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Thursday, August 22, 1963

No. 2028

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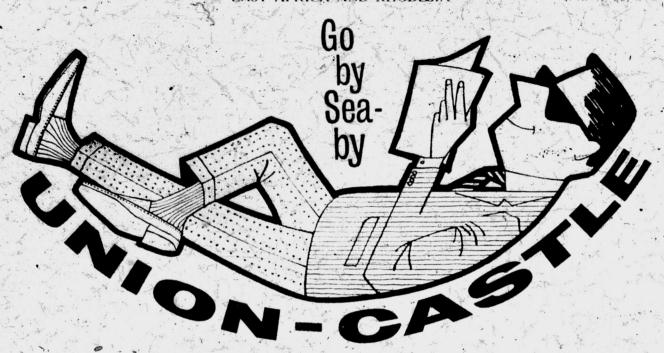


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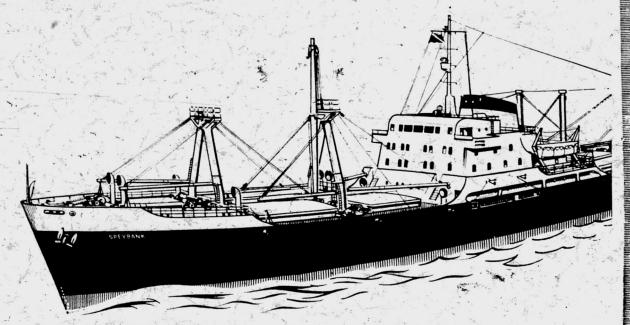
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THURSDAY, AUGUST 22, 1963

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

ANXIETY ABOUT NYASALAND has increased sharply of late among Europeans who, having lived happily in the country for many years, remained optimistic during the development of the Malawi movement, believed that the Nyasaland. transition from Colonial rule to internal self-government under a black Government would be smooth, and hoped that the next step to independence would follow quickly without undue misgivings. Recent occurrences have undermined such optimism in many minds. Friends domiciled in Britain, Rhodesia and South Africa who have visited Nyasaland frequently over long periods have told us within the past few weeks that they are more worried about the present state of affairs and the outlook in that country than they would have thought possible this time last year. Their heavy financial commitments naturally disturb some of them, but it is highly to their credit that not one of those who have discussed the general question with us put money markers first; they were concerned primarily with the erosion of established standards, the consequent damage to the country's well-being and prospects, the frustration of plans for all-round African progress under experienced guidance, and the menace of dictatorship reminiscent of Nazism in its early stages.

Administration by the provincial and district commissioners has virtually ceased, and there is so general a sense of despair among white officials at Government headquarters

in Zomba and elsewhere Interference by that many more of them Malawi Officials. will certainly take their pensions and compensa-

becomes independent than the British or Nyasaland Government had calculated. Interference by pompous functionaries of the

Malawi Congress Party is now on a scale which is considered intolerable in both official and non-official quarters, and it is almost entirely for that reason that more than fifty European police officers have resigned within the last few months; as Mr. Julian Greenfield. Minister of Law, recently told the Federal Parliament, many of them took that step "because of their disgust at the abuse of political power in relation to the investigation and prosecution of crime". The extent of that abuse was described in the Minister's speech on the erosion of the rule of law in Nyasaland, a significant statement which has been adequately reported by no publication in Great Britain except EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. That general unconcern of the Press with Africanism in action is, of course, as welcome to Mr. Macmillan, M. Butler, and most M.Ps. of all parties as it is to Dr. Banda and his "boys". Medical officers and trained nurses have also made public their intention to quit the service of the Nyasaland Government because of politically motivated intrusion and obstruction, and in some cases intimidation.

Though obviously aware of the collapse of the standards which have been normal under British administration, the Macmillan Government pretends for its own cynical reasons

of expediency that, apart from a little local diffi-Bill of Rights a culty here and there, all is well in Nyasaland. Mr. Piece of Paper.

Butler, the First Secretary of State and Minister for Central African Affairs, knows that that is not the case. What he has been told

> This issue ends the 39th Annual Volume of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

by the Governor and Dr. Banda we-can only guess, but we have some knowledge of the representations made by people who have lived in Nyasaland much longer than either have been sent to us, together with the text of his evasive replies. Though he is seemingly satisfied that the existence of a Bill of Rights provides guarantees which ought not to be questioned, he must not expect similarly simple faith from those who are exposed to risks which he does not run. They at least have not forgotten that at his first meeting with journalists after becoming Prime Minister Dr. Banda said (on February 22): "Is not this Bill of Rights just a piece of paper? The real Bill of Rights for anyone who is not an African is the good will of the people of this country. Any European who does not realize that and depends upon a piece of paper guarantee is simply living in a fool's paradise". If the Bill of Rights is just a piece of paper to the Prime Minister of Nyasaland, why should anyone have confidence that he and his party will have greater respect for the Constitution?

Dr. Banda's outbursts on these and other . serious issues and the frequent threats and bsurdities of his wild young men have often been recorded in this journal, whose regular readers know that Minis-

Law Mouted With Trapunity. · ters and Parliamentary Secretaries are among the

most persistent preachers of race hatred. Their deplorable example is followed by other members of the Legislature, and, not surprisingly, by lesser officials of the Malawi Congress Party. Some of them are actively organizing the persecution of Europeans, even those who have a long and unbroken record of excellent relations with their African employees and neighbours. In some areas those Africans are now incited to make frivolous or false complaints and against non-Africans, with charges knowledge that they and their families will be victimized if they decline to do the bidding of a local party boss, who may himself be under pressure from a higher quarter. That Africans who have dared to resist the pressure of M.C.P. extremists are also being framed is evident from facts in our possession which we refrain from publishing because that would cause the persons in question to become marked men. Redress is unobtainable, for agents of the party flout the law with impunity.

Justice is being deliberately perverted. A. recent and blatant example has been pro-

easy for an African woman who is pregnant Blackmailer's some other white man, per-Magna Carta. haps someone who' had of them, for copies of correspondence and Magna Carta. haps someone who' had memoranda addressed by them to Mr. Butler never seen her. Such cases are now heard in the local courts, in which a European may not be legally represented except by special consent of the Minister of Justice. Moreover, under a recent amendment of the law, the woman's story does not require corroboration. Opportunities for blackmail and harsh injustice are thus obvious. Is it surprising that this law has already been labelled "the blackmailer's magna carta"? In a less serious matter we have just received in-formation illustrating how easily a entirely innocent incident can be given a far from innocent twist. A European walking in a citrus grove one evening was approached by an African woman who proffered a ten shilling note and asked if she might buy some oranges. As she was told to apply at the estate office next morning, two members of the Malawi Youth League crawled from the undergrowth and accused the European of having solicited the woman. The false charge had perhaps been arranged because the estate had discharged a few Africans some days previously. In conditions of impartial justice nobody need seriously fear trumped-up charges; but they become dangerous even to

vided by the Paternity Bill, which makes it

When recently commenting on a two-day debate in the Legislature after the Press had reported that Asians in Chiromo had been attacked by Malawi Youth gangs, we empha-

persons of irreproachable character when the

rule of law is scorned. Only last week Mr.

Chipembere, Minister of Local Government,

said that if magistrates dealt leniently with

motorists who did not stop for Dr. Banda "we shall have an appointment with them and an account to settle with them". Could there be

a clearer warning that the party view is in-

tended to take precedence over justice?

sized that, despite the tor-What Happened rents of talk, no Govern-In Chiromo? ment speaker had clearly

described what had happened. That failure to give the public the facts aroused the suspicion that what had been written was not far from the truth. though there had undoubtedly been some inaccuracies and exaggerations. That the Government should have resorted to such unusual methods to discredit the newspaper reports suggested that its purpose might well be to divert attention from the indiscipline of Malawi gangs by malining local journalists. The more effective course would have been to institute an independent inquiry and pubneither connected with the Press, we have now been assured that the reports published in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia did not, sible people in Nyasaland have evidently not err seriously; and one informant declares that been convinced by the debate.

lish the findings. From two different sources, the writers were much more reliable than the Ministers and other Members who talked so vehemently but mainly irrelevantly. Respon-

Notes By The Way

Communism in the Sudan

How strong is Communism in the Sudan, actually and potentially? The answer to that important question can be known by very few people anywhere, but a friend who has kept in close touch with the country since his retirement has suggested to me that the military Government under General Abboud still takes a serious view of the matter. The Communist Party has been banned for about five years, and many of its leaders have been arrested, imprisoned, or otherwise foiled. However, there is still believed to be constant and considerable underground activity, not only by militant youths, but among trade unionists and intellectuals. As recently as 1961 an Egyptian general who had been a very active Communist was deported from the Sudan, students from which country had formed the first Sudanese Communist cells in Cairo in the latter part of the last war.

Tiny Minority.

WHEN THEY RETURNED HOME, mainly to Khartoum, many of them preached Marxism, or at least its bitter anti-colonialism, and because that and the propaganda for much higher wages were naturally popular with the trade unions, they were able to foster and organize numerous disruptive strikes. If my informant's memory is accurate, the existence of a Sudanest Communist Party was not publicly admitted until about the middle of 1956, and when elections for the Legislature were held two years later it was still thought prudent to dis-guise the connexion with Moscow; its candidates therefore stood, not openly as Communists, but as members of a fellow-travelling Anti-Imperialist Front. wise they were to dissemble was shown by the voting, for they gained only one seat in the Assembly. Some months later the party was proscribed. That its adherents are a tiny minority is evident; but it is on a few fanatics or traitors that Communism has built trouble in many other countries.

Collapse of Standards

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT of the Scotsman, Mr. Andrew Wilson, wrote recently in a dispatch from Leopoldville that a journalistic colleague had summed up his two and a half years of reporting in the Congo as "like trying to hammer in a nail with a banana". That arresting phrase looks likely to become increasingly applicable to other parts of Africa, for the withdrawal of European rule is being shown in case after case to result in an astonishingly rapid collapse of the established standards. There are already African-dominated States from Gov-ernment departments of which it is already almost impossible to obtain replies for weeks, if at all, to quite simple inquiries. Indeed, some departments of some territories have within a few months earned so unenviable a reputation for slackness that I know businessmen who have already been driven by their experience to conclude that it is a waste of time to communicate with them. Even more striking is the fact that educated and responsible Africans of my acquaintance are quite as critical in their private comments about some of the men who have been entrusted with portfolios and others who have been thrust into senior official jobs which they are quite incapable of filling with even moderate competence.

Occupational Hazard

IF UNFLATTERING about some Africans, including Ministers, Mr. Wilson was equally candid about some Europeans. For example, he listed alcoholism as one of the "occupational hazards of Congo reporting". Employers of all kinds, including Governments, have long known that over-includence in strong drink by some people represented a serious staff problem which had to be accepted in tropical and sub-tropical countries. Since the clamour for supposed "equality." in everything has in recent years induced spineless Governments to rescind the protective legislation which forbade the supply of spirits to Africans—so many of whom were heavy drinkers of less potent liquors—the hazard has grown in the case of Africans. "What caused So-and-So to make that outrageous remark in Council?", I asked one African member of a Legislature a few months ago about a colleague in his own "Oh! he was more drunk than usual", came the reply. "It was so obvious that we were surprised that the Speaker did not notice it and have him removed".

Socialist Wind of Change

UNTIL QUITE RECENTLY many resolutions, sometimes well over a score, condemning aspects of British activity in Africa were submitted for each annual conference of the Labour Party. Of 411 resolutions in the programme for this year's conference in Scarborough at the end of next month not one is of that character. Indeed, this year there is not even a sub-section on Colonies. There are four resolutions about the United Nations, six about under-developed countries, and eight condemning the policy of the Government towards South Africa. The local Labour parties which have drafted motions about under-developed countries want more money and effort to be provided for their assistance, and one described the task of raising the standard of living in such areas of the world as "the greatest political and economic challenge of the day". That is not tical and economic challenge of the day". That is not the general view of the African politicians who keep their names in the headlines: like Nkrumah, the mentor of many of them, they seek first the political kingdom. The penultimate resolution in the conference handbook calls upon the next Socialist Government in Britain to abolish honours lists and hopes that all Socialists will meanwhile refuse honours. .

Pride and Prejudice: Sense and Sensibility

Sir Jock Campbell's Attitude to "The New Africa" *

MY APPROACH is largely empirical in the light of my understanding of the historical process of Africa, and guided by certain moral convictions, because I believe that the problems of the new Africa south of the Sahara can be solved only by an empiricism informed by history and inspired by conviction.

Only within the last 100 years has the Western world impinged upon the central mass of Tropical Africa. What an impact it has been! Today's turbulent Africa is the direct outcome of European penetration—and, more recently, American influence. We British went into Africa to emigrate; to save our own souls by saving the souls of Africans; to develop new sources of raw materials and new outlets for the industrial revolution; to enlarge our Empire—to the glory of God and the Queen, and to the reinforcement of Pax Britannica.

As in all human affairs, motives were undoubtedly mixed. As well as greed, vainglory, and power politics, there was patriotism, courage, a desire to serve God and the Queen, spiritual inspiration, a genuine wish to lighten darkest Africa and to strive for the greater health, wealth and happiness of her people. But all this was in the context of our own beliefs, our own societies, our own values, our own ways of life.

Revolution of Rising Expectations

African society was relatively powerless to withstand the invasion of European institutions and ideas. Africa was overwhelmed by the impact of Europe. Barbara Ward has vividly described this process in terms of four revolutions: the revolutions of equality, of this-worldliness, of rising birth rates, and of driving scientific change. These revolutions are symbolized by the words "democracy", "materialism", "population explosion", and "the industrial revolution"—all leading to the revolution of rising expectations.

I suppose that when the colonizers of Africa thought about the long-term implications of what they were doing—in the context of Africa rather than in the European context—they dreamed high-mindedly that Africa would become a projection of Europe; that Africans would become black Europeans, and that African societies would become rather ramshackle European societies. In short, that Africa would be civilized wholly after the European fashion.

So the process went on: European systems and institutions of every sort; the long-term goal of European democratic parliamentary systems—but not until the Natives were ready for it, a sort of public school imitation with headmasters and prefects (Governors and chiefs); European educational systems; European economic organization, and the application of our economic theories; European religion; European administrative methods; African boundaries dictated by European history, power and venture; towards the European metro-

Synthesis of Old Africa with Imported Europe

This was perhaps the only way it could have happened: the process probably couldn't and wouldn't have started otherwise. It is fruitless to judge past actions in the light of present thought and experience.

But there was never proper awareness of the inevitable fact that the process would have to become a two-way process; that the four revolutions would have to be worked out in the context of Africa as it really is and not as Europeans would like it to be! That the new institutions would have to be adapted to the African idiom; that leadership must be African leadership, not imitation European leadership; that African civilization and the future of Africa must be a synthesis be-

*This report of an address to the annual meeting of the Africa Bureau has been somewhat abbreviated. Headings and cross-headings have been inserted editorially. Publication has been unfortunately delayed owing to continuing pressure on space. tween African realities and the past of Africa, imported Europe, and all the tense diversity of our modern world. Surely all civilization and all cultures have been generated in this way: by the fusing of a dynamic with a static process. And no-one can foretell what form or direction the new dynamism that results will take-or what good and harm will come with it—what new fears the new hopes will bring.

What now seems important is that everybody concerned with Africa, above all African leaders themselves, should face the infinite complexity and difficulty of this synthesis, should use to the full what Sydney Smith called their "synthetical propensities", and should act constructively with sense and sensibility rather than with destructive pride and prejudice. The past, with all its scars, is the past. The future depends upon the present.

"Instant Brew" of Democracy

Most of the new African nations—despite the last minute trappings of parliamentary democracy (a sort of "instant brew" of representative government)—have inherited in some shape or form autocratic and bureaucratic types of government. True, they were theoretically and sometimes in practice advancing towards representative government of the North Atlantic pattern, but this was less significant than the tradition of rule by officialdom.

Although I believe with the deepest conviction in the sanctity of the individual over and against the powerful forces of bureaucracy or tyranny of any kind, I increasingly doubt whether our sort of representative government is universally workable. Indeed I question whether it is really working in Britain and the United States—let alone France—except as a sort of shadow boxing, conforming to the rules of the Establishment, between parties whose rivalry is competitive rather than between contestants who want to change the rules radically or throw them out of the ring.

But however much Louestion the techniques of democracy.

But however much I question the techniques of democracy, I certainly don't mean to cry down democratic values, or fall into the subtle trap of saying that we can work democracy but Africans cannot. People everywhere want representation and impartial justice. One hopes that the democratic seeds have been sown in Africa. The problem is to avoid their shrivelling during the present drought; by which I mean that many of the new African societies are at present virtually in a state of siege.

The practical demands of policy and action upon African leaders in the light of Barbara Ward's four uncompleted revolutions which are fermenting in their countries, and in the light of their inheritance of autocratic/bureaucratic forms of government, and externally geared and oriented systems and institutions, make it really inconceivable that they could overnight, or even perhaps within a generation, run their countries like Britain or Sweden.

Reaping the Whirlwind

Look at the conflicts, tyrannies and anarchies, external and internal, which European countries have gone through to reach some precarious independence—which is now anyway emerging into interdependence. How on earth can anyone of sense and sensibility expect that Africa can overcome all the pressures and forces of history at the stroke of a pen in Lancaster House? Yet I am afraid that the British electorate—and even Parliament—do think that they can wash their hands of African States once the Secretary of State has patted them on the head with his Colonial hand and offered a formal—far from golden—handshake with the other Commonwealth Relations one.

On four controversial issues I must express a personal opinion. Why, if it is all so difficult and dangerous for Africans, insist upon changing horses in mid-stream: why not let Europeans, who have proven experience of their sort of government, finish the job? My answer is that the job cannot be completed in European terms.

To be African, which it must be, it must be completed in African terms by Africans. The conferentions of the province o

To be African, which it must be, it must be completed in African terms by Africans. The contemptuous, patronizing, governessy, and thoughtless behaviour towards Africans of so many Europeans—particularly, I am afraid, Britons—has made it impossible that Africans would accept their continuing headmastership, whatever the apparent practical advantages. In this, as in so many ways in Africa, we have sown the wind and reaped the whirlyind.

wind and reaped the whirlwind.

The second question is: "Democracy is indivisible. How do you appear to condone Dr. Nkrumah's dictatorship", the

questioner would say "in Ghana, while vituperating against Dr. Verwoerd in South Africa?" As I have just implied, it is morally indefensible politically, and internationally impracticable, and historically contradictory for an alien or minority group or race indefinitely to dominate the majority of the inhabitants of a country. It is therefore not a viable situation: and no resolution of tyranny is possible when it is a tyranny of alien domination.

of alien domination.

On the other hand, I think that history shows that internal non-racial, unforeign tyranny works itself out in the end. So while I personally always want to see the greatest possible liberty for the individual—freedom of speech, freedom to dissent, freedom to oppose—I believe that in Ghana these will come, although whether peacefully or violently I don't know, whereas in South Africa they cannot come peacefully under the present dispensation, which denies common

Fascism—which is the basis of the present South African Government—is at best the idealization of the abominable doctrine of a master-race. Communism in its political manifestations is at worst the corruption of the great ideal of the equality of man. Fascism is racial; Communism, whatever

else it may be, is not.

Although history proves that internal tyranny works itself out in the long run, the long run can be a terribly long time coming; and as Lord Keynes said, "In the long run we are all dead". So I do not believe that we can automatically exculpate the setting up of African dictatorships by saying that

they won't last forever.

The third question is: "But in, for instance, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Kenya, don't you believe in multi-racial States: and how do you protect a white minority—who have contributed so much to the development of the country—under African majority rule?"

Multi-Racial Romanticism

My answer is that I believe that multi-racial societies are my answer is that I believe that multi-racial societies are a romantic ideal—if one means legislating to assure for all time the continuing political power of an alien, minority group quite disproportionate to its numbers. Even if I accepted, which I don't, that the European influence in these countries has been wholly beneficient, the motives wholly charitable, and their behaviour exemplary and entirely quixotic, I would think that the process of history which they have started inthink that the process of history which they have started in-exorably prevents their politically holding their own in the

I do not believe that anywhere the question is whether European supremacy or even political parity will end. The question is always when and how, peacefully or violently, in bitterness or good will. If Europeans continue to behave with pride and prejudice, if they behave like King Canute, they pride and prejudice,

will be overwhelmed.

In some countries there may just still be time for them to recognize the inevitable, to accept the fact that the tide will come in, and to adapt themselves to this — to build an ark or learn to swim. In which case, while they will feel in effect disenfranchized—because from having great power and privilege based on race they will have no power based on numbers (for democracy is the counting of heads) — there is no reason why many of them cannot go on living fruitful, happy lives in a new society with which they have come to terms and whose progress and prosperity they give evidence terms and whose progress and prosperity they give evidence of wanting to help. And eventually they will recover some power proportionate with their numbers and abilities and

But there will be no future for anyone who adopts the attitude of, to quote the Merchant of Venice, "I will buy with you, sell with you, talk with you, walk with you, and so following; but I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you". Is it not very noticeable that the fewer Europeans there are in any African country the faster its constitutional progress, not necessarily the slower its economic progress in relation to resources, and the better the Europeans come to terms with reality?

"You Don't Live in Africa"

I must expect the criticism: "But you don't live in Africa: I must expect the criticism: But you don't live in Africa if you did you would pipe a very different tune". True although I have 30 years of business experience with Central and West Africa, and two centuries of family association with the West Indies, I have not lived in Africa With humility, I hope—but I cannot be sure—that if I did I would have the same convictions and the courage of them.

Many do:

And there may well be some advantage in people, even 5,000 miles away, keeping up the pressure. I don't deny that it is easier to take the high-minded line away from the battlefield; but perhaps it is as well that some people somewhere do take this line. To quote Palmerston, "If you want to be thoroughly misinformed about a country, you should

speak to someone who has lived there for 30 years and who

speaks the language perfectly!"

The point surely is: do the white minorities, whatever they may believe about the importance of their own rôle and about the protection of their own interests, really believe that there

the protection of their own interests, really believe that there are any means by which they can hold their present position, by fair means or foul? And I must say that I think in Southern Rhodesia the means are fairly foul at present. If they do not believe it, I think such joy as they have will be short-lived in what I am afraid may turn out to be a fool's paradise. But if they will recognize the inevitable there is even now some chance—perhaps only a slight chance—of what the Prayer Book calls a happy issue out of all their afflictions. They can still do so much to help the desperate afflictions of Africa too.

The fourth question is: "If, owing to your irresponsible liberalism and idealism, African advancement goes too far and too fast, and if you are right that democracy won't work in the new African nations, won't they go Communist?"

Well, I don't think I am being idealist about African advancement: I am being a realist. The idealists are the people who live in and plan for an Africa which doesn't exist.

Obsession with Communism

I doubt whether the Communism of the Soviet revolution is any more relevant to Africa than the capitalism of the City is any more relevant to Africa than the capitalism of the City of London. But if we insist upon arrogantly trying to impose a projection of the City of London on Africa. Communism and its achievements will look a good deal more attractive. Moreover, "the far-off hills are red", and one must sympathize if African leaders, faced by daunting social and economic problems, sometimes feel that Communism offers the answer. Everybody really concerned for the future of Africa should do everything possible to help to avoid states of social, economic, administrative and political chaos and vacuum there; and for Heaven's sake don't let's be so obsessed by the threat of Communism that we try to stop Africans finding out what

of Communism that we try to stop Africans finding out what it is really all about, or that we adopt the immature attitude that who is not with us is against us, and try to enforce their declaring which side of somebody else's cold war they are on. They are on the side of Africa. We must show that we are on the side of Africa too.

Then there are the problems of economic organization. In this I am not dealing with the questions of unbridled private enterprise capitalism at one end of the spectrum and private enterprise capitalism at one end of the spectrum and ruthless Communism at the other, because, as I have said, I think neither is relevant to Africa—although African Governments have to decide in what direction the emphasis should lie. I would expect the most usual pattern to be a socialized mixed economy, with direct State activities, State-owned corporations, especially for public utilities and development, partnership in the "commanding heights of the economy" between the State and private capital, private enterprise companies of all sizes, co-operatives, and of course individuals. One good and indisputable reason for public enterprise is the lack of private savings because of poverty: foreign private enterprise, cannot completely fill the gap, so Governments must.

Colonialist Connotations

Although mining is of immense economic importance where minerals exist, agriculture is the social and economic foundation of Africa. It is all too easy to say that agricultural development must take pride of place, and that in future there must be the same application of science and skill and planning to the production, transport, distribution and marketing of food for local consumption as there has been in the most to export corpe; in other words that subsistence agriculing of lood for local consumption as there has been in the past to export crops; in other words, that subsistence agriculture must be elevated to its proper place as an essential for living. There remains the brute fact that individual farming can be made efficient and productive only by compulsion or a strong, direct, personal, economic incentive.

The question is, on which mainspring the African leader depends

depends.

Plantations are unfashionable and unpopular because of their colonialist connotations: but there is no doubt that plantations (another phrase for industrialized agriculture), which can be privately, publicly, or jointly owned, are effective. Ghana and Nigeria are both going in for them. So long as industrialized agriculture employs men free to come and go. I incline to the view that it is preferable—both in terms of efficiency and liberty—to the communized collective farming whose results seem to have fallen short of expectation in the Soviet Union and China; and preferable in terms of efficiency to individual peasant farming, which is difficult to plan and organize coherently, and for which no incentive has yet been found except exhortation and nagging, which never got anybody very far.

never got anybody very far.

Of course, all agriculture cannot and should not be industrialized, and all peasant farming cannot and should not

be eliminated. But in seeking the right balance industrialized agriculture mustn't be ruled out because of the part of private

plantations in colonial history.

I have purposely not yet mentioned co-operatives because to many people they have the sort of connotation of Com-munist collective farming that plantations have of colonialism. Quite wrongly in my opinion: in fact, for many tropical crops I believe that co-operatives offer the most promising pattern of quasi-industrialized agricultural development.

It is all very well to say that industrialization should take place only upon the base of indigenous raw materials and skills and markets. But African leaders naturally see industrialization as a status symbol of affluent societies. Moreover, their economies have been—for better or for worse, for richer or for poorer—shaped by the interests of their metropolitan colonizers. Consequently, when the umbilical cord is cut the new partons will develop serious ballares of naverent is cut, the new nations will develop serious balance-of-payment problems if they cannot rely on continuing to find profitable

So, apart from the symbols of affluence, industrialization both for local demand (which is small) and for export (which is difficult) is economically imperative. But Heaven forbid that African States should aim to be preponderantly industrial: there is nothing to be ashamed of in being a New Zeeland or a Dement.

Zealand or a Denmark

Scaring Off Outside Capital

This leads to the question of closed economies, because new industries cannot easily be started without artificial protection. In countries where there is anyway little capital formation. tion at present, profits from existing and new undertakings cannot be allowed to leave the country unrestricted. When European countries get into economic difficulties, they can inflate their economies and devalue their currencies. So far African countries have not been able to do this because their economies and currencies have been tied to their metropole. Now that they are independent they are told that what is common practice in Europe is disreputable for them. Of course, it is not only disreputable but disastrous unless they strike the right balance.

How do they strike the balance between on the one hand

How do they strike the balance between on the one hand open free enterprise economies, attracting private capital, but quite out of the realm of practical politics; and on the other closed and controlled economies, which will frighten away the outside capital they so badly need?

The logical idealist would, I suppose, argue that these problems would be unreal and this precarious balance unnecessary to strike if there were far more regionalization in Africa, if production and markets crossed boundaries, and if industries were established in the most sensible and economic place. But how can this happen all at once when a rigid

industries were established in the most sensible and economic place. But how can this happen all at once when a rigid pattern has already been set by Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium, Germany, Italy—and now South Africa, and when the leaders of new African nations are dealing with an inheritance of dreadfully hard facts?

It is all very well to tell Africans that "politics is the art of the possible": for them the possible is steeped not only in their own politics, but also in the politics they have had thrust upon them. The Central African Federation is an outstanding example: economically there was, and still is, everything to be said for a regional grouping: but the European attempt to exploit this in order to maintain white supremacy has seriously retarded regionalization of not wrecked it.

supremacy wrecked it.

Chaos with Pan-Africanism

There are, of course, those African leaders who see pan-Africanism as the means of achieving a great ideal of African Africanism as the means of achieving a great ideal of Africanism unity. But I wonder how immediately practical an ideal it is. Isn't there a danger that if it were driven forward too fast and too far before the birth-throes of the new African nations are over, before their independence is established, it will lead either to chaos or to a new sort of imperialism? I believe that nationalism must come before internationalism, inde-

pendence before interdependence.

I wish that V.I.Ps.—Very Itinerant Pundits—from the affluent societies would stop telling African Governments how it is done or how it isn't done in Moscow or Manchester, but could concentrate on sympathetically helping them to make do and mend in terms of the possible rather than the

desirable.

To take one example, exchange control. Wouldn't it be much better, instead of our telling African Governments that they mustn't have exchange control because it will shock everybody, to tell them how to institute it and operate it efficiently with commercial realism and individual fairness; to encourage them to institute it too early rather than too late; to create confidence in what must be done rather than to destroy confidence by extremes of omission or commission?

Big business has played a tremendous part in the economic development of Africa. There is consequently a belief that

big business is playing a malevolent and a Machievellian part in holding back the forces of African nationalism—for instance, the copper and diamond and gold companies in Central and South Africa.

Big business, like all vested interests, tends to be conserva-Big business, like all vested interests, tends to be conserva-tive and reactionary. Businessmen will naturally resist changes which may diminish their profits or power or complicate their operations. It is true that they have generally hindered rather than helped African nationalism by not being prepared to commit themselves to it at critical times — by not sticking their necks out politically. But businessmen are on the whole non-political creatures; and I know from experience that they are the first to true to adjust themselves to any situation as its are the first to try to adjust themselves to any situation as it is

are the first to try to adjust themselves to any situation as it is.

The stages are, first, that they will move in and develop the resources of a courty for profit; then they will hang on to their position of strength as long as they can, supporting European rule; then, when forced to face the facts of nationalism, they will try to support moderate (some would say stooge) African politicians likely to be favourably disposed towards them; finally, when they wake up to find that there is an African nationalist Government in power, they will be the first in the queue on their doorstep eager to come to terms with the Government of the day.

will be the first in the queue on their doorstep eager to come to terms with the Government of the day.

Of course, there are some companies whose management have strong political principles, sometimes progressive, sometimes reactionary; but most big businesses just adapt themselves to situations as they are, although perhaps they are slow to do so. The more international a business is, the less wholly rooted in a particular country, the more quickly flexible and adaptable it is likely to be; and the more professional and technocratic its management, and thus the less wedded to political ideologies.

wedded to political ideologies.

I do not deny though that, for example in Central Africa, two or three—but only two or three—companies seem to have behaved badly according to the process I have just sketched; indeed, by any standards. These, in my view, do not include the great producing companies in British Central

"Worth Their Oats"

Although I am far from always agreeing with them, and certainly they with me, I am sure that Mr. Harry Oppenheimer and Sir Ronald Prain are, as well as being most able men, liberal and progressive—struggling to bridge the awful thasm, which I myself know so well, between the desirable and the possible. They won't thank me for saying this, but I say it because I think it is important for everybody to be able to distinguish between rogue white elephants and companies ready to work with the Government of the day—willing work-horses, "good", as the old equine advertisements used to say, "in harness". I make no apology for this metaphor. because I think that is what businesses should, metaphorically, be—willing work-horses, good in harness with Government because I think that is what businesses should, metaphorically, be — willing work-horses, good in harness with Government and people and worth their oats.

And, by the way, cross-directorships and cross-shareholdings lead, in my experience, not to effective conspiracy but only to crossed wires — and so to confusion!

What should the future rôle of big business, of private enterprise, be in emergent Africa? My annual statement last year as chairman of Bookers said.

year as chairman of Bookers said:

year as chairman of Bookers said:—

"There remains plenty of work to be done, and plenty of room for profitable investment, by private enterprise in underdeveloped countries. But this requires the directors of private investment to understand the problems and realities of the countries in which they are operating, and to adapt themselves to their societies and economies as they evolve, not as they would expect them to be in London and the Home Counties.

"For the new Governments, it demands that, in making new rules, they recognize the problems of investors and their need for a sufficient return; and having made the rules, they must fairly and squarely explain them and stick to them Uncertainty about the intentions of Governments is the worst deterrent to investment".

deterrent to investment".

Calculated Risks

What sort of private investment? It is not appropriate, and nnot be expected, that the small investors—widows, orphans, cannot be expected, that the small investorsand pensioners—should invest in underdeveloped Africa. This in practice rules out small family businesses operating in Britain, public companies whose shareholders have reason to believe that they are operating in Britain, and the flotation of new companies—without strong governmental, city, or international backing—to operate in underdeveloped Africa.

But it offers opportunities to big or medium national or international companies whose risk is spread geographically, functionally, or both; to big or medium specialist companies who can take a calculated risk in projecting their operations into countries whose markets may anyway be gradually closed to their exports; and companies of any size whose business is

Southern Rhodesia's Revolutionary Policy for Education

Responsibility for Primary Education to Devolve on Local Communities

SOUTHERN RHODESIA'S NEW GOVERNMENT has decided to change completely the present

system of education.

The State will concentrate on providing secondary, adult and higher education, while local communities will be made responsible for primary education. The change is an expression of the Government's plan for community development.

MR. J. HOWMAN, Minister of African Education, has

issued the following statement

Community development is a social process whereby the people of a community organize themselves in action for the good of that local group or community. Its aim is to establish cohesive, self-reliant communities with a growing sense of social, economic, and political responsibility. Material progress will be the result of the exercise of self-reliance and initiative and the shouldering of responsibility.

Application to All Races

"Our programme in community development is to: encourage and assist people to organize themselves to exercise initiative in improving their own lot and to ensure co-operation on the basis of self-help. The principles of community development have application to

Community development is not a device for dealing with African administration or a device for building schools or dip tanks or roads. It is a process, a way of social living, whereby people do for themselves the things they want to do in their own way. It is based on the belief that communities of people have inherent wisdom in their own affairs to make wise decisions when given responsibility for those decisions and when help is given to assist them to discharge those responsibili-

"Communities, like individuals, grow in capacity, and their competence in discharging responsibility grows through the existence and acceptance of responsibility. Communities will make mistakes-we all dobut that is an essential part of the maturing of all peoples. It is inherent in the concept of community development that responsibility, with assistance, will beget responsible action, and the essence of responsibility is power to decide on priorities and actions.

Spoon-Fed

"Many of our present difficulties are due to the belief in the past that only the Government had the necessary knowledge and the resources to provide efficient services. Consequently people were given the responsibility to do only those things which other people thought they were competent of doing. In other words, they were spoon-fed and their thinking was done for them. Good was done to them, and they became more and more dependent, more and more demanding, less and less responsible, and less and less capable of com-munal action. That has been the fruit of past policy.

"Our aim now is to build self-reliant communities, willing and able to play an active part in determining their own priorities, to commit their own resources, their own labour, and their own material, and to use intelli-gently the methods and processes of Western civiliza-

tion or Western technology.

Our aim cannot stop at that, for a multitude of little basic communities, even if organized on a basis of communal self-help, raise many problems. So community development becomes the corollary of local government. The aim of Government is the development of viable, economically strong, and efficiently staffed local government bodies.

The structure of local government must be such that it will permit each local community freedom within its own resources to choose its own activities and methods of doing resources to choose its own activities and methods of doing things and to satisfy its own uniqueness on the basis that all communities differ, all have their own wishes, all have their own thoughts and values. It is essential that the community has the freedom, insofar as it does not impinge on other communities, to determine its own priorities and to commit its own resources to meet its own unique assessment of its own

"If our policy is to allow communities of people, irrespective of race, to determine the things they want to do in their own way and to contribute themselves to achieving those ends, and to help them in achieving those ends, what

part in that concept does education play?

"I can talk at the moment only about African education.

Among the greatly felt needs of the African people is the desire for health and for education. There can be little doubt as to the great desire for education.

"Four groups are concepted in advantage of the street of the groups are concepted in advantage.

"Four groups are concerned in education—the family, the community, the Church, and the State. It has been assumed that the State had the right to control everything. But it is not proper, surely, to deny the other three social groups their rights in education. I think it wrong for the State to assume a complete monopoly in matters of education. Subject to its retaining such control as is necessary in the national interest, I believe that the parents and the community should take a much greater share in the un-bringing of the individual. Relimuch greater share in the up-bringing of the individual. Religious instruction is the prerogative of the Church, and the Church should also have the right to influence and assist parents and the communities in the discharge of their responsibilities for secular education.

"Vast sums have been spent on African education. In three years to 1962 the vote increased from £3.953m, to £5.15m. This sum represents 20% of the whole of Southern Rhodesia's recurrent expenditure. Primary education alone accounted for 16% of the recurrent expenditure of the country.

Urgent Need

"With the growth of population and the increasing demand "With the growth of population and the increasing demand for education, Government has decreasingly been able to provide what is necessary. Past policy has precluded us from harnessing the immense possibilities and the immense powers latent in the people for local effort and community organization which can be generated when people are given a large measure of responsibility for doing the things they want to

"A policy under which Government has etained under its direct control the most urgently felt need of the people namely, education—has largely denied local government councils any hope of achieving real acceptance by the people as a whole. The people have observed that the existence or non-existence of a council makes little or no difference in the number and quality of the schools, so the general feeling is that councils are no use and that Government should do what-

councils are no use and that Government should do whatever is necessary.

"The past policy has placed missions in a most unfair position, for they have come to find that the provision and needs and demands of education have intruded more and more into their proper field of religious education. School managers, teachers, and missionaries have become more and more concerned only as school administrators and not as religious educators. The people have increasingly looked upon the payment of school fees and their contributions of labour and materials for the construction of their own schools as unfair levies imposed upon them.

Bitter Resentment

"As a result, missionaries have been primarily regarded more and more as agents of the State, which, because it cannot provide all the schools the people want, is considered to be denying them the schools which they believe they have a right to expect from Government. This is because the people have largely been denied responsibility in the operation of what should be their schools." should be their schools

In addition, there has grown up a difference in treatment between the urban and rural areas. In the rural areas, where the missions controlled the schools, the parents paid fees and helped to build schools as their contributions to the missions. In the urban areas the Government primary schools provided everything free. As a result there has been bitter resentment throughout the rural population at this differing treatment. That position must be changed.

(Concluded on page 1111)

PERSONALIA

MR. H. S. Cross is to go to Uganda as television operations manager.

Mr. Jacquis Noti Kilk has been appointed a direc-

for of Nyasaland Railways.

SENIOR CHIEF MUHOYA KAGUMBA of Nyeri has retired after 27 years' service in Kenya:

MR. J. B. PINE, lately Attorney-General in Nyasa-

land, is now Legal Adviser to the Governor

MR. MALCOI M MACDONALD, Governor of Kenya, and DR. D. T. Jack, both celebrated their 62nd birthdays last Saturday

Mr. J. L. Oppong, secretary-general of the Ghanabased Union of African Local Authorities, has been

visiting East Africa

SIR GODFREY and LADY RHODES, who have just spent their first holidas in England for 12 years, flew back to

Nairobi on Tuesday Mr. A. H. Gurr has been appointed a director and a general manager of Union-Castle and Mr. E. R. Dug-

GAN a director of the Clan Line. MR. T. C. GARDNER, Minister of Finance in Northern Rhodesia, has suggested the establishment of an East

and Central African Tourist Board. A Zomba local court jail sentence passed on a Euro-

pean, MR. A. BREDAHL, was quashed by the Nyasaland Director of Public Prosecutions last week

The Acting Governor-General of the Federation, SIR HUMPHREY GIBBS, has opened a £165,000 plywood factory for Rhodesia and Nyasaland Forest Enterprises.

MR. GUY HUNTER and MR. PHILIP MASON are to address a session of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations to be held in Sicily in late September.

MR. M. MATI and MR. M. A. BENJAMINI have been awarded the Governor's commendation for brave conduct for rescue work during floods in Southern Rho-

SIR WILLIAM GORELL-BARNES has been appointed a director of the Royal, the Liverpool and London and Globe, and the London and Lancashire insurance com-

MR. M. L. S. B. RUKUBA, deputy Chief Conservator of Forests in Uganda, is spending two months on an F.A.O. study tour of Russian aerial forest photography

MR. PAUL BOMANI, Finance Minister in Tanganyika, has said that the republic's contribution to the African Development Bank will be nearly £2m., payable over

MR. LEOPOLD TAKAWIRA, now "vice-president" of the newly formed Z.A.N.U. in Southern Rhodesia, has been sentenced to four months' imprisonment for contempt of court.

CHIEF MPHAMBA of Lundazi, MR. ISAAC CHENDA of Lusaka and MR. J. B. MUKUKA of Abercorn, will leave Northern Rhodesia next month to study public administration in this country.

Dr. Daudi Wasawo, of Kenya, a former graduate and currently a reader at Makerere College, will become the university's first African vice-principal next month when

he succeeds Professor L. C. Beadle.
MR. Y. YAGOSHI is the leader of a six-member Japanese technical mission which has arrived in Kenya to set up a training and research institute at Nakuru

for the development of small industries.

DR. FELIX MENDELSOHN, for the past two years, senior geologist of R.S.T. Exploration, Ltd., has left Northern Rhodesia to join the Department of Mineral Technology of the University of California until May next, when he will go to Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, to a research chair in geology. Dr. MENDEL-SOHN joined R.S.T. 14 years ago, and was at one time chief geologist at the Roan Antelope mine:

MR. BULLE CHIPWANA, an African police pensioner, has been sentenced to a year's imprisonment by a Nyasaland local court and fined £50 for "using insulting language "about the Prime Minister, Dr. BANDA,

Southern and Northern Rhodesia have agreed to pay £90,000 over four years to continue the fisheries research project on Lake Kariba, LORD GRAHAM, the Colony's Minister of Lands and Natural Resources, has

MRS, ROSE CHIBAMBO, national chairman of the League of Malawi Women, has been returned unopposed to the Legislative Council in a by-election, thereby becoming the first woman member of the Nyasaland Legislature.

MR. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, *a British trade unionist who has represented the Public Services International in East Africa and Zanzibar, is due in Southern Rhodesia shortly as joint representative of the I.C.F.T.U. and the International Trade Secretariats.

MR. E. NANGWANDA SIJAONA, M.P., Minister for National Culture and Youth, has succeeded MR. SOLOMON ELIUFOO, Minister for Education, as president of the Boy Scouts' Association of Tanganyika, of which President Nyerere is patron.

South Africans in Kenya after independence should take out British citizenship if they do not want to become Kenyans, the Finance Minister, MR. J. S. GICHURU, suggested in Nakuru last week. "We have no intention of throwing anyone out," he added.

Mr. JEREMIAH KASAMBALA, Minister for Co-operative and Community Development in Tanganyika, said when visiting the Southern Highlands that it was nonsensical to see an immaculately dressed African who could not write sporting a pen from his pocket as a showpiece.

MR. E. A. MUWAMBA, who has been appointed to the Public Service and Police Service Commissions in Nyasaland, is a former member of the Legislative Council and is now 71 years of age. He was a teacher for many years, for more than 30 in Northern Rhodesia.

ARCHDEACON O. T. CORDELL, for more than 31 years C.M.S. missionary in Tanganyika, who now lives in retirement in Sydney, Australia, has been appointed head of the French department of Barker College, Sydney, one of the leading Anglican schools in Australia.

MR. CECIL HARVEY, resident engineer at the Roan Antelope copper mine since 1950, and a past president of the Northern Rhodesian Society of Engineers, has retired to live in England. His successor is Mr. A. S. 'DANNY") WEBSTER, previously mechanical engineer the mine

MR. JAMES KIBERA, who joined East African Railways and Harbours in 1935 as a trainee telegraphist, and subsequently served as a station master and a traffic inspector before transfer to the general manager's office five years ago, has succeeded MR. J. P. LOVE-GROVE as public relations officer.

PROFESSOR - R. S. MACARTHUR has been making a mental ability survey in Northern Rhodesia, with the assistance of Mr. S. H. IRVINE, Acting Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Lusaka, and Mr. A. R. BRIMBLE, of the Ministry of African Education. A report is due for publication next month.

Following the resignation of Mr. BASIL TREGAY, from the Rhokana Corporation's mining and service division, Mr. V. W. HALL is to be transferred from Nchanga on January 1 as assistant manager. His place will be taken by MR. C. H. WALTERS, who will be succeeded in the consulting engineering department at the Rho-Anglo head office in Salisbury by MR. ARTHUR MAC-ADAM, mine superintendent at Bancroft. The underground manager at Bancroft, Mr. W. OPPERMAN, will become mine superintendent.

At the meeting in Aberdeen at the end of this month for the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Dr. M. J. Rull, lecturer in social anthropology in Central African Studies at Edinburgh University, is to speak on "Witcheraft Beliefs in an African Society"

MR. JAVAN R. OCHIENG, the first African to be appointed a regional health inspector in the Rift Valley area of Kenya, was a student at Salford College of Advanced Technology in 1959-61. While in England he obtained diplomas in public health inspection, meat and foods inspection, and tropical hygiene.

The salute at the Battle of Jambo Hill parade at Lanet on Saturday — commemorating the 11th K.A.R.'s first major engagement in Burma in 1944 — was taken by its commander at the time, MAJOR-GENERAL T. H. BIRBECK, who is now director of the British Army's Territorials, Cadets and Home Guard.

MR. OLIVER JAMES CORDELL, only son of ARCHDEACON and MRS. OLIVER T. CORDELL, for many years C.M.S. missionaries in Tanganyika and Kenya, has been appointed to the Diplomatic Corps of Australia, where his parents now live. Since early 1961 MR. CORDELL has been a district officer in Tanganyika.

MR. PHILIP MBOGO, M.P., aged 29, has been appointed Area Commissioner for Sumbawanga, Tanganyika. He was for five years headmaster of Milala Middle School. In April 1962 he was returned unopposed for Mpanda when the sitting Member, MR. KASANGA TUMBO, was appointed Tanganyika High Commissioner in London.

MISS EDITH DUTLINGEN GREEN on Monday received from SIR EVELYN HONE, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, the Royal African Society's bronze medal for dedicated service to Africa. Still teaching at Lwela Mission in the Fort Rosebery district, where she went in 1927, Miss Green opened the first school for the blind in the old Northern Province.

MR. P. NYAKIAMO, now a sub-manager in the Queensway branch, Nairobi, of Barclays Bank D.C.O., is believed to be the first African so appointed by any bank in East or Central Africa. He was formerly an accountant at branches in Bungoma and Kisii, and earlier this year attended a four months' managerial course in the United Kingdom.

Discussions have begun with the U.K. Government on expanding the Kenya re-settlement schemes to afford greater opportunities to groups such as co-operatives and businesses as well as individuals to buy land where they wish both within and outside the present Scheduled Areas, the Minister for Agriculture, Mr. BRUCE MCKENZIE, told European farmers last week.

CANON O. SOMKENCE, priest-in-charge of St. Andrew's. Western Commonage, Bulawayo, has become the first African archdeacon in Southern Rhodesia with his appointment as 'Archdeacon of Bembesi in succession to the Ven. H. M. Kay, who is returning here to be vicar of St. Nicholas, Lincoln. St. Colomba's Mission, also in Bulawayo, is to have its first African priest-in-charge, the Rev. E. Sitotombe.

MR. R. J. WELCH, who has retired from the appointment of director of the Trade and Marketing Division of the East African Common Services Organization, served in the Somerset Light Infantry during the last war, went to Nigeria after demobilization, and in 1957 joined the Department of Economic Co-ordination of the East Africa High Commission. Four years later he was promoted to the post which he has since held. He was chairman of the East African Hides and Skins Advisory Committee, a member of the executive committee of the East African Tourist Travel Association, and of the East African Timber Advisory Board, the Pig Industry Board of Kenya, and the Inter-Territorial Wheat Committee.

Mr. John Graylin

WARM TRIBUTES have been paid in the Federal Parliament to Mr. John Graylin, Federal Minister of Agriculture, who sits for Livingstone, a Northern Rhodesian constituency. Mr. C. H. Fox (Umniati) recalled that when Mr. Graylin was appointed five years, ago some people wondered what sort of a job would be done by a young lawyer without personal experience of agricultural problems. In fact, like his predecessor, Mr. Caldicott, he had proved highly successful, having shown great energy, great skill, and absolute dedication to his task; moreover, he was a very congenial person. His decision to return to Northern Rhodesia to practise law when the Federation was dissolved would be a real loss to Southern Rhodesia, and Northern Rhodesia would be extremely foolish if it did not make use of him. Mr. J. R. Beaumont (Mrewa) having suggested that a grateful Southern Rhodesia might have given Mr. Graylin a farm in the Colony, Mr. W. H. Eastwood (Bulawayo) said: "The Rhodesia National Farmers' Union can do it".

Obituaries

Major G. H. de la Pasture

Gallantry at Narungombe

ASKARI, the K.A.R. journal, writes of MAJOR G. H. DE LA PASTURE, M.C., who died near Canterbury after

a long illness at the age of 76:

Pash' was an early resident of Kenya, where he became a coffee planter. On the outbreak of the first world war he joined the East African Mounted Rifles and was later commissioned into the 1/3 King's African Rifles. Among the many engagements in which he took part the most notable was the Battle of Narungombe, where he was given the task of co-ordinating the action of the forward companies of his battalion. It was principally due to courageous and skilful handling of the situation that a severe enemy counter-attack was held and repulsed, resulting in the complete evacuation of the position by the German forces.

"This action was one of the most bitter of the East African campaign, and might well be described as a turning-point in the fighting from which the Germans never recovered. It has been selected by the 3rd Bn. The King's African Rifles as the battle honour they celebrate annually. There is little doubt that it was the determination and resourcefulness of Major de la Pasture that won the day, for which he was awarded a bar to his M.C. The battalion lost six officers and 200 other ranks killed or wounded in the action.

"Later, at the action at Lukeledi Mission (October, 19-21, 1917), he was severely wounded. This led to his being evacuated from the operational area, the Army, and East Africa, and affected his health for

many years.

"The passing of 'Pash' is mourned not only by his brother officers but also by many of his old ex-askari, who frequently speak of him. To the 3rd K.A.R. it means the loss of one of the most outstanding officers in its history. He was a man who made a lasting impression on all who knew him, and the reading of his official war diary (now in possession of his battalion) clearly reflects the greatness of his character."

MR. BRIAN ROBERT WILLIAM JOHNSON, joint managing director of the Bulawayo firm Johnson and Fletcher, Ltd., has died in Southern Rhodesia at the age of 53.

MRS. SHEILA MCCALL, the wife of the Solicitor-General of Northern Rhodesia, has died.

Racial Situations in Africa

American Views on Rhodesia and Kenya

IN AFRICA, as in other parts of the world, the sent ments associated with we and they are powerful. Sharp distinctions are made between those who belong and those who do not. A wide variety of traditional groups it foun! — such as lineages, clans, and tribes — along with modern groupings such as separatist religious sects, tribal unions, political parties, trade unions, and social classes. Such varied groups are increasingly involved in a common framework of economic, social, and political life. Lines of cleavage, and conflict inevitably emerge.

Tribal conflicts are particularly intensified as political life develops under the ægis of nationalist movements. In some cases, as in Uganda, the struggle for power has developed along tribal lines, thereby supporting and intensifying hostilities. In such circumstances weaker tribes tend to develop a minority consciousness, fearing discrimination and social and political subordination. For example, in Uganda the Banyoro fear the dominance of the Baganda.

Race consciousness complicates the economic, social, and power relationships between Europeans and Africans. The pattern and content of race relations and racial sentiments vary. There is a vast difference between African-European relationships in Ghana and in the Republic of South Africa, or between the status and reactions of the races in ex-French West Africa and in Kenya. Race is not invariably a burning issue, nor are tensions between Europeans and indigenous inhabitants always expressed in racial terms. Thus the tendency in Portuguese territories is to stress the "culture bar" rather than the "colour bar".

- Six Variables

Relationships between Europeans and Africans are conditioned by such variables as (1) the ratio of European to African population: (2) the degree to which the European regards himself as a permanent inhabitant of the country: (3) the extent to which Europeans compete with Africans and thereby bar African advancement: (4) the degree to which the African accepts the position assigned to him: (5) the extent to which the African has an opportunity for economic, political, and social advancement; and (6) the degree to which racial ideologies and doctrines permeate the scene.

The factors that make for critical tensions between Europeans and Africans are largely absent in the non-settler countries. The proportion of Europeans is exceedingly low; they have no roots in these countries and do not look upon them as permanent homes; and, in the main, the occupations of Europeans do not bring them into conflict with working-class Africans. There is no European working-class whose interests must be protected from an emerging semi-skilled or skilled African working class.

For the most part, the African is secure in the occupancy of his land. While European firms still dominate the economic life, there are no caste-like barriers to African economic advancement. While socially the masses of the Africans and Europeans live apart, members of the African elite tend to meet and mingle with Europeans. The situation

*These passages are quoted with permission from a paper prepared for the American Assembly by Mr. William O. Brown. Professor of Sociology at Boston University and director of its African research and studies programme and Mr. Hylan Lewis, associate director of the community services department of the

Unitarian Service Committee of the U.S.A.
Mr. Brown, who has travelled often and widely in
East. Central. South and West Africa, was for some
years head of the African Branch of the Department of

varies politically, but the African has either emerged or is

emerging as the dominant political force.

Luropeans do not always find it easy to adjust to African political control. Not only must the European civil servant adjust to new masters and political forces, but his counterpart in business must likewise face the new political situation with Africans in control, and naturally is anxious about the future and that of his firm.

For his part, the African does not easily forget that he was once subject to outside political power or his historic struggle to overflow the power of the Europeans as representatives of imperialist exploitation and domination—as he would

The fact that the mobilized Africans' struggle was with an external Power and not essentially with resident Europeans has a direct bearing on the behaviour and expectations of the European, who can afford to be more flexible than his fellows in Southern Rhodesia. Kenya, or the Republic of South Africa. Given the nature of his interests and his small numbers, he could never hope to control the political life of the country, though undoubtedly he aspired to influence it. Africa is not home to him. If the situation becomes difficult or downright unbearable, he can leave.

Race conflict is most acute where there are relatively large numbers of European inhabitants. The more important "settler" countries are the Republic of South Africa, the Rhodesias, and Kenya. European settlement is of some significance in Tanganyika, Nyasalands and the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mezambique.

Long Identification As Settlers

The range in the ratio of Europeans to the total population is from about one in four in the Republic of South Africa to one in 100 in Kenya. In the less important settler territories of Tanganyika and Nyasaland the European ratio is much lower (one in 350 in Tanganyika and about the same in Nyasaland).

A large proportion of the European population has relatively long identification with the country of settlement and looks upon it as a permanent home.

The European community tends to function as a bloc in relation to African and other non-European groups, even where there are internal divisions of loyalty.

The Europeans dominate the other groups and are committed to the perpetuation of their power.

The historical and cultural backgrounds of Europeans and Africans are divergent, and they do not share the same society or participate in a common life.

Race serves to identify and separate; the basic economic. social, and political issues tend to be defined in racial terms. The dominant ideology stresses the idea of the inherent biological differences between the races, and this is accompanied by the doctrine of the natural mental and moral superiority of the white man.

The Africans and other non-Europeans are changing, if not threatening, the European position of control and dominance.

The similarities of Rhodesian race relations to those of South Africa are easy to note: (1) the European is the dominant figure in the drama of race relations; (2) the great mass of Europeans are established as permanent residents; (3) the European fears being swamped by the numerically preponderant Africans; (4) the position of the European is being challenged by an African élite which increasingly identifies itself with the African mass and attempts to mobilize it against the established system.

Tied Bursaries

THE TANGANYIKA GOVERNMENT is offering bursaries for post-secondary education on condition that candidates bind themselves to spend at least a stipulated period after qualification in the civil service or in the local government or unified teaching service. Study will be at institutions outside East Africa only where courses are not available locally. Among the degrees of the University of East Africa mentioned are B.A., B.Sc., M.B., Ch.B., B.Sc. (Agriculture). B.Sc (Engineering), B.Vety, L.I.B., B.Commerce, and the diplomas in fine arts, architecture, chartered surveying, quantity surveying, and domestic science. Subjects for which bursaries may be given outside East Africa are chemistry, dentistry, estate management, fishery, forestry, local government, mining and geology, town planning, mineral dressing, and wild life management.

Mau Mau Oaths Against Kenyatta No Rewards for Chagrined "Freedom Fighters"

SPEAKING TO THOUSANDS of Kikuyu at Ol Kalou last week, the Prime Minister of Kenya warned: "I intend to be very harsh with oath-takers and oath administrators. In the old days you were taking oaths to be more united and to get uhuru, Now your Government is with me, whom you call your leader. You must leave this rubbish which is no good. We will be very fierce with those who make guns in the bush ".

Mr. Kenyatta was referring to reports that former Mau Mau terrorists, instigated by junior members of K.A.N.U., are taking oaths inimical to the Prime Minister because of his ostensible moderation towards European farmers. Four ex-Mau Mau detainees who tried in vain to obtain an interview in Nairobi with the Home Affairs Minister, Mr. Oginga Odinga, explained that they wished to draw the Government's notice to increasing discontent over the allocation of land solely to rich Africans, "while we who fought for freedom have been ignored?

The junior K.A.N.U. officials are said to be disappointed at not receiving Government posts. The Prime Minister told them: "Don't be hungry for power. Everybody wants to be on top, but you can't all be

Prime Ministers

Mr. Odinga has written to all the Regional Assemblies requesting that they submit all legislative proposals to the Central Government to ensure complete co-ordination. "It should be realized that any attempt to introduce major reforms in isolation without regard to the obligations of the Kenya Government under the Constitution, or without reflecting on the possible repercussions of such measures on other regions, will be contrary to the whole spirit of the Constitution and will constitute an infringement of specific provi-

PLAYER'S PLAYER'S please THE WORLD'S BEST LIKED CIGARETTES

sions. The Constitution in its present form must be followed until and unless it is lawfully amended or superseded."

Mr. Ronald Ngala, Leader of the Opposition and president of the Coast Assembly, said that the Minister's instruction would be repudiated and ignored.

Mr. Odings rotarrial his dependence with the Winds.

would be repudiated and ignored."

Mr. Odinga reiterated his demands on visits to the Western and Nyanza Assemblies, emphasizing that their rôle was to concentrate on economic development for their areas in relation to the whole country. Mere political arguments would hamper a poor nation that would have to tax its people heavily to implete what was a very expensive Constitution. He added that there was no provision for a region to secede. Admitting that he had been one of those politicians who had damaged public confidence in the chiefs in the "struggle."

damaged public confidence in the chiefs in the "struggle" for uhuru, the Minister scouted current "gossip" that they would be dismissed when independence came. Their services would still be needed, though they might eventually operate as "welfare officers" for their people. They should be subject to the Regional Assemblies, which formed part of the Government.

Stamp Out Lawlessness

As to the "uhuru chiefs." - whom he described as

As to the "uhuru chiefs" — whom he described as "militant party agents in the fight for independence" — they should now refer to themselves as K.A.N.U. branch chairmen, as the nationalist battle had been won. With the Administration chiefs, they should take steps to organize the party youth wings in their areas into communal labour gangs.

"I do not want to see these youths taking the law into their own hands by arresting people and beating them up for failing to do something. There has been a great deal of hostility in the past but I do not want this to continue. What we want is to see our country respectable after independence by stamping out lawlessness so that tourists can be attracted to Kenya". The story of Dedan Kimathi, a notorious Mau Mau terrorist leader who was executed in 1957, is to be staged as a play at Kenya's independence celebrations in December.

play at Kenya's independence celebrations in December.

Queen's Awards for Gallantry in Kenya

INSPECTOR L. J. G. BURT, of the Kenya Police, has been awarded the Colonial Police Medal for Gallantry, and Constable Thomas K. Chepkwony has received the Queen's Commendation for Brave Conduct. The citations state (in part):

"On February 20, 1963, Inspector Burt, whilst acting as police officer in charge of Garissa Division in the Northern Province of Kenya, heard of an intention by armed Somali tribesmen to attack an assembly of riverine tribesmen holding different political views from themselves.

"Having alerted the police at his disposal, Inspector Burt, with his constable driver, drove immediately to bridge spanning the Tana River which divided the two tribal groups. The two police officers arrived simultaneously with some 400 Somalis, in an excited and highly emotional state, armed with Somalis, in an excited and highly emotional state, armed with spears, swords and clubs, and intent on crossing the bridge to attack the tribesmen peacefully assembled on the opposite bank.

Belligerent Mob

"Standing at the narrow approach to the bridge with his driver, Inspector Burt urged the riotous assembly to disperse. His appeal was met by a hail of stones and abuse from the Somali mob, whose belligerent attitude was increasing with growing crowd hysteria. In grave personal danger, the inspector and his driver stood their ground and continued to prevent the mob from crossing the bridge until the arrival of a police riot party, which dispersed the rioters by baton charges under Inspector Burt's leadership.

"By his courage and tenacity in holding the bridgehead, and in spite of injury from flying stones, his cool, resolute, and intelligent handling of the situation prevented what would undoubtedly have been a piched battle between the opposed tribesmen and probable considerable loss of life and injury.

"Constable Thomas Kipsangarap Chepkwony drove Inspec-tor Burt to the bridge, where a tribal clash between rival political and tribal factions was imminent. They arrived political and tribal factions was imminent. They arrived simultaneously with 400 armed, highly emotional tribesmen. As the crowd gathered at the narrow bridge-head and, were called upon by the police officers to disperse peacefully, they lost all reason, and with growing hysteria stoned and beat the two police officers, who, despite injuries, held their ground sufficiently long for police reinforcements to arrive.

"Constable Thomas displayed exceptional courage and determination in support of his commanding officer in this extremely dangerous situation, and by his brave conduct and disregard for his own safety made a courageous contribution to the prevention of a grave tribal conflict".

Mr. Ntiro on East African Art Linking Prehistory with Modern Styles

Mr. S. J. NTIRO, the East African artist and now High Commissioner in London for Tanganyika, addressed the Royal Society of Arts recently on "East African, Art

He said, inter alia: -

As the East African countries become independent it will be important for us to pay attention to our culture. No country has become great without being proud of its own culture, pride in which enables it to appreciate and respect the cultures of other countries.

"My own country, the Republic of Tanganyika, created on December 9 last a Ministry of Culture and Youth. In Tanganyika culture is being given its place along with economic, administrative, political and social

developments.

Culture, in its various forms of music, dancing, singing, painting, sculpture and design, gives a sense of unity as a nation, a complete sense of achievement, and

therefore personal stability.

"If our young men and women were educated only in formal subjects, at the end of their education they would find their lives most boring and incomplete. Those of us who have taught cultural subjects will recall that the fundamental approach is to find out the innate ability in music, sculpture and painting, and build up encouragement by tuition on it.

Ridiculous Prejudices

"Although the pre-historic paintings so far discovered in East Africa are not of as high a standard as the Bushmen cave paintings, they are supremely important to archaeologists

cave paintings, they are supremely important to archæologists because they provide an additional link in the series of rock paintings from Southern Europe viâ North Africa to the Cape. "It is ridiculous to hear prejudiced critics say that Africans do not take naturally to painting. Augustus John wrote in 1949: 'We can learn a good deal from the study of so-called "savage" or primitive societies. The earliest pictorial records of the palæolithic cave artists are unsurpassed in power and spirit. Contrary to general opinion, great art does not depend on a highly organized society, hor is the accumulation of wealth indispensible to its flowering. To any art student who admits his bewilderment in the face of modern doubt I say: "Go to the caves". There you may find your cure. On the admits his bewilderment in the face of modern doubt I say: "Go to the caves". There you may find your cure. On the walls of these sacred grottoes are to be seen the forms of the beasts, courted and pursued, and in fear and love, by the hunting men of the Old Stone Age. As we gaze in awe at these prodigies a thought strikes us: the artist is identifying himself with the objects of his cult, partakes of their divine nature and thus achieves mastery and style. It follows that an independent East African country desirous of developing its culture does not have to spend vast sums of money.

Rock Paintings

"All the examples I show of rock painting come from Tan-ganyika because I happen to know about them, but similar examples exist in Kenya or Uganda. Tanganyika's rock paintings are scattered everywhere, mostly in the dry and hot Kondoa district in overhanging rock shelters which are often difficult to reach. The Tindiga of this district are alleged to have linguistic and cultural affinities with the African people in South Africa, and there are similar art forms in the two countries. Thirteen styles of paintings have been recognized in Kondoa district. Some of the human figures look as though they were made of thin sticks, not unlike those found in many French and Spanish caves

The Makonde, who live partly in Southern Tanganyika and partly in Mozambique, produce sculpture of the highest standard in East Africa, and equal in quality to that of the Congo and West Africa. Their ritual masks are moving and

"The most prolific producers of tourist sculpture are the Makonde and the Kamba of Kenya. In the olden days the carver had a special function in the life of the community. caryer had a special function in the life of the community. He carved sometimes for an initiation ceremony, sometimes for crop fertility, sometimes for a war dance, proudly serving his village in the special way which he had inherited from his father. He knew which tree to carve for what purpose and whether the carving should be done when the tree was dead or living. Sometimes a carving was the dwelling-place of a god and sometimes of spirits. The gods in the heavens had to be appealed to by the villagers through carvings.

"The commercialized carving of today starts in the village, where blocks of wood are roughly shaped. They are then

taken to an Indian or Goan shopkeeper who keeps another group of carvers in his shop to finish, polish, and paint the carvings. Apart from human beings and animals in various positions and actions, they carve stools, walking-sticks, motorcycles, and bowls.

Tanganyika raises 150.000 a year by the export of carvings. Ebony, which is most important for wood-carving, is found in Tanganyika. The Kamba carvers either go to Tanganyika and do their carving there or else take the wood to Kenya. There was some talk of restricting the wood in

"Many tourist sculptors in East Africa make their living from it entirely. Obviously, the emphasis is on quantity, not quality, and it is imperative to raise the standard of these One way of doing this might be to build an art institute where they could work with other earvers, receiving instructions in drawing, the history of African art, and general knowledge about East Africa and the world.

Tourist Sculpture

"Who has been responsible for the low standards in the tourist sculpture? Is it the tourists or the impact of Western civilization on tribal life? There is no doubt that the low standard has come about from the tourists as well as the introduction of the money economy of the West. We are faced with the dilemma that no modern country can afford to shut its doors to tourists and foreign civilizations. Means of transport are fast and ideas travel rapidly from the rest of the world to East Africa.

"It may take centuries to raise the standard again; or it may be impossible to raise it near what it was when European tourists first started buying East African carving. Once a people have started producing works of low standard, it is extremely difficult to change their attitude of mind to have

higher ideals to aim at.

"An attempt has been made to link the prehistoric art with the art in modern times through the School of Fine Art at. Makerere College, founded by Mrs. K. M. Trowell in 1936 on the veranda of her house on Mulago Hill, Kampala, where her husband was a surgeon. She alone could tell the problems she faced in battling to establish the school at Makerere College, but the story had a happy ending." When she retired College; but the story had a happy ending. When she retired in 1958 the school was named after her.

"The first painting from Mrs. Trowell's class, painted by an Mkamba school teacher, was of the Good Samaritan. The

artist divided his picture into six panels, each with a different story, with the people, implements, animals and country to which he is used. Every panel has human beings concerned with their activities. The Nativity was painted at the same time by a hospital dresser who used to attend the weekly

classes.

classes.

"At this time Mr. Maloba went to do carving in Mrs. Trowell's garden while the painters worked on the verandah. Mr. Maloba, who is now on the staff of the bool, has produced exceptionally high quality sculpture.

"After a year's work, Sir Philip Mitchell, then Governor of Kenya, encouraged Mrs. Trowell to hold an exhibition of her students' work in London which was a great success. When Mr. George Turner became principal of Makerere College he allowed classes in art to be held once a week in what was termed 'the compulsory hobby', with Mrs. Trowell teaching painting and Mr. Maloba clay modelling. When Makerere worked out its basis of special relationship with the University in London it was found that art could not come under this arrangement, and so the Makerere authorities decided that it should grow within the university as a separate school.

as a separate school.

"Murals have been painted by East African artists at the Fort Hall Memorial College in Kenya, at the Chapel of St. Francis and Northcote Hall of Makerere College, at Kakindo Church in Uganda, and at the Uganda High Commission in Church in Uganda High Commission in Church in Uganda, and at the Uganda High Commission in Church in Uganda High Commission in Church in Ch London. In all there is a common quality of an East African expression in landscape, in the people, the use of colours, or in the atmosphere captured in the work as a whole."

Symposium

SOUTHERN RHODESIA'S PRIME MINISTER, Mr. Winston Field, three previous holders of that office, Lord Malvern, Mr. R. S. Garfield Todd, and Sir Edgar Whitehead, and the Acting Governor-General of the Federation, are to attend a symposium in Bulawayo next month which is being arranged by the Rhodesia Stock Exchange to discuss the Colony's economic problems and prospects. Professor W. L. Taylor, of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, will be the chief speaker. Among non-Rhodesians invited are Mr. Harry Oppenheimer and the president and general manager of Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

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Report on Education in Kenya Sharp Fall in European Enrolments

PASSES GAINED BY APRICANS in Kenya in the Cambridge -School Certificate Examination 951 boys and girls passed out of 1,482 candidates reflected for the second successive year the considerable drop of 26% from the 1959 pass percentage of 81% states the annual summary for 1961 of the Ministry of

Staff and financial limitations meant that only 44% of those eligible (661,855) after completing the primary course could proceed to intermediate schools. Of 22,183 pupils who took the Kenya Preliminary Examination (set for the first time as a common paper for all races) 12,326 passed, of whom 13% of the boys and 15% of the girls entered secondary chaple.

schools.

Higher School Certificate classes were started in January in five schools, with 166 pupils in eight classes.

Compulsory African education does not yet exist, but efforts to provide schooling for all the children in urban areas are beginning to take effect, particularly in Nairobi and Mombasa.

Total recurrent expenditure was £4,577,432, with a further

£124,261 spent by voluntary agencies.

Asian education cost £1,683,559, including grants to Goan Asian education cost £1,683,559, including grants to Goan and special schools, and £138,613 were spent on the building programme. Of 159 Asian schools in the Colony, 101 are aided; 43 are Government, and 15 unaided, catering between them for 41,226 primary and 11,507 secondary pupils, further divided into 21,536 an 1,6.830 boys and 19,690 and 4,677 girls, respectively. School Certificate passes numbered 901 out of 2,262 candidates; 59 of 91 students passed the Higher School Certificate.

Enrolment in the 59 European schools (23 Government, 20 aided, 15 unaided, one local authority) dropped to 11,282 from the 1960 figure of 12,963. In secondary schools there was a fall from 3,189 to 3,069. All the Government secondary schools came under the control of boards of governors, except the Francis Scott School and the Nakuru Girls' High School. Total fee revenue was £611,167, including £156,680 from 367

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extra-territorial pupils. Expenditure was £1,204,962.

Certificates were gained by 480 out of 549 pupils, and Higher School Certificates by 65 out of 91.

Arab education took £94,457 with a further £5,862 for buildings. Enrolment in primary and secondary schools was 3,251 and 398 respectively. Fen boys out of 42 passed their selections of the secondary schools was 3,251 and 398 respectively. School Certificate examinations.

Makerere College, Uganda, had an enrolment of 399 Kenya students, 61 of whom were successful in their professional diploma or degree courses; the Kenya Government paid £320,476 in grants and fees. The Royal College, Nairobi, had 202 Kenya students; Kenya Government grants totalled £173,914, including £26,785 in bursaries.

Of 2,640 Kenya students overseas for higher education, 1,307 were in Britain. Bursaries worth £47,725 were being

paid for 169 students.

There were 1,222 students in the five technical or trade schools at Kabete, Machakos, Thika, Sigalagala (Nyanza), and Kwale (Coast Province). Recurrent expenditure on technical and vocational training amounted to £432,600. A sixth trade school, costing £52,250, is to be built at Eldoret.

Enrolments at the Hospital Hill multi-racial primary school in Nairobi numbered 58 Asians, 36 Europeans, and 33 Africans.

Africans.

Nine courses run at the Loitokitok Outward Bound Mountain School were attended by 184 schoolboys and 372 seniors, including 339 from Kenya, 122 from Uganda, and 95 Fees were raised to £25 per head, still from Tanganyika. well below the British charge.

Harsh Choice in Central Africa

THE PROSPECT of racial co-operation in Central Africa is bleaker than it was 10 years ago, Mr. Ronald Butt has written in The Director, the-influential journal of the Institute of Directors. He continues:

"For Conservatives, whether of the right or the left of the party, this is a humiliating thought. On the right it is believed that the Government has time and time again surrendered the European interest to such a point that no reliance is placed by people of British stock in Africa on the word of Mr. Macmillan's Administra-

"On the left — much the minority wing of the party in this respect — it is felt that the Government has for so long blundered and compromised, trying to reconcile irreconcilables, that it has deprived itself of all room for manœuvre. The left would have had the Government accept the facts of life and of African pressures in the Federation as a basis for

a new start long ago instead of attempting to preserve the original basis of racial co-operation.

"There should be no doubt about one thing, for it could be important in conditioning the Government's future approach: that the instincts and emotions of the pastick Wall's of the party are much more in tune with Mr. Pastick Wall's

approach: that the instincts and emotions of the passive centre of the party are much more in tune with Mr. Patrick Wall's right than with Mr. Humphry Berkeley's left'.

"One other thing is plain: the widespread conviction that in this, as in many other matters, the Government has spoken with deviousness. It is not only right-wingers who believe that Sir Roy Welensky has had a raw deal from Mr. Macmillan. Many Tories of all views believe that there is substance in Sir Roy's complaints.

"The British approach to Africa in many respects shows the main weakness of character in the present Government which has recently become painfully apparent in many fields. Justly

has recently become painfully apparent in many fields. Justly or unjustly, it gives the impression of an Administration repeatedly reacting to stimuli not of its own making".

Twenty-eight Africans from Northern Rhodesia, including chiefs, farmers, and agricultural assistants, are spending 10 days in Kenya. They are especially interested in land tenure.

days in Kenya. They are especially interested in land tendre, consolidation and registration matters.

For petrol bomb attacks on business premises in Southern Rhodesia last November, Shadrek Nkomo, a former official of the Youth Wing of the proscribed Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, has been sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.

Six of the eight hospitals in North Katanga have now no doctor. There are only two doctors, both women, and one a nun, in the whole area. Before the Congo became independent the number of Releian medical officers was about 50.

ent the number of Belgian medical officers was about 50

A printer's error rendered the box on the front cover last week as "Dr Nyerere Scorns Arrogance and Prosperity." It should have read: "Dr Nyerere Scorns Arrogance and Pom-

Protecting Dr. Banda in Convoy

"OUR GAOLS ARE OPEN", warned Mr. Henry Chipembere, Minister of Local Government, when the Nyasaland Legislative Council approved a new Bill compelling all motorists and cyclists to pull over when the Prime Minister's police-escorted convoy is on the road.

Overtaking the convoy will be forbidden, and if it halts other road-users must do likewise and await police instructions before moving on. Referring to criticisms of the Bill, Mr. Chipembere added: "The more they

squeal the more we shall tighten our laws'

Introducing the Bill, the Minister of Transport, Mr. Colin Cameron, said that it would be applied "reasonably, not punitively". It was necessary because of some incidents in which individuals had been "highly disrespectful" to Dr. Banda and had "definitely endangered" his safety on the roads. Soaring accident figures at the end of last year had caused great public concern, two leading African figures had been killed in car crashes and people were asking, "Who is next?"

Intimidation and Witchcraft

BECAUSE ALL AFRICANS are susceptible to the fear of witchcraft, it is easy for African politicians to inspire their audiences with the dread of some mysterious and awful fate if they do not do the bidding of their new "leaders", Mr. Anthony Dare, who has spent 15 years in Rhodesia, has written in the Daily Express. In the course of the article he said:

"'You will see what you will see', or some similar vaguely frightening phrase is quite sufficient. Imagination does the rest. Physical intimidation keeps the fear strong. Crops are destroyed; men are beaten up; houses

are burned down

An administrative officer in Northern Rhodesia went to lecture at a teacher-training college. He spoke to the highest class — 20-year-olds— all with school certificate. He mentioned witchcraft. The students all said that they did not believe in it.
"He then produced the horn of a small antelope.

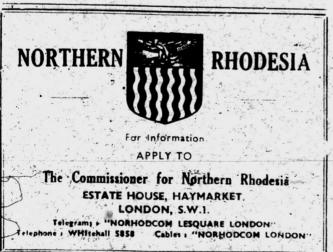
were one or two old chicken bones. Bones and horns are the stock-in-trade of the witch-doctor. He put a coin in the horn,

stock-in-trade of the witch-doctor. He put a coin in the norn, and said that whoever took it out could keep it. Not one of those 'educated' men dared to take out the coin.

Mr. Dare suggested that it was folly to impose "democtacy" on Western lines in Africa while its people are so prone to intimidation, while education has scarcely scratched the surface, and while the number of Africans with proper professional and technical qualifications is almost negligible.

First Barotse Poll

ALL 25 ELECTIVE SEATS were won by the Northern Rhodesian party U.N.I.P. in the first Barotseland National Council elections last week. Seven candidates were returned unopposed. The remaining members of the 90-seat council are nominated by the Litunga (Paramount Chief).



Politics and Police Blamed

"POLITICAL FRUSTRATION" being the main cause of this year's violence on the Northern Rhodesian Copperwhere 1,331 offences of a political nature have been recorded — the official inquiry commission of U.N.I.P. and A.N.C. officers has recommended "that a been recorded new Constitution be granted to the territory and that the date of a general election be announced as soon as posible.

Other factors cited included the irresponsibility of local party leaders and the "harshness and vindictiveness" of cer-tain policemen. "Sterner disciplinary measures must be taken against those who fail to follow the policy of non-violence and tolerance, culminating where necessary in expulsion from the party". The para-military mobile police units and police reserves should be disbanded because they had not inspired

public confidence.

public confidence.

Lack of co-operation- between the public and the police seemed in many cases to "have been fostered by verbal attacks on the police at public meetings, but evidence was also given of high-handedness and incivility on the part of certain police officers, especially those of the mobile unit".

Other "background" causes were detailed as unemployment, the beer-hall system, tribalism, squatting, poor school facilities, and inadequate African local government representation.

A.N.C. Debts

Mr. Job Michello, leader of the breakaway from the A.N.C. in Northern Rhodesia, has resigned as Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Lands. He is interim leader of the new People's Democratic Congress. According to Mr. Michello the A.N.C. is about £25,000 in debt and has received 30 writs within a fortnight. He is reported, however, to have said that more than £80,000 have been deposited in a bank in Southern Rhodesia for release to the party if satisfactorily reorganised. The donor was first said to be ex-president Tshombe of Katanga. Now it is said that the money is from London sources with extensive Rhodesian interests.

Separate Currencies for Rhodesias

THIS STATEMENT was issued jointly last week by the

Governments of the Federation: —
"The Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Governments' policies are to establish their own currency. In these circumstances the Governments of Southern Rho-desia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland intend as soon as possible to set up their own machinery for the issue and management of their currencies. All are agreed that the change must be orderly with the minimum disruption to the economy and finance.

"At the request of the three territorial and also the Federal Governments, the Bank of England have offered the services of Mr. D. W. Allen to advise them. The Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland also agrees and will assist the Governments in co-operation with Mr. Allen. During the transitional period all territories will support the present Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland's currency issue and the bank's authority will be maintained "

Northern Rhodesia's Customs Policy

NORTHERN RHODESIA'S Minister of Finance, Mr. Trevor Gardner, has told the Legislative Council that when the dissolution of the Federation brings the existing Central African free trade area to an end automatically, future protective tariffs will be imposed against Southern Rhodesian and Nyasaland industry as well as that of other countries. As long as they remained British dependencies they would be accorded the most preferential rate of tariff. But the immediate imposition of even this rate on all Southern Rhodesian and Nyasaland products could increase the cost of living unnecessarily. It was therefore the intention to suspend temporarily the duty on Southern Rhodesian and Nyasaland goods except those in direct competition with Northern Rhodesian agriculture or industry.

Labours of Hercules

(Concluded from page 1100)

essentially tropical and whose shareholders are aware of its, implications.

Companies who do invest and operate in the new Africa must, of course, concentrate on running their business efficiently, productively and profitably, but always remembering, and being seen to be remembering, that efficiency, productivity, and profits are not ends in themselves, but means to the human ends of producing wealth, distributing goods, providing services, and generating employment.

The values and standards of any business cannot on the one hand be too out of tune with the standards and values of the society in which it operates, nor on the other hand too out of tune with the realities of industrial discipline and the facts of industrial life: thus evolving compromise and synthesis are always needed.

Companies must reinvest, and be seen to reinvest, a fair share of profits in countries where they work. They must encourage nationals to buy shares in the business.

They must train nationals to do all the jobs in the business from top to bottom. In many educational and training schemes and concepts there is a danger that they will produce nothing but imitation expatriate technicians, interpreters and thirds-in-command; and no leaders in the national idiom.

Probably our greatest failure in Africa has been that, while professing temporary stewardship against the day when Africans would govern their own affairs, we utterly failed to establish a massive educational programme that could provide the basis of an independent society, and so offer some prospect of a smooth and certain transfer of power.

There are two schools of thought about African education—those who, faced by limited resources, want to put what they think as being first things first—rural and agricultural extension teaching, primary and technical education, and teacher training—and others who want to establish Manchester grammar school and Oxbridge at once in Africa.

Desperate Shortages

African leaders, desperately short of money, teachers and facilities, have somehow to choose the best mixture: and of course they will be accused, on the one hand, of offering their people third-rate education; and, on the other, of educating an élite at the expense of the real needs of their people. It is a pity that those who express reservations about too much money being spent at present in Africa on élite education are regarded as not wishing Africa well. The United States and the Soviet Union—both admittedly much richer seem to be diffusing their education effectively without devoting too much of their resources to the top few

Administering a modern Government and a modern State is a very difficult business. It hardly works anywhere. How are African Governments to tackle it in the midst of the four revolutions with a lamentable shortage of their own countrymen trained and educated for the job? Do they just have a go with the human material available? Or do they, for the time being, use a great many outsiders? If they use outsiders they are likely to be accused of copying the practice of the colonialists and of having no faith in their gwn people. The past master-and-servant relationship between European and African anyway makes it difficult for them to continue to employ in senior positions any but exceptional nationals of the ex-Colonial Power. Other representatives of the rich countries either grind national political axes or are suspected of doing so, or lack of tropical experience or linguistic difficulties stand in the way

Comic Opera Situations

So here is the new Africa, its leaders faced by the labourof Hercules, superhuman tasks confronting them an political leadership, administrative wisdom, all these problems "made in Europe". Nothing is easy for them.

All sorts of things are easy for us We can contract outbemoaning the fact that despite all our efforts. Africa is faced by a new dark age. We can jeer at their failures. We can laugh at some of their comic opera situations. We can throw upour hands in horror about (shana. We can have meetings in Trafalgar Square about South Africa. We can be wonderfully anti-apartheid, or indeed anti-black Africa, as suits our temperaments. But as somebody once said. Only fools take comfort from the misfortunes of others.

It will be said that I have asked more questions than I have answered. It would be as naive, as it would be important of me to think that I am capable of solving some of the most burning questions of our day But I find it helpful at

least to distinguish the right from the wrong questions, let

alone the right from the wrong answers.

It will be said too, that I have tried to speak too much from the African viewpoint, without giving due credit to the labours, achievements, or problems of Europeans. Again, it would be naive and impertinent for me to think that I can see where a European viewpoint is blind.

Another Dark Age

Africa will become less like our societies. But this does not mean that it will become bad or that we should become hostile or indifferent. We in Britain have an interest, moral and prudential, in giving Africans all the help we can to work out their destiny in their way. Why can't some fraction of the effort and money that is being put into the space race be devoted to Africa?

There can be a new dark age in Africa. It will take a tremendously sustained and combined effort of sense and sensibility within and outside Africa to prevent it. Neither Africans nor Europeans have a monopoly in pride and prejudice. I am one of the people who believes that the United Nations should be the forum where prejudice can be transformed into sensible solutions.

I deeply believe that chaos in Africa would darken the whole world, and that progress and prosperity in Africa, however incoherent, however different from what we expected, whatever sacrifices it forces upon us, will in time lighten all our burdens and improve all our chances of survival.

Chiefs Subject to Intimidation

DILIBERATE DISREGARD for the law was until very recently a thing unknown among rural Africans, let alone the chiefs, the Rhodesian African Daily News has written, adding

That cases of chiefs and headmen who break the law have become more frequent is proof conclusive of the extent to which their lives are governed more by intimidation than by reason. Perhaps the courts themselves are to blame for this situation. The cunishment meted out to those convicted of this devilish crime has not been stern enough to be a deterrent to others. As long as this leniency continues, so long will intimidation continue, and so long will more and more African chiefs be exposed to the ridicule of being convicted.

Fear of the unknown is a feature that has unfortunately entered into the uneasy lives of Africans both in the rural and urban areas. As Jong as this element of fear continues to haunt the African mind, the law of the land will continue to be broken

The Citizen commented: Almost every violent method possible has been employed since the rise of African nationalism to change the political views of the moderate African including night attacks stoning of houses, petrol bombing, and there associates. Police have the utmost difficulty tracking the intimidators. Their cripies heavily sumulinher civil oflences. The few witnesses are afraid to come forward for fear of death.

Malawi Riflewomen

Winters are to in INTSTED in the Malawi African Reflex as the Nyasaland battalion of Flie. King's African Reflex is to be renamed when Nyasaland begoines independent Afrer Dr. Banda had seen and praised the drilling of members of the Malawi Youth league he cold a crowd a few days ago that the league would soon be in the first battalion of the Malako offers and added. I don't want just men, but we are going to do the same I very man and woman is a soldfer.

Solemn Humbug of U.K. Policy Southern Bhodesia Already Independent

Mr. Douglas Brown has commented on the Federal break-up in the Sunday Telegraph:

break-up in the Sunday Telegraph: —

"Go into any settlers bar or even talk to a sophisticated Rhodesian civil servant and you will find an odd nostalgia for the days of Gordon Walker and Jim Griffiths. With the Socialists, you will be told, one at least has a chance: they may announce a policy of 'Africa for black Africans', but they will pursue it with caution, knowing they will have to defend it at home. They will listen to reason.

"Above all, these critics will say, the Socialists do not work under cover. They will not encourage white settlement in Kenya only to abandon the white settlers. They will not describe a Mau Mau terrorist as 'the leader to darkness and death' and then make him Prime Minister. They will not engineer a federation and then break it up at the behest of African agitators.

African agitators.

"In their heart of hearts these disillusioned men probably agree that if black and white simply cannot learn to live together it is time they learned to live apart. This is not together it is time they learned to live apart. This is not the policy of the British Government, but after 10 years of solemn humbug we are forced to conclude that the British

solemn humbug we are forced to conclude that the British Government has no policy at all.

"It fears to keep the flag flying, like Salazar. It hesitates to make a clean break, like de Gaulle. It declines to accept that the independence of white Southern Rhodesia is already a fact. It has abandoned multi-racialism. Its last gesture in Africa is to plead for the setting up of sub-committees for the division of rapidly diminishing assets. It looks helplessly at the Zambesi, which it has allowed to become the frontier between black and white. There is no glory at Victoria Falls for Mr. Butler".

Impossible Task

THE ONLY EUROPEAN who sits as an Independent in the Federal Assembly, Mr. R. Williamson, has calculated that it would cost an extra £88m. a year to provide all children in Southern Rhodesia with education to the standard now provided for non-Africans by the Federal Government, and that for that impossible task the Finance Minister would require a revenue three and a half times the present total.

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 Stockfeeds 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.

Dr. Nyerere Transforms T.A.N.U. Party Given Administrative Responsibilities

IN A SURVEY of the problems facing Tanganyika the Dar es Salaam correspondent of the Financial Times has written

"The Tanganyika African National Union was geared to the fight for independence and little else. Party subscriptions dropped to a trickle because of the attainment of uhuru; the whistle blew and people went

Prior to independence T.A.N.U. was a huge organization with over half a million paid-up members, branch offices in every village and hamlet, and several hundred officials on the payroll. It built a £50,000 headquarters without a penny of foreign money, handed it over to the country as a university college, and built another. All this was in danger of collapse, not through opposition, but through apathy.

Years before independence Nyerere foresaw that getting

"Years before independence Nyerere foresaw that getting the people to work would be a far bigger task than winning freedom. To do this he has made T.A.N.U. into an administrative as well as a political machine.

"The power of the provincial and district commissioners, white or black, has been taken away from them and invested in party officials. As regional and area commissioners they are the supreme voice of Government, and the civil servants to them as executive and administrative officers. This work to them as executive and administrative officers. move has tightened up the party organization and forced T.A.N.U. officials into administrative responsibility, thereby doing much to quieten the more vociferous elements.

The Slogan Is "Work"

"Having achieved this, Nyerere is ready to step back as the country's President with a Constitution tailor-made for him. He is a moderate administrator of day-to-day affairs, having a streak of the dreamer in him. He has been relieved of the day-to-day tasks by the Vice-President, whom he hominated—Rashidi Kayawa who is fiercely best?

day-to-day tasks by the Vice-President, whom he nominated—Rashidi Kawawa, who is fiercely loyal.

"Nyerere has become President with executive and ceremonial powers and the country revolves round him. The problems he has to face are immense. The biggest will be to keep his 9m. people fed.

"His policy seems to be to look to the West for the money and to Israel for the method. Israeli-type self-help schemes and producer and consumer co-operatives are under way. £23m. has been obtained from Britain, Germany and the U.S. for development programmes, and about £10m. of this has been spent.

"Nyerere scorns the idea of an African middle class, wishing to build up a classless society through extension of the co-operative system, which is his concept of Socialism. His slogan is kazi—work. In every speech he hammers at the people to plant more, work harder, do more. It is having its effect.

people to plant lifes, self-effect.

"Between the houses of the wealthy in the Oyster Bay residential area of Dar es Salaam smallholdings of tomatoes, potatoes and maize have sprung up tended by the city's unemployed with a fine disregard to municipal regulations and the law of trespass. Householders and police turn a blind

Prehistoric Elephant

MR. STANLEY WEST, curator of King George Memorial Museum, Dar es Salaam, who happened to stop his car at the side of an old gravel pit some 75 miles south of Arusha, spotted pieces of bone fossil and soon discovered part of the hind leg of an elephant protruding from the soil, and a short distance away he uncovered the complete fossil skeleton of a type of elephant which is believed to have become extinct at least 100,000 years and perhaps 400,000 years ago. The upright crouching position of the skeleton suggested that the animal had been trapped in mud at the edge of a then much larger Lake Manyara. Stone tools of the hand-axe period of the Stone Age indicated that prehistoric man had killed and eaten the trapped beast, which had five toes in the front feet and four in the hind feet. The present Tanganyika elephant has four in front and three behind, and the Congo variety five in front and four behind.

Communal Responsibility Programme

(Concluded from page 1101)

"Responsibility for the provision of primary education—up to and including Standard VI—should fall mainly upon local government and its constituent communities. The Central Government will then concentrate its main resources upon the provision of secondary education, technical, education tion, teacher training education, and adult education.

"In other words, the people and the communities will contribute more and have more responsibility for that sphere of education which primarily fulfils a personal, family and community status need but which makes little contribution except indirectly to the benefit of the State. The State will apply its resources to where the State derives the greatest benefit in the post-primary levels of education.

apply its resources to where the State derives the greatest benefit—in the post-primary levels of education.

"Government has hitherto made grants-in-aid to the missions toward the provision of schools, and the communities have contributed to the missions, with the missions themselves carrying the burden and heat of the day. They have had to accept all the difficulties and criticisms because they were unable to provide what the people wanted. In the new concept the Government will contribute its resources as grants in-aid to the councils and their constituent communities and the communities will ask the missions to assist in whatever way they can. I hope that the total volume of Government support will be the same as it was before, but it will be resupport will be the same as it was before, but it will be re-directed to the communities through local government organi-

Vigorous Self-Reliance

Since communities have to build schools and have a duty to maintain them, they will have a right to decide whether or not the school is reserved for the children of the community, what fees to impose, and whether other children not of that community should be precluded from entering them. The community will not be able to interfere with the teaching and the teacher.

ing them. The community will not be able to interfere with the teaching and the teacher.

"The quality of the teaching and what is taught and how it is taught must continue to be laid down by the Ministry. Local government will employ those teachers who are approved by the Ministry, but, once employed, local government will not be able to remove a teacher except for appropriate reasons and with the concurrence of the Ministry. The position and standards of the teachers must be safeguarded if a professional teaching body is to be established. Of course, a Government inspectorate will watch the standards of the

"I am hopeful that missions and local government councils will work amicably together and that missions will still retain their influence in the schools in co-operation with the

local government.

Enormous Debt to Missions

"There are tremendous prolems connected with the impletion of this policy, but I see no problem as great as the continuance of the existing policy. Our aim is to encourage the people to contribute their own resources of intelligence and effort, their own materials; their own labour, their own capacities for organization, all the resources they have at their disposal, to achieve their own ends; and Government will match such developments with all the financial and professional assistance it can bring to bear. We must establish vigorous, self-reliant, and self-responsible communities.

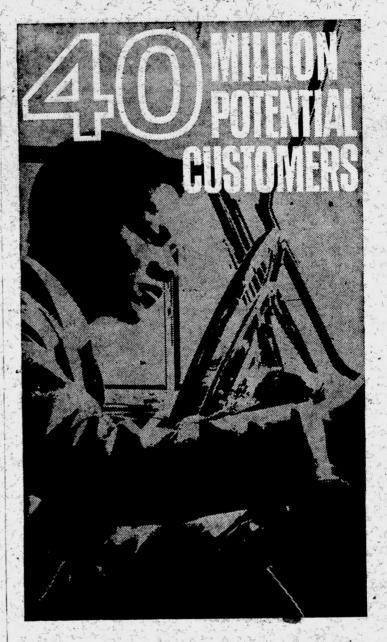
"The present annual increase in expenditure on African education is becoming beyond the capacity of the country to afford, and it will probably be necessary to introduce school fees in Government schools and possibly a Government fee in aided schools as well.

"The country owes an enormous debt to the mis-

'The country owes an enormous debt to the missions for the great part they have played in African education. Without their assistance the education system could not have been established. I trust they will continue to assist with their great contribution".

Seychelles Tracking Station

THE TRACKING STATION in process of creation at La Misere, Seychelles, will have an American staff of 65 when it becomes operational. It is to be one of six or seven stations in various parts of the world created to track different types of space vehicles and radiation levels. It will not be a missile-tracking unit. Because the Americans building the satellite station need constant communication with Nairobi, a telephone service has been opened between Mahé and Kenya.



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News Items in Brief

Nine African officers are now in super-scale posts wire the E.A.C.S.O.

Southern Rhodesia's currency will not be devalued, the Minister of the Treasury told Parliament last week.

A seaplane service between Mombasa and Seychelles is

shortly to be started by the Philco Corporation of the United

The Nyasaland Judicial Department's 1962 report states that the number of witchcraft cases rose to 107 last year from 25

Uganda Fish Net Manufacturers Ltd. expect their Japanese-designed, £125,00) factory in Kampala to be operative by the end of the year.

Banana Fibres for Bags

Manufacture of grain bags from banana fibres is being sponsored by the Uganda Development Corporation around Mbale and Bugerere.

Since independence for the Congo on July 1 three years ago, 109 Belgians have been killed there, the Belgian Foreign Ministry has stated.

Seven championships were won by Manguni cattle from Southern Rhodesia's Tjolotjo experimental station at the recent Wankie agricultural show.

Six-month gaol terms were passed by a Nyasaland local court on two Africans who refused to buy Malawi Congress Party membership cards.

Sugar development costing some £6m., to include two new factories, is planned by the Kenya Government for the Muhoroni district of Nyanza.

Irrigation for some 15000 acres of lowveld near Fort Victoria will cost Southern Rhodesia £21m. when a dam is built across the Chiredzi River.

Twelve K.A.N.U. youth wingers have been arrested at Ahero near Kisumu, after two Africans suspected of stealing stock had been tied up and beaten to death.

A Small Traders and Industrial Development Authority (S.T.A.I.D.A.) is about to be created in Kenya to provide finan-

cial, technical, and managerial assistance.

Ten technical and managerial assistance.

Rhodesian Tobacco Record

Forty-six veterinary officers out of 183 employed by the Government of Kenya have notified their intention to leave the country. Half of them are in the two top grades of the

A record return of £33,778,661 and the highest average price since 1952—41.62d. per lb.—marked the close of the Rhodesian tobacco season last Friday, during which a crop of 194,780,000 lbs. was sold.

The Northern Rhodesian Government's plan for integrated inter-racial education was approved by the Legislative Council last week by 23 votes to 15. Fees for primary and secondary schools are to be £30 and £45.

Because Masai tribesmen in East Africa are physically active, hunting and herding their cattle, they remain free from coronary diseases despite their large daily intake of animal fats, the International Congress on Nutrition was told.

A group from the British Air Ministry is to spend about 21 months in Seychelles making a survey of the upper

The United Nations has sent on a tour of East and Central Africa a "Special Fund mission on integration of wild life in

development of marginal lands"

A course of four months in public administration is being taken in the United States by nine African officials of the East African Common Services Organization.

An extension to the Lady Twining Hostel in Dar es Salaam has been named the Maria Nyerere Extension, the new building having been suggested by the wife of the President of the republic.

African primary school teachers on the Copperbelt are on strike until the Northern Rhodesian Education Ministry shows less "indifference" to the teaching union's demands for security against assault at home and at school.

"Massive reprisals" by the Ethiopian Government against alleged Somali guerillas in the Ogaden, including two months of bombardment and thought to involve hundreds of deaths on both sides, have been-reported by the Somali Republic.

Russia is pressing the Somali Republic to grant air transit rights through Mogadishu. A recent agreement with Italy to

Russia is pressing the Somali Republic to grant air transit rights through Mogadishu. A recent agreement with Italy to provide planes for a Somali airline contains the express condition that there shall be no parallel Communist participation.

A Belgian who was repairing his boat at Kasenga, Katanga, was killed last week by former gendarmes. When they tried to seize the boat he defended himself and his property, and in the ensuing fracas killed one of the assailants and wounded three others. three others.

S.R. Minerals Lower

"Laughing sickness" has afflicted over 1,000 Tanganyika villagers to the west of Lake Victoria in the past 18 months. Medical investigators, unable to trace bacteria or virus infection, have stated that mass hysteria seems to be the only explanation as yet.

June mineral production in Southern Rhodesia at £2.07m.,

June mineral production in Southern Rhodesia at £2.07m., a £0.02m. rise over May, has brought production figures for the half-year to £11,880,423, a £1% drop from the corresponding period last year. Only gold at 3% more output has increased from last year, to £3,503,088.

Kenya's Ministry of Tourism has distributed posters in Swahili with the slogan "Tourism Means More Money for Kenya"—a hoped-for £65m. yearly by 1970—and calling on the people to show courtesy and hospitality to visitors at all times "to ensure that they see us and our country at its best".

An economic and technical co-operation agreement supposedly signed between Nationalist China and Kenya by the latter's Economic Affairs Minister; Mr. L. G. Sagini, will not be observed by the Kenya Government, which has stated that the Minister was on a private visit to Formosa and had no mandate to enter such an agreement. mandate to enter such an agreement.

Armed Revolt

Dar es Salaam is affording sanctuary to a number of Pan-Africanist Congress officials from South Africa who are seek-

Africanist Congress officials from South Africa who are seeking world support for "armed revolt against white domination as a system of government" next year, proposals for which are to be submitted to the liberation committee set up by the Addis Ababa Conference in the Tanganyika capital.

Technically qualified Kenya residents are being invited by the Industrial Development Corporation and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to form an advisory and consultative panel to deal with small African industrial units that will provide employment with the minimum of capital outlay to manufacture paper, fruit pulp, torch bulbs and batteries, honey and beeswax, cassava starch, carvings, imitation and costume jewellery and cast iron articles. jewellery and cast iron articles.

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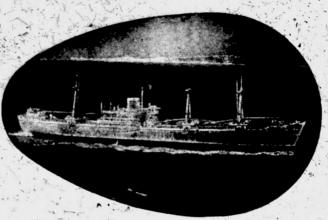
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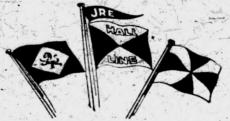
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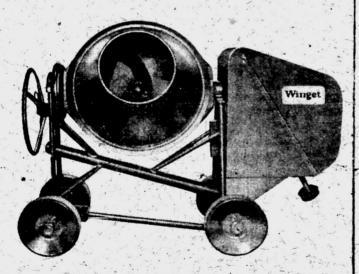
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