps have been taken to create one-party states and the development of dictatorships, never mind how much certain elements might wish to hide the fact. In these countries, there appears to be no future for democracy or for the democratic system of government based on a two-party system. And even you introduce one-man, one-vote, to an electorate which has had no experience of this type of politics and which lacks training and an educational background to make it work, what better can you say it, all you have left are the trap-pings and shadows, but none of the substance of democracy.

"What is the position in Ghana? Not only can you be taken up if you don't see the prescribed line which the Government lays down, you have no appeal, and you remain in jail at the whim of your political opponents. Tanganyika, much praised as a model state, already has a one-party system. They too, have taken steps to provide similar facilities for dictators without trial. How the civilized world, particularly the press, can close their eyes to this state of affairs in this continent is beyond my understanding."

"In Northern Rhodesia, you have to face the same issue. Not only you, the electorate as a whole, but especially the Chiefs must realise what the outcome of a U.N.I.P. victory must mean to the country. I want to say a word to those who seek comfort in the thought that if U.N.I.P. were to emerge from these elections as the largest single party in the Legislative Council, the Governor would rule. There is no guarantee of this. On the contrary, there is a clear indication that Whitehall thinking doesn't run that way. The case of Nyasaland is worth examining in this context, for few will be so blind as not to see that Dr. Banda is, *de facto* Prime Minister of Nyasaland, and that he and his Malawi Party colleagues in the Executive Council are *de facto* the Government, whatever the actual constitutional position may be. The Governor and his officials do not—and I tell you from experience—have a say."

Israel

ISRAEL has given considerable help to Tanganyika in recent months, and it had previously afforded substantial assistance to Ghana. Meantime it was receiving aid from the United States, which in the past decade has spent some \$850m. in aid for Israel under its technical assistance programme. Because Israel now gives technical assistance to Africa, her name is to be dropped from the list of States considered "under-developed" by the U.S.A. and therefore eligible for technical assistance.

Chief Fundikira

ALHAJ CHIEF ABDULLAH FUNDIKIRA, MINISTER for Justice in Tanganyika, has now relinquished his administrative functions as chief, though remaining a traditional chief of the Nyanyembe. He has made the decision in accordance with the Government's policy on future position of chiefs, which he strongly supports, believing that the new policy will restore to the chiefs a traditional dignity which has dwindled because of the duties, such as collecting taxes, supervising the digging of roads and the building of schools and dispensaries—imposed on them by Colonial Governments.

During 42 years...

the Rhodesian Milling Company has developed into the largest organisation of its kind in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Its two principal products—Gloria Flour and Rhomil Stock-feeds are household names throughout the country. Representatives are stationed at most centres in the Federation to give advice and assistance on any matter connected with a Rhomil product.

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Ethiopia's New University

FRUSTRATION at the delay in promoting more young local graduates to and in the civil service and in making other changes is increasing the danger of a more chaotic revolution in Ethiopia than that which occurred in 1960, Mr. Clyde Sanger has written in the *Guardian*.

"In an uneasy atmosphere of discontented rumblings and threats from the Army, disillusionment over governmental changes among young intellectuals, the banishment of a Supreme Court judge and a score of suspected fellow plotters, and the dismissal of local editors for indiscretions, the establishment of a proposed University of Ethiopia (with its headquarters in the former Guenet Leul Imperial Palace) is a crucial move," he says.

"Those associated with its planning see it as having a purpose with which no other university can have been burdened—to save a country from revolution by leading an evolution at revolutionary pace.

"For this, the appallingly little schooling provided in Ethiopia is paradoxically an advantage. U.N. figures show that less than 4% of the country's 7.5m. children of school age go to school at all; but those who do have a reasonable hope of a full education. This means that peasants, denied all taste of schooling, are not thought to be dangerously hungry to reform.

Combined Effort to Launch University

"Many countries are combining to help launch the university. The Swedes teach building technology, the German teach engineering, the U.N. will help with health, the French probably with a law school. The British are demurring, and insist that Ethiopia needs more primary schools for preference.

"But the Americans are the strongest backers of all. In a decision which went to President Kennedy himself, an American was appointed principal. Dr. Harvey Bentley, with a handsome reputation from work in Mexico and Utah, is a brisk figure to find in an Imperial palace. The Americans are said to have given £3m. this year and last.

"But the size of the problem is daunting. There is the conservative opposition to contend with, and the risk of international reactions. Already the university has stirred some anti-Americanism which the Russian Embassy should know how to nurture.

"There is the danger, too, that the university will do too well its work of promoting thought and discussion about change, and instead of harnessing the radicals will send them off on an uncontrolled gallop into a revolution from which perhaps only military rule could bring order.

"There is the further danger that the gap between the younger radicals and the older conservatives will widen in this process. So the university authorities are hoping to establish educational television throughout Ethiopia within three years. In a land where, according to U.N.E.S.C.O. figures, less than one person in a thousand ever sees, or indeed can read, a newspaper, this could have tremendous repercussions."

Women's Migration Society's Report

FINDING THAT ITS TITLE discouraged potential applicants from using its services, the Society for the Overseas Settlement of British Women has changed its name to the Women's Migration and Overseas Appointments Society, says the annual report for 1961.

Among the 400 applicants dealt with were 89 for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, including 39 teachers, 24 secretarial and office workers, and 13 nurses; 31 for Kenya, including 22 nurses; and one social worker for Uganda. There were no sailings for Tanganyika.

The report criticizes air lines for unwillingness to cooperate in obtaining information from passengers for emigration statistics. It estimates that of 120,000 United Kingdom emigrants to Commonwealth countries in 1961, 3,650 went to the Rhodesias.

The Dowager Countess of Bessborough is president, Miss Ellen Cumber the director, and Miss E. E. Newman secretary.

Fear and Mistrust Cause Tension

Kenya Council of Ministers Statement

A STATEMENT was issued last week in Nairobi by the Coalition Government Council of Ministers "to remove misapprehensions and uncertainties which it believes to be the main cause of fears and mistrust, which have given rise to much of the tension which exists between tribes, particularly in the Rift Valley, but also in varying degrees in other parts of the country, such as the Coast.

"Recent action by security forces against the unlawful movement, known as the Land Freedom Army, has demonstrated the Government's determination to stamp out subversion wherever and in whatever form it may arise. The Government is satisfied its counter measures are containing the Land Freedom Army, and is confident that with the co-operation and support of all law-abiding citizens this menace will be overcome.

"Misguided Subversion"

"The Government is also determined to do all in its power to remove ignorance and misunderstandings which are the main contributory causes to conditions of fear and mistrust in which such, misguided and dangerous subversion flourishes. To this end all members of the Council of Ministers of the National Coalition Government reaffirm their policy and intention to carry out, as speedily as possible, the agreement to which they subscribed at the Lancaster House Conference for a new Constitution.

"The new Constitution will provide a strong Central Government and six Regional Authorities, each with its own effective powers entrenched in the Constitution. Tribal lands will be the responsibility of tribal authorities and Regional Assemblies.

"Thus, no tribe need fear its land will be taken away by any other tribe.

"In the scheduled areas, there will be settlement schemes, for which the Central Land Board, when it is established, will be responsible. Regional Authorities will have the right to object to the proposed tribal composition of settlers in any scheme and, if necessary, submit objections to the Supreme Court. Any such objections, and any submissions to the Supreme Court, will be determined before settlers are settled on the land so that, once settled, they will be assured full security of tenure.

"(Until the Central Land Board is constituted, administrative arrangements are being made for local consultations of local leaders about the Government's settlement schemes and the tribal composition of settlers, and the Minister for Land Settlement is advised by a Sub-Committee of Council Ministers representative of both political parties.)

Security of Tenure

"Kalenjin and other Rift Valley tribes need not fear settlements of other tribes swamping them in the Rift Valley, neither need Central Province tribes have similar fears in regard to Central Province: and the settlers will have security of tenure.

"In the absence of any valid grounds for objection, persons of all tribes will be eligible for settlement in any part of the scheduled areas and private transactions on a willing buyer/willing seller basis are open to all. The right of an individual in accordance with the law to live in whatever part of the country he chooses, to own property including land, to work wherever and in whatever job he chooses and where he can obtain employment, and to move freely about the country, will be secured in the Bill of Rights. No person need fear that on account of his tribe, race or religion, he will be removed from an area where he is living or his property will be interfered with or he will not be allowed to continue to work at his job, but of course those who break the law will be dealt with under the law.

"Specifically, all leaders of the Government wish to give the above assurance to peaceful and law-abiding persons of all tribes living and working in the Rift Valley, and to give the same assurance to peaceful and law-abiding persons of all tribes living and working at the Coast.

"All leaders of the Government declare it is their view that a person who has lived and worked for many years on a farm in the scheduled areas should be given priority consideration

for settlement on that farm if and when a settlement scheme is applied to it.

"But those who break the law will not be welcome among persons of any tribe or race, moreover they cause suspicion and mistrust among innocent members of their own tribe or race.

"The National Coalition Government furthermore wish to make it absolutely clear to all that land distributed to new settlers under settlement schemes will have to be paid for. No one will be given any land free—and anyone who squats illegally on private or Crown land will be firmly dealt with. Illegal squatting obstructs organized settlement and harms the country's economy and security. It should also be noted that there are large areas of land outside the scheduled areas where it will be possible in due course to introduce settlement and development schemes.

"All leaders of the Government proclaim their resolve to foster tolerance, understanding and friendliness among the people of Kenya of all races and tribes. They pledge themselves not to condemn a whole race or tribe on account of misdeeds of some members, and they trust that the recent slanderous attacks on the Kikuyu tribe and European community will not be repeated. They call on all the people of Kenya to follow their lead in these matters and so help build a new Kenya nation."

The statement was signed by all the Ministers except Mr. D. T. Moi, who is in West Germany, and by the Liwali for the Coast.

Strong Anti-Kikuyu Sentiments

"Kenya Confused As Ever"—Mr. Archer

INFORMED PEOPLE IN KENYA no longer doubted that the Land Freedom Army was a direct descendant of Mau Mau and other Kikuyu subversive movements. Mr. Masinde Muliro, deputy leader of K.A.D.U. and Minister of Commerce and Industry, has stated in Nairobi in a condemnation of the K.A.N.U. general secretary and Minister of Labour, Mr. T. J. Mboya, for his speech at the opening of a Mau Mau exhibition in the capital on "Kenyatta Day" last week.

Mr. Muliro said that Mr. Mboya was trying to curry favour with the Kikuyu in order to preserve his political position. But to glorify Mau Mau was to condemn all those tribes that had opposed it and helped to crush it as the enemy of freedom and independence. Mr. Mboya could not have it both ways.

Mr. Muliro reminded Asian supporters of K.A.N.U. that that party's vice-president, Mr. Oginga Odinga, was an avowed supporter of the Chinese Communist régime, "whose aggressive activities in India we all deplore. Many Asians in Kenya doubtless have relations in India who will suffer as a consequence."

It is reported that 17 Europeans and 43 Asians have joined K.A.N.U., since the party leader, Kenyatta, declared last week that membership would be open to all races.

The Kenya Agent in London, Mr. Malcolm Archer, who has returned from a three-week visit to the Colony, said in London last week that an election was unlikely to be held before next August at the earliest, while independence might not be granted until 1964 or 1965. He had found affairs in Kenya as confused in every aspect as they had ever been. Anti-Kikuyu feelings ranged from distrust or fear to "utter hatred". This tribal antagonism went hand in hand with the extremely serious unemployment problem, which had been accompanied by an "explosion" of strikes, some of which had been politically motivated. K.A.D.U. was currently on top politically, while K.A.N.U. had only a thin veneer of unity, with three factions within shaking the party edifice—those headed by Mr. Mboya, Mr. Odinga and Dr. Kiano.

Federal Constitution for Congo

"U.N. Destroying Katanga Harmony"

BASED LARGELY on the *loi fondamentale* prepared at the time of the Congo's independence, a 212-article draft federal Constitution has been presented to the heads of four regions and 16 provinces by the Congolese Prime Minister, Mr. Cyrille Adoula, at a meeting in Leopoldville. No representatives from Katanga were present. The Constitution was drawn up by constitutional law experts provided by the United Nations from Nigeria, India, Canada and Switzerland.

Foreign loans, national defence, federal police, federal finance and coinage, Customs, income and personal taxes, import and export taxes, exchange control, banking laws, transport, nationality and immigration, federal courts and criminal law, postal services, broadcasting and higher education are reserved to Central Government control. In concert with the provincial assemblies, it would legislate for civil and tribal law, economic affairs, mining, public health, labour, agriculture and pensions.

Exclusive provincial responsibilities would be for provincial elections and administration, local taxes, including taxation of consumer goods, grants for mining concessions and land for plantations, primary and secondary education, public works, local courts and the provincial police.

21 New Provinces

The strength and equipment of the provincial police would be limited by federal law, and the Central Government would have power to move its own police into any area either on its own assessment of the situation or at the request of a province. Disputes between the federal and provincial authorities would be settled by a constitutional court.

Revenue from mines and taxes on exports from each province would be divided equally between the Central and provincial authorities.

Guarantees are offered for freedom of speech, assembly,

religion and movement, secrecy of correspondence and the inviolability of the home.

Katanga would be split into two of the 21 proposed new provinces.

Mr. Harold Soref, who recently returned to London from an extended visit to the Federation, Katanga and other parts of the Congo, wrote in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* on Monday:—

"I was a witness of the unprovoked savagery committed by the United Nations troops in September, 1961, and was in Elisabethville long enough to appreciate the stability and the uniquely successful inter-racial relations Mr. Tshombe has brought to that country and which the U.N. is doing its best to destroy.

"During the worst days of the fighting the black and white citizens of Elisabethville were united. Although almost every shop was forced to close there was no black market. Bread and meat, when available, were rationed by shopkeepers and sold at normal prices. There was not a single incident of looting or racial friction among the victims of the onslaught. In Katanga there is an effective administration, and police maintain order, except where prevented by the United Nations.

Central Government Incapable

Conditions in Leopoldville are quite otherwise today. The so-called 'Central Government' in fact governs nothing and is incapable of administering. It has no legislative or executive power over the provinces. Even the traffic police in Leopoldville are provided by Nigerian troops attached to the U.N.

Violence, robbery and corruption are part of everyday life. Taxi-drivers and others extort fanciful sums of money with threats. The police are either unprepared or unable to provide personal security.

"Of the total population of 750,000 some half a million are unemployed. It is almost impossible for merchants to obtain permits to import merchandise other than of American origin. There is a thriving black market in goods consigned to the U.N. More than one highly placed U.N. official assured me that the only solution was the return of the Belgians.

"The Minister of Finance, M. Pinzi, has admitted he was unable to give figures for the finances of the provincial Governments. Payments, representing more than half the Central Government's budget are being made with scarcely any revenue being collected in return, or any account being given of how the money is spent.

Reversion to Barbarism

"Attempts at economic or military fusion and the enforced reintegration of Katanga with U.N. backing can only lead to tribal warfare and anarchy. Meanwhile it would seem that the trigger-happy Indian troops might be more usefully and patriotically employed at home.

"Katanga enjoys orderly government within its borders and does not seek aggression without. The various, and often contradictory, forces centred in Leopoldville have little in common apart from a hatred of Tshombe and an impatient desire to invade both Katanga and Angola. Doubtless, ultimately, Northern Rhodesia is the target in this crusade of reversion to barbarism.

"The survival of civilization in Africa and the containment of Communism are dependent on the survival of Tshombe, for whose elimination the United Nations has no mandate".

Ethiopia has been elected one of the 18 members of the U.N. economic and social council for 1963.

"Freedom Under the Cross" is the theme of a 10-day meeting in Nairobi next month which 500 youths from 44 countries are expected to attend under the sponsorship of the All-Africa Church Conference.

"African" has been deleted from the former title of the re-constituted Southern Rhodesia Literature Bureau to reflect its non-racial programme, in which to date it has sponsored 24 vernacular novels by 17 African authors and 16 translations of educational books from English.

Intolerance and prejudices will continue in Northern Rhodesia among teenagers of different races until there is better understanding of social customs, historical background, and ethical standards, says the latest annual report of the Central Race Relations Advisory Committee. A remedy is considered to lie in the "vitaly urgent" introduction of civics courses in all schools.



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THE WORLD'S
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Extreme Scarcity of African Recruits

East Africa's Greater Air Activity

EARLY LAST YEAR the Directorate of Civil Aviation in East Africa was 20% below establishment, and staffing, its most serious problem, will become even more acute in the next few years, states the annual report to June 10, 1961.

It emphasizes that the highly specialized skills of air traffic control officers and aviation radio engineers cannot be acquired without years of intensive training and experience. The cost of Africanization, without the former source of supply of personnel trained in the Armed Services, will be formidable, and the scarcity of suitable local candidates is even greater.

By the end of last month it was expected that 22 local officers would have replaced expatriates. There remain 120 specialist jobs which can be localized only after a minimum of three years' intensive training, "and this minimum cannot of course produce the experience and skill of the present staff, the great majority of whom received their initial training at least 20 years ago". They have again had to work excessive duty periods because of the shortage of qualified staff, which has coincided with a 50% increase in aircraft movements through the main airports.

If suitable candidates and funds are forthcoming, 120 local recruits will be trained during the next four or five years; but the great majority of 95 prospective trainees had to be rejected last year because of low intelligence standards. Even the expatriate staff have frequently to attend refresher courses during their leave and devote much spare time to study in order to maintain an essential minimum knowledge of technical progress.

The East African air lines and charter companies registered an expansion of business well above the world average, charter companies' operations rising more than 50% within the year. A considerable part of the increased aircraft movements was due to the initial crisis and continuing unrest in the Congo and to military movements in the Nairobi area that were well above previous years' averages.

Nairobi handled about 33,000 passengers and 486,000 kgs. of freight; Entebbe, over 8,000 and 49,000 kgs.; and Dar es Salaam, 7,000 and 146,000 kgs. Nairobi flight information centre dealt with 58,610 services, including 25,711 scheduled, 19,948 charter, 6,107 private, and 6,048 military.

Well, Let the Russians Pay "Technique of Threatened Vapours"

MR. NIGEL BIRCH, M.P., has written in the monthly review published by the National Provincial Bank:—

"We should do what we can to help the underdeveloped countries of the Commonwealth. But the requests and demands for assistance will add up to far more than we can manage. There is always a rescue operation for India under way and the sums involved are colossal.

"This is a field in which Treasury control is difficult to exercise. What Professor Namier called the 'technique of threatened vapours' is often applied. 'Julius Nyerere would fall and then...'

"Tanganyika is a good case in point. When Independence was granted Nyerere got less money than he had hoped for. There was a dust up. The Governor-General flew home and no doubt pointed out that Nyerere was our 'prize boy' and had agreed to keep on a good many Colonial civil servants on acceptable terms. The Treasury lost the battle and Tanganyika got quite a lot more money. Nyerere resigned and may or may not get back into power; and most of the Colonial civil servants were sent packing in double quick time.

"The possibilities of this sort of thing happening elsewhere are endless. The only solution may be to set aside a fixed sum each year and determine that it will not be exceeded. Above all, we must not allow ourselves to be blackmailed. The answer to a country which says that if we do not pay up they will go to the Russians, is simply to say that we have always been in favour of Russia taking up 'the white man's burden'."

Uganda Becomes Independent

This 72-page profusely illustrated special number of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA contains contributions from many present and past leaders of Uganda, including

The Governor, Sir Walter Coutts
His predecessor, Sir Frederick Crawford
The Prime Minister, Mr. Milton Obote
The Anglican Archbishop of Uganda

and

Earl De La Warr Sir Arthur Kirby
Sir Alfred Vincent Sir Handley Bird
Mr. A. K. Sempa Mr. J. T. Simpson
Mr. Ernest Haddon

There are also career sketches of all Ministers, and articles on Makerere, Namulonge, Kilembe, the Railways, the recommendations of the World Bank Mission to Uganda, and other subjects.

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Excessive Pressures on Rhodesians

Prejudice and Guesswork in Britain

MR. JOHN CREASEY, the English author of some 400 "thrillers", who last visited the Rhodesias in 1950, wrote recently from Salisbury at the start of a world tour:—

"Most English people know practically nothing about Rhodesia and Rhodesians; and most of the little they guess, they guess wrong. Some looked at me pityingly when I told them I was bringing my wife and sons on this trip. 'It won't be safe', they said; 'the whole country's in turmoil'. I wish I could show them the quiet serenity of Umtali or the gentle bustle of Salisbury as African and European go about their daily life, as if they had not only learned to live together but like it.

"A white citizen of Salisbury doesn't say he is European or British, but Rhodesian. Of course, he means a Southern Rhodesian. As he says it, a glint of pride shows in his eyes and a ring of pride echoes in his voice. This is his country. He is not, as so many in England believe, a white settler or a pioneer trying to brace himself against a 'wind of change' and looking desperately towards London for cash hand-outs and political guidance. He is a citizen of a country he already sees as great—rather as the Texans do.

"The Rhodesian here has a lot in common with the Texan. For one thing, he lives in the most beautiful country in the world: Almost certainly he means: 'Give us the chance and we'll make it the finest country in the world, because the country has the potential and we have the vision and the ability'. He looks a man of vision, too—tall, lean, brisk-moving, friendly, forthright, patient. He has to be—with his own internal problems, economic and social, and the problem of coping with pressures from outside.

Capital Should Pour In

"They are very heavy pressures, far too heavy. He should not be going through a recession for lack of capital, for instance. British capital should be pouring into the country to create new industries and strengthen those already thriving.

"He shouldn't be facing the political pressures from Whitehall or any from the British Press. Both should be 100% behind him. They aren't; but he doesn't complain—except perhaps wistfully because the people at home don't understand. They certainly don't.

"They don't understand, for instance, that in Southern Rhodesia the two kinds of Rhodesians, African and European, aren't simply trying to live and work together: they are already living and working together in a great social and economic effort in which each race is dependent on the other, and knows it. They have worked miracles in building, in agriculture, in industry, in the social advancement of the African.

"The English at home hear and read of the political revolutions in Africa and the difficulty of white and black living in the same land. What they do not realize is that the whole society is changing to a Western society. The day of the *kraal* hasn't gone by a long way, but the day of the African township with electric light and running water has been here for a long time and is going to stay. The day of the woman wearing a blanket hasn't gone either; nor has the custom of carrying the baby in the small of mother's back. But the day of the spotless dress, as modish and smart as any in a London suburb, is here too. In the towns there are at least two dresses to one blanket. Ten years ago it was four blankets to one dress. The African sees in Western ways a good way of life.

"The white Rhodesian is helping him to acquire it just as fast as he can. Of course, he could go faster. He would go faster if he wasn't held back by emotional as well as practical considerations.

"For instance, his deep resentment at the portrayal of Sir Roy Welensky as a diabolic reactionary fills him with bitter resentment. That doesn't help him fashion and strengthen the integrated society he knows is now essential.

"He would go faster if he had more money—not hand-outs, which he hates, but money for economic development in a country crying out for it. Great Britain recently came up with £2m. £2m. wouldn't have been too much. With £20m. this country could leap forward again to become great and socially advanced beyond present hopes—but not beyond present dreams. They are hard, practical, progressive dreamers, these blood brothers of ours out here. They believe that the way

of the West is best for everyone, and they're working as hard as they know how to make Western style, British inspired democracy work. What more could we want?

"Why don't we get to know them better, get rid of our prejudices, and take deep pride in the fact that our fathers started the great social revolution which is Rhodesia to-day? Why don't we make sure that our children can take pride in the way we've helped?

"We could help enormously simply by stopping the sniping and bludgeoning of Sir Roy Welensky and allowing him to get on with the enormously complex task of making the Rhodesias a State which has no superior in the Commonwealth."

Dr. Banda Objects

JOURNALISTS IN NAIROBI walked out of a Press conference given at the airport by Dr. Hastings Banda on Monday when he arrived from Tanganyika for a two-day visit because he berated them for asking "stupid questions". To most of their queries he snapped "That's my business". When asked if he would be calling on the Federal High Commissioner in Nairobi or be observing Federation Day that day, he screamed: "Do you think I want to see a man like that? Do you call that a polite question? You ask stupid questions". Asked whence Nyasaland would obtain aid if it left the Federation, he retorted: "Do you think I would ask you for help? I would never ask you for help. I don't ask you to come here and ask me questions". The Malawi Congress Party leader will visit Ethiopia and Egypt before arriving here for the constitutional conference on Nyasaland at Marlborough House on November 12 under the Minister for Central African Affairs, Mr. R. A. Butler. Other members of his delegation will arrive via the Sudan and Ghana.

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Building a Nation

(Concluded from page 197)

like quality has a soaring appeal of its own. In the same way that Waltzing Matilda, Maple Leaf for Ever, and Rule Britannia invoke the country they represent, Sikelele Afrika could channel a great surge of true nationalism for Central Africa.

"The real nation," she concluded, "is the spirit and will of the majority of the inhabitants to pull together and to achieve something that is bigger than themselves and greater than their own petty ambitions. It is built by people who do not put their own importance paramount, who are willing to sacrifice for the common good of all the people and not their own section of it, who possibly do not recognize what they are striving for but have the ability to follow someone who does. To build a nation you need a great leader."

Mr. Pocket's contribution is more partisan and controversial saying (in part):—

"No political party has or is entitled to expect a monopoly of building a nation in any country. It is for this reason that the present Build-A-Nation campaign in Southern Rhodesia is such a contemptible failure.

"What is desperately needed now is a political and socio-economic blueprint based on a philosophy that respects the differing cultures and traditions of our diverse racial groups, one that enables each to retain its own integrity and yet leaves the ways open for co-operation across the colour line, for advancement on merit (and merit alone) and for the establishment of voluntary associations and partnerships.

"In other words, what we have to build in Southern Rhodesia is (I'm afraid it is the only word) a 'federation' of interests, based on mutual respect and trust. There is a vast difference between this and all-round enforced integration. You can't bludgeon a nation into being.

"We Have Almost Everything"

"Our natural advantages are immense. There is already a fund of potential good will between races, notwithstanding the frightening way in which race relations here have gone from bad to worse. Good will is rather like a delicate flower or plant: nurture and cherish it and it grows in strength and beauty. You can test this with any human being, whatever the colour of his skin.

"We could, with proper planning, provide for a population many times the size of the present one and still think in terms of export. The almost breath-taking successes in the Kyle area give some indication of what could be achieved in other areas with adequate irrigation projects—and such projects, any number of them, are waiting for us to develop them.

"We have almost everything—strategic central position, communications and transport, a reasonably fair share of raw materials and others available from not so very far beyond our borders, an expanding reservoir of man-power, know-how, and an ideal climate.

"Triple" Development

"We must have a triple development policy, one that sets its face firmly against enforced integration and outright segregation.

"Triple development will take care of situations where amenities overlap. Consider a main post office. There is no reason whatsoever why it should not be geared to provide service for (a) Europeans only, (b) non-Europeans only, and (c) all races. Nor, with wise planning, need this sort of thing militate in the slightest against efficiency. What it will do is to provide a point of contact for those who want it while offering racial privacy to those who prefer it.

"There is, of course, a great deal more to the policy of triple development than this. For example, it must be accepted that at the top of the country's affairs should be the best men and women, regardless of race. Some institutions do not lend themselves to the stabilization of three-way division. One is Parliament, another is the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and another is the public service. Such institutions will obviously have to be exempt from the provisions of our amended Land Apportionment Act.

"Similarly, private bodies, such as clubs, theatres, hotels, churches, and private schools, will have to enjoy the right, regardless of where they may be situated, of complete freedom of choice. What people or organizations choose to do in private is entirely their own affair; provided their activities do not infringe the public rights of others."

Another European Expelled

A SIXTH EUROPEAN has been deported from Tanganyika as an undesirable person for being rude to African customers while working as manager of a chemist's shop in Arusha. He is Mr. John Trevor Bawley, who had been in the town three months. On Saturday he was declared a prohibited immigrant and given 48 hours to leave the country. The Northern Region commissioner, Mr. Peter Walwa, said that after receiving many complaints about Mr. Bawley's alleged rudeness, he had visited the shop to check and had been dismissed from the premises. "I reported the behaviour to the responsible people, and when they approached him he said he was sorry but he did not know who I was. He came to me to apologise but I thought this was ineffective because of the insult directed to Africans."

Kenya Couple Murdered

MR. AND MRS. EDMUND PEREGRINE TOWNLEY were found "riddled with bullets" near Nuoro in Sardinia on Sunday evening where they were on holiday from their home at Bahati, near Nakuru, Kenya. Police suspect that they must have stumbled across a gang of bandits, but no attempt had been made to rob them. The couple were thinking of settling on the island or in Italy in case it became too dangerous to remain in Kenya, where Mr. Townley served as screening officer with the Kenya Police Reserve during the Mau Mau rebellion and was placed on a 'revenge list'.

Intimidation in Central Africa

A TWENTY-FOUR PAGE PAMPHLET published by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA under the title "Intimidation in Central Africa: Vote for Me... or Else" summarizes the proven cases of intimidation, assault, arson, and similar crimes in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland in recent months as part of the plan of African politicians to destroy the support of people of their own race for the Federal Government and so open the way to power for the extremists.

Intimidation, one of the ugliest aspects of African politics, is also one of the most successful methods, for most Africans deem it wiser to obey than to risk being victimized.

The pamphlet gives an authoritative survey of a situation which is all too little understood even by Parliamentarians, leading contributors to the Press, and other moulders of public opinion.

The brochure may be obtained at 1s. post free, or 10s. for 12 copies, from EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, 66, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

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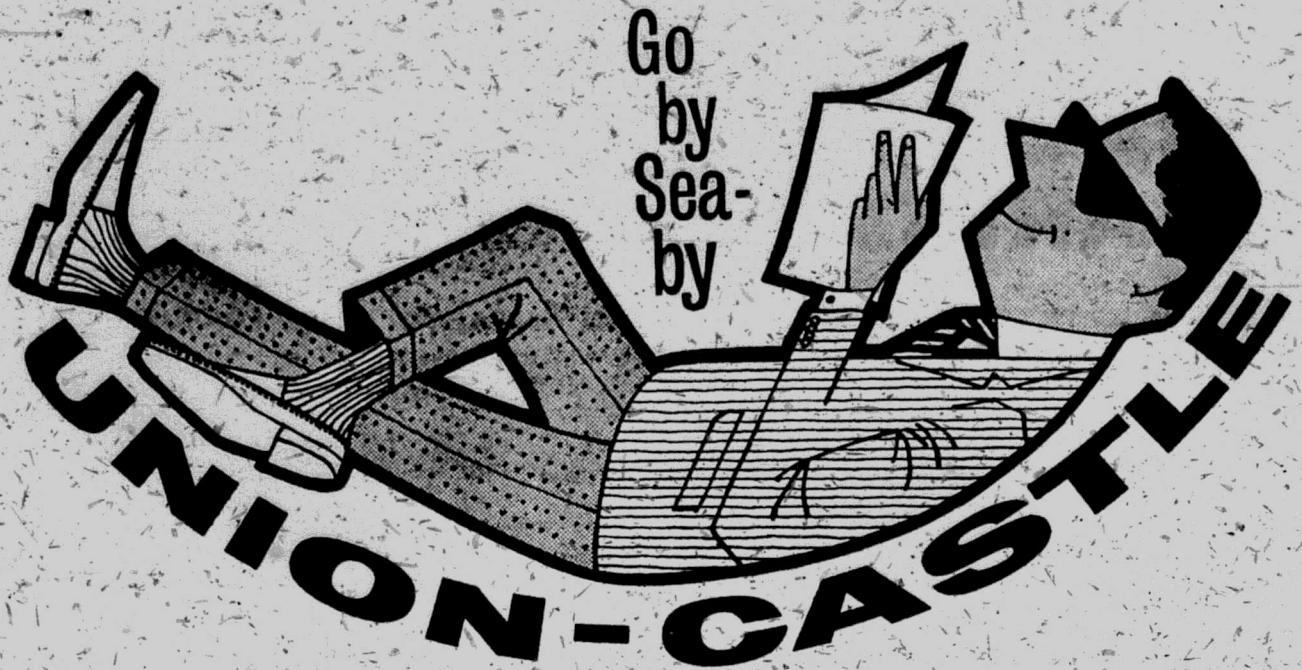
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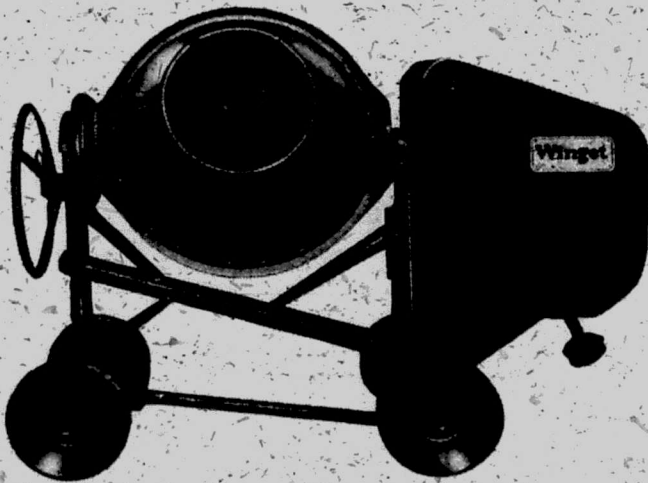
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