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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joolson

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1965

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

PROBABLY NOBODY ANYWHERE had thought that the mainland constituencies in Tanzania would so eagerly seize the opportunity of the first general election as a one-party State to bludgeon with varying degrees of savagery a number of those who had considered themselves to be the indispensable stalwarts of T.A.N.U. and the Government, and had been so regarded by other people in Africa and elsewhere.

Tanzania Shocked By Election Results.

Mwalimu Nyerere's re-election as President was not in doubt, and his two chief lieutenants, Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, the Second Vice-President, and Mr. Oscar Kambona, who holds the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, are among the six Ministers fortunate enough to have been returned unopposed. The latter, who is most unpopular in various quarters, may be glad that those persons in the Morogoro area who have their reservations about him were not able to express their opposition in the polling-booths. But as chairman of the Committee of Nine of the Organization of African Unity, which concerns itself with the training of "freedom fighters" for subversion, sabotage, murder, and other reprehensible activities in Mozambique today and perhaps in Rhodesia tomorrow, he is, of course, appreciated by the thug elements within and without Tanzania.

The Minister who can least be spared is certainly Mr. Paul Bomani, a quiet, able, and hard-working Finance Minister and servant of his country and party, who is deservedly well-regarded in the outside world, in which he has travelled extensively. In his case the pressure of his duties obviously made it exceptionally difficult for him to visit his constituency in the Mwanza district often, and infrequent appearances may have cost him his seat. As the President has the right to

nominate ten members of the Assembly, to which fifteen may also be co-opted to represent special interests, it is probable, we should hope, that Mr. Bomani will still sit in the House and retain his former office. If that should not be so, his successor will find a friendly welcome on his travels if he should be found to have anything like the personal qualities of Mr. Bomani, whose task was often made unnecessarily difficult by the extremism in word and deed of some of his Cabinet colleagues.

Sharp Lesson For The Self-Important.

The results already known and reported in other columns make it evident that important changes in the Ministry are inevitable—unless the party is prepared to risk serious criticism by restoring to Parliament through nomination several former Ministers who have suffered rejection. That would appear the more unlikely because confidence in them was withdrawn on personal grounds. Every report from Tanzania which we have so far seen gives as the chief cause of electoral hostility the arrogance and self-satisfaction of men who had enjoyed themselves in the capital and on jaunts elsewhere and neglected to visit their constituencies sufficiently often, or arrived in large chauffeur-driven cars, exuded evidence of well-being and relative wealth acquired with suspicious rapidity, and spent their time exhorting the people to harder work, more thrift, and less indulgence—except in the purchase of Government bonds. Quite a number of those who had grossly exaggerated their importance and flaunted their self-importance have been taught a sharp lesson, and many others have been reminded that Tanzania's variety of one-party State does not offer an automatic freehold to Parliamentary strutters. That demonstration is not likely to be lost on party leaders in neighbouring States, who will therefore be very unlikely to adopt the Tanzania model.

Electorate Rejects Many Ministers and M.Ps. in Tanzania

Unique System in One-Party State Severely Shakes Party Hierarchy

TANZANIA'S first general election since Tanganyika's union with Zanzibar, and since the creation of the one-party State, has caused the defeat of Ministers, Junior Ministers and other Members of the last Parliament, some of whom were prevented by their constituencies from even standing as candidates.

Not all the results are yet known. Those from the remote areas will not be available for some days. Polling was divided into two periods for administrative reasons: in about two-thirds of the constituencies it took place on Tuesday of last week. Elsewhere it was held last Sunday.

Voting for the National Assembly was confined to the mainland, where the electors were also asked whether they favoured Mwalimu Nyerere's continuance as President. He was the only candidate, nominated jointly by the Tanganyika African National Union and the Afro-Shirazi Party in Zanzibar. To retain the office he must receive 50% of the votes cast.

In Zanzibar and Pemba electors voted only for or against President Nyerere. Members of the Parliament of Tanzania from those two islands have not to defend their seats for another two years. The term of the Assembly is five years.

At the instance of President Nyerere an entirely new electoral system was adopted, one unique in Africa or elsewhere. Under it anyone with 25 supporters may become a candidate. The consequence was that there were some 700 candidates for 101 constituencies with contests, there being a dozen or more in some cases. In six cases candidates were not opposed.

Two Europeans and Three Asians Elected

Village and ward committees had the task of reducing the aspirants to two in each constituency, from which recommendations went to T.A.N.U.'s area councils for submission in order of preference to the national executive of the party. In almost all cases that body accepted the proposals made to it—despite the fact that that meant excluding some former M.Ps. and office-holders.

Candidates thus selected used either a hoe or a house as their voting insignia.

They were allotted equal space in a joint manifesto, were permitted to criticize the party and the Government, and could speak only from the same platforms in the presence of an impartial chairman and two other scrutineers whose duty was to prevent references to tribal, religious or racial loyalties.

No seats were reserved for non-Africans, but two Europeans and three Asians stood, and all were elected.

The first result to be declared was, as it happened, that in which Mr. Derek Bryceson, the European Minister of Agriculture, standing in Dar es Salaam North, polled 37,776 votes against 7,730 cast for his African opponent, Mr. Maneno Kilongora, a postmaster. A large majority for the Minister had not been foreseen, and many people expected him to be defeated.

The first two heavy shocks for the Government were the defeat of Mr. Paul Bomani, Minister for Finance, who polled 9,639 votes in Mwanza East against 14,146 for Mr. Zakaria Madilla, and of Mr. J. S. Kasambala, Minister for Industry, Mineral Resources and Power, in Rungwe West, where his opponent, Mr. O. E. A. Mbembela, won by 12,533 votes to 11,372.

Ministers who had had unopposed returns were Messrs. R. M. Kawawa, Second Vice-President, in Nachingwea; O. S. Kambona (External Affairs) in

Morogoro East; J. M. Lusinde (Home Affairs) in Dodoma South; M. M. Kamaliza (Labour) in Kilosa East; A. K. Shaba (Housing) in Mtwara; and F. V. Mponji (Parliamentary Secretary for Labour) in Masasi East.

Among those re-elected are Messrs. E. A. M. Mangenya, a former Minister; A. Z. N. Swai, Minister of State (by only 160 votes in a poll of 3,770); and Miss Lucy Lameck, Parliamentary Secretary for Commerce and Co-operatives, who had 26,829 supporters against an opponent who could attract only 1,608.

Ministers Defeated

In addition to Messrs. Bomani and Kasambala, the defeated included Messrs. T. S. Tewa, Ambassador in Peking and a former Minister; E. B. M. Barongo, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture (by 671 votes in a poll of 22,681); M. S. Haule, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Home Affairs (who had only 3,252 votes in Kondoos South against 24,651); R. O. Kirundu, Mayor of Dar es Salaam (who in Dar es Salaam had no more than 7,282 votes against 44,602 for his antagonist); Elias Kisenge, of the Office of the President (with a majority of 8,000 against him in Pare); and N. L. Buhatwa, Junior Minister for Lands.

Bibi Titi Mohamed, the T.A.N.U. women's leader and Parliamentary Secretary for Community Development and National Culture, also lost her seat.

Two other former M.Ps. who failed to secure re-election were Messrs. E. C. Mbaroti and A. C. Faraji. They polled 871 and 1,949 respectively while the opposing candidates obtained 6,977 and 2,438 votes.

Rhodesian Who Wants U.K. Passport

MISS JUDY TODD, who is now in New York, has written in a letter to *The Times*:

"I have been making inquiries in the passport division of the British Mission in New York about getting a British passport. I am a Rhodesian citizen and am in possession of a Rhodesian passport.

"The reason I gave for wanting to change my passport was that I was alarmed by the consequences of a probable unilateral declaration of independence by the Rhodesian Government. In this event many Rhodesians would find themselves in foreign countries with a passport issued by a Government no longer recognized and, according to Mr. Wilson, guilty of an illegal and treasonable act.

"The official concerned told me that I would have to prove some connexion with Britain other than that of being a British subject, to obtain a British passport. She further said that in the event of a U.D.I. the Rhodesian Office in Washington would deal with any difficulties over passports and that I would simply be in the same position as a South African citizen was after South Africa left the Commonwealth.

"This is most certainly not the case. The Rhodesian Office in Washington would presumably be powerless to override British strictures on Rhodesia, and I doubt that the plea on behalf of my safety and convenience, on the front page of a passport from a rebellious country, would carry much weight. In any case, how could a Rhodesian in Rhodesia leave the country on a Rhodesian passport after a U.D.I.?

"I sincerely hope that H.M. Government will make some provision for those of us who have no desire to be associated with the Rhodesian Government and/or any illegal act they may commit to obtain British passports either in anticipation of a U.D.I. or at least after such an act."

The writer is a daughter of Mr. Garfield Todd, a former Prime Minister of Rhodesia.

Mr. Reedman's Frank Broadcast from Lisbon

"Trash Democracy of One-Man-One-Vote System"

A BROADCAST TALK from Lisbon by Mr. Reedman, Rhodesia's envoy in the Portuguese capital, has been the subject of another protest by H.M. Government.

MR. CLIFFORD DUPONT, Rhodesia's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, announced in Salisbury last week that Dr. Franco Nogueira, Foreign Minister of Portugal, had received Mr. Reedman, Rhodesia's newly appointed accredited diplomatic representative, so that he might present his letter of accreditation.

"In that letter, which I signed, Mr. Reedman was introduced as the accredited diplomatic representative of Rhodesia and head of our mission in Portugal.

"In view of conflicting Press reports, of this appointment, I wish to make it quite clear that this was exactly the same procedure as that adopted in the case of the appointment of Mr. John Gaunt to the Republic of South Africa. I also wish to make it quite clear that never at any time was there any intention to grant ambassadorial status to Mr. Reedman, and the British Government, whom we kept fully informed at all times in accordance with our obligations, is well aware of this fact. I have always stated that, in accordance with our undoubted rights, we were seeking to appoint a diplomatic representative in Lisbon independent of the British Embassy, and we have achieved that objective."

"Disparity" in Statements

In Lisbon a Foreign Ministry spokesman said that Mr. Reedman had presented "a letter of introduction" and that his status would be that of "chief of the Rhodesian mission". He would deal directly with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on all matters of interest to Portugal and Rhodesia.

When referred to the fact that the word "diplomatic" did not occur in the announcement of Mr. Reedman's presentation of a letter to Dr. Nogueira, the spokesman replied that he had no comment to make. Mr. Reedman, he said, talked alone with Dr. Nogueira for rather more than an hour. No details of the conversation would be disclosed.

A British Embassy official said that there had been no contact with Mr. Reedman and was not likely to be any in the future.

An official of the Foreign Office said in London that in its view a letter of introduction did not constitute credentials. On Wednesday of last week Sir Archibald Ross, the British Ambassador, was once more instructed to repeat his representations to the Portuguese Government.

According to the Foreign Office, that was being done "because of the disparity between statements emanating from Lisbon and Salisbury". It was explained that the "disparity" concerned use of the word "diplomatic" by Salisbury but not by Lisbon.

In criticism of H.M. Government Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P., said: "The Government has made a considerable fuss about a matter which does not seem of vital importance. What really matters is to reduce the tension between the Rhodesian and British Governments when the whole Commonwealth is occupied with immensely serious problems."

"Painful Rigmarole"

The diplomatic correspondent of *The Times* wrote on Thursday: —

"It is abundantly clear that the Portuguese Government is according Mr. Reedman many of the facilities and privileges of a fully accredited diplomatist, though it has not stated positively what his status is to be.

"The outcome of this painful rigmarole is becoming clearer. The British Government are fully on record as not acquiescing in independent action in the foreign field by the Rhodesian Government. The Rhodesian Government has established a representative in Lisbon, who will in fact conduct foreign relations with the Portuguese Government, whether he has full diplomatic status or not. Both the British and Rhodesian Governments may well be glad that the wrangle over representation has diverted pressure for a unilateral declaration of independence at least for the present."

The correspondent in Lisbon had cabled on the previous day: —

"It seems likely that Mr. Reedman may enjoy diplomatic

privileges here, in spite of the fact that he has so far not been announced as having diplomatic rank by the Portuguese. While a Foreign Ministry official refused to say 'Yes' or 'No' when asked the question, a member of Mr. Reedman's three-man staff said: 'To the best of our knowledge, "Yes"; Mr. Reedman will enjoy diplomatic privileges.'

"British circles here feel that although the Portuguese have dropped the word 'diplomatic' from their statements concerning Mr. Reedman's appointment, it would be a mistake to assume that the situation is made satisfactory by mere avoidance of that word."

Diplomatic Immunity and Privileges

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

"Mr. Reedman has not presented credentials to the Portuguese Head of State and, therefore, technically has no diplomatic status. But this is merely a fine point of protocol. He will be accorded diplomatic immunity and privileges and will appear in next year's Portuguese Diplomatic List. He will be responsible for Rhodesia's relations with Portugal, something which Britain claims is her responsibility.

"Britain's main objection was to Mr. Reedman's heading an independent diplomatic mission. The fact that threatened British reprisals have not so far materialized will not be lost on those Rhodesians who want to seize independence."

In a broadcast from Radio Lisbon on the Rhodesian Diplomatic Mission to Portugal. He then repeated the statement made in the Rhodesian Parliament on September 8 by Mr. Dupont, Minister of External Affairs, saying that he did so "in order to end speculation". [That speech has been fully reported in Britain only by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.]

Mr. Reedman continued: "I have a mandate from the Rhodesian Government to put our case for independence not only to the people of Portugal, in order to obtain your understanding and support of our just, urgent, and proper claims, but to all those people who are interested in the cause of justice."

He referred to the "trash democracy of one-man-one-vote" which was, he said, a device which would bring his country to ruin. "This your Rhodesian neighbour [to the Portuguese East African province of Mozambique] will not in any circumstances allow. The Government's responsibility to the nation, to the 99% supporters of responsible government, ensures that we will not falter in order to appease the 1% of self-seekers; nor will it bend its will to seek agreement with the paltry ideas of its critics."

Mr. Reedman referred to his own military service in the last war and to the fact that he has a brother in the Royal Air Force and a son commissioned in the Royal Engineers. There were, he emphasized, many such cases in Rhodesia, which is still greatly enamoured with the monarchy of Britain; "and it could well be that we have no equal in our patriotism to the cause of our race."

During his recent visit to England while on his way to take up his post in Lisbon, he had found "an awakening to the justice of our stand; the responsible men of Britain are with us, and they identify us as of common ancestry."

Afro-Asian Monster

"Rhodesia stood with Portugal in Africa in the common cause of civilization."

The Afro-Asian bloc, an implacable monster, had made a mockery of the Commonwealth and planned to assault not only Rhodesia but other civilized States in Africa, Portugal having already suffered such vicious treatment.

Rhodesia had called public attention to the activities of Chinese Communists in Africa and to the fact that more than one Commonwealth country in Africa was providing facilities for training Communist saboteurs.

Did anyone believe that Africans could withstand the ravages of Communism without European leadership? If so bereft, they would become the serfs of the insurgent Asiatic.

The aim was to cause the sacrifice of Rhodesia, the most patriotic member State of the Commonwealth, while, paradoxically, African countries in the Commonwealth which tore down the photograph of Her Majesty the Queen sought and obtained grants and loans from Britain.

When the British Embassy protested on the ground that Britain had the sole right to act for Rhodesia in external affairs, an official of the Portuguese Foreign Ministry said that the broadcast was in Mr. Reedman's private capacity

and that it contained expressions of opinion at variance with those of the Portuguese Government.

The Foreign Office in London told correspondents that it took "an unfavourable view" of the broadcast and that the Ambassador would make urgent representations about it. He was later understood to have delivered a note of protest.

Mr. Mennen Williams, United States Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, told reporters that America backed Britain on the question of Rhodesia.

The Commonwealth correspondent of the *Guardian* wrote on Monday:

"The British Government is coldly angry with the Smith Cabinet for its presumed approval of statements by Mr. Smith's unofficial representative in Lisbon, Mr. Reedman, in a broadcast over the Portuguese State network. Mr. Reed-

man's bluntness and defiance of British authority amounted to a calculated snub.

"On the other hand, if it is the hope of the right wing in Rhodesia that this incident will trigger off some sharp public reaction from the Wilson Government and thus provide them with a convenient excuse for staging an open rebellion, they are likely to be disappointed. It is the policy of the Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, Mr. Bottomley, not to be led into the obvious trap of overt provocation.

"The Reedman broadcast and the curious decision of the Smith Cabinet to remove (or abruptly retire) the civil servant who was permanent head of the departments responsible for defence and foreign affairs combined to heighten the feeling in Whitehall that some decisive diplomatic action on the Rhodesian position cannot now be far away."

Rhodesia Expecting Early Declaration of Independence

Prime Minister Says "We Shall Never Deviate"

MR. SMITH, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, said in Umvukwe on Friday that independence from Britain must be won.

"We will never deviate from our course, because that would be a betrayal of the people of Rhodesia. No matter what our opponents may say, no matter how they may threaten us, they can huff and puff but will never blow our house down".

Next day the Salisbury correspondent of the *Observer* (cabled):—

"Growing pressure from his party's right-wing may force Mr. Smith to abandon his present comparatively subtle attack on Britain and grab independence before Christmas to save his own political skin. Angry white farmers are demanding to know just what he is playing at in his independence negotiations.

"The Rhodesian Front are determined that Mr. Smith shall not go to London. They have no particular objection to Mr. Bottomley visiting Rhodesia again, but wonder what would be achieved. I was told: 'There are only two choices—majority rule or a unilateral declaration of independence. So the sooner we take independence and get the whole thing over and done with, the better'.

"There is still an absolute conviction among R.F. supporters that a U.D.I. would be what Mr. Smith once called 'a three-day wonder', and that after a little fuss everything would settle down happily. It is believed that what he is trying to do is to wear Britain down by a policy of diplomatic attrition. The next stage is likely to be a Rhodesian attempt at signing a defence pact with South Africa or Portugal, exclusive of Britain".

Anti-British Feeling Hardening

On Sunday the *Guardian* representative telegraphed from Rhodesia:—

"If Mr. Bottomley is coming to talk to Mr. Smith he had better come soon. The feeling is growing that the white Rhodesians will go over the brink before the end of the year with their eyes open. It may entail all the resources of persuasion and threats held by Mr. Bottomley to stall a U.D.I., but it is quite apparent that only a quick settlement will remove the boggy altogether.

"Anti-British opinion is hardening rapidly, largely due to Britain's tough attitude over the Lisbon appointment, which seemed, even to the more moderate of the whites, supremely unreasonable.

"Furthermore, respect for Britain is fast disappearing. Rhodesians feel that as the leader of the Commonwealth Britain should have taken the initiative in trying to bring about a settlement in the Pakistani-Indian quarrel rather than leave it to the United Nations and Russia. The Aden crisis is seen as further evidence of growing anarchy in the Commonwealth.

"This apparent weakness gives the Rhodesians greater confidence that Britain will in the end fail to act firmly and decisively.

"Mr. Smith is facing an ever-rising tide of impatience among his followers, and the impatience is spreading to the more moderate elements.

"The warnings of big business against unilateralism are no longer heard. It is firmly believed in ever-spreading quarters that the current prosperity, the better balance of payments position, and rising exports will enable Rhodesia to weather the storm.

"Mr. Smith has scrupulously maintained the secrecy which negotiations with Britain demand. Soon he may feel it neces-

sary to take the public into his confidence. If Mr. Bottomley comes it will be on a make or break basis".

The Salisbury *Sunday Mail* reported:—

"The majority of those interviewed last week throughout Rhodesia now believe that a negotiated independence on terms acceptable to the Rhodesian Front is out, and they have accepted the fact that a snatched independence will mean tough reprisals. Farmers, businessmen, garage mechanics, and office workers differed in their assessments of the seriousness of the effects of sanctions by Britain, but there was almost complete unanimity that the gamble will be taken—soon".

Extreme Pressure from Party

The correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* cabled:—

"Mr. Smith is under extreme pressure from both the right wing and the rank and file of his party. Unless he manages to achieve something within the next month or two, Rhodesia may well once again have a vacancy for a Prime Minister.

"Mr. Smith and probably the majority of his cabinet Ministers are alarmed at the looming prospect of being forced to declare independence. What makes this crisis different from the numerous previous ones is that this time Rhodesia seems prepared to risk a unilateral seizure of independence".

The *Guardian* representative telegraphed that Mr. Smith was "guarding his band-wagon". He said, *inter alia*:—

"The Rhodesian Front, getting fussy about its membership, wants to keep out people who were once opponents but in view of the party's success, power and prestige are now believed to be jumping on the band wagon.

"Membership now requires three sponsors, one of whom must have been a party member for at least two years. The application must be signed by the chairman of the constituency council in the area in which the applicant lives. The Front wants to know to what parties the applicant has belonged and when he resigned".

"PETER SIMPLE", the *Daily Telegraph* diarist, has written:—

"There has been a good deal of talk in the newspapers about Britain's anger at the Rhodesian Government's sly attempt to accredit a diplomatic representative to Lisbon. All over the country, it is suggested people are seething with rage at this slap in the face for the Socialist Government and the emergent nations of the Commonwealth. Menacing crowds are gathering outside houses and shops believed to be occupied by Rhodesians; publicans are refusing to serve them; there is a demand that they should all be interned forthwith as enemy aliens. Such is the liberal day-dream. The truth, bleakly disappointing, is that of the comparatively small number of people in Britain who have even heard of these activities of the Rhodesian Government none, apart from a few liberal *Observer*-readers, feel any anger whatever.

"From the liberal point of view the truth is even worse than that. Explain to this nation why a country like Tanzania is freely allowed diplomatic representation while a country like Rhodesia is ruled at and threatened for demanding the same, and you might see Britain's anger indeed".

High Commissioner Called to London

MR. J. B. JOHNSTON, British High Commissioner in Rhodesia, was summoned to London at the week-end for urgent talks. He arrived on Tuesday.

Evolving Independence de facto

Lord Fraser Supports Rhodesia

LORD FRASER OF LONSDALE has suggested in a letter in *The Times* that Rhodesia is wise to be evolving independence *de facto* instead of declaring it *de jure*. He wrote:—

"Why all this fuss about Rhodesia and Portugal? It is obvious that Rhodesia intends to be directly represented there as she is in South Africa; does it very much matter what the representative is called?"

"I know well that some Britons want majority rule in Rhodesia soon; others expect it later. I know well that European Rhodesians, who in fact govern and manage the country and its affairs and business, want to evolve a Rhodesian way of life with their African people in their own way and in their own time."

"I have no doubt that the chiefs support this, and that the great majority of Africans are not yet able to judge, and that only a few, tutored or inspired from outside, want political power. But African political power would not be more democratic or effective than it has proved to be in almost every other African country."

"Surely Rhodesia is wise and sensible to evolve independence *de facto* instead of declaring independence *de jure*."

"Rhodesia has virtual independence in all matters save the Constitution and representation at U.N.O.; the former they do not want to change, the latter would be expensive and useless to them."

"Let us therefore encourage them to establish themselves as a *de facto* independent State within the Commonwealth until the time comes when the step towards independence *de jure* will be easily taken, instead of forcing upon them a critical decision at the present moment."

Voice from the Past

Mr. A. J. Siggins had written:—

"Mine is something of a voice from the past, as I left Southern Rhodesia in 1905 after serving in the B.S.A. Police and the Native Department of that country."

"We had dealings on many occasions with the chiefs of Mashonaland and even then none had any real power or much influence with his fellow-tribesmen. I took part in the punitive expedition against Sipolilo, and I think he was about the last chief to try to make a stand. Mpondera, against whom I took part in two expeditions, was more of a guerrilla."

"The basic issue in both Northern and Southern Rhodesia and in Malawi, however, is how much power did Chief Lobengula have when he affixed his mark to the treaty granting the agents of Mr. Rhodes power over the whole country 'for ever'."

"In the old days we frequently discussed the validity of that treaty, and the majority of people with whom I discussed it were native commissioners and other whites who had had a long experience among African tribes and other knowledgeable whites and Matabele and Mashona chiefs. None said Lobengula had power to cede tribal rights over the country to foreigners. Many said Lobengula had been tricked."

"As the country was then under Matabele law, I contend that the issue must be decided by that law. And I doubt very much whether in English or Roman-Dutch law validity for such a treaty could be established in view of all the circumstances. That issue will be decided, I think, not by Britain, Southern Rhodesia or Portugal but by an 'international tribunal'."

Many of the letters sent to *The Times* were not published.

A number of writers, including several very well-known public men, have told EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA of their disappointment at the non-publication of short letters.

Several of the letters declined by *The Times* have been sent to us. Some appear hereunder:—

Commander H. C. B. Pipon, R.N. (Retd.), wrote:—

"If the head master of a school became so enamoured of

democracy as to hold an election for the purpose of choosing a new headmaster—an election in which he and every pupil would have one vote, and in which every voter would be eligible for the post—we should all think that he had gone mad.

"Yet all our political parties are bent on compelling Rhodesia to take an exactly similar step, namely, to allow its future to be decided by an electorate quite as incapable of voting sensibly as our headmaster's pupils would be."

Kenyan Who Dare Not Sign

A British farmer on leave from Kenya wrote:—

"Sir John Vaughan-Morgan says that sanctions against Rhodesia by Britain could involve the collapse of the present economy, the flight of European capital and people, and a sharp decline in the standard of living of the African population. Government based on one-man-one-vote definitely would have such effects, as has been amply proved in East Africa."

"Talk of 'treason' does not impress those of us in East Africa who have been betrayed; bitterness against Britain by Africans of European extraction could hardly be increased. 'I must ask you not to publish my name as I cannot risk reprisals'."

Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P., said:—

"Your diplomatic correspondent, in commenting on Mr. Reedman's appointment to Lisbon, said that the question was being asked how the Portuguese Government would like it if representatives of the Angola rebel movement were given diplomatic status in London?"

"This question is symptomatic of some of the views that are being put about: the chairman of the Africa Bureau demands majority rule before independence, and the Africa Committee of the Conference of British Missionary Societies, speaking 'on behalf of the African people', makes much the same demand. For how long are the British public to be subject to these fantasies?"

"The Angola rebellion was instigated and organized outside Angola; and, in spite of the unspeakable atrocities committed by the rebels, failed to obtain indigenous support except in one area. Elsewhere in Africa one-man-one-vote has been the battle-cry of nationalists who knew that this was the quickest way to power, who, once in power, made certain that votes should thereafter be cast only for one person or party. The President of Nigeria was reported earlier this year as saying that in only five of the 35 independent African States are opposition political parties permitted full freedom of speech and assembly."

"With this background, and with growing racial strife in America, Asia, and Africa, and to some extent in Europe, are not Rhodesians, who have been running their own affairs since 1923, more entitled to independence than any other British territory in Africa? People argue that they are a minority Government; but the Rhodesian Government claims to have the support of those African leaders who undoubtedly represent the large majority of rural Africans. The critics claim that this is only the case because the chiefs know what happens to them under independent African Governments. This may well be so; but they are prepared to state their support for independence publicly and in the face of severe intimidation from the nationalist parties."

"The real reason that Rhodesia is not now given independence is because of the effect on the Commonwealth, and to a much lesser extent on the United Nations. Yet there are racial or national tensions, sometimes amounting to civil war, in Cyprus, Fiji, Malaysia, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Kenya, Tanzania (with the Indians), Zanzibar (with the Arabs), Mauritius, and British Guiana, all given or about to be given independence by the British Government."

"Why these double standards? And for how long will they be tolerated?"

Rhodesian Africans Trained by Chinese

SEVEN AFRICANS said to have been trained in sabotage in Ghana by Communist Chinese instructors were stated by Mr. A. N. B. Masterson, Crown counsel, to have been wanted for crimes in Rhodesia before they left. He told the High Court, in the case in which 28 Africans are charged with having accepted military training in Ghana, that he would rebut the defence claim that the accused had been tricked into going to West Africa by offers of education. He added that three of the seven wanted men had gone to China for further special training. After a long hearing all were sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment with hard labour. Their ages were between 16 and 26. All had been members of the banned Zimbabwe African National Union.

PERSONALIA

MR. DONALD C. BROOK has returned from a business visit to Kenya.

ARCHBISHOP PETROS is visiting the East German Republic from Ethiopia.

MR. O. R. ARNELL, who has farmed in Kenya for 44 years, is on holiday in England.

MR. W. MARGOLIS, a well-known businessman in Salisbury, and MRS. MARGOLIS have arrived in London. MR. C. W. COLLINS, Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, has arrived in Britain from Rhodesia.

MR. JUSTICE A. L. CRAM is Acting Chief Justice of Malawi during the absence on leave of SIR FREDERICK SOUTHWORTH.

MR. H. S. JONES, for the past 10 years secretary of the Uganda Chamber of Commerce, will retire at the end of this month.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA has accepted an invitation to pay an official visit to Soviet Russia next year. No dates have yet been arranged.

SAYED EL IMAM ELHADI EL MAHDI, patron of the Umma Party and grandson of the first Mahdi, is in London for medical treatment.

MR. E. S. NEWSON, chairman of the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., and of Rhodesian Alloys, Ltd., and MRS. NEWSON are in London.

MR. PHILIP MASON has been appointed chairman of a B.B.C. committee which is to advise on radio and television services for immigrants.

MR. JOHN NGWIRI, previously Counsellor in the Malawi High Commission in London, is now Malawi representative at the United Nations.

MESSRS. COOPER and CONRAD, the two American spacemen, have paid brief visits to Addis Ababa and Nairobi. Then they flew on to Nigeria.

PRESIDENT KENYATTA is now patron of the Agricultural Society of Kenya. THE QUEEN was previously patron of the Royal Agricultural Society of Kenya.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA said on Monday that the U.K., U.S.A., France, Germany and China had been formally asked to finance the proposed Zambia-Tanzania railway.

SIR GILBERT RENNIE—who was 70 on Friday—has succeeded EARL DE LA WARR as chairman of the United Kingdom Committee of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign.

PROFESSOR HAN YU-TUNG, Deputy Director of the Institute of Jurisprudence in China, has led a delegation to Tanzania to attend a five-day symposium at the East African Academy.

MR. MICHAEL MCCONE has succeeded Dr. JAMES BLACKWELL as director in Mali of the United States Peace Corps. Dr. BLACKWELL had previously been director in Tanganyika.

MRS. JOANNA WILKES, national president of the National Association of Business and Professional Women of Zambia, is in Britain. She has just spent six weeks in the United States.

SIR ERIC ASHBY, SIR WILLIAM HAYTER, PROFESSOR HAROLD BAILEY, and MR. JOHN HAYNES have joined the governing body of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University.

MR. L. CHANGUGU, Minister of Information and Postal Services, is leading a four-member delegation from Zambia to an International Telecommunications Plenipotentiary Conference in Montreux.

THE RT. REV. A. M. GELSTHORPE, Assistant Bishop of Southwell, and formerly Bishop in the Sudan, has been medically advised to undertake no public engagements for six months. He is now 73 years of age.

GROUP CAPTAIN DOUGLAS BADER, one of the most decorated airmen of the last war, in which he lost both legs, will revisit Salisbury next month to address the Rhodesian Division of the Royal Aeronautical Society.

MR. JAMES TINN, Socialist M.P. for Cleveland, Yorkshire, has been appointed Parliamentary Private Secretary to MR. ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, in succession to the late NORMAN DODDS, M.P.

CAPTAIN P. A. TRAVERS will at the end of the year succeed MR. M. STUART-SHAW as chief executive and general manager of Central African Airways. MR. STUART-SHAW is to become managing director of British United Airways.

MR. W. D. LEWIS has been re-elected president of the Tobacco Association of Malawi. MR. B. R. BARRON is the vice-president, and MR. E. D. PYMAN the treasurer. The joint secretaries are MESSRS. E. A. NELMS and G. D. M. HENDERSON.

MR. A. C. IZOD, who is in London for about three months as Information Adviser to the High Commissioner for Rhodesia, will be the guest this evening at a reception at Rhodesia House given by Mr. and MRS. D. E. READ and Mr. and MRS. W. O. HARGREAVES.

MR. R. K. A. GARDINER, executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, is to address a joint meeting in London of the Royal Africa and Royal Commonwealth Societies on October 7 on "Aspects of the Problem of Development of the African Region".

VICE-PRESIDENT OGINGA ODINGA said when addressing a rally in the Machakos District that it was nonsense to connect him with wild rumours about a revolution in Kenya. He had played a leading rôle in the struggle for independence and was quite happy to work under PRESIDENT KENYATTA.

SIR RICHARD TURNBULL, High Commissioner in Aden since January, dismissed the Government on Saturday because it had refused to condemn terrorism "and had sympathized with the use of the bazooka, bomb and assassin's bullet". His service until the end of last year had been in Kenya and Tanganyika.

Rhodesians now in this country include MR. & MRS. W. A. ANDERSON, MR. & MRS. J. ANOLICK, MR. A. A. BLAINE, MR. & MRS. D. C. BOTTRIELL, MR. G. N. S. COLEMAN, MR. C. S. DAVIES, MR. R. A. FURBER, WING-COMMANDER C. S. V. GOODWIN, MR. N. HENRY, MR. C. R. HALSEY, MR. & MRS. H. J. C. HOOPER, MR. S. J. EVANS, MR. & MRS. L. E. D. FLEMING, MR. K. D. MILLS, DR. & MRS. I. MILNE, DR. A. O. PUGH, MR. J. B. REAVILL, MR. & MRS. B. H. D. RIVETT, MR. K. R. ROWE, MR. & MRS. E. C. W. SILCOCK, DR. S. SORIANO.

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*Letter to the Editor***Britain Tears Up "Entrustment"
Rhodesia and Portugal Acting Justifiably**

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR,—Not since the last war can any British Ambassador to Portugal have been kept so busy as Sir Archibald Ross. And to what end? Do the British people really care two hoots whether Rhodesia's representative in Lisbon lives under the same roof as the Ambassador? Do they mind whether Mr. Reedman is called an "envoy", a "minister", or an "accredited representative"? They couldn't care less. Yet such a fuss has been made by Britain that the next step may be to inform the Rhodesian Government that, owing to the sensitivity of Messrs. Nkrumah, Kenyatta, Obote, Nyerere and Margai, no Rhodesian trade mission should venture abroad without an English nanny or chaperone.

We are told that "pressure" is being brought to bear on Portugal because the Portuguese are "easy" and the Rhodesians "difficult". What sort of pressure? An embargo on the importation of port wine and cork, or refusal to allow British citizens to spend their holidays at Cascais or Praia da Rocha?

The comic thing is that it is the British who are being "difficult", while legally and morally both Rhodesians and Portuguese are right. An "entrustment" inherited by Rhodesia from the Federation has proved politically inconvenient, and so the good old formula "Tear it up" has been invoked and the anti-Rhodesian propaganda taps have been turned on full. To make things look a bit blacker for Rhodesia, the suggestion is being made that this perfectly correct appointment is a prelude to U.D.I. It is most unlikely that the two have any connection, but obviously this latest example of British knavery is liable to harden Rhodesian hearts.

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Would the British Government and its step-children have re-acted with such violence had Mr. Reedman been sent to Peking or Hanoi? Almost certainly not, because in these sinister days H.M. Government quite likes Chou en-Lai and Mao Tse Tung, but winces at the thought of Messrs. Salazar, Franco da Nogueira and General Franco, even to the point of upsetting British trade with Portugal and Spain. Is it any wonder then that Mwalimu Nyerere's threat to quit the Commonwealth if Rhodesia is given independence under the present Constitution goes unanswered by Britain? The poor old British lion has evidently no teeth left or even a tail to twitch.

Yours faithfully,

New Forest.

RAYMOND BYRNE.

Points from Letter**How Not to Treat Tourists**

"OUR PARTY of 16 tourists from the United States decided to visit Africa for two particular reasons—to see the game parks in East Africa and the Victoria Falls. We were most fortunate in our game viewing, but the Victoria Falls was struck off our schedule in a way which made us angry. We were to fly south from Nairobi by East African Airways, but at the head office in Kenya were told that something had gone wrong with the firm bookings made from the States weeks before, that all the south-bound planes were full, and that an extra aircraft could not be put on for us. Neither persuasion nor protest got through. Nobody seemed to care—beyond saying quite politely that they were sorry. Is that the way to build up tourism? In every other country which I have visited I am sure that an aircraft would have been found; and every European to whom we afterwards mentioned the matter in Kenya and Uganda expressed astonishment and annoyance that we had been so treated. Some of us will go back—but to Rhodesia, not Kenya, next time; and if we fly through East Africa it will certainly not be by East African Airways".

Mercenaries

"MERCENARIES are not much mentioned nowadays—perhaps because people are beginning to realize that the United States employs such large numbers of mercenaries, especially in the Far East. But the Americans call them 'experts'!. When recently in the Congo I heard of an incident which perhaps suggests how the gutter Press gets its stories about mercenaries. As a test of his endurance and ingenuity, a young soldier of British birth serving in the Federal Army was ordered to make his way from another area of Northern Rhodesia to Abercorn without money. The most direct route being through Katanga territory, he went that way, taking care not to be seen. Had he been spotted by U.N. troops, think of the hullabaloo there would have been about Katanga employing Rhodesians as mercenaries! Yet this was no more than a case of a very young man being engaged in a kind of Boy Scout exercise".

Aggressive Bigotry

"THE AGGRESSIVENESS with which the pan-African case is being put by politicians, journalists and others in Britain is, I suggest, an indication that these zealots and bigots lack real conviction in regard to the cause which they support with such lack of discretion. I am no psychologist or psycho-analyst, but I recently read a reference somewhere to the "aggressive dogmatism of the deeply uncertain". It struck me immediately as absolutely applicable to so many of the unbalanced advocates of extreme African nationalism".

U.D.I. Near, Says Lord Lambton Talks With Mr. Smith and Sir Roy Welensky

LORD LAMBTON, M.P., flew to Rhodesia last week, and after two days in the capital cabled to the London *Evening Standard* that he had had talks with the Prime Minister and five other members of the Government, and had derived the firm conviction that a unilateral declaration of independence must be expected if agreement could not be reached during an early visit by the Commonwealth Relations Secretary. He quoted Mr. Smith as saying:—

"We are still trying to negotiate; but how long do we go on and on and on? When the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Bottomley came we thought we could get on. Seven months passed. Then Mr. Cledwyn Hughes came. Two months have passed. We are getting to the stage of believing that people are stringing us along. We have to face taking matters into our own hands either by negotiation or some other method."

Asked if he had recently asked H.M. Government to clarify its position, the Prime Minister replied: "Frequently. The time has come for Mr. Bottomley to finalize the decision on independence."

Not Looking for Trouble

Lord Lambton: "Let me assume that there is no change and that you have to take independence. Are you not afraid of the economic consequences?"

"No. We are not looking for trouble. We have analysed the problems and gone into them thoroughly and considered the best thing for us to do. To drift on would be disastrous. Anyhow, the economic position will depend on Britain. We hope they will not be vindictive. They should remember that if they are, the chief sufferers will be the Africans. Anyhow, if they are we can beat them by pulling in our guts."

"There is a white population here of a quarter of a million, a black population of three and a quarter million, and a birth-rate explosion. Do you believe, taking these figures into consideration, that white rule here can be permanent?"

"For the foreseeable future we have to have a Government

that understands the rules of economy with the hopes of maintaining our civilization".

"Are you not afraid of a United Nations' intervention, using force?"

"The U.N. is a peace-making, not a war-making force". Lord Lambton concluded:—

"Mr. Smith's position is clear. He believes that the time has come for the British Government to say whether or not it intends to give Rhodesia independence without strings. If so, well and good. If not, his Government will take it."

Sir Roy Welensky's Anxiety

Sir Roy Welensky told him that H.M. Government should make its offer now, if it had any to make, and should remember that Rhodesians did not like threats.

He doubted if the man in the street in Rhodesia realized how much the country would be hurt if Britain applied economic sanctions and if the United States and Canada followed suit, as the former Federal Prime Minister thought likely.

"I don't know what the Rhodesian pound would be worth. I don't know if Britain would freeze our reserves. Some people think the British Government will not use sanctions against us. I think the Labour Government will."

If it passed the problem to the United Nations, that organization could not act effectively unless it had the backing of a Great Power. He would not expect Britain or the U.S.A. to give it, and logistics would make it very difficult for Russia to do so. The situation was tragic.

Lord Lambton concluded: "Reason is not in fashion. The Government have made up their mind and are prepared to damn the consequences in the belief that somehow or other things will right themselves. All I can hope is that Mr. Bottomley, who is highly regarded out here, can find a magic ace up his sleeve."

Mr. Benoy Suddenly Retired

MR. MAURICE BENOY, Secretary for External Affairs and Defence in Rhodesia, has been suddenly retired as from today. He would normally have left the Rhodesian Civil Service at the age of 60. He is now 56. Mr. Benoy had paid two visits to Lisbon in connexion with the establishment of the Rhodesian mission.

His retirement is officially stated to be due to the separation of External Affairs and Defence. The Prime Minister announced:—

"With the responsibilities of the former Ministry now separated into two, there is no longer the need for a grade 10 post as Secretary for the combined Ministry. The post therefore of Secretary for External Affairs and Defence will disappear and will be replaced by two posts of Secretary, each of grade 9 rank. Consequent upon this reorganization the present Secretary for External Affairs and Defence, Mr. Benoy, will retire on September 30."

Mr. Benoy, who was formerly Secretary for Defence in the Federal Government, was born in Manchester and went to Rhodesia in 1928.

Attempt to Assassinate Mr. Tshombe

AN ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE the Prime Minister of the Congo was stated by a member of his entourage to have been made at a football match last week, when two men were seized by the crowd as they cocked revolvers as Mr. Tshombe's car was leaving the stadium. The Minister of the Interior said next day, however, that the two Africans accused had already been in gaol for four days before the alleged incident and had not left the prison after being arrested. The chief of police in Leopoldville added that no arrest had been made at the stadium and that he knew nothing about the affair until told by journalists. The Prime Minister's spokesman replied that about 50 people, including officials, were trying to deny the plot; he implied that the two men named had been let out of prison to kill the head of the Government.

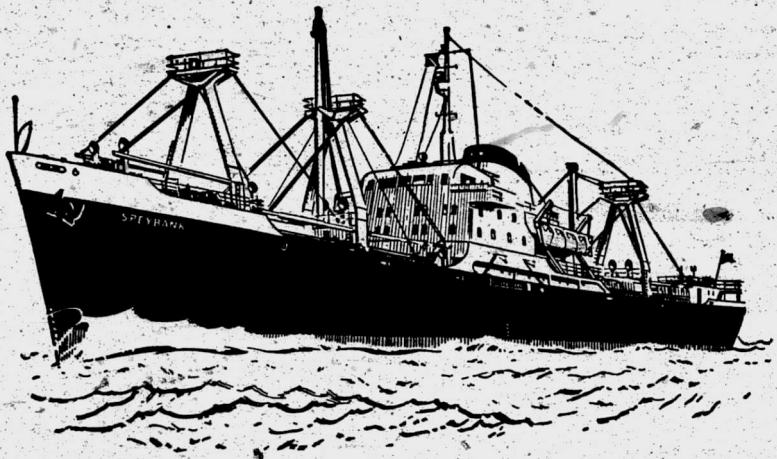
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No Politics for Scholarship Holders Rhodesia's Rule Exceptionally Lenient

THE UNFAIRNESS of the criticisms of the Rhodesian Government's new regulation that holders of scholarships must not engage in politics outside their university or college has been emphasized by Mr. Philip Smith, Minister of Education.

Just before Parliament rose, he told the House: — "Students holding State scholarships at present are not required to comply with the regulation. Rhodesia is by no means alone in insisting on a 'no politics' undertaking from applicants for scholarships.

"In fact, the regulations laid down by Rhodesia are not so restrictive as those enforced by some Commonwealth countries who accept students from Africa under the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan, generally referred to as SCAAP.

"SCAAP was set up in 1960 by the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Committee after the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in May, 1960, had recommended co-operative action to help developing Commonwealth countries in Africa.

"Rhodesia merely imposes a ban on politics outside universities or colleges, but Commonwealth countries such as New Zealand, Canada, Australia—and even Britain—agreed to a total ban on political activities by anyone studying under SCAAP. Applicants are obliged to sign forms under which they must categorically undertake to refrain from engaging in political activities.

"Rhodesia—and indeed every Commonwealth country in Africa—is heavily indebted to SCAAP for its valuable assistance in every sphere. Rhodesia has nothing but praise for the scheme and its important contribution to developing Africa.

Rhodesia Following Commonwealth Practice

"I had no wish to publicize the fact that Rhodesia is merely following a Commonwealth practice under which thousands of students have been obliged to comply with this regulation since SCAAP was established five years ago. I feel, however, that I must now answer criticism of Rhodesia's internal rules for its students.

"I was surprised at the extent of the controversy over a regulation introduced by Rhodesia, one of the purposes of which is to restrain undesirable political activity by students outside their colleges. The Press have created quite a furor over what one newspaper called 'signing the pledge'. The *Rhodesia Herald* said in a leader: 'At its least sinister the move is a vulgar, untutored use of power; at its most sinister, it is something else'.

"Yet in 1964 approximately 40 Rhodesians were required to sign a form excluding them from all political activity in order to qualify for training and study in Commonwealth countries under SCAAP. No one came forward to defend their political freedom in that case; and I trust that the Press in these countries operating this scheme will not subject their Governments to the abuse Rhodesia has received.

"The countries to the north of us have also had to comply with the SCAAP regulation, and if there have been protests they have been very faint.

"SCAAP was established to expand the assistance given by

Commonwealth countries to other developing Commonwealth countries in Africa by providing capital aid and technical assistance. Capital aid to the countries receiving assistance from SCAAP includes grants, loans, and investments. Technical assistance includes financial aid, recruitment of staff for the public services, the supply of experts, advisers and teachers, consultancy and other services, and a training section which includes courses, scholarships, fellowships and other awards and the provision of places in higher educational institutions.

"In 1963-1964 countries giving aid under SCAAP were Pakistan, India, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom. The recipient countries were Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Nigeria, East Africa, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Mauritius.

"Of the assistance given by Commonwealth countries in 1964, £23,690,000 was spent on grants, £30,290,000 on loans and investments, and an estimated £16,800,000 on technical assistance expenditure. Donor countries provided 1,593 training courses, 1,218 scholarships and other awards, and 33,024 places in institutions of higher education.

"Whilst the Commonwealth has provided aid on this very large scale, they have also seen fit to lay down certain conditions which include a ban on political activities. It seems strange that no one has expressed any objection to this Commonwealth action but when Rhodesia imposes a similar but less restrictive ban considerable controversy is fermented".

[EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA was, so far as we are aware, the only newspaper to support the Government when the controversy started. Not one letter was received in criticism of the arguments then advanced.—Ed.]

Zambia Considering "Blow for Blow"

MR. WINA, Finance Minister of Zambia said when he addressed the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference in Jamaica that Zambia's earnings of gold and dollars for the sterling area by her large exports of copper might be jeopardized by unconstitutional changes in Rhodesia. He was quoted as having said: —

"Our President and Government are now considering the possibility of pledging that we should match measure for measure or blow for blow for any sanctions that the United Kingdom Government should invoke in the event of such rebellious action. Indeed, such is the mood and sentiment of our people on this issue that we may have to go even farther than that.

"The Government of Rhodesia has made it clear that should the Commonwealth as a whole seek to take action against her, then the Government there would make Zambia the object of aggression".

Rhodesia's £334m. Tobacco Crop

RHODESIA'S SALES for the tobacco season which has just ended totalled approximately 245½m. lb. of leaf, which sold at the Salisbury auctions for £334m., an average price of 33d. per lb. Last year 323,836,000 lb. had sold for £35m., an average of 25.94d. Because the price was low, the Tobacco Association asked growers to reduce the crop to 250m. lb. The chairman, Mr. E. J. Jefferys, has congratulated them on the response. The U.K. has bought 112m. lb., or 7m. above the promises made.

No Separatism in Uganda

DR. OBOTE, Prime Minister of Uganda, who has been touring the Western Region, said last week that the demands of members of the Bakonjo and Bamba tribes for separation from Toro could not be granted. He denounced Bakonjo who had called themselves "ministers" and illegally collected taxes, and promised protection against the rebel Ruwenzuru movement, which had issued orders and proclamations in the name of the "Independent State of Ruwenzuru".

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**Plot to Assassinate Malawi Cabinet
Alleged Training in Tanzania**

RADIO MALAWI reported a few days ago that 10 Malawi Africans, members of the Malawi Brotherhood Society, who had been deported from Tanzania, had confirmed in Blantyre earlier information that Malawians were being trained in Tanzania for an invasion of their own country and for the assassination of the Prime Minister, all other members of the Cabinet, leading officials of the Malawi Congress Party, and some M.Ps.

Mr. Chiume, a Minister whom Dr. Banda had dismissed, was alleged to be largely responsible for the movement, but a spokesman for the deportees said that his supporters in Dar es Salaam were increasingly discontented with their own lot while he enjoyed the luxuries of the best hotels.

Addressing journalists at a gathering attended by the Prime Minister and other political leaders, he said: "We would not allow Chiume and others to use the Brotherhood against Nkwazi Dr. Banda. We made it difficult for them to get any support from Malawians in Tanzania. That is why we were detained and cruelly treated in jail, where we were denied medical treatment and were beaten up".

He declared the influence of Red China to be extensive in Tanzania, and expressed the conviction that President Nyerere and his Government, and especially Mr. Kambona, the Foreign Minister, were under Chinese influence.

The official journal of the Government party published a glowing tribute to the "bravery, selflessness and dedication of our lost brothers", and invited President Nyerere to "learn now that Kamuzu cannot be reduced to a figurehead Prime Minister by his own Ministers, as Kambona reduced him two years ago".

"Tanzanian Collusion with Red China"

THE CONGO PARLIAMENT met again last week for the first time in two years. President Kasavubu dismissed the Assembly in September, 1963, because Members refused to discuss a new Constitution.

Of 167 deputies recently elected 152 were present when the new House assembled.

A broadcast from Elisabethville has referred to Chinese and Egyptian implication in the rebellion and to "Tanzanian collusion with Red China". In a programme called "The Voice of African Brotherhood", the following passage occurred:

"Some of our African brethren still fail to understand that the Congolese rebellion is already dead and nothing more than a vague memory in the minds of true Congolese patriots. This has been realized by certain countries such as the United Arab Republic, which some time ago kicked out adventurers like Gbenye, Soumialot and their associates, puppets remote-controlled from Peking by their Chinese bosses, those masters of subversion who have once again been unmasked.

"This morning the Government has revealed a Chinese subversive plot aimed at the Democratic Republic of the Congo. During the period September 13 to 17 Congolese National Army troops sank a boat on Lake Tanganyika. All on board were killed, and documents of the highest importance were recovered. The dead included a European who was to have commanded rebel forces in the Fizi-Baraka area. The destruction of this boat exposes Tanzanian collusion with Red China.

"But the rebellion is dead. All our African brethren must support the legal Government and the Congolese people in their task of reconstruction. Truth always wins in the end, and will win here".

Tanzania's £7½ m. Interest-Free Loan

H.M. GOVERNMENT has offered to make the whole of the £7½ m. loan provided towards the cost of Tanzania's development plan for 1964-66 free of interest and without management charges. The loan is repayable in 25 years, and over that period Tanzania should save about £5m. in servicing costs.

**"Useless to Appeal to Whites", - Vice-President
Bitterness Spreading in Zambia**

A DEBATE IN ZAMBIA on a Government motion to repeal a section of the Penal Code which made it a criminal offence to demand production of a membership card of a political party was marked by bitter exchanges, Opposition speakers emphasizing that the proposed change in the laws was bound to lead to intimidation and violence. By authorizing ill-intentioned persons to visit houses by day or night to demand sight of party cards, it would inevitably cause obvious abuses.

Angered by the criticisms, Vice-President Kamanga gave a warning that changes would be made in the Constitution if Opposition M.Ps. did not mend their ways. "We have come to the time when an appeal to the white community has come to an end", he said. "It would be useless for us to go out and say: 'Please, Europeans come together with us', for there is nothing we shall get from them".

Mr. Z. A. Banda, Parliamentary Secretary for Commerce and Industry, said in the debate: "We are not going to appease anyone in this country now. We want to organize our people and have a one-party system".

The normally pro-Government *Times of Zambia* wrote in a long leading article:

"In a week that included the aftermath of the Kitwe by-election, the angry 'party cards' debate, and the thought-provoking spectacle of a court action being withdrawn because the State had seized the evidence, a new note of bitterness has been heard....

"The African National Congress, having prophesied violence, the Government benches abandoned the real basis of the debate and threw whatever political mud came handiest and dirtiest, refusing to recognize any kind of danger in the repeal. The debate disgraced Zambia's Parliamentary tradition and spat upon Zambia's ideas of non-racial, non-tribal unity".

RHODESIA GOVERNMENT

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Applications should be submitted to the Public Service Attaché, Rhodesia House, 429, Strand, London, W.C.2.

No Substitute for Hard Work

WE BELIEVED that we could do things better than the colonialists, so now we must face the judgment of our own people and of coming generations on the reality that we make of this belief, President Kenyatta said when addressing a seminar on development held at the Kenya Institute of Administration.

There was, he emphasized, no substitute for hard work.

"In Kenya one farmer barely produces enough food for six of his fellow-men. In some advanced countries a farmer can produce food for himself and 30 other people.

"Our salvation depends on a 'back-to-the-land' movement, but we cannot be satisfied with the fruits of traditional techniques. We must raise the whole level of our agriculture by means of capital, machinery, modern methods of cultivation, better seed, better stock, and harder work".

Against Life Presidency

PRESIDENT NYERERE said when visiting Zanzibar recently: "The seed of unity was not planted in your hearts by the Afro-Shirazi Party or T.A.N.U., but by God. Newspapers have said 'Let us elect President Nyerere as our President for life'. That would be very dangerous. You do not know when I shall die. I might stay on until I am too old to do my job properly and then tell my son to act for me. When I died he might claim a right to the Presidency—and call himself Sultan Nyerere I; and there might be a second and a third. That would be very bad indeed. The only remedy is election. On September 21 you will have the power to elect or reject me".

Ethiopian Honours for Malawi Leaders

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE, when recently in Malawi, bestowed the Grand Cordon of the Order of Trinity on the Governor-General, Sir Glyn Jones; the Collar of the Order of the Queen of Sheba on Dr. Banda; and the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Star of Honour of Ethiopia on Sir Frederick Southworth, the Chief Justice, and Mr. I. K. Surtee, the Speaker. A number of Ministers, the Malawi Ambassador in Ethiopia, the Mayor of Blantyre and Limbe, and three others were made Grand Officers of that order, and Mr. B. C. Roberts, Q.C., secretary to the Prime Minister, became an officer of the Order of Menelik II. Three Malawi chiefs crowned the Emperor as Great Chief of Malawi.

News Brevities

Ethiopia has given £5,000 to Kenya's famine relief fund. Two more Malawi chiefs have been deposed by order of Dr. Banda.

In a freak storm in Buganda hailstones fell to a depth of more than two feet.

The Malawi Congress Party conference will be held in Lilongwe next month.

A Chinese delegation has arrived in Mogadishu for the Somalia International Fair.

Export credit guarantee insurance is to be introduced by the Government of Rhodesia.

Embu drummers from Kenya are taking part in the Commonwealth Arts Festival in Britain.

A five-day international conference on wild life management has been held at Makerere College, Uganda.

The Chinese Charge d'Affaires in Nairobi has presented a cheque for £5,000 for famine relief in Kenya.

The refrigerated cargo vessel CLAN ROSS was launched on Friday at Greenock for the British and Commonwealth Shipping Group.

Because of widespread abuse, the amount which a resident in Tanzania may remit abroad by way of gifts has been reduced from £250 to £50 a year.

On returning to Zanzibar from the Leipzig Fair the Finance Minister said that trade between East Germany and Zanzibar would be considerably developed.

The Tobacco Export Promotion Council of Rhodesia considers that 73m. lb. of Burley tobacco can be marketed next year, or about 2m. lb. above this year's output.

Forty Uganda African students have left to spend at least five years in the Soviet Union studying medicine, pharmacy, other science subjects, dentistry, and agriculture.

The Chinese engineering party making a survey of the proposed Zambia-Tanzania railway were stated by President Kaunda last week to be nearing the Zambian border.

Since the Mangula copper mine came into production in 1957 it has milled more than 8.2m. tons of ore for some 80,000 tons of copper, worth about £19m. The investment in Rhodesia has reached £10m., and 220 Europeans and 1,676 Africans are now employed.

Saturday Seminars

Four Saturday seminars in London have been arranged by the African Centre. On October 2 the topic will be "China in Africa"; on October 23, "Independence for Rhodesia"; on November 13, "Portugal in Africa"; and on December 4, "The One-Party State".

The managing director of Triangle, Ltd., Rhodesia, Mr. C. Gibbs, has said that he expects an output of about 160,000 tons of sugar this season. Next year's yield should be some 20,000 tons from 1.7m. tons of cane milled. There are now 30,000 acres under irrigation at Triangle, 18,000 being under overhead spraying.

Twenty-seven European schools in Rhodesia which have admitted 119 African pupils have been discovered to have committed technical breaches of the law. They have been asked to postpone any further enrolments until the Ministries of Education and Local Government have examined all aspects of the question.

Gallaher Ltd., a group with large Central African interests, report profit before tax for the first six months at £9.7 m., against £8.2m. for the corresponding period of 1964. Group sales rose from £202.5m. to £210.5m. A 6% interim is to be paid, and the directors hope for a final 13%, which would be slightly above last year's total.

The Sudanese Minister of Information has been reported by a Khartoum newspaper as saying that all Christian missionaries will be expelled from the Northern Sudan if Government inquiries show them to have been involved in "political activities". Those in the Southern Sudan were deported last year on such charges.

The Sudanese Minister of the Interior has alleged in a broadcast that security authorities in Equatoria Province found food, arms, and khaki clothing for 30 people in a car belonging to a Catholic priest and that search of Catholic churches in Juba brought to light money, medicine, and 19 rounds of ammunition. Radio Omdurman has said that two priests have been arrested.

Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation's earlier expectations of dividends and retentions will be disappointed as a result of the "new penal tax system" of the United Kingdom, the chairman, Mr. Val Duncan, said last week. An interim dividend of 6d. is likely to be followed by a final 1s. 3d., making 1s. 9d., against 1s. 10.8d., though net profits for the first half of the year are up from £3.74m. to £4.66m. The extra tax charge imposed by the Finance Bill will be about £2.25m. from 1967. This year and next the additional burden will be about £1m.

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EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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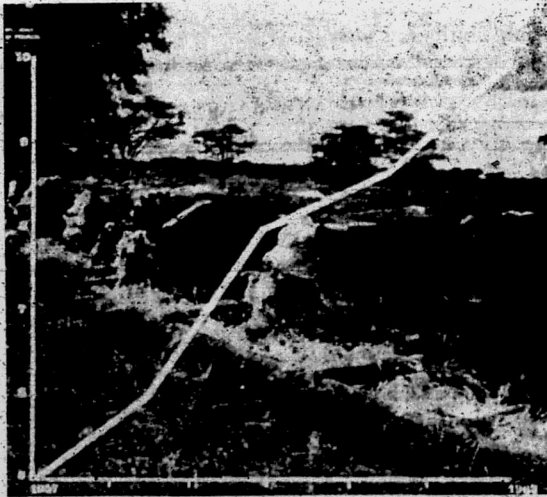
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

COMMENT ABOUT RHODESIA in daily and weekly newspapers in Britain has never been so copious as in the past fortnight, but, so far as we are aware — and we have read scores of columns in which various aspects of Rhodesian affairs have been discussed — not even one journalist has mentioned, let alone emphasized, that Rhodesia's future is at dire hazard this week, not because of errors by that country's political leaders, but as a direct result of the cynical faithlessness and ineffable folly of the political parties in Britain, and particularly of their disastrously misguided but boundlessly self-confident leaders (or, rather, misleaders): If that simple truth were known by the mass of the people of Britain, the members of the Rhodesian Cabinet who are now in London would have felt confident that they could count on fair play in their transactions with United Kingdom Ministers. Unhappily, however, they have known for years, as have all Europeans in Central and East Africa, that rationality was not to be expected from the Conservative or Socialist Cabinets with whom white spokesmen from Africa had to deal. The chief concern of Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod, who almost six years ago set a Tory Administration on a course disastrous to Africa, was to appease covetous, noisy, violent, and usually careerist-minded non-white politicians in Africa and their sentimental supporters in the Western world. A staggeringly submissive Cabinet and Parliamentary party accepted their complete reversal of Conservative policy, and, since the *volte face* of Macmillanism brought Tory deeds into line with Socialist sophistry, there was no criticism from the Opposition benches.

The Press and the radio and television channels, having stubbornly refused to present the facts in their essential context, must share

with the politicians the obloquy of the tragic happenings since the beginning of 1960, including the betrayal of Kenya, the destruction of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the revolution in Zanzibar, the mutinies in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, the Lumpa rising in Zambia, the antics in Malawi under Dr. Banda's dictation, and the training in Commonwealth African States of saboteurs for murder and other crimes in Rhodesia and Mozambique — to mention only a few of the direct consequences of the recklessly premature abandonment of British trusteeship. This catalogue of catastrophes is the background against which Rhodesian resistance to the infliction of further follies from Westminster and Whitehall should be judged; but, we repeat, to the best of our knowledge there has not been one reference in a national newspaper in Britain to these quite recent upheavals and débâcles. Yet the very essence of the case of responsible Rhodesians, black as well as white, is that they will not accept the risk of similar cataclysms in their peaceful, prosperous, and highly promising country. Because they are justifiably adamant that political change must be gradual, and that extension of the franchise must depend upon capability to discharge the responsibilities involved, they find themselves accused of intended treason. That is, of course, ludicrous and outrageous, for nowhere in the English-speaking world is there greater loyalty to the Crown.

The Rhodesians whom British politicians are labelling "rebels" have a far greater sense of loyalty and responsibility than the wanton workers in industry in Britain who almost every day start unofficial strikes which throw thousands of decent men out of work and cost the country hundreds of millions of pounds annually. Only last

Loyalty of Rhodesians.

week a motor manufacturer said that since New Year's Day there had been almost five hundred strikes in that industry alone, and that only four had been official. The same kind of anarchy prevailed under Macmillanism, for Conservative and Socialist Governments have been equally frightened to act toughly against these rebels against society. Though weak as water when faced with a likely loss of votes, our politicians have no compunction in threatening and misrepresenting those, black and white, who are resolved that Rhodesia shall continue to have firm and fair government. They do not tell the British public that the 1961 Constitution which they negotiated with Rhodesia was understood to be the Constitution under which that country would move to independence.

* * *

Why should Rhodesians be put under duress to make changes merely because British office-holders who have wrought such havoc in

Africa would rather inflict further injustice than stand up to pressure from the Afro-Asian bloc? Everyone knows that there is more real freedom in Rhodesia today than in any African State under a non-white Government, and that pan-African agitation against Rhodesia — including the threat by Tanzania, Kenya, Ghana and other countries to withdraw from the Commonwealth if Rhodesia be granted independence — springs from a resolve that the experiment of multi-racialism in Rhodesia shall not be allowed to succeed. Having contrived to wreck the Federation for that same reason, the political demolition gangs now seek to lay waste the civilization created out of stark savagery by Rhodesians within the life-span of some elderly folk. Britain's honour, so often dragged in the mud in recent years, can be upheld this week by an agreement with Rhodesia which will ensure the maintenance of civilized administration in that rightly proud Colony.

Mr. Ian Smith Believes Compromise Solution Possible

Current Negotiations in London "Must Be Final"

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, arrived in London on Monday morning, accompanied by Mr. Desmond Lardner-Burke, Minister of Justice. An airliner flying from Salisbury to London was diverted to Salisbury to pick them up. The Ministers were accompanied by Mr. Gerald Clarke, head of the Cabinet Office.

In churches throughout Rhodesia prayers were said on Sunday for the success of a negotiated settlement.

Mr. William Harper, Minister for Internal Affairs, and Mr. John Wrathall, Minister of Finance, had been in London since the previous Wednesday, and Mr. P. Van der Byl, Parliamentary Secretary for Information, arrived at the week-end.

Mr. Ian McLean, another member of the Cabinet, arrived on Friday to attend this week's Commonwealth Medical Conference in Edinburgh.

A strong Ministerial team is thus in Britain at the time of discussions about Rhodesian independence which Mr. Smith has said must be final.

"We May Surprise You"

Accompanied by three of his Ministers, Messrs. Harper, Wrathall, and Lardner-Burke, and Brigadier Skeen, High Commissioner in London, The Prime Minister called on the Commonwealth Relations Secretary on Monday afternoon. Mr. Bottomley had with him Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, Minister of State, and Mr. Jack Johnston, the U.K. High Commissioner in Rhodesia. They were together for 40 minutes. They discussed only the arrangements for the talks, which began next day.

Hints were dropped to journalists in Whitehall that it was inaccurate to write of "negotiations" between Rhodesian and British representatives; since Rhodesia is a Colony, "consultation" would, it was said, be a

more appropriate term.

After a two-hour meeting on Tuesday, Mr. Smith said: "We have got further forward. If it continues like this we may even surprise you."

A little later Mr. Heath, Leader of the Opposition, said: "H.M. Opposition repeat their view that a unilateral declaration of independence by the Rhodesian Government would have no legal validity and would have the gravest consequences. H.M. Opposition wish to see Rhodesia advance to independence and hope that an acceptable agreement can now be reached by negotiations."

In a Rhodesia Television interview on Friday he said that he had decided to fly to London because the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Bottomley, could not revisit Rhodesia before the middle of the month and that was too long for Rhodesia to wait. Moreover, even if agreement were reached with Mr. Bottomley in Rhodesia it would have required reference to London for confirmation, involving further delays. Thirdly, if talks in London failed, the Prime Minister could make a final personal appeal to the British Prime Minister.

Independence "with Strings" Unacceptable

Rhodesia had been extremely patient and had bent over backwards in its desire to be reasonable with Britain. This was, Mr. Smith believed, the last round of negotiations.

Asked if he would deliver an ultimatum, the Prime Minister replied: "No. I am not the sort of person who throws ultimatums around. I do not like them being thrown at me."

Discussions would continue. Suggestions so far put to the Government from London had been rejected, but if something acceptable were proposed it would be

accepted. There would, however, be no deviation from the principles proclaimed by the party forming Rhodesia's Government. There could be no acceptance of "independence with strings", for that could not be independence.

If he returned from London empty-handed there could be no doubt that the Government would decide on a unilateral declaration of independence — not necessarily immediately, but at the time which would best suit Rhodesia. Matters were now probably drawing to a climax — for which the country was better prepared than ever before. Suggestions that Britain might use military force seemed to him ludicrous.

He would negotiate to the bitter end, but hoped the discussions in London could end sweetly, not bitterly. The Prime Minister was not, however, over-optimistic; he thought the outcome an even money chance.

In an interview next day Mr. Smith said that he still believed that a compromise solution was possible, a compromise which would not force either Rhodesia or Britain to give ground on basic principles.

Freedom to Govern

In London on Saturday Mr. Harper, Minister for Internal Affairs, told a *Sunday Telegraph* reporter: "We must have independence with no strings attached, and, in view of the urgency of our economic problems, have it immediately. At the moment of independence the Rhodesian Government must have as much freedom to govern empirically as the British Government has when dealing with, say, the problem of immigration. It is as foolish to tie us down for all time to dealing with our problems as it would be for the British Government to be tied down.

"It is possible to stretch out our hands and touch the present Government, whereas we could get nowhere near the Tories. But we are not sure whether Mr. Wilson is concerned less with the interests of Rhodesia and more with the ideological demands of the Afro-Asian bloc. Until the talks begin we shall not know whether he has got his priorities right."

When Mr. Harper and Mr. Wrathall flew from Salisbury on Tuesday of last week — hot on the heels of Mr. J. B. Johnston, the British High Commissioner in Rhodesia — it was stated that they would "carry out an exercise into accommodation, staffing and re-organization of Rhodesia House in co-operation with the High Commissioner, Brigadier Andrew Keen, who has requested this."

The statement added that Mr. Wrathall would have financial talks in the City during his stay in London, where he would be joined by Mr. David Young, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Harper would be accompanied by Mr. John Ravenscroft, chief inspector of the Public Service Board.

Soon after his arrival in London Mr. Johnston saw the Commonwealth Relations Secretary and then the Prime Minister in Blackpool, where they were attending the Labour Party's annual conference.

Mr. Nelson Samkange, representing the Zimbabwe African People's Union, which has been proscribed in Rhodesia, and a spokesman for the rival Zimbabwe African National Union lobbied Socialist Ministers and others in Blackpool, where 41 Socialist M.P.s, including nine Parliamentary Private Secretaries, issued a warning against "a gross betrayal of our responsibilities to all the people of Rhodesia". Their statement suggested that military force might have to be used through the United Nations if Rhodesia made a unilateral declaration of independence.

The statement of Socialist back-benchers said: — "The 'final warning' to Britain by Mr. Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, on September 19 can only be taken as an open threat to seize independence unilaterally and illegally.

"The British Government and the British people want to see an independent Rhodesia with a Government truly representative of its people, regardless of race; but to grant independence to a Government elected on narrow racial lines, which is not prepared to broaden its franchise, would be a gross betrayal of our responsibilities to all the people of Rhodesia. It would create the prospect of another apartheid State in Southern Africa.

"Should the Rhodesian Government carry out its present threats, Britain should not shrink from its responsibilities. Every form of economic pressure must be applied not only by

ourselves but by the United States, the U.S.S.R., West Germany, and all the member States of the United Nations.

"If effectively applied, economic sanctions should force Rhodesia to end its defiance. But should economic measures not prove effective then force would have to be used — not by ourselves alone — but through the United Nations. Law and order must be preserved. No arguments of 'kith and kin' could absolve Britain of her solemn obligations. Those who advocate rebellion in Rhodesia should be made fully aware of the consequences of their actions.

"We appeal to all those who care for the future peace, freedom and prosperity of Rhodesia to come together to prepare a new Constitution based on equal rights and democratic principles."

Because Socialists attending the party conference accused Ministers of a more lenient attitude towards Rhodesia, it was put about that Mr. Wilson did not intend to retreat from his attitude of last October [when he broadcast the statement mentioning rebellion and treason.—Ed.]. There must, it was emphasized, be progress to majority rule reasonably soon, safeguards against changes in the Independence Constitution, and a settlement acceptable to all the people of Rhodesia, not merely the present electorate.

That day Mr. G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State in the U.S.A., told journalists in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, that the United States Government would not recognize Rhodesia if it made a unilateral declaration of independence.

In Washington State Department officials said that Mr. Williams had accurately indicated the policy of the Government, which had previously confined itself to warnings that self-determination should be made by all Rhodesia's inhabitants without regard to colour. Now the position was that the United States would not recognize a Rhodesia which took its independence.

Mr. Williams said later in Lagos: "We will, if necessary, help Zambia, Britain and neighbouring African States in economic retaliation if Rhodesia declares independence unilaterally. Britain is doing very satisfactorily in seeing that the Government of Rhodesia makes progress in relations with the African people in the country."

Lord Caradon told the General Assembly of the United Nations last week that the charge made by a Zambian spokesman that Britain was washing her hands of the Rhodesian problem was completely unjustified.

He also denied that the Commonwealth Relations Secretary had ever described Rhodesian Africans as not ready for self-rule. The African nationalist groups in Rhodesia had no experience in the legislative or administrative fields, and that was certainly a factor in the situation. The Commonwealth Secretary had never ruled out force in all circumstances. "What he said is that the British Government is determined to seek a peaceful solution and would not use force to impose a constitutional solution."

Resignation from Rhodesian Front

Mr. Brind, a former member of the executive committee of the Rhodesian Front, said in Salisbury on Friday that U.D.I. would be lunacy. In a long statement circulated to all M.P.s., members of the party executive, and businessmen, he wrote: "The wild men in the party are pushing Mr. Smith, yet they are ignorant of the implications of world trade. The Government is doing wonderful things for industry and commerce. Why do they want to cut our throats?"

A spokesman for the party said that Mr. Brind had attended executive meetings until July 27 and had never expressed any opposition to the party's plans to obtain independence. He had also submitted himself unsuccessfully as a candidate for a by-election in August, had then been questioned on independence, and had given full support to the principles and policies of the party in that connexion.

In reply Mr. Brind said that he would favour U.D.I. if Britain interfered with the 1961 Constitution.

The Salisbury *Sunday Mail* wrote in a leading article: "We say without melodrama or cynicism that there is little else left to do. It seems that only divine intervention can bring about a negotiated settlement now."

Lord Graham, Minister of Agriculture, said in Gwelo: "Pray for the Prime Minister. We are on the eve of perhaps the greatest event in the history of Rhodesia since the pioneers.

"I believe the Rhodesian territory was mentioned in the Bible. I believe the Rhodesian people are the people of destiny charged with the task of being a blessing to mankind."

Mr. Samkange had already told journalists in London that Z.A.P.U. would immediately form a government-in-exile in Lusaka if Rhodesia decided on U.D.I. There would then be two Rhodesian republics, one white and one black. The black republic would, he believed, have the diplomatic support of the 36 independent black African States. U.D.I. would prove a short-cut to African majority rule.

Z.A.P.U. would reject any formula agreed between the British and Rhodesian Governments which did not provide for one-man-one-vote and one electoral roll before independence.

"Church" Used As Cover by People's Caretaker Council

Rhodesian Minister Explains Why "Church of Orphans" Was Proscribed

THE ZIMBABWE CHURCH OF ORPHANS, which has been declared an unlawful organization in Rhodesia, had been used as a cover for the proscribed People's Caretaker Council.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr. D. W. Lardner-Burke, told Parliament recently:—

"The Zimbabwe Church of Orphans was formed in 1962 by the Rev. David Mabena, formerly an ordained minister of the African Methodist Church. Shortly before its formation a spokesman stated that a school for orphans and a home for the aged would be established by the new church. These have not materialized.

"However, since its inception it has been the object of steady penetration by elements of the banned People's Caretaker Council, to such an extent that the gatherings of this organization have become merely a platform for the dissemination of subversive statements by People's Caretaker Council elements. Prominent P.C.C. officials and supporters became office-bearers in the Zimbabwe Church of Orphans.

"This penetration by members of the banned People's Caretaker Council eventually produced a split within the organization's ranks, and the original religious founders, including the Rev. David Mabena, found it necessary to dissociate themselves from the organization and form a separate cult, now known as the Central African Episcopal Church.

Intimidation and Free Beer at "Religious" Meetings

"It is noteworthy that the Zimbabwe Church of Orphans is not recognized by any of the established churches as a *bona fide* religious group, and its objective at present is not the establishment of a school for orphans or a home for the aged, but to provide a seemingly innocent vehicle by which the banned People's Caretaker Council can maintain its image before the people and continue to preach its evil doctrines of violence and intimidation.

"It is also noteworthy that this organization has attracted most support in the ex-People's Caretaker Council strongholds in Matabelerland, and, as a result of the pseudo-religious gatherings, acts of sabotage and subversion in rural areas have been planned and implemented.

"Destruction of certain rural amenities, such as dip-tanks, have occurred; illegal meetings have taken place; and civil disobedience has appeared in regard to such things as the payment of tax and dip fees. A greater incidence of stock thefts from European farms abutting certain tribal areas where the organization is active can be laid at the door of this organization.

"Political intimidation of tribesmen to attend so-called religious gatherings, allied with the issue of free beer to all who attend, has stimulated attendance at these meetings, at which little reference is made to anything remotely connected with religion.

"Intimidation in one form or another is extremely difficult to counter, and the banned P.C.C. has been most adept in the manner in which this evil has been employed.

"In the Silobela area, for instance, the names of intending members of the Zimbabwe Church of Orphans have been entered in a book and membership cards have been issued. This device provides a clever weapon for the intimidation of those tribesmen who are not members of the organization. This was the device used previously by the banned P.C.C. when it prepared the so-called 'Book of Life' and registration cards which were banned by the Governor on February 28, 1964.

"A similar intimidation device was again used to record those persons who had visited Gonakudzingwa and were given tokens of their allegiance to Joshua Nkomo. I gave details on June 10, 1965.

"The subversive activities of certain office-bearers of the Zimbabwe Church of Orphans have made it necessary for me to issue restriction orders against them. The original

leader of the splinter group which continued to call itself the Zimbabwe Church of Orphans, the self-styled Rev. Simon Mielwa, was restricted to the Sengwa area on February 10 for a period of 12 months for his subversive activities.

"Jonas Njinmoyo, who has been restricted to the Wha Wha area for three years for his subversive activity in the Bulawayo township, is a so-called preacher in the Zimbabwe Church of Orphans. Thomas Tshuma, who has been restricted to Wha Wha for two years for his subversive activity in support of the banned P.C.C., played a leading part in the formation of the Zimbabwe Church of Orphans in the Figtree area.

Invitation to Violence

"It will be seen that there is a very direct link between the office-bearers of the Zimbabwe Church of Orphans and the banned P.C.C. To all intents and purposes the two organizations may be termed one and the same.

"Examples of the type of utterances made by the so-called 'preachers', none of whom are ordained, are as follows. In June at a meeting in one of the Bulawayo African townships it was stated that Christ belonged to the Europeans and that 'action' should therefore be implemented against the European population, especially those residing in the more remote areas. The speaker urged the gathering to stone the house of any African who expressed pro-European sentiments.

"Also in June at a meeting held in the North Gwaai tribal trust land a Zimbabwe Church of Orphans speaker urged the assembly to be ready to fight the coming war. The majority of those present wore fur hats and carried carved walking sticks, which have become the 'uniform' of the banned P.C.C.

"At a further meeting in one of the Bulawayo African townships in July the meeting was told that the United National Independence Party of Zambia had been the 'voicepiece' of the African people and the 'right-hand organization' of the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the P.C.C. It was emphasized that the Zimbabwe Church of Orphans would carry on the rôle left vacant by the banning of U.N.I.P. in Rhodesia.

"At a meeting held in the Mashumba Hills as recently as Sunday, August 22, at which some 300 Africans were in attendance, a significant proportion of whom were wearing fur hats and carrying carved walking sticks of the Gonakudzingwa pattern, the meeting followed a pattern of nationalist songs and hymns, together with prayers for Joshua Nkomo and other P.C.C. restrictees. The sermon was nothing more than a subversive political speech interspersed with Biblical references. Biblical texts and Biblical history are twisted in such a way as to produce the political meaning with which the office-bearers desire to impress their audiences.

"For instance on May 1 a gathering in the Silobela area was told that the people of Rhodesia were being treated in the same way as the people of Israel were. The audience was told not to attend any church with a European connexion and to unite to overthrow the Government. On the following day in the same area, after being treated to the usual political harangue, a speaker advocated that European-led churches should be dealt with by Lenshina methods—a clear invitation to violence.

Subversive Sermons

"At a meeting in the Bulawayo area on August 15 the main speaker, who was in possession of a Bible, instructed those present to pay no heed to it. At a further meeting on the same day a speaker stated that people should be chased from the beerhalls to attend 'religious' gatherings, and other speakers made reference to the fact that the Zimbabwe Church of Orphans provided an ideal cover for nationalist meetings to be held without arousing the suspicion of the police.

"Office-bearers in the Zimbabwe Church of Orphans have been extremely active in recent months and branches have been formed at Tshabalala, Magwegwe, Makokoba, Pumula, Luveve and Njube in the Bulawayo area, and also in the rural areas at Nkai, Silobela, Kezi, North Gwaai, Gwanda and Filabusi. The organization's activities are being increasingly extended and pose a threat to the maintenance of internal security.

"Government would be failing in its duty if it did not take appropriate action to bring to an end the subversive activities of this organization, which clearly fall to be dealt with under section 3 of the Unlawful Organizations Act. Illegal meetings under the guise of religious gatherings are being held on an increasing scale in more and more areas. Subversion is preached. Violence is advocated. Intimidation

and civil disobedience are being practised. Feelings of ill-will between races are being promoted. There is danger of public order, peace and constitutional government."

DR. PALLEY suggested that the Minister would have been justified in prosecuting those who had made the statements quoted, but that he had used a hammer to deal with a political mosquito.

MR. J. W. PITHEY supported the Minister for acting against an organization which had instigated acts of sabotage and preached the overthrow of responsible government.

MR. C. HLABANGANA agreed that the organization was politically biased. One of the points raised by the Minister was that certain preachers in this church had been sent to places of restriction. What would he say if he were sent to one of the preachers of the Methodist Church in Rhodesia was Joshua Nkomo, who had often been given the pulpit of very important churches to preach in? What would hon. Members say if they knew that Ndabaningi Sithole was an ordained man, a preacher in one of the recognized churches?

Masters of Innuendo

"Must we ban the Methodist Church simply because Mr. Nkomo is a lay preacher of that Church? Must we ban the Methodist Episcopal Church simply because one of its ordained men is the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole? Must we believe that churches which have members at Gonakudzingwa and Wha Wha as well as Silombela are guilty of stirring public feeling to such an extent that they would constitute a danger to the public?"

"I agree with the Minister that the Rev. Mabena was at the back of it to begin with. I think he wanted to do good for the country. I do not think it was his intention that the organization he started should answer to the description that the Minister gave to this House."

COLONEL HARTLEY: "The nationalists are prepared to ex-

plot any platform for the preaching of their beastly doctrines. In the interpretation of Bantu languages to English the Bantu-speaking peoples are the masters of innuendo. They can make Mark Anthony look like a novice when they practice this particular device, in which they are so well versed."

"We have seen them exploit platforms offered by trade unions, charitable organizations, and sporting clubs. Now they are using a religious organization."

Nationalism in New Guises

MR. W. J. J. CARY: "We started originally with the African National Congress. They were banned. They then moved to the National Democratic Party. Then to the Zimbabwe African People's Union. The next was the People's Caretaker Council. Now we have the Zimbabwe Church of Orphans. We have already had six changes, and the hon. Member for Mpopoma (Mr. Hlabangana) gets up and says that this is an innocent Christian organization and he defends it strongly."

THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE: "I do not consider the Rev. Mabena has any subversive intentions. When he found that the ranks of this organization had been infiltrated by the P.C.C. he broke away and started his own cult. I consider him a very fine man who is doing the job that he set out to do. It was the other gentlemen who came in, not as ordained priests, and gradually took over the organization of this church and got into its fold."

"It is no more a religious organization than the P.C.C. was. It is not recognized by any of the organized church authorities. None of their preachers were ordained."

"It started perfectly correctly as a religious organization; it was taken over by the subversive activities of the People's Caretaker Council and became a front for the previously banned organization. We have sufficient evidence to ban it as a continuation of a banned organization."

Rhodesian Independence: Comments of British Press

Little Support in National Newspapers for Mr. Smith's Government

RHODESIA'S CLAIM TO INDEPENDENCE has been a major feature in all important United Kingdom newspapers day after day since the early part of last week.

Most commentators have ignored the real basis of the Rhodesian case and stressed the alleged impossibility of any British Government agreeing to the continuance of white rule in that country except for a very short period.

The most emphatic endorsement of Rhodesia's stand appeared in the *Sunday Express* under the heading "How Dare They Talk of 'The Queen's Enemies'?" Sir Max Aitken wrote *inter alia*—

"Mr. Ian Smith's aims are straightforward and honourable: independence and full Commonwealth status. These rewards Rhodesia has long since earned by her economic self-advancement and her steady loyalty to the Crown. These are rights to which, on grounds of sheer political competence, she is a hundred times better entitled than the ramshackle new Commonwealth countries which creak all around her in Africa. Yet how is his mission likely to end? In deadlock."

"Is Britain going mad? Have we ceased to care for the Commonwealth? Observe the total indifference of Mr. Wilson and his Government to the fate of our kinsfolk in Rhodesia."

Wilson's Government's "Monstrous Warning"

"In return for the granting of independence they are required to hasten the principle of one-man one-vote which means the abject surrender of the country's institutions, economic resources, and political stability to the forces of backwardness and darkness."

"In Britain we had to wait hundreds of years for the universal male vote. 'One-woman-one-vote' only came in 1918. Yet now there is pressure on the Europeans of Rhodesia to turn over their country almost overnight to the domination of illiterate millions."

"If you and your family were sitting in Salisbury would you welcome this terrifying threat to everything which you and your kind had built up in Rhodesia? Would you not remember, in fear and desperation, what has happened elsewhere when sound

experienced government has been pitched out? In Tanzania? In the Congo?"

"The Wilson Government's monstrous warning tells Rhodesians that, if they decide to take their independence without Whitehall's consent, they—and all who support them anywhere—will be regarded as enemies of the Queen. Enemies of the Queen? Soldiers of the Queen would be a more fitting description or is it forgotten that in proportion to population the flow of white Rhodesian volunteers to two world wars stands comparison with that from any other part of the Empire?"

"Does Mr. Wilson suppose that he can persuade the British public to look upon these people as traitors? Still less likely is it that the British public will be impressed by the demand of 41 of Mr. Wilson's followers that armed force should be used against the white Rhodesians."

"Let the British people make it clear to Mr. Wilson's Government that they expect the white Rhodesians to be treated with decency and humanity; that they want a solution which will not force Rhodesia mercilessly out of the Commonwealth."

Danger to Copperbelt

The *Observer* said under the heading "No Munich in Africa":—

"Economic sanctions would hurt neighbouring Zambia and Malawi more quickly than Rhodesia; and Mr. Smith has said that if Zambia and Malawi joined in sanctions he would expel their citizens now working in Rhodesia. Moreover, he might close down the Kariba hydro-electric power station or stop the export of coal—the two main sources of power for Zambia's Copperbelt."

"The greatest danger, however, is likely to come from the swift rise of racial ill-feeling between Africans and whites in both Rhodesia and Zambia. The Copperbelt is especially vulnerable: even in good times race violence lies very near the surface."

"It will not take much for a couple of hundred African hoodlums to turn their vengeance on the Copperbelt whites (many of whom are Rhodesians or South Africans) despite President Kaunda's firm resolve to prevent this from happening. Even limited violence of this kind is likely to send the Rhodesian white miners and railwaymen packing. Some may not even wait for violence. Disruption of the Copperbelt could be the

(Continued on page 80)

PERSONALIA

DR. A. T. T. FORRESTER is on leave in England from Kenya.

CANON R. H. CLARK has been appointed Archdeacon of Umtali.

MR. MARK BOMANI, Solicitor-General of Tanzania, is visiting Communist China.

MR. EVAN CAMPBELL left London for Salisbury on Monday evening after a short business visit.

SIR PAGET BOURKE, who is temporarily acting Chief Justice of Gibraltar, was at one time Crown Prosecutor in the Seychelles.

MR. F. S. JOELSON put the case for Rhodesia in a discussion on the General Overseas programme of the B.B.C. on Monday.

THE RT. REV. HUMPHRY BEEVOR, a former Bishop of Lebombo, Mozambique, left estate valued at £1,981. He died last June, aged 61.

MR. D. G. R. BELSHAW has been appointed by Leeds University to be Fellow in African Economic Studies in the Department of Economics and Commerce.

PROFESSOR ROLAND OLIVER has succeeded MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P., as chairman of the council of management of the Africa Centre in London.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA has been appointed Chief Scout of Zambia. He became a Boy Scout as a youth and has been a tracker, cub master, and scout master.

MR. D. O. MATTHEWS, former general manager of the East African Tourist Travel Association, is now Director of Tourism and Information in Seychelles.

MRS. FATMA ABDALLAH ABUBAKAR, art tutor at Nkrumah College, Zanzibar, is the first African woman to have an exhibition of her paintings shown in Uganda.

DR. D. F. DADSON and DR. G. E. FLOWER, two professors at the Ontario College of Education, are in Uganda to assess educational development and projects.

VICE-PRESIDENT KAWAWA said a few days ago that if all young Tanzanians did not volunteer to join the National Service they would have to be forced to do so.

MR. R. W. E. LEWIS, formerly Assistant Director of Veterinary Services in Kenya, is a member of an economic development in Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland.

MR. ALAN PIFER, vice-chairman of the board of trustees of the African-American Institute, has been appointed acting president of Carnegie Corporation of New York.

MR. J. E. ROGERS, a former commercial air pilot, who for the past four years had been tracking American satellites passing across Rhodesia, has joined the staff of the University of Iowa.

MR. GEORGE CHAMPION, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, New York, and MR. VICTOR E. ROCKHILL, executive vice-president, have joined the board of the Standard Bank.

MR. G. H. LUKWESA, for the past two years head teacher at Fort Rosebery School, Zambia, will in the autumn join the School of Oriental and African Studies in London to teach the Bemba language.

MR. KAPITI BANDA, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Information in Malawi, and MR. MUSAKALE, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Community and Social Development, have exchanged offices.

BRIGADIER J. A. HUNTER has joined the board of the Union-Castle Mail Steamship Co., Ltd., from which MAJOR-GENERAL G. E. PRIOR-PALMER has resigned on appointment as managing director of Overseas Containers, Ltd.

MR. M. A. OKELLO, a democratic M.P. in Uganda, has alleged in Parliament that Soviet Russia and Communist China had openly supplied arms to Arabs in the Northern Sudan in order that they might exterminate black Africans in the South.

MR. C. M. KAPILIMA, M.P., complained recently in the Tanzania Parliament that too much money was being spent by the country's embassies. They should, he suggested, copy the standard of living of Tanzania, not that of the countries in which the ambassadors lived.

MR. R. K. A. GARDINER, executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, is to address the Royal African Society at a lunch-time meeting on Thursday, October 7, on "Development and Trade in Africa." MR. F. J. PEDLER will preside.

MR. H. MILLAR-CRAIG, who was in the Colonial Service in Ghana for more than 20 years, and until recently Reader in Economic Development at the Institute of Public Administration in Accra, has been appointed director of the East African Staff College in succession to MR. GUY HUNTER.

MR. ERIC BRIGHT, who has succeeded Mr. A. SATTAR SACRANI as mayor of Blantyre-Limbe, joined the Limbe Trading Company in 1946 and became general manager five years later. He recently left the company to join the Malawi Development Corporation. The deputy mayor is MR. J. C. KAMWENDO. He succeeds MRS. MARY RU TON.

KING MWAMBUTSA of Burundi has appointed a six-member Council of the Crown. He has dismissed the director-general of the Ministry of the Interior "for having expressed opinions undermining the dignity of members of the Royal Cabinet, for disclosing matters of a secret nature, for disobedience, and for engaging in activities contrary to our orders."

MR. E. FRANK GAMMON, who has been appointed to fill the vacancy on the National Tourist Board of Rhodesia caused by BRIGADIER SKEEN's appointment to London, was born in Umtali 57 years ago. He is president of Manicaland Development and Publicity Association, and of Manicaland Cricket Board, and has played hockey for Rhodesia and hockey, cricket and Rugby for Manicaland. In the last war he served in the Southern-Rhodesian Air Force, the Royal Air Force, and R.E.M.E.

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Cabinet Changes in Tanzania

Mr. O. Kambona Loses Foreign Office

MWALIMU NYERERE, having been re-elected President of Tanzania for another five years by 2,519,866 votes to 92,359, has made major changes in the Cabinet after a general election in which a large majority of the members of the old National Assembly lost their seats.

Only four of 40 back-bench M.Ps. secured re-election, and of 13 Junior Ministers from the mainland six were defeated and three others failed even to obtain re-nomination. Two Cabinet Ministers were beaten.

The President has taken over the portfolio of External Affairs from Mr. Oscar Kambona, who is made Minister of Regional Administration, a new office, while remaining secretary-general of the Tanganyika African National Union, the one party in the State.

Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, Second Vice-President, is Minister for Defence.

The former Finance Minister, Mr. Paul Bomani, having lost his seat, has been nominated to the Assembly by the President and been given the new Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning. His former office goes to Mr. Amir Jamal, the only Asian in the Cabinet.

The only European, Mr. Derek Bryceson, has moved from Health to Agriculture, Forests and Wildlife. His successor as Minister of Health is Mr. H. Makame.

The important post of Home Affairs has been transferred to Mr. L. Sijaona. The former occupant, Mr. Job Lusinde, has been switched to Communications and Works (which will give him more responsibilities in connexion with the proposed Tanzania-Zambia rail link).

Mr. A. Z. N. Swai is Minister of Industries, Mineral

Resources and Power; Mr. C. Y. Mgonja, of Community Development and National Culture; and Mr. I. M. Bhoke Munanka, Minister of State for Central Establishment.

Mr. Kassim Hanga remains Minister of State for Union Affairs; Mr. A. M. Babu, Minister of Commerce and Co-operatives; Mr. Solomon Eliufoo, Minister of Education; Mr. M. M. Kamaliza, Minister of Labour; Mr. A. K. E. Shaba, Minister of Housing; and Mr. Idris Wakil, Minister of Information and Tourism.

Surrender to Indigenous Tyrannies

LORD LYTTON, who served in the King's African Rifles in Kenya many years ago, has said in the course of a letter in *The Times*:—

"Peoples and provinces shall not be bartered from sovereignty to sovereignty like chattels or pawns in a game". This admirable precept, proclaimed in 1918 by President Wilson of America, has been echoed and re-echoed in moments of peril, qualified and contradicted in the calmer years between the shooting.

"Forgetful of Ireland, oblivious of Alsace, unmindful of charter after charter enshrining the right of all peoples to self-determination, we have been giving birth to new nations heedless of one *damnosus hereditas* or another incorporated within their improperly drawn political boundaries.

"In Africa the inclusion of a Somali province within the boundaries of Kenya in defiance of the wishes of its inhabitants was our own legal but pernicious act and deed.

"In these September days we are once more reviewing those heroic hours of the Battle of Britain when we defended our freedom. Are we not however beginning with our condoning silences, our arming of tyranny, our positive acts of enslavement and the indifferent ignorance of our people to forfeit our honourable title of Mother of the Free?"

"Of what avail for freedom is it that we surrender sovereignty to indigenous tyrannies if we are even too tired of imperial responsibility to make adequate preparation beforehand or to uphold the just claims of their victims afterwards?"

"In the case of the Somalis justice in high places has spoken only through the voice and deed of Mr. Kruschev; in the case of the Kashmiris Mr. Chou En-lai almost alone of those with power proclaims the title to freedom signed by President Roosevelt and Churchill in the Atlantic Charter. Is this the intervention which the United States of America is now going to resist?"

Mr. Gaunt's Reminder in South Africa

MR. JOHN GAUNT, Rhodesia's accredited diplomatic representative in South Africa, told a news conference in Pretoria on Monday that there was much loose talk about possible action by Rhodesia to obtain independence, and that the words "rebellion" and "treason" had been used in Britain, where it was even said that there might be a proclamation by the Queen which would declare those who took action to obtain independence to be "rebels". Such a proclamation "would be a hideous blot on England's history".

It would be very much in the interests of South Africa to prevent Rhodesia going the same way as other countries to the north, and he could not imagine South Africa behaving "like the priest in the parable of the Good Samaritan who passed by on the other side".

Rhodesians always played the game, while England now made and bent rules to suit herself.

"If Rhodesia and Mozambique go, South Africa would be in a very precarious position", said Mr. Gaunt.

Expelled from Zanzibar

MR. EDWARD CHEEK, the only air controller in Zanzibar, was last week ordered to leave the island within 24 hours. East African Airways had consequently to suspend flights to Zanzibar until further notice. At the Directorate of Civil Aviation in Dar es Salaam it was said that there was no knowledge of any charges by the Zanzibar Government against Mr. Cheek.

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Press Comment on Rhodesia

(Continued from page 77)

fuse for racial violence and could result in paralysing Zambia's essential services.

President Kaunda's security forces are inadequate to deal with these potential dangers. He would be likely to ask Britain to assist him in maintaining internal security. Contingency planning in Britain, Zambia, and Malawi has taken full account of these potential dangers; but the lack of urgency in following up these plans with practical preparations would result in very serious burdens on Rhodesia's two neighbours — and especially on Zambia — if the rebellion were to occur soon.

"A gigantic effort would be needed to keep Zambia's economy afloat; and if this looked like failing the Zambians are certain to call for help from other African countries in forcibly ending the rebellion in Rhodesia.

"Unfortunately, Britain has spent much more time in trying to dissuade Mr. Smith from embarking on his ruthless course than in taking preventive measures. African States have shown a greater readiness to criticize British policies than to mobilize their own resources to help meet the consequences of a Rhodesian rebellion. The net result is that if Mr. Smith should decide on rebellion now he can bring chaos to his neighbours.

Proposals to Send Troops to Zambia and Malawi

"The Americans have said they would apply economic sanctions in support of the Commonwealth. But more is needed. The most constructive step would be agreement to send Commonwealth and American forces under O.A.U. agreement to Zambia and Malawi if this week's talks break down in London and Mr. Smith persists in his threats of illegal action. These forces would not be committed to intervene in Rhodesia, but they would provide security for Rhodesia's neighbours — and they would afford real proof of the international community's determination not to allow a rebellion to succeed in Rhodesia. We cannot afford another Munich in Africa."

The *Sunday Times* said in part: —

"Having governed herself internally since 1923, Rhodesia is surely a great deal fitter to assume the responsibilities of complete sovereignty than most of the other African States which have achieved it.

"Admittedly there is no majority rule in Rhodesia; and 'unimpeded progress' towards majority rule has been for both Conservative and Socialist Governments alike the *sine qua non* for the grant of independence by Britain to the former possessions and protectorates.

"But the 1961 Constitution, on the basis of which Salisbury is pressing for independence, does provide for the eventual educational, economic, and therefore franchise qualifications. Why then do the British and Rhodesian Governments today stand locked in argument on the brink of a tragedy which, if it occurred, would do harm to all and benefit none?

"The answer is that an unqualified grant of independence, even on the basis of a Constitution of which Britain was one of the architects, would leave the nearly four million Africans in Rhodesia almost wholly dependent upon the whims and wishes of their present white rulers; for, whatever the 1961 Constitution says, political trends within Rhodesia over the last two years or so have shown beyond all doubt that the greater part of the white electorate is determined to retain minority rule, if needs be by force, and to resist any serious effort to reduce its powers and privileges.

"In view of what has happened in other parts of Africa, such an attitude is doubtless understandable. But no British Government, of whatever complexion, can possibly subscribe to this view, which is what it would be doing if it now gave unqualified independence.

Cruel and Oppressive African Governments

"This is not a matter of knuckling under to the United Nations or to African members of the Commonwealth whose own regimes are often cruel and oppressive. It is a solemn and inalienable responsibility resting upon Britain and Britain alone — almost the last of her Imperial duties in Africa — for peoples entrusted to her care.

"Africans must have a veto over any attempt to legislate or reform the Constitution to African disadvantage. This is absolutely fundamental, for without it 'unimpeded progress towards majority rule' could and probably would be brought to a halt. There is no question of forcing untutored African rule on Rhodesia tomorrow; but there is an imperative need to ensure that within a period of years Africans are enabled to play the preponderant part in their country's destiny to

which their numbers, and by then their training should entitle them.

"Other 'strings', such as an end to discriminatory land legislation and an acceptance of the new arrangements by the population as a whole, are also important, especially in getting Commonwealth agreement. But compared with the constitutional and legislative safeguards they are in the last resort expendable.

"Here perhaps, together with the promise of Treasury help for Rhodesia's financial needs, lie the seeds of a last-minute compromise between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Smith.

"But if no such compromise can be reached the Rhodesian Prime Minister — and still more his extremist colleagues who are breathing down his neck — must be left in no doubt of the political and economic price of an act of rebellion — for that is what a unilateral declaration of independence would be."

End of One Road for Rhodesia

"White Rebel" was the heading of a short comment in the *Sunday Telegraph* reading: —

"The British Empire experienced many rebellions and made many transfers of power. But only once has a secession been illegal in the sense that a legislature, bound by oath to the Crown, itself assumed the Crown's authority. This culminated in the American Declaration of Independence. All secessions since then have received the blessing, even if reluctant, of the Imperial Parliament.

"If Mr. Smith aspires to be a second George Washington he had better consider the grounds of his revolution. No world plaudits would hail his success. Mr. Wilson, like Sir Alec Douglas-Home, is not a Lord North. Selfish interests do not inspire his obduracy, which is based on principles of racial equality that cannot, in this age, be long defied.

"There is still room for compromise: not on principles but on methods. A measured advance to majority rule in Rhodesia is in everyone's interest, not least the Africans'. Fortunately the present British Government shows every sign of wanting to make things easy for the white Rhodesians, even at the cost of howls of ideological rage on the left. But the Rhodesians for their part must realize that they have reached the end of one road, and the beginning of another."

Two days earlier *The Times* had written: —

"Now a supreme effort should be made by everybody to get a fair and realistic settlement. Mr. Wilson will be talking virtually to the Rhodesian Cabinet, and whatever may be agreed cannot be outbid or repudiated in Rhodesia when Mr. Smith and his colleagues return. Equally, the explanations to be given by Mr. Wilson of what a British Government can and cannot do in world affairs will be given to the whole Rhodesian Government direct. There will be no room for misunderstandings about facts and consequences.

"Britain cannot sign away unfettered control over the 3,500,000 Africans (for whom it has residual responsibility) to 250,000 white people, kith and kin though most of them are. The conditions for independence must give the Africans the immediate power to block constitutionally the conversion of Rhodesia into a replica of South Africa and the ultimate prospect first of sharing and then of controlling the Government of the country. There can be no surrender of this principle, though timing and staging are matters for argument.

"Once power is transferred in Africa, safeguards often go by the board. It is fair to say of the Rhodesians that, however toughly they may bargain, they can be trusted to keep their contracts once made.

British Public Would Refuse to Use Force

"Within this framework of principle, Mr. Wilson must work with realities, and must try his best to make not only the Rhodesians but in due course the Commonwealth and the United Nations appreciate them: British public opinion will not sanction the use of force against a Rhodesian Government which declares itself independent. . . . But Rhodesian Ministers must see that it is not possible for any State indefinitely to defy world opinion. The lesson from Suez to Kashmir is plain.

"The dilemma for Mr. Wilson is unenviable. Even an agreement which meets the requirements of principle risks disrupting the Commonwealth and will be hard to defend in the United Nations, for any transfer of sovereignty must initially be to the white minority. On the other hand, failure to persuade the Rhodesians, followed by an act of defiance by them, risks an explosion in Central Africa whose consequences are incalculable.

"The quarrel could hardly be confined to Britain and Rhodesia. Zambia's position is crucial, and a false step by anybody could bring United Nations intervention onto the scene, which would provoke further reactions. In a burst of violence Zambia would suffer first, but the white Rhodesians would lose in the end."

The *Guardian* had written on the previous day under the caption "No Compromise with Rhodesia":—

"A rebellion is a threat to the peace, and Britain's duty—internal affair or not—would be to report it to the United Nations. If Britain did not, somebody would. It would then be for the Security Council to decide whether armed intervention was necessary to stop the threat."

"Whether or not the United Nations took action, Britain would itself be honourably bound to help Zambia if an attempt were made to stop coal supplies from Wankie or electric power from Kafirba, controlled by a British colony, from reaching the Copperbelt mines. No one in this country would welcome the irony of British troops being ordered by the United Nations to take action against white Rhodesians, but this is a course of action in which Britain may have to comply if it is to prove to itself that its aims as a Colonial power have not all along been tinged with racialism."

"Mr. Smith has bluffed before. He may be bluffing again, so that between unilateral independence and majority rule the present situation looks like a middle course. The British Government has bluffed too, in pretending that by holding desultory talks with Mr. Smith's Ministers it was going to produce something it could call an acceptable compromise. No compromise is possible between what white Rhodesians demand and what Britain has the right to give."

Rhodesia on the Brink

"Rhodesia on the Brink" was the heading selected by the *Daily Telegraph* for comment which said (in part):—

"It is highly likely that Mr. Smith intends to make a declaration of independence in the very near future. Backbenchers of the Rhodesian Front are forcing the pace, much to the delight of Mr. Smith's right wing. The Labour Government has probably gone further to meet him than a Conservative Government could have done without being savagely attacked by a Labour Opposition. It has all been in vain."

"If recent correspondence on the terms proposed for Rhodesian independence becomes public, it will be equally embarrassing for Mr. Wilson and Mr. Smith, though for opposite reasons. On some of the British proposals a happy and assured future for Rhodesia could have been built. It is deplorable that a powerful section of the Rhodesian Front should prefer to face the ugly array of boycott and sanctions promised by Mr. Wilson."

"There are reports that Mr. Smith, or the men who twitch obedience out of him, are bent on scrapping the 1961 Constitution. If that is so, they must say farewell to any help that their well-wishers in the United Kingdom could have offered them in the near future."

"Rhodesia will never lack friends in Britain. The ties that in war and peace have bound our peoples together survive. But there are dangers of an escalating crisis. In moderate attitudes, Mr. Smith will have friends here to defend him. America, however, has Mr. Mennen Williams as her first spokesman on this Commonwealth issue. There will be U.N. spokesmen too, and African and Asian dictators ready to accuse Rhodesia of failing to grant universal suffrage. What they say may make little sense, but Mr. Smith would do well to reflect that statesmanship is the art of the possible."

"Yet Another Essay in Brinkmanship" was the heading used by the *Financial Times*. The gist of the leading article was in the following passages:—

"The one move which Britain could make to produce a major impact on the Rhodesian economy is to place an embargo on tobacco purchases. These last year accounted for two-thirds of Rhodesia's exports to this country. Not only would Rhodesia be hard-hit now; an embargo would probably exclude her from the British market for a long time to come."

Threat to Tobacco

"Alternative sources of supply are available to Britain—the U.S., Canada and India among them, but manufacturers here would almost certainly have to enter into long-term contracts in order to obtain the additional supplies required at favourable prices. Rhodesia would under such circumstances probably still be able to sell the high-quality portion of her crop—which at present comes to the U.K.—but would have great difficulties of getting rid of the rest."

"But a really serious threat to the viability of an independent Rhodesia would arise only if other countries—Zambia at very considerable cost to herself among them—were to join in imposing sanctions. Mr. Smith may be banking on the improbability of concerted action. Given the explosive political issues involved in U.D.I., however, he would be foolish to do so."

"The hard fact is that there is at present no generally

acceptable solution to the Rhodesian problem. The *status quo* may be unsatisfactory. But a change can only be for the worse."

On Monday the *Daily Mail* devoted its first column to comment on "This African Crisis", saying:—

"The Rhodesian crisis is the most serious that Britain has faced in the Commonwealth for a very long time. It is not helpful for one side to talk about 'the Queen's enemies' and mutter of treason, or for the other to stage acts of defiance like sending an 'ambassador' to Lisbon. The issues are too grave for false heroics."

"If there is no settlement, if Rhodesia were to declare unilateral independence (U.D.I.), as she threatened, there would be a collision from which no victor could emerge. Rhodesia would become a pariah among the nations. She would suffer economically, and so would her neighbours, especially Zambia and Malawi. Britain would not escape unscathed. Africa would be in turmoil, and the Commonwealth shaken to its foundations."

"Africans now rule nearly all Africa, and one day they must do so in Rhodesia. That day is not yet, for their leadership is divided and also not of high calibre. Progress towards self-government must therefore be more gradual than it has been elsewhere. The right solution is to increase African representation in the Rhodesian Parliament at once, and to provide guarantees in the Constitution for the gradual assumption of majority rule."

"These may be hard things to ask of our kith and kin out there. They fought with us in the war, and we are not likely to forget it. But we were fighting for the very freedoms which have now been won by so many peoples all over the world."

"All engaged in the crisis talks should bring to them an understanding, not only of one another's difficulties but of the world political climate in which this wretched dispute is being played out. If this were done, a compromise settlement would even now be possible."

Talks Bound to Fail

That the talks in London were bound to fail: is the view of the *Scotsman*, which has blamed Mr. Smith for having made U.D.I. almost inevitable:—

"It was too much to expect that he should have tried to tell his supporters that it is immoral for 200,000 whites to insist on retaining sole control of a country with four million Africans in it. But he might have tried to point out the inexpediency of this course. U.D.I. would in the end be more than inexpedient; possibly it would be disastrous."

"Nobody knows what would happen after U.D.I., but the imposition of economic sanctions by the British Government would be supported by nearly all other nations, except South Africa and Portugal. The trouble about this method of ending the rebellion is that its effects would not be felt immediately, and in the interval a situation might easily arise requiring the use of military force. Britain could not shirk her responsibility then, either to send troops herself or, preferably, through the United Nations."

"If Mr. Smith's Government really believe that sanctions will not be imposed or that force, if it is necessary, will not be used, then they are the victims of their own propaganda. White Rhodesians too glibly assume that, in the words of their 'envoy' in Lisbon, 'the responsible men of Britain are with us'. Certainly the men responsible for China's foreign policy must wish Mr. Smith all success—in the short term. But are there many people in Britain who want to foster Communism in Africa and destroy the multi-racial Commonwealth by ignoring justice and morality to pander to white Rhodesian rebels? We doubt it. Very soon Mr. Wilson will have to make, preferably with the full support of Mr. Heath, a final appeal to the white Rhodesians to see reason."

A feature article in the *Guardian* by Mr. John Worrall its correspondent in Salisbury, described U.D.I. as "Mr. Smith's Monster", brought out to frighten Mother Britain, but withdrawn when it seemed also to frighten Rhodesians.

"The party promoted Mr. Smith to leadership because he is a good Rhodesian, a good politician, and a good man. In addition he wanted what they wanted—freedom to run Rhodesia the way they wanted it run without Britain awkwardly peering over their shoulders, and prying into racial affairs."

Rhodesian Front Will Not Capitulate

"Mr. Field was placed in just such a dilemma. He could not negotiate independence without making unpopular concessions to the Africans. He did not want to commit Rhodesia to unconstitutional action. He had to go."

"It is clear that the party will not budge from its *status quo*

policy based on the present Constitution. One is possibly assuming too much to suggest that Mr. Smith might want to budge.

"He has no freedom to move. If he should deviate under pressures from Britain—and British Ministers know how to turn on the heat—he could well share the fate of Mr. Field when he returns to Salisbury, even if he has independence in his brief-case. Unless, of course, the party splits. It is fairly clearly divided already into pro- and anti-U.D.I., but the U.D.I. men are more vocal, and generally have less to lose in the kind of economic collapse that would ensue if Britain really turned on the heat".

The *Daily Express* has published a cartoon showing Messrs. Nkrumah, Kenyatta, Makarios and Banda at the top of a flight of stairs under a canopy... bearing the words "Heroes of Empire", while on the bottom step is Mr. Harold Wilson telling: Mr. Ian Smith "But you, you're just an enemy of the Queen!" Mr. Smith carries a suitcase marked "Ian Smith, R.A.F., 1941-1945".

An interview with Mr. Harper appeared on the front page of the *News of the World*, which stated in a leading article that it was folly for Socialist M.P.s. to advocate the use of force against kith and kin in Rhodesia. The course of sanity was, it said, to tell Rhodesians that they could have their independence provided guarantees were given to safeguard the rights and interests of black and white.

Though finding the possible use of force distasteful, the *Sunday Citizen* wrote that it could be "less bloody than allowing the settlers to seize power and precipitate a chronic guerrilla war throughout a large part of Africa". The paper wanted Britain to tell Mr. Smith that U.D.I. would be resisted by "every means" in Britain's power.

Mr. Wilson's Odd Secrecy

The attention of all the world, said the *Sunday Mirror*, "had been attracted to Mr. Wilson's resolute defence of the freedom of Rhodesia's African majority". Complaining that Mr. Heath, leader of the Conservative Party, had been mute, it asked for a bold declaration that the British Government would have the support of that party. Then, it was suggested, the Smith Government might consider itself prevented from making a unilateral declaration of independence.

A letter in the *Daily Mirror* suggested that independence in defiance of Britain would "sign the death warrants of thousands of white people".

On Monday a leading article in the *London Evening Standard* said that attacks by the Socialist Press on Mr. Heath for not having publicly committed Conservative support to the British Government merely represented an attempt to distract attention from Mr. Wilson's dilemma, which had been caused by his own "oddy secretive tactics".

"By their policy of secrecy Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bottomley have played into the hands of Mr. Smith. Had Mr. Wilson boldly stated the generous terms of his compromise settlement, Mr. Smith would have been unable to represent Britain as a country unreasonably and unchangeably opposed to independence. Opinion in Salisbury, instead of being solidly behind Mr. Smith in his insistence on independence now on Rhodesia's terms would have been divided.

"Instead, Mr. Smith has arrived in London with the full backing of the Rhodesians. They believe that in threatening U.D.I. he is taking the only course he can.

leader of a country willing to consider compromise. He will instead be meeting a man with 80% of his electorate behind him—most of them fed up with what they consider to be Britain's intransigence, and willing to follow Mr. Smith blindly in whatever direction he may take. For this Mr. Wilson has only himself to blame".

Lessons of Premature Independence

Mr. A. T. Bewes, who recently retired to Lyndhurst, Hampshire, from Tanzania, said in a letter in the *Daily Telegraph*:

"Is one expecting too much in appealing for an atmosphere of calm and understanding in the present uncertainty over Rhodesia's status? Talks are unlikely to succeed in the face of ultimatums and threats of sanctions, economic or military.

"It would well to remember that Britain is dealing with her own kith and kin, men and women who have developed what was largely scrubland, with a bare subsistence level for its inhabitants, into a magnificent country with high standards of agriculture, medicine, education and public services whose reputation throughout Africa and beyond is enviable.

"Rhodesians have proved their loyalty to Britain time and again throughout this century. That they have been let down through the break-up of the Federation and by the lack of encouragement and co-operation they were entitled to expect from Britain in the face of extreme nationalist threats from

independent African States is surely indisputable and accounts for their present attitude.

"We should try to understand the determination of Rhodesians to continue developing the country along lines calculated to benefit all races, to maintain stability, security and well-established standards, and to prevent the destruction of all that has been built up over many years, through the premature introduction of majority rule, having seen only too clearly the tragic results of this process in other African States where majority rule, or universal franchise, has invariably meant the handing over of millions of Africans to small bands of noisy politicians, with the inevitable dictatorship which has followed.

Lot of the African Masses

"Can anyone point to a single African State where the lot of the African masses has been improved by the premature granting of independence? Has not the contrary been very much the case?

"Where a minority Government is patently in the best immediate and long-term interests of the country and its people, why replace it? Have we still not learnt any lessons from British policy in Africa over the past few years?

"Talks should be held in a spirit of understanding, an atmosphere of calm, and with a more apparent readiness in London to recognize the achievements and the vital necessity of maintaining standards in the interests of all races.

"All this may sound out of date, but can Britain feel proud of what has happened in so many African countries since independence on the basis of so-called majority rule? Welcomed by the right spirit from Whitehall, Rhodesians may be willing to compromise on points of detail and timing, but they cannot be expected to compromise on principles proved, in the light of events elsewhere, to be sound. I may add that I have recently retired after 35 years in Africa".

Monday Club's Emergency Resolution

A GENERAL MEETING of the Monday Club unanimously adopted the following emergency resolution on Monday evening:—

"The Monday Club strongly deplores the suggestion of British backing for any sanctions against our loyal Rhodesian compatriots, and urges the British Government to accommodate the legitimate and just aspirations of the responsible population, both black and white, of Rhodesia.

"It is noted with concern that the same left-wing elements who championed every anti-British cause in the erstwhile British territories seek to brand the Rhodesian Government as rebels and to supplement their civilized Government by one containing proven terrorists.

"The Monday Club further deplores the wild cries of the selectively pacifist left-wing to send an armed force to fight our own kith and kin".

Lord Salisbury and Lord Boyd of Merton are the patrons of the Monday Club.

Over the signature of Mr. Paul Williams, the chairman, and Mr. Harold Soreff, chairman of its Africa Committee, the Monday Club has issued a statement which "deplores the threat of either British or international sanctions against loyal white and black British citizens of Rhodesia, who have repeatedly expressed their desire for full independence within the Commonwealth".

The statement continues:—

"Self-governing in its internal affairs since 1924, a period of 41 years, their record in harmonious administration is unequalled on the African continent. At the present critical time it is imperative to recognize that Rhodesia receives negligible financial aid from the British taxpayer. This contrasts sharply with the position of other Commonwealth countries in Africa. Furthermore, it is the sole remaining British bastion in Africa able to play an efficient and vigorous part in the defence of the West.

"The Monday Club deprecates constant attempts to appease pan-African ambitions at the sacrifice of our real friends, proven in two world wars".

Some 3,000 tourists from Portugal and other countries in Europe are expected in Beira with the first year after the inauguration in November of direct jet airliner services from Lisbon.

Problems Produced by Africanization Railwaymen Reluctant to Join E.A.R. & H.

AFRICANIZATION of East African Railways and Harbours continued in 1964, when the number of European employees fell from 899 to 709 and of Asian graded employees from 3,320 to 2,259, while the number of Africans in that class rose from 10,928 to 11,713.

African officers in superscale grades increased in number from five to 22, and two others were acting in such posts at the end of the year.

Considerable difficulty was experienced in recruiting experienced technical officers from overseas to fill vacancies which Africans were not competent to occupy. At the end of the year there were still five vacancies unfilled for more than a year and 34 from indents made in 1964.

The annual report of the general manager states that the examination results of 12 engineering bursars sponsored at University College, Nairobi, were disappointing.

"One passed Part II of the B.Sc. examination and one passed Part I; four passed in all but one subject of Part I and were allowed to proceed to the second year and to resit the one subject; six failed the examination but five were allowed to repeat it in 1965; two of these subsequently decided that they were unlikely to succeed as engineers and resigned.

"Difficulty continued throughout the year in attracting graduates to the service; advertisements in the local Press for cadet administrative assistants produced only two suitable candidates, both of whom were selected; but only one took up an appointment. Later in the year, in response to advertisements for six cadet traffic superintendents only two applicants were received".

Of 75 fatalities 49 (compared with 37 in the previous year) were caused by persons being struck by trains while trespassing on the line. Fifty-one accidents occurred at level crossings, 17 resulting in deaths.

Claims were so numerous as to be "far from satisfactory". They amounted to £87,730. At the end of the year 1,846 had still not been settled, compared with 706 outstanding a year earlier. Thefts rose by 6% to £41,115.

Kenya Now Bonds Scholarship Holders Service in Return for Free Training

EXPATRIATE RETIREMENTS in the first 19 months after Kenya became independent numbered 1,885 Europeans and Asians, Mr. D. N. Ndegwa, Permanent Secretary in the Office of the President, said when he addressed the United Kenya Club on man-power planning for the public service.

In the course of his address he said:—

"Who would have been bold enough to say in 1955 that the educational programme should aim at producing in quality and quantity the African administrators, technologists, teachers, managers, etc., to run this country as an African independent country in 1965?

"The expatriates who retired were fully entitled to do so, but it brought the Government machine to the brink of an emergency in man-power.

"By the end of March this year 45% of all superscale administrative and professional officers other than graduate teachers were Africans; 57% of all executive grade officers were Africans; 48% of all middle grade technical officers were Africans; 82% of all junior technical officers were Africans; 73% of all nursing grades were Africans; and 47% of all gazetted police and prisons officers were Africans.

"Out of a total of 35,782 established officers in the Government service, 29,581 were Africans.

"With our considerable expenditure in education and training, there must be some measures to ensure that the students use the skills they have been given to the best advantage. We have, therefore, introduced a system of bonding all scholarships holders and others who are given expensive upgrading training at the nation's expense or by means of scholarships given to the Government by outside agencies.

"Under this system, in return for the training which the individual receives free of charge, he is required by contract

to take up the employment offered by the Government on completion of his studies and to remain in it for a specified number of years.

"Of the total available universities candidates leaving schools this year with science-based certificates 25% will be channelled into engineering studies, 25% into agricultural studies (including forestry, veterinary, etc.), 30% into science teaching, and 20% into medicine. Of the total university candidates without a science base, 50% will be channelled into graduate teaching studies and 50% into other studies, including economics, law, etc.

"The Government's control of scholarships is being used to ensure that these quotas are observed. These are measures of deliberate man-power allocation with the aim of planning the development of our human resources to match the requirements of the economy".

Aid to Undeveloped Countries Doubts of An American Scientist

AN AMERICAN MAGAZINE with a world-wide sale, *U.S. News and World Report*, has devoted four pages to answering the question "Is Foreign Aid Worth the Price?"

Mr. Robert Sinai, who is described as an internationally known political scientist, casts doubt on the value received from foreign aid by the donors or the recipients.

In his view the basic trouble is the assumption that financial help will cause great social, cultural, and intellectual changes in the under-developed nations, which, he emphasizes, have had a history completely different from that of the West, and have never succeeded in developing the aspirations and impulses which have given Western civilization its unique character.

"Foreign aid", says Mr. Sinai, "has turned out to be a poor substitute for 19th century imperialism—either as a political or economic instrument. The imperialists could at least recognize differences among peoples in their aspirations and motives. We seem to believe that all nations and all peoples have our ambitions and our passion to impose our will on others.

"The history of Western progress is a history of revolutions, not merely political, economic, or even intellectual, but revolutions which changed the very personality of man. This is not to be found anywhere among the undeveloped nations on any large scale.

Nations in Name Only

"In Africa, for instance, tribalism produced almost unproductive and primitive society. Man in Africa was completely dominated by his physical and social environment. He never at any time even developed the idea of man being able to escape that domination.

"Submission is found in all backward traditional nations in varying degrees. We engage in euphemisms nowadays. First we talked about 'undeveloped countries'. Then we promoted them to 'under-developed States'. Now we talk about 'developing' or 'emergent' countries. The truth is that these countries are backward—and many are primitive, decadent, or corrupt. Some are nations in name only—simply because of the milk of human kindness that flows through the world community today.

"The elements of Western civilization in Africa are of the most superficial kind, limited to tiny islands surrounded by an immense sea of primitivism.

"I don't accept the elevator theory of history—that you push a button and move upward floor by floor. Most of the under-developed societies are bogged down in terrible apathy. We ought to be able to grasp the fact that we cannot create a Welfare State all over the world.

"We should be more relaxed in our approach to the problems of these societies. They are not going to turn against us overnight if we employ hard standards as to what aid serves our interests and what aid does not. Nor is the problem merely one of 'reaching the people', as so many officials say. Before the living standards of the masses can be re-appraised you need an élite with the vision and capacity to drive the country ahead.

"The American Negro writer Richard Wright has observed modern Africans in these words: 'There is too much cloudiness in the African's mentality, a kind of certain vagueness that makes for lack of confidence, and an absence of focus that renders their mentality incapable of grasping the workaday world. Until confidence is established at the centre of African personality there can be no question of marching from the tribal order to the 20th century'".

Thefts Threaten Kenya Farming Land Bank's Serious Summary

THE ANNUAL REPORT of the Land and Agricultural Bank of Kenya contains the customary situation reports from its district representatives. Men of long experience, they emphasize that thieving has increased most seriously.

Mr. C. W. Hillyar reported on the Naivasha, Gilgil, Ol Kalou districts:—

"Uncertainty persists among the majority of European farmers, few of whom are willing to undertake long-term improvements such as fencing, better water supplies, and bush-clearing. But one of the largest estates has embarked upon an extensive programme of fencing and improvements to water supplies, using capital from private sources. This estate, in common with practically all other farmers, is obliged to employ a small army of watchmen and night guards.

"In spite of these precautions, thefts of livestock, produce, wire—in fact, almost anything stealable—continue with monotonous regularity. This lack of security makes those farmers who are in a position to quit Kenya all the more likely to leave as the continual tension is most wearying."

Mr. C. R. Coulson wrote of Lumbwa, Londiani and Mau Summit: "Factors which are so discouraging to stock farmers are theft and illegal grazing, both of which continue to present an apparently insoluble problem. Very heavy losses have been suffered from theft. The sum total of illegal grazing is very serious indeed".

Disruption Caused by Trade Unions

Mr. G. P. Holmes reported unfavourably from the Usin Gishu:—

"Of the labour employed few wish to do a full-day's work. Farmers are suffering from labour problems, laziness, irregular attendance of casual labour, inefficiency, and high wage demands.

"Thefts of all descriptions—of cattle, fencing, piping, grain, fuel, etc.—are on the increase and causing grave anxiety and despondency among farmers new and old alike. The country's economy and efficient farming cannot be maintained if this stealing and inefficiency is not checked."

Mr. R. J. Logan, of Nakuru (West), considered that the methods of the trade unions had done little to improve relations between farmers and their employees. "Indeed, if their object was to cause disruption and frustration they have indeed succeeded". Whereas good service is still given by the older generation of Africans, the younger employees are not doing a fair day's work. "Farmers are generally depressed and anxious about the future".

Mr. R. A. Russell-Smith recorded that in Kiambu and Limuru there had been "a great increase" in theft and pilfering. "Widespread thefts of young coffee plants occurred during the year, as also with young tea plants. This pernicious practice seems to make nonsense of any attempt to control future coffee and tea plantings. In addition to the usual thefts of farming materials, there was increased thieving of copper fungicides and dangerous poisonous insecticides".

Mr. A. K. Doig considered that few of the remaining European farmers in the Nyeri, Mweiga, Kiganjo and Naro Moru districts felt that they had any future. Few of the African labourers do a fair day's work for the increased wages.

Mr. A. S. F. Hawkesworth stated from Nanyuki that cattle theft had become worse than ever, and usually on a grander scale.

Mr. H. H. Loney concluded his report from the Trans-Nzoia: "The financial position of most of the African farmers is such that, judging by those interviewed, the majority will be in a position of financial embarrassment before the end of 1965".

Malawi's first President is to be elected on October 13.

A new series of 14 Uganda stamps will be issued on October 9.

Colours of the 4th King's African Rifles, presented by the Queen during her visit to Uganda in 1954, have been laid up in the National Assembly.

Kenya Schools Producing "Assimilados" Criticism of Leading Secondary Schools

A SHARP ATTACK on such former European schools in Nairobi as the Prince of Wales School and the Duke of York's School has been made by Dr. B. A. Ogot, of University College, Nairobi, who said in an address to the Kenya Press Club:—

"The traditional British attitude towards education still prevails in these schools. Their aim is still to produce an *élite*, a class of gentlemen for civil service, business, and academic careers. Education, in their view, is a privilege reserved for a small minority. The sprinkling of Africans in these schools are, in my opinion, more stray cats than anything else.

"As a country committed to Socialism, are these the values we wish to promote? I submit that the principles underlying these schools are incompatible with the declared policies of our Government and that something radical must be done. What we are doing, in effect, is to produce a group of *assimilados* who are strangers to their own environment.

Profession of Rejects

"We are denying secondary education to many qualified citizens because we lack adequate schools, but at the same time we spend much money giving very good education to non-citizens. Many expatriates are doing useful work in Kenya, and their children have to be educated locally, but this should not be at the expense of citizens. What I have said about former European schools applies equally to the former Asian schools.

"Many of Kenya's teachers are untrained. Others try to supplement their meagre wages by petty trade. In all Kenya there are only 12 local graduates teaching in secondary schools. Most of the good teachers have taken up more lucrative jobs. The rest have moved to Nairobi to work in the head office of the Ministry of Education. The result is that the noble profession of pedagogy is rapidly becoming a profession of rejects".

It would be dangerous to base educational plans on expatriate teachers, but many Africans in authority nevertheless argued that it was cheaper to import British teachers or those in the American Peace Corps and that the first need was to Africanize the civil service.

Instead of talking about higher salaries for teachers, why should civil service pay not be reduced? Why should Kenya, a poor country, pay a Permanent Secretary £2,800? Could not that figure be reduced to, say £2,000?

The State Lotteries in Rhodesia have given £25,000 to that country's Winston Churchill Thanksgiving and Memorial Fund.

Six Kenya Africans who have qualified at the Colleges of Technology in Portsmouth and Brighton have returned to Kenya and joined the Ministry of Works.

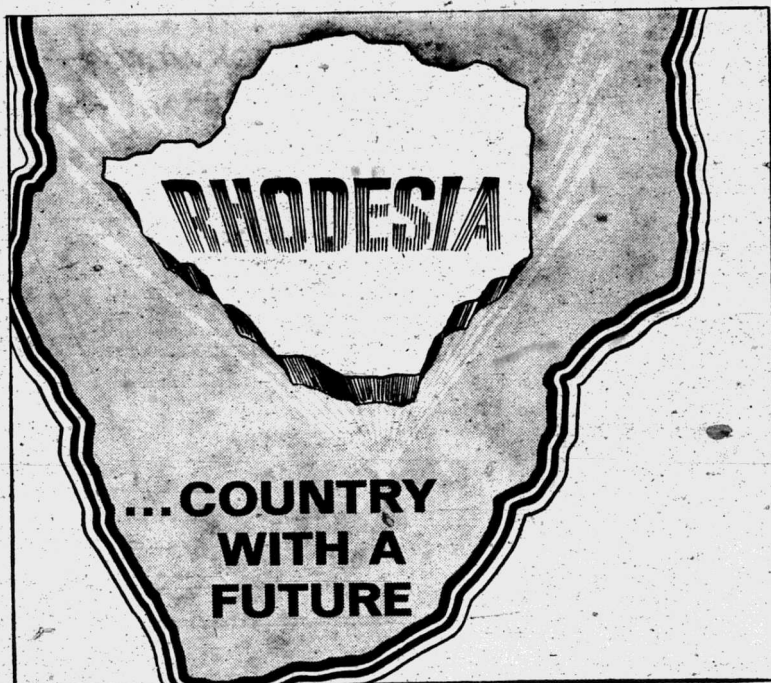
The Paramount Chief of Barotseland, the Litunga, has agreed to nominate five traditional members to the new Barotse National Council, which will cease to have local government powers.

The East African Airways' flight on Fridays from Nairobi to Karachi and Bombay now calls at Addis Ababa instead of Aden. It provides the only direct service between Ethiopia and Pakistan and India.

Charged with "an attempted coup d'état", 25 African men and one woman are on trial in Nairobi. The charges arise from an attempt last month to take over the Nairobi headquarters of K.A.N.U., Kenya's ruling party.

Plans for a £350,000 hotel and casino on the Rhodesian side of the Victoria Falls were announced some time ago. Now the Zambia Government is associated with a project for a £1m. hotel-casino venture on the Zambia bank of the Zambezi. Building is expected to start before the end of the year in both cases.

The Nyeri administrative district of Kenya has a population density of about 800 to the square mile, some 260,000 Africans living on 312 square miles of inhabited and cultivated ground (of about 595 square miles in the whole area). The average holding is 4.7 acres per family. Last year's output of coffee totalled 1,004 tons and of green tea 3.5m. lb.



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EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1965

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE TALKS HAVE FAILED—as we always considered that they must—for the basic reason that United Kingdom politicians, who have for years behaved so stupidly, stubbornly, and tragically everywhere in Africa, have lacked the courage to deal with Rhodesia on its merits and accept the resulting vituperation organized by Afro-Asian propagandists and their sympathizers in the West. The chief consideration of Ministers in Britain since the disastrous Macmillan-MacLeod pretence of an irresistible wind of change began to be advertised nearly six years ago has been to appease the clique of African extremists who showed that their clamour for political place and power was backed by extensive intimidation and ruthless violence, which had been or would be used. Rhodesians, who live among these impatient politicians, many of them racketeers, are not bamboozled by their pretensions or presumptions, and will have no truck with the folly of nescient negotiators living six thousand miles away. Declaring political advancement by merit to be Britain's criterion for African political change, the Macmillian Cabinet deliberately and repeatedly disregarded the policy which it had so emphatically proclaimed; and since the Socialists had no use for such a doctrine, which must long postpone their own idiotic idea of entrusting the future of desperately immature territories to the mercy of wholly inexperienced Africans, there was no sustained criticism in Parliament—and, unhappily, none in the leading newspapers. In such circumstances it is decidedly awkward for men in office in London to find themselves dealing with white men in Africa who believe absolutely in the former British principle of progress by merit. In Mr. Ian Smith Rhodesia has found a leader whose sincerity is as evident as his resolution. That those qualities have impressed the British public is certain.

Ministers, the Press, and the public have been driven for the first time in years to think seriously, if only for a few days, about the folly and faithlessness of British policy in Africa since 1960, for it is in consequence of that fatuity and infidelity (which Lord Salisbury rightly called "unscrupulousness") that Rhodesians, whom the Commonwealth has no more loyal community, have been driven to decide that, whatever the cost, they will not allow politicians in Britain to impose upon them a *Diktat* which would quickly ruin their country. Our sympathy is wholly with Mr. Smith and his colleagues, and with the responsible Rhodesians of all races on whose behalf they have presented a case, excellent in itself, with ability, patience, courtesy, and determination. As will be seen in the words spoken by the Prime Minister and the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, they have wrung respect from those whom they have resisted, and certainly from the general public. Never previously have so many ordinary men and women stood hour after hour day after day outside Rhodesia House in the Strand and in Downing Street to assure a plenipotentiary from Africa of their sympathy. After his first television broadcast Mr. Smith received hundreds of telegrams and hundreds of telephone calls expressing support. On Saturday afternoon, when some two hundred journalists attended his news conference, several well-known writers whose papers are consistently antagonistic to Rhodesia spoke to us in warmly appreciative terms of the Prime Minister's presentation of his case. For more than an hour and a half he had faced the interrogation of as tough an audience as London can provide, and he had not fluffed one reply to questions which came fast and furious (furious from some quarters). He was as effective in his very different way as Lord Malvern and Sir Roy Walensky when they presented the same basic case.

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has often criticized national newspapers for the suppression of facts which the country should have had faithfully reported. Saturday's Press conference provided a significant example of such suppression. Angered by the cynicism of one questioner, who obviously knew nothing about Africa, Mr. Smith mentioned the attempted rape of a young white secretary in an African-governed State by a very prominent Minister who still remains in the Cabinet, and against whom no action has been taken by the President (who constantly calls upon his countrymen for higher standards of conduct). Because the inquirer countered sarcastically, the Prime Minister added that he had the details of eleven cases of attempted assault of that kind by African Ministers during the past year. Such a revelation, we suggest, deserved to be generally reported. So far as we can discover, it has been mentioned, and then not fully, in only one paper, the *Sunday Times*. Why did all other important journals decide to withhold from their readers a striking statement which would, of course, have been most inconvenient to the British politicians who have misjudged African affairs so disastrously? Was that the reason for the non-publication? The Prime Minister had not made his disclosure frivolously. Its purpose was to indicate the rapid deterioration in standards, a deterioration which Africans are prepared to accept but which Rhodesia will not risk.

Rape Attempts by African Ministers.

* * *

The contortions of some newspapers have been interesting. The *Daily Mail*, which has consistently comforted the African extremists, now suggests that it would not be unreasonable to plan for an African majority in the Rhodesian Parliament fifteen years hence. Why did it not adopt that line when Mr. Duncan Sandys was saying that there should be an African majority in five years?—which encouraged Socialist M.P.s. to declare that the Nkomos and Sitholes could not be expected to wait so long. The *Times* wrote of "white supremacy seeking to contain black nationalism", whereas Mr. Smith has made it perfectly plain, as does the country's Constitution, that the present white supremacy will disappear when enough Africans qualify themselves for the responsible use of the franchise. There have been several references to Rhodesia being on a collision course, when it is in fact the new British attitude to Africa (which does not deserve the word "policy") which collides

with a civilization created and developed on British principles. More significant is the fact that not one publication which we have seen has given a word of comment to the insistence of H.M. Government that any plan for Rhodesian independence "must be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole". Coming from a Government which has itself attained power on a minority vote, that is a grotesque stipulation. A majority of the electorate in Britain voted against Mr. Wilson and his party, but, by the comic conception of "democracy" which nobody bothers to question nowadays, he and his associates are deemed to express the national will. They do nothing of the sort. In many other countries the Government has similarly had only just a few votes more than its opponents or even fewer. Why, then, should there be this demand for something like unanimity in Rhodesia? Though the politicians of the West are so obdurate in their refusal to recognize it, there is, in fact, overwhelming support by the people of Rhodesia for independence under the present Constitution. Some seven hundred chiefs and headmen, the undoubted leaders of the mass of Africans, voted unanimously in *indaba* for that course, and when Mr. Smith recently submitted the issue to the white electorate, his party captured all the fifty seats in the House for which it had sponsored candidates.

Statement Worth Noting

"Marandellas took its name from Headman Marondera".—Mr. I. H. Samuriwa, M.P.

"We live in the very next place to Utopia—Rhodesia".—Mr. D. Divaris, M.P.

"The Government is likely to become harder rather than softer in its treatment of the idle and incompetent".—Mr. William Murgor, Assistant Minister for Agriculture in Kenya.

"Africanization will be pursued with all possible speed, but this will not be done at the expense of efficiency".—Mr. A. D. Arap Moi, Minister for Home Affairs in Kenya.

"Not long ago the Government advertised 19 farms and received 97 applications".—Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia.

"In the past I have criticized councils in respect of the conduct of the councillors and the poor quality of the administration. I have only praise for the County Council of Kipsigis".—Mr. L. G. Sagini, Minister for Local Government in Kenya.

"If all farmers adopt modern methods and new types of seed and follow the practices of good husbandry, we can beat the weather. There are drought-resistant types of maize and other food crops".—Mr. P. J. Ngei, Minister for Co-operatives and Marketing in Kenya.

"Conversion of chrome ore into alloys has probably the greatest future of any industry in this country. I think that in 10 or 15 years the expansion of that industry will become equivalent to what the Copperbelt is to Zambia—and all because of fairly cheap power from Kariba".—Mr. G. W. Rudland, Minister of Commerce and Industry in Rhodesia.

No Agreement Reached in Talks with Rhodesia

Full Text of British and Rhodesian Governments' Statements

COMPLETE FAILURE of the talks about independence for Rhodesia was acknowledged in a joint *communiqué* issued from 10 Downing Street on Friday evening. It said:—

"The Prime Minister and the Commonwealth Secretary have held during this week a series of discussions with the Prime Minister and other Ministers of Rhodesia, during which they have examined frankly and thoroughly all aspects of the question of Rhodesia's independence.

"The British Ministers have described the constitutional principles which the British Government would regard as the essential basis on which they could recommend to Parliament the grant of sovereign independence to Rhodesia, and the Rhodesian Ministers have indicated the reasons for which they feel unable to accept those principles in the measure required by the British Government.

"Despite intensive discussion, no means have been found of reconciling the opposing views. No further meeting has been arranged."

A statement from Rhodesia House said:—

"Mr. Ian Smith, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, will address a Press conference at Rhodesia House at noon tomorrow."

"The Rhodesian case for independence was argued fully and frankly all this past week with the British Government. Mr. Smith and his Ministers did their utmost to meet the British Government on their five principles, and in the process put forward many constructive suggestions, which, if acceptable, would have established a basis for independence that would have been fair to all parties concerned.

"The facts of the matter are that, as the Rhodesian Ministers suggested new proposals to help meet the British point of view, so the latter's demands increased, in the end rendering it impossible for the opposing views to be reconciled."

Five Principles on Which Britain Insisted

On Saturday the Commonwealth Relations Office issued the following *communiqué*:—

"The meetings held this week have been in continuance of the discussions initiated during the visit of the Commonwealth Secretary and Lord Chancellor to Salisbury last February.

"Since that time H.M. Government have been patiently and genuinely seeking to remove the differences between the two Governments in extensive exchanges with the Rhodesian Prime Minister. These discussions themselves have been a continuance of negotiations begun by the previous British Government.

"The Government have also kept in close and continuous touch with all other Commonwealth Governments who throughout have shown their interest in the problem. They have been guided in the talks by the considerations explained to Commonwealth Prime Ministers at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting in June, 1965, and as they undertook at that meeting, have continued in their discussions with the Government of Rhodesia to take full account of all the views expressed by other Commonwealth Governments.

"The Government look forward to the day when Rhodesia will be able to take her place among the fully independent members of the Commonwealth, but H.M. Government must insist that the responsibility for the grant of full independence rests with Parliament, that Parliament has a responsibility which cannot be abrogated towards all the peoples of Rhodesia, and that the Government would be able to recommend the grant of full independence to Rhodesia only if certain conditions were fulfilled.

"In the discussions with the Prime Minister of Rhodesia this week the Government made clear, as they had done throughout the discussions with the Rhodesian Government over recent months, that, before agreeing to the grant of independence, they would need to be satisfied on the following essential points:

(1) *The principle and intention of unimpeded progress to*

majority rule, already enshrined in the 1961 Constitution, would have to be maintained and guaranteed.

(2) *There would also have to be guarantees against retrogressive amendment of the Constitution.*

(3) *There would have to be immediate improvement in the political status of the African population.*

(4) *There would have to be progress towards ending racial discrimination.*

(5) *The British Government would need to be satisfied that any basis proposed for independence was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.*

"These principles are in conformity with undertakings given by the Prime Minister and the Commonwealth Secretary to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting in June, 1965.

"The Prime Minister of Rhodesia made certain proposals designed to meet the principles which the British Government laid down, and in particular stated the view of his Government on the five principles as follows:—

(1) The 1961 Constitution provides, in the qualifications governing the franchise, for an increasing number of Africans to be entitled to vote, and the question of guarantees against retrogression is essentially a matter of providing suitable mechanism.

Senate of Twelve Chiefs Proposed

(II) The Government of Rhodesia proposed the addition of a Senate to be composed of 12 chiefs elected by the Chiefs' Council (which would vote with the Assembly at third readings on any question affecting the revision of the entrenched clauses. This would replace the referendum procedure under the 1961 Constitution.

(III) The Government of Rhodesia stated that their proposal for a Senate to be composed of 12 African chiefs represented a major advance for Africans. They could not contemplate any increased representation for Africans in the Assembly while so many Africans rejected the opportunities offered under the present Constitution, but they were prepared to consider an extension of the B roll franchise for example, by admitting to it all taxpayers.

(IV) The Government of Rhodesia stated that they wished to see an end to racial discrimination by an evolutionary process, but they could not agree to the repeal of the Land Apportionment Act.

(V) The Government of Rhodesia claimed that they had already demonstrated that the majority of the people of Rhodesia desired independence on the basis of the present Constitution. This had been shown by their consultation of tribal opinion and the referendum of the electorate.

"The Government do not consider that these proposals provide any positive advancement for Africans in the political and social field, any fully effective safeguards against retrogressive amendment of the Constitution, or adequate means of consultation with African opinion in Rhodesia on the Rhodesian Government's proposals for independence.

"In particular, the Government cannot accept that representations of the chiefs can be regarded as adequately representing Africans throughout Rhodesia as a whole.

"The Government of Rhodesia held an *indaba* of chiefs and headmen in October of last year, to which they invited the British Government to send observers. The previous administration took the view that the procedure proposed would not provide conclusive evidence of the wishes of the people and that it would not therefore be appropriate for them to nominate observers. This was confirmed by the Government immediately after taking office last October.

Universal Adult Franchise Demanded

"It must be repeated that it has been the aim of successive British Governments to bring remaining British territories to independence on the basis of democratic government and the principle of universal adult suffrage. In the past in every case, with the exception of the Union of South Africa in 1910, majority rule has been established before the grant of independence.

"Moreover, in all cases where there has been any doubt of the views of the population as a whole, the people have been consulted either in a general election or by means of a referendum of their wishes for independence on the terms proposed.

"In the case of Rhodesia, the only territory except South Africa to request independence without majority rule, and the only territory where the Opposition has not been included in a constitutional conference, it is doubly important to have the views of the Rhodesian people as a whole that they both

BRITAIN OFFERED NO CONCESSIONS, SAYS MR. SMITH

desire independence and desire it on the terms proposed by their Government.

"It is therefore doubly important that the mechanism whereby the feelings of the Rhodesian people are to be ascertained must be fully democratic. In these circumstances no basis at present exists on which the British Government would feel justified in granting independence to Rhodesia.

"In view of public statements made by Rhodesian Ministers, the Prime Minister thought it right again to remind Mr. Smith of the grave consequences of unilateral action.

"There should be no delusions in Rhodesia about the ability or determination of the British Government to deal with the utmost firmness with any act of rebellion, or about the effects of the mass international condemnation to which Rhodesia would expose herself having cut herself off from the Crown and from Britain.

"Rhodesia would find herself practically friendless in the face of the almost solid hostility of the world.

"It is now for the Government and people of Rhodesia to take serious stock of the position in the interests of the future of their country.

"It remains the wish of the Government to see Rhodesia achieve independence as soon as possible, through peaceful discussion, on a basis which is fair and just to all.

"They stand firmly by the principle of unimpeded progress to majority rule and the need to secure a settlement which is acceptable to the people of the country as a whole. They will continue to strive for effective negotiation towards independence on that basis.

"It is the sincere hope of the Government that the Rhodesian Government will not decide in favour of a course which will be fraught with such serious consequences for all, but most of all for Rhodesians themselves.

"The Prime Minister outlined alternative courses which would provide for the steady advancement of democracy in their country leading to early independence on the basis of co-operation between the races and designed to ensure the future happiness and peace of all the peoples in the country".

Rhodesian Prime Minister's Reply

That Britain had offered no concessions was emphasized in a statement issued almost simultaneously by the Rhodesian Prime Minister. It said:—

"The Rhodesian Government, during this week's discussions, have done their very best to span the gulf between them and the British Government. The latter for their part have offered no concessions. The talks were conducted in a friendly atmosphere, and if there is one thing that has to be said it is that Mr. Wilson and his colleagues have been open and frank. It is all the more regrettable, therefore, that they have not seen their way to granting independence to Rhodesia in keeping with moral obligations which exist from past assurances.

"The basic principles which have assumed such importance were put to us in February this year as 'the principles on which the British Government would need to be satisfied before they were able to contemplate the grant of independence'. There is no promise in this sentence, even if we did manage to satisfy them, that they would go beyond the 'contemplation' stage. This basically explains the whole of the Rhodesian case against the British Government: no specific offers, nothing that one may accept as firm or as a basis for negotiation.

"No wonder then that any Rhodesian Government would be ill-advised to give anything away without being able to rely on something being guaranteed to them in return.

"Now to deal with the five principles:—

"(1) *The principle and intention of unimpeded progress to majority rule, already enshrined in the 1961 Constitution, would have to be maintained and guaranteed.*

"The British Government have assumed that we are unable to accept this principle. On the contrary, the Rhodesian Government have requested independence on the basis of the 1961 Constitution and are prepared to work that Constitution.

"What we are not prepared to do is to increase the rate of progress to majority rule in view of all the evidence that is before us today about the inadvisability of rushing such important matters.

"We maintain that this Constitution, in theory and in practice, satisfies the first principle completely. The 1961 Constitution it must be remembered, was one accepted by the British Parliament itself, and was the direct result of negotia-

tions between the British Government of the time, the Rhodesian Government and all racial groups and parties in the country. It is not a question of the pace of advance so much as the responsibility of those being advanced and of the end result which should concern us.

"(2) *There would also have to be guarantees against retrogressive amendment of the Constitution.*

"The Rhodesian Government have accepted this. The existing Constitution provides that normal constitutional changes can be made by a simple two-thirds majority; that right already exists, and it is a retrogressive step to ask the Rhodesian Government to accept further restrictions on that right.

"(3) *There would have to be an immediate improvement in the political status of the African population.*

"The Rhodesian Government have accepted this in principle and have offered a senate which would be composed 100% of Africans. In addition, the Rhodesian Government are prepared to extend the B roll to virtual adult suffrage; and this would give an estimated one million of male adult Africans the vote.

"Quite Inaccurate" British Attitude

"(4) *There would have to be progress towards ending racial discrimination.*

"The attitude of the British Government was that the Rhodesian Government were not prepared to take specific steps towards ending racial discrimination, and that we would never amend or repeal the Land Apportionment Act. This is quite inaccurate. The Rhodesian Government's attitude is that times and circumstances will require modifications and amendments of the Act. In fact, the Government are already considering the setting aside of non-racial areas for both business and residential purposes in town and country.

"This Act is the fundamental Land Act of Rhodesia, and it is quite unrealistic to suggest that it could be abolished overnight. Moreover, it was conceived and it exists more for the benefit and protection of the African than for the European.

"The Rhodesian Government have not interfered with existing multi-racial institutions, notably the University of Rhodesia. The latest development in Bulawayo, with Government blessing and assistance, is the coming establishment of the United Teachers Training College which will be multi-racial.

"(5) *The British Government would need to be satisfied that any basis proposed for independence was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.*

"This requirement is completely at variance with the other four principles, or they with it. Were the two Governments to come together on the first four principles, what would be the point of their exposing their negotiated agreement to the whims of an electorate composed mainly of persons who are not familiar with constitutional difficulties and so risk a rejection of what two responsible Governments, with all the wisdom and experience at their disposal, have agreed upon as good for the country?

"The Rhodesian Government, therefore, consider that this requirement is quite meaningless or else merely a device to ensure that no understanding reached between the Governments can with certainty be implemented.

Restrictions Only for Security Reasons

"In answer to accusations made in the Press, I wish to make it clear that the emergency regulations and provisions for restriction have nothing to do with racial affairs. The people who are affected, which includes all races, are restricted for security reasons, and the British Government should know well that such measures are necessary when agitators are at work.

"There is complete freedom of the Press in Rhodesia and always has been. One newspaper, the *Daily News*, owned by the Thomson group, was suppressed for security reasons, and this action was successfully defended in the High Court.

"A constitutional conference has been mentioned as a possible solution. We have already been through this process in 1961, and successively. The conference, at which one of my present Ministers was present, was presided over by Mr. Duncan Sandys, who was then Secretary of State, and after the usual difficulties which any conference has to contend with, did produce recommendations for a Constitution which ultimately formed the basis of the Constitution which we have now. Why should we have to go through this process again to achieve the same results?

No Withdrawal of Allegiance to the Queen

"There is talk that a unilateral declaration of independence would be an act of rebellion. I deny the truth of the statement because Rhodesians will do nothing that will amount to a withdrawal of allegiance in the slightest to the Queen. I wish to make this crystal clear.

"Zambia will not be affected in the slightest by any declaration of independence, and we wish to do nothing to render their position even slightly embarrassing. But on the other hand, of course, if people decide for their own reasons and purposes to take reprisals against us we are fully capable of defending ourselves.

"The Government in Rhodesia is the last one to attempt to put the clock back. One has only to consider that we are the people who live in the country and that we will do nothing which could be interpreted as imposing anything on the majority of the people when they refuse to accept it. We are part of the country, and we have to live with the decisions that we make.

"Nor is it a question of Britain's legal authority being withdrawn from the country. Britain never had any legal authority: everything that had been done in the country has been done by the country's own Government and without any prompting or direction from Great Britain.

"I am, of course, glad to read that there is no suggestion of Britain's being prevailed upon to employ the use of military force. I think this would be against all British tradition. And it would also be against our own tradition. As I have said, we will not use force, and it is quite mischievous for anyone to make such a suggestion.

"I am greatly obliged for the understanding and sympathy shown to us by large numbers of people in this country, and I would like to say that, whatever decisions we may have to take in the interests of our country, it will be our constant endeavour to encourage and maintain the friendliest of relations with this country and with all who have sent us expressions of goodwill".

Rhodesian Prime Minister's Press Conference

British Government's Endeavours to Interfere in Rhodesian Affairs

RHODESIA had met four of the five principles which H.M. Government considered essential for independence, but, far from taking account of that fact, the British Ministers engaged in the discussions had moved further away as he had come towards them, Mr. Ian Smith, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, told a large gathering of journalists in London on Saturday afternoon. Consequently there was not much point in discussing the fifth item.

In particular, the Rhodesian proposal of a Senate of 12 members, all Africans from the tribal trust areas, together with the 15 elected African M.Ps., would have given the "blocking third" voting strength on which H.M. Government had insisted. The creation of such a Senate would, moreover, have represented an immediate and tremendous advance in the political status of Africans. Rhodesia had also been willing to accept virtually the one-man-one-vote basis for the B roll, enfranchising about a million Africans.

Whereas H.M. Government had repeatedly declared that it had no intention of interfering in Rhodesia's internal affairs, that was precisely what it had been trying to do.

"Ridiculous" Proposal

The British Ministers had wanted any new Constitution to be accepted on the one-man-one-vote test principle. That was impossible, if not ridiculous, because 90% of the people did not understand what a Constitution meant and would not know the difference between one such document and another.

The British delegation's attitude that the 1961 Constitution could not be the basis for independence contradicted everything that Rhodesia had previously been led to believe.

Asked why the African population was so immature and backward, Mr. Smith said that until the last war Africans in general had refused to attend schools, or indeed hospitals. The war had refunctionalized their attitude, but it was not within the financial capacity of the country to meet the full present demand for education, though facilities had been greatly increased.

If Rhodesia had failed in that matter, the British Government's failure had been much greater, for the educational facilities for Africans in Rhodesia were superior to those in any ex-Colonial territory to the north. He did not blame H.M. Government, which had had to meet exactly the same problems as Rhodesia.

Would a unilateral declaration of independence be made soon?

Prime Minister: "We have given tremendous study to the question, and I think we have already made up our minds. I am returning to Rhodesia for the final decision. If we are to preserve our Christian, Western civilization there is no alternative to independence, and if we cannot get it by negotiation there is no alternative to U.D.I."

"Will U.D.I. and consequential economic sanctions not endanger the values which are so important to Rhodesia?"

Prime Minister: "That is the 99,000 dollar question. We have to make a tremendous decision. Of course there are uncertainties and dangers, but we believe that the greatest danger lies in drifting. If we do nothing our civilized standards will go out, as they have done to the north of us. If we have to go down, we would rather do so fighting, than crawling on our hands and knees".

Asked if he ruled out all possibility of further negotiations, Mr. Smith replied: "No, but when we issued the joint statement at the end of the talks we thought we had come to the end. It looks as though we can get no further and we must face U.D.I.; but the door is open if anyone can suggest a solution. But we cannot drift".

Sanctions Would Harm Africans

To a suggestion that Rhodesia's markets would be destroyed, Mr. Smith said: "That is an assumption with which I do not concur. I believe that we have more friends in Britain today than a year ago, and that our real friends will remain our friends because they recognize the justice of our case. Earlier assurances from the British Government recognized that Rhodesia is entitled to independence. Now, because of the times in which we live, H.M. Government says 'No'.

"Loss of our markets is problematical. Let us be practical. Economic sanctions would do more harm to the Africans than to the whites in Rhodesia—and the exercise is supposed to help the Africans. Secondly, there may be other countries in Africa which would suffer more than Rhodesia. Sanctions would harm people whom H.M. Government does not want to harm. We have warned the British Government that it will be primarily black men who would be harmed. There could be a great deal of re-thinking. I cannot see the exercise being carried out in the way many people seem to expect".

"Has H.M. Government deliberately tried not to find a solution?"

Mr. Smith: "I would not go so far as to say that. You must make up your own minds why H.M. Government did not come any way to meet us. We alone made concessions. They never came one step towards us. In fact, they moved away".

"Who would Rhodesia's friends be after U.D.I.?"

Prime Minister: "I would not embarrass anybody by divulging names; but I have been surprised, at the measure of friendship shown to us and the indications of friendships even under U.D.I. The British believe that we are carrying out an unconstitutional act. For any other country to say that it would help us might be regarded by Britain as an unfriendly act. Why should they provoke Britain when they never have to face the question?"

Verbal British Promises Accepted and Broken

"You have said that Rhodesia is morally entitled to independence. Would you take the issue to an international court?"

Prime Minister: "I doubt if it would be worth while. We should be influenced in our decision by who would sit on the court. A lot of people would not give us justice whatever the evidence".

To a questioner who inquired in what documents the

BROUGHT UP TO BELIEVE IN ENGLISHMAN'S WORD

promise of independence had been made. Mr. Smith replied: "H.M. Government was always careful not to put the promise in writing. Undertakings were by word of mouth; but from the correspondence any reasonable man would see that we were entitled to conclude that we were being offered independence. At the time of the Victoria Falls Conference to wind up the Federation we were told that we should get our independence; we accepted in good faith and attended the conference."

"Would U.D.I. be a revolt?"

"We do not think so. We were told that we might become independent—and possession is nine-tenths of the law. I was brought up to believe that an Englishman's word was his bond. We seem to have made a mistake."

"Would you rather go down fighting?"

Mr. Smith: "I don't believe that there is any chance of that."

"Would you resist outside intervention?"

"Would not every State?"

"Why is it that you cannot do without independence? Why is the matter so urgent?"

Why Independence Is Urgently Needed

Prime Minister: "Until we have independence we shall not regain the confidence in Rhodesia that existed three years ago. Many people left the country and others took out their money. The only hope for African advancement is investment which will exploit Rhodesia's resources."

"Under the present Government confidence has been restored. Now we have immigration, instead of emigration, and Rhodesians who had held their money in liquid form are investing in the country's development. Many overseas financiers tell me that they will invest when we have independence. Thousands of people from Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, and Malawi have passed through Rhodesia when forced out of those countries. Large numbers have said they are greatly attracted by Rhodesia, but will not stay until we become independent. Then they will come back."

"Then there is the important political fact that the African racist extremists will not talk to me—as they would not talk to my predecessor, and his predecessor—because they can come to London and see Ministers here. Africans who are nobody today think that they can be Prime Minister tomorrow. Once we have independence they will stop running to H.M. Government and the United Nations, for even they will have to realize that they can talk about the future of Rhodesia only to the Government of Rhodesia. Then we shall be able to get all representative Rhodesians round a table and thrash out our problems."

"Of course we do not want racial animosity. We have to live in the country, and we want it to be happy and peaceful. Visitors from the U.S.A. have quite recently told me that our racial situation is far better than in their own country. If we were to destroy the harmony, what would be the point in staying in Rhodesia?"

"Under independence would you negotiate with Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole?"

African Politicians Need Only Obey the Law

Prime Minister: "The African political leaders know that they can see me any time they like, if they are willing to abide by the law under the Constitution. They are where they are because of iniquitous intimidation of their own people. As soon as they undertake to act within the law, we will remove the restriction orders. They know that."

"What about relations with your neighbours?"

Prime Minister: "We have always said that we want close and friendly relations with them. I regret that other countries have spoken unkind words. We have not retaliated. Our behaviour has been impeccable."

"Have you had representations from the U.S.A.?"

"I hope that the U.S.A. and all other countries will grant us the right that they grant to other countries. They did not interfere in Zanzibar last year. I hope they will adopt the same attitude towards us. Two hundred years before the American Ambassador came to see me in London this week his forbears had the same kind of argument with the British Government which we now have."

"Have you expectations of support from South Africa?"

Prime Minister: "I cannot discuss names. A number of Governments have indicated sympathy and some have gone further."

"You have some 1,800 Africans in detention. Why are they not brought to trial?"

"People here do not understand the extent and influence of witchcraft and intimidation in Africa, where it is easy to set alight at night a grass-roofed hut and burn a family alive. Africans have been told that if they do not boycott the elections, for instance, retribution will fall on them, their wives and children. They do not resist, as we should."

Thousands of Cases of Intimidation

"We have on record thousands of cases of intimidation of Africans, but they dare not give evidence in court. We sympathize with them. Of course we should prefer the criminals to be convicted in the normal way. Because that is not possible the Minister of Law and the Attorney-General have to satisfy themselves in each case that the evidence given to them in confidence justifies the detention of the accused. I assured you that this procedure is carried out."

"Bankers and industrialists in Rhodesia were unfavourable to U.D.I."

"Their opinions were based on wrong presumptions. The presumptions of Governments can be wrong, but we have made a much wider study. We may be wrong, but we believe that we are right. If the alternative is to give up your country, you must make a stand."

"Is not the personal pride of educated Africans involved?"

Prime Minister: "As with Europeans. The majority of Africans support the present Government. The African hierarchy, the chiefs and headmen, are still the most respected among Africans. Their pride has not been affected; and at the *indaba* 700 of them were unanimous for independence under our Government. It was their pride which made them say that they resent interference from outside Rhodesia."

"The chiefs are supported by almost all the Africans. Most urban Africans come under some tribal authority and go home to their families and land frequently, often at week-ends; and when they want a wife they buy her in the tribal areas, where their roots are deep."

"This does not apply to the five million alien Africans, mostly from Zambia and Malawi, who live and work in Rhodesia because they like the country and get a better living than they can at home. If sanctions are imposed and our industry cannot continue at the present tempo, it will be the non-indigenous Africans who will first become unemployed and have to return to their own countries—where there is already an unemployment problem which we in Rhodesia have not got."

Asian Refugees

To a question about other non-Europeans, the Prime Minister said: "We have received Asiatic refugees from countries to the north of us which Asiatics had to leave when they became independent. We have given them a home. They say that conditions in Rhodesia are better than in the countries to which Britain has recently given independence. H.M. Government denies us independence simply because we are not Africans or Asians. The judgment is not by merit."

A question about hydro-electric power for Zambia brought the reply: "Half Kariba belongs to Zambia. I have told the Government of Zambia that we have no intention of interfering with supplies of coal or power or the use of the railway unless they declare themselves against us. It will not be our responsibility if they provoke us. In normal conditions we have no wish to interfere."

"Have you not just seized arms on their way to Zambia?"

"We have made customs examination of a small consignment in order to know the contents, and have asked the Zambian Government in what way the arms would be used. Remember that Ministers in Zambia have said that they would allow their country to be used as a launching-pad against Rhodesia, and that we have had regular cases of heavily-armed saboteurs coming from Zambia to Rhodesia."

"Are you not gambling the whole future of your 217,000 Europeans on your policy, which may be wrong?"

Prime Minister: "How can we take a chance with Rhodesia's future if we are certain that there would be no future on the terms suggested by British Ministers? We have seen what has happened in African countries around us, where there is no future for such a civilization as ours. If we have the courage to stand up we may win all we are looking for."

Tribute to Chiefs

"How can the chiefs give unbiased opinions when they are paid by the Government?"

Prime Minister: "That idea is ridiculous. M.P.s. and judges are paid by the Government in exactly the same way. The system of payment of chiefs has not changed since Rhodesia was founded. Elsewhere in Africa they are firing judges who do not give the verdicts which the Government wants".

"What is the percentage of literacy among the chiefs?"

"Very high. Most of them are very intelligent and speak English as well as you or I".

The Prime Minister said that Air Vice Marshal Bentley, Rhodesia's representative in Washington, had just arrived in London so that he might see him; that no arrangements had been made to withdraw Rhodesia's currency reserves from London; and that the Government knew what payments were being made by Russian agents to Rhodesian African extremists, who paid quite large sums to other Africans who engaged in throwing petrol bombs and similar crimes.

Happenings of A Week Fateful for Rhodesia

Main Events in Britain, Africa, and United States

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, left London Airport on Monday evening for Salisbury. Two of his Cabinet colleagues, Mr. W. J. Harper and Mr. J. J. Wrathall, had already flown back after the official announcement of the failure of the independence talks between Rhodesia and British Ministers.

The statements issued by both sides are recorded in full in other columns, as are the salient points made by Mr. Smith at his Press conference on Saturday afternoon.

After two hours' discussion with Mr. Bottomley, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, on Wednesday morning last week, Mr. Smith told reporters that if the talks continued on the present lines "we may surprise you," but after the afternoon session he felt that "the Rhodesian and British points of view are as far apart as ever".

Next day the discussions moved to 10 Downing Street, where Mr. Wilson, the Prime Minister, had with him Mr. Bottomley and Lord Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor. It was Mr. Smith's first meeting with Mr. Wilson, apart from the purely social occasion of a luncheon on the previous day.

British Tributes to Mr. Smith

By Friday afternoon stalemate had to be admitted and the talks ended, with Mr. Wilson telling reporters that he had had to say farewell to an honourable and devoted servant of the Queen, who might soon find himself in a state of rebellion against her.

Mr. Bottomley said in a speech on the following day that Mr. Smith was a man of great character, integrity, and courage, but a man in blinkers, who preached white supremacy only because it was his basic belief.

Mr. Smith had been told by the Prime Minister, said Mr. Bottomley, that if a unilateral declaration of independence were made, Rhodesian Africans would at once establish a government-in-exile and recruit Africans to infiltrate into Rhodesia. All kinds of pressures would be exerted, and "if the United Nations get hold of it, the Americans and the Russians may co-operate for the first time". If Africans started rioting in Rhodesia, "it would not stop there; there might be race riots in other African States. There could easily be another Congo".

In a later speech in Saltburn, Yorkshire, Mr. Bottomley expressed the hope that Mr. Smith might yet agree to a conference with British Ministers, the leaders of the two Rhodesian African nationalist parties, a representative of the chiefs, and of the elected Opposition. He hoped that a negotiated settlement might still be possible. While in Salisbury in February he had reached agreement with Mr. Smith on general principles. "I never went back on those

standards. It was Mr. Smith who did", he declared.

From the time of his arrival in London until his departure Mr. Smith had strong police protection, being attended by motor-cycle police wherever he went. At London Airport the precautions were said to have been more stringent than any taken for years.

Public Sympathy

Day after day large numbers of people gathered outside Rhodesia House in the Strand and in Downing Street, some standing for hours to show their sympathy. After the Prime Minister's television broadcast hundreds of telegrams and telephone messages of thanks and good wishes were received at Rhodesia House.

During the week representatives of Commonwealth and foreign Governments called on Mr. Smith. The Canadian High Commissioner delivered a personal message from his Prime Minister, Mr. Lester Pearson, expressing serious concern, and stating that Canada would regard a unilateral declaration of independence as "deplorable". The High Commissioner for New Zealand, Sir Thomas Macdonald, had to express his Government's "disapproval of any illegal action on independence". Rhodesians in London were particularly angry at the delivery of protests by the embassies of the United States and the West German Republic.

Several independent African States made known that they were renewing their pressure on the British Government not to concede independence except on the one-man-one-vote basis.

President Kaunda of Zambia said that he expected Britain to do the right thing at the right time and make Rhodesia feel that it was still a Colony.

It was revealed that officials of the British, American, and Zambian Governments were meeting in London to make contingency plans for action in the event of a unilateral declaration by Rhodesia. Zambia sent three representatives, headed by Mr. E. C. Thompson, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Transport.

Threats to Leave the Commonwealth

B.B.C. Television showed a film interview recorded only a day earlier in Dar es Salaam in which President Nyerere of Tanzania referred to the duty of the British Government "to put down the rebellion by military force" if Rhodesia made a unilateral and illegal declaration of independence, and said that if rebellion were avoided at the cost of a compromise which transferred power, even temporarily, to a white minority in Rhodesia, Tanzania would resign from the Commonwealth.

Mr. Mboya said in Nairobi that if the Commonwealth was not prepared to stand up for human dignity and self-determination, it would be pointless for Kenya to remain a member. It had been thought that the Commonwealth had rid itself of the old issues of arrogant racial dominance, but from Rhodesia one heard all the old settler arguments about civilization, economic maturity, and political betrayal. It was a matter of right against pretence, of health against sickness in human affairs.

Tanzania's delegate at the United Nations, Mr. John Malecela, told the General Assembly that Britain was on the

PROPOSAL TO SEND UNITED NATIONS FORCE TO ZAMBIA

verge of creating another South Africa in Rhodesia. Britain, which had sent troops to Cyprus, Malaya, Kenya, Aden, and other countries, now suggested, he said, that force could not be used against Rhodesia because its army was strong.

Reactions at United Nations

Mr. Michael Stewart, the British Foreign Secretary, after a previous private meeting in New York with representatives of 21 Commonwealth States members of the United Nations, at which African and Asian spokesmen had insisted that Britain must not compromise with Rhodesia on the principle that independence could be granted only to majority rule, told the General Assembly: "When any country is given independence, it must be in a form which safeguards the interests of all its peoples and not those of a minority group. This process should be carried through by consultation and agreement."

On Sunday Mr. Stewart said in a New York television programme that U.D.I. would be an act of rebellion and that "we would take steps to counter it". The object of U.D.I. would be to perpetuate rule by the white community. "At this stage in the world's affairs a new State based on the policy of racial discrimination would be a disaster. It would provoke bitter reaction and hostility."

Africans stated that he had said in the private meeting: "If Rhodesia declares independence unilaterally, the British Government may suspend its Constitution. In that event Britain will hope for the co-operation of the Commonwealth in whatever measures have to be taken."

The U.N. Committee on Colonialism had further long discussions on Rhodesia, during which speakers recalling earlier resolutions of the United Nations for the suspension of Rhodesia's Constitution, the release of all political detainees, the assembly of a constitutional conference, and movement towards a universal franchise.

In the Trusteeship Committee the Russian representative described Rhodesia as a concentration camp, and urged that the General Assembly should ask the Security Council to take appropriate action, since the British Government was merely threatening economic sanctions while British and West German capital financed the business of Rhodesia's white minority.

Representatives of Kenya, Tanzania, and Ghana were among the signatories of a resolution drafted by Guinea's delegate asking the United Nations to call on Britain "to take all steps necessary to put an end to the rebellion" if Rhodesia declared independence unilaterally.

U Thant, the U.N. Secretary-General, said that he expected the question of Rhodesia to come before the Security Council soon. Britain's next step would, he hoped, be taken within a United Nations context.

Use of British Troops Opposed

A statement issued in London by the United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland suggested that "as a precaution against serious disturbances in the territory, and in order to protect important economic assets such as the Kariba dam, the United Nations should approach the Government of Zambia for permission to station a United Nations force on the Zambian-Rhodesian border."

An official of the association told reporters that "British public opinion would not support the use of force in cold blood to impose a Constitution. I do not think the situation should ever come to the point at which British soldiers are asked to shoot down Rhodesian settlers."

Air Vice-Marshal Alfred Bentley, Minister for Rhodesian Affairs at the British Embassy in Washington, was asked to call at the State Department so that he might be informed of the American Government's position. He was received by Mr. Wayne Fredericks, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

At the week-end it was suggested in U.N. circles in New York that Lord Caradon, the British representative, would ask for an urgent meeting of the Security Council, at which it was likely that there would be a unanimous request to member States not to recognize the Smith Government in the case of U.D.I. It was thought that there might be general acceptance of economic and financial boycotts of Rhodesia, but not agreement with enforcement action at this stage. Britain was expected to take the initiative rather than leave it to any Afro-Asian State. Lord Caradon flew to London for consultations on Monday.

On Sunday Mr. Heath, Leader of the Opposition, accompanied by Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, spent more than two hours with Mr. Smith at his Hotel. They then had a long talk with Mr. Wilson, who returned

from the country to see them late in the evening. Mr. Bottomley and Lord Gardiner were present.

Mr. Smith had invited the three Conservative leaders to hear from him what concessions the Rhodesian Government had offered during the talks of the previous few days.

Lord Salisbury's Intention Blocked

Mr. Smith had lunched in the country with Lord Salisbury, who told reporters: "I was always firmly opposed to sanctions and always shall be, and I shall say that at the Tory Party conference this week. I hope that the Conservative leadership will not condone sanctions."

He said that at the conference in Brighton he would move an emergency resolution about Rhodesia which Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P., would second if they were given the opportunity to open an emergency debate.

Later it became known that the party leaders had rejected Lord Salisbury's proposal. They decided that a motion should be introduced by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and that Sir Alec Douglas Home should wind up a 50-minute debate in which Lord Salisbury and Mr. Wall would each be allowed five minutes.

Three Rhodesian African M.P.s. had flown to London by charter aircraft provided by Mr. David Butler, the former Leader of the Opposition in Rhodesia. They were Mr. Percy Mkudu, Chief Whip of the United People's Party (a new Opposition party), Mr. Luke Kandengwa (of that party), and Mr. Isaac Samuriwa, an Independent. Before they flew back—at the same time as Mr. J. B. Johnston, British High Commissioner in Salisbury—they said that they welcomed Mr. Bottomley's idea of a constitutional conference, which they would wish to attend.

Mr. Josiah Gondo, Leader of the Opposition, had said that he would fly to London if invited by Mr. Bottomley, to whom his views were well known.

Sir Albert Margai, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone, had suggested on Friday that the British Government should detain Mr. Smith and suspend Rhodesia's Constitution "in view of the recalcitrant attitude and obvious cockiness of Ian Smith over present negotiations". He wanted Britain to assume direct responsibility for the administration of Rhodesia. His message had, he said, been communicated to all African Commonwealth Governments.

Z.A.P.U. Threatens Wholesale Violence

In a bulletin published in Lusaka, Zambia, the Zimbabwe African People's Union, a Rhodesian extremist party proscribed in that country, said that it would establish a "government of the people with headquarters inside Rhodesia" in the event of U.D.I. It would seek recognition from all international organizations, and "would use any means at its disposal to destroy the rebellious and illegal régime".

Mr. J. Z. Moyo, a member of the executive committee of Z.A.P.U., had said in London a few days earlier that in the event of U.D.I. Britain would be expected to intervene militarily. If a white minority Government were given independence there would be "all forms of violence".

The acting president of Z.A.P.U., Mr. James Chikerema, said in Lusaka that U.D.I. would mean "a rebellion against every white man in Rhodesia". Next day he spoke of "an uprising against every white man in Rhodesia".

Z.A.P.U.'s office in Dar es Salaam said that "the people's liberation forces" had in the past six weeks destroyed more than 800 acres of wattle plantations and caused extensive damage to five factories in the Umfali area of Rhodesia; in the Wedza district the liberation forces had killed a white farmer; and in Bulawayo they had destroyed many water meters and blasted a department store with an explosion which was heard three miles away.

In Dar es Salaam a few days later he said that Rhodesian Africans had been told to rise in the event of U.D.I. "We expect a lot of deaths, but assuredly we shall inflict some ourselves. Axe, spear, and arrow can kill. We will use anything that can kill. There would be a campaign of terror, and Europeans who did not come out openly on Z.A.P.U.'s side would not be safe. We shall be sorry if Mr. Smith does not declare independence. The struggle could last days, months, or years. In the final analysis the people must liberate themselves. Many will die, but we must win in the end."

In the middle of last week a gang of Africans armed with knobkerries attacked a stationary train near Bulawayo, injured three Europeans so badly that they had to be taken to hospital, and set fire to a dining car, into which they poured petrol.

While Sir Roy Welensky told reporters that the proper thing for Rhodesians would be to keep quiet until the Prime Minister returned and gave the full facts, Mr. Garfield Todd,

another former Prime Minister, said that he believed the British attitude to be right.

When Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the Governor, rose to address the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland on Presentation Day, some 200 students walked out, saying that it was in protest against discriminatory racial policies. Some of them cabled Mr. Wilson suggesting that Britain should use force to prevent U.D.I.

Sir Hugh Beadle, the Chief Justice, who had been on holiday in Australia, returned unexpectedly to Salisbury last week.

On Monday leading British newspapers published dispatches from Salisbury referring to strong opposition to U.D.I., not only by business interests, but by some members of the Rhodesia Party. That evening Mr. Smith told television interviewers that he had been on the telephone to Salisbury and was convinced that the reports were unreliable.

Mr. John Gaunt, Rhodesia's diplomatic representative in South Africa, said that for Rhodesians to be declared traitors would be "a most hideous blot on English history". They

had always fought for freedom, the freedom now denied to them by the country whence they came.

Whereas a number of South African newspapers had opposed U.D.I., the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* wrote editorially this week that "nothing would be gained and something may be lost by declining or delaying recognition which is bound to come sooner or later".

The *Johannesburg Star* had suggested that Dr. Verwoerd should exert his influence to persuade Mr. Smith against a unilateral declaration, and *Dagbreek* hoped that Rhodesia would "maintain a delaying policy indefinitely because of the far-reaching, even dangerous vibrations to the whole of white Southern Africa".

The pro-African Government *Afrikaans* newspaper *Die Burger* thought U.D.I. would be justified if the choice lay between independence and one man one vote, but that as Britain had no power to amend Rhodesia's franchise Rhodesia was not exposed to an immediate threat. She should therefore exercise "painful self-control" and patience in the hope of another opportunity.

Millions See and Hear Rhodesian Prime Minister's Broadcast

"It Is Wrong to Appear" Was Mr. Smith's Main Theme

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, presented the Rhodesian case most convincingly in last Thursday's "This Week" programme of Independent Television. About 14m. people are estimated to watch that feature.

By 10 a.m. next day hundreds of congratulatory telegrams had reached Rhodesia House, London, to which they continued to be delivered throughout the day. So many messages of thanks were telephoned that for hours three or four persons did nothing but answer them.

The theme of the Prime Minister might be summarized in his words that "It is wrong to appear; what we do must be in the best interests of Rhodesia".

He faced three questioners: Mr. George fitch, an ITV reporter; Mr. Peregrine Worsthorpe, assistant editor of the *Sunday Telegraph*; and Mr. Colin Legum.

Mr. Smith: "We don't accept that that must happen".
Mr. Legum: "If the principles of the British and Rhodesian Governments are opposed, whose principles are to prevail?"

"Our Lives At Stake"

Mr. Smith: "We have the right to try to convince H.M. Government of our principles. Our lives are at stake. Our principles are in the interests of the people of the country, Africans as well as whites".

Mr. Legum: "You have been negotiating for 17 months. Have you made any progress?"

Mr. Smith: "Today for the first time in 17 months we have got the British Government to say precisely what it wants".

Mr. Legum: "H.M. Government's principle is that there shall be no independence without firm commitment to majority government".

Mr. Smith: "This is the first time I have heard that H.M. Government has taken that stand".

Mr. fitch: "Do not most Governments want a guarantee that Africans will have majority rule?"

Mr. Smith: "Our Constitution is designed for ultimate African majority rule".

Mr. Worsthorpe: "You said that independence would bring Rhodesian Africans to a more realistic attitude in bargaining. What would you give the Africans?"

Mr. Smith: "Nothing would placate the African extremists, but the majority of reasonable Africans support the Government. The nationalist extremists are paid by the Communists. We know how much comes to them each month from such sources in African countries to the north of us".

Mr. fitch: "If you were given independence on your terms, would you guarantee majority rule to Africans at some time?"

Mr. Smith: "Our present Constitution will ultimately lead to majority rule. In all our Constitutions in Rhodesia it has been implicit that there would ultimately be African majority rule. If we did not want majority rule to happen, why did we agree to the 1961 Constitution, which was more liberal than its predecessors? Why should you doubt Rhodesia's responsibility and honesty?"

Misquoted

Mr. Legum: "What is your own record on the 1961 Constitution? You resigned the office of Chief Whip in Sir Roy Welensky's Federal Government because you said that the new Constitution represented an abominable surrender. You have said that you do not accept the possibility of an African majority in your lifetime. How are such statements to be equated with faith in your record?"

Mr. Smith: "You have misquoted my unwillingness to accept the Constitution. I said that it was diabolically racial in spirit. Previously there had been no racialism in the Constitution. Now we have a system which requires four racial referendums in certain circumstances. The Constitution was sold to Rhodesia in 1961 on the understanding that it would

Why Rhodesians Demand Independence

Asked why he felt it so urgently necessary for Rhodesia to become independent, Mr. Smith recalled that that status had more than once been offered to his country before it agreed to join two of its neighbours in a Federation. The Federation having been destroyed by Britain and the two other partners, not by Rhodesia, she was entitled to the independence which she had foregone in order that the Federation might be created.

Moreover, the chaos, confusion and reduced standards, and the entry of Communism in countries to the north governed by immature Africans had been noted by Rhodesians, who wanted to govern themselves instead of being controlled by men 6,000 miles away who had not to live with the results of their misjudgments.

Furthermore, until there was independence there would not be that confidence in Rhodesia which was required to attract investment and immigration.

A most important point was that the African nationalist extremists would not talk to the Government of their own country, but flew to London to talk to Ministers and Labour politicians in Britain. Once independence had been gained they would realize that they had to deal with the Rhodesian Government.

Mr. Legum: "How can there be economic advancement if Rhodesia is isolated and involved in sanctions?"

SANCTIONS WOULD HARM OTHERS BESIDES RHODESIANS

be the one under which Rhodesia would come to independence. It was the Constitution for independence. Though I disliked it, it was accepted by the country. So of course I honour it".

Mr. fitch: "Were many people behind you when you said that you could hold back African rule?"

Mr. Smith: "What I said was that I hoped that in my lifetime we should not have an African nationalist Government. That essential word 'nationalist' is omitted by the gentleman on your right [Mr. Legum]. There is the question of timing. Merit should be the criterion. If an African Government will honour the things which we honour there would be no objection to an African Government".

Mr. Worsthorne: "You are going to get your independence. Why not give H.M. Government more far-reaching assurances?"

Mr. Smith: "I cannot disclose details of the negotiations. I might be in a different position tomorrow night. We are going to get our independence".

Mr. Legum: "We journalists are told that there are discussions between you and the British Government, but no negotiations".

Mr. Smith: "You seem to know rather a lot. I am surprised. You will get no information about the talks from me".

In reply to Mr. Worsthorne, the Prime Minister said: "Sanctions against us would be a two-edged sword, which might bring more trouble to other people than to Rhodesians".

Mr. fitch: "Are these the final talks?"

Mr. Smith: "I believe so. Rhodesia must have its independence. It is a matter of our survival. We are not bluffing".

upholding the old British principle of advancement by merit, which H.M. Government was denying. Britain should use her veto at the United Nations to prevent meddling by that body in a problem which concerned only Rhodesia and Britain.

Mr. Harold Soreff presided.

Military Action Would Be "Damnable" Price for Independence Already Paid

A DISCUSSION on Rhodesian independence formed part of the B.B.C. "World Today" programme last Thursday.

After an introduction from Salisbury by Mr. Donald Robson, there was a brief debate between Mr. Jack Halpern and Mr. F. S. Joelson, who made the point that Rhodesia had paid the price for independence when agreeing to the 1961 Constitution, which brought 15 Africans into the Rhodesian Parliament.

He did not believe that economic sanctions could succeed quickly, for he had no doubt that sympathetic South Africans would buy for Rhodesia what she might need from abroad, and that if Rhodesia found difficulty in selling her tobacco crop and other exports, loans would be available from South Africa.

Asked what Rhodesians would think about military action by Britain in a United Nations force, Mr. Joelson said: "Rhodesians would think it damnable, and so would I". When Mr. Halpern interposed: "That would be white Rhodesians, I take it?", Mr. Joelson replied: "No; I don't say only white Rhodesians. I think all responsible Rhodesians, those Rhodesians who want government on more or less the present civilized basis and do not want rule by African nationalists. They see what has happened in the Congo and other countries to the north".

He concluded: "One of the real problems is that African nationalists from Rhodesia now run to Westminster with their troubles. In any of the States under black African government they have to deal with their own Government. If in Rhodesia they had to deal with their own Government the sensible ones would soon recognize the harsh facts of life, and Rhodesia would then have a viable political economy".

Monday Club's Strong Opposition

British Submission to Organized Pressure

FIRM OPPOSITION to any threat or sanctions against Rhodesia was expressed in a resolution moved by Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M.P., and seconded by Mr. Anthony Fell, M.P., at a meeting of the Monday Club held three days ago. Four other M.Ps. were present at the gathering of a Conservative Party body. The resolution read:—

"That this meeting of the Monday Club, gratefully recalling the valiant and loyal services of all races in Rhodesia to Britain and the whole Commonwealth in war and peace, expresses the hope that an amicable settlement may yet be reached by Britain and Rhodesia so that the latter, having governed herself since 1924, and having attained higher standards of law, liberty and social advancement than nearly every other African State, may speedily achieve independence on the basis of the present Constitution, which has itself opened the road to African majority rule; congratulates Mr. Ian Smith on his conciliatory and statesmanlike efforts for a settlement, which have endeared him to our people; records its firm opposition to any threat or use of sanctions in any form against Rhodesia, through the United Nations or otherwise; and pledges itself to strive for the maintenance and strengthening of the Anglo-Rhodesian friendship and co-operation".

Rhodesia's Loyalty to The Crown

BRIGADIER KEEN, Rhodesia's High Commissioner in London, had outlined the Rhodesian case for independence, which was being denied, he believed, not because the claim was not fully justified, but because of Afro-Asian, American, and other pressures on the British Government, which had changed its attitude to Rhodesia in the previous 10 days.

Rhodesians particularly resented suggestions of treason, for an extremely high proportion of them had fought for Britain in one or more wars. Their loyalty to the Queen was undiminished and would so remain. They would set up a regency, whatever the objection of the legalists in the United Kingdom, and continue to fly their flag, in which the Union Jack was included.

Mr. Paul Williams emphasized that Rhodesia was

Communist Threat

MR. HARRY REEDMAN, Rhodesia's accredited diplomatic representative in Portugal, said in his recent "Voice of the West" broadcast from Lisbon: "I was the first Minister in the Rhodesian Cabinet to bring to the attention of the country the real threat of Chinese Communism in Africa. Now the world knows how more than one State of the British Commonwealth provides facilities for the training of African nationalist saboteurs for operations against us by Communism on the very soil of Africa. I said at the time that the cry of 'Africa for the Africans' had no validity; the indigenous inhabitants cannot hold a country against infiltration by the Communists. I added that the African would become the serf of the insurgent Asiatic. Does anyone really believe that the African, bereft of European leadership, could withstand the ravages of Communism? How many Africans would become commissars or benefit in another way? The trash democracy of one-man-one-vote was a device to bring about this situation. It is an infantile expression, and would bring the country to ruin".

Blackwood Hodge, Ltd., a group with East and Central African subsidiaries, expect group profits before tax for the year to October 31 to be not less than £1.6m., as compared with £1.4m. last year. An issue of £1.5m. of 7½% cumulative preference shares of £1 each is to be made.

Eleven African Ministers Have Attempted Rape

MR. IAN SMITH, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, told some 200 journalists at a news conference in London on Saturday that he had regular confidential reports of the "sordid happenings" in some countries in Africa with black Governments.

Last month a very highly-placed African in one country had tried to assault a 19-year-old white stenographer. He had locked the door of the office but had forgotten that there was a back door through which she managed to escape in an hysterical state of mind.

In the past year Mr. Smith had had details of 11 cases of similar behaviour by high-ranking people in African Governments. All were still in their Governments, and not one had been prosecuted.

In some places European parents dare not now let their daughters go to school without escorts. That was the kind of conduct which Rhodesia was resisting.

When asked if Africans should be denied universal franchise because one Minister had tried to seduce a stenographer, Mr. Smith retorted angrily: "It was not a case of seduction. It was attempted rape. How would you feel if that had happened to your wife or daughter?"

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA had known of this case for about a fortnight before the Prime Minister referred to it. We know the identity of the Minister, one of the most prominent Africans in his country. We could name three different East and Central African black-governed States in which there have been such cases this year. In not one of them has there been a prosecution. In not one has the Minister been dismissed, or even demoted.

Macmillan Sounded the Retreat Lord Salisbury's Warning on Rhodesia

THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY strongly supported Rhodesia in an article to which the *Daily Express* gave great prominence on Tuesday. Across the whole of its front page ran the streamer headlines in large type: "Lord Salisbury Slams Out: A Warning to Britain as Smith Flies Home".

A sub-head quoted the passage in the article that "The Wind of Change Sounded the Bugle of Retreat". The reference was, of course, to a speech made in February 1960 by Mr. Harold Macmillan, then Prime Minister, in an address to the South African Parliament.

Lord Salisbury continued: —

"Since that date, in countries like Kenya we moved out and left our fellow countrymen, on whom we must have known the prosperity of the Colony mainly depended, to carry on as best they could without our help and protection.

"In the present case of Rhodesia the proposal goes even further. It is that if the 200,000 white people of Rhodesia do not agree to hand over — within a specified time, and a very short time at that — the fate of themselves, their wives, and their children to the tender mercies of men, who, whatever their other merits, our leaders must know are as yet quite incompetent to run a modern State, they must be bludgeoned by penal sanctions into submission.

Arrogant Colonialism

"That is colonialism of the most old-fashioned and arrogant kind. It is almost as though George III, instead of claiming merely to dictate to the American colonies in matters of taxation, had told them from London that they must submit, under the threat of penal sanctions, to the majority rule of Red Indians.

"It is claiming that we, who live 5,000 miles away, know better than those who live on the spot how fast the African can safely advance.

"Of course, there must be a steady progression towards African majority rule. That has always been British policy, and still is so. But that does not mean that in Central Africa the African is ready for it yet.

"That is the mistake the Belgians made in the Congo, and we all know the horrors to which that has led. Is it surprising that the Rhodesians, having seen what has happened there, should think the pace of advance important?"

"Nor are the white Rhodesians the exploiters and blood-suckers they are so often represented to be. They are ordinary decent British men and women, people very like ourselves, with a British background and a British tradition. Their record over the last 70 years speaks for itself.

"The African will learn to do all the things which we have done. But it must take time. That is the case that is being urged by Mr. Ian Smith, as it was urged by others before him. Give us the time, that is their plea, and we will finish the job.

"Are we, in the light of these facts, going to give them the time for which they ask, or are we going to hand over our kinsmen, who have achieved so much, to what we know will be a negation of all those things for which we in this country have stood? If we do, it will not only be the Europeans but the Africans who will suffer, and the Africans perhaps most of all."

Letter to the Editor

Political Decadence in Britain

No Loyalty, Pride or Reliability

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR.—An uninitiated layman reading the national Press could be excused for assuming that this and former British Governments had a monopoly of moral rectitude and never strayed from the path of honour, good faith and normal honesty. Yet the truth is that nobody short of a Gibbon could do justice to the decadence and immorality that have marked British policy in Africa for the past 15 years. And who doubts that the Rhodesian version of recent events is nearer the truth than the British?

There are some important questions still to be answered. Dare the British Government freeze Rhodesia's sterling balances? If so, then my banker, if he has Socialist leanings, would be justified in impounding my deposits if he knows I support the Tories. Equally some future British Government, having as Chancellor of the Exchequer a Jamaican and as Lord Chancellor a Ghanaian, would undoubtedly condemn the "White Australia" policy and seize the Commonwealth's balances until the gates were opened to all and sundry. As was to be expected under the new leadership, the Tory Party has come down solidly in favour of joining E.C.C. But if the British Government, having approved Rhodesia's written Constitution in 1961, is prepared to denounce it four years later (as the former Government broke faith with the Federation), then what value would attach to Britain's signature to the Treaty of Rome?

All the evidence points to present-day British political leaders being no different in morality from Bethmann Hollweg in 1914. It was politically tiresome to compensate the Burmah Oil Company: the Chartered Company could afford to be cheated out of its copper royalties: despite the undertakings in the "wind of change" speech, who cares what was said five years ago?

Who bothers with loyalty to the Crown, sentiment for Britain, consanguinity, or pride of achievement in Africa? Who praises Livingstone, Moffatt, Speke, Burton, Selous, Mungo Park, Stanley, Delamere, or Cecil Rhodes? Praise ye the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, for they are the saviours of Western civilization!

Yours faithfully,

Ashurst, Hants.

RAYMOND BYRNE.

PERSONALIA

SIR ANGUS GILLAN was 80 on Monday. MR. W. F. T. HOBBS, Government printer in Zambia, is in Britain on long leave.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA expects to visit Moscow and Peking some time next year.

COLONEL and MRS. H. E. HOPCROFT, of Hartley, Rhodesia, have arrived in England.

MR. F. HAGOOD, Commissioner of Geological Survey in Malawi, is on leave in Britain.

MR. and MRS. R. F. L. HATCHWELL and MR. L. W. BALDWIN, of Salisbury, are in London.

MR. SERETSE KHAMA, Prime Minister of Bechuanaland and MR. KHAMA visited Bulawayo last week.

SIR JOHN AINLEY, Chief Justice and DR. J. M. D. ROBERTS, specialist parasitologist, are on long leave from Kenya.

MR. R. C. S. BLUE, who has travelled widely in East, Central, South, and West Africa, is revisiting London from Canada.

MRS. REEDMAN left London for Lisbon at the weekend to join her husband, Rhodesia's accredited diplomatic representative in Portugal.

MR. S. M. GRANT, Deputy Secretary to the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare in Rhodesia, and MRS. GRANT are at present in London.

Rhodesian farmers now in Britain include MESSRS. P. H. A. BOWLES, K. P. GOLDHAWK, W. O. LUSH, E. E. MACPHERSON, and A. J. STONE.

LORD RENNELL OF RODD is to address the Royal Geographical Society on November 8 on "Heinrich Barth and the Opening Up of Central Africa."

DR. BANDA told the Malawi Parliament last week that EX-MINISTER CHUME had failed to stop the EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA from visiting Malawi, as he had tried to do.

THE REV. W. B. NORMAN, who has been appointed vicar of Aine with Aldwark in the diocese of York, was until recently chancellor of the diocese of Soroti, Uganda.

LORD TAYLOR, a doctor, has resigned the office of Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth and the Colonies in order to resume his medical practice. His successor is LORD BESWICK.

MR. H. L. THORNTON is chairman and MR. W. RODGERS vice-chairman of the Kenya Institute of Management, whose other directors are MR. R. J. BELKNAP, MR. G. C. CLARK, and MAJOR F. R. CORNER (secretary). MR. T. J. MBOYA, M.P., and MR. F. T. HENSON were the other subscribers to the memorandum and articles of association.

MR. KANGONDO, Press secretary in Malawi is in the U.S.A. on a two-month course to which editors and information officers from nine African territories have been invited by the Ford Foundation.

DR. V. P. EMIRU is the first Uganda African to be appointed a consultant ophthalmologist in that country. After graduating M.B., Ch.B., from Makerere, he obtained a British diploma in ophthalmology last year.

LIEUT.-COLONEL C. R. DICKENSON, Postmaster-general of Rhodesia, and MR. J. B. REAVILL, of the Ministry of External Affairs, represent Rhodesia at a conference in Switzerland of the International Telecommunications Union.

MR. ARTHUR BISHOP, chief tourist officer in Uganda for the past three years, has retired after 11 years in that country. He had previously worked in Tanganyika for eight years. He is past president of the Uganda Football Association.

MISS MUTUMBA MAINGA, an honours graduate of London University, is the first African woman to be appointed to the African Marketing Committee in Zambia. Until her recent return she spent a year at Cambridge on African history research.

MR. J. F. ODUHO, chairman of the Azania Liberation Front, and president of the former Sudan African National Union, is in London. In 1958 he was elected to the Sudan Parliament, but since 1960 has lived in East Africa, retaining close associations with the Southern Sudanese political movement.

DR. ROBERT K. A. GARDINER, a Ghanaian, who is executive secretary to the United Nations Commission for Africa, addressed the Royal African Society last Thursday on "Development and Trade in Africa". Next month he is to give the Reith Lectures for the B.B.C., being the first African to have this honour.

MR. HUMPHRY MULEMBA, M.P., Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly of Zambia, and chairman of its Rural Marketing Board, is leading a delegation to Japan. His colleagues are MR. G. H. MUTALE, Permanent Secretary for Commerce and Industry, and MR. A. S. SARDARNIS, managing director of the Industrial Development Corporation of Zambia. Their purpose is to investigate means of increasing trade between the two countries.

MR. FRANCIS MUGENI, M.P. for Bukedi South, has been appointed assistant manager of the Steel Corporation of East Africa, Ltd., in succession to MR. A. K. BALINDA, M.P., who is now Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives in Uganda. MR. MUGENI spent five years in a Roman Catholic seminary and then took a two-year coaching course. He was later headmaster of a junior school in Bukedi.

In new "Shadow Cabinet" arrangements announced by MR. HEATH, the new Tory leader, SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME is given general oversight of External Affairs, with MR. ANGUS MAUDE, dealing with the Colonies, MR. CHRISTOPHER CHATAWAY with Overseas Development, and MR. SELWYN LLOYD and MR. NIGEL FISHER sharing responsibility for Commonwealth Affairs. The name of MR. DUNCAN SANDYS appears at the foot of the list as a member of the Overseas Group but "without departmental duties".

MR. R. A. GRIFFITH, who has succeeded MR. C. A. MURRAY as Secretary for Agriculture in Rhodesia, joined the B.S.A.P. in 1934, but was soon transferred to the Treasury. Throughout the last war he served in the R.A.F., losing an arm in the Middle East in 1941, but not being demobilized for another five years. He then returned to the Treasury of Southern Rhodesia and afterwards joined the Federal Treasury. He was later Assistant Secretary in the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and afterwards in the Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs.

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Obituary

Mr. John Connell

MR. JOHN HENRY ROBERTSON, better known by his pen-name of JOHN CONNELL, who died in London from heart failure last week at the age of 56, was well-known as a controversial journalist and biographer. He had visited East and Central Africa, and strongly pleaded the cause of the European communities in Kenya and Rhodesia. When Sir Roy Welensky was writing his book "4,000 Days", Mr. Connell (as he preferred to be called) spent several weeks in Salisbury helping to assemble the material.

Connell, born in 1909, the son of an Edinburgh doctor, was educated at Lorretto and Balliol College, Oxford. He then joined the staff of the London *Evening News*, for which he wrote leading articles until 1959, except for the war years. He served in the Middle East and India, for part of the time as a military censor. He was a major when demobilized in 1945.

Four years later he won the James Tait Black memorial prize with a biography of W. E. Hienley. He wrote biographies of Sir Winston Churchill and Field-Marshal Auchinleck, and left uncompleted the second volume of "Wavell: Scholar and Soldier". He had also written novels and political studies.

Connell felt strongly about the abandonment of British responsibilities in many parts of the world, and wrote, spoke, and broadcast in critical terms of British politicians.

Mr. Charles S. Wright

MR. CHARLES S. (JACK) WRIGHT, chairman of the Wright Rain group of companies of Ringwood, Hampshire, who was killed in an aircraft crash in Mozambique last week at the age of 45, was a farmer, manufacturer of pioneer irrigation equipment, and a keen sportsman. He served as a captain in the Royal Corps of Signals during the last war.

In 1953, after a visit to the United States on a Nuffield agricultural scholarship, he formed Wright Rain, Ltd., to manufacture portable irrigation equipment, and had developed the company into one of the largest suppliers in the world, with associated companies in Rhodesia, France, and Spain. Some months ago the company received from Sena Sugar Estates, Ltd., an order worth more than £1½m. for the installation of an overhead irrigation scheme on its Luabo plantations in Mozambique, to which he had paid a number of visits in that connexion.

He was to have flown back to London from Salisbury on the day of the tragedy, in which Mr. Allan B. Kennedy, managing director of the Rhodesian company, his young son Bruce; Mr. E. Horst, general manager of Sena; Miss Hilary Muller; and the pilot, Mr. John Low, lost their lives.

Jack Wright (as he was widely known) was on the Hampshire County executive committee of the National Agricultural Advisory Service and a member of the Avon and Dorset River Authority.

He leaves a widow, a 15-year-old son, and three daughters.

Life Imprisonment for Peculation

THE MALAWI GOVERNMENT has introduced legislation which provides the maximum sentence of life imprisonment for persons found guilty of stealing public money. Anyone suspected of that offence will henceforth have to prove his innocence.

Reception for the Prime Minister

BRIGADIER SKEEN, the Rhodesian High Commissioner in London, gave a reception on Friday evening for the Prime Minister. Among those present were:—

Sir Max Aitken, Lord Aldenham, Mr. A. Bottomley, M.P., Mr. Raymond Byrne, Mr. J. Biggs-Davison, M.P., Sir Tufton Beamish, M.P., Mr. Ian Colvin, Mr. Douglas Clark, Mr. B. C. Dupont, Major-General Dimoline, Mr. M. English, M.P., Mr. A. Fell, M.P., Mr. A. Fitzgerald, Mr. M. A. Foley, M.P., Mr. V. Goodhew, M.P., Lord Gardiner, Sir Saville Garner, Mr. A. Gray, Commander H. F. P. Grenfell, Major-General Sir Francis de Guingand, Major Lewis Hastings, Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, M.P., Sir Harwood Harrison, M.P., Sir Percy Hunting, Mr. Edward Heath, M.P., Mr. B. Hutton-Williams.

Mr. F. S. Joelson, Mr. J. B. Johnson, Sir John Kennedy, Mr. T. P. Lawler, Mr. Roy Lewis, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, M.P., General Sir Oliver Leese, Mr. P. H. Mkudu, M.P., Mr. P. Macdonna, Sir Ian Moncreiffe, Lord Napier and Ettrick, Sir Godfrey Nicholson, M.P., Mr. C. M. Napier, Mr. A. Pitch, Mr. J. Pollock, Mr. G. A. Pargiter, M.P., Miss G. Rhodes, Miss V. Rhodes, Mr. A. Roberts, M.P., Sir Gilbert Rennie, Mr. John Robinson, Mrs. Reedman.

Sir Arthur Snelling, Mr. H. Sorel, the Marquis of Salisbury, Sir Douglas Spencer-Nairn, Mr. I. H. Samurusi, M.P., Mr. Tom Stacey, Sir Robert Taylor, Mr. H. J. C. Thompson, Group Captain A. O. G. Wilson, R.R.A.F., Major Patrick Wall, M.P., Earl De La Warr, Mr. Paul Williams, and Mr. Peregrine Worsthorne.

Among the diplomatic guests were the High Commissioner for Canada, the Ambassadors of South Africa, Portugal, and Spain and the Chargé d'Affaires for the Congo.

Reshuffle of Parliamentary Secretaries

PRESIDENT KAUNDA has announced a number of changes in appointments as Parliamentary Secretaries.

Mr. Z. Banda leaves the Ministry of Commerce and Industry for that of Local Government and Housing, and Mr. J. Chisata changes from that Ministry to Commerce and Industry.

Messrs. M. A. Chisembele (Agriculture), F. Chitambala (Home Affairs), H. B. Kalanga (Labour and Social Development), S. C. Mbilishi (Transport and Works), U. G. Mwila (Finance), W. Nkanza (Education), C. H. Thornicroft (Education), N. Tombo (Mines and Co-operatives), and J. Mutti (Information and Postal Services) retain their posts.

Mr. Mukwa Nakatindi (Labour and Social Development) is transferred to Mines and Co-operatives, with special responsibility for community development; Mr. S. Sikombe from Foreign Affairs to Land and Natural Resources; and Mr. R. T. Sikasula from the Office of the President to Foreign Affairs.

Mr. M. Sipalo, of the Office of the President, remains there in connexion with national development and planning.

Mr. J. K. Chivunga, Minister of State for Health, goes to the President's Office as Minister of State for Provincial and District Government and National Development and Planning.

Two new appointments are those of Mr. J. C. P. Ngoma as Parliamentary Secretary of Health, and Mr. P. N. Kapika for Justice.

An All-African Lutheran Conference is meeting in Ethiopia this week.

A £2m. British loan to Ethiopia, spread over 20 years, is to be free of interest.

A Commonwealth book exhibition is being held this month in Marlborough House, London.

The drought in Kenya will cost farmers £6m. at least, according to a Government estimate.

All boats on Lake Kariba and the Rhodesian parts of the Zambezi River must now be registered.

Some European farms in Zambia have been bought by the Government for African co-operatives.

Five French teachers have arrived in Kenya on a two-year contract, and another two are due shortly.

Rhodesia's net migration gain in August totalled 524 Europeans. In July and June the figures had been 507 and 405.

Thirty pairs of eyes, for corneal grafting on Ethiopian blind have been taken to Addis Ababa by Dr. Patrick Trevor-Roper, the ophthalmologist.

Another 357 Europeans left Kenya permanently in the first six months of this year. In January-June last year 2,326 quitted the country.

A world Bank loan of £13,570,000, guaranteed by the Governments of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, has been made for railway and harbour modernization and expansion in East Africa, which is estimated to cost £26m. in the next two years. H.M. Government is lending more than £3m. for the purchase of diesel locomotives from Britain.

PRESS COMMENTS AFTER BREAKDOWN OF LONDON TALKS

MOST INFLUENTIAL BRITISH NEWSPAPERS were quick to comment editorially on the breakdown of the talks between the Rhodesian and British Prime Ministers in London last Friday.

In a long leading article *The Times* said next day: — "Given Mr. Smith's pledges to get or take independence, and the emotional fervour of the white Rhodesians, the real possibility of a rebellion must be faced.

"In London he has been warned by Commonwealth and United States representatives of the view they would take of a Rhodesian rebellion, and a little time remains in which to reinforce these warnings. A disaster for Africa threatens which can be compared only with the mutiny of the Force Publique in Leopoldville in 1960.

Different Interpretations of Congo Disaster

"A unilateral declaration of independence could open another chapter of suffering, bloodshed, and international involvement which would last for as many years. The tragedy is that the lesson of the Congolese disaster is interpreted so differently by white Rhodesians and British and other leaders in the world outside Africa.

"The British view was made clear in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' communiqué in June. It is that white rule in an independent Rhodesia can be only transitional, allowing time to work out safeguards for the African majority before independence and safeguards for the white minority thereafter. The aim is that the white minority shall not be able to put back the clock once Britain's legal authority is withdrawn and that when the Africans take power they shall be sufficiently educated to use it wisely. The folly of the present African nationalist parties in Rhodesia in any case dictates a period of tutelage.

"To white Rhodesians such an attitude flies in the face of all experience in Africa. The only safeguard that means anything to them is to leave the decision on the transfer of power to African hands to the discretion of the white regime. No timing that could have been agreed would have satisfied the African nationalists in Rhodesia — united only in their avidity to be given power swiftly — or such nationalist leaders outside as President Nyerere.

"If the white Rhodesians hold back from declaring independence, the Africans, and perhaps the United Nations, will still goad Britain to act against them.

"Britain would presumably react to a Rhodesian rebellion by applying economic and other sanctions short of the use of force, and would ask all other Powers to refuse to recognize the Rhodesian Government, its actions, or its passports, to embargo Rhodesian tobacco, and to withhold financial support. Sanctions, a doubtful weapon, would take months or years to have punitive effect.

Everybody Holds Hostages

"Conflict with Rhodesia even at an economic level would rouse latent passions and rivalries in Africa and elsewhere. The South Africans will have an interest in frustrating economic sanctions. Nearly everybody holds hostages. Zambia's economy and copper are at the mercy of Rhodesia's grip on its railways, coal, and power supplies; but Zambia has 70,000 white workers in its Copperbelt. Economic reprisals could soon turn to racial violence.

"A rebellion by Rhodesia might not *prima facie* provide a case for United Nations intervention. Its impact on bordering States soon could. The immediate use of British forces against Mr. Smith would be unacceptable to British opinion. A U.N. operation might force a reappraisal of this attitude. The dilemma that would be faced by the world if the Rhodesian Africans rose against an illegal white Government and were put down by South African forces is obvious.

"The counterpoint to all these possibilities in Africa is bound to be bitter debate, accusations, and counter-accusations of bad faith in the world arena. It would be a mess made to measure for meddlers. In it Rhodesians would lose the very security they crave. They should weigh these points before they commit their fortunes irrevocably."

A shorter comment in the *Daily Telegraph* referred to the "agony" about Rhodesia, and continued: —

"Mr. Smith and Mr. Wilson have agreed to differ. Probably neither is entirely right in his attitude.

"Any Constitution that Whitehall might have devised for Rhodesia would have fared no better than the Cyprus Constitution has done. Whatever Mr. Smith has in mind for

Rhodesia in independence may also be unworkable. But one advantage goes with taking the heavy responsibility of independence: the Rhodesian Fronters, having chosen the hard way, will learn from the people whom they govern what is possible and what is not.

"Britain must exercise patience. It has yet to be seen what, if any, of the liberties enshrined in the 1961 Constitution will be broken. Circumstances have driven many moderate men into the Rhodesian Front, and, with wisdom and moderation Rhodesia may yet be a fine country, with opportunity for all her sons. Extreme pressures increase the resistance to change.

Rhodesia Not Friendless

"This moment of failure is grievous for the British experiment in reshaping the Commonwealth. It is grievous to those who saw many things better done in Rhodesia than elsewhere, and who remember the loyalties of past years. Rhodesia is not friendless, though Governments may stand aloof. Friendship from millions of people there will always be as long as Rhodesia is temperate and just."

"Another South Africa?" was the heading of the *Guardian's* leader. It said (in part): —

"The talks have broken down, as they were bound to do. No reconciliation has ever been in sight between the conflicting policies of the British and Rhodesian Governments. If the initiative is now left with Mr. Smith the British Government may lose valuable time.

"Mr. Smith can declare the independence of Rhodesia and bring upon the country a retaliation about which he has been warned, no doubt strongly and in detail. The support given to Mr. Wilson by the Opposition and the United States, the angry mood of many delegations to the United Nations, and the anxiety shown in the South African Press about an upheaval which might well involve the whole of Southern Africa, may have persuaded him that U.D.I. would not be worth the risk. He has guarded himself against pressure from his right wing by having Mr. Harper and Mr. Van der Byl with him in London to hear at first hand what Rhodesia could expect to suffer.

"He may think it more prudent to try to persuade his followers to carry on as they are, enjoying the substance of independence and secure for many years from any threat of majority rule by the knowledge that they can control the pace of African advance. It is against this second course that the British Government must summon its courage to act. The danger is that Mr. Smith may now have persuaded his more volatile supporters that U.D.I. is impracticable but that they can happily resign themselves to a generation of white supremacy while remaining nominally a Colony of Britain.

"Guardian" Calls for Drastic Action

"This danger calls for the immediate suspension of the Rhodesian Constitution, an act which lies in Britain's competence and has not been shirked in other Colonies. Any resistance to the suspension of the Constitution would bring about a threat to the peace. Britain would then be required to inform the United Nations officially how the threat had come about and to ask for its support.

"The United Nations has no peace force ready at hand and no money to raise one. It may in any case insist on what Britain has always maintained — that Rhodesia is Britain's internal affair. The Rhodesian armed forces — including a white army of 7,000 men — are efficient and well equipped. The whole action would have the horror of a civil war. But if Rhodesia is now allowed to go its own way it will surely develop by degrees into another South Africa. The four million Africans can postpone for at least a generation any hope of a say in running their own affairs.

"Could Britain ever defend itself against the charge that through misplaced loyalty to some 200,000 of its own people it had allowed a second South Africa to come about? Those who to their credit shrink from the possibility of a war in Central Africa must ask whether they want such a stigma to be attached to our whole record in Africa."

The *Financial Times* gave only second place to Rhodesia in its leader columns, the British motor industry receiving precedence. The comment contained the following remarks: —

"Britain insisted on Rhodesia's agreement to five conditions to guarantee future African progress in Rhodesia: Mr. Smith

U.D.I. MIGHT RELEASE EXPLOSIVE, UNCONTROLLABLE FORCES

has found it impossible to agree even partially to any of them. "There is genuine understanding in the U.K. of the feelings of the white Rhodesians, but British obligations are to ensure the welfare of the much larger black community as well. There is international as well as national opinion to take into account.

"Mr. Smith may not be entirely his own master in the decision he takes, since it may not be possible for him to remain in power if he refuses to make the U.D.I. that is being pressed on him from the right of his party. Those who put pressure on him, however, must now be aware that the economic sanctions threatened by Britain are to be taken seriously. Sustained for a longish period, trade and financial measures could make big holes in what is now a flourishing economy.

"But the biggest danger is that once Rhodesia cuts loose from the U.K. it will no longer be possible for Britain to claim that the problem is one for the U.K. to solve alone. The United Nations would clearly play an increasingly large part, and the ties that prevent Britain from direct threats of armed force in Rhodesia do not apply to others. For Rhodesia to declare itself independent would be to expose its problems to action by other countries with far less solid goodwill towards the Rhodesians than they still have in Britain."

Time for Sadness

"A Time for Sadness" was the *Daily Express* caption to its leader, which said, *inter alia*:—

"Letters to this newspaper testify to the overwhelming mood of sympathy towards the Rhodesians. The British people will never countenance that their Government should place itself at the head of an international crusade against their own kith and kin.

"Armed action, though ruled out by all men of sense, is being demanded by the lunatic fringe that denounced Suez. An economic blockade is being called for by those who have not counted the cost of such folly. It is inevitable that at such a moment emotion and passion will be aroused. It is therefore all the more important that the British Government should act with understanding, moderation, and statesmanship.

"Last night Mr. Smith said that he was not returning to Salisbury immediately because 'I don't want to cut myself off from the British people at this stage'. He shows great wisdom.

"Rightly, he senses that Mr. Wilson, even with the devoted support of Mr. Heath, is not speaking for the people of Britain. The two party leaders unite in the 'soft-centre' of the political world. A policy that is utterly wrong and discreditable gains no added virtue by being supported by both the Labour and Tory leaders. This serves only to increase the anger of the people at what is being perpetrated in their names."

The *Scotsman* held that Mr. Smith had never intended to negotiate, but to appear to be driven to an unilateral declaration of independence because constitutional methods had failed.

British Terms Thought Moderate

"His Rhodesian followers may be simple enough to accept that version of events, but his refusal to make the slightest real concession to the African majority will confirm British determination to resist his intransigent policy. Britain's terms for a gradual transition to African government were moderate, too moderate to please the Africans inside and outside Rhodesia. Yet Mr. Smith rejected conditions which Government and Opposition here regard as the minimum guarantees of African interests.

"As deadlock was predictable, Mr. Smith must have fully weighed the consequences of a U.D.I. The British public, lulled by the Government's effort to play down the crisis, may not realize the full seriousness of such a move, and the white Rhodesians may not care to face the results of rebellion. But the Rhodesian leaders can have no illusions. The effects of interruption of trade with Britain and of the withdrawal of British financial facilities may be calculable, but no one can foresee the political or perhaps military consequences.

"African States, and probably the U.N., would press for intervention. Incidents within Rhodesia, and possibly disputes with Zambia, might touch off widespread violence. The white Rhodesians may be willing to face an economic siege, but a U.D.I. would set loose explosive, uncontrollable forces of Rhodesia's own making. Britain cannot appease Mr. Smith at the expense of the African majority. Whatever the cost, Britain must stand for justice and fairness to all Rhodesians."

"The British decision last month to suspend the Aden Constitution unexpectedly strengthened the hand of those calling for more vigorous British intervention in Rhodesia. If Britain could contemplate such firm action in Aden, why should the Government hesitate to carry out similar measures in Rhodesia to prevent rebellion and the possibility of far-reaching disturbances in Central and Southern Africa?

"African critics claimed that only skin pigmentation prevented a suspension of the Rhodesian Constitution. The Aden Ministers were brown, but the Rhodesians were white kith and kin.

"The British argument was that the Constitution had been suspended in Aden to try to stop further bloodshed, while a similar suspension in Rhodesia could not be achieved without causing bloodshed.

"But when Mr. Smith arrived on what was thought to be a last attempt to achieve independence by negotiation before seizing it illegally, pressure for strong action in Rhodesia came in from unexpected quarters, and some noted liberal and left-wing journals supported the call for military intervention in Rhodesia in the event of U.D.I. There were even calls for intervention from the Methodists and other Church groups.

"They argued that the Government was faced with a choice of several evils in Rhodesia. There was no possibility of agreement with the Rhodesian Front Government on independence on terms acceptable to the African majority in Rhodesia. The white Rhodesians were hell-bent on rebellion, and should they decide on U.D.I. any economic sanctions imposed by Britain and the United Nations would take at least a year to have any strong repercussions in Rhodesia.

Disaster Might Overtake Zambia

"Meanwhile disaster might overtake Zambia, for U.D.I. would inevitably lead to a conflict between the two Central African Powers. If the African nationalists from Rhodesia carried out their threat to embark on guerrilla warfare inside Rhodesia, they would have to use Zambia as a base, and Rhodesia would inevitably strike against Zambia's soft underbelly by crippling her copper industry by cutting off coal and power supplies and her rail life-line to the sea.

"Opponents of force said it would split the British people as drastically as did the problem of Irish Home Rule, that with her present military commitments Britain could not easily mount an operation in Rhodesia and that any fighting there might escalate into an Africa-wide bloodbath.

"The argument that British troops would refuse to fight their own kith and kin in Rhodesia was turned on its head by one noted African authority, who pointed out that if this was so Rhodesian troops should not be any more willing to fire on their own kith and kin among the Tommies when they arrived on the scene.

"Exponents of force claimed there was far more danger to African peace in the long-term situation of a white-ruled Rhodesia wracked by guerrilla warfare than in a short, sharp policing action by Britain. A convincing show of force would quickly cause resistance to melt away, they said. If the rebels in Rhodesia were any colour other than white, they claimed, Britain would very quickly be able to muster up the necessary arms and men.

"Even some people opposed to the idea of force in Rhodesia agreed that it was a mistake for Mr. Wilson to advertise in advance that it would not be used. They suggested that the nagging fear that their own kith and kin might take a pot shot at them could have slowed down the rhinoceros-like charge towards U.D.I. of the Rhodesian Front right-wingers."

Programme of Graduated Reprisals

No editorial opinion was expressed on Saturday by the *Daily Mail*, but its diplomatic correspondent, Mr. Dickie, wrote:—

"Britain's retaliation against an illegal seizure of independence has been prepared as a programme of graduated reprisals. Precautions have been taken for emergency measures in four separate spheres: diplomatic, fiscal economic, and military.

"To isolate Rhodesia diplomatically. Britain's allies in N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O., and E.N.T.O. would be counted on to withhold recognition from the "rebel". All Commonwealth countries would cut off relations. An immediate appeal would be made to the United Nations for its entire membership of 117 nations not to recognise Rhodesia as independent.

"The main fiscal measure, the exclusion of Rhodesia from the sterling area, would cause serious dislocation of the financial and credit machinery of the Salisbury Government.

MR. MACLEOD WRITES OF POTENTIAL CONFLAGRATION

Freezing her assets would be an additional tightening of the screws. Access to the London money market for investment could be cut off with damaging effect, since almost half of the Rhodesian Government debt of £203m. is covered by external loans.

"A barrage of economic pressures has been carefully prepared to cripple the Rhodesian economy. The British Government will ban the import of Rhodesian tobacco. Rhodesia will no longer enjoy Imperial preference. Materials from Britain, which amount to 30% of Rhodesia's import requirements for her factories, will be stopped. Exports to Britain, which accounted for £35m. of Rhodesia's revenue last year, will be automatically barred. But the biggest brake will be applied by a general boycott through the co-ordination of sanctions throughout the Commonwealth.

"Experts believe that Britain will not indulge in any military operation on her own, but will be ready to supply troops and logistic assistance to any United Nations force."

"No Troops If No Rebellion" was the *Guardian's* heading to a piece by Mr. Patrick Keatley, which said:—

"It is safe to predict that Mr. Smith will catch the midnight plane on Saturday [which he did not.—Ed.], leaving still unsolved the question whether Rhodesia will take the final plunge to U.D.I.

"This course leaves him freedom for manoeuvre on his return to Salisbury and avoids the danger that by an overt threat he would lay himself open to a charge of treasonable utterance and the possibility of arrest.

"There is now one dominant reason why Mr. Smith and his Cabinet may be moved to delay or abandon U.D.I.: they have learned that if there is no rebellion in the Colony Britain will refrain from any use of troops and not countenance any proposal for intervention by a United Nations force. On the other hand, it has been put plainly to Mr. Smith and his colleagues that if U.D.I. does take place and there is an initiative at the U.N. for action, then Britain will not use the veto (as she did in 1963) to block intervention in her Colonial territory of Rhodesia."

Sanctions Threaten Utter Chaos

The *Spectator*—now edited by Mr. Macleod, who was Mr. Macmillan's hatchet-man for the destruction of Britain's trusteeship in East and Central Africa—veered from its customary attitude, saying:—

"Sanctions and force carry the threat of utter chaos, spreading perhaps far outside Rhodesia's borders. They give no guarantee whatsoever of a satisfactory switch of power. They place a burden on the United Nations it is unable to carry; they will hit the Africans first; and they risk a full-scale war which the Rhodesians will surely fight to the last.

"However desirable is majority rule, it would be despicable of the British Government to risk a brutal and ill-thought-out war for the sake of a principle that will surely be satisfied in time.

"Rhodesia is on the brink of potential disaster for her African and white citizens alike. She can get back from that brink by being granted independence. There are concessions which, in the face of the horrifying consequences of a U.D.I., she must be prepared to make. Most notably they must affect African education, for which Britain or her friends should be able to put up the money. There could be further insurances against abuse of independence in the shape of a Declaration of Human Rights and perhaps a constitutional review in two years' time which could be obtained without too great difficulty.

"But the greatest concession (or clarification) must come from Britain. The time for bluff and counter-bluff is over. Britain must choose. Either it is negotiated independence or it is potential conflagration in Southern Africa. Neither choice is ideal, but it would be an act of unthinking weakness to risk the conflagration."

"Demands that Britain should use military force against Rhodesia should be rejected, said the *Church Times*, "for politics is the art of the possible."

"Of the serious Sunday papers, much the best coverage was given by the *Sunday Times*, which, apart from a leader, had eight other articles on different aspects of the subject.

The leader, on "Rebels and Realities," said:—

"Mr. Smith complains that the British Government has arbitrarily increased the price of independence. If he means that guarantees and undertakings additional to those in the

1961 Constitution are required before independence can be given, then he is right. But the reasons are simple and sufficient, and no British Government, of whatever persuasion, could have acted otherwise. They are, firstly, that the modest provisions for African political advance in the present Constitution do not provide, and were never intended to provide, the basis for a grant of immediate independence. Secondly, the present mood of the white electorate is such that there would be a real danger of an independent Rhodesia slowing or halting altogether the processes which are supposed one day to lead to responsible African majority rule.

Inalienable British Responsibility

"We are not trying to force untutored African rule on Rhodesia tomorrow. But to hand over without proper safeguards the destiny of the four million Africans to a white minority Rhodesian Government was, and will be impossible. In the last resort, this is not a question of trying to keep the Commonwealth together or of pleasing the Afro-Asians but of inalienable British responsibility.

"For the immediate future the British Government can only hold its breath. There must be no threats or provocation, and certainly no heeding to exhortations for U.N. action from its Afro-Asian members.

"But if the balloon does go up in Salisbury, then Mr. Wilson must be ready to take all steps short of direct military ones to show that Britain does not forget its responsibilities when they become onerous or distasteful. In this task, as at other grave moments of international crisis, he deserves, and will presumably get, the support of the Opposition. He also deserves the support of the public: however much it goes against the grain to impose hardship on Rhodesians—and the Africans will inevitably suffer more than the Europeans—there can be no turning back if Mr. Smith's Government decides to emulate—though in disastrously different circumstances—the citizens of Boston in 1773."

Mr. Frank Giles suggested that the best answer to Afro-Asian pressures would be "look who is talking".

He pointed out that Rhodesian African nationalists had had their chance and thrown it away by rejecting the Constitution (after having accepted it) and enjoining a boycott of elections.

Mr. Anthony Howard calculated that 80 Tory M.P.s. would vote against measures of reprisal, and that the number would increase if the U.N. intervened.

"In the Conservative Party there may be only one Humphry Berkeley: in the Labour Party there are at least a score of Fred Bellengers."

"Observer" Hostility

The most hostile judgment was, of course, that of the *Observer*. Its long leading article began with the remark that "Britain may yet come to regret the fact that her leaders were too timid to order the detention of Rhodesia's Prime Minister and his senior Ministerial colleagues and to send troops into Rhodesia to support the Governor in resisting the proclaimed intention of Mr. Smith's Colonial Government to commit a plain act of treason."

It continued (in part):—

"Even Mr. Smith's best friends showed last week that when it comes to the test they are likely to put their own interests before Rhodesia's—South Africa by counselling patience, and Portugal by refusing to receive a visit from Mr. Smith in this moment of greatest need.

"So long as the final act of folly is delayed, every effort must be made to head off rebellion while going steadily ahead with plans to minimize the damage in case of failure.

"The basic problem in heading off rebellion is how to overcome the anxieties of the white minority. They believe that if they submit to majority rule it would spell the certain end of the kind of life they have hoped to establish for themselves, while if they were to make a stand to retain power they might at least stand a chance of winning through. They should be helped to understand that precisely the reverse is true—that a firm stand can only result in the certain demolition of all they have tried to build up, while a phased progress to independence gives them a reasonable chance of survival under terms no more disadvantageous than those of the white communities in Zambia and Kenya. A white rebellion would more surely produce the conditions of a Congo.

B.B.C. CHAIRMAN CANCELLED PRIME MINISTER'S BROADCAST

"What is needed now is a clear statement by the British Government of how it proposes to catch up on the neglect of the past and transform Rhodesia's Colonial society into a more democratic one. An influential part of the white community has been ready to follow a strong lead from London. Given the right incentives, a substantial section of the African nationalist leadership might co-operate.

"The possibility of committing British troops to putting down a rebellion must be ruled out in present circumstances for reasons ranging from the unpopularity of such a move among the British electorate to the undesirability of contributing to chaos and violence which even a swift military action would involve.

"However, there are circumstances in which Britain could find herself with little or no option but to commit troops, alone or as part of Commonwealth or United Nations peace-keeping forces. If the Governor of Rhodesia were to be faced with a legal and an illegal Government in the country, he would be bound to call for British troops to assert the Queen's authority.

"Unthinkable that Britain Should Refuse Troops"

"It is almost certain that either Zambia or Malawi will ask for British troops to stiffen their own security forces. In view of the dangerously explosive racial situation on the Copperbelt, it would be unthinkable that Britain should refuse — although we might be wise to dilute British forces by a Commonwealth contingent for psychological reasons.

"Britain must not limit herself to applying sanctions against only tobacco or sugar. She should from the outset show her resolution by passing legislation to block all trade with Rhodesia, to prevent the transfer of capital, and to freeze Rhodesia's sterling balances.

"Britain should take the initiative in asking the U.N. to impose mandatory sanctions under Chapter 7 of the Charter, which would make it binding on all its members, including South Africa, Portugal, France and Japan, all of whose trading activities would need careful watching. This measure is necessary if Rhodesia's economy is to be quickly crippled, thus reducing the duration of the rebellion and preventing hardships on Zambia and Malawi.

"The third requirement is a massive airlift and overland transport service through Tanzania to provide land-locked Zambia (and possibly Malawi) with essential imports — especially food and fuel (including coal and oil) — and to transport copper if the crisis lasts longer than four to six months.

"Here is an area of activity in which the U.N. might operate collectively; there is much to be said for bringing in the Americans and the Russians as well as Britain, West Germany, and the Commonwealth in operating such an air-lift. A joint U.N. operation of this kind could be a great morale booster for all except the rebels.

Nationalist Forces White and Black

"Rhodesia is not just another of Britain's rebellious Colonies. Lying as it does at the strategic centre of Africa's colliding white and black nationalist forces, a rebellion by white supremacists would be guaranteed to touch off a murderous international crisis for which Britain will be held accountable.

"It is tragically ironic that in their search for security, white Rhodesians should have entrusted their future to the kind of leader who, because he shares their fears, is most liable to lead them into the very disaster they fear. Rhodesia's whites are today in greater need than the Africans of saving from the consequences of Mr. Smith's leadership. Their future now depends on their being rescued as swiftly and as harmlessly as possible from Mr. Smith's calamitous enterprise.

"Friendliness, not enmity was the theme of the *Sunday Express*. Its leader, entitled "Mr. Smith's Friends," said: —

"Mr. Wilson tells Rhodesia that if she makes a unilateral declaration of independence she will find herself virtually friendless. Friendless, Mr. Wilson?

"The people of Britain have been watching Mr. Ian Smith; and they like what they see. They have learned to respect his integrity and straightforwardness. Does Mr. Wilson not realize that by contrast, they are angered by his own Government's hypocrisy? By the way it is prepared to let Rhodesia drown under the black majority while simultaneously it clamps severe restrictions on black immigration into Britain?

"Did he really think the people were with him last week when he encouraged the Americans and West Germans to push their views on Mr. Smith? Did he not sense the deep

popular resentment he provoked by calling two foreign Powers into a strictly internal Commonwealth dispute?

"If things come to the worst in Rhodesia it is not Mr. Smith who will be friendless, but Mr. Harold Wilson".

Half the front page was given to the Rhodesian situation.

Mr. Douglas Clark reported that Lord Normanbrook, chairman of the B.B.C., had made the decision that Mr. Smith should not appear in the programme "24 Hours". Mr. Smith was invited to take part, but three hours before he was due to arrive was told he was "not required." Lord Normanbrook said: "It was my decision. The U.K. Government's case was not going to be put and I did not think it was appropriate that Mr. Smith's should be".

Rhodesia Will Stay Loyal

"Gentlemen, the Queen" was the caption to a report from Mr. Keith Renshaw, which said: —

"Whatever happens, Rhodesia intends to stay loyal to the Queen. Yesterday Mr. Smith told me:

"One of our plans is to set up a regency, if necessary, and continue to swear allegiance to the Queen. We would still sing 'God Save the Queen' and drink the loyal toast. We would certainly keep our flag as it is — light blue with the Union Jack in the corner. Our dream would be of the day when there was the great reconciliation".

The *Sunday Telegraph* headed its editorial "If Deterrents Fail." It said: —

"All the British political parties and an overwhelming majority of public opinion back the Government's efforts to deter Mr. Smith from declaring unilateral independence. No good can come from such an act of rebellion, and it is absolutely right that Britain and other concerned States should use every diplomatic and economic deterrent at their command to prevent it.

"Having rightly sought to demonstrate the dangers to Mr. Smith for deterrent purposes, thereby helping to build up expectations of extreme retaliation, it is not easy to throw British influence behind policies of caution and restraint. But this is what statesmanship demands, since, if and when independence is seized, the case for 'deterrents' will manifestly have failed.

British Public Would Rule Out Force

"In that eventuality Britain's objectives must be to honour its obligations to the African majority as best it can in the new circumstances. Some argue that she should do so by armed intervention, or by encouraging armed U.N. intervention, or by bringing white Rhodesia to its knees by economic sanctions.

"Armed intervention, however, has been ruled out. The British public would not allow it. Armed U.N. intervention might be practicable, but pitted against desperate and well-equipped white opposition it would result in reducing the country to bloody chaos, out of which only purblind theorists can suppose the Africans would benefit.

"While it is easy to see how economic sanctions would harm the whites, it is impossible to see how they would benefit the blacks. By crippling the economy and increasing the number of impoverished white farmers, sanctions would tragically slow down the pace of African advance, which depends on continued prosperity. Britain, therefore, should do its best to prevent the U.N. from pursuing such a course, however emotionally appealing it may be.

"Once independence has been declared, anything done by the outside world — short of forcibly overpowering the whites — is likely to do the Rhodesian blacks more harm than good. Irksome for some as it may be to admit it, the only real hope is for whites to be encouraged by the understanding shown by the rest of the world to honour their obligations undertaken in the 1961 Constitution.

"Since it is very unlikely that the U.N. would use force, and equally unlikely that sanctions would bring the whites to heel, it would be the height of folly for the outside world, in an effort to help the blacks, to drive the whites into a mood of fanatical hostility from which only the blacks would suffer.

"Mr. Smith should be under no illusions about the fierce anger and hatred U.D.I. would provoke throughout black Africa. But Britain this week-end must also have second thoughts, aimed now less at emphasizing the dangers of the whirlwind and more at reducing its impact".

British Policy Criticized

On Monday, the *Daily Telegraph* said:—

"Mr. Wilson sought to internationalize rather than restrict the front against Rhodesia. Conservative principle should be to keep this issue in the Commonwealth. What meaning has this association if its affairs are bandied about among the remote and uninformed? The tragedy of the Katanga dispute, which kept Africa in an uproar for three years, was that a solution was finally imposed from outside. What other meaning have sanctions now?"

"Even wilder proposals have been made, such as propping a rival government, in exile or inside Rhodesia, with British bayonets. In prudence the aim should be to limit the dispute, if possible, to the two responsible parties, Britain and Rhodesia.

"Comparisons have been made between the American Declaration of Independence in 1776 and the present crisis. There is no close analogy. The American colonialists sought independence from the British Crown, whereas the Rhodesians seek only independence from Whitehall. There is a greater similarity with the Ulster resistance to the Home Rule Bill in 1913. Despite all the differences, there are the same feelings as there were then about people who are, so to speak, loyal rebels. There is the same wish that somehow the paradox might not be put to the test."

"That the British Government's policy was 'mad as well as repulsive' was asserted by the *Daily Express*, which wrote under the title 'Do Not Aid the Foes of Britain':—

"There is a vast fund of sympathy for Mr. Smith and his people. Apart from a few sanctimonious pootroons, there is no sympathy at all for the militant African countries clamouring for United Nations intervention in Rhodesia.

"Why on earth should any sensible person in Britain support countries like Tanzania? That unhappy land is rapidly slipping into the hands of the Chinese Communists. One part—Zanzibar—is already firmly in their grip. The remainder will surely follow.

"If Britain were to conduct a campaign against Rhodesia she would simply help the Communists to extend their power at the expense of fellow-Britons and loyal subjects of the Queen. Such a policy—mad as well as repulsive—would never be countenanced by the public.

"The British, fair-minded, tolerant people, have reached the limit of their patience with African extremists. Mr. Wilson—and Mr. Heath for that matter—must reckon with this fact in formulating their policies towards Rhodesia."

During 42 years...

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

THE RHODESIAN MILLING COMPANY (PVT) LIMITED
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Africa Bureau's Statement

THE AFRICA BUREAU'S executive committee issued the following statement:—

"The 1961 Constitution for Rhodesia cannot be abrogated without the consent of Her Majesty. In the event of the Rhodesian Government defying the Constitution by declaring independence unilaterally, it will be the duty of Her Majesty-in-Council, as advised by H.M. Government, to revoke the Constitution and assume direct responsibility for protecting her citizens who remain loyal, safeguarding her property in Rhodesia, and upholding the authority of her servants.

"An act of rebellion against the Crown, if not rapidly terminated, will cause loss of life and suffering to members of all races. We can envisage circumstances in which the use of British troops would be a constitutional duty.

"The British Government in its desire to abide by the 1961 Constitution has exercised great patience in negotiations to advance Rhodesia towards independence within the Commonwealth, but it has been met with a stubborn refusal to co-operate. At the same time Britain's authority in Rhodesia has been flouted by the Rhodesian Government's appointment of Mr. H. Reedman as its representative in Lisbon.

"The British Government has announced that in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence it will impose economic sanctions against Rhodesia. It needs to be clearly stated that the intention of such sanctions will be to end an act of rebellion, and not merely to register a protest.

"Negotiations with the Rhodesian Government regarding independence are no longer possible, since to be genuine they must be on the basis that fundamental amendments are to be made to the franchise, to the laws relating to political offences and restrictions, and to legalized racial discrimination. Britain must therefore reconcile itself to a considerable period of preparation for independence, during which it retains control of Rhodesia's external and constitutional affairs.

"Independence granted with undertakings to introduce at some future date majority rule and political freedom would be totally unacceptable.

"A constitutional conference should therefore be called to discuss the next stage in Rhodesia, with independence within the Commonwealth regarded as the ultimate goal but with no commitment to, nor indeed expectation of, reaching an agreed date for independence. All political groups in Rhodesia should be invited. The conference need not be limited to Britain and Rhodesia, but Britain should be responsible for its promotion and conduct.

"An important area of direct British responsibility is that of the Higher Authorities for Central Africa set up on the dissolution of Federation. These Authorities were established by Order in Council and govern the relations between Rhodesia, Zambia and, to a lesser extent, Malawi in respect of power and transport. Relations between Rhodesia and Zambia are deteriorating, and steps have apparently been taken by Rhodesia to defend the area of the hydro-electric power station at Kariba against Zambia. The unified railway system between Zambia and Rhodesia is also endangered by the refusal of Rhodesia to meet the full share of its responsibilities for maintenance of the line within Zambia.

"In these circumstances Britain should alter the Orders in Council so as to be able to play a more active rôle in the proper and safe management of the Authorities. Britain should also consider the representation of Bechuanaland, which will soon attain independence, in the Higher Authority for Railways.

"The British Government also has direct responsibility over certain areas of land in Rhodesia. The rights of the Crown in these areas have never been surrendered, and cannot properly be surrendered except to a lawfully constituted Government.

"Neither the refusal of co-operation by Rhodesia, either in a conference or in the re-examination of the Higher Authorities, nor the threat of a unilateral declaration of independence should prevent the British Government from taking action. Instead it should make it clear that refusal to attend a conference would be regarded as sufficient ground for taking limited economic sanctions against Rhodesia.

"Finally, it should be made clear that H.M. Government would respond to requests for assistance from Zambia or any other country threatened by the consequence of illegal action by Rhodesia."

Mr. Peter Calvoecressi is chairman of the executive committee. Its other members are Miss Mary Benson, Mrs. J. Grimond, Dr. Rita Hinder, the Rev. Michael Scott, Sir Jock Campbell, and Messrs Humphry Berkeley, M.P., James Lemkin, Peter Parker, E. J. B. Rose, and Christopher Howland.

CATALOGUE OF CATASTROPHES ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA

that "the retention of white rule fosters Communism in Africa", and continued:—

"You have consistently advocated the use of British troops if the white Rhodesians prove too stubborn in their opposition to black rule, but you can hardly expect belief that it would also be something in the nature of an anti-Communist crusade. What a sorry page you would have us add to the history of the British people!"

1961 Constitution the Only Basis for Independence

MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P., said in a letter in the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"The basis of independence can only be the 1961 Constitution, which could be modified to provide for a large increase in the number of voters and at the same time to ensure that power does not yet pass to the majority race. Majority rule on independence is clearly out of the question as far as Rhodesia is concerned. Equally the scrapping of the 1961 Constitution is out of the question as far as Britain is concerned.

"Both Governments have made it clear that negotiations cannot be further prolonged. The choice lies between agreement or a unilateral declaration of independence.

"Let us hope that knowledge of the grave dangers to both white and black in Africa, to the Commonwealth, and indeed to the world, which could result from a U.D.I., will strengthen the determination of both sides to reach an agreement.

"The British Government has threatened retaliation, but let no one underestimate the strength of the Rhodesian position and the unity with which Mr. Smith would be backed even by those who now disagree with him in the event of a showdown. Threats such as those heard at Blackpool can serve no purpose, and Mr. Mennen Williams's recent statement can only do positive harm.

"Those really interested in the future of all races in Central Africa should surely be exerting their influence to see that agreement is now reached in the certain knowledge that the consequences of failure can only be disastrous to all concerned."

MR. CHRISTOPHER CONSETT wrote from Great Risington, Gloucestershire:—

"The majority of the Rhodesians of European descent came to that country since the last war. They came from every section of society in this country. They arrived with the same principles of democracy and justice that activate us. It is fair to say that your readers to a man would vote as the Rhodesians vote had they emigrated.

Rhodesians Have No Alternative

"The reason these Rhodesians are prepared to put it to the test to gain or lose it all is because they know there is no alternative. They live among and work with the Bantu every day of their lives. They know of the certainty of disaster for their country if the black nationalists are allowed greater political power.

"For them these are not weighty questions of the reactions of the United Nations or the Commonwealth as it is for the present and previous British Government, among whom not a man has a personal knowledge of living in Africa. For them it is independence or disaster."

MR. F. S. JOELSON drew attention to a point which had been neglected in all the Press comment, saying:—

"Rhodesians have a right to be indignant that the British public has not been shown the background to their demand for independence. Most of the comment by politicians, journalists, and others in Britain is irrelevant from the Rhodesian standpoint because it completely ignores the catalogue of catastrophes in Central and East Africa in the last few years, catastrophes against the possible repetition of which in their country responsible Rhodesians, black no less than white, are resolved to protect themselves.

"There is unquestionably more real freedom in Rhodesia today than in any African State under a non-white Government, and that freedom would certainly not continue if a black African majority were prematurely installed in Parliament. The pan-African extremists are eager for that reckless course to be taken now because they do not want Rhodesia to be allowed time for a soundly based multi-racialism to succeed.

"The essential context in which the Rhodesian problem should be judged is that of the tragedies in other territories during the last five years—including the betrayal of Kenya, the destruction of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the revolution in Zanzibar, the mutinies in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, the Lumpa rising in Zambia, the antics in Malawi under Dr. Banda's dictation, the training in Commonwealth African States of saboteurs for murder and other crimes in Rhodesia and Mozambique, and, of course, the chaos and carnage in the Congo. All these convulsions except those in the Congo resulted from the precipitate abandonment of British trusteeship.

"Basically, the Rhodesian case rests on the determination not to have in their country a repetition of such folly and faithlessness, but, as the 1961 Constitution provides, that gradualism in political change which is necessary to safeguard the civilization developed through three-quarters of a century by a mainly British community with a wonderful record of loyalty to the Crown."

The letter has not been published.

BRIGADIER W. E. DUNCAN (Retd.) wrote from Montrose to the *Observer*:—

"The headline chosen for your last Sunday's editorial—'No Munich in Africa'—seems peculiarly unfortunate. It implies that Mr. Smith is the counterpart of Hitler, the inveterate enemy of the British people. It also implies that Britain must hold out for majority rule for Rhodesia.

Implement of Dictatorship

"One-man-one-vote, where nine out of 10 voters are illiterate, is not the implement of democracy, but of dictatorship by intimidation. You cannot believe that the white farmers or the rural Africans will be better off under an extremist Government than under the present impartial and orderly regime.

"A solid block of moderate Britons, who have long and recent experience of Rhodesia, are convinced that African dictatorship, as opposed to a partnership of black and white, will mean disaster for both Africans and whites."

Sixteen signatories, including six ordained ministers and four university teachers wrote from Salisbury:—

"We are deeply concerned for the peaceful development of Rhodesia and the well-being and happiness of all her people. It is our belief that the Christian faith demands that all should have the opportunity of sharing responsibility in decisions concerning the government of their country and the ordering of their lives. Existing attitudes in Rhodesia are such that a majority of voters are unwilling to share their political power with the remaining 95% of the population.

"In our judgment it would be wrong to acquiesce in the grant of independence to Rhodesia while this minority remains in power. We therefore believe that the United Kingdom should delay the grant of independence to Rhodesia while this minority remains in power. We therefore believe that the United Kingdom should delay the grant of independence to Rhodesia until there is a majority expression of opinion which can be tested by methods agreeable to both Rhodesia and Britain."

The letter was signed by H. Guite, N. Richards, E. L. Yates, N. Yates, I. M. Grant, B. Dann, N. M. Dobertson, J. Baird, J. E. Salmon, J. H. Roberts, T. T. Baird, F. W. M. Lee, M. Appleyard, C. R. Whitaker, R. Craig, E. J. Lee.

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PRESS COMMENT BEFORE THE TALKS HAD FAILED

AFTER THE FIRST DAY'S DISCUSSIONS a leading article in the *Daily Telegraph* had said:—

"Mr. Smith may realize that in his dilemma he has the sympathy of the British public, largely irrespective of party. Yet the attitude of the Conservative Party towards a unilateral declaration of independence differs little from that of the Labour Party. In such a case there would be extreme reluctance to take reprisals. But they would be taken without much dissent. Sympathy is thus of no great value in such inexorable circumstances. Indeed it may be rather an embarrassment to Mr. Smith's extremist colleagues, who would prefer British and Rhodesian relations to be less friendly, and a parting thus less painful.

"The shouting from the United Nations at this moment is to be deplored. Rhodesia has been duly warned. To call for the use of military force, as the Nigerian delegate there has done, will not help at all. Britain is committed to no such action. Force has never yet solved a dispute of this kind. There are, moreover, few African States indeed with a record of self-government that permits them to adopt a superior attitude towards Rhodesia. Mr. Stewart has been right to ask for patience at this time.

Crux of the Dispute

"Some proposals have been put forward in past months that might still form a basis for a settlement. They are understood not to include immediate majority rule, provided that there are safeguards for broadening African responsibility, as embodied in the 1961 Constitution. This is the crux of the dispute. For Mr. Smith's diehard colleagues want a solution that will prevent African majority rule for ever.

"It may therefore be necessary that the Rhodesian people be told what is the utmost that Britain will concede in constitutional latitude when granting independence. It would be right for Mr. Smith to make this public, and for Mr. Wilson to defend whatever offer is made. No offer in such circumstances can be ideal to all men, and to most African States anything short of a capitulation by the Rhodesian Front appears unacceptable. The long view, however, is that Rhodesians, black and white, have to live together and may evolve a better relationship if generosity and trust are shown now.

"It would be regrettable if small-minded men in his Cabinet rushed Mr. Smith into defiance and sought to keep the issue from the electorate. Likewise it would not do for Britain to defer to other African opinion and whittle away any offer that in the past could have formed the basis for a solution. There can be no petty dealing on such a grave issue."

On Friday another *Daily Telegraph* leader said:—

"Mr. Ian Smith is honest. Unlike some Commonwealth leaders on the brink of independence, he has not gone the easy way of pretending to accept for Rhodesia a Constitution made in England. Other African leaders have pocketed independence wrapped in an elaborate new Constitution and torn up the wrapper soon afterwards.

Rhodesian Case Rests on Principle

"Britain could do nothing, even if she had wished, to prevent President Nyerere making a one-party State of Tanganyika. It was not for her to check the intimidation whereby the K.A.D.U. opposition was suppressed in Kenya and the white minority in Zambia induced to relinquish special representation, or to intervene when President Nkrumah rode over all the liberties in the Constitution of Ghana and set himself up as a national demi-god."

"The Rhodesian Prime Minister has rested his case on principle and put forward some comments on African rule in operation, on Communist and other influences in Africa, and the safeguards that a large white minority so centrally placed must need. These allusions have not helped him to argue his case with the British, who see Africa with different eyes. "Yet is it not permissible to ask where in his part of Africa is there 'majority rule'? It does not exist in Zambia, or Malawi, or Mozambique. There might be under the British proposals a period of finely suspended multi-racial Government in Rhodesia, but it cannot be guaranteed. Communist and pan-African influences are not for such compromise. These uncertain factors should not be allowed to block African political progress, but they should be duly considered by those who insist that any lack of progress is the fault of Mr. Smith.

"The crescendo of advice to Mr. Wilson from Commonwealth members and friendly (and unfriendly) foreign States makes it difficult to reach cool decisions. No position which might later be inconvenient to Britain should be adopted as the result of threats from outside. Before more hands rattle the ponderous weapon of sanctions, it would be salutary if the whole prolonged correspondence on constitutional matters were published. The public is not fully aware of what is at issue. It has learned that no politicians are infallible; and that the apparently most enlightened are no more infallible than the others. To remember Sharpeville and forget Stanleyville is not wisdom. Both should be borne in mind by those with responsibility for the security and well-being of nations".

Choice of Evils

"Choice of Evils in Rhodesia" was the heading given to a long leader in the *Guardian*, which said (in part):—
"The talks with Rhodesia cannot succeed. Whether Mr. Smith wins or fails to win independence, whether he seizes it or persuades his white supporters to acquiesce in their present status, the British aim of majority rule in Rhodesia will be no nearer. Instead of negotiating from this position of weakness the British Government should now act as it would in any other Colony, from British Guiana to Aden, which had threatened open rebellion. It should suspend the Constitution and assume the Government itself.

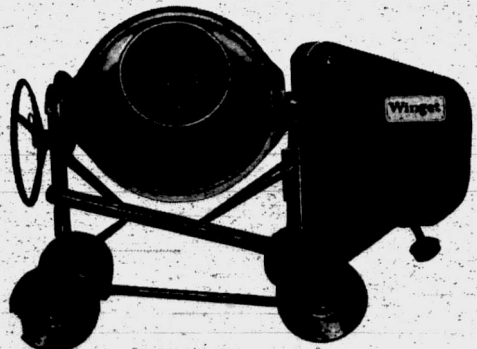
"If Rhodesia seizes independence it will pave the way for an upheaval in Southern Africa on a scale now difficult to envisage... Unless South Africa and Portugal supported it, Rhodesia could not survive the ostracism of the rest of the world."

Having made the astonishing statement that "Mr. Smith has never given an adequate reason for wanting independence" the leading article continued:—

"But what if, persuaded that independence cannot be negotiated and ought not to be seized, the Rhodesian leaders return home to ask their followers to work the Constitution as it stands? This would not be an acceptable solution to the problem."

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VIOLENCE EXPECTED IN RHODESIA AND ZAMBIA

"Given time, the present Constitution will provide an African majority; but the process can be lengthened or shortened by the conduct of the party in power. If the Rhodesians were determined to raise African standards of living and education the necessary number of African voters to secure majority on the upper roll would appear within a few years. If, like the present Government, they are determined to retard these social processes, the African majority might take a generation to arrive.

"By its campaign for independence the Rhodesian Front has almost made the present state of affairs seem like an acceptable compromise. It is not. Britain has to secure a radical improvement in the African position, not simply prevent it from getting worse.

"There is, then, no hope of a fruitful accommodation with the Rhodesian right wing. To allow the present uncertainties to drag on, perhaps for years, would be to betray Britain's responsibility to the African people and ensure that, if ever the time came for them to take over, they would be even less well equipped to do so than they are now. It would probably also mean the end of the multi-racial Commonwealth.

"Mr. Smith and his colleagues should be sent home. Rhodes should then suspend their Constitution and support this decision by whatever force is needed. That force is available to the British Government, painful though its use must be. With the Constitution suspended, a new start can be made towards a non-racial State in Rhodesia".

Hard to Earn African Goodwill

The *Guardian* wrote later:—

"Britain may have to use force in Rhodesia to discharge its duty to Rhodesia's African population.

"Britain in its expansionist heyday created the Rhodesian problem, and Britain must solve it. Majority rule must be certain before final control is relinquished.

"The rights of those native-born white Rhodesians who have done so much to develop the country must be given full recognition. They cannot simply be told that their time is up. The best safeguard for white interests will lie not in a fancy Constitution but in the goodwill of the African majority. Not many years ago this goodwill could have been secured by a

meaningful partnership. Anything so paternalistic is now out of the question, and the process of earning African goodwill may be hard and long. But it will be soon enough to consider how white interests can best be safeguarded when the much more immediate task of safeguarding black ones has been performed.

"Mr. Smith said on leaving 10 Downing Street, last night that 'we Rhodesians do not concede'. If this is to be his attitude in the remaining stages of the talks the British Government will have to dismiss any thought of reaching agreement, report all the facts to the United Nations, and suspend the Constitution. It can then set about safeguarding black and white interests alike before eventual independence.

"To reassess British control would be a large and painful operation. But the conflict which will come about if Rhodesia is allowed to become another South Africa would be much larger and more painful. The white Rhodesian Government is in effect demanding the freedom to become another South Africa. By deciding to stop this process by force, because force would be necessary, Britain may forestall a much more agonizing decision later.

"Consultation with Commonwealth and other Governments is desirable, but the decision must be Britain's alone. It cannot be influenced, for example, by bargaining from Dar es Salaam. Between now and eternity the British Government is likely to do or say something which displeases the Government of Tanzania. It would therefore be helpful to all concerned if the Government of Tanzania would make up its mind fairly soon whether it wants to leave the Commonwealth or stay in it. If it stays, as we hope it will, perhaps it will remember that the other members too are independent and refrain from trying to exercise power where it does not have responsibility".

Harsh Criticism

"The Only Answer to Treason" was the title of the *New Statesman* leader, which included the following passages:—

"The leaders of the white settler community, representing only a tiny fraction of the inhabitants of Rhodesia, arrived uttering explicit threats to take treasonable action unless their demands are met, an attitude which a British Government would not tolerate in any other Colonial situation. Their proposals are meaningless. Under the Constitution, even if Rhodesia can achieve a 5% annual rate of economic growth, it would take 50 years for the Africans to become an effective electoral majority; and, even so, the whites could legally reduce the present number of African-held seats from 15 to one.

"British proposals to give Rhodesia independence in return for an increase in African Parliamentary seats to constitute a 'blocking third', which would prevent the whites from forcing through regressive constitutional changes, make little sense. Guarantees would be worthless. Entrenched clauses are of little use in protecting the rights of other races against a determined white governing majority.

"Although military intervention is not ruled out, the Government gives the impression that its response to U.D.I. will be limited to economic and legal sanctions. Suspension of Imperial preference, withdrawal of sterling backing for Rhodesia's currency, freezing of assets in London, and other reprisals would hit the Rhodesian whites hard. The life of such an illegal State would be brutish and—possibly—short.

Government in Exile

"But British Ministers would be wrong to delude themselves that to place Rhodesia in diplomatic and economic quarantine is the easy way out. It may prove complicated and dangerous. Violence within Rhodesia must certainly be expected, and could well erupt in independent Zambia too. An African Rhodesian government-in-exile would be set up and widely recognised. The African States would attempt to hasten the slow process of economic pressure by sponsoring armed intervention.

"Above all, Britain would not be able to slide out of her obligations to the United Nations. By repudiating U.D.I. as illegal, we would automatically remain fully liable for all Rhodesia's actions. A U.N. resolution would certainly call on Britain to restore her authority in the Colony and ask member States to give us whatever physical assistance might be necessary. Would we defy such an order? If so, would we seek to prevent others from carrying it out? Or would we remain passive while a race war spread in Central Africa?

"Britain's most prudent response to the threat of U.D.I. is immediate suspension of the Constitution, accompanied by intervention in whatever force is necessary to secure compliance from the present Rhodesian authorities. That might lead to acts of violence against British troops by sections of the

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CRAZILY EXPENSIVE ANGLO-AMERICAN RESCUE OPERATION

Rhodesian armed forces. This risk has to be taken.

"Rhodesia's handful of troops, once convinced of Britain's resolution, would quickly recognize resistance to be useless. Serious violence is likely to occur only if the Rhodesian extremists are in any doubt as to Britain's response, and so retain the belief that their bluff will not be called. The Prime Minister should make it plain forthwith that there can be only one consequence of a treasonable act by the Rhodesian whites. Then the London talks could still pave the way to a peaceful settlement."

A long leader in the *Economist* was headed "Rhodesia's Black Voice." It said, *inter alia*—

"The principle that independence will not be granted to Rhodesia until an African Government is in power has been carefully avoided in British Government statements. Like Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Mr. Wilson is willing to hand Rhodesia with its four million Africans to an independent Government elected by the voters among its 220,000 whites—if only the blacks would agree.

"The white Rhodesians are not a bunch of Simon Legrees who ought to be shot or exiled to Australia. A good half of them are British by very recent origin, and a good half were Rhodesians when Rhodesians were fighting and dying for Britain during the second world war. Any other group of a quarter of a million people set down to a life of sunny luxury amidst four million potential and different coloured servants would behave in much the same way. But this acknowledgement makes things harder, not easier, for the West, which has to carry the can.

Hot-Blooded Nationalists in Zambia

"All the British reasons for not wanting to hand the country over to Mr. Smith could be set aside if the terms of the hand-over were such that all the people of Rhodesia could be seen to accept, freely and openly, what was happening to them. If such terms can be devised this week, then well and good so far as the British public is concerned. President Nyerere of Tanzania would have no good reason for carrying out his threat to withdraw from the Commonwealth.

"The left-wingers and hot-blooded nationalists who would try to overthrow Dr. Kaunda of Zambia unless he was seen to oppose with all vigour the granting of independence under a white Government would have at least some of the ground cut from under their feet. Other Commonwealth countries would be calmed, and United Nations objectors thrown into a tizzy.

"These possibilities have been what Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bottomley have felt throbbing through their headaches this week. It was nice to have the sensible support of the Tories for the Home-Wilson policy of being very angry in advance of any possible U.D.I. But no Government can want to become known as the one that fouled up Britain's last great act of decolonization, disrupting the Commonwealth at the same time. Mr. Wilson cannot afford to be seen to sell the Rhodesian pass.

"Another *indaba* is out. Getting the elected African representatives of the African people round a conference table is not immediately possible because no credible representatives of this kind exist. The members of the Rhodesian Opposition who bravely flew to London this week are Africans, but they were elected on a handful of votes because most of the few Africans eligible to vote in Rhodesia have responded to the proscribed 'nationalist parties' silly call for a boycott and have not registered as voters.

"The letter of the law points to the kind of solution that common sense demands. Rhodesia's Constitution, negotiated in 1961 by Mr. Sandys, contains a provision that in case of a referendum all Africans over 21 who have completed a course of primary education should be allowed the vote unless there are already 50,000 Africans registered as voters under the far more stringent qualifications that apply to African voters in ordinary elections. Nowhere near 50,000 Africans are registered because of the boycott. So why not a referendum covering all Africans over 21 who have completed part of their primary education—not necessarily the complete course? This could be a workable compromise between the universal suffrage Mr. Smith would undoubtedly reject and the far higher qualifications he would presumably demand.

"A vital further condition is that the only obvious popular leaders of the African people—the nationalists—should be set free, allowed to campaign, and brought to agree to the terms (including voting qualifications) on which the referendum is held. British or international umpires would be an essential ingredient.

"Mr. Smith would amaze everyone if he were to agree to

such terms; he would be hard pressed to keep his job as Prime Minister if he went half as far. Yet the British Government has been pressing Mr. Smith on African consent and three other principles, all stated clearly in the July *communiqué* of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference: (a) there should be constitutional guarantees of 'unimpeded progress to majority rule'; (b) there should be an immediate improvement in the political status of Africans; and (c) there should be a progressive elimination of racial discrimination. All of this is vague enough to allow for very nearly anything; it was invented after Mr. Bottomley's private conversations with Mr. Smith in Salisbury in February.

"If no deal on these terms can be swung, there are two possibilities: (1) that Mr. Smith, having set off home in a huff, will miraculously prove able to do the clever thing and stay in power without taking the possibly suicidal plunge of U.D.I.; (2) that, more likely, he, or a cowboy successor, would plunge. Then Mr. Wilson could do no other than apply the severest economic sanctions to the rebel regime. The Americans, whose representatives have been sitting in on quiet contingency talks this week, would undoubtedly give every support.

"No one wants to hurt the Rhodesians, but they cannot be allowed to get away untouched with turning their country into a poor man's South Africa. Quite apart from Britain's responsibilities to Rhodesia's Africans, an unchallenged declaration of independence would have effects far beyond Rhodesia.

"Mr. Kaunda would know that it was more than his job as President of Zambia was worth not to give support to a black Rhodesian government-in-exile. This might provoke Mr. Smith into retaliating against Zambia. If he cut off Kariba power, and coal from Wankie, the Zambian Copperbelt mines would close within a few months and many might quickly become flooded.

Airlift for Zambia

"The result of all this would be the need for a crazily expensive Anglo-American rescue operation, including an airlift for Zambia. It might mean the use of troops to secure at least the Kariba dam. With the United Nations inevitably climbing in, and maybe South Africa on the other side, all hell would have broken loose in Central Africa, with no sure winner at the end of it."

The Lusaka correspondent of the *Financial Times* wrote in an article to which considerable prominence was given:—

"It is hardly surprising that when sizeable deposits of coal were discovered recently near Lake Kariba the Zambian Government, welcoming any alternative source of power, decided to move fast. Move fast they did. According to the latest official estimates, it will be less than five months from the announcement of the presence of workable deposits to the time when the first coal is shipped out.

"With an ash content of between 22% and 27% and a calorific value estimated at 10,000 B.T.U., Kandabwe coal compares unfavourably with Wankie coal, which has a calorific value of 13,000 B.T.U. and an ash content of 13.5 per cent. It is to this that the mining industry is geared.

"Once again a shortage of railway rolling-stock is adversely affecting the country's coal reserves. With traffic of all types running at record levels, coal reserves for the mining industry are down to about two months, compared with what the companies record as a comfortable level of six months.

"Kariba Stage One, with its power station on the Rhodesian bank, is approaching peak capacity.

"Stage Two, which would have its power station on the north bank, would provide a further 600 MW., thus doubling present output and reducing Zambia's dependence on switch-gear in Rhodesia. It would be quicker and some £40m. cheaper to construct than the Kafue scheme, which will undoubtedly be included in longer-term planning.

"The desire is to exploit a good deal more the hydro-electric capabilities of the Zambezi River before it becomes Lake Kariba, as a means of providing a new impetus to the economy of Barotseland and improving the prospects of Livingstone as an industrial centre.

"Zambia's mines consume annually more than 2,000m. kWh. of electricity, of which nearly 1,000m. are supplied by Kariba Stage One. The Congo Border Power Corporation provides a further 200m. Sufficient power could not be got from this source to keep production at more than minimal levels even with the aid of standby thermal power units. With production almost doubled in the intervening years, the mining companies could not convert their metallurgical processes temporarily to wood-burning, as they did during a severe coal shortage in 1953."

Kenya's Sacriligious "Last Supper"

Highlight of Kenyatta Day Celebrations

THE TIMES published the following report last week from its Nairobi correspondent:—

"The highlight of the Kenyatta Day celebrations on October 20 is to be the 'last supper'—commemorating the last supper that President Kenyatta had before being arrested in connexion with the Mau Mau uprising. Dr. Waiyaki, Assistant Minister in the Vice-President's office, said today that the 'last supper' gave Mr. Kenyatta nourishment enabling him to endure and survive many years of imprisonment, torture and exile."

The Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA immediately protested in the following terms:—

"You report today that 'The highlight of the Kenyatta Day celebrations this month is to be the 'last supper'—commemorating the last supper that Kenyatta had before being arrested in connexion with the Mau Mau uprising'."

"This new act of sacrilege in Kenya ought surely to awaken people in this country to the unreliability of the absurdly optimistic reports from that country which so many British newspapers publish nowadays."

"The 'Last Supper' can have only one connotation for the Kenyatta Cabinet (in which there are some practising Christians), as for Christians and non-Christians in this country; and it is apposite to recall that Kenyatta's name was substituted for that of Christ in the 'hymn book' used by the vile Mau Mau movement to incite the Kikuyu to a rebellion which cost the deaths of thousands of Africans (and Britain some £50m.)."

"During his seven years' imprisonment Mzee Kenyatta, who had been found guilty of managing Mau Mau, spent much time, according to his own account, in reading the Bible. He must therefore know that to stage a 'last supper' in his 'honour' is brazenly blasphemous."

"Such calculated profanity by those who govern Kenya ought to be made known throughout the civilized world. Yet *The Times* appears to be the only newspaper in Britain which has today published the news of this outrageous decision."

[No other paper has, we believe, since published the news; and *The Times* has declined to allow Mr. Joelson's letter to appear in its correspondence columns.]

Rhodesia Withholds Arms for Zambia

BRITISH-SUPPLIED ARMS for Zambia, in transit from Lourenço Marques to Lusaka, were seized last week as they were being railed through Rhodesia. There were 232 cases, said to contain only small arms and ammunition. Portugal had recently raised a ban on the passage of arms for Zambia through Mozambique, President Kaunda having undertaken that they would not be used against the Portuguese in Mozambique or Angola. The Government of Zambia protested to the British High Commissioner, saying that it held Britain responsible for release of its property on the ground that ultimate responsibility for Rhodesia's external rests with H.M. Government.

More White M.Ps. for Malawi

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, told Parliament in Zomba last week that he had advised the committee which is drafting a new republican Constitution for the country to provide for five European M.Ps. Despite the fact that only nine Europeans in Malawi had registered as citizens since the country became independent last year, he had told the committee that it was a good thing to have a few Europeans in Parliament; that could do the country no harm, and increasing foreign investment made European representation proper. Some valuable work had been done by the present three M.Ps.

Rhodesia Reviled: Tanzania Rewarded Though Headquarters of "Freedom Fighters"

MR. HAROLD SOREF wrote in the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"Whereas loyal Rhodesia is threatened with economic sanctions and Portugal is cajoled, the Government grovels before the Tanzanian Government, whose Cabinet includes self-confessed Communists."

"Headquarters of the saboteurs and 'freedom fighters' against Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique, Tanzania is to be rewarded with an interest-free loan of £74m. without management charges at a time when Britain itself is living on tick. Furthermore, Britain is to subsidize, jointly with Canada, a survey of the uneconomic Tan-Zan railway line, which is calculated to jeopardize the interests of Rhodesia Railways, the Portuguese ports, and Western strategy in Africa."

"The Chinese, who have offered to pay for the construction of the proposed railway link, are conducting a separate survey. It is the intention of Peking that the dream of Cecil Rhodes in 1900 of an 'all Red' Cape-to-Cairo railway should become a reality under different auspices, of whom President Nyerere has stated: 'We have a big new friend—a friend debarr'd from us in days of Colonialism'. Tanzania has increasingly come within the Red-Chinese orbit."

"Mr. Nyerere's recognition of Britain's generosity is a threat to leave the Commonwealth if she disapproves of the manner in which Britain exercises her own sovereignty."

"Britain appears to be oblivious to the racism and genocide which the Revolutionary Council perpetrated in Zanzibar and which was condoned by Mr. Nyerere. The Ministers of the overthrown and elected Zanzibar Government remain in gaol without trial. According to Dr. Banda, 10 Malawians had been detained in Tanzania since last October. They were periodically stripped in prison and bound hand and foot while they were whipped."

"This is significant in the light of Mr. Nyerere's re-statement of the basic principle of the Commonwealth is that all human beings are equal'. Earlier this year Mr. Nyerere warned the Prime Minister in London that if Mozambique did not receive its independence from Portugal soon they would be compelled to wage war. 'We shall', he insisted, 'use Communist weapons if the West should refuse to provide modern arms for such a war'."

ZAMBIAN ANGLO AMERICAN, LTD., reports profits after tax to June 30 at £7,245,000, compared with £6,956,000 in the previous year. Shareholders receive interim and final distributions totalling 10s. (9s.), costing £6,871,000, and £500,000 added to the general reserve. Among the subsidiaries, Rhokana Corporation had net profits after tax of £5.4m., the share attributable to Zamanglo being £2.8m. Nchanga's net profits were £9.8m., and Zamanglo's share was £3.7m. Net profits of Rhokana Copper Refineries totalled £280,000; Zamanglo has a 45.1% interest. The share of the aggregate net profits of subsidiaries attributable to Zamanglo was £6,675,000 and its profits from other sources £545,000.

RHOKANA CORPORATION, LTD., reports operating profits after tax to June 30 at just over £4m., compared with £3,631,000 in the previous year, and investment interest at nearly £5.2m. (£4.7m.). A provision of £530,000 for taxation has proved not to be required, so that the total is £9,728,000, against £8,348,000. There was an interim dividend of 2s. 6d. (the same) and the final distribution is to be 4s. 6d. (4s. 3d.), together costing £8,750,000. The general reserve is increased by £750,000. During the year 99,995 long tons of finished copper were produced and 103,850 sold; the totals for the previous year being 107,014 and 122,455. Cobalt production and sales amounted to 1,106 and 1,711 tons (1,048 and 988).

ROAN SELECTION TRUST, LTD. announces profits after tax to June 30 at £8,683,507 (£5,899,088), of which £1.3m. (£764,659) is retained by subsidiaries. Total dividends of 6s. 3d. net per share (against 4s. 4.6d.) take £6.7m. After transferring to the general reserve the carry-forward is £24,788.

The Governments of Zambia and Chile have agreed to consult regularly on the output and sale of copper and on capital investment in the industry.

Diamond sales through the Central Selling Organization for the first nine months of this year had a value of £99,986,850, compared with £100,261,907 for January-September, 1964.

Inchcape & Co., Ltd., a group with large East African interests, report pre-tax profits to March 31 at £1.1m., slightly below the previous year's total. Tax takes £677,845, leaving net profit after adjustments at £748,082. The dividend remains 2s. 3d.



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