

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

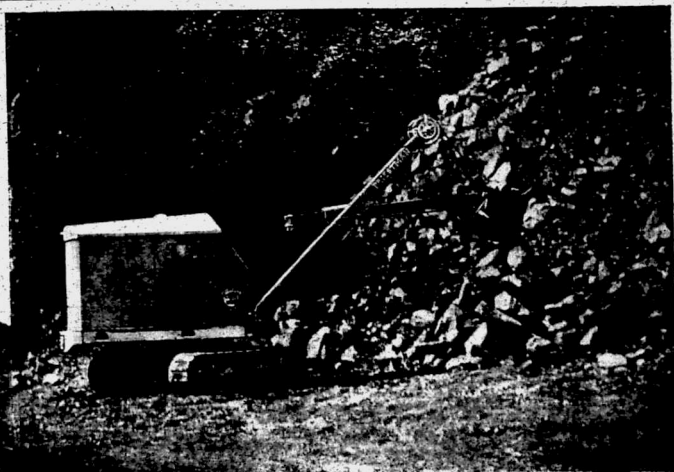
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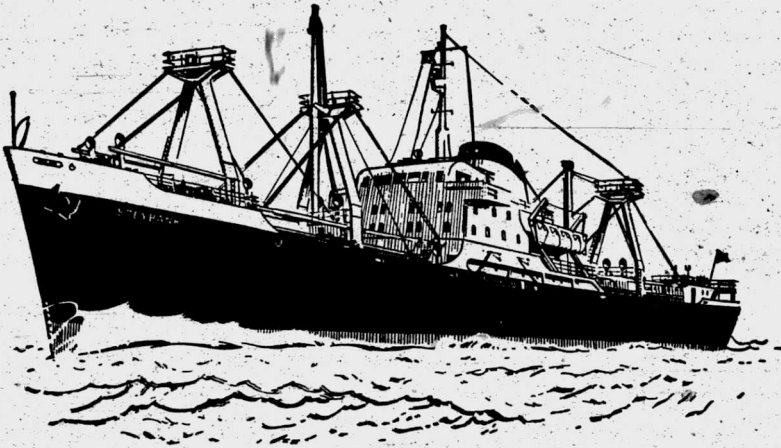
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

"BRILLIANT" must be the verdict on the Prime Minister's television broadcast if judgment be passed from the standpoint of the millions of ordinary, liberal-minded persons without special knowledge of the subject who heard the words and noted the speaker's *gravitas*. Technically it was a splendid performance. By emphasizing at the outset that Rhodesian insistence on immediate independence would involve dire dangers for the world, Mr. Wilson struck the right introductory note for an audience which has been lulled by politicians, newspapers, radio and television into toleration of the deplorable doctrine that in public affairs the easy course is best; that drift is preferable to any decision which must offend many electors; that temporary popularity is well bought at the price of expediency which disregards principle; that what passes for majority opinion must prevail, even if contrived by trickery and managed by guile; that Britain must appease Afro-Asian agitation because the non-white populations of the world outnumber the white; that to avoid disagreement with the United States or confrontation with the United Nations are cardinal requirements; and that British communities overseas are expendable. These postulates are cant. They spring to mind because cant characterized the Prime Minister's broadcast about Rhodesia, of which the full text is given in other columns.

Prime Minister's Deceptive Broadcast.

Since the war, said Mr. Wilson, Governments in the United Kingdom have given "freedom and independence" to some seven hundred million people in twenty countries which had been British Colonies or Protectorates, and in every case the Government of the day, whether Conservative or Socialist, had acted

"as trustees for the people, all the people, for majorities and minorities". It would be difficult to contrive a more deceptive description in so few words. By insidiously bracketing the words "freedom" and "independence" the Labour leader pleased his party and once more doped the general public, which does not understand even now that the grant of independence has in almost all cases represented a denial, not an expansion, of freedom. In no State in Central or East Africa to which United Kingdom politicians have accorded independence has the ordinary African anything like the freedom which he enjoyed under the Crown, or the justifiable hopes of better conditions of life which then appeared certain. The recklessly premature termination of British rule by nescient Parliamentarians who rejected the advice given by men who had spent their lives grappling with African problems was an abandonment, not a responsible fulfilment, of British trusteeship. A faithful trustee cannot absolve himself of his duty until the ward is demonstrably capable of managing his own affairs. Unhappily for Africa and the world, it did not suit the politicians in Britain to act on that simple, honourable principle.

The right course would have been to continue British guidance and control, while increasingly associating Africans with the administration and all other appropriate aspects of development as more and more qualified people became available, thus giving them the experience which must be added to academic preparation if affairs, public or private, are to be competently managed. That, the only wise course, the course which Rhodesia is taking, was not followed because nerveless helmsmen in Westminster were scared to ride out a gentle "wind of change"; and, in order to cover their

Irreparable Damage Inflicted on Africa

cowardice, they promptly pretended that it was of hurricane force. Macmillanism monstrously misrepresented the state of Africa and did the continent irreparable damage. In the view of Lord Salisbury, not only one of the most respected of Tory leaders, but one of the few Parliamentarians who really knew and cared deeply about Africa, the theory was "unscrupulously" expressed in practice. So accurate was that condemnation of his antics in Northern Rhodesia that the Secretary of State against whom it was made, Mr. Macleod, dared not attempt to refute it; he knew that any such endeavour would fail and once more focus public attention on his disastrous follies. Mr. Wilson's affirmation that "in every single case" the Government of the day acted as trustees for minorities in Africa is culpably unreliable. No knowledgeable and truthful person could, for example, possibly apply that assertion to the Macmillan-Macleod treatment of the white community in Kenya (which received equally little practical sympathy from the Socialists). Whereas the egregious Mr. Macleod declared early in 1960 that the new Constitution buttressed Kenya's multi-racial political system, the ink had scarcely dried on the Lancaster House agreement before it was openly rejected by some of the signatories, whose chief aim was to emphasize that the white and brown minorities were at the mercy of the triumphant black politicians. Organized terrorism was renewed against people of their own race who did not conform unquestioningly, non-white participation in public life was made derisory, and soon there was the one-party State which is the objective of every African dictator. British trusteeship has been cynically abandoned in Africa, not fulfilled, as Mr. Wilson pretends. The quarrel with Rhodesia stems from the determination of its leaders to discharge their trusteeship responsibly, patiently, and courageously, despite the resultant political, psychological, economic, and diplomatic pressures.

Having misled millions by his generalization, the Prime Minister proceeded to dissemble in regard to the "mistakes" of newly-independent African countries. There had been, he con-

Rhodesians Warned By Events Elsewhere. gced, cases of arrogance, oppression, and arbitrary rule. The purpose, of course, was to leave listeners with the impression that that was all that had gone wrong. Since everyone had read something about the arrogance, oppression, and arbitrary rule of an Nkrumah, for instance, such faults had to be admitted.

Mr. Wilson, however, gave the country the grotesquely false idea that that had been the extent of the political miscalculations—that in a few exceptional cases vain men had attained power and acted dictatorially. Before anyone could say "Congo" or "Zanzibar", the Prime Minister had passed on, without his sadly guillible audience noticing that it had been victimized by a three-card trick. But a laconic Rhodesian, if asked why his country must have independence, might reply: "Because we will not have Rhodesia turned into a Congo, a Kenya, a Zanzibar, or a Tanzania". In other words, whatever the pressures from distant politicians who know and care little about Africa, Rhodesians will not risk a repetition within their borders of the revolutions, mutinies, murders, rapes, and other crimes which this very year and last have disfigured the East and Central African States upon which British Ministers insisted on thrusting independence. Mr. Wilson was not candid enough to face this basic fact.

Then came the point that Rhodesia's Constitution provided a "complicated and very slow process" by which more and more Africans may qualify for the vote. Why did the Prime Minister not acknowledge that the arrangements which he disparaged were negotiated with Britain as recently as 1961? Is it unreasonable for Rhodesians to say that what was acceptable to Britain four years ago will not be scrapped merely because Members of Parliament in the United Kingdom have become even more complacent about disaster in Africa and readier to capitulate to pressures from Afro-Asian extremists? Having made a bargain with Rhodesia as the basis for independence, Britain wants to cancel it — by unilateral declaration. Rhodesians reply that as a major condition for independence they agreed four years ago to admit fifteen Africans to their Parliament and that they will not now pay again. Why should they? The Prime Minister, having thus distorted part of Mr. Smith's case, misquoted him by saying that he and his associates had declared that "democratic majority rule" should not come in their lifetime. As Mr. Wilson should know, Mr. Smith has never made that assertion. What he has repeatedly said is that it would be very unfortunate for Rhodesia if an African *Nationalist* Government came to power in his lifetime—because the "nationalism" of the two African parties which have had to be proscribed, as of their predecessors, has

consistently expressed itself in intimidation and all kinds of violence.

* * *

"We don't say one-man-one-vote immediately, but an improvement", Mr. Wilson remarked in regard to African political advancement, as if that were a great concession. In fact, the 1961

Political Advancement.

Constitution provides for continuous "improvement", the rate of advance depending upon the willingness of the African political parties to use their rights (which they have refused to do in the expectation that the independent African States would press successfully for the introduction of a universal franchise) and on the speed of African educational and economic progress, so that their numbers on the main electoral roll are substantially increased. Various calculations have been made about the period within which, given African co-operation, their representatives might constitute a majority in Parliament. When Sir Edgar Whitehead was Prime Minister he believed that that would happen within a dozen years, and perhaps in ten; and some members of his party predicted a delay of no more than eight years. By that time, however, Mr. Duncan Sandys, who had negotiated the Constitution on behalf of H.M. Government, was nevertheless talking of an African majority within five years at the most, whereupon Socialists in Parliament vied with one another in private in their insistence that Africans could not be expected to wait so long! With that kind of nonsense current in political circles in London, how could Rhodesians believe that British politicians were responsible men of affairs? Nor did Mr. Wilson tell the nation that Mr. Smith had offered a remarkable "improvement" when he proposed the creation of an all-African Senate, composed of twelve of the African tribal leaders. With the fifteen Africans in the existing House, a dozen senators would provide the "blocking third" in a joint Assembly which would prevent any major amendment to the Constitution which was unacceptable to Africans. That important innovation has been rejected on the quite unconvincing argument that the chiefs do not faithfully represent the opinions of their people.

* * *

Emotion was in control when the Prime Minister expressed regret that Mr. Smith and he were living "in different worlds,

almost in different centuries". There is unhappily some justification for the comparison, for the Rhodesian Government has still the kind of loyalty which

Rhodesian Loyalty.

was general in Victorian days. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the war records of Rhodesia's present Cabinet, or any previous Cabinet, are immensely more impressive than those of the members of the present British Cabinet. Yet Mr. Wilson has talked of Rhodesians as potential "rebels" who plan "treason"—not because their devotion to the Queen is or will be reduced, but because they refuse to equate loyalty to the Crown with submission to the will of politicians who happen at this moment to form the United Kingdom Government. Indeed, Mr. Smith has said that if he is driven to make a unilateral declaration of independence—and that may happen while these words are being printed—it will be made transparently clear that Rhodesian loyalty to the Royal House is undiminished: a Regency may be declared; the toast of "The Queen" will continue to be honoured; and Rhodesia will keep her flag, of which the Union Jack forms part. Rhodesians are proud of a loyalty unchanged since the last century. Is that something of which to be ashamed in an age in which the B.B.C. allows the National Anthem to be disgracefully ridiculed? (as it did only last week). If they knew the facts, millions of Britons would prefer Rhodesian political and other standards to those to which Britain herself has been reduced by bad leadership. Other criticisms of the broadcast could be made, but enough has been written to reveal its hypocrisy. This was a classic case of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*.

Statements Worth Noting

"I understand that 42% of Kenya's gross domestic product and 90% of your physical exports in 1964 were derived from agriculture. We in Zambia are prepared to buy Kenya butter, cheese, meat, pig products, and various other items which we now import from Rhodesia or overseas".—President Kaunda of Zambia.

"Kenya has now a State-owned import-export corporation known as the Kenya National Trading Company. One would have thought that the Socialist countries doing business in Kenya would contact our State organization for purposes of their trade in our country. This has not been the case. I hope that countries with State-directed economies will deal with our State organization, which promotes African entrepreneurs and African co-operative societies. I am sure that this suggestion will be heeded by the foreign State corporations seeking business opportunities in our country".—Dr. J. G. Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry in Kenya.

Unilateral Declaration of Independence Believed Imminent

Eleventh-Hour Appeal by British Government to Rhodesia's Prime Minister

A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE BY RHODESIA is generally expected this week. It may be made while these words are being printed.

Regarding the announcement as imminent, Mr. Harold Wilson, the British Prime Minister, cabled a final appeal to Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, on Monday night "for the sake of Rhodesia, for the sake of Africa, and for the sake of future generations of all races". The message read:—

"I have received with great disappointment your message of October 18 in reply to mine of October 11.

"Successive British Governments have throughout sought to reach agreement on conditions on which Rhodesia could advance to independence. In our talks in London unfortunately we failed. It was for this reason that at our meeting on Friday, October 8, I urged that you should consider alternative courses, and I suggested specific ways in which progress might be made.

"In spite of a final effort at a further meeting on October 11, you confirmed that there was no basis for agreement between us. Moreover, at London Airport, when the Secretary of State (Mr. Arthur Bottomley) repeated what I had said to you—namely, that he would be prepared to come to Rhodesia at once if such a visit would help—you said that you did not see what more could be done.

Purpose of Proposed Commonwealth Mission

"Because the consequences of an illegal seizure of independence would be so grave and so widespread, as soon as it became clear on the Monday morning that you ruled out any further discussions, I sought for any way in which this could be averted and negotiations could be resumed.

"I accordingly spoke to Sir Robert Menzies on the telephone during the course of Monday, and the Commonwealth Secretary told you at the airport before you left that I had done so and might be communicating a further proposal to you. It was, however, only during the course of that day and the next that I was able to consult other Commonwealth Governments on the subject.

"The Commonwealth mission was never contemplated as a negotiating body or as sitting in judgment. My hope was, however, that a Commonwealth mission, composed of persons of eminence, experience, and wisdom, might be able to make a contribution in suggesting the lines on which further progress could be made between us. I can assure you that the proposal has received broad support from Commonwealth heads of Government.

"You would not expect me to comment on, still less accept, the more unwarranted comments which you make about the British Government, such as we are 'factually ignorant'. But I must make clear that I cannot accept your contention that the British Government have moved back in any way from their original stand. Both the previous Administration and ourselves have made it plain that there would have to be an advance on the 1961 Constitution.

"The five principles were presented to you as our essential requirements if a basis for independence was to be negotiated. You accepted them as a basis for negotiations and they have held the field throughout all the discussions from the spring until this month. I do not see what reason you had to expect us to depart from them.

"Nor is it right to say that we introduced any new demand on constitutional safeguards in our recent talks. During his visit to you last July the Minister of State (Mr. Cledwyn

Hughes) explicitly said that, as well as a blocking mechanism for ordinary amendments to the Constitution, the question of safeguards for the entrenched clauses would have to be covered. These clauses included, of course, such fundamental safeguards as freedom of the Press and freedom of the individual.

"At this grave hour I would only add this—that we are open to any ideas, to any further way of seeing whether agreement can be reached between us. So far you have not responded.

"After the warnings you have received from two successive British Governments and in the past week from all three major political parties in this country, you cannot be in any doubt about the tragic consequences of the illegal and unconstitutional action which you have said you have in mind.

"Before any irrevocable step is taken, I beg you yet again, even at the eleventh hour, for the sake of your country, for the sake of Africa, and for the sake of future generations of all races, to pause before bringing hardship and misery, perhaps even worse, to your people and to countless others far beyond your borders who have no power to influence your decision but whose lives may be gravely affected by it.

"Since your message has been published, I am issuing this message to the Press".

Interference in Rhodesia's Internal Affairs

Mr. Smith's reply to the earlier letter was transmitted that day through the High Commissioner in London. It said:—

"At our last meeting on Monday, October 11, you left me in no doubt that the British Government were not prepared to depart from their stand on the five principles, nor from their refusal to acknowledge any longer that the 1961 Constitution can be a basis for independence. You also made it clear that it was not your intention to deviate from your new demand, which caused us surprise and concern, for a blocking mechanism for normal constitutional changes—a demand which I regard as tantamount to a desire to interfere in Rhodesia's internal affairs.

"Moreover, the joint *communiqué* which we issued states in the penultimate sentence: 'Despite intensive discussion, no means have been found of reconciling the opposing views'. In view of these considerations it is difficult for me to appreciate what new avenues of negotiations could possibly have occurred to you in the 24 hours which had elapsed since our meeting. I regret that, in spite of the fact that I stayed over in London for an additional two days, you did not discuss this matter with me before I departed.

British Government Still "Factually Ignorant"

"I agree with you that it is important that everything that is humanly possible should be done to devise a solution to the Rhodesian problem. Rhodesia has done its very best, and has put forward constructive suggestions to meet the British Government on the five principles. But I must repeat my regret that the British Government have shown no disposition whatever to make similar advances to a common meeting ground, but have, in fact, moved back from their original stand.

"Of course, we have the highest regard for Sir Robert Menzies, and he has, as you know, already been in touch with me, expressing his concern. Furthermore, on two separate occasions I have invited him to visit Rhodesia as a friend, and this invitation still stands.

"But I believe that, with the best will in the world, Sir Robert Menzies and any colleagues who might wish to associate themselves with your proposals would be so far from the issues involved that I certainly think they could not better any contribution made by you and the Commonwealth Secretary during the last week. As for us, we have explained our case completely to the British Government, which is the

only Government that is responsible for our affairs. Moreover it has taken us three years to complete this exercise, and, as was proved last week in London, the British Government is still factually ignorant on certain aspects of our case. In the light of this I must say that I think the idea of a Commonwealth mission is not practical.

"As you yourself say, the question of Rhodesian independence has always been regarded as a matter for settlement between Britain and Rhodesia alone. We, of course, have always maintained that the Commonwealth has no jurisdiction as far as Rhodesia is concerned. It would, therefore, I regret to say, be quite impossible for us to reverse a principle and commit ourselves to the decisions or recommendations of any Commonwealth mission. The responsibility for negotiating a settlement with us remains that of Her Majesty's Government.

Commonwealth Enemies of Rhodesia

"If it is now expected that we should listen to a collective Commonwealth voice it is indeed a pity that Rhodesia's right to attend Prime Ministers' meetings was withdrawn some years ago and that Rhodesia has been precluded from participating in Prime Ministers' conferences, even when her own affairs have been under discussion. Up to the time of his exclusion the Rhodesian Prime Minister had been attending Imperial and Commonwealth conferences since 1959.

"There is a further point: it is evident that you have already lobbied all other Commonwealth countries on the problem of our independence, and having taken their views, I suggest that you are being less than fair to us to ask them to sit in judgment upon the Rhodesian case.

"A mission in keeping with your suggestion must have within its ranks people who have openly expressed themselves as enemies of the present Rhodesian Government and Constitution. Such an exercise must therefore lead to bitterness and resentment—something which is absent at the moment and which would prove tragic to re-introduce.

"You will not have failed to overlook the pledge made in September, and confirmed again this month, by President Nyerere of Tanzania that he would withdraw Tanzania from the Commonwealth if Britain granted Rhodesia independence under minority rule within or without the Commonwealth. Since it is our determination not to accept independence under majority rule, the conclusion should be obvious.

"You will no doubt also have noted the statements made by Mr. Kamanga, Vice-President of Zambia, to the effect that the proposal for a Commonwealth mission on Rhodesia is 'just a time-consuming device' and that Sir Robert Menzies is 'no different from Mr. Smith'.

"India, as well, has disassociated herself from your idea on the ground that this is something to be settled between Britain and Rhodesia.

"It would seem therefore that your suggestion is as unacceptable to certain other members of the Commonwealth as it is to Rhodesia."

U.D.I. Decision Imminent

After his message had been dispatched Mr. Smith told a news conference in Salisbury that he might say to Mr. Wilson what Mr. Wilson had said to him at the end of his television address: "Prime Minister, think again."

He indicated that the Cabinet had come to its decision about a unilateral declaration, and added: "A decision in principle is relatively simple, but, having made this decision in our mind, it is not the sort of thing that can be carried out in minutes". He could see no hope of continued negotiations with Britain, "but if anyone can produce the magic answer we are prepared to accept it".

Rhodesia was, he said, "an enlightened democracy in which colour is no barrier".

Referring to Mr. Wilson's statement that 700 million people in the Commonwealth had received independence since the end of the last war, Mr. Smith asked: "What sort of independence is it?" He recalled the post-independence massacres of perhaps three million people in India and Pakistan—twice the Commonwealth's deaths in two world wars—derided the electoral records of Ghana, Nigeria and Tanzania, and spoke of the revolution in Zanzibar and a "Communist take-over" in Tanzania.

"Is it not incredible that the British Government has allowed our case to deteriorate to this fantastic position? It would be almost comical if it were not so tragic."

Asked if independence would come by declaration or assumption, the Prime Minister replied "That is confidential". When another correspondent asked if the decision would be taken at a Cabinet meeting on Tuesday he was told: "It is possible". The decision having been made, it would be implemented at what was considered the right time.

Appeals by Church Leaders

The Archbishop of Canterbury, as president of the British Council of Churches, telegraphed to Mr. Smith on Monday night:—

"We have followed the long course of your negotiations. We recognize the difficulties of mutual understanding about the problems which both our countries now face. The result of a unilateral declaration of independence in any form would be to endanger the very values you seek to defend and the future of all races in Rhodesia and her neighbours. In the name of our common Christian faith we beg you, with your Cabinet, to refrain from one-sided action and continue trying to reach agreement."

Sir Kenneth Grubb, chairman of the Commission on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches, had previously said that it hoped for yet another attempt to reach an accord which would give justice to the Africans and proper reassurance to the white population.

"The prospect of the European community attempting to assume full responsibility for Rhodesia's evolution offers no constructive future either for them or their African fellow-citizens. It is earnestly hoped that they will count the cost accurately before embarking on an enterprise which is likely to do untold damage to Southern Africa and particularly to the slender chances of improving race relations in that area."

The statement added that H.M. Government had the primary duty to resist any attempt by the white minority in Rhodesia to seize independence.

The Rev. Nicolas Stacey, the newly installed Rural Dean of Greenwich, suggested that the Archbishop should lead a multi-racial team of bishops and other church leaders to Rhodesia on a peace mission. He thought that the moral issues of the Rhodesian crisis had not been properly put before the British public.

Mr. Jo Grimond, leader of the Liberal Party, said in his constituency: "Some Tories seem to think that Mr. Smith being bludgeoned. So far from this being true, he has been offered every reasonable concession to his extreme position. The widest measure of support should be rallied behind our Prime Minister."

Sir Gerald Nabarro advocated support for Mr. Smith, who should, he thought, sit tight and force Mr. Wilson to take the initiative.

Public Opposed to Harsh Measures

A Gallup poll taken for the *Daily Telegraph* last Thursday showed that 45% of the people questioned were against suspension of the Constitution and the dispatch of British troops if Rhodesia declared its independence; only 18% approved such action, and 37% had no opinion on the point.

To the suggestion that all trade with Rhodesia might be stopped, 47% made no reply, 38% disapproved, and 15% approved. Only 22% felt that other nations should be called upon to cease trading with Rhodesia; 39% disapproved and 39% did not know.

If the United Nations were to take action involving the use of armed force against Rhodesia, 32% would approve, 29% disapprove, and 39% had still no views.

National Opinion Polls reported for the *Daily Mail* that 54% of the Tories, 45% of the Socialists, and 57% of the Liberals questioned had had a good impression of Mr. Smith while he was in London. To the question whether seizure of independence should be regarded as treason, 46% said "Yes" and 39% "No". Those who would not regard U.D.I. as treason constituted 43% of the Tories, 37% of the Socialists, and 36% of the Liberals approached.

Only 2% considered that H.M. Government should use armed force; 15% considered trade restriction right, 18% thought that no steps should be taken, and 63% wanted the matter referred to the United Nations.

On Tuesday the *Daily Mail* said that 95% of its "bumper mailbag" on Rhodesia were from readers who supported Mr. Smith.

Foreign Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in Accra on Monday, unanimously adopted a resolution calling on Britain to suspend the Rhodesian Constitution, convene a constitutional conference, and organize elections in Rhodesia on a one-man-one-vote basis.

A Summit Conference of O.A.U. is to be asked today to reconsider political, diplomatic, economic and other relations with Britain if a unilateral declaration of independence is not resisted. Member States are recommended to take all possible measures, including armed force, to help Africans in Rhodesia, and to assist them to establish a majority government in that country.

President Kaunda told a Lusaka crowd that there was no need to fear the consequences of Rhodesian independence. "We have taken every possible precaution against every eventuality which might follow such an illegal action. We have handled desperate men in the past, and this will be child's play in comparison."

News telegrams from Dar es Salaam suggested that Presi-

dent Nyerere had written to African Heads of State proposing moderation on the Rhodesian question, urging that the right solution was more important than speed.

Mr. Pieter Van der Byl, Rhodesia's Parliamentary Secretary for Information, arrived in London on Monday from Paris, where he had referred to "outside influences" encouraging African extremists in Rhodesia. If an economic boycott caused unemployment, the first sufferers would be about

500,000 Africans from Malawi and Zambia now working in Rhodesia. They would have to be repatriated. [By a misprint last week the number of non-indigenous Africans was given by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA as 5,000,000.]

In Nairobi M. H. Deloncle, Secretary of State in the French Foreign Ministry, said that France would accept a unilateral declaration by Rhodesia, but would nevertheless be opposed to any outside interference in such a matter.

British P.M.'s. Statement on Rhodesian Independence

Mission of Commonwealth Leaders Proposed in Broadcast to the Nation *

I WANT TO REPORT to you about the very grave situation in RHODESIA, grave because even as I speak there may be steps taken along a very dangerous road. The results of these policies may be dangerous not only for Rhodesia but for a far greater area of Africa. They may even involve the world.

Before I deal in detail with Rhodesia and the talks the Government have had with Mr. Smith and his colleagues, I want to remind you of the record of this country over many years under successive Governments of different parties in leading nations—previously Colonies, subject peoples—to self-government and independence. Since the war successive British Governments have given freedom and independence to some 20 countries: over 700 million people have been enfranchised and put in charge of their own destinies. This is a record without parallel, without precedent, in the whole course of human history.

In every single case we have acted, successive Governments, as trustees, trustees for the people we have ruled, for all the people, for majorities and for minorities. That must be our guiding principle today.

Arrogance and Oppression

Heaven knows, countries gaining their independence have made mistakes. Heaven knows, there have been cases of arrogance and oppression and arbitrary rule. Against these disappointments we have to set achievements such as the creation of the modern Commonwealth, no longer an Empire, but a free group of independent nations, the greatest multi-racial association in the world.

Rhodesia is one of the few remaining territories of the old British Empire which has not yet been granted her independence. Yet for over 40 years, since 1923, the people of what was until recently called Southern Rhodesia have had a degree of self-government: they have run their own affairs, their own Parliament, made their own internal laws, but always subject to the ultimate authority of the Crown and the British Parliament.

In 1953 the Central African Federation, Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was set up with a very high degree of self-government; but the internal strains and pressures led to this breaking up in 1963. Nyasaland, now Malawi, became independent. Northern Rhodesia achieved her independence as Zambia a year ago, both of them on the basis of full democratic rule.

The problem of Southern Rhodesia remained. It was a problem for this reason: after 40 years of limited self-government the control lay in the hands of 230,000

Europeans, while nearly four million Africans remained effectively without the vote. In effect, under the 1961 Constitution some 90,000 European electors were represented by 50 M.P.s. while perhaps 100,000 Africans qualified for the vote were represented by only 15 M.P.s. It is true that a complicated system provided that as more Africans reached a given educational standard, or got into a higher income bracket, they could have the vote; but this is a very slow process.

The European Government of Mr. Smith has demanded that we now confer independence on the Rhodesian people on the basis of their existing Constitution. Independence can be granted only by an Act of the British Parliament. We have never granted independence except on the basis of democratic majority rule. This Mr. Smith and his colleagues of the Rhodesian National Front resolutely reject. Not in their lifetime, they have said, will they allow it to happen.

Act of Rebellion

In the summer of 1964 they made it clear that if the then British Government under Sir Alec Douglas-Home refused to give them independence on their terms, they reserved the right to take that independence by unilateral action. The British Government made it clear that for the Rhodesians to grab their own independence would be illegal—an act of rebellion against the Crown.

As regards a negotiated, legal settlement, at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference of July 1964 Britain stated, and the whole Commonwealth endorsed the view, that "sufficiently representative institutions would be a condition of the grant of independence to Southern Rhodesia". That has been the guide-line of the British Government, whether Conservative or Labour, from that day to this.

From then on—for nearly a year—we have been in discussion with the Rhodesian Government, with Mr. Smith, to see if we could work out an agreed basis for independence. Mr. Smith and I have exchanged numerous letters and still more numerous messages through the British High Commission in Rhodesia. In January, when he came to London for Sir Winston Churchill's funeral, we had a long discussion. In February the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, and the Lord Chancellor with him, went to Rhodesia for detailed talks with the Rhodesian Cabinet and with such African leaders as they were allowed to meet.

Five Principles

What we have been trying to do was to reach an agreed solution on the basis of five principles on which we felt and feel we must insist. First, if we were to break with every previous case and give them independence based on their existing Constitution, then we must be sure there would be guaranteed and unimpeded progress to majority rule. Second, we had to be sure that once they had their independence, and were no longer subject to the British Parliament, they would not amend their Constitution so as to make it even less democratic. Third, we said there must be an immediate improvement in the political status of the four million Africans: we did not say, as in every other case, one-man-one-vote immediately, but an improvement. Fourth, there must be

* This television broadcast was made on Tuesday evening last week, just 24 hours after the Rhodesian Prime Minister had left London Airport for Salisbury. Editorial comments on Mr. Harold Wilson's statement appear in *Matters of Moment*.

MISSION OF SENIOR COMMONWEALTH PREMIERS PROPOSED

progress towards ending the racial discrimination which has developed under the laws and practices of the Rhodesian Government. Fifth, we insisted, as our predecessors insisted a year ago, that before we could proceed to recommend Rhodesian independence to Parliament we must be satisfied that the conditions proposed for independence were acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

These were the principles—the minimum principles—we laid down. They were endorsed by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers last June. The Rhodesian Government accepted them as principles, and all our discussions over the past eight or nine months have been about them and how to turn them into reality.

Total Disagreement

I have to tell you tonight that after all these months, and after a week of hard, straight talks, we are no nearer agreement than we were a year ago. On every one of the five principles the disagreement is almost total, absolute. If there is one thing on which Mr. Smith and I agree, it is that on every single issue there is so far no basis for agreement. He has said this inside and outside the Cabinet room.

At the airport last night he seemed to reject any hope of compromise. On a proposal for further talks he said: "We have talked over several years. The gap seems to be so wide that it is impossible to bridge it."

The talks were very friendly. I can deal with Jan Smith and I recognize his great sincerity, even though I disagree with him, and even though I feel we are living in different worlds, almost different centuries. Above all, I welcome the fact that he stated his case, his beliefs, his principles, absolutely frankly, absolutely straight, so there was no room for misunderstanding. He felt—and said—that we had been equally frank and straightforward.

If we have failed to agree it is because the issues are so deep, so important to both of us; and we would have been guilty of the gravest deception if we had fluffed these issues or pretended the differences were so small and capable of being glossed over.

We have tried, and we have failed. Now Mr. Smith has returned home, and there are ominous suggestions that the independence he has failed to negotiate will now be seized illegally.

I hope no one—no one in Britain, and still more no one in Rhodesia—will underestimate the gravity of such a step. They have been warned and warned again of what is involved. They were warned a year ago in the strongest terms by the then Government. We have issued two public statements in unequivocal terms, last October, last April: Mr. Smith is in no doubt that those warnings still stand.

This past week every one of our political parties has urged him to think again. The whole Commonwealth, 21 nations, without exception, have reinforced these warnings, this urgent advice not to enter on this dangerous road; and to their warnings have been added the voice, urgent, friendly, compelling, of almost every country with whom Rhodesia has had dealings and would wish in the future to have dealings.

Without A Friend in the World

Under our laws a Rhodesia which took its independence by unilateral action without the authority of Parliament would be acting illegally, in a state of rebellion, and we should have to act accordingly.

More than that, Rhodesia would for all practical purposes be without a friend in the world—unrecognized, illegally governed, alone. The consequences for Rhodesia and her people would be incalculable. I only wish I could say they would stop there.

One of our best-known political journalists wrote last week before our talks ended that "Mr. Smith will fly home with a torch in his hand which could set Africa ablaze". This is not the language of panic, or of threats.

A U.D.I., a so-called independence illegally taken, could start a chain reaction in Africa of which no one could see the end. Many innocent people, men, women, children, of all races, black and white, could lose their lives. It is a nightmare with which I have to live that this could be enacted again—on British soil.

We have said—this was the starting point of our talks, and I said it to Mr. Smith last week—the Rhodesian people are our own kith and kin. They are our people. But our kith and kin are not confined to Rhodesia. Once cry havoc, once let slip the ugly passions of race and colour and tribal conflict, it is but a short step to communal rioting—and worse.

I cannot believe that Mr. Smith and his colleagues can go from here and take action which they know to be illegal, and

which would destroy the very harmony they seek to establish in their country. At least, after the warnings they have had, they can no longer harbour any illusions about what the British reaction must be, about what the world reaction will be, about what the more incalculable reaction, in terms of human life and human misery, might be.

Before we parted he asked me: "What other course is there open for us?" If I had not had an answer to give I would be even more depressed, even more conscious of our country and the world being caught up in a remorseless wheel of tragedy.

But there is an answer. There is more than one answer, more than one alternative course, and we have urgently held them out to him.

We are prepared to go on talking, to examine, even now the possibility of coming at any rate a little closer together on the issues which still so deeply divide us. We have told him we are prepared to work out a programme for early independence based on guaranteed progress towards majority rule.

We have made proposals for an interim period working under the existing Constitution, during which Africans would be taken into a multi-racial Government, trained as junior Ministers and Parliamentary secretaries while a massive and dynamic programme of education and training is introduced with our help, schools, colleges, as well as training facilities in administration—in Britain, in Rhodesia, in other independent African countries—for the Rhodesian people.

We have proposed, as the Commonwealth Prime Ministers proposed, a constitutional conference representative of the whole Rhodesian people, to hammer out, under the chairmanship of a British Minister, a new and fair and guaranteed basis for independence. Only yesterday I offered to send the Secretary of State to Rhodesia at any time for as long as Rhodesian Ministers are prepared to continue the discussions with him.

"Prime Minister, Think Again"

All these we have proposed; and the Rhodesian Ministers rejected them. We are not giving up. Too much is at stake.

Yesterday I got on the phone to the Prime Minister of Australia, Sir Robert Menzies. Last night I was in direct touch with 19 other heads of Commonwealth Governments. This evening Her Majesty's High Commissioner in Salisbury took Mr. Smith a personal message from me pressing him, if he continues to reject independence on the terms we have offered, to agree to a new Commonwealth initiative, to a mission of senior Commonwealth Prime Ministers, representing all the Prime Ministers and Presidents and peoples of the Commonwealth, to see if agreement can be reached without bloodshed, without economic disruption, in harmony, and on a basis designed to secure the future stability, security, prosperity, welfare and independence of a Commonwealth country we all want to help.

I know I speak for everyone in these islands, all parties, all our people, when I say to Mr. Smith: "Prime Minister, think again".

[Editorial comment appears under Matters of Moment.]

Mr. Garfield Todd Under House Arrest

MR. GARFIELD TODD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia from 1953 to 1958, was on Monday served with an order restricting him to his farm near Shabani for the next 12 months.

He was on the point of flying to Britain to take part in a "teach-in" at Edinburgh University on Wednesday this week. Among those who had promised to speak are Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Mr. Cledwyn Hughes.

Miss Judy Todd was flown to London from New York on Tuesday at the expense of the B.B.C. to take her father's place.

Mr. Todd has openly declared his support for African majority rule.

The official announcement said: "As a result of information received from security channels, an order under the Law and Order-Maintenance Act was served this evening on Reginald Stephen Garfield Todd restricting him for a period of 12 months to his farm."

This is believed to be the first occasion on which a white ex-Prime Minister has been placed under restriction anywhere in the Commonwealth.

Prime Minister Reports to the Queen

Sudden Flight to Balmoral

THE PRIME MINISTER flew to Balmoral last week to report to the Queen on the Rhodesian situation. Mr. Wilson left London Airport in an R.A.F. Comet at 8.26 a.m., and was back from Scotland by 2.50 p.m., having had an 80-minute audience of Her Majesty. He told reporters:—

"The visit was urgent. The whole Rhodesian situation was urgent. I cannot disclose what took place at the audience, but it is entirely usual and, indeed, necessary to report to Her Majesty about developments as serious as those in the case of the Rhodesia discussions over the past week. Moreover, there were steps that might have to be taken in certain circumstances, steps that we might want to take to help ease the situation, which undoubtedly had to be reported to her and on which her views had to be sought."

By that time about half of the Commonwealth Governments had approved the idea of a mission to Rhodesia of three or four senior Commonwealth Prime Ministers or Presidents, probably under the leadership of Sir Robert Menzies.

The Parliamentary correspondent of the *Scotsman* has written:—

"Mr. Wilson's decision to make the broadcast appears to have been prompted by the growing impression that the Government did not pursue every possible means to a settlement.

"It is emphasized in Whitehall that right until the last moment the Prime Minister stated his willingness to go on talking—but Mr. Smith decided there was no point in continuing. Indeed, at the airport as Mr. Smith prepared to board his plane Mr. Bottomley, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, told him he was prepared to go to Salisbury at any time for further talks.

Mr. Smith Won Many Sympathizers

"Again, it is pointed out that Mr. Smith steadfastly refused to accept the principle of majority rule in the foreseeable future, and also turned down the Government's offer to train Africans for administrative jobs.

"Mr. Smith undoubtedly won many sympathizers in his public appearances in London, his modest manner conveying a reasonable attitude to the problem. It does the Government's reputation no good at all if it is thought Mr. Smith was subjected to bullying during the talks."

Under the caption "Collective Security for Rhodesia", the *Guardian* wrote editorially:—

"A possible approach would be that three white and three African Commonwealth States, plus Britain as chairman, should collectively guarantee to the people of Rhodesia as a whole their support—moral, economic, and military—for positive developments towards majority rule and against racial laws and disorders when majority rule is achieved.

"Constitutionally, such a guarantee would diminish the sovereignty of Rhodesia for five years after independence. For this reason the African parties might be reluctant to accept it. But it is surely a better proposition for them than either U.D.I. or a continuance of the present Constitution. More immediately, the proposition would face the white Rhodesians with the prospect of majority rule in 1970.

"But is it majority rule as such that they fear or the indignities which they believe will go with it? Whatever happens in Rhodesia, the white position will be less secure in future than it was in 1923. It will be least secure if Mr. Smith's Government goes ahead with U.D.I. Then the whole world, with the exception of one or two countries, will devote itself to defeating the rebellion.

Guarantor of Good Behaviour

"A Commonwealth Commission would not supersede or usurp the Rhodesian Government, present or future. Its role would be that of guarantor for the good behaviour of the two races. The sanctions which it could mount, from gentle pressure to military intervention, would be held in reserve so long as good government was being maintained. It would take its place in the Constitution alongside the five principles, or something like them, that Mr. Wilson put to Mr. Smith last week, but its existence might make those principles more acceptable to Mr. Smith.

"The chances are small that any new initiative that does not perpetuate white rule will be acceptable in Salisbury. But

the attempt should be made. A Commonwealth Commission would be designed to perpetuate not white rule but good rule. Ten years from now, given an urgent new approach to the training of administrators—and politicians—white Rhodesians would find the prospect of being on their own in an African society less fearsome. If Mr. Smith were to reject even such a gradual transition he would forfeit any sympathy that may remain to him."

Tumultuous Welcome for Mr. Smith

Independence Likely Before Christmas

WHEN MR. IAN SMITH returned by air to Salisbury last week, he received at the airport what correspondents described as a "tumultuous" welcome, the warmest ever given to a Rhodesian Prime Minister. Hundreds stood in heavy rain to greet him, and as he left the aircraft sang "For he's a jolly good fellow".

It was an even-money bet, he told reporters, that Rhodesia would be independent by Christmas. The sooner a decision was made, the better. The Cabinet would decide on the issue and on the timing best in the country's interests.

Because of pressures from the Afro-Asian bloc it was almost impossible for the British Government to grant Rhodesian independence—though they would grant it at once if Rhodesia were willing to sacrifice her independence by accepting the one-man-one-vote principle. A Conservative Government would be likely to take exactly the same view as the present Socialist Government, and unless something completely unforeseen happened, there would be no purpose in further talks with British Ministers.

As to their threat of economic sanctions, "once they realize that the die is cast they will become more reasonable and responsible".

It was true that the American Ambassador in London had written to try to persuade Rhodesia not to seize independence. "It was a reasonable and friendly message". The American Government was very concerned and hoped that the problem would be resolved constitutionally. That and other letters were "constructive and written in a spirit of friendship and co-operation".

Advancement by Merit

Insisting that the Government's policy was that of advancement by merit, Mr. Smith said: "We don't believe in pushing an African forward merely because he is an African, as they do in other parts of Africa. But I would not be party to anything to hold back the Africans. I believe in letting merit be the criterion".

He had not left the aircraft when it made a 40-minute halt in Nairobi.

Next day, after a meeting of the Cabinet, Mr. Smith said in a television interview: "We are going to have a lot more discussion. I have impressed on my colleagues that this is the most important decision they will ever have to make. We have to be meticulous and see that every possible thing is discussed. I want them to talk and talk and talk until they can talk no more".

In reply to a question about Mr. Wilson's proposal for a mission of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, Mr. Smith said that Sir Robert Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia, had a standing invitation to Rhodesia and would be very welcome at any time. The proposal would be considered by the Cabinet, "but we should be mad, shouldn't we, to invite openly declared enemies to teach us how to run our country?"

Mr. Smith had found British public opinion more strongly favourable than he had expected, but he doubted whether there would be a split in the Conservative Party over Rhodesia. He did not think that Rhodesia would ever get better terms for independence than now. "So what do we do?"

(Continued on page 126)

Conservative Party Conference Debates Rhodesia

Lord Salisbury Pleads Against Imposition of Sanctions

AN EMERGENCY MOTION ON RHODESIA was moved by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, M.P., at last week's Conservative Party Conference in Brighton. It read:—

"That this conference, recalling with gratitude the close ties between the peoples of Rhodesia and the United Kingdom, and in particular the outstanding service of so many Rhodesians in both world wars, and wishing to see an independent Rhodesia within the Commonwealth, expresses the earnest hope that there will not be a unilateral declaration of independence, but that after a period for reflection a solution will be found by negotiation on the basis of guaranteeing the 1961 Constitution which enshrines the principle and intention of unimpeded progress to majority rule and of achieving the objectives set out in the Five Principles; and believes that progress can be made by African willingness to co-operate in working the 1961 Constitution and by agreement between the Rhodesian and United Kingdom Governments on a programme of educational advance in Rhodesia."

The Marquess of Salisbury moved an addendum, reading:—

"Finally, this conference declares its total opposition to the imposition or the threat of imposition of penal sanctions, economic or military, from any quarter, which could only impair the prosperity of the country and bring suffering to her peoples, both European and African."

MR. SELWYN LLOYD said in the course of his speech:—

"This motion deals with a difficult situation full of possible dangers, but not one about which we should give up hope. Nor should we concentrate solely upon what might happen in an extreme eventuality. Our paramount duty today is to avoid saying or doing anything which will make more difficult the attainment of our primary objective a free and independent Rhodesia within the Commonwealth.

Nobody Thinks U.D.I. a Good Thing

"I have not met anyone in this country who thinks that a unilateral declaration of independence—U.D.I.—would be a good thing. Its consequences are incalculable for Rhodesia, for the white communities elsewhere in Africa, for the whole of Southern Africa, and for the Commonwealth. In my view, this conference should do nothing which could be construed, however mistakenly, as support for U.D.I.

"That brings us to the practical point of finding some basis for a possible settlement. It is extremely difficult; but, during my seven, and a half years as a Foreign Office Minister I was concerned with several negotiations which seemed absolutely hopeless. People were saying that there was no conceivable basis for agreement, and that the Governments concerned were getting farther apart. But in the end patience won the day and agreements were reached.

"Over Rhodesia I believe that there is quite a lot of common ground. The 1961 Constitution, accepted by both Governments, is bound to result in time in majority rule. What are called the Five Principles seemed to us to be the objectives of both Governments.

"That there must be unimpeded progress to majority rule is accepted by both Governments. It is what the Constitution provides for.

"The second principle is that there must be no turning back on the 1961 Constitution. That too is accepted by both Governments. The argument is how that should be ensured. There is the suggestion of a 'blocking third' sufficient African members of Parliament to be able to prevent, if they wanted, the two-thirds majority required for certain constitutional changes. Mr. Smith has suggested a Senate of Africans, consisting of chiefs nominated by the Council of Chiefs. The idea has been put forward of incorporating this guarantee of the 1961 Constitution in a separate treaty, the decision as to whether there has been a breach or not to lie with the Privy Council. That might be better than some constitutional device. But there is certainly scope for continued argument.

"The third principle relates to better political status for the African. When African nationalist parties refuse to work a good Constitution intended to lead to independence they forfeit a lot of our sympathy. These African nationalists in

Rhodesia have lost four years, when they could have been fitting themselves to take a responsible part in the government of their country.

"But here again Mr. Smith has accepted the principle, and has offered to put all tax-paying Africans on the B roll, although he will not agree to increase at all the number of M.P.s. to be elected. I doubt whether he is right in saying no increase at all if the Africans are prepared to co-operate. "Surely, here again there is room for further discussion.

Rhodesia Might Provide Multi-Racial Model

"The fourth principle relates to racial discrimination. Mr. Smith told me that he is not a racialist. He wishes to see in Rhodesia a responsible multi-racial society. Efforts elsewhere have not exactly been encouraging; but if, things are handled properly and not rushed, Rhodesia might yet become a model of a multi-racial society.

"The argument has centered around the repeal of the Land Apportionment Act, which incidentally, was passed to protect Africans. Clearly it could not be repealed overnight, but I am reasonably confident that something could be worked out to satisfy all concerned about progress to eliminate racial discrimination. There is a multi-racial university. Multi-racial areas are being created, but it is important to make progress and not to try to put back the clock. I hope that reports about an increasing tendency to discrimination are ill-founded. Perhaps this principle, which is accepted, might also be a matter for the treaty to which I have referred.

"The fifth principle is that if there is accelerated independence it must be based on general consent. Mr. Smith accepted that in the *communiqué* after his talks with Sir Alec in September 1964. I hope that he will think again, about proving this general consent by some sort of referendum.

"The principles appear to be accepted. In such a situation it is as to how they are to be carried out. In such a situation it is wrong to terminate negotiation. There is too much at stake for that to happen, and we wish for resumption of those negotiations after a period of reflection.

U.K. Should Offer Substantial Help

"Educational advance is a field in which constructive action can take place while the discussions continue. I should like to see a clear-cut offer by the United Kingdom Government to provide substantial help towards educating African Rhodesians, and, just as important, towards ways and means of placing them after education in suitable positions. I cannot imagine that any Rhodesian Government would refuse such an offer. It would give renewed hope to those who want to see progress and the development of responsibility.

"We have noted the suggestion of a mission of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. Meetings of heads of Government can sometimes be of use; very occasionally, but they are not so effective when what is really needed is patient and lengthy examination of very complicated matters, like the provisions of a Constitution, 61 pages of it, an Act like the Land Apportionment Act, and the constitutional niceties involving tribal representation.

"Above all, we should want to lower the temperature to take drama out of the situation. I had two long meetings with Mr. Smith when he was here. Mr. Heath and Sir Alec were present on the second occasion. I like and trusted Mr. Smith. There is an abundance of good will, and I profoundly hope that no irrevocable steps will be taken. The best contribution that this conference can make is to debate the matter seriously and constructively and to pass this motion with the object that both Governments should resume negotiations as soon as practicable."

The motion having been formally seconded, the MARQUESS OF SALISBURY moved the amendment quoted above which stood in the names of Mr. Patrick Wall and himself.

"It had been the intention of Mr. Wall and myself to move a motion which we believed would represent the views of many others in both Houses of Parliament and many thousands of good Conservatives outside," said Lord Salisbury; but the executive of the National Union in their wisdom decided not to permit us to move that motion, and it has been replaced by the one just moved by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. I do not say that I was not disappointed, but we have at any rate made certain that there is to be a separate debate on Rhodesia at this conference. That is of the first importance,

SPEECHES OF LORD SALISBURY AND MR. PATRICK WALL

because this crisis over Rhodesia raises most fundamental issues for the Conservative Party. It raises the whole issue of whether our party stands for anything at all before this country and the world.

Liberty and Independence

"I was brought up to believe that one of the great principles of a Tory Party was to spread the British ideas of liberty and justice among the more primitive peoples of the world and educate them up to formal self-government in accordance with those ideas. But of late there has been a sad change. There has been confusion in the minds of our leaders—and this applies to all parties alike—between liberty and independence, which are in fact very different things, as events in the Congo and elsewhere have shown. There has been a tendency to be rid of our responsibilities at whatever cost to our kinsmen who are still trying with courage and devotion to carry out our traditional policy in the remote parts of the world.

"That was bad enough. Now over this question of Rhodesia there has come a moment when we are being faced with the final degradation—for we are now being asked by the present Labour Government not only to abandon our friends and kinsfolk, but in certain circumstances to tell them peremptorily to hand over at a very early date their fate and the fate of their wives and families to the tender mercies of men who are as yet totally unfitted to conduct any free form of government at all. Are we to stigmatize them as traitors and enemies of the Queen and do our utmost to destroy them if they do not accept our *Diktat*?

"The final humiliation is that we are asked to do this in the cause of freedom. That is about the most cynical proposition I ever heard. Many people in this hall, like myself, know Rhodesia and the Rhodesians well. They know that these white Rhodesians are not, as they are sometimes pictured by people who do not know them, soulless exploiters batten on the blood of the African. They are ordinary, decent people, very much like all of us, with our background and our traditions, trying to lead the Africans forward and train them in the ways of civilization. Those are the people we are asked by our political opponents to bludgeon and blackmail into submission.

Steady Advance Towards African Rule

"Of course there must be a steady advance towards African rule. But are we really to be told—we who live 5,000 miles away—that we know better than those who live on the spot what the pace of that advancement can safely be? All this, it may be said, is inherent in the official motion, with a great deal of which we should be in full agreement. There are things in it that some of us would prefer to see different.

"I do not like the choice by our party of Mr. Wilson's five principles as the basis of negotiation. I do not like to feel that we are merely following his lead. Especially is this true, I think, of principle No. 5, because that has been widely interpreted as meaning one-man-one-vote now. However, the wording of principle No. 5 is so vague that it is difficult to know what it does mean. So we have not thought it worth while to include a reference to it in the amendment.

"A more serious shortcoming in the official motion is that there is no clear statement that we in this party are opposed to the whole idea of any imposition of penal sanctions against Rhodesia. It may be an unintentional omission. I hope it is, for though a Labour Government are prepared to do this evil thing, surely we Tories should not. It is to repair this omission that Mr. Wall and I have drafted an amendment.

"It appeared originally in rather a different form. 'Totally opposed' has been tempered down to 'deeply deplore'. The reason for this change is very simple. Mr. Wall and I came to Brighton and raised the question of Rhodesia, not because we wanted to cause a diversion in the Conservative Party, but because we wanted to get justice for the Rhodesians. I have been told since I came here that the original wording might have run the risk of splitting the party, and that the present wording is rather less likely to do that. From the point of view of the Rhodesians it does not seem to me to make any difference of substance which wording we choose.

"If I can get a clear and united statement from this conference that the Conservative Party would deplore the imposition of punitive sanctions, that would be quite good enough for me. I still hope therefore that Sir Alec Douglas-Home, who is to reply, will be able to accept this amendment

in its new form, drafted to preserve the unity of the party. It would indeed be very sad if we had to vote on this particular issue.

Debt to Rhodesians

"I am not in favour of a unilateral declaration of independence; nor, I am pretty sure, does Mr. Smith think I am. I believe it would be a great disaster, which should, if it is in any way possible, be avoided. But we owe a great deal to these white Rhodesians. They have brought to their country peace and justice where there were formerly war, pestilence, and famine. They are not, with all deference to Mr. Harold Wilson, traitors. They have always been the loyalist of the loyal. They have fought for us in our agony during two world wars. I hope, therefore, that this great meeting will say that we will not have any lot or part now in this their hour of trial in turning on them and stabbing them to the heart."

MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P. for Haltemprice, seconded the amendment put by "a man whose integrity is unquestioned, whose family gave their name to the capital city of Rhodesia", and continued:—

"For several years we have been told that there has been a bi-partisan approach to the problems of Central Africa. Indeed, this may well have contributed to the erosion and destruction of the Central African Federation, a process now being repeated in Rhodesia. But Conservative leaders have always said that independence should be granted on the basis of the 1961 Constitution. Mr. Butler promised only two years ago that there would be no further constitutional conferences prior to independence. I believe that the Socialists have now departed from this principle, and that they have therefore forfeited any claim to a bi-partisan policy.

Mr. Smith's Important Concessions

"In recent negotiations the Rhodesian Government made further important concessions: universal adult suffrage on the lower roll, a Senate or House of Chiefs designed to block changes in the Constitution, and even a treaty of guaranty which would show that no changes could be made derogatory to the Africans after independence. I believe, therefore, that the way is now open for agreement, if the British Government are prepared to move a little towards the Rhodesian point of view. But Mr. Wilson made no mention of these major concessions in his broadcast; and Mr. Smith was prevented from putting his case to the nation.

"Can anyone doubt that if Sir Alec were now in charge agreement would be reached? Like Lord Salisbury and, I believe, everybody in this great conference, I am wholly opposed to an unconstitutional declaration of independence because of the disastrous effect it would have in Britain as well as in Rhodesia. But I am equally opposed to savage retaliation. To my mind, military intervention is unthinkable. Economic sanctions could not become effective in, under at least one year; and let us face the fact that this would not satisfy the Afro-Asians who, because of the failure of British sanctions, would then demand the armed intervention of the United Nations or of the Organization for African Unity.

"It is very difficult for our leaders to condemn sanctions, as this could be twisted—and our political opponents are experts at twisting—into some form of support for a U.D. which we all want to avoid. But this does not prevent public opinion from making itself felt; and you are public opinion, and this may be the last time you can make your voices heard.

"Do you support a Socialist policy designed to transfer power to African nationalists in Rhodesia almost immediately? Do you? (Cries of 'No'.) Do you back Socialist policy of penal sanctions, knowing that this could lead to the intervention of the United Nations and the Organization for African Unity, backed by the Americans? (Cries of 'No'.) Do you give your moral support to a Socialist policy which could lead to the shooting down of Rhodesians? (Cries of 'No'.) If you do not, make your voices heard, and you may yet change history."

MR. ALAN HASELHURST (Hertford), vice-chairman of

FUTILE TO DICTATE DATE FOR MAJORITY RULE

the National Advisory Committee of Young Conservatives:

"I do not believe that this is a party political issue. It is very easy to oversimplify the issue, to vent our anxiety about what has happened elsewhere in Africa, and to show our desire to express solidarity with our white relations and friends. Lord Salisbury has put his argument with much authority and distinction. However, it is my clear duty to say, with the greatest respect to Lord Salisbury, that many of us in the Tory Party cannot share his view of the Rhodesian situation.

"The Tory Party is a party of change. The wording which Lord Salisbury would like us to add to the motion makes a nonsense of what goes before. If we say that we are against a unilateral declaration of independence but that we will do nothing effective against it we are giving direct encouragement to those forces who are pressing Mr. Smith to take this drastic step. I am not in favour of force, but I do not think that we should rule out the possible use of economic measures.

Lessons of History Disregarded

"We cannot accept threats. We cannot seem to approve what could turn out to be an extreme whites only Government of Rhodesia. If we claim to be the head of a multi-racial Commonwealth we cannot stand aside with a policy which means neither one thing nor the other.

"It would be the height of folly to do anything that would encourage the wilder elements in Rhodesia. If we do anything now to compromise the principles enshrined in this motion in its original form we may let loose in Rhodesia forces which would engulf and destroy all that we wish to protect."

MR. STEPHEN HASTINGS, M.P. for Mid-Bedfordshire: "My family have been connected with Rhodesia for many years. I make no secret where my sympathies lie. In this grave moment what can we do to be helpful and at the same time true to the principles for which I conceive we stand? If we want to discourage a U.D.I. the best thing we can do is to show that if Mr. Smith should come to negotiate independence with the next Conservative Government he would find us more sympathetic to Rhodesia's difficulties, and that we realize the futility of attempting to tie the hands of any Rhodesian Government to precise dates for African majority rule.

"The worst thing we can do is to get behind the Socialists, with their threats of punishment and the use of United Nations troops. It is a lesson of history that the British are not easily intimidated, and it is with British people that we have to deal. It is a second lesson of history that to attempt to exercise authority without real power is as ineffective as it is dangerous.

Economic Sanctions Have Never Worked

"Economic sanctions have never worked. They cause the maximum bitterness, the maximum ill will, and achieve nothing but distortion of trade. We have £50m. worth of trade a year with Rhodesia. The Japanese, French, and others are very ready to replace us.

"The latest U.N. resolution is a straight instruction to this country to use military force in the event of a U.D.I. I think we would all agree that there can be no question of that—unless the Liberal Party is ready to march on Salisbury!"

"But what about the U.N. force? The Labour Government have made the United Nations the keystone of their foreign policy. A week ago we had one of those inspired leaks: the papers were full of hints that the British Government would not stand in the way of a U.N. invasion of Rhodesia. I have seen the U.N. forces at work in Africa, and I would not wish that sort of armed anarchy on anyone, let alone my friends. Let Mr. Wilson say clearly what he intends; and let us this afternoon demonstrate what we intend.

"It is often said that the White Rhodesians are holding back African advance. How many people know that Rhodesia spends a higher proportion of her annual budget on exclusively African education than we in this country do for all our education? How many people know about the African Development Corporation—a non-profit-making organization of voluntary help by literally hundreds of white Rhodesian farmers to their African neighbours, using their own money and their own equipment? It is the most imaginative and successful inter-racial scheme in all Africa. It is a monstrous

misrepresentation to say that the Africans are being held back.

"It is said that if we should grant independence on terms acceptable to the Rhodesian Government we should incur the wrath and pressure of all Afro-Asia, the United Nations, the United States. Well—what are we? Thistle-down? Many times in our history, and standing on worse ground than this, we have cheerfully resisted worse than this sort of hysterical opposition.

"One-man-one-vote and a replica of the Speaker's mace do not automatically bring democracy. In Africa today all too often they bring tyranny, anarchy, and reversion. To work at all, democracy must be based upon true liberty, and liberty in turn is based upon the concept of property and upon the rule of law. These lessons must be learned first.

"This is the great sequence of civilization. It took us 1,000 years to distil. We have bestowed it on many men. We betray it to our shame. What our Rhodesian countrymen need is time—to develop economically, to pass on the experience of our way of life. We owe them our understanding and protection, not threats. By voting for this amendment you will show our people there that some of us are neither ashamed nor afraid to say so."

MR. JONATHAN AITKEN, prospective Parliamentary candidate for Mierden, Warwickshire: "Virtually everyone in this conference wishes to avert U.D.I. Everyone wishes to reach a settlement which is in the best interests of European and African Rhodesians. Everyone wishes to see an independent Rhodesia within the Commonwealth.

"There is still room for further negotiations. Our party's contribution is in the capable hands of Mr. Heath, Sir Alec, and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. They have already taken one decisive initiative towards a settlement and rescued the Labour Government's talks with Mr. Smith from stagnation. We must hope for more. But it is of permanent importance that we take no action which in any way prejudice or prejudge our leader's negotiations.

Too Simple by Half

"Our party leaders are the last people to wish to impose economic or, still worse, military penalties on our kinsfolk in Rhodesia. That is abhorrent to us all. However, at this stage in the negotiations to give an absolute guarantee about any future consequences of U.D.I. would be, I submit, premature and a mistake.

"This addendum, to coin a phrase, is too simple by half. It seeks to prejudice an issue which is still undecided and to anticipate a result which we all still hope will never happen. A vote for this addendum could be misinterpreted in Rhodesia, with disastrous results throughout Africa. By passing the addendum this conference would seriously embarrass our leaders in the conduct of future negotiations. In fact, we are arguing this afternoon over a split which really does not exist in our party, because the spirit of the fears expressed in the addendum is in sympathy with all our feelings. It is not the expression of the addendum but the passing of it which will do the damage."

MISS ELIZABETH OWEN (Conservative Commonwealth Council): "I am the chairman of a group in the Conservative Commonwealth Council which has tried to help in the affairs of Central Africa over the last 10 years. I have the greatest sympathy with my friends of all races in those territories. I fully understand the reasons which prompted Lord Salisbury and Major Wall to make their addendum, but for once I believe their judgment is wrong.

"I regret that any question of party should come into this at this stage. Our leader has been working closely with the negotiations and with Mr. Smith, and this is the most important thing to have happened. I hope that never again will the affairs of Rhodesia or the Commonwealth be made a cheap party issue. I hope that the Opposition will feel for once that this is not to be put into the party controversies.

"Surely what we have to do now is to get the emotion out of this. Let us keep judgment and good sense, because there is a chance—and a big one—that we shall not get chaos in that area and that we shall not get U.D.I. What we want to do is to stop the step being taken, to keep on a measure of development in Rhodesia, and to keep them within

(Continued on page 122)

PERSONALIA

MR. JOHN L. RIDDOCH left London by air on Saturday to return to Kenya.

SIR JOHN SLESSOR has been appointed honorary president of the Reserve Officers' Association of the United Kingdom.

MR. DAVID APPLETON, director of publicity in Ndola, is one of three directors of Norman Yule Exhibitions (Zambia), Ltd.

DR. A. M. BIRT has resigned from the Uganda Government medical service and returned to the United Kingdom.

MR. A. J. J. SPENCE, who recently retired from an associated company of British American Tobacco in East Africa, is returning to Kenya by sea.

MR. D. J. ALLINSON has been appointed assistant managing director of Hay's Wharf, Ltd., a company with substantial East African interests.

MR. S. G. SANDFORD, of Christ Church, Oxford, has received a Houblon-Norman Fund research grant to investigate irrigation in Africa, particularly in East Africa.

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, has given his coffee plantation near Kasungu to the Malawi Young Pioneers as a training farm. It was said to be worth about £12,000.

MR. M. M. NGOBI, Minister of Agriculture in Uganda, is visiting the United States. He hopes to obtain finance from the World Bank for large-scale tea growing by African farmers.

MR. A. L. RIDGWAY, managing director of the Cooper Motor Corporation of East Africa, Ltd., and MRS. RIDGWAY are on their way back to Mombasa in the s.s. KENYA.

SIR KENNETH GRUBB and MR. IVOR BULMER-THOMAS are two former members of the House of Laity of the Church of England who have been elected to represent the Diocese of London in the new House.

MR. AMISHADAI LARSON ADU, of Ghana, who is now the United Nations representative in East Africa, has been appointed one of two deputy secretaries-general in the new Commonwealth Secretariat in London.

MR. IAIN MACLEOD, a former Colonial Secretary, who has edited the *Spectator* for the past two years, is to resign in order to give more time to his political commitments. His successor will be MR. NIGEL LAWSON.

BARON KINGS NORTON (formerly SIR HAROLD ROXBEE COX) has been elected to the board of the Steel Company of Wales, Ltd. He is chairman of the Metal Box group, which has East and Central African subsidiaries.

DR. G. F. BURNETT, lately Deputy Director of the Tropical Pesticides Research Institute in Arusha, Tanzania, is to address the Commonwealth Section of the Royal Society of Arts on November 4 on "Some Newer Ways of Attacking Tsetse Flies". MR. A. E. ORAM, M.P., will preside.

MR. DEREK EBEN, chief tourist officer to the Government of Zambia, and MR. MOSES MAKWAYA, P.R.O. to the National Tourist Board, are visiting tourist organizations in Europe before flying to Mexico City to attend the general assembly of the International Union of Official Travel Organizations.

MR. DOUGLAS BROWN, assistant editor of the *Sunday Telegraph*, who was declared a prohibited immigrant in Kenya after he had written about Communist arms deliveries to that republic, was detained for three hours in a cell at Nairobi airport last week before being allowed to continue his journey to Rhodesia.

MR. N. J. BRENDON, who has joined the Information Staff at Rhodesia House, London, was until recently District Commissioner in Umtali. He was born in Salisbury, educated in Rhodesia, and joined the B.S.A.P. 31 years ago. He has served in many districts and every province in various Government departments.

LIEUT.-COLONEL H. D. TANNER is chairman of a select committee appointed by the Government of Rhodesia to examine restrictive trade practices. His colleagues, all M.Ps., are MR. J. M. BEHANE, MR. T. ELLISON, MR. D. FAWCETT PHILLIPS, MR. R. B. HOPE HALL, DR. A. PALLEY, MR. J. W. PITHEY, and MR. D. C. SMITH.

Consequent upon the death in an air crash in Mozambique of MR. C. S. WRIGHT, founder and chairman of Wright Rain, Ltd., MR. G. B. WOLVERSON has been appointed chairman, and Messrs. R. P. LETCHER, H. G. BRADLEY, and R. SHERBORNE have been elected to the board. MRS. J. O. WRIGHT and MR. W. T. A. RUNDLE retain their directorships. MR. RUNDLE is now managing director. The company has a Rhodesian subsidiary.

Recent Rhodesian arrivals in London include MR. P. L. BAILEY, MR. M. G. BOLLAND, MR. F. G. COLLINS, DR. J. C. A. DAVIES, MR. B. D. ELKINGTON, MR. D. T. T. FROST, MR. J. L. GALLON, MR. E. E. GRIFFITHS, MR. A. T. HINE, MR. R. H. JAMES, M.P., MR. AND MRS. H. E. LATILLA, MR. AND MRS. D. G. LOMAX, MR. R. J. MASTERSON, MR. J. R. PETRIE, MR. AND MRS. J. W. SWAN, MR. T. E. TINDALL, and MR. G. M. TURNER.

MR. PARMENA B. MATEMBA, now head of the Treasury of the East African Common Services Organization, graduated B.A. at Makerere in 1957, and for the next five years was a salesman for an oil company and a member of the staff of the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union. After attending a short course in business management at Harvard University, he became deputy town clerk in Dar es Salaam in 1963. He joined E.A.C.S.O. six months ago.

MR. G. D. COX, lately Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Transport and Power in Rhodesia, has been appointed Deputy Secretary for Agriculture (Economics and Markets). He was born in Marandellas in 1918, was in business for four years before the war, enlisted in the Southern Rhodesia Air Unit when hostilities broke out, and was later commissioned in the R.A.F. and saw service in the Middle East, Malta, and Britain. He was for five years Deputy Director of Civil Aviation, and was then seconded to the Federal Government.

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Protest Against B.B.C. Partiality Brigadier Skeen's Letter to Lord Normanbrook

BRIGADIER ANDREW, SKEEN, Rhodesia's High Commissioner in London, has sent the following protest to Lord Normanbrook, chairman of the B.B.C.

"I have become increasingly aware during my short term of office that the claim of the British Broadcasting Corporation to the highest standards of impartiality is certainly not justified by the facts of its presentation of Rhodesian affairs during the past two weeks. In particular, your refusal to allow my Prime Minister to appear on the programme '24 Hours' on B.B.C. 1 on Friday, October 8, was a gross example of suppression which demands a fuller explanation than that given to the Press.

"You will be aware that negotiations for my Prime Minister to appear on the programme were initiated by the B.B.C. on October 1 and were finalised the following Thursday except for minor points of detail. A member of your staff promised to telephone a member of my staff the next morning to settle these details, and at the same time stated that the B.B.C. was aware that my Prime Minister was to appear on a Rediffusion programme that night, and, while he seemed slightly put out because of this, indicated quite clearly that it would not affect Mr. Smith's appearance on the '24 Hours' programme.

"This promised call did not materialize on Friday, and at about 3 p.m. a member of my staff felt obliged to telephone the B.B.C. It was only then that we had any indication that the B.B.C. might not wish to go through with the proposed broadcast. However, the B.B.C. promised to give us the earliest possible decision. At about 5 p.m. a member of your staff telephoned to say, in essence, that the B.B.C. no longer felt able to include the Prime Minister in their programme as Rediffusion had 'skimmed off the cream' on Thursday evening.

"This seemed to my officials to be an unlikely explanation. That they were justified in their opinion soon became apparent. The *Sunday Express* of October 10 quoted you as saying that you alone were responsible for the decision to

exclude my Prime Minister from the programme on the grounds that the British Government's case was not going to be put, and you therefore did not think it was appropriate that Mr. Smith's should be put.

"I am astounded that you should give this as your reason for making your decision when, in fact, Lord Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, had appeared on this same programme only the previous evening. Furthermore, whenever the subject of Rhodesia was included in this programme it was presented, in my opinion, with bias and partiality and without any opportunity being given to a Rhodesian Minister to put the Rhodesian Government's case.

"In my opinion the culmination of slanted reporting on this programme was reached on Monday, October 11, after, it is noted, you had made it known that my Prime Minister's appearance had been cancelled, on the grounds of impartiality.

"On this night, after carrying part of my Prime Minister's final Press conference at London Airport, the programme referred to a statement of fact which included a reply concerning the record of the Rhodesian Government in the field of education. There followed a highly critical and slanted film report about Rhodesian African education. The programme was wound up by a journalist who is invariably hostile to the Rhodesian Government.

"I am enclosing a copy of my Government's Information Paper No. 3 (which was quoted by your reporter) together with another pamphlet dealing with African education, and I would ask you to read the relevant sections. You will then, I hope, agree with me that this programme was slanted and mischievous.

"For instance, your reporter, after showing a class of schoolchildren, made the bald statement that 'these children have arrived at what for them is the end of the educational line'. To the uninformed this can only mean that there is absolutely no possibility of their obtaining further education, which is a gross misrepresentation of fact.

"The argument put forward by your reporter that more than half the money spent on African education is wasted because more than half the children do not get beyond the first five years of primary school is highly tendentious, to say the least. My Government takes the view that it should attempt to provide basic education for as many children as possible rather than provide full education for a few selected children. Perhaps you have other ideas on the subject, but you would, I am sure, agree that this valid point should at least have been made if the programme was to approach impartiality.

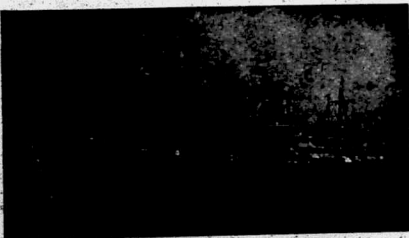
"Furthermore, your reporter alleged that European children pay no school fees whereas African children do. This statement is quite untrue. Since he quoted from Information booklet No. 3, he will presumably have taken the trouble to read the whole section dealing with education.

"It is my opinion that on every one of the several occasions on which the '24 Hours' programme has dealt with Rhodesia recently it has done so with bias and partiality.

The B.B.C. replied that Mr. Smith's views had received full coverage throughout his visit. When he was invited before he left Rhodesia to be interviewed in "24 hours" on October 4, he had declined, but offered to appear on a later date. The B.B.C. reviewed the matter on October 8 and decided not to renew the invitation "in the light of the prominence which his views had already received".

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City Team Fly to Salisbury

FOUR REPRESENTATIVES of British financial and industrial interests flew to Salisbury last Thursday to emphasize to Mr. Smith their view that unilateral declaration of independence would be "economically disastrous". The delegation went under the sponsorship of the Confederation of British Industry, whose overseas director, Mr. John Whitehorn, put British investment in Rhodesia at up to £200m.

Sir Peter Runge, vice-president of C.B.I. and vice-chairman of Tate and Lyle, Ltd., a group with a large sugar interests in Rhodesia, led the delegation.

Its other members were Mr. Trevor Peppercorn, chairman of the Rhodesia Committee of C.B.I. and a director of the Dunlop Rubber Co., Ltd., which has a plant in Rhodesia; Mr. Eric Faulkner, chairman of Glyn Mills bank; and Mr. John Pears, governor of Cable and Wireless (Holdings), Ltd.

The mission saw the Prime Minister on Monday before flying back to London. They had already talked to Mr. Rudland, Minister of Commerce.

They told all Rhodesians with whom they were in contact that they believed U.D.I. would bring the gravest consequences and be disastrous for the Rhodesian economy.

MOST USELESS COLLECTION OF AFRICAN LEADERS

(Continued from page 119)

the Commonwealth of Nations. If we do anything today because of emotion—and our heart is bleeding for our friends there, whatever races they are—we might spoil the whole thing. I hope you will accept the motion without the addendum.”

MR. HENRY CLARK, M.P. for Antrim, North: “Seventy-five years ago a party of British adventurers set out into the wilderness to build a new country. They succeeded, and they have now made Rhodesia the richest country in Africa north of the Zambezi. There is not a person in this great hall who does not take pride in their achievement, but today Rhodesia has set us a problem which must inevitably split our loyalties. They are asking our blessing and permission to break one of the basic principles on which we have built the Commonwealth.”

U.D.I. Means White Domination

“We believe that the people of a country have the right to say how they will be governed. Many Rhodesians fought with us to defend the principle of self-determination. Rhodes himself stated it in slightly different terms many years ago when he promised equal rights for all civilized men.

“The men who shout for U.D.I. at Salisbury Airport are not shouting for independence. That is merely a symbol because Rhodesia is independent today to all intents and purposes. Many of the men behind Smith mean white domination in Rhodesia to the end of this century, if not for all time.

“I am prepared to admit that Mr. Smith has to deal with probably the worst and most useless collection of African leaders who have ever set themselves up in the continent of Africa; but we hear a great deal of the three generations of white Rhodesians. We sometimes forget there have been three generations of black Rhodesians since Rhodes gave his promise. I see the consequence of a policy of U.D.I., with which I must connect white domination, as only leading to a continuing and uneasy period to be broken by ugly incidents from time to time, a period of strife and fear, an atmosphere of guns in handbags, and secret societies. If I were a Rhodesian I would far rather tackle the problem of African advance and racial integration now rather than bequeath it with compound interest to my children.

“Much is heard, and much I respect it, of the way in which Rhodesians have built up their nation; it is often forgotten that tens of thousands of Britons went to build the Commonwealth in other parts of Africa. I was proud to play a part in that work, and I do not believe we worked in vain when we developed those countries and taught the Africans the principles in which we believed. In am not prepared to oppose the motion because I am not prepared to deny the things I worked for in Africa, and that tens of thousands of other Britons believed in.

“I am not prepared to say to Mr. Smith: ‘You can break the rules because you are different’. If you say that, you have to make it quite clear there are consequences in breaking rule. To bring those consequences home we may well have to use sanctions, although the real consequences of Mr. Smith's action will be an unhappy future for the people of Rhodesia, black and white, for many years to come.”

No Sympathy or Compassion

LIEUT.-COMMANDER MICHAEL BROTHERTON, of Beckenham, spoke against the emergency motion, saying (in part):

“I am against the motion because, apart from a reference to the fighting qualities of Rhodesians in two world wars, there is no mention of any sympathy or compassion with the plight in which the white Rhodesians find themselves. I support the amendment moved by Lord Salisbury, because it shows that there are people in this great conference who believe wholeheartedly that we must do nothing against our kith and kin in Rhodesia even if they should take this ridiculous step of U.D.I.

Mr. Hazellhurst spoke about honour as if the only honour was due to the black African. As the party that built up a great empire, are we not people who owe a great debt of honour to those who over the last 80 years have built Rhodesia from a savage, primitive society into a prosperous nation and given to the black African a higher standard of living than any other country in the African continent apart from the Union of South Africa?

“Too often in the late 'forties and in the 'fifties we have had the principle of one-man-one-vote given to these newly-emerged countries. What has happened? It has been one-man-one-vote once; and after the first election a dictatorship has been established. The examples are too numerous to quote. I give you Tanzania and Ghana as a start. Precipitate giving of independence to nations which are not ready for it leads to chaos and slaughter. The classic example is of course in the Congo. I am not prepared to support any policy which will lead to a Congo situation developing in Rhodesia.

“If U.D.I. is declared and Mr. Wilson decides to impose economic sanctions on Rhodesia, and if this policy is supported by the leaders of the Conservative Party, their act would split this party. I ask you to accept Lord Salisbury's addendum so that we may still be known as the party of honour, loyalty, and integrity.”

MR. M. H. L. LYCETT (Morpeh): “I lived in Southern Rhodesia for 13½ years, and four years ago I returned to England. Being English by birth, I feel particularly qualified to talk on this motion. While in Rhodesia I was chairman of the executive of a public school endowed virtually entirely with European capital the object of which was to give the best Africans the benefit of our education and educational system. I am therefore not solely pro-European or pro-African.

“I and the majority of the responsible electorate in Rhodesia are for maintaining the orderly society which has been built in Rhodesia on European expertise and on Christian principles. I like and am in tune with most Africans, and I regard some as among the best friends I shall have. I believe that majority rule by a population which are largely illiterate, in effect anti-British, as it is essentially influenced by agitators whose source of inspiration is increasingly Communistically inspired, must for strategic and other reasons be considered in the future with great caution. Further, the majority of Africans do not want to be bothered about politics.

Freedom to Run Rhodesia's Affairs

“Mr. Smith's politics and his need for independence are based on this bogey of majority rule, because white Rhodesians, most of them fair-minded and balanced people, need freedom to run their affairs as they, the experts, best know how. And yet those very politics are just as much the result of fear of the British Government, born of years of disappointment, as of fear of the African.

“I was in Salisbury when Mr. Macmillan visited Rhodesia before he went to Cape Town and pronounced those ‘wind of change’ words which spell so much disaster for the white man in Africa. He spoke eloquently, but said little to encourage those who were trying, as they still are, to improve the lot of all colours of Africans.

“He did not say: ‘Do your best, and we shall try to stand behind you’. Rather, he left the impression, which events have done little to erase, that responsible people in Rhodesia had to fend for themselves. People like Mrs. Barbara Castle and Mr. John Stonehouse, on their periodic and Messianic visits, have fanned the flames of mistrust.

“Independence will be achieved somehow, but its achievement under a white majority Government will give the best chance for the prosperity and happiness of the whole country, including white, Coloured and Asiatic as well as black.

“I support the motion as I regard U.D.I. as a great risk to Rhodesia. I think, however, that it is a risk which the Rhodesian Government may feel bound to take if penal sanctions—what they regard as yet another example of the perfidy of their British brothers are to be imposed.

“Wherever I go among our electorate I hear expression of sympathy with Mr. Smith, and I have no doubt that a great many supporters and wavering supporters of the Conservative cause wish him to achieve independence with no voting strings attached. Agreement with penal sanctions by the Conservative Party would be regarded by them as a breach of faith, and would be ultimately ineffective and a source of further bitterness in the years to come.

“Therefore I wholeheartedly support Lord Salisbury's addendum, though believing that at the same time the Conservative Party should make it abundantly clear to Mr. Smith that it gives him no support whatever for declaring independence unilaterally. The *Economist* ended a recent article to the effect that we and white Rhodesians are brothers, adding, ‘But so were Cain and Abel’. I believe that premature encouragement for majority rule, and/or penal sanctions, would be another step towards fratricide for our Rhodesian brothers.”

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME'S REPLY TO THE DEBATE

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME, M.P., wound up the debate, saying in the course of his speech:—

"On the debate now taking place in Rhodesia hangs the fateful decision as to whether Rhodesia will by a unilateral act sever the ties with Britain which have meant so much to both peoples for so long and held out so much hope that a multi-racial State might evolve in the centre of Africa.

Need for Caution

"We must weigh every word which we use. If anything was said to give encouragement to the reckless or to those who are careless of the welfare of Rhodesia and of this country, or if any word should be said which discouraged those who seek for moderation and agreement, we should not forgive ourselves, and neither should we be forgiven.

"Britain's objective in Central Africa, as it has always been interpreted by the Conservative Party, both during the years of the Central African Federation and since, was to lead these communities first to self-government and then to independence, accepting in the process an obligation to both the Europeans and the Africans—to the latter that majority rule would come in the fullness of time, and to the former that when majority rule arrived the future of their white minority would be secure.

"This goal in the heart of Africa may have been ambitious. Mr. Lyett suggested that this was so, and I perhaps agree; but, like him, I feel that it was and is an honourable aim, consistent with the dignity of man, whatever his colour.

"I was a strong protagonist of the Central African Federation. I tried to save its life. I still believe that if the Socialist Party in Britain had had the statesmanship to co-operate in the Monckton Commission, or even if the report of that Commission had been accepted on the day it was published, there is just a chance that the Federation might have been alive today. I recall that only to illustrate a danger which haunted men then and haunts me now—the division of Africa into a black nationalist Africa to the north of the Zambezi, white-dominated Africa to the south, and an armed frontier between them. I would do anything I conceivably could to stop a U.D.I. because I believe this might be the second act in a relentless tragedy in Africa.

"We Conservatives should add our voice to those who are asking the Rhodesian Government to drop the proposal for a unilateral declaration of independence, and that we should say from this conference to both governments that they should get back to the table and stay there until an agreement is reached.

Friends of Rhodesia

"Lord Salisbury is pre-eminently a constitutionalist. He is also a friend of the Rhodesians. His word carries great weight in that country, and rightly so. But even he has to tell the Rhodesians that if they declare independence they will be putting themselves outside the law, and therefore beyond the jurisdiction and protection of the Crown.

"I have heard the Conservative attitude called harsh. It is not harsh. Nor are we identifying ourselves with Socialist policy or Socialist attitudes. What we are doing is to tell the Rhodesians the truth. It is our duty, because the Rhodesians are our friends.

"Lord Salisbury asks the Conservative Party to pledge itself that sanctions by the United Nations will not be used. All of us have the strongest views about sanctions one way or the other. I have them myself. I am quite certain, however, that in advance of the declaration of independence, when even now that tragedy may be averted, this conference ought not to be asked to pass or reject such a proposition. We ought not to do that now by vote. I thought Mr. Aitken hit the nail on the head when he said that it was not speaking to the addendum which could do damage and lead to misunderstanding, but voting which could lead to misunderstanding that would be so terribly dangerous.

"When we were a Government we insisted that Rhodesian affairs should be a matter for the United Kingdom Government solely. Others may help towards a solution, as, for instance, a Commonwealth Prime Minister or Commonwealth Prime Ministers. However, this must be a subject for the United Kingdom and Rhodesia. This would hold whether there is agreement or disagreement; and the attitude we held in Government still holds, and we shall not alter it. The form of independence is a matter for Britain and Rhodesia, and in our view no-one else has any status to intervene.

"I hope therefore that Lord Salisbury will not ask for a vote on his addendum, because if he did I should have to ask

the conference to reject it. However, I shall ask the conference not to vote at all.

"If Rhodesia were to break away and their Government were illegal and unrecognized—because that would be bound to be the case if they were outside the law—it would clearly be impossible for things to go on between us entirely as they have before. I do not want to specify this or that action, which would look like a threat—and there ought not to be threats now—but we could not, of course, be expected to give the same special help and finance, investment and trade as we do now, when we are partners at the present time with the same enterprise and the same aims.

"But I hope and pray that this U.D.I. will not come. I have been insistent on this matter in the advice the Conservative Opposition has had to give to Mr. Smith and the people of Rhodesia. If we had not made it plain that a U.D.I. would put Rhodesia outside the law, many Rhodesians might act on the assumption that they could declare independence without serious consequences. So loyal are these people that some of them have thought that they could declare independence and still owe allegiance to the Queen. It is our duty to tell them that this is not possible, because independence would put them outside the law.

Tories Do Not Want to Change Constitution

"Lord Salisbury said very truly that there is all the difference between liberty and independence. He has written that Rhodesia was being asked to hand over power to Africans who were not responsible and that Britain might be in danger of repeating in Rhodesia the error of the Belgians in the Congo. There are those who feel that Rhodesia ought to behave in this way, and there are those who would press Rhodesia for immediate majority rule. If anybody contemplates such action, it is not the Conservatives.

"We have said that we will help Rhodesia to sustain the 1961 Constitution. I hope Mr. Wall will take from me that we do not seek to amend it. We have said we would not amend it without the consent of the Rhodesian Government and that, pledged by which majority rule must come. In my opinion, it is not possible to do so, even if it were desirable.

"Tempers are too frail and events stubbornly refuse to be contained in that kind of strait-jacket. What we have to try to do is to achieve a momentum of economic and social advance which can be seen to be maintained until the goal is one of majority government by responsible men. That is provided for in the 1961 Constitution—the Constitution accepted by Mr. Smith, by us as a Conservative Government, and by us as a Conservative Opposition. Those who advocate a rigid time limit for a majority rule must understand that it is not practical politics.

"I have never had much doubt myself as to the essential elements in a transfer to independence. They are the maintenance of the 1961 Constitution with its safeguards and the working of that Constitution, which provides for unimpeded progress towards majority rule and a parallel programme for African education.

Secret to Transfer of Independence

"Some years ago I made this proposal for an advance in African education to Mr. Winston Field, who, unfortunately, left office soon afterwards. But it was then, and it still is, a Conservative proposal, and I believe that in it lies the secret of the transfer of independence to Rhodesia. African politicians anywhere in Africa will assume a heavy responsibility if they try to turn down such a plan. The educational programme would be jointly financed by the Governments of the United Kingdom and Rhodesia, and so great is the prize that I believe that Britain should, if necessary, shoulder the lion's share of the expenditure.

"Mr. Smith accepts the principle of unimpeded progress towards majority rule. I cannot see that if he and his colleagues are sincere in their statements—and I believe they are—they could refuse an educational programme which would give blood and life and reality to their words and bring confidence to all Rhodesia's people. That would give the clearest indication that no trend of *apartheid* would be tolerated in Rhodesia; and the willingness of the Africans to work the Constitution—which, of course, would be a necessary condition—would be the clearest indication of their consent and their confidence in their country's future. We would go a long way if we could adopt a programme of this kind towards independence for Rhodesia by consent.

"Mr. Selwyn Lloyd analysed the prospects for further and fruitful negotiation, and he took the five principles on which Mr. Smith and Mr. Wilson have been working because they have been working on them. We should not as a Conservative Party be bound by those principles. I remember all too clearly

CONFERENCE RECOMMENDED NOT TO VOTE ON MOTION

what happened to the five principles of co-existence signed by India with China.

"But we can as a party put forward proposals of our own. One is that this progress to independence should be based on a programme of advanced education. Another which we made the other day, and which has not been considered either by Mr. Smith or by the British Government, is that the safeguards against any recession for advance for the Africans should be contained in a treaty which should be given international status. That proposal ought to be considered when negotiations are resumed.

"I ask the conference, keeping in mind all the time the terrible responsibility which lies on those of us who wish above all things to see independence given to Rhodesia, but at the same time to fulfil our obligations both to the African people and to the Europeans, to do three things: to give unanimous support to the motion, so that we can ask both Governments to get round the table and negotiate; not to pursue the question of penalties while there is a hope that the united declaration of independence will be dropped; and to urge that negotiations should be resumed.

"I see no reason for disunity in our party on this matter. We are working for the independence of Rhodesia in honour, and we are all working to the same end. I hope that we can have national unity on this matter as well. I am sure that we shall best contribute to this matter at this time, when no unilateral declaration of independence has yet been made—and we hope that it will not be—if we do not vote at this stage and

hope that the unilateral declaration of independence will never see the light of day because a negotiated settlement will and must be found".

LORD SALISBURY, upon whom the chairman then called: "I would like first to make it clear that I do not recede from one word which I have uttered today. I believe that I have solid support throughout the country and certainly in this hall this afternoon.

"However, in view of what has been said by the chairman and Sir Alec, I am prepared, not indeed to withdraw the addendum—that would be asking too much of me—but to leave it to this great conference itself to decide whether there should be a vote on my addendum.

"I feel that those of us who were concerned with the addendum have achieved much of our main purpose this afternoon. I feel that we have won a very considerable victory, for I am quite sure the country will recognize from this debate and the feelings that have been shown here how violent an explosion of feeling there would be in the Conservative Party, and I believe throughout the whole country, should there ever be a question of punitive measures against Rhodesia. As to whether there should be a vote on my addendum, I leave it to you in the hall to decide, and I will accept the verdict."

THE CHAIRMAN: "I now ask the conference: Do you want the addendum to be voted on or not?"
Loud cries of "No".

Rhodesian African Leaders Warned Target More Important than Date

PRESIDENT NYERERE said last week when addressing the Parliament in Tanzania:—

"I do not dare to hope that this Rhodesian Government will change its views concerning majority rule, and I am not yet satisfied that the British Government will not agree to grant independence to Rhodesia before having a majority Government, that is, Africans. But the principle of human rights is to my mind a greater consideration than the question of independence. It is more important for the people to insist on demanding its right than for Rhodesia to rule itself tomorrow if such self-rule means that the people are deprived of their right. Greater haste will not bring greater speed. Also, if peaceful methods still exist, it is better to aim at the goal through peaceful means than to plunge the people of Rhodesia into the upheavals of war and bloodshed.

Very Difficult Problems

"The problems of Rhodesia are very difficult. It is very simple for us to talk about how the principles of human right are being denied within that country, but this will not help us. What is wanted is a way to correct the present situation. That is why I have informed the British Prime Minister that, if these principles of human right are kept in mind, Tanzania will do all she can to ensure that Rhodesia attains the goal of majority rule and later complete independence.

"Three things can help to achieve that goal. First, we must agree that it is more important to lay stress on the target than on the date. It is our duty to call upon the British to assure us that they will not abandon Rhodesia to a minority. At the moment this is more important than to know the date for Rhodesia's independence.

"Secondly, the political progress of the people of Rhodesia will be enhanced if the nationalist parties there merge and cooperate more. It is a very great shame to see two nationalist parties competing when there are open threats of bloodshed.

"Thirdly, I believe that the possibility of the attainment of majority rule is very great if the leaders of the people of Rhodesia, when released from detention, make efforts to use constitutional methods to demand its independence. All Africa greatly prefers to use constitutional methods in securing political progress. Where there are no constitutional methods, then other methods are considered.

"The kind of political progress which will satisfy the people is that which will ultimately give these people demo-

cratic majority rule. But these things in most cases come by stages, and it is not advisable to reject the first stage so long as there is evidence that the aim will be realized. I am not saying these things because I am ignorant of the problems of the people of Rhodesia, but because I think there is a legal method which can be pursued to achieve the target of independence.

"The British Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of Rhodesia did not reach agreement in their talks. The results show that the British Government did not grant what was demanded. We support this step and congratulate Mr. Wilson and his colleagues for rejection of the demands of the Government of Rhodesia. My hope is that this rejection, although the British themselves do not want to say so, means that they now accept that Rhodesia shall not be granted independence until majority rule is completed.

"The danger of the minority Europeans grabbing independence still exists. My hope is that last week's talks in London will cause the European rulers of Rhodesia seriously to consider this dangerous threat and realize that, instead of grabbing independence, thereby completely destroying that country, it will be more beneficial to the people of Rhodesia, Africans and Europeans, to attain democratic rule by peaceful methods.

"If the Europeans of Rhodesia accept these bases of equality, they will see that Africans do not intend to transfer colour discrimination from white people to black people. As we have tried to demonstrate in a small way in Tanzania, we want Africa to be free together with all of its people, regardless of their colour or differences.

Rhodesian Africans in Tanzania Warned

"I want to advise our Rhodesian brothers who are now in Tanzania: I hope their leaders will listen very attentively to what I say. Struggling for freedom is not beating drums. We expect these brothers of ours, and especially their leaders, to show both by deeds and words that they are people who understand and who accept the difficulties and responsibilities towards other human beings.

"Many a time, when you hear our brothers speak, you will think that they are praying to God that war may occur in their country the next day. Their brothers in Tanzania will continue to make a very great effort and face any dangers to see that our brothers in Rhodesia attain independence and all human rights like ourselves. But we will do our utmost to avert bloodshed.

"It is possible that peaceful methods may fail to bring about victory, and if they fail then war will be inevitable. But we should understand that if war should take place, then that war will be fought in Rhodesia, will be led in Rhodesia.

"It is absurd for a person to enjoy himself in Dar es Salaam hotels and then claim—and be believed—that he is fighting and leading a war in Rhodesia. What these leaders, our brothers, should do is to be together with Joshua Nkomo and Ndabaningi Sithole and the people of Zimbabwe."

VIEWS OF LORD ALPORT AND SIR ARTHUR BENSON

LORD ALPORT, a former British High Commissioner in Central Africa, said in a letter in *The Times*:—

"The critical juncture in the relations between Britain and Rhodesia offers a chance to pave the way for a constructive solution for this intractable problem.

"Such a solution depends upon the Labour Government and the Conservative Opposition in Britain reaching an agreement that whichever forms the Government during a specified period of time will receive complete support from the Opposition in rejecting independence for Rhodesia and in applying the most rigorous economic and political sanctions in the event of a unilateral declaration, subject to certain conditions being met. These might be that:—

"(1)—Governments in Rhodesia operate the existing 1961 Constitution for a specified period without any amendment to its provisions or to the existing electoral law which has not been agreed with the British Government of the day.

"(2)—The African nationalist parties accept formally the 1961 Constitution and have co-operated constitutionally in its implementation for a specified period of time.

"(3)—The British Government of either party provides over a specified period a substantial annual grant towards the economic and educational development of Rhodesia.

"(4)—The British Government of either party over a specified period exerts its full influence to protect Rhodesia from all external interference.

"(5)—Dependent upon constitutional co-operation from the African nationalists, the Rhodesian Government carries out the progressive elimination of racially discriminatory legislation over a specified period of time.

Removing Rhodesia From U.K. Party Cockpit

"If such an agreement were reached between the British Government and H.M. Opposition the Rhodesian problem would be withdrawn for a period of years from the so-called cockpit of party politics in Britain.

"The European electorate in Rhodesia would be able to choose between a unilateral declaration of independence with full economic and political sanctions and accepting a situation over a period of time in which they would be released from fear both of the consequences of U.D.I. and of pressure prematurely to transfer power.

"The African nationalists would be able to choose between following a constitutional path with growing economic and educational opportunities and facing the indefinite postponement of African political progress and resorting to revolutionary violence, in which event the Rhodesian Government would have the full support of the British Government.

"No party in Britain has anything to gain today by exploiting the Rhodesian situation. The Prime Minister quite rightly describes it as a nightmare. That situation has been created by failures in statesmanship here and among black and white in Rhodesia. I believe that it is not yet too late for the political genius of Britain, to which all parties are heirs, to make good their past failures and thus save both Britain and Rhodesia from a tragedy which today seems inevitable."

SIR ARTHUR BENSON, a former Governor of Northern Rhodesia, wrote on the same day:—

"The full import of the letters you have printed from Mr. Corfield and Dame Margery Perham should be stressed, for it is doubtful whether the negotiators have been clear on it.

Africans Will Never Share Power

"First Mr. Corfield: 'Once Africans are in a position to acquire full political power that power will never be shared'. Is that fully realized in Britain? Is it accepted, as all African precedents show, that in Africa our beliefs in and hopes of a non-racial outlook must be abandoned — for perhaps two generations at any rate?

"Is it accepted that a black majority of one in the Rhodesian Parliament within that time would, without some 'non-democratic' safeguard as yet unfound, eliminate all white influence from it? That even as essential technicians or advisers no white men could count on any security? That the rule of law could no more be relied on than it could when Ghana's Chief Justice was replaced so that men acquitted could be found guilty?

"Why are white Rhodesians, with certainly some black support and certainly much black unconcern, hell-bent on independence now? So that if necessary they can change the Constitution or the franchise and so avert this destruction of their concept of democracy and their and our concept of the rule of law.

"Britain cannot trust them: they have done it before and they will do it again. They cannot trust Britain to help ensure

that the British concept of the rule of law is maintained: elsewhere neither Britain nor the Commonwealth has taken any effective step in that direction.

"And so to Dame Margery: 'We cannot in honour evade our obligations both to Europeans and Africans for whose absolute conflict of power we, both by action and inaction, are in large measure responsible'. Rhodesians, Britons and Africans agree on one thing: an African majority in the Rhodesian Parliament must come eventually. The whole crisis has seethed round what 'eventually' means—is it five years or 50? No man can answer that today: Mr. Wilson is thinking of up to five years; Mr. Smith cannot see it in his lifetime; and no progress had therefore been made.

"But go to the heart of that question and ask: 'How long will it be before the demonstrably just fear that those standards will be swept away becomes unjust?'

Safeguards and Guarantees Could Be Devised

"It is not beyond the wit of statesmen who will face facts to devise for one side and the other safeguards and guarantees acceptable to those whites and blacks in Rhodesia who genuinely want to maintain British standards. (The few like Mr. Chikerema and Mr. Gaunt need not concern either Mr. Wilson or Mr. Smith.)

"However long the search for them took, Britain would be evading her responsibilities yet again if, before they took effect, she either granted independence or pressed the white Rhodesians for further African political advance. Yet (we are told) it is precisely on these unrealities that discussions have so far been concentrated.

"Given the promise of real safeguards, the basic, and only sound, reason for the demand for independence now would vanish."

THE REV. MICHAEL SCOTT, writing as honorary director of the Africa Bureau, said in *The Times*:—

"Dame Margery Perham urges the British Government and people, in handling the Rhodesia crisis, to bear in mind its historical background. No one has contributed so much to the appreciation of those who founded British policy in Africa, and of what distinguishes this from policies pursued elsewhere as Margery Perham. It is a measure of her humanity and understanding that she is able to appreciate the dilemma in which the white people of Rhodesia and the people of Britain are placed by their adherence to two seemingly conflicting sets of principles.

British Colonial Record

"In the context of the broad sweep of history, the impact of the white race upon the surface of the earth will come to be weighed. The courage and adventure and the stupendous technical achievements of white men will be set against the despoliation and the human tragedies that have followed in the wake of his conquistadors in South and North America, Africa, and Australasia. Then it will be the Lugards and Livingstones whose record will redeem the history of a civilization that Mr. Ian Smith and others in Southern Africa refer to as 'our Western Christian civilization'.

"In the long term the record will show that the British, with their dual mandate and their principle of paramountcy of Native interests, at least enabled the indigenous inhabitants to keep their own land, to learn the hard lessons of self-rule, and the application of some of the techniques of science to the problems of feeding and housing their populations and using their resources.

"Hard as it is for our kith and kin in Rhodesia to appreciate this, the time will come, if they will let it come, when it will be appreciated in Africa by all races. The nightmare they have of Africa to the north of them will become a triumphant vindication of humanity, of man's right to strive for his freedom to make his own mistakes, and thus to learn the arts of self-government and self-control.

"The dispossessed of the earth will one day make their voices heard in sounding the verdict of history, whether they be the displaced persons of the North American and South African reservations or *les damnés de la terre* of North Africa, or whether they are the displaced persons fleeing in terror from the hysteria and ineptitude of statesmanship in the Europe of 1940 where Mr. Smith and many of his compatriots played so honourable a rôle.

"But what is the rôle of a white minority of 200,000 in the context of African history who today are in control of a political and industrial power that is not solely their creation? Their choice may prove decisive, certainly for them, in the coming struggle for the future of Africa."

ANGLICAN RECTOR SUPPORTS UNCONDITIONAL INDEPENDENCE

MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P., wrote in the *Daily Telegraph*—

"As I understand it, the Conservative Party has been and is still wholly opposed to a unilateral declaration of independence in Rhodesia, not only because of the technical illegalities of refusal to recognize Parliament in Westminster while continuing to recognize the Sovereign through a regency, but because of the probable consequences of such action to Africa, Britain, and the Commonwealth.

"Equally it has been Conservative policy to maintain the transfer to majority rule cannot and should not be rushed. When the 1961 Constitution was introduced it was stated that it would probably lead to an African majority in seven to 15 years, though it has now become fashionable to increase this estimate to from 15 to 50 years.

"This Constitution has, however, always been regarded as the basis for a final agreement on independence, and it was thus 'sold' to the Rhodesian electorate who approved it in a referendum. The same assurances were repeated when the Rhodesian Government was persuaded to attend the Victoria Falls Conference which dismembered the Federation and resulted in the independence of Malawi and Zambia.

"It was clear, however, that further advances for the African were required on independence, the more important of which were said to be a form of universal adult suffrage which would not lead to the immediate transfer of power, and the 'blocking third' which would enable African M.P.s to block constitutional changes of which they disapproved.

British Attitude Changed

"Recent negotiations appear to have changed the whole basis of the British Government's approach. The Rhodesian Government offered immediate adult franchise on the B roll and a Senate of a House of Chiefs, wholly African, which would give African M.P.s and senators the power to block constitutional changes.

"Mr. Smith also offered guarantees, to be enshrined in a treaty, to prevent the Constitution, which even now guarantees African advance to majority rule, being altered after independence.

"All these concessions were not enough: the British Government appears to have been forced by pressures from the Commonwealth, the United Nations, and the United States into a position of insisting on nothing short of a transfer of political power in the immediate future.

"This is clearly unacceptable to the majority of Rhodesians, both black and white, who not unnaturally wish to preserve law and order and their growing economic prosperity.

"The British Government has threatened savage economic sanctions in the event of Rhodesia setting up a regency, well knowing that any such sanctions could only be effective over a longish period of time, perhaps a year or more. The Afro-Asians in the U.N. would not be prepared to wait this length of time, and would, because of the apparent ineffectiveness of British sanctions, try to insist on U.N. intervention, which, once started, would provide the opportunity for action against the Portuguese territories and South Africa which so many of them desire.

"Thus a policy of sanctions would be an invitation to U.N. intervention, and the eventual responsibility for the ensuing chaos would rest on the Government which initiated these sanctions.

"In view of the inevitable escalation to disaster, will not the Government heed the sincere appeal of the Leader of the Opposition to continue negotiations based on the policy that has hitherto prevailed? If they remain obdurate, then public opinion in this country will know where the blame lies."

Throwing Rhodesia to the Wolves

THE REV. WILLIAM MILLS wrote from Hardwicke Rectory, Aylesbury:—

"I have watched with dismay the uncompromising attitude adopted by the British Ministers on the question of Rhodesia's independence. There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that if the British demands were accepted by the Rhodesian Government that glorious country would be thrown to the wolves.

"I was rector of an urban parish in Salisbury, Rhodesia, from 1956 to 1963 and had previously served for many years in South Africa, and I do know the African fairly well. He is easy-going and easily led. If he were given majority rule he would fall an immediate prey to the agitator with his parrot cry of 'Get rid of the white man'.

"During the Congo riots of 1960 the agitator was particularly busy in Rhodesia. My wife asked our houseboy: 'But if there was trouble here, you wouldn't harm us, would you?' He reassured her: 'Oh no, missus. I would see to the people next door. Their boy would see to you'. And he was serious.

"Europeans, mainly from this country, have been in Rhodesia for just over 70 years. During that time, a savage land and a savage people have both been tamed. The vast majority of Africans have still a very long way to go, but what has been accomplished is nothing short of a miracle; and the pace of African advancement is gathering speed.

"The Africans' advancement has been brought about not by Britain but by Europeans living there. They would not stop it now if they would; most of them would not stop it if they could. The record of peaceful progress towards a Rhodesian community where colour does not matter should speak for itself—it is far better than that of America.

"The British Government performed a great disservice to Rhodesia when it gave permission two years ago to the breaking up of the Federation. This could be put right, and should be put right, by granting Rhodesia, without any conditions whatsoever, independence now."

Rhodesia's Moral Right

(Continued from page 116)

Throughout last week Mr. Smith was in almost constant discussion with his Cabinet, with the Parliamentary caucus, party officials, and others on the question of independence, and after a meeting of Ministers on Friday, the fourth in three days, he told reporters that the next full Cabinet meeting would probably take the decision.

It was thought by Rhodesian public men that it would probably be made on Monday or Tuesday.

Mr. Smith told the *Salisbury Sunday Mail* at the week-end: "I do not believe we shall ever have such an advantageous climate as we have now."

He would not, he insisted, do what his conscience told him was wrong. A unilateral declaration of independence would be illegal from a strictly constitutional standpoint, "but we have every moral right and justification for it because we have been misled."

The Queen's association with Rhodesia might be broken after independence because she was a figure-head acting on the advice of Ministers in the United Kingdom; "but my regard for the Queen and the Crown is as strong as it has ever been."

Attempts to Frighten Rhodesia

Economic sanctions might mean that Rhodesians would have to pull in their belts a little, but the picture was being painted far too black by many people who wanted to frighten Rhodesia out of its independence. Rhodesians had to face the fact that a unilateral declaration would mean that independence was so important that it must be obtained whatever the repercussions.

Mr. George Brind, until quite recently a member of the executive committee of the Rhodesian Front, said in an open letter to the Prime Minister that he should resign, "for Rhodesia will not obtain independence on satisfactory terms while you and your Cabinet remain in office; the greatest service you can perform for the country would be for all of you to retire from politics."

In the view of the *Sunday Mail* U.D.I. would be "an awful gamble; if it fails it will be a disaster, and its chances of success are not high". The paper therefore declared itself totally opposed to such action in present circumstances.

The Salisbury correspondent of the *Observer*, however, believed that only two of the 50 Rhodesian Front M.P.s were against U.D.I. and only another three or four hesitant. His dispatch said that probably four-fifths of the white electorate were behind the Prime Minister, who had built up a personal position not enjoyed by an Rhodesian leader for at least 30 years.

SANCTIONS A SURE RECIPE FOR CHAOS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

MUCH PROMINENCE continues to be given to Rhodesia by United Kingdom publications.

"We fear the consequences of U.D.I., not because we think it may succeed, but because we know it can't," said the *Spectator* in a leading article which seemed to bear the stamp of Mr. Iain Macleod. It contained these passages:—

"For one year now Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bottomley have been pursuing a negotiated solution in Rhodesia that would have seriously offended their own party. That is why the overtures from both sides have continued for so long. In London last week Britain and Rhodesia appear to have presented their prepared positions, noted the discrepancies, and agreed to differ.

"After its apparent readiness to go so far to meet Mr. Smith, the Government's inarticulate display last week certainly surprised him.

"The suspicion lingered that Britain after all was doing no more than placing all the blame on Rhodesia, pushing her into a U.D.I., and preparing to hand the problem on to the United Nations. Perhaps the suspicion was right. Fortunately, however, with some prompting from the opposition, Mr. Wilson has thought again.

"The same horror of the consequences of a U.D.I. which the Prime Minister hinted at on Tuesday is now active in Rhodesia. It is realized now more clearly than ever before that a U.D.I. would take the issue out of the hands of Britain and Rhodesia alike. On the sanctions and threats of force which a U.D.I. would unleash on Rhodesia there would be no restraining influence. The way would be opened neither for majority rule nor for the entrenchment of white supremacy, but for continuing and spreading chaos throughout Southern Africa. This is the horrifying prospect which can still compel Britain and Rhodesia to reach agreement.

Crippling the Economy

"You can cripple the country's economy by sanctions; you may even bring its people to their knees; but no one has yet shown the slightest sign of demonstrating how this would guarantee the required transfer of power. Until we can be sure on this point it is hard to conceal that sanctions are an ill-considered leap in the dark. They are a sure recipe for chaos. They have nothing to do with reform. They will do nothing but harm to the African people.

"Mr. Smith need take no comfort from British revulsion from sanctions or from any apparent adjustment of opinion here. He has persisted in believing that the threat of sanctions was largely bluff. Maybe about the original British threats he was right, but he is not right now, and after a U.D.I. what Britain said or did would have very little effect on others prepared to crush Rhodesia and damn the consequences."

The Socialist *New Statesman* found it "profoundly disturbing that Mr. Wilson has not insisted on majority rule before independence, and appears naively to be prepared to depend on guarantees offered by a Government which has shown itself untrustworthy.

"Mr. Smith and his colleagues, for all that they have appeared before the British public as sincere men, honest according to their lights, exercise arbitrary and repressive powers almost identical with those of South Africa. Furthermore, it is difficult to see Mr. Wilson's proposals for a Commonwealth mission as more than a device for buying time. Will Salisbury accept the judgment of Nkrumah? The British duty remains to suspend the Rhodesian Constitution and accept the grim consequences. The interests of Africans south of the Zambezi must not be sacrificed to any desire to win the electoral middle ground in the Home Counties or achieve a Balmoral coup."

In another page a correspondent wrote of the use of force saying:—

"A maximum effort by virtually the whole of R.A.F. Transport Command would be needed to get an infantry brigade containing some 4,000 men to Central Africa in less than, say 10 days, and then the tactical assault group within that command would be able to land or paratroop at any one time only the 800 men of a single battalion. And such an operation would be undertaken just as the Rhodesian troops were in the first flush of reckless confidence and the British public at its nadir of uncertainty.

"So there is a wide expectation that the only initial military reaction would be the dispatch at the request of Zambia of a British or Commonwealth force intended to make her mining district more secure.

"Britain's military supremacy is most certain in the air—the small and obsolescent Rhodesia Air Force being vulnerable to high-altitude bombing and the Rhodesian Army being in-

capable of effective anti-aircraft defence. Air power has become identified with unrestrained brutality and deliberate terror, and so many would initially recoil from all thought of its exercise. However, a few precision attacks on fixed targets such as airfields and key bridges—delivered some time after the transmission of specific warnings—need not be murderous and would severely impair the capacity of rebel Government to maintain effective control.

"Economic reprisals must obviously form the spearhead of all attempts to deter or punish U.D.I. But it is hard to envisage a process by which a prolonged resistance might collapse that did not create the requirements for military operations. So no advocate of 'conclusive economic warfare' should persuade himself that he is not threatening eventual recourse to armed violence."

Mr. Ronald Legge sent a short dispatch from Salisbury to which the caption given was "Suicide Month." He wrote:—

"There is no doubt whatever of the tremendous esteem in which Smith is held by the European electorate. If he declares U.D.I. he will have the unqualified support of the vast majority. But there has been evidence during the past few days of re-thinking among the more sophisticated of the population. Not only have detailed accounts of the economic steps which Britain and other countries would take to bring Rhodesia to heel begun to have an impact, but the reluctance of South Africa and Portugal to become profoundly embroiled has not gone unnoticed.

"Industry and commerce have never hidden their acute anxiety about the possibility of sanctions bringing Rhodesia's economy quickly into a state of complete chaos and collapse. But industrialists' reports had singularly little impact on a people who had been conditioned to the firm belief that independence is vitally necessary to their country's continued prosperity, and that acceptance of Britain's conditions for a grant of independence would entail a quick hand-over to uncivilized majority rule.

"The handful of Africans who decided to work within the Constitution and contest Parliamentary seats say bluntly they would not accept the British proposals as conditions for independence because they could not trust the Rhodesian Government not to make constitutional changes once the ties with Whitehall were severed.

"The irony occurs to a few liberal Rhodesians that Smith and his colleagues have probably lost their best chance of keeping a white man in the saddle for an appreciable number of years."

Constitution Was Made in Britain

A more sympathetic attitude was taken by the *Church Times*, which wrote:—

"The Rhodesian crises seems to be moving to grievous tragedy, but this crisis is not simply a collision of good and evil, right and wrong.

"Mr. Smith and his colleagues must be judged to be entirely in the wrong insofar as they have allowed their fears to lead them into courses of action which deny to the majority of Rhodesia's people that prospect of educational, political, and economic advancement which is their undoubted due as human beings; permanent white supremacy in Rhodesia cannot possibly be justified. But there is another side.

"It is not only that Mr. Smith himself (as Mr. Wilson has testified) is a man of great sincerity and integrity. His fears that immediate African nationalist rule in his country would destroy a civilized way of life and lead to much more evil than good cannot be brushed aside as delusions when the terrible collapse of law and order in the Congo is remembered, to say nothing of the way in which some new African Governments have trampled on the rule of law and turned democracy into tyranny.

"The British Government is assuredly right to withhold independence so long as Mr. Smith refuses to give guarantees of reasonably speedy African advancement. At the same time, it needs to be remembered that the present (1961) Constitution is one of Britain's own making and choice.

"The British Government, as well as Mr. Smith, should think twice and thrice before embarking on measures which can lead only to misery, if not bloodshed in Rhodesia on a terrifying scale."

Nothing would so damage Britain's standing, the *Observer* emphasized, as the decision by other countries, acting through the General Assembly of the United Nations, "to do in Central Africa what Britain had said she would do but then failed to do."

A long leading article said, *inter alia*:—

"The strongest case against allowing Mr. Smith to have

"U.D.I. FATAL TO LONG-TERM INTERESTS OF WHITE RHODESIANS"

his way is that this would be fatal to the long-term interests of the whites of Rhodesia.

"Lord Salisbury has compared the prospect of handing over the Government of Rhodesia to the Africans to the idea of handing over the Government of America to the Red Indians during the first era of settlement. It is a fair point: but it is a point which can be turned against him, for in the 18th century two-thirds of the world's population had either been Red Indians or had sympathized with them, and if they had been logistically able to support a Red Indian rebellion, there would have been an overwhelming case for handing over the Government of their territory to them instead of to the settlers.

"The issue is certainly not whether Rhodesia should be pitched into majority rule without proper preparation, but whether it can be brought about gradually. Paradoxically, for Britain to connive in any way at U.D.I. would be an act of folly as great as that of the Belgians in hustling the Congo into independence.

Interests of White and Black Rhodesians

"The best interests of white and black Rhodesians lie in a phased transition. It should begin with a proper sharing of power between the races and the launching of a crash-programme to ensure that enough Africans will become capable of participating fully in running the country. How well this transition goes would depend largely on how genuinely the white minority are willing to co-operate in such a programme. If they obstruct the process, they will merely succeed in producing the worst possible situation for themselves.

"By resisting U.D.I. as firmly as possible Britain is performing a duty perhaps more important even to the white minority than to the African majority. The Africans are bound to rule Rhodesia sooner or later: what matters is whether they will rule it efficiently and tolerantly. That depends on how they are treated now.

"A suspicion remains—reinforced by the cheers for Lord Salisbury at Brighton—that the Conservatives remain half-hearted about sanctions. Many of them feel that while it might be in order to threaten sanctions, it would be wrong to implement them effectively.

"But to threaten the use of sanctions without being prepared to use them is not only dishonourable; it also carries the danger of misleading Rhodesians into thinking that Britain is bluffing. Nothing would be more futile than token sanctions. To describe effective sanctions as penal is a deliberate attempt to weaken Britain's resolve.

"Nor does the other Conservative objection to the use of sanctions—that this would be the first step towards dragging other nations into the Rhodesian crisis—make sense. The gravity of the crisis lies in the fact that other nations already are involved—as was shown by the 117 to two vote at the United Nations last week demanding that Britain should take every possible step to prevent U.D.I."

Proceedings over Rhodesia at the Conservative Party Conference were criticized by the *Sunday Telegraph*:—

"Nor was the eventual compromise on Rhodesia a wholly impressive example of Tory statesmanship. While claiming to deplore the very thought of U.D.I., the party refused to lend its full authority to the Government's current attempt at deterrence. But neither did it have the courage to come out against deterrence.

"What Mr. Smith will have deduced about how the Opposition would react to U.D.I. is difficult to say for certain. But there is at least an even chance that he will have been encouraged to take the risk. Mr. Heath's 'prayers' for restraint are hardly likely to seem very forbidding in Salisbury."

"Chuck It, Smith", was the caption to an *Economist* comment, which said (in part):—

"When Mr. Smith left London it was clear that the talks had broken down because he and the British Ministers did not speak the same language. Mr. Wilson, echoing Sir Alec Douglas-Home, had insisted that any basis proposed for independence must be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole. Mr. Smith declared publicly 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. This justified Mr. Wilson's comment: 'I feel we are living in different worlds, almost different centuries'. No meeting of minds across this gulf can be expected.

"It seems that the only effective way of deterring Mr. Smith and his colleagues from seizing independence illegally is the big stick of severe economic sanctions that Mr. Wilson has brandished. The real question is whether that big stick is of hard wood or only papier-mâché. If it rings hollow, the

Salisbury Government may yet take its plunge, quite undaunted by being told that this would be an act of rebellion. It can hardly be blamed for showing scepticism about the reality of the sanctions unless Britain insists quite firmly that they would be real.

"The Rhodesian air is so full of cloudy illusions. One which seems to pervade much of London's air too is the idea that a monstrous international army would be instantly conjured up by the United Nations to invade and subjugate an independent Rhodesia. Some of Mr. Smith's allies and some of his antagonists have jointly inspired this unfounded belief the effect of which is to blur the real issues to a disturbing extent.

"The U.N. has not the consensus, the precedents, the men, or the money necessary for the launching of any such cold-blooded onslaught. It might alas at some stage get sucked into the spreading maelstrom of violence that a Rhodesian rebellion could set in motion in Africa. But the kind of consensus that the U.N. can muster as things now stand is very different. It was expressed in the Assembly resolution adopted on Tuesday by 107 votes to two which called on Britain to do all it could to stop a rebellion, but envisaged no action by other member nations except refusal to recognize an illegally constituted Government.

"The sanctions to which the British Government has committed itself are meant to deter, not punish. Rebellion could in the end bring a much more dire retribution on the heads of Rhodesia's whites. To make them draw back in time to escape such a retribution, the threat of sanctions has to be convincing from the start; and, if they take their plunge, the sanctions will have to be used unhesitatingly, to halt a disastrous chain reaction as soon as possible.

"The lesson of experience—most vividly taught by the half-hearted use of sanctions against Mussolini's Italy by the League of Nations—is that to apply economic pressures that merely infuriate without being decisive is useless; indeed, it is worse than doing nothing at all."

The Salisbury correspondent's dispatch entitled "Smith's Non-Event," said:—

"Mr. Smith is good at taking the heat out of any emotional situation. Before the last election he brought the Rhodesians to a pitch of fine frenzy; once the votes were in he collapsed all like a child's balloon. At the airport on Tuesday he had 1,500 cheering, hero-worshipping whites eating out of his hands. They wanted a basinful of threats against Mr. Wilson and the Commonwealth. All they got was a 'thank you for coming to meet me' and a wave of the hand.

Gap Between Decision and Action

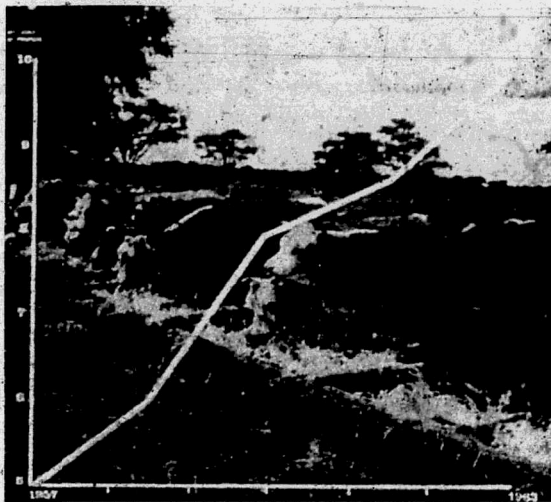
"Even if it is decided to declare independence unilaterally there is likely to be a big gap between the decision and its implementation. Attempts will be made to make it look highly legal. Mr. Smith will also most likely declare Rhodesian loyalty to the Queen and go all out to persuade British opinion that he is more sinned against than sinning. He is now convinced that he has the British man-in-the-street on his side, and hopes this will stop British use of economic sanctions.

"Many white Rhodesians are not so impatient as correspondents had earlier been led to believe. . . . Even the Rhodesian Front-aligned Mayor of Salisbury, Mr. Gordon Harper, said this week that 'sight must not be lost of the widespread and apparently almost unanimous opinion of business people against U.D.I.'. But when it was put to Mr. Smith that businessmen were showing concern, he replied airily that they had been concerned for some time. The struggle is going to be businessmen versus the rest.

"The rest, the unthinking stakeless employee classes with poor-white attitudes to big business and the Africans, are making the running. But what of the 4,000 or so farmers, mostly tobacco men, who are the spearhead of U.D.I.? There is trouble between the rank-and-file farmers and the executive of the Rhodesia National Farmers Association, which has warned them of the consequences of U.D.I. Many farmers, in debt to the banks after two bad years of low prices, feel they have nothing to lose by a gamble for 'freedom', especially since the Government has promised it would tide them over a difficult period.

"The Government's secret weapon is the Smith image: an honest, trustworthy, and eminently Rhodesian man with the right accent, the right birthplace, and the right Southern African education. 'Trust Smith' is a slogan in which the rank and file easily believe. His 'shabby' treatment in London and the rejection of his terms, which they consider entirely reasonable, has brought them solidly behind him. The sophisticated believe that he could get away with it now if he put U.D.I. in cold storage. There is a lot of truth in that."

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NO ALTERNATIVE TO 1961 CONSTITUTION, SAYS MR. CAMPBELL

WHILE THE DISCUSSIONS were taking place an issue of the Rhodesian Recorder, a commercial monthly magazine, reached London with an interview with Mr. Evan Campbell, who was quoted as saying:—

"I returned to Rhodesia a short while ago in a spirit of optimism, generated by the knowledge I gained as Rhodesia's High Commissioner in London that the British Government is prepared to lean over as far as they possibly can in order to meet this country in the matter of independence. Now I am not so certain of the outcome.

"There was a time when Rhodesia could have achieved independence within the Commonwealth, but in the political climate which now prevails I think this time has passed. I believe, however, that it is still possible to negotiate independence outside the Commonwealth; but this will depend upon one man, the Prime Minister. Mr. Ian Smith is, in my opinion, the key to the whole question.

"If the Prime Minister is reasonable in his demands—and he is a reasonable man—if he refuses to be pressured by unreasonable men, I think he will succeed. He certainly has enough popular support in the country to reject extremism. Whether he has the determination or desire so to do remains to be seen. I believe that he has.

"British opinion has lately changed in favour of Rhodesia. I put this down to three main factors: What has taken place in several parts of 'free' Africa, the often-irresponsible actions and statements which have emanated from the United Nations, and the growing colour problem in Britain. It is generally true to say that an Englishman no longer sees the African as a white man inside a black skin. He knows the issue is far more complex.

A Good and Workable Constitution

"The Tories could not commit themselves to open support for Rhodesia because they knew that Labour, for party political considerations, would not back them up; but if the Labour negotiators found a compromise that made our independence possible, the Conservatives would endorse the agreement wholeheartedly. A negotiated settlement of the Rhodesian question therefore would mean that Britain could present a united front to the Commonwealth and the world.

"There is no real alternative to the 1961 Constitution. It is a good Constitution, and can be made to work. Both British political parties assume that land apportionment must eventually go. Every thinking man recognizes the problems involved. Some European home owners would have to be protected from property devaluation, the small African trader from chain-store competition, and so on, but it is not beyond the wit of the legal fraternity to devise some system containing built-in safeguards."

Asked for his opinion of the first predominantly African Parliamentary Opposition, Mr. Campbell said that it was too early to make a considered appraisal of their abilities, "but if we are to have harmony in this country we must foster and lead moderate African opinion, not antagonize it by cheap debating points."

Economic Boycott Would Boomerang

"No Place for Threats" was the heading chosen by the Daily Express for a leading article which said, *inter alia*:—

"The cudgel of economic sanctions is not an effective weapon of political persuasion. Measures to harm Rhodesia would stiffen that country's resistance and be bitterly resented by people here at home. The British economy would be a principal victim of any trade boycott.

"More than one-third of our tobacco comes from Rhodesia. If we ban it we would either have to purchase more from the United States, at a cost of \$75m. (nearly £27m.) a year, or ration cigarettes.

"It is suggested that the Government should freeze Rhodesia's gold and foreign currency reserves lodged in London. Nothing could be more calculated to destroy confidence in Britain than such irresponsible action. Money would pour out of London in a torrent, for no nation would be prepared to bank funds here if there was the slightest possibility that they would be subject to political pressure.

"The truth is that an economic boycott of Rhodesia would be a boomerang, inflicting cruel and needless damage on two British lands. The idea of sanctions must have no place in the discussions between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Smith.

"Instead, these two leaders should reason together as sensible fellow-Britons, and so reach a just and honourable settlement of their differences."

General Assembly on Rhodesia Britain Should "End Rebellion"

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the United Nations called on Britain last week to take all steps necessary to end rebellion if Rhodesia made a unilateral declaration of independence.

The resolution was supported by 107 members and only two, South African and Portugal, voted against it. The representative of France abstained, and the delegate of Spain was absent.

Britain did not participate, re-iterating its view that the United Nations had no competence to deal with Rhodesia.

The resolution:

(1) Condemned any attempt on the part of the Rhodesian authorities to seize independence by illegal means in order to perpetuate minority rule in Southern Rhodesia;

(2) Declared that the perpetuation of such rule would be incompatible with the principle of equal rights and self-determination;

(3) Requested Britain and all member States not to accept a declaration of independence for Rhodesia by the present authorities, which would be in the sole interest of the minority and not to recognize any authorities purporting to emerge therefrom;

(4) Called on Britain to use all possible measures to prevent a unilateral declaration of independence, and in the event of such a declaration to take all steps necessary to put an immediate end to the rebellion, with a view to transferring power to a representative Government in keeping with the aspirations of the majority of the people; and

(5) Decided to keep the question under urgent and continuing review throughout the Assembly session, and consider what further steps might become necessary.

Mr. Goldberg, the American Ambassador, said:—

"The United States has not spared and will not spare any pains to make it known to the authority in Southern Rhodesia that we cannot condone any action taken by them in defiance of the responsible Power. We have sought to impress upon the Rhodesian authorities our profound conviction that any action which ignores the interests and rights of the majority, as of all the peoples of Rhodesia, can only have the most tragic consequences for that gravely troubled country. We have sought to persuade them that it would not benefit even the small minority of Rhodesians on whose behalf they threaten to embark upon this perilous task. The United Kingdom has long sought a responsible solution to the aspirations of Rhodesia for independence."

Monday Club at Brighton

THE MONDAY CLUB held a special meeting in Brighton last Friday on Rhodesia. The Tory Party annual conference was being held in the town.

Mr. Julian Amery, who made the main speech, said that the Conservative Party should not allow itself to be dragged behind the Socialist Government in threatening Rhodesia, and Britain should not "stand any rot from any American leader; after all, Americans have been rather proud of their own U.D.I.—though what they did to the indigenous population does not bear thinking about".

Lord Salisbury, patron of the Monday Club, referred briefly to the conference debate on Rhodesia earlier that day. The view which was that of the Monday Club had, he believed, ruled the roost.

Mutiny in Burundi

THE KING OF BURUNDI escaped into the Congo on Tuesday after army mutineers had attacked his residence. The Prime Minister was shot and seriously wounded.

Dr. Banda Accuses U.S.A.

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, said last week in Lilongwe on his arrival to attend the Malawi Congress Party's annual convention, that the people had been solidly behind him throughout, despite the lies told by Chiume, Chipembere, and their gang.

They must not be frightened by rumours, whether from China, America, Russia or Britain, and there were rumours that both the East and West were grooming someone as future Prime Minister or President.

"The West too, according to rumours, are grooming Chipembere. These are only rumours, but I know for a fact that Chiume is a tool of the Chinese. The Chinese do not like me because I stand in their way. Malawi, though small, is surrounded by countries which the Chinese think important. Anyone, whether in Peking, Moscow, Washington or London, who thinks he can groom Chipembere or Chiume and put him over your heads is a fool. Welensky tried it; but where is he now?"

On Sunday Dr. Banda told a rally that ex-Minister Henry Chipembere was being groomed by the United States; though the U.S. Government had denied that rumour, he did not necessarily accept the denial.

Malawi, said the Prime Minister, would never be ruled by "yelping intellectual puppies" like David Rubadire, the former Malawi ambassador in America, or George Michingwe, another former member of the Malawi Diplomatic Service. After all, the British people have not allowed themselves to be ruled by such intellectuals as Bernard Shaw and Bertrand Russell.

The American Chargé d'Affaires was one of several diplomatists who attended the closing session of the party conference, at which a resolution was passed condemning the "imperialist" United States for harbouring Malawi rebels.

Dr. Banda, who is life president of the Malawi Con-

gress Party, has been unanimously nominated by that body as its candidate for the Presidency when the country become a republic next July. The decision was made last week at a four-day national convention held in Lilongwe.

A draft republican Constitution prepared by a party committee was endorsed. It provides for a one-party State under a President who is both Head of State and Head of Government.

There is to be no Vice-President, but if the President is absent or too ill to conduct business a three-member Presidential Commission will act, one of the members being the secretary-general of the party.

The present holder of that office is Mr. Aleke Banda, aged 27 (who is not in any way related to the Prime Minister). In addition to being secretary-general of M.C.P., he edits the party newspaper, is director-general of the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation, and national chairman of the League of Malawi Youth. It had been suggested that the new Constitution might provide for a Vice-President, and that Mr. Banda would be the most likely candidate.

Parliament is to consist of 50 elected members, serving for five years, and the President has the power to nominate up to five M.Ps. to represent minority interests and to appoint to the Cabinet up to three Ministers who are not elected M.Ps.

Silombela Captured

MEDSON SILOMBELA, chief assistant to Mr. Chipembere in his attempted rebellion, has been captured. Dr. Banda has expressed the hope that he will be hanged in public.

Tanganyika Concessions

TANGANYIKA CONCESSIONS, LTD., report consolidated profit after tax to July '31 at £976,976 (£880,580). The ordinary dividend of 9d. per unit is to be repeated at a cost of £574,712. Whereas in the previous year there had been no dividends from Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, there were dividends from that source in the year recently ended of £562,772, out of which a special distribution of 8d. per unit, costing £510,854, will be made, leaving a carry-forward of £1.6m. (£1.4m).

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Mr. Tshombe Forced to Resign

MR. TSHOMBE, Prime Minister of the Congo since July last year, was on Wednesday of last week forced by President Kasavubu to resign his office, and Mr. Evariste Kimba, a former Minister under Mr. Tshombe in Katanga, was asked to lead a new Government. The Head of State told Parliament that Mr. Tshombe's transitional Government had objected to the change, but that he, the President, considered that its task had been accomplished.

Mr. Tshombe's party, Conaco, won the recent general election, but some of its M.P.s. have since defected to the new Front Democratique Congolaise (F.D.C.), whose leader is Mr. Victor Mendaka. He was Minister of the Interior in the Government which has been dismissed.

A spokesman for Mr. Tshombe said that the party attributed Mr. Kasavubu's action to fear of defeat in the forthcoming Presidential election when the Central Assembly and 21 provincial legislatures will sit as an electoral college to select the Head of State.

Mr. Tshombe said that he had declined an invitation from Mr. Kimba to serve in his Cabinet.

The *Daily Telegraph* pointed out that Mr. Tshombe had saved the Congo from a nihilist rebellion and won enormous popularity; that his party had a large majority in Parliament; and that he had no obvious rival among Congolese politicians. Moreover, Mr. Kasavubu, the President, was a recluse who had seemed a misfit. Thus estrangement had come between two men who had been good friends in the past.

Mr. Kimba was not a dominating figure in his country, said the *Scotsman*. Perhaps it was ominous that he came from a tribe traditionally hostile to the Lunda, Mr. Tshombe's own tribe.

Would the white mercenaries brought in by Mr. Tshombe now prove to be dispensable? The Kasavubu-Tshombe split might lead to disorders which would benefit trouble-makers and revolutionaries like Soumialot, who, like Chou en-Lai thought the Congo ripe for revolution.

Mr. Kimba and Mr. Tshombe

Mr. Kimba, aged 39, leads the Balubakat Party, which has only two members out of 166 in the Chamber of Deputies and six in the Senate of 132 members. It has recently joined F.D.C., which only a few days ago declared its support for President Kasavubu's idea of a Government of National Union and its opposition to Mr. Tshombe, who for some time has been thought likely to contest the Presidency against Mr. Kasavubu when elections for that office are held early next year.

Mr. Kimba, a Baluba from northern Katanga, was one of the founders with Mr. Tshombe of the Conaco Party, and when the Congo became independent in 1960 he entered the Senate. Very soon afterwards he resigned, and Mr. Tshombe made him Foreign Minister of Katanga. In that capacity he visited Europe and the United States.

After a conference of Congolese political leaders in April 1961 to seek means of ending Katanga's secession, Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Kimba were arrested by the central Government and charged with treason. When Mr. Tshombe promised two months later that Katanga would not secede, both were released. Mr. Tshombe declared on returning to Elisabethville that the pledge had been exacted under duress and was null and void. After military intervention by the United Nations he had to announce the end of Katanga's secession in January 1963. Fearing arrest, some months later he left for Europe, and lived mainly in Spain until he flew back in July, 1964, to become Prime Minister.

Mr. Kimba had from time to time been left in charge of the Katanga Government. When it succumbed to the United Nations, he went to France. Until recently he had been considered a strong supporter of Mr. Tshombe.

Guevara Reported Killed

THREE OFFICERS of Colonel Hoare's Five Commando were killed last week in action against Congolese rebels in the Fizi area on the western shore of Lake Tanganyika. Rebel losses in several sharp engagements were put at 160 killed. Dr. Ernesto Che Guevara, former Minister of Industry in Cuba, was stated to have been killed whilst serving with the insurgents.

Civil Servants Castigated

PRESIDENT KAUNDA said recently when talking to journalists in Lusaka. "My Minister of State for the Civil Service has spoken very strongly, and rightly so, on the abuse on the part of some civil servants of their responsibilities when it comes to Government vehicles. I myself have found Government lorries and cars parked in most disagreeable places and at some very ugly hours of the day or night. This is obviously disgraceful to this Government, and it is my intention, if need be, to bring in the police to check this scandal, and any civil servant or Government driver found parking or abusing the authority he has to handle a Government vehicle will be dealt with very severely. I'll not hesitate to dismiss them from the service. I intend to be very firm with the nation so long as I am President of the Republic of Zambia".

African Lawyer's Protest

MR. EDDISON SITHOLE, a Rhodesian African lawyer who was previously an official of the new proscribed Zimbabwe African National Union led by Mr. Ndabaningi Sithole (who is no relation), protested last week to the Rhodesian Government against an order restricting his movements to a radius of five miles on the ground that he could consequently not continue his practice as a lawyer in three African townships outside that radius; he asked for the distance to be increased to 20 miles. He first received a restriction order in 1959 during the Nyasaland emergency, and during the next two and a half years read for the LL.B. degree of London University, which he took by correspondence. Last month he completed another year in restriction.

Somalis Kill Many Kikuyu

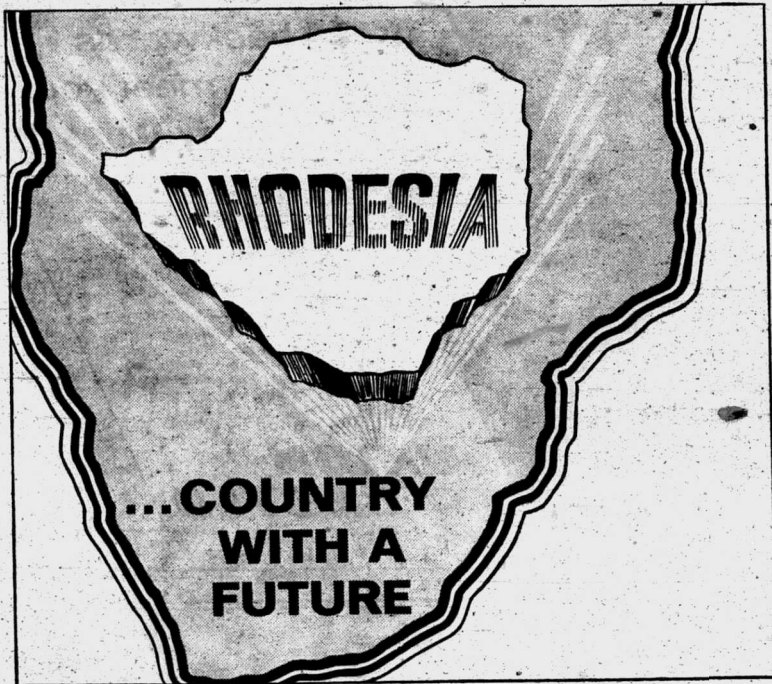
THE SOMALI GOVERNMENT announced last week that 23 Kenya troops and 177 Kikuyu had been killed in heavy fighting at Lari, in the Meru area. According to the Government news agency, Kenya troops had attacked unarmed Somalis, who retaliated by burning Kikuyu homes and four motor vehicles. Another six Kenya soldiers were reported to have been killed in an ambush near Waso. On the same day it was unofficially reported in Mogadishu that about 50 Ethiopian Army men had been killed in a border clash in which Somali nationalists captured two machine-guns and automatic rifles.

Rhodesia's Constitutional Council

MRS. ELAINE RAFTOPOULOS is the first woman appointed to the Rhodesian Constitutional Council (as representative of the Coloured population). Mr. R. D. Naik and Mr. A. Z. Mwamuka have joined as representatives of the Asians and Africans. Sir Charles Cumings and Mr. F. Bryce Hendrie have also been nominated. These five new members replace Sir Ralph Morton, Canon L. Sagonda, and Messrs. H. B. Dugmore, J. E. Jones, and L. J. Shingadia. The duty of the council is to assure itself that legislation does not discriminate against any racial group.

Malawi's University

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, and Chancellor of its new University, opened it recently in temporary premises in a Blantyre school. In his inaugural lecture he criticized the teaching of English in the country, saying that no lessons were given in English grammar, composition, or literature. Dr. Ian Michael, the vice-chancellor, said that the first task of the staff would be to train Malawian successors.



"The tremendous growth of Rhodesia's manufacturing as well as agricultural production is largely a story of British faith . . . a faith that has been reinforced by the determination of the European population to keep the Government in responsible hands at a time when the political upheaval in Africa has scared the overseas investor"—Daily Express.

The faith of British investors, and the ever increasing number of investors from other parts of the world is well justified. Today, Rhodesia has all the basic requirements for vigorous expansion. A well balanced economy, untapped consumer markets at home and abroad, a great variety of natural resources and an abundance of labour. These together with a Government policy of tariff protection, and generous tax concessions for new investors, are factors in an expanding economy. Today too "There are few other countries in the world where the bulk supply price of electricity is decreasing". With also an efficient communications and

transport system it is not surprising that last year Rhodesia produced a favourable trade balance of almost £35 million, and during the first five months of 1965, 1,032 new companies were registered with a nominal capital of just under £32 million. New development includes vast expansion in irrigation, the Steel industry, gold and copper mining and beef production. Internationally well-known companies in every branch of commerce and industry are showing by increased investment their faith in the fact that today Rhodesia is a country with a future.

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EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, October 28, 1965

Vol. 42

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Mr. Wilson Flies to Rhodesia for Talks

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OUR LETTER OF
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1965

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THIS WEEK is crucial for Rhodesia, for on the outcome of the visit of the British Prime Minister will depend its future. When Mr. Smith, the Prime Minister, flew back from London after absolutely abortive talks with Her Majesty's Government, neither he nor Mr.

Wilson can have thought that within a few days the British Prime Minister would decide that there yet remained a reason for a last-minute attempt at a solution in Rhodesia itself. The entirely unexpected new factor was a suggestion made by three leaders of the Conservative Party that a treaty binding Rhodesia to fulfilment of its obligations under the Constitution should form part of a settlement. In days when private and public honour was normal practice, such a proposal would not have occurred to anyone: it would have been universally assumed that any undertakings given would be scrupulously observed. Nowadays, unhappily, national and international engagements mean little or nothing. The world is littered with broken pledges, discarded Constitutions, and disregarded treaties. Political parties scatter promises merely to trick the electorate, secure votes, and, they hope, office. If the ruse succeeds, as it often does, they have no compunction in abandoning their declared policy—as the Macmillan Government did so disastrously in Africa. Having accustomed themselves to sharp practice, politicians in the West have reached the stage of pretending to believe that a Government which would deliberately flout one solemn commitment would hesitate if it were also enshrined in a second document. Because any normal Rhodesian would reject such sophistry Mr. Smith paid little attention to the idea of a treaty when it was put to him just before the London talks ended: he mentioned it casually at his last meeting with Mr. Wilson as having

been suggested to him, and, convinced that he could not get fair treatment from the British Government, returned to Salisbury, clearly resolved to make a unilateral declaration of independence—not necessarily immediately, but at the moment which he and his colleagues judged to be most favourable from the standpoint of their country.

That prospect pleased scarcely anybody—certainly not the Rhodesian Prime Minister, who had demonstrated his anxiety to get independence by negotiation by his exemplary patience, remarkable skill in handling his party extremists, and the offer of concessions which they

were bound to resent but which the British Government nevertheless treated with doleful disdain. Since Mr. Smith and his Cabinet, almost all other white Rhodesians, and many of the most responsible black Rhodesians are horrified by Britain's calamitous behaviour in Africa in recent years and her continuing truckling to the blackmail of Afro-Asian propagandists, they are determined that their country shall become independent—not of the Crown, to which they are deeply loyal, but of the possibility of prejudicial, perhaps disastrous, interference by British politicians, few of whom have any real knowledge of Africa, and none of whom would have to live with the results of their errors. There is, we repeat, near unanimity in the wish for independence by negotiation; but if that is not now attainable, there can be no doubt that there will be overwhelming support for the independence which the Rhodesian Government will assuredly assume. Mr. Wilson can satisfy himself this week of the accuracy of that statement, which he must have heard repeatedly from the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, the High Commissioner in Salisbury, and other advisers.

The real issue, as this journal has stated again and again, is whether the two great political parties in Britain have the courage to do justice to Rhodesia despite the pressures of independent African States within the Commonwealth, the United States, and the United Nations.

British Guilt For the Congo.

The greatest Empire which the world has ever known has been cast away within a few years because Parliamentarians in Britain lacked the will to fulfil their manifest duty in spite of pressures from such sources. The fruits of their faithlessness and folly have not yet been anything like fully harvested, but none can deny that they are as bitter as they are prolific. The worst, of course, have been revealed in the Congo—whose dire straits are the responsibility of British public men in the sense that Belgium decided on abdication from the Congo almost overnight only because her Ministers had become aware that Macmillanism meant abdication in Africa; and, not surprisingly, they felt it pointless for little Belgium to resist if Britain, then Great, was determined to capitulate. This essential truth is still not known to the British public, for politicians will

not acknowledge their share of the guilt and the Press has been unconcerned.

Revolution in Zanzibar; mutinies in all three East African mainland territories; the Lumpa rising in Zambia; the collapse of the Cabinet in Malawi and the Banda dictatorship; large-scale civil war in the

Why Rhodesia Is Denied Justice. Southern Sudan (and in the former Belgian territories of Rwanda and Burundi); the training in more than one African Commonwealth State of Africans for subversion, sabotage, and guerrilla activities elsewhere in Commonwealth Africa; and the advance of Communism—these are merely some of the disasters in Eastern and Central Africa which are the direct consequence of British political imbecility. It is against a repetition in their country of such calamities that Rhodesians are determined to make a stand, whatever the cost. Because British politicians dare not admit their gullibility and guilt they have not fairly judged the Rhodesian case. It will be a miracle if the Wilson Government deals justly with Rhodesia.

British Prime Minister Visiting Rhodesia

“Go Where You Like, See Whom You Wish”, Says Mr. Smith

MR. HAROLD WILSON, the Prime Minister, invited himself to Rhodesia and arrived on Monday with a numerous retinue, having flown in a Royal Air Force Comet via Cyprus and Nairobi, where he had “a frank and fruitful discussion” with President Kenyatta while the aircraft was refuelled.

Among those in his party are Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Commonwealth Relations Secretary; Sir Burke Trend, Secretary to the Cabinet; Sir Saville Garner, Permanent Under-Secretary at C.R.O.; Mr. Albert Oram, Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Overseas Development; Mr. D. J. Mitchell, principal private secretary to the Prime Minister; Mr. Oliver Wright, his private secretary for overseas affairs; Mr. Foster Price, private secretary to Mr. Bottomley; Miss Eleanor Booker, from the C.R.O. Press Section; and six detectives, the largest number ever sent abroad with a British Prime Minister in peace time.

The party, numbering more than 50 persons, was promptly nicknamed “Wilson’s Gunboat”.

Mr. Ian Smith, the Prime Minister, did not go to the airport, at which the visitors were greeted by Mr. C. W. Dupont, the Deputy Prime Minister, and Mr. George Rudland, Minister for Commerce.

Several thousand Africans, many of whom had waited for up to 12 hours, cheered, chanted, and waved banners with slogans. The Rhodesian Front had asked Europeans to stay away from the airport, in order to avoid any risk of racial clashes. A small group of whites on the roof of the airport terminal booed Mr. Wilson.

At dinner that evening at Government House he met

Mr. Smith, and also Mr. Gondo, Leader of the Opposition. The talks were due to start next day.

There had been no prior agreement in regard to the scope of the discussions: whereas the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, insisted that they should be within the framework of the 1961 Constitution, and did not expect them to last more than two days, Mr. Wilson’s statements to journalists indicated that he took a wider view and expected to remain about a week.

Mr. Smith expressed pleasure at the prospect of his seeing something of the country and meeting a cross-section of Rhodesians. He said in Salisbury on Friday:

No Step beyond Constitution

“For a long time the British Government has been aware that we are not prepared to go further than the basis of the 1961 Constitution for our independence. Mr. Wilson’s decision to visit Rhodesia is a direct result of my eleventh-hour message, in which I offered a solemn treaty to guarantee that we would abide by our new Constitution. So this will be the theme to be discussed. U.D.I. does not come into the issue during these discussions, which, so far as the Rhodesian Government is concerned, should not occupy us for more than two days. However, if Mr. Wilson wishes to familiarize himself with Rhodesia and Rhodesians, we welcome this.

The issue, at our forthcoming talks is negotiated independence on the basis of the 1961 Constitution. The British Government have accepted that 95% of the Rhodesian electorate support the Government in this. Therefore I believe that

BRITAIN CHALLENGED TO TRUST RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT

those who do support the Government have no need to make representations to Mr. Wilson. I hope they are prepared to leave this matter in the hands of their Government.

"It is those who are opposed to the grant to Rhodesia of independence on the 1961 Constitution who should come forward and present their case to Mr. Wilson. They should make representations through the British High Commission".

Mr. Heath, Leader of the Opposition, said in his constituency, Bexley, that day that Mr. Wilson and Mr. Smith ought to look at new ways of putting into practice the 'five principles' on which they were agreed; examine the treaty proposal to see whether it could cover more than unimpeded progress to majority rule; take the dramatization out of the situation; and find a workable basis on which other Ministers could continue detailed discussions.

Emphasizing that he, did so in justice to Mr. Smith, Mr. Heath said that the proposal for a treaty had originated in the Conservative Party. Mr. Wilson had been wrong to say in his message to Mr. Smith that the suggestion was that of Mr. Smith, who had mentioned it to Tory leaders.

The fact was that Mr. Heath, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd had first mentioned the treaty proposal to Mr. Smith on October 10 and that he had passed it on to Mr. Wilson next day. So it was unfair to blame him for not having raised it earlier in the discussions in Whitehall, as Mr. Wilson appeared to do.

In No Mood of Defeatism

Before leaving London Airport on Sunday afternoon the Prime Minister said that he went in no mood of defeatism, but in the hope of restoring detailed negotiation in a very serious situation. It was not a propaganda visit, and he had no plans to broadcast to the people of Rhodesia, though he would naturally not cut himself off from normal means of public communication.

"We are going to examine the treaty proposal very thoroughly. If we can create or discover a climate for more detailed negotiations the Commonwealth Relations Secretary would stay on and discuss them".

His chief purpose was to talk to anyone in Rhodesia who could settle the problem.

Suggestions that H.M. Government was pushing Mr. Smith into U.D.I. in order to rid themselves of an embarrassment were utter nonsense.

Shortly before leaving for the airport Mr. Wilson had had an audience of the Queen at Buckingham Palace.

The Prime Minister had arranged to stay with the Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, not with the United Kingdom High Commissioner, Mr. J. B. Johnston, as is customary for United Kingdom Ministers to do. Mr. Johnston was asked to fly to Nairobi to meet the Prime Minister and return with him in the Comet.

Brigadier Andrew Skeen, Rhodesian High Commissioner in London, flew to Salisbury on Friday evening in order to be available for the talks between the two Prime Ministers.

Mr. Smith's Last-Hour Message

"Grant us our independence and trust us to abide by the principles of the 1961 Constitution", Mr. Smith told the British Prime Minister on Wednesday of last week in reply to his message two days earlier.

All leading United Kingdom newspapers gave great prominence to the Rhodesian Prime Minister's further communication after almost all of them had assumed that there would be no further exchange of correspondence, and that all that remained was to await a formal declaration of independence by Rhodesia—whose Cabinet was expected to make the declaration but then refrain from action to implement it, thus putting the British Government in a quandary.

Mr. Smith's message to Mr. Wilson read:—

"I received your personal message of October 18 from your High Commissioner when he called on me yesterday morning.

"You say that successive British Governments have throughout sought to reach agreement on conditions on which Rhodesia could advance to independence. The same is equally true of successive Rhodesian Governments.

Grant Independence on 1961 Constitution

"I agree that I accepted your five principles as a basis for negotiations and that they held the field throughout all the discussions from February until this month. You say that you do not see what reason I had to expect you to depart from them. But I say that if you were negotiating for a settlement, you could surely have reached a reasonable compromise with us. We have our principles as well, but we went beyond what we were originally prepared to do in an effort to satisfy to the best of our ability the implementation of your principles. The British Government, I regret to say, have not shown the same good will or desire to abandon fixed positions, and, I must repeat, have in fact moved away from us.

"I note that you say that you are still open to any ideas and to any further way of seeing whether agreement can be reached between us. Well, here is my response to this appeal: it is that it would be reasonable and just for the British Government to grant Rhodesia its independence on the 1961 Rhodesian Constitution.

"This Constitution covers your five principles, if only you will admit it; they are enshrined there for all to see. This is the Constitution which was the direct outcome of a constitutional conference held in 1961 and presided over by the British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. This conference was attended by all the political parties and racial groups of the country.

"The conference report, which became the foundation of the Constitution as finally drafted, was subscribed to by the following: the United Kingdom Government led by the Commonwealth Secretary; the Government of Southern Rhodesia led by the Prime Minister; the United Federal Party, which was the Government party but was independently represented; the National Democratic Party represented by Mr. Joshua Nkomo and the Rev. N. Sithole, supported by Mr. Herbert Chitepo and Mr. T. G. Silundika; the Central Africa Party; the Coloured community; and a representative of the chiefs.

"Put Us on Trust"

"It is a significant fact that the majority of those subscribing were members of the African, Asian and Coloured communities.

"Rhodesia is being condemned not for what we have done but for what others say we might do in the future. Therefore, at this grave hour, I repeat to you the suggestion I made to you at the London talks that the statesmanlike thing for you to do is to grant us our independence and put us on trust to observe and to abide by the principles of the 1961 Constitution.

"Therefore, we again offer you as an earnest of our good faith a solemn treaty to guarantee our undertaking. Should there occur a breach of such solemn undertaking, that would be the appropriate time for the British Government to take whatever steps it thought fit.

"I believe it is my solemn duty to impress upon you

NEED WE BANDY ARGUMENTS? ASKS MR. WILSON

taken by no hardship and misery will flow from any action taken by the Rhodesian Government. If the unfortunate situation which you predict should occur, it could only stem directly from actions taken by the British Government and those whom you have induced to support you.

"We have made our decision on what our next step should be. Its implementation and the consequences which flow from it now depend entirely on your response to this appeal I now make to you at this eleventh hour."

The message was delivered to 10 Downing Street by Mr. N. R. Heathcote, Deputy High Commissioner for Rhodesia at 2.45 p.m., and was considered a little later by the Defence and Overseas Policy Committee, over which the Prime Minister presided.

Mr. Wilson then asked for an audience of the Queen, the second in two days.

Mr. Wilson replied that he proposed to fly to Rhodesia with Mr. Bottomley, on the assumption that they might see whomever they wished. The message ran:—

"I have received your personal message of October 20 from your High Commissioner.

"I feel I should first refer to the important statement made in your concluding paragraph. I note that you have decided what your next step should be, though you do not say what it is. You will realize that this puts us in a difficult position for any further discussions. I must reiterate that the British Parliament is sovereign and alone can grant independence to Rhodesia. Rejection by the British Government and Parliament of any particular suggestion put forward by the Rhodesian Government as a basis for independence could not justify illegal or unconstitutional action on the part of that Government. Responsibility for the consequences of any such illegal action would lie on the shoulders of those who took that action.

Constitution Does Not Satisfy Five Principles

"I accept that successive Governments, both in Britain and in Rhodesia, have made a genuine effort to seek agreement on conditions on which Rhodesia could advance to independence. For our part we have always made clear that we are not seeking to impose precise conditions and were ready for a genuine negotiation. At the same time there are certain basic matters of conscience, of honour, and of duty to which all parties in this country have consistently adhered.

"For the reasons both I and my predecessors have explained to you I cannot accept that the grant of independence simply on the basis of the 1961 Constitution would satisfy the five principles you and I have accepted. There was never any undertaking, explicit or implicit, that Rhodesia would be granted independence on the basis of the 1961 Constitution without further change. This was made clear to you by the previous Administration in the September, 1964, talks and in Sir Alec Douglas-Home's letter of September 16, 1964. Moreover, it was acknowledged in your own Legislature by the Rhodesian Prime Minister who was responsible for the 1961 Constitution. Further, both we and our predecessors have made it clear to you that progress under the 1961 Constitution has not yet resulted in sufficiently representative institutions to satisfy the British Parliament that the grant of independence would be justified.

"I agree, as you say, that as a matter of history the constitutional conference of 1961 was attended by all political parties and racial groups in Southern Rhodesia. It is again equally the case as a matter of history that the nationalist parties in Rhodesia declined to work the Constitution. This was regrettable, as I said to you across the table in London, but it is no reason for depriving them of all voice in the future of their country. I have no evidence that the other political parties and racial groups in Rhodesia have had any similar opportunity of expressing their views on your current proposal.

"You say that Rhodesia is being condemned not for what you have done but for what others say you might do in the

future. You will forgive me if I say that the detention or restriction over a long period of nationalist leaders, the recent restriction on a former Prime Minister, the banning of a prominent newspaper, have suggested to the outside world the pattern of what might happen in the future.

Much to Discuss

"Throughout our talks I made it clear that we are open to any ideas and ready to negotiate further. You mention again the important proposal for a solemn treaty between us to guarantee your undertaking to observe and abide by the principles of the 1961 Constitution. You did not raise this with me during our negotiations; it was in fact raised by me at our final meeting on October 11 after you had mentioned it to the Leaders of the Opposition in this country. As I made clear at the time, it is a proposal that might merit further discussion in the context of a general agreement, and I then expressed our willingness to follow it up, with any response from you. However, I am interested to see that you have now reverted to it.

"But there is much to discuss. For example, you mentioned in London the possibilities of such a treaty being registered with the United Nations and of alleged breaches being referred to the Privy Council, though your present message does not refer to these points. Important issues of this kind clearly cannot be settled by long-range correspondence, but I am perfectly prepared to go more fully into them, although, as you yourself said when we briefly discussed the treaty proposal a week last Monday, progress on this would mean dealing, or partially dealing, with only one of the five principles, and it would not deal with the principle that the British Government would need to be satisfied that any basis proposed for independence was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

"I have had to write at length since your letter clearly required a reasoned reply. But need we go on bandying arguments at arm's length when the future of so many ordinary people of all races is in such suspense? For my part I do not want to go on like this.

"Accordingly I propose to fly with the Commonwealth Secretary to Salisbury in the next day or two in order to discuss the whole matter further with you, including all the suggestions I have put to you. I shall naturally expect to have an opportunity of meeting anyone whose views I feel to be relevant to a solution of this grave problem.

"But I want you to realize that my sole purpose in this visit would be to try to find some means of breaking the deadlock and to avert the tragic consequences which otherwise I see no way of avoiding. I earnestly hope that you will co-operate with what I have in mind in the spirit in which I propose it."

Mr. Smith immediately accepted the suggestion of a visit, saying that he would reserve the whole week-end for discussions. In view of Mr. Wilson's imminent arrival he would not deal with "the many inaccuracies" in his message.

"We have nothing to hide; Mr. Wilson may see anyone he wishes", he told journalists.

In a nation-wide radio and television broadcast the Prime Minister described Mr. Wilson's visit as "an honest and genuine attempt to solve our problems". It revived a glimmer of hope. There had been such thorough discussions in London that a complete reopening of negotiations was unnecessary. If the further talks were to succeed Mr. Wilson would have to make concessions. He liked Mr. Wilson, he said, because he did not beat about the bush.

Cannot Compromise on Principles

"If they still move away from us there is no hope of agreement. We cannot back down. We cannot compromise on our principles. I only hope that Mr. Wilson now sees some way to break the deadlock. This is a step forward, but victory will come only with independence. A unilateral declaration of independence is still my trump card."

Asked if he thought it difficult for such countries as Australia and New Zealand to come out on Rhodesia's side, Mr. Smith replied: "For them only their political lives depend on the decisions they are making. For us our real lives are at stake."

Asked about the restriction of African politicians, Mr. Smith answered: "The previous Government restricted them, and my Government let them out. When they started to abuse the

PROTEST TO BRITAIN BY 1,235 BRITISH EX-SERVICEMEN

freedom we gave and act unconstitutionally we put them back. This applies to a gentleman we had to deal with the other day"—apparently a reference to Mr. Todd.

Sir Robert Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia, told the House of Representatives on Thursday that the Australian Government would not recognize a Rhodesian Government formed by a unilateral declaration of independence.

He had been willing to go on a Commonwealth mission to Rhodesia with one Asian and two African leaders, as suggested by Mr. Wilson, but the Rhodesian Prime Minister had rejected the proposal. Sir Robert continued:—

"Even at the last moment we all hope that better counsels will prevail and that there may be some process of delay in which the heat can go down and in which people can accommodate themselves to a new idea. I do not think there are many people, even among the African leaders, who have strong views on this matter, who would demand the instantaneous creation of adult suffrage in Rhodesia. Most people hope to see steady progress—a phasing in of the ultimate majority rights of the native people.

"That has been my own view. It is the view I pressed on Mr. Smith in a long letter when he was in London. This view appears to be unacceptable to the Government of Rhodesia, and it looks as if we will have some extremely difficult problems presented to us.

"Of course, none of us would fail to understand the position of the European settlers, if I may so call them, chiefly British settlers, in Southern Rhodesia. They have made an enormous contribution to the country. They have rights which everybody would want to protect. So the matter is not utterly simple.

"What will be done in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence will be decided in the first place, I have no doubt, by the Government of Great Britain, which is the Colonial Power and which by common agreement amongst all of us has the responsibility for dealing with the Government of Rhodesia."

Warnings from Commonwealth Governments

Spokesmen for the Governments of Malaysia, Singapore, and Trinidad said on the same day that they would not recognize Rhodesia if independence were declared. In that event the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago wanted immediate suspension of the Constitution. He promised collaboration in any Commonwealth or international action.

In Berne, Switzerland, Mr. Helgard Muller, South African Foreign Minister, said that his country would not interfere if Rhodesia declared her independence. South Africa's policy was not to intervene in the affairs of other countries.

Mr. G. W. Rudland, Rhodesian Minister for Transport, Commerce, and Industry, flew to South Africa on Thursday for talks with Dr. Diedrichs, Minister for Economic Affairs, and Mr. Schoemen, Minister of Transport.

Brigadier Andrew Dunlop, Deputy Minister for Roads and Road Traffic, flew from Salisbury to London "on private business". Two other Deputy Ministers were also out of Rhodesia—Mr. Ian Dillon (Mines) touring West Germany, Italy, and Spain, and Mr. Van der Byl (Information), in London.

Mr. Gondo, Leader of the Opposition, called on Mr. Smith to recall Parliament before a decision was made about U.D.I. He told reporters that Rhodesians opposed to hasty and illegal action should reveal their strength and save the country from disaster.

The Rhodesian Constitutional Association, which had inserted ballot forms in the advertisement columns of local newspapers, announced that more than 4,000 had been returned with votes against U.D.I.

Judges were stated to have had several recent meetings with Sir Hugh Beadle, the Chief Justice, to consider the implications of U.D.I. for the courts. The Bar Association of Rhodesia also met.

Mr. C. R. Kerby, formerly of the 45th Royal Tank Regiment, announced in Bulawayo that he had collected the signatures of 1,235 men who had served in the British Armed Forces for a letter addressed to the Queen (with copies to the Prime Ministers of Rhodesia, Britain and Canada) protesting against the British Government's attitude to independence for Rhodesia. They intended to send all their war medals back to the War Office and celebrate Guy Fawkes night with a bonfire of British passports.

Queen's Message to Mr. Smith

ON MONDAY Mr. Wilson handed to the Prime Minister of Rhodesia the following letter from Her Majesty, written in her own hand:—

Dear Mr. Smith:

I have followed the recent discussions between the British Government and your Government with the closest concern, and I am very glad to know that Mr. Wilson will be paying you a visit.

I earnestly hope that your discussions will succeed in finding a solution to the current difficulties.

I cherish happy memories of my own visit to Rhodesia.

I should be glad if you would accept my good wishes and convey them to all my peoples in your country, whose welfare and happiness I have very closely at heart.

Yours sincerely, Elizabeth R.

The Methodist Church in Rhodesia issued a statement saying:—

"If the price of political independence is the loss of civic freedom, justice, and honour—if it means that the Government is to sink to the level of those other African Governments that it professes to despise—then it is time for all who care for the future of Christian civilization in Rhodesia to say: "Don't choose that path; there is a more excellent way."

The Roman Catholic Vicar-General of Salisbury has said:—

"We are constrained to urge upon the Prime Minister and Parliament to weigh especially the ethical and moral considerations involved and the consequences likely to follow from the decision they make."

Russia Supports African Nationalists

The official Russian news agency, Tass, announced in Moscow on Monday that the Soviet Union would refuse to recognize a "criminal racist régime" in Salisbury and would co-operate with African countries in giving utmost support to the four million Rhodesian Africans in their just and lawful struggle for freedom.

Britain's duty was to give real freedom to the Africans, but "the British Government promoted the establishment of an anti-African alliance of the Southern Rhodesian racists with the Portuguese colonialists and the man-hating régime of the South African Republic, an alliance which is now the mainstay of colonialism in Southern Africa.

"The retention of power in the hands of Rhodesian white racists is part and parcel of a wider plan of the imperialist and colonialist forces and of British, American, West German and other monopolies, whose purpose is to place a barrier on the road to the full liberation of Africa and to retain at least the southern part of the African continent under their domination. A special rôle in this has been assigned to Rhodesia, which holds an important position in the centre of the colonial front which is spear-headed against the independent African States and the national liberation movements of African peoples."

Mr. Bottomley's Account of the London Negotiations

Objection to "Flimsy Safeguards for African Rights"

MR. ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said last week when addressing a meeting in London of the English-Speaking Union:

"Mr. Smith has said that the 1961 Constitution was designed for independence and that Rhodesians were promised independence on it. The documents do not bear out that any such promise was given by the Conservative Government. It was a Constitution designed for progress to independence, but it could never have done for full independence.

"Conservative and Labour Governments have laid down minimum requirements before the British Parliament could transfer its constitutional authority to the Rhodesian Government. There must be some improvement on the 1961 Constitution in the direction of African advancement before these minimum requirements are met.

"It is not true that the British Government stiffened its terms in the course of the recent negotiations. The five principles constituting H.M. Government's terms were outlined to Mr. Smith in February and given to the Rhodesian Government soon afterwards. The whole basis of the recent negotiations was on those five principles, which the British Government has not amended or altered in any way.

Eminently Reasonable Propositions

"The five principles, which boil down to an assurance of progress to majority rule and the end of racial discrimination, are eminently reasonable propositions, which Mr. Smith should have no difficulty in accepting if he really believes in African majority rule eventually. But do he and his supporters really accept eventual African majority rule? That is the heart of the matter.

"I wish I thought they did; but Mr. Smith has said in an incautious moment that there will be no African majority rule in my lifetime. No Government can accept a situation in which four million Africans continue to be ruled by 220,000 Europeans for another generation. That situation is bound to end in tragedy, and any sensible Rhodesian European, with an eye to his children's future in that country, should want to remedy this state of affairs as quickly as possible.

"What are the substantial concessions which Mr. Smith says he made during our negotiations? First, African adult franchise on the B roll; but as Mr. Smith would not increase at all the number of African M.P.s, no progress towards majority rule would be involved.

"Secondly, a Senate of 12 Africans; but he insisted that they should be chiefs, who would be indirectly elected by other chiefs. It has yet to be proved to us that the chiefs are representatives of all African voters.

"The addition of 12 chiefs to the existing House of 65 would make 77, and the vital 'blocking third' would be 26 votes. The present 15 African M.P.s and the 12 chiefs would total 27. So the 'blocking third' would rest on the votes of two chiefs. The chiefs are paid by the Government and can be removed by the Government.

"Far from strengthening the blocking mechanisms of racial referenda provided in the Constitution, Mr. Smith wants to do away with the referenda and substitute this flimsy safeguard for African rights.

"Thought of a unilateral declaration of independence fills me with horror. Mr. Smith has said that it might mean that many innocent people could lose their lives and that the responsibility would rest on British Ministers. We shall do nothing to inflict hardship and suffering on innocent people. The responsibility rests with Mr. Smith, who will decide whether to pursue peaceful negotiations or resort to an illegal seizure of power which could only lead to a catastrophe for all Rhodesians, European and African. Mr. Smith still has it in his power to avoid such a catastrophe.

"We cannot assist in creating an aristocratic society in Rhodesia in which a small majority dominates the majority. We have to show the Africans that we believe in their rights and their capabilities to become full and equal citizens and to take a responsible position in the conduct of Rhodesian affairs.

"The Africans will find their happiness and development in association with those Europeans who have become Africanized, who can pass on their superior skills and techniques; but this can be achieved only on a basis of genuine friendship and non-racialism."

High Commissioner's Complaint At Misquotation

Brigadier Andrew Skeen, Rhodesia's High Commissioner in London, publicly expressed his regret that Mr. Bottomley should have reiterated "the oft-repeated misquotation" attributed to Mr. Smith that there would be no African majority rule in his lifetime.

The truth, which Mr. Bottomley knew, was that when asked whether he subscribed to a statement of the previous Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Field, that there would be an African Government during his life, Mr. Smith replied that he did not believe that that would be the case if "African Government" meant an African nationalist Government, as was generally accepted. If that came about his Government would have failed in its policy of advancement on merit, irrespective of race or colour.

In a broadcast later, Mr. Smith had said that an African nationalist Government would mean a Government by Africans in the interest of Africans only. He saw no reason to appease Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole, who had accepted the report of the conference which gave rise to the 1961 Constitution but afterwards repudiated their agreement.

The High Commissioner also criticized Mr. Bottomley's account of the London negotiations, and particularly his denial that H.M. Government had stiffened its terms during the negotiations. Brigadier Skeen said:

"It became clear to us for the first time that the 1961 Constitution was not regarded as a basis on which independence could be negotiated and that significant departures from its terms were required of us."

No Resort to Appeasement

"We are now expected to attend a constitutional conference at which all parties, including those African nationalist leaders who have been restricted for their supporters' despicable activities, would be represented. Such a conference was held in 1961, and its report which gave rise to our present Constitution, was accepted both by Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole who had actively participated in its preparation. The fact that they later succumbed to outside pressures and repudiated their agreement is no reason for resorting to appeasement by inviting them to attend yet another conference."

B.B.C. Claim to Have Been Fair Reply to Official Rhodesian Protest

LORD NORMANBROOK, chairman of the board of governors of the B.B.C., replied to Brigadier Skeen, Rhodesia's High Commissioner in London, whose letter we published last week:—

"I cannot accept your suggestion that the B.B.C. showed bias and partiality in its handling of Rhodesian news. On the contrary, I consider that the facts relating to your Prime Minister's visit, and the views which he expressed publicly during the course of it, were covered fully and fairly by the B.B.C. both in its news and in comments made in its current affairs programme.

"I must also reject your suggestion that the failure to invite your Prime Minister to appear personally in the programme '24 Hours' on Friday, October 8, amounted to 'a gross example of suppression'."

On October 1 a cable had been sent to Mr. Ian Smith asking whether he would be willing to appear in '24 Hours' on October 4, before the opening of his discussions with British Ministers. Mr. Smith declined, but indicated that he would be willing to appear on some later evening. When the discussions appeared to be drawing to a close inquiries were made

at Rhodesia House to see whether Mr. Smith would be available to appear on B.B.C. television on October 8.

"During the morning of October 8 it appeared that the discussions would be brought to an end in the course of the afternoon, and it seemed possible that the United Kingdom Prime Minister might wish to broadcast during the evening. Had he decided to do so, I would have thought it appropriate to invite Mr. Smith to appear in the '24 Hours' programme in the evening.

"By the early afternoon, however, I had learnt that Mr. Wilson would not wish to broadcast that evening. After reviewing the situation very carefully I came to the conclusion that in all the circumstances it would not be right to renew the invitation to Mr. Smith to make a personal appearance on B.B.C. television that evening.

"In reaching that decision I was influenced by my knowledge that Mr. Wilson was not proposing to make at that stage any personal statement on television, and by the fact that Mr. Smith's views had already been fully reflected in news and commentary on B.B.C. television earlier in the week.

Holding the Balance

"In the event, as you know, separate statements were issued to the Press by both parties to the discussion. B.B.C. television gave full publicity to these and also the Press conference which Mr. Smith held before he left for Salisbury."

Referring to complaints about the recent treatment on B.B.C. television of other aspects of Rhodesian affairs, and in particular of a report on African education in '24 Hours', October 11, Lord Normanbrook said:—

"Any lack of representation of official views in this report could have been remedied if the B.B.C.'s programme team on the spot had been allowed access to any Rhodesian Government authority on education. That they failed to obtain such facilities was not for want of trying."

That was only the second half of a programme item, the first half of which had been devoted entirely to Mr. Smith's Press conference. "Within this programme therefore there was this element of balance."

Lord Normanbrook concluded:—

"In other recent commentaries of Rhodesian affairs we have similarly tried to present both points of view, and I cannot accept your suggestion that recent reporting by B.B.C. representatives in Rhodesia has been slanted and partial.

"Our representatives have done their best throughout to reflect the views of Rhodesians who support the policies of the present Government as well as the comments of those who are critical of those policies. In our future reporting of Rhodesian affairs we shall continue to try to hold the balance fairly between the two points of view."

Discreditable

The B.B.C. has been caustically criticized by the *Economist* for its refusal to allow Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia, to appear in a television programme, as arranged. The comment, headed "Lord Normangag," read:—

"Lord Normanbrook's intervention to keep the Rhodesian Prime Minister off B.B.C. television is utterly to the discredit of the corporation and of the chairman of its board of governors.

"Mr. Smith was expected to appear, and he believed that he would appear. But of course he did not. This deliberate bias was all the more apparent in that on the previous evening not only did the Lord Chancellor give the Government's view on a unilateral declaration of independence, but on the same programme three Rhodesian Opposition spokesmen announced their intention to carry things to violence if necessary. All the B.B.C. viewers heard was that Mr. Smith had given an interview (which was, in fact, on Independent television). If this other appearance was really why the B.B.C. kept Mr. Smith off, it is a brand new interpretation of the B.B.C.'s own competitive policies, as well as of its public duty. In fact Mr. Smith was sufficiently persuasive on ITV to scare someone into sheer funk.

"In the B.B.C.'s own interests, Lord Normanbrook has some questions to answer. Did he act on his own initiative? Or was he advised by some murky operator in Downing Street? If the answer to the second question is an honest 'yes', then another issue comes up. Was ITV also advised to gag Mr. Smith? If it was, did it tell the Government to take a running jump at itself? The credit that the B.B.C. picked up by insisting on a sound journalistic coverage of the Labour Party conference has been chucked away by the one man who ought to have had the corporation's name closest to heart."

Mr. Smith's Olive Branch to Zambia

Hope of Good Neighbourly Relations

RHODESIA'S PRIME MINISTER sent a special emissary to Lusaka last Friday with a message of reassurance to President Kaunda, who was told that "the political situation in Rhodesia will not affect obligations in regard to the common services shared by our two countries" and offered direct discussions on any problems arising between the two States.

Mr. Smith said that he recognized that Zambia must feel concern about the political situation in Rhodesia, but "I reiterate the assurance of my Government that it has every intention of honouring its obligations in all circumstances, especially in relation to the railways, the airways, and the Central African Power Corporation, which serve both countries.

No Interference with Power Supplies

Rhodesia was anxious to maintain existing links with Zambia, "on the understanding, of course, that Zambia itself does not initiate measures calculated to cause positive harm and damage for political purposes to the economy and stability of Rhodesia.

"I personally look forward to the day when our two countries, which have so many common ties and interests, may resume closer and more amicable relations, which my Government believes are desirable in the interests of the whole of this part of the continent. Meantime I assure you of my willingness at all times to enter into direct discussions on any problems which may arise between us."

Rhodesia had no desire to impede Zambia's vital copper industry by interfering with supplies of coal or power, and her trade with Zambia was as important to Rhodesia as it was necessary to Zambia.

"Equally, my Government has no intention of adding to your unemployment difficulties by taking any action to return to your country the many thousands of Zambian Africans working in Rhodesia."

No Troops Except British

There was a quick response from President Kaunda, who two days later told a great rally in Lusaka held to mark the first anniversary of Zambian independence that in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence by Rhodesia there should be no military action except by Britain.

Though he renewed his earlier offer of a base in Zambia for British troops, he believed that the British Government could take military police action without Rhodesians fighting back, as they would if any other troops were used against them. He rejected all ideas of military action from Zambia by the United Nations or the Organization of African Unity or the possibility of armed intervention by the United States or Russia. Zambia, he made clear, would not be drawn into war against Rhodesia, whatever the pressures upon her.

Lusaka radio had reported a few days earlier that Mr. Sithole and other Z.A.N.U. leaders under detention or restriction had asked H.M. Government to prosecute the Rhodesian Cabinet for treason, and that Mr. Sithole had made a similar proposal to the Attorney-General of Rhodesia.

Z.A.N.U. Resents Talks with Z.A.P.U.

THE REV. N. SITHOLE, president of Z.A.N.U., said in Sikombela restriction camp on Sunday that his party would not co-operate in any proposal to go back to the 1961 Constitution, and that he objected to the British Prime Minister meeting Mr. Nkomo, president of the rival People's Caretaker Council. He wanted a constitutional conference and then a general election on a much wider franchise. If Rhodesia seized independence there would, he predicted, be large-scale bloodshed.

REPRESENTATIVES of 12 African States are meeting in Lusaka this week to discuss preliminary arrangements for the establishment of an East and Central African Common Market.

Edinburgh University's "Teach-In" About Rhodesia

All Points of View Outlined in Three Hours of Television

MILITARY ACTION and economic sanctions were mentioned by many of the 20 speakers at a "teach-in" on Rhodesia held last week at Edinburgh University. The meeting lasted from 4 p.m. until 11.20 o'clock, the last three hours being televised in the second programme of the B.B.C. About 1,200 persons, nearly all of them students, attended. Hundreds of others were unable to obtain admission.

The Government case on the independence issue was put by Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, and that of the Conservative Party by Sir Alec Douglas-Home.

Miss Judy Todd, 22-year-old daughter of Mr. Garfield Todd, the former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, had flown from New York at the expense of the B.B.C. to take the place of her father, who had been served with an order restricting him to his farm for the next year when on the point of flying from Salisbury to London.

Miss Todd Wants Constitution Suspended

MISS TODD, who said that she had telephoned her father that day, asked in his name that Britain should not await Mr. Smith's next move but at once suspend the Constitution of Rhodesia, convene new talks, and act immediately, if necessary using force.

"This is a grave and terrible decision to take, but I believe that it must be taken in the interest of the whites even more than that of the blacks".

Saying that she was distressed at the restriction on her father's movements, Miss Todd added: "This is nothing to what has happened to hundreds of his countrymen and women. People have been torn away from their families for five years and put into remote restriction areas. These men have no wages to provide a livelihood for their families".

She pleaded for unity in the Conservative Party on the Rhodesian issue, disagreeing with Lord Salisbury's view because individual rights had been whittled away in Rhodesia. "We all share Mr. Wilson's nightmare. Any moves now would be agonizing; but they would have been less agonizing had they been made a few years ago, and today they will be less agonizing than if left till tomorrow".

Her father's last letter said: "Whatever happens, it appears to me that the future is sure. I do not believe the restrictees will be called upon to stay their full term".

Sir Alec's Three Conditions for Independence

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME praised Miss Todd for her "moving speech", but recalled that when her father was Prime Minister he had felt unable to increase African representation in Parliament, "hard as I tried to persuade him". That had been left to Sir Edgar Whitehead, "who unhappily was beaten at a subsequent general election".

Rhodesia should be given independence on three conditions: (1) acceptance of the 1961 Constitution as the basis; (2) an accelerated educational programme; (3) an international treaty safeguarding African political rights on which Privy Councillors would adjudicate in case of challenges under the Constitution or the treaty.

An internationally registered treaty of that kind would give greater confidence in unimpeded progress to majority rule than anything previously proposed. Such a treaty had been suggested to the Prime Ministers of Rhodesia and Britain by Mr. Heath, the Conservative leader, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the "Shadow" Commonwealth Secretary, and himself. It was better, he was convinced, than the "blocking third" device.

For progress at a reasonable pace there must be widened scope in secondary and university education in Rhodesia; the programme being so geared there would be jobs for those who were educated. Many more teachers would be needed. Most of the cost might be met by Britain.

Independence by consent should be possible on those terms. Some points in the proposals had not been discussed by the two Prime Ministers, who should therefore meet again. It was wrong to talk about sanctions until the possibilities of the negotiated settlement had been exhausted.

The principle at stake was that majority rule, when it came, should be by a Government providing responsible administration; and the chief test of that must be safeguards for minorities so that they could go about their daily affairs in peace. The argument was not and never had been about principle, but about pace.

White fears of majority rule had been increased by the bloodshed and racialism in the Congo, the collapse of democratic government and its replacement by dictatorial Governments in other African nations, and the militancy of African nationalists.

Because of such events it was not practical politics to state a time limit for the introduction of majority rule in Rhodesia. Any time limit would be too long for the Africans and too short for the Europeans. The gradual approach would be right if the momentum towards majority rule were sustained.

Sir Alec ended with an appeal to Mr. Smith and Mr. Wilson to stay at the table until a solution emerged. While extremists would shout about the result, their noise would be overwhelmed by the acclamations at the triumph of reason.

MR. CHARLES ALLAN, an English barrister who has been practising in Rhodesia for seven years, argued that that country should be allowed to operate its 1961 Constitution and that threats of sanctions were the gravest tactical error of Mr. Wilson and his Government.

Rhodesia was being actively threatened. Did Britain intend to send in troops? Rhodesians felt that Britain was being forced to take action by Commonwealth pressures. The withdrawal of British influence in Africa had enabled Asiatic Communism to fill the power vacuum, and that made Rhodesians take an intransigent line.

Others Would Take Britain's Place

Sanctions came perilously close to an act of war. If Britain climbed out of Rhodesian trade, others would climb in. "I don't know what General de Gaulle thinks, but he sells a lot of French aircraft to South Africa now that you will not sell them".

There were cries of "Shame" when Mr. Allan suggested that Miss Todd's speech had been written by someone else. She denied "that slander".

MR. HUMPHRY BERKELEY, Conservative M.P. for Lancaster, considered that his party's annual conference had unwisely failed to force a vote on Lord Salisbury's addendum to the motion on U.D.I. A vote would, he suggested, have shown a 10 to one majority against Lord Salisbury, who should not have been allowed to make a second speech, in which he claimed a considerable moral victory. "And he did have a moral victory because no vote was taken".

"U.D.I. might precipitate a race war throughout Africa; and that might result in the total exclusion of Europeans from the continent for a very long time". It would involve dangers to "our countryfolk" in Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, and Zambia.

While highly critical of "the wild men in the white settler group" who were pushing Mr. Smith into U.D.I. against his better judgment, he denounced those African nationalists who urged subversion and violence.

Rhodesia was tormented by fear. Independence ought not to be granted until majority rule had been introduced. In case of U.D.I. H.M. Government would be justified in taking any measures to end the rebellion quickly. After restoring order Britain must appoint a governor with full powers to rule in the traditions of British colonial policy. There might be five years of such rule, with accelerated endeavours to fit the black majority for the responsibilities of majority rule in a multi-racial society.

MR. CHRISTOPHER ROWLAND, a Socialist M.P., said that U.D.I. must involve military and economic sanctions, the latter being designed not to bring Rhodesians to their knees but to their senses. So far there had been admirable bi-partisanship between the Conservatives and Labour on the issue, but at the recent Tory Conference there had been a slight but significant change in emphasis. It was important that the Tories should be seen to be standing by the Govern-

ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE DENOUNCED AS DEADLY INSTRUMENT

ment, "for the eleventh hour is not the time to spit into the wind of change."

MR. EDWARD TAYLOR, Conservative M.P. for Cathcart, said that everyone in Rhodesia would suffer from economic sanctions. But what if they did not work? That might prove to be the case, for it was almost impossible to impose worldwide sanctions effectively.

If Britain imposed sanctions, so would Zambia. But the principal exports from Rhodesia to Zambia were coal and electricity. Would Zambia cease to take from Rhodesia the power needed for her industries?

Was Britain to take unilateral military action in order to run Rhodesia? The hope of a peaceful solution would then have disappeared for ever. Anyhow, had we the necessary military resources? Could Britain allow forces from other African countries to invade Rhodesia?

MR. T. OSWALD, Socialist M.P. for Central Edinburgh, had no doubt that Mr. Smith knew exactly what he intended to do. The British Cabinet and Rhodesia's coloured nationals had also made up their minds.

Did Mr. Smith think that the coloured Africans in other States would be quiescent under U.D.I.? Britain would have to go in to protect both white nationals and black nationals of Rhodesia. It would be better to put armed forces into Rhodesia to keep the peace than to have coloured Africans coming in from elsewhere. Mr. Smith should be told that if U.D.I. were declared, Britain would be ready to police the country until a referendum had been held.

Last Cow Might Be Golden Calf

MR. NICHOLAS FAIRBAIRN, an Edinburgh advocate and former Tory candidate for Central Edinburgh, hoped that if a unilateral declaration were made it would be taken quietly, for antagonism to the white population would get Britain nowhere. The best thing would be to talk till the cows came home; perhaps the last cow might prove to be a golden calf.

MR. WILLIAM HAMILTON, Socialist M.P. for West Fife, was hissed when he derided the idea that British troops would never fire on their Rhodesian kith and kin.

Because U.D.I. would be rebellion and treachery, he said, there must be a total boycott of Rhodesian exports, and the use of force could not be excluded because if such initiatives were not taken by Britain they would surely be taken by African States.

Mr. Smith had charmed the people of Britain during his recent visit, but he had counted on their monumental ignorance of what was happening in Rhodesia, where there was a steady retreat towards apartheid. If Mr. Smith did not announce independence he would be kicked out so that someone else could do the job.

MR. VICTOR MONTAGU, who sat in the House of Commons as Viscount Hinchinbrooke, said that the universal franchise was a deadly instrument in the hands of irresponsible people. It should be an accompaniment of freedom and progress, never a pace-setter. He was against U.D.I., and also against the imposition of economic or military sanctions.

MISS JANE SYMONDS, secretary of the Africa Bureau, held that Britain must in the last resort be ready to use military means to stop U.D.I. for she still had the responsibility of a metropolitan Power to a Colony, albeit a self-governing Colony.

MR. GEORGE CUNNINGHAM, Commonwealth Relations Officer of the Labour Party, spoke of the Canutes of Rhodesia around whom the tides of history have swept. That gathering ought to show some understanding of the dilemma of the white population, even though they were handling matters the wrong way.

MR. NIGEL FISHER, M.P., Conservative spokesman on Commonwealth Affairs, said that Rhodesia had in effect been self-governing for 40 years. There were no British officials, police, or troops in the country, and the British position was thus nearly constitutional and legal. On the independence issue, however, the Commonwealth was united, and if the choice lay between Rhodesia and the rest of the Commonwealth there could be no doubt of the decision which Britain must make.

MR. HENRY HAMADZIRI, speaking for the Zimbabwe African National Union, insisted that Rhodesian Africans were capable of running the country. He rejected the idea of a five-year period under a Governor appointed from Britain, for that would slight the African demand for majority rule.

MR. GLEDWYN HUGHES, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, who made the final speech, said that Mr. Smith and many of his Cabinet colleagues had bitterly opposed the 1961 Constitution when it was introduced, denouncing it as a sell-out to the Africans.

"Now they say that they are prepared to accept it—though they demand a hand in the rate of progress for Africans under it. They also say that it was an Independence Constitution and that Britain is in honour bound to grant their independence on the basis of it. There is not a tittle of evidence to support this.

"We have always accepted the 1961 Constitution as a base upon which we could negotiate, but for 12 months we have consulted with Mr. Smith on the clear understanding that there would have to be an advance on the 1961 Constitution before a grant of independence could be contemplated. We were always thinking and talking in no doubt about that."

U.D.I., an act of rebellion, would also be a disastrous act which would have incalculable repercussions in Rhodesia and Africa generally. The economic consequences would be very grave, and there would be other consequences too awful to contemplate.

"In thinking of our kinsmen in Rhodesia, let us remember also our kinsmen in other African countries, Zambia, Kenya, Tanzania, and elsewhere. In all, nearly as many live there as in Rhodesia. What will be their fate once the fire is lit?"

"The Europeans have made a great contribution to Rhodesia. No one is asking them to give up what they have built. We have always recognized that there should be a period of transition. With good will and common sense Rhodesia could become an example to the world of multi-racial co-operation."

Teach-In at Birmingham

MAJOR LEWIS HASTINGS, whose forthright exposition of the Rhodesian case was much disliked by a large section of the audience at a Birmingham University teach-in on Rhodesia, nevertheless received the warmest applause. There were some 40 speakers, more than half of them Africans.

He deplored the "unofficial censure" about Rhodesia in Britain, particularly by the B.B.C., and the fact that on television the Prime Minister had carefully avoided dealing with the crux of the matter.

Africans in Rhodesia must some day govern, but they were not yet anything like qualified for the responsibility. In States to the North of Rhodesia Africans who had been given independence had destroyed so-called democracy, torn up the Constitutions to which they had agreed, swept away the old freedoms, and made things very comfortable for the ruling cliques and nobody else. The one-man-one-vote idea had quickly produced dictatorship and all the deprivations which followed.

Mr. Philip Mason criticized Britain for her failures in Rhodesia.

Mr. I. Evans, Socialist M.P. for Yardley, in a speech described by the local press as "overlaid with political rhetoric", said: "If we are not careful in Southern Rhodesia we shall have another South Africa on our hands."

Mr. Nelson Samkange spoke for Z.A.P.U., and Mr. K. I. D. Mutasa for Z.A.N.U.

Mr. James Lemkin, said: "Mr. Smith is a British subject — no less than Sir Roger Casement and William Joyce. If he takes Rhodesia into U.D.I. he must expect the full force of the law to come down on him". Because he was very shrewd, Mr. Smith would, he believed, tamper but little with the Constitution and take independence bit by bit if he was not stopped.

Mr. Michael Hartley-Brewer, an undergraduate, said: "I advocate organized violence—that Britain should send in troops to prevent U.D.I. by the white minority. If Harold Wilson refuses to do this he is a moral coward."

Mr. Raymond Byrne also put the Rhodesian point of view. So rowdy was a teach-in on Rhodesia at the London School of Economics at London University last week that several of those who had been invited to speak walked out of the meeting.

One person who attended told EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA that about two-thirds of the audience were Africans or Asians who turned the occasion into "a shambles".

Another informed us that it was "a disgraceful exhibition, apparently organized to prevent the presentation of the Rhodesian case".

Economic Sanctions Would Be Unlikely to Succeed

Independence Issues Discussed at Africa Centre Symposium

RHODESIA WOULD SURVIVE whatever economic sanctions might be imposed, Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P., and Mr. S. Mendelson declared at a symposium on Rhodesian independence held on Saturday afternoon at the Africa Centre, London. Mr. Wall's speech was much interrupted by a predominantly African audience.

Mr. C. G. Tracey, who was to have outlined the Rhodesian case, had withdrawn at short notice. The chairman expressed regret that Rhodesia House had not provided a substitute.

MR. HERBERT CHITEPO, the first Rhodesian African to be called to the Bar, and now Director of Public Prosecutions in Tanzania, who is closely associated with the Zimbabwe African National Union, had flown from Dar es Salaam for the meeting. In a speech lasting an hour he did not once refer to the Rhodesian Prime Minister as "Mr. Smith"; on every occasion it was "Smith".

British Government's Unreality

The excuse of H.M. Government that it could not take firm action against Rhodesia must, he said, be described as irresponsible responsibility. There was an air of unreality about the whole affair, for there could obviously be no solution except by round-table discussion between representatives of the British and Rhodesian Governments and of the African majority.

Were Rhodesia's four million Africans to be sacrificed to the interests of the white minority of 200,000? Britain would not have discussed any advance from internal self-government to independence if Mr. Kaunda, Mr. Nyerere, or Dr. Banda had arrested opposition leaders and generally behaved in their countries as the Government had done in Rhodesia. Why was an exception made in Rhodesia's favour?

When H.M. Government warned Smith against rebellion and treason it had refrained from saying that rebellion and treason would be repressed by every measure available to H.M. Government. Yet Britain had never hesitated to engage in military operations in case of rebellion elsewhere. During a visit to West Africa the Commonwealth Relations Secretary had even said that in no circumstances would British military forces be used against Rhodesia. That inevitably encouraged the movement towards U.D.I.

Britain Accused of Connivance by Mr. Chitepo

If economic sanctions proved ineffective, Britain would say that she had tried but not succeeded. A unilateral declaration would then be made, and it would be recognized a little later on the ground that H.M. Government had never denied recognition to a *de facto* Government. By its weakness the British Government had connived at events which would have that outcome. Africans considered it a betrayal by Britain.

"We shall embark on resistance. We have every right to take every step against an illegal Government. We shall regard it as a conspiracy by the West to maintain the present system in our part of Africa. Our alignment will be racial, not ideological."

"Smith's aim is a regime like that in South Africa. He has never said that he disapproves of *apartheid*. He endeavours to muzzle opinion. The chiefs are under duress. Several have been dismissed for failing to carry out Government policy."

"In a population of four million only half a million are Mashabele. The rest are Mashona, and among the Mashona inheritance is not from father to son but from brother to brother. So most of the chiefs are 50 or 60 years of age or more and illiterate. It is an insult to suggest that they should sit in Parliament."

"If Britain allows Smith to get away with *apartheid*, the attitude of Africans to white people in Kenya and elsewhere in Africa must be affected. Smith's policy is an assault on Africanity, on being African. The reaction of all black men will be very severe."

"The revolution in Africa is fundamentally for individual liberty. What you need to meet are not the aspirations of the chiefs but of ordinary men, the workers on the farms and in the towns. The biggest lie is that there is no articulate African opinion in Rhodesia. If there is no such opinion, why are meetings in the reserves forbidden? The great

source of strength of the nationalist parties is in the rural areas, not the urban areas."

Rhodesia Could Survive Sanctions

MR. S. MENDELSON, who visited Rhodesia in June as a journalist, spoke of the economic implications of U.D.I., ending with the conclusion that Rhodesia could survive economic sanctions. He said, *inter alia*—

"The business, farming and similar organizations warned the Rhodesian Government months ago of the serious results of U.D.I., and I found such people much stronger in their statements in private than they had been in public. One must remember, however, that a business man must allow for the worst that may happen—and it may not happen."

"There was a minute surplus last year in external trade. Economic sanctions might bring a deficit of perhaps £50m., or nearly twice the present reserves of about £30m. The currency would almost certainly be devalued—if not officially, then by the lower prices received for Rhodesian products, which might fall by perhaps 25%. Industrial output might drop by half."

"Britain and the Commonwealth might not buy from Rhodesia or sell to her, and she might be excluded from the London money market. The U.S.A. and Germany have said that they will fully support the British attitude, and a French Minister rather surprisingly indicated a few days ago that France would also co-operate. Rhodesians had thought that France might provide a rift in the sanctions arrangements."

"Of Rhodesia's exports of £120m., tobacco accounts for about one-third, and growers have estimated that they would lose at least 60% of their markets. Britain takes about half the crop and Eastern Europe 14%. Rhodesia would have great difficulty in selling such quantities elsewhere, especially as there is a world surplus of her kind of tobacco. Whereas Britain paid about 3s. a lb. for Rhodesian tobacco last year sales elsewhere fetched an average of only 1s. 8d."

"Sugar, which has developed startlingly, would be very badly hit. The Commonwealth and United States preference rates would disappear, and in a world in which there is a surplus of sugar other markets would be very difficult to find."

"The industrial sector would be worst hit. About one-third of the output has to be sold abroad, and two-thirds of that quantity are sold to Zambia, Malawi and Britain. South Africa might take cheaper lines of clothing and footwear, but little else, and the consequences for Rhodesia would be harsh."

"Most of the unemployment would cause many of them to drive to South Africa, thus seriously depleting the white population."

Rhodesian Africans Would Bear the Brunt

"Whereas many Africans from Zambia and Malawi are employed in agriculture, most of the Africans in industry are Rhodesians, so it would be Rhodesian Africans who would bear the brunt. The multiplying effect would be serious: lost exports would mean short time, which would produce discharges of personnel, which would mean less purchasing power and less buying, and more short time and more discharges."

"Rhodesia's gold and foreign exchange resources in London cannot be more than £35m. If serious about U.D.I. the Government would whip them out for fear of confiscation; but that would have the disadvantage of disclosing Rhodesia's cards in advance."

"The banks in Rhodesia have lent to tobacco growers and others funds paid into their branches in Zambia, by the affluent copper companies. If the London money market were closed to Rhodesia, they would have no funds to lend. South Africa, however, has an enormous surplus of deposits, and South African banks might do something for Rhodesia."

"Sanctions would not seriously affect British trade, for only 0.5% of our exports go to Rhodesia. Perhaps people in Britain hold £25m. of Rhodesian Government loans, and that would not represent a crippling loss. Anyway, loans which seem to be losses have a habit of recovering within a generation or two. More serious would be the question of copper if Zambia were deprived of coal and hydro-electric power and denied the use of Rhodesian Railways for export of the metal."

"Rhodesia would, I think, manage to survive. Israel has survived for years though blockaded by all its neighbours. Cuba survived despite the United States blockade. The Congo has survived the devastation of civil war. We survived blockade and air raids in the last war."

MILITARY INTERVENTION IN RHODESIA MIGHT PROVOKE WORLD WAR

"The threat of economic sanctions will not deter Rhodesia. I am not sure that the worst will happen. I do not know, for instance, that Britain will confiscate Rhodesia's sterling balances. That has been done only once, and I believe that we should hesitate to do it again. A bank starting to confiscate the money of customers would soon go out of business. After the crises I think that Rhodesia would pick up again, as South Africa has done; and I think that Africans in Rhodesia will get a better deal."

Rhodesians Warned by Events in Kenya

MR. PATRICK WALL expressed the point of view of a British politician as seen through British eyes and the knowledge of what his constituents would and would not accept.

"Rhodesians do not object to the idea of rule by Africans when they can maintain present standards, but they insisted on levelling up to those standards and are determined not to risk what had happened elsewhere in Africa.

"Race relations in Kenya are good, but no one could call that country a multi-racial State. The African majority have taken complete power. The rule is by Africans for Africans. There is already a levelling down, and standards will decline further. That is why half of Kenya's European population have already left; and almost all the remaining 50% would leave if they could, including many who were born in the country and others who have lived there for a generation or more.

"Rhodesians, having looked at Kenya, say that they will not have a repetition of its programme in their country, and that time must be allowed for their own Africans to acquire sufficient background to maintain present standards in public affairs.

"Whereas Kenya's economy is basically agricultural, that of Rhodesia is half agricultural and half industrial; and industry requires more training than agriculture. The African political parties in Rhodesia, moreover, are at enmity. There have been battles in the African townships, petrol bombing, and other violence, and Rhodesians believe that H.M. Government wants within two or three years to transfer power to Africans led by such men. If that happened Rhodesians would leave the country in great numbers, as they have done from Kenya.

Mr. Butler's Pledge

"The 1961 Constitution would produce an African majority in from seven to 15 years, and that is the minimum period of which Rhodesian Europeans think. They insist on the 1961 Constitution as the basis for a negotiated independence. Mr. Butler, then Secretary of State for Central African Affairs, said quite clearly in 1963 that there would be no need for another constitutional conference before independence." To shouts of "No, No", Mr. Wall replied that the pledge stands in a White Paper, and that the House of Commons was given the estimate of an African majority in between seven and 15 years.

"Neither party in Britain has ever declared for the one-man-one-vote principle in Rhodesia, but both have wanted more political progress for Africans and the 'blocking third' in Parliament, an arrangement to prevent amendments to the Constitution without African consent."

Under pressure from the United Nations, the Commonwealth and African States, the present British Government had tightened its attitude since August. Mr. Smith had offered significant concessions, but H.M. Government had not thought them satisfactory. Mr. Wall still believed agreement to be possible.

If Sanctions Were Imposed

"Maximum sanctions would not bring a rebellious Government to its knees under a year, probably more. African States represented at the United Nations would not be prepared to wait that time, and they would insist on military intervention. Both parties in this country would say that British troops could not be used; officers and men would not be prepared to shoot Rhodesians. The Government would have to leave the matter to the United Nations, which would encourage maximum boycotts. But South Africa and Portugal would be on Rhodesia's side, and the boycotts would not be very effective.

"If the United Nations sent military forces into Zambia, they would not stop at Rhodesia, but would inevitably be drawn to deal later with Mozambique and South Africa;

since there are four million whites in Southern Africa the world would find itself at major war.

"I am opposed to U.D.I. because of the immense sacrifices which it would entail for Rhodesia, Britain, and the whole world. Though economic sanctions would fail, I am sure that military intervention would follow, for who would pay for the U.N. forces? Not the United Kingdom. Not the United States. Perhaps the Russians?

Assuming military intervention, it would result in a consolidation of racialism throughout the world. That was the great danger of U.D.I.

"Africa's great economic and military power is in the South. The danger to the world is not the bomb, but the differences between the have and have-not nations. If they cannot be settled the world will exterminate itself."

Unfair Comparison

MR. F. S. JOELSON pointed out during the subsequent discussion that Mr. Chitepo's comparison of Rhodesian policy with that of South Africa was obviously unreliable, for the 1961 Constitution was based on multi-racialism and secured admission of 15 Africans to the Rhodesian Parliament.

Mr. Smith had vigorously opposed that Constitution, but, as a responsible Minister, he had accepted and operated that Constitution when he came to power. That was surely presumptive proof that he would likewise abide by any other promises given.

Tipped as Rhodesian Regent

If Rhodesia Becomes A Regency

Mr. John Worrall wrote in a cable from Salisbury to which the *Guardian* gave the heading "A Stuart Duke Tipped as Rhodesian Regent".

"Tremendous interest has been aroused by the Government's plan to appoint a 'regency' in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence. Already Rhodesians are tipping prominent personages for the job.

"The most popular prospect so far is the Duke of Montrose, Minister of Agriculture, who is also Scotland's premier duke. Known here as Lord Graham, he is a stalwart supporter of a U.D.I. if all else fails.

"The Duke's other titles are Marquis of Graham and Buchanan, Earl of Kincardine, Viscount Dundaff, Baron Aberuthren, Mugdock and Fintrie. He is also Hereditary Sheriff of Dunbartonshire. Who else, Salisbury is saying, could be better fitted for the title of 'Regent of Rhodesia'? In his veins runs Stuart blood. He comes from a family of Scottish rebels.

"Rhodesia's High Commissioner in London, Brigadier Skeen, has said a governor would be in Rhodesia to 'answer for the Queen until she comes into her own again. We object very much to being called traitors and rebels."

Legal Nonsense

"Two legal experts, Professor R. H. Christie, head of the law department of Salisbury's University College, and Dr. Palley, the Liberal independent M.P., said the idea was 'legal nonsense'. But Professor Christie said it would be 'a political statement of our loyalty to the Queen apart from the British Government'. Dr. Palley said that constitutionally the appointment of a Regent would be in direct contravention of the Regency Act of the United Kingdom and would also be repugnant to the Colonial Laws Validity Act. It would be 'a transparent piece of window-dressing'.

"Rhodesian Government sources believe that such a move would have a tremendous impact on the monarchical British public. 'Although we are deprived of the Queen against our will, it will show that we are loyal to the Queen's person', said one source.

"Mr. Smith would claim that Rhodesia is being deprived by Mr. Wilson's Government of the right to call the Queen the Queen of Rhodesia. He would try to show the British people that Rhodesia is one of the few countries in the Commonwealth which is genuinely royalist at heart. By this means he is trying to create a large mass of favourable public opinion in Britain that might at least force Mr. Wilson to reduce the rigours of sanctions and embargoes."

PERSONALIA

MR. A. S. MCGILL has arrived in Kenya as High Commissioner for Canada.

MR. J. R. BLAGDEN, a puisne judge in Kenya, is on leave until the end of the year.

MR. J. B. POLLARD, president of the Kenya National Farmers' Union, is in England.

SIR HAROLD MACMICHEAL, a former Governor of Tanganyika, has just entered his 84th year.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FRANCIS DE GUINGAND sailed for the Cape on Friday in the WINDSOR CASTLE.

MR. JIM REDMAN, the Rhodesian motor-cyclist, has won the world 350c.c. title for the fourth successive year.

MR. G. S. HUMPHRIES, Director of Overseas Surveys, will retire at the end of the month. His successor will be MR. W. D. C. WIGGINS.

MR. SERETSE KHAMA, Prime Minister of Bechuanaland, and MRS. KHAMA passed through London last week on their way to New York.

MR. P. A. PENNANT-REA, Director of Civil Aviation in Rhodesia, will resign early next year. It is understood that he will join a British airline.

MR. D. ODAKA, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in Uganda, was the guest at a Government luncheon at Lancaster House a few days ago. LORD BESTWICK presided.

LORD AND LADY DELAMERE were last week received in Addis Ababa by the Emperor of Ethiopia, in which country they intend to start dairy farms and butter and milk factories.

THE REV. R. J. CHAPMAN, a C.M.S. Missionary in Kenya, and a former chaplain to the Archbishop of East Africa, has been appointed Vicar of St. Mark's, Westlands, Nairobi.

The verdict at an inquest in Mombasa was that MR. BRUCE MCKENZIE, Minister for Agriculture in Kenya, acted in self-defence when he shot and killed an African intruder at his beach bungalow.

CHIEFS MPHEREMBE, CHULU, KAWINGA, MLOLO, MWENEWENYA, KALUMBU, and MR. G. E. NDEMA, M.P., all of Malawi, are visiting Britain for a month as guests of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

DR. MTIMKULU is chairman of an agency of the All-Africa Conference of Churches established in Nairobi to launch an ecumenical programme for emergency action in Africa, for which it hopes to raise at least 10m. dollars.

DR. CAREL DE WET, South African Ambassador in London, will address a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies on Thursday, November 4. SIR PERCIVALE LIESCHING will preside.

Commonwealth Relations Office guests in England from Uganda are MRS. F. N. BIRGIRWENKYA, MRS. R. N. KALEMA, MRS. E. B. T. MBOLUANA, MRS. S. SSENTONGO, and MRS. F. KIKIRA, all of them voluntary social workers.

MR. ROBIN TURTON, M.P., MR. A. BLENKINSOP, M.P., and MR. C. A. S. S. GORDON, fourth clerk at the table of the House of Commons, are to visit Kenya between October 31 and November 7 to speak on Parliamentary matters to members and officers of the Kenya Parliament.

MR. T. W. ASTON, who has succeeded MR. E. G. LE TOOC as Deputy High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Uganda, had been First Secretary in the British High Commission in Kenya. He had previously served in the High Commissions in India and South Africa, and in the Commonwealth Relations Office and Foreign Office in London.

MISS ELLEN MARGARET WALFORD, a Londoner, who left £51,587, on which duty of £26,956 has been paid, bequeathed £3,000 to the Malawi Government for scholarships for African girls studying at the University College of Rhodesia and Malawi. After the death of a beneficiary a further sum will pass to the Malawi Government for the education of African girls.

MR. C. G. H. RODGERS, who has retired after 28 years' service with the East African Railways and Harbours, graduated at Queens' College, Cambridge, in 1937 and a few months later went to Kenya as a cadet engineer. He served at different times in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, and three years ago succeeded MR. R. O. ROLPH as chief engineer. Throughout the last war he served with the Royal Air Force.

THE RT. REV. ELINANA NGALAMU and RT. REV. YEREMIYA DOTIRO, two Anglican Assistant Bishops in the Southern Sudan, have taken refuge in Uganda. BISHOP NGALAMU said in Kampala last week that after Sudanese troops had fired at him near Mundri theological college he hid in a ditch until dark and saw the college set ablaze. BISHOP DOTIRO said that he had decided to leave Meridi after two Roman Catholic priests and an Anglican evangelist had been killed.

MR. L. W. HAWKINS, who has been appointed Rhodesian Consul-General in Lourenço Marques, was born in England in 1920 and went to Rhodesia in 1947 after serving in the British Forces during the second world war. He filled various offices in the Federal Ministry of External Affairs and was for a time on the staff of the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara. Lately he had been in charge of the international organizations section of the Ministry of External Affairs in Salisbury. He is the only Rhodesian civil servant to be nominated as head of a consular mission.

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RHODESIA'S PRIME MINISTER REPLIES TO HAROLD WILSON

An Appeal for Justice and Fair Play

I received your personal message of the 18th October from your High Commissioner when he called on me.

You say that successive British Governments have throughout sought to reach agreement on conditions on which Rhodesia could advance to independence. The same is equally true of successive Rhodesian Governments. I agree that I accepted your five principles as a basis for negotiations and that they have held the field throughout all the discussions from February until this month. You say that you do not see what reason I had to expect you to depart from them. But I say that if you were negotiating for a settlement you could surely have reached a reasonable compromise with us. We have our principles as well, but we went beyond what we were originally prepared to do in an effort to satisfy to the best of our ability the implementation of your principles. The British Government, I regret to say, have not shown the same goodwill or desire to abandon fixed positions and, I must repeat, have in fact moved away from us.

I note that you say that you are still open to any ideas and to any further way of seeing whether agreement can be reached between us. Well, here is my response to this appeal: It is that it would be a reasonable and just thing for the British Government to grant Rhodesia its independence on the 1961 Rhodesian Constitution. This Constitution covers your five principles, if only you will admit it; they are enshrined there for all to see. This is the Constitution which was the direct outcome of a constitutional conference held in 1961 and presided over by the British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. This conference was attended by all the political parties and racial groups of the country. The Conference Report which became the foundation of the Constitution as finally drafted was subscribed to by the following: the United Kingdom Government led by the Commonwealth Secretary; the Government of Southern Rhodesia led by the Prime Minister; the United Federal Party, which was the government party but was independently represented; the National Democratic Party represented by Mr. Joshua Nkomo and the Reverend N. Sithole supported by Mr. Herbert Chitepo and Mr. T. G. Silundika; the Central Africa Party; the Coloured Community; the Asian Organisation and a representative of the Chiefs. It is a significant fact that the majority of those subscribing were members of the African, Asian and Coloured communities.

Rhodesia is being condemned not for what we have done, but for what others say we might do in the future. Therefore, at this grave hour, I repeat to you the suggestion I made to you at the London talks that the statesmanlike thing for you to do is to grant us our independence and to put us on trust to observe and to abide by the principles of the 1961 Constitution. Therefore, we again offer you as an earnest of our good faith a solemn treaty to guarantee our undertaking. Should there occur a breach of such solemn undertaking, that would be the appropriate time for the British Government to take whatever steps thought fit.

I believe it is my duty to impress upon you that no hardship and misery will flow from any action taken by the Rhodesian Government. If the unfortunate situation which you predict should occur it could only stem directly from actions taken by the British Government and those whom you have induced to support you.

We have made our decision on what our next step should be. Its implementation and the consequences which flow from it now depend entirely on your response to this appeal I now make to you at this eleventh hour.



SIR ROY WELENSKY WOULD SUPPORT REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT

SIR ROY WELENSKY threw his weight behind Mr. Smith on Friday when he told the *Rhodesia Herald* that though he was still opposed to a unilateral declaration of independence he thought that if it were made it would be the duty of every responsible person to support the revolutionary Government. Rhodesians must be deeply grateful to the Prime Minister for the magnificent fight he was making for the country.

"We cannot throw the country into a state of chaos", he said. "We must abide by the forces of law and order whether the Government in control is a *de facto* or a *de jure* Government."

He hoped that Mr. Wilson would make a common-sense, realistic approach to the situation, and so provide a reasonable basis for re-opening negotiations.

"I have felt for months that certain elements in Britain, some in a very powerful position, regard U.D.I. as a heaven-sent solution provided that Britain does not get the blame. The British Government would then say that they had done their best, that Rhodesia had taken the matter out of their hands, and piously hand over the problem to the United Nations."

Mr. Wilson did not want Rhodesia stubbornly negotiating for a legal solution next year, for that would be an acute embarrassment to him at the next Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. Mr. Smith might therefore do well to hold on to the *status quo*; "and perhaps this is really the way Mr. Smith is playing it".

Sanctions Would Strengthen White Supremacy

MR. DEREK SPARROW wrote from Bognor, Sussex:—

"Mr. Ian Smith was my Chief Whip for three years in the Federal Parliament in Salisbury when Chad Chipunza, who is now a leading member of the Rhodesian Parliamentary Opposition, was a fellow back-bencher. I am just as proud to have served with the one as with the other, and I still count them among my closest friends.

"As a multi-racialist I would like to canvass one aspect of the matter which seems to have escaped the attention of those who oppose independence for Rhodesia under the existing evolutionary non-racial Constitution.

"It must be assumed that this minority element of the British electorate subscribe to the use of sanctions in the event of the inevitable unilateral declaration of independence.

"Sanctions will only make the Rhodesian Government even more resolved to stand against the world, as this country did at the time of Dunkirk: but they will not make this stand alone, for, just as we had a silent but vital ally, so has Rhodesia. Today in the context of Africa, South Africa is just as much an economic and military giant as the United States was in relation to Europe in 1940.

"For motives of self-preservation, and despite his inclination towards isolation, Verwoerd will succour Smith as Roosevelt aided Churchill, so that the effect of sanctions will be cushioned if not negated. It must be accepted that South Africa is booming despite the sanctions applied to her.

"But the futility of the exercise is not my main objection to sanctions. The far deeper and long-lasting effect will arise from the price Smith will have to pay for his salvation.

"Obviously this will entail the adoption of the South African policy of white supremacy by Rhodesia and the abrogation of the many facets of multi-racialism which have been gradually achieved north of the Limpopo, including the present Constitution.

"Mr. Wilson and the supporters of sanctions should ponder on this fundamental and paradoxical effect which their actions will achieve for the Africa population of Rhodesia whose interests they are trying to protect".

Bad Tactics of African Nationalists

THAT THE RHODESIAN African politicians have by their own actions postponed the achievement of an African majority in the Parliament of that country was emphasized by Mr. B. HUTTON-WILLIAMS in a letter in the *Daily Telegraph*, which gave it the caption: "Constitutional Path: Africans Can Win Majority in Rhodesia". The letter said:—

"I trust Lord Alport's five points will be given

serious consideration in London, and Salisbury. If such an agreement as he has outlined could be reached the Rhodesian situation might cease to be a threat to peace and stability in Africa; a cooling off period might begin and evolutionary solutions might prevail.

"Under the present Constitution Rhodesia can move towards full independence within the Commonwealth if Africans take the right constitutional path.

"Africans, having already obtained control of the 15 'B' roll seats in Parliament, would require to capture 18 of the 50 'A' roll seats to secure a majority.

"The main classes of Africans on or eligible for the 'A' roll are in the civil service or railways, the holders of trading licences, operators of transport services, senior schoolmasters, clergy, purchase area farmers, and professional men. In practice these tend to be concentrated in about 14 rural constituencies and about five urban industrial constituencies. In the rural areas the constituencies are large and the European population very scattered. Owing to the Land Apportionment Act, 15 of the European residential constituencies have no 'African' 'A' voters at all.

"More Africans become eligible for the 'A' roll every year, and the speed of eligibility could be accelerated by grants-in-aid for African secondary education and loans for development. Somewhere in the region of 25,000 African 'A' roll voters might provide a majority in Parliament with the help of the 15 'B' roll seats, even if none of the 90,000 European voters voted for an African candidate, which is not necessarily the case. This is by no means a hopeless position to be in.

"Until such time, however, as every African who is eligible to vote registers, no one can say when an African majority in Parliament may be attained.

"The African nationalists have used the wrong tactics since 1961. It was in their interests then to gain white sympathy. It is still, but time is running out. It may not be too late, however, for them to act constitutionally, and to do so would be in their own interests and in the interests of Rhodesia and the Commonwealth".

"U.D.I. Would Be Morally Wrong"

The Very Rev. S. M. Wood, Dean of Salisbury, said in a sermon in the Rhodesian capital that a unilateral declaration of independence would be morally wrong and therefore contrary to God's will.

"In his Epistle to the Romans Paul wrote that every person must submit to the 'supreme authorities'. It is Christian teaching that the 'existing authorities' derive their authority from God and are responsible to God for their use of it.

"The Rhodesian Government derives its authority from H.M. Government in Westminster, for that Government has the power to legislate for Rhodesia and refrains from so doing only by a convention. In token, we have the Queen's representative in the person of the Governor who ratifies our laws in the Queen's name.

"So ultimate authority would seem to be due to H.M. Government, and Christian morality would teach that it would be wrong to defy that Government and declare independence unconstitutionally.

"I have no right to say from this pulpit whether U.D.I. would be sensible, expedient, timely, or advantageous, but as a Christian priest I say that it would be morally wrong, and that therefore no good could come of it, since it is a principle of morality that you cannot do good by doing wrong.

"If U.D.I. comes, and if the British Government do not send administrators to Rhodesia and soldiers to enforce their will—and God forbid that they should do that, for the resultant civil war would be a monstrous evil and a blot on history, and, thank God, in any case the British Government seem to have said that they will not do that—then it would appear that the only Government capable of administering the country and maintaining peace and security is the present Government.

"This present Government a Christian would then have to obey, no matter what he thought of its legality, for it would be 'the existing authority' in St. Paul's words. If, however, H.M. Government did decide to assume control in Rhodesia, we should have to think again.

"Many would be put in a most frightful dilemma—especially those who have especially bound themselves by an oath of allegiance to the Queen—Members of Parliament, for instance, members of the armed forces, and others. When I became a citizen of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, I had to swear an oath of allegiance to the Queen, and I can only suppose

CONFLICTING STATEMENTS OF BRITISH SPOKESMEN IN KENYA

that oath is still valid in the context of Rhodesia, the successor of the Federation here.

"We must pray hard for those on whose shoulders the burden of decision lies—the Governor and Prime Minister and those who advise them.

"Whatever happens, Christians must go on doing their job—which is our Lord's work of reconciliation—reconciling men to God and men to men, and doing their best by prayer and example to promote peace and justice for all in Rhodesia".

Mr. Wood, who became Dean of Salisbury a few months ago in succession to the Very Rev. Gonville French-Beytagh, had been Rector of Marandellas for the previous 10 years.

The Rt. Rev. Roger Wilson, Bishop of Chichester, said when addressing his diocesan conference:—

"I believe that justice and wisdom are behind the decisions of the Government not to accept any claim for independence which does not safeguard the future of the large African majority.

"Our respect and admiration for what white Rhodesians have done to build up their country jostles with our responsibility for nearly four million black Rhodesians and their future."

Prominent Kenyans Write to Mr. Smith

LORD DELAMERE, Mr. Humphrey Slade, Speaker of the Kenya Parliament, Sir Michael Blundell, Sir Wilfrid Havelock, Sir Charles Markham, Sir William Lindsay, Sir Derek Erskine, and Mr. W. Howard-Williams were among the signatories of a statement issued in Nairobi urging Mr. Smith to think again before declaring Rhodesia's independence. The signatories wrote:—

"We wish to express our feelings of deep shock and dismay at the declared intention of the Rhodesian Government to seize independence in the name of a white minority and in defiance of the British Government's persistent efforts to secure legally enforceable safeguards leading by stages to African majority rule.

"These efforts have been supported by all political parties in Britain. We feel we can speak for the overwhelming majority of British people in Kenya when we say they are most certainly supported here.

"We know what it was to stand up for our rights as settlers against an interfering British Colonial Office, and most of us had sincere reservations about the speed with which independence was granted in Kenya. To-day, however, we must admit that a great many of our fears have so far proved totally unfounded."

It was a pity that more Rhodesian and South African leaders did not take the trouble to visit East Africa to learn at first hand what independence had achieved. "At all events we hope it is not too late even now to add our voices to the British Premier's and say to Ian Smith: 'Prime Minister, think again'."

Kenya Britons Written Off

LIEUT.-COLONEL D. C. MACLEOD—a brother of Mr. Ian Macleod, a former Secretary of State for the Colonies—wrote from Eldoret, Kenya:—

"I have just been listening to the Prime Minister's speech on the Rhodesian situation. Has it occurred to him that the intransigence of the white Rhodesians may well be partly due to the way in which the Kenya British settlers have been completely written off as being of no account?"

"The Minister, Mrs. Barbara Castle, reduced the number of compassionate cases for purchase by the British Government submitted by the British High Commission in 1964 from 160 to 28.

"For years the strongest representations have been made, asking the British Government to underwrite in some way the farms of British settlers in Kenya, but to no avail. British policy has virtually wiped out the market for land.

"I have been trying to sell my own farm, for reasons of ill-health, for four years, and I have only just managed to do so by reducing the price to one-third of what the farm should fetch under normal conditions. This is less than I have spent on developing virgin bush.

"There has not been a single scheme designed for the purpose of enabling British farmers to realize their assets in Kenya—only schemes for the settlement of Africans.

"What possible trust can the Rhodesian Government put in

the British Government's assurance that the white minority interests would be protected in the event of majority rule?"

MR. IAIN MACLEOD, M.P., wrote in the *Spectator*:—

"Whether Mr. Smith declares for U.D.I. this year, next year, some time, or never, no one in this country will have any other words than those of contemptuous condemnation for his action in restricting Garfield Todd to his Rhodesian farm. It is a classic example of how not to win friends and influence people.

"Garfield Todd has many friends here in all political parties. He was Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia from 1953 to 1958. He was forced out of office because he was too liberal. So was his successor, Sir Edgar Whitehead, and his successor, Mr. Winston Field. And behind Mr. Ian Smith stands Mr. Harper. It is a sad roll-call."

Praise for Mr. Todd

MR. C. D. SMITH, a former member of the executive committee of the Central Africa Party, wrote from Willowdene, Vicarage Lane, Frodsham, to the *Guardian*:—

"Few events have shown the Rhodesian Government in a truer light than the restriction of Mr. Garfield Todd. As one who has served with Todd in happier days, may I express my deep sorrow at this mean and petty act against one who has devoted many years in the service of his country?"

"Somehow, working with Todd, one felt that Rhodesia really could be great; that white could build with black; and that out of the *Indaba* of the Matopos would grow a nation that would be an example to the world. That ideal has now gone, and with it the succession of lesser men who helped it to disintegrate: Whitehead, Welensky, and Field. Now, as a wretched culmination, we dream of a truly great Rhodesia will be reborn. Perhaps Garfield Todd will be an integral part of the future, even as he was of the past. But if this is ever to happen, there must be outside help, for, slowly but surely, all internal opposition in that country has been stifled. The only liberal paper has been banned. Nkomo and Sithole have been restricted; Leo Baron, that gallant liberal lawyer, has been confined to his home area; and now, the crowning folly, Garfield Todd has been placed under virtual house arrest.

"Let those who are still for Smith reflect where all this is leading, and let those of us who still believe in democracy send in our protests. How much longer must we liberals hold our silence about this obdurate, would-be Rhodesian usurper?"

Callous Actions of U.K. Politicians

MR. H. D. STEWART made the point that America's warning to Rhodesia provides wry humour in a grim situation.

"America was our first Colony to make a unilateral declaration of independence, an event which is still celebrated there annually, and I hardly think she will claim that this was not to her ultimate advantage. History has said some harsh things about the way Lord North and his Government treated the early American settlers. What will history say about the callous way successive British Governments of the 20th century have treated their kith and kin in Africa?"

MR. EMLYN HOOSON, Liberal M.P. for Montgomeryshire, said that his party must not accept the 1961 Constitution, the objections being: two grossly unbalanced electoral rolls, stringent voting qualifications which excluded most Africans, and maintenance of the Land Apportionment Act. If there were rebellion, it would have to be subdued.

MR. HERBERT CHITEPO, the first Rhodesian African to be called to the Bar, who is now Director of Public Prosecutions in Tanzania, arrived in London on Thursday to take part in a symposium on Rhodesia at the Africa Centre.

He asked whether Britain would go to war against Rhodesia if the proposed treaty were broken, and said: "The African people in Rhodesia are now like dry grass just as the fire is about to be put to it. If there is U.D.I. it will not be the African people who will be in rebellion but Mr. Smith, while we should be trying to sustain lawful government."

MR. JASON MOYO, treasurer-general of Z.A.P.U., said that the proposed treaty was "a piece of damned cynical fraud".

UNITED KINGDOM PRESS COMMENTS ON RHODESIA

UNITED KINGDOM NEWSPAPERS continue to give great prominence to Rhodesian affairs.

After Mr. Wilson had offered to fly to Rhodesia the *Financial Times* commented that he had given himself the toughest assignment of his political career.

"An almost incredible flexibility on the part of the Rhodesia Front will be required if the British Prime Minister's mission is to succeed. The African leaders too will have to shift from their intransigent positions.

"It is a mistake to try now to set any time limit for majority rule, because any compromise figure will be too long for the Africans and too short for the Europeans. The best hope may be Mr. Wilson's idea that all parties should agree to work the 1961 Constitution for an interim period during which there would be a crash programme of African education and training in the responsibilities of government. Independence would thus be postponed until it could be seen more clearly in what ways the 1961 Constitution needed to be changed in order to ensure majority rule.

"If the Africans would only go back on their unwise decision to boycott this Constitution they might be surprised at the opportunities that it gave them to win seats in Parliament. They should listen to President Nyerere, who has advised them to try constitutional methods".

The *Daily Telegraph* considered Mr. Wilson's reply to Mr. Smith "tough, even needlessly hostile", and referred to "the towering hurdle of finding an agreed formula for submitting the proposed independence terms to the people of Rhodesia as a whole and of getting their acceptance".

The editorial contained the strange statement that Mr. Bottomley had not been allowed to see the restricted African nationalist leaders when he was in Rhodesia in February. In fact, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary talked with them for several hours.

Mr. Wilson's Slim Prospects of Success

Mr. Wilson's chances of success were thought by the *Sunday Times* to be depressingly slim:—

"Nevertheless the Prime Minister is taking the right course in flying to Salisbury. He would have been blameworthy in the highest degree if he had allowed the least chance of averting a disaster to slip through his hands. A unilateral declaration of independence would be a disaster, and nearly everyone, including Mr. Smith, knows it. But so would the abandonment by the British Government of the principles which it and its conservative predecessor laid down for the grant of independence to Rhodesia.

"This is not just a question of preserving Commonwealth unity or of Britain's international position in the world, immensely important though these factors are: it is that there are as Mr. Wilson said in his latest letter to Mr. Smith, 'certain basic matters of conscience, of honour, and of duty to which all parties in this country have consistently adhered'.

"Despite the present embarrassment of the Conservative Party at finding itself committed to support the policy of its opponents, it is so committed because that policy, to which there was and is no substantial alternative, was of its own making".

The *Observer* considered a strong British initiative the best hope for peace in Rhodesia:—

"If Mr. Smith decided on independence by stealth, it would be extremely difficult to react with the full rigour which open U.D.I. should call down on him. It would be hard enough to keep national unity here in the face of open U.D.I., but much harder to win approval for opposing technical acts which tended towards U.D.I.

"Unless Britain is prepared to react even to 'creeping' U.D.I. she will be abdicating her authority once and for all in a matter that deeply concerns her. She will be accepting by default what all parties here are plainly committed to not accepting: independence on Mr. Smith's terms.

"Are the Tories prepared to see Britain abandon her authority and responsibility? If not, it is surely irresponsible to throw doubt on the only way of asserting it—by using the weapon of sanctions—should Mr. Smith defy Britain openly or stealthily.

"Mr. Wilson's mission to Salisbury should go a long way to convincing British opinion that if a show-down comes it will be because of Mr. Smith's intransigent determination to assert white supremacy in Rhodesia against the advice of almost the entire world. If the need for rigorous counter-

measures does arise they should be seen, not as a punishment of the white Rhodesians, but as the final attempt to save Mr. Smith and his supporters from the consequences of their own tragic un wisdom".

In the *Sunday Express* Mr. John Gordon gave most of his diary space to Central Africa, writing:

"Mr. Todd's 22-year-old daughter is whisked from America to take part in the debate. Who paid her fare and expenses? Lord Normanbrook's B.B.C. Isn't that an odd business?"

"Just before Mr. Smith went home Lord Normanbrook decreed that he must not be permitted to make the final TV broadcast, obviously because it would have been embarrassing to Mr. Wilson. But as soon as Mr. Smith made his blunder over Mr. Todd, in springs Lord Normanbrook's broadcasting organization to pay Miss Todd's expenses to come over to make a political broadcast and give anti-Smith interviews exceedingly palatable to Mr. Wilson. What sort of political jiggery-pokery is Lord Normanbrook playing?"

Nkrumah and Banda Should Be Britain's Warning

"President Nkrumah of Ghana has seized the opportunity to tell us what we should do. 'If armed force is required to bring rebellious elements in Rhodesia to order, Britain must use force' he says. In other words, white Britons must be sent to shoot down white Britons in the sacred cause of establishing the sort of democracy Nkrumah has inflicted upon Ghana, which includes life imprisonment for anyone who disagrees with him.

"From Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of neighbouring Malawi, we have a grim forewarning of what we may expect in Rhodesia if we fail to find a more satisfactory basis of settlement than one-man-one-vote promises to be.

"Dr. Banda, having caught one of his political rebels after a six months' hunt, announces proudly that he intends he shall be hanged publicly to 'swing and dangle until he breathes his last'. Dr. Banda has long been regarded by some of our softy politicians as a kindly, lovable fellow. Power shows how near the primitive savage lies beneath the smiling face".

That Mr. Wilson would need to talk toughly to Mr. Nkomo was emphasized by the *Guardian*, which said:—

"Preventing a potential suicide down from a window ledge. Don't let his attention wander. Try every tone of voice. The suicide pretends not to listen; and Mr. Smith said last night that the negotiations were over and he saw no point in reopening them. But words are not lost on him.

"When appeals to reason have failed a note of authority may be heeded. Mr. Wilson did not ask Mr. Smith's permission to visit Salisbury; he announced that he was going. He did not ask to see Mr. Nkomo and others; he expected them to be there. He did not pretend that Mr. Smith's latest offer might be adequate; he said it was not.

Violence and Intimidation

"But anyone trying to talk down a suicide should ask how he got on to the ledge in the first place. White Rhodesians have had two uncomfortable experiences in the past few years. One was the Congo, as close to them as Germany is to us. The other was the ugly outbreak of intimidation in the African townships and the demonstrations of racial hatred at week-end meetings which accompanied the first attempts by the Rhodesian Government to relax white supremacy.

"Of course, there were reasons for the African behaviour, into which the whites were not keen to inquire. But the result of it was that the whites quickly retraced their tentative steps towards a non-racial society and are left unaware of any form of African nationalism which is not violent, menacing, and intransigent. If Mr. Wilson hopes to reach any agreement during his visit to Salisbury he will have to give Mr. Nkomo a talking to as well as Mr. Smith.

"No Rhodesian settlement has a chance of success if it does not allow for the political re-education of the leaders of both races. A fruitful independence must be the result of a deliberate and probably slow process. The Prime Minister is right not to neglect any possibility, but one cannot pretend that the prospects are anything but gloomy".

In the course of a long leading article the *New Statesman* wrote:—

"Mr. Smith's drum-beaters in Britain, who have sought to present him as a clean-limbed war hero and freedom-fighter, have been dismayed by his abrupt decision to restrict Mr. Garfield Todd to his farm. If white Rhodesia's case is so fragile that it cannot survive the moderate criticisms of one of its ex-Prime Ministers at an Edinburgh teach-in, how can his British supporters hope to protect Mr. Smith from the

DECISION TO RESTRICT MR. TODD SHARPLY CRITICIZED

consequences of U.D.I.? Even he must have foreseen the disastrous effect on British and world opinion of this step.

"One can only suppose that he felt himself driven to it by his overriding need both to terrorize white liberal opinion in Rhodesia and to block efforts to form a multi-racial government-in-exile after U.D.I. No doubt he calculated that if Mr. Todd were beyond the reach of the Rhodesian police machine at the moment of U.D.I. he would feel free—and legally entitled—to join with Africans in forming an alternative to an illegal regime in Salisbury. Mr. Todd, a devout Christian, is internationally known and respected. His participation would not only have lent great prestige to the exile government; it would also have killed the white supremacist lie that it is the Africans who are the racists and who want to drive the whites out of Rhodesia.

"But in insuring against this risk Mr. Smith has inevitably flooded with light the dingy recesses of the Rhodesian state. This may, paradoxically, have been his intention—to show loyal Rhodesian whites who prefer to obey their Queen rather than Mr. Smith the grave perils they court. Most Rhodesian whites have given little thought to the armoury of repressive powers assembled by successive Rhodesian Governments. The protests of lawyers, churchmen, and academics against the progressive destruction of the rule of law have been forgotten.

"As Rhodesia's governing élite prepares to do battle against the world, it becomes increasingly evident that U.D.I. means independence not for the 220,000 whites, but only for those among them who are prepared to follow Mr. Smith and his colleagues to the last extremity. The choice in Rhodesia is not between freedom for the whites or freedom for the Africans: it is a choice between a multi-racial democracy (with all its admitted risks) or tyranny for all.

"Is the British Government prepared to stand aside while one of the territories for which it has undoubted responsibility becomes a vast prison-camp? Or has it the courage to discharge its constitutional duty and intervene decisively to restore the rule of law?"

Reply to "Creeping Independence"

Sharp criticism of the decision to restrict Mr. Todd's movements was made by the *Economist*:—

"Mr. Smith's decision to put the former Prime Minister, Mr. Garfield Todd, in restriction seemed unbelievably inept if the Rhodesian Government's first thought were for public relations in Britain. In fact, its first thought was probably fear of what Mr. Todd might do if there were a rebellion against Britain. Yet detaining Mr. Todd was a gift for all Mr. Smith's opponents: the sight of Miss Judy Todd, speaking in a shy young girl's voice 'on behalf of my father' at the Edinburgh University teach-in was short only of massed violins. It is the sort of thing publicity people salivate about; never mind what she said.

"For all that, Mr. Smith has not forgotten his British public: indeed, everything that happens over Rhodesia from now on will rest in good measure on the separate assessments made by him and Mr. Wilson of how far the British public, and thus the British parties, can be united behind whatever policy the British Government chooses to follow.

"Both the Gallup and National Opinion polls have shown overwhelming support for Mr. Wilson's handling of Rhodesia, but not for sanctions in reply to an illegal declaration of independence. Indeed, N.O.P. showed overwhelming opposition to such a policy. Curiously, both polls indicated British willingness to hand the Rhodesians to the far less tender mercies of a presumably furious United Nations. Yet if Mr. Smith now adopts a policy of 'creeping independence' the right British response would be creeping sanctions."

That Rhodesian determination to keep power for the foreseeable future stems from convictions and fears which have seldom had a public airing in Britain was admitted by the *Statist*, which held however, that economic sanctions would do the country far more harm than prolonged uncertainty:—

"What is driving white Rhodesia to take such risks is basically the fear of black majority rule. Government, they say, must be by 'merit'; and Africans will achieve power in time depending not only on their educational accomplishments and their incomes but (in Mr. Smith's words in London) 'on how they behave'. By behaviour, Mr. Smith made it clear, he meant neither more nor less than a guarantee that Africans would leave white women alone.

"It is this kind of attitude, no longer at a subconscious level, which is at the root of the present problems. For obvious reasons the Rhodesians have never been able to

advance such basic fears in their arguments concerning their future. But it means that there should be no surprise that the Rhodesians this week have seemed hell-bent for the South African laager and will do anything to get there in time."

Advance on Constitution Demanded

"STAY OF EXECUTION" was the heading given to a leading article in *The Times* on the morrow of Mr. Smith's message suggesting independence on the basis of the present Constitution and a treaty guaranteeing faithful observance of its provisions. The article said:—

"It may seem reasonable for Mr. Smith to ask to be put on trust to observe the 1961 Constitution and to be judged on his own actions rather than on others' predictions, but the British Government have already made it clear that this is unacceptable by itself.

"It is not just a question of trust. It is a question of recognizing that the 1961 Constitution was not designed for independence but for progress towards independence. There must be some advance on it.

"Admittedly a strict observance of the Constitution would be a good beginning. It does contain a guarantee of some progress, some provision against regress, and a declaration of rights that applies 'without distinction of race, colour or creed'. The African leaders were very wrong to back out of it. But the fundamental disagreement over guaranteed and reasonably steady progress towards majority rule would not be solved by relying on the letter of the Constitution alone.

"There can be less assurance as independence would remove some safeguards, such as the right of ultimate appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Nor do the restrictions on Mr. Garfield Todd and the African Nationalist leaders provide much confidence that the spirit of the Constitution would be observed. What precisely does Mr. Smith mean when he promises that 'no hardship and misery will flow from any action taken by the Rhodesian Government'? It is not enough to have 'no hardship'. Progress has to be assured.

"The gulf seems as wide as ever. But the people of Rhodesia are clearly becoming more and more aware of what they would suffer from a unilateral declaration of independence. The longer the fatal step can be delayed the more hope there is that it will not be taken. Mr. Wilson should have every support in his efforts to keep the dialogue going."

At the Cliff's Edge

The *Daily Telegraph* commented:—

"Mr. Smith appears to have advanced to within one last fatal step of the cliff's edge; yet he is still placing his feet cautiously, still able to draw back and even-mancuvre. His latest letter, ranging from appeal to ultimatum, is calculated to throw the blame for the breach that seems so near on to the British Government, while demonstrating to all that he cannot be bluffed or intimidated.

"The admission that he accepted Mr. Wilson's five principles as a basis for discussion must surely make both sides reflect on the tragedy of allowing the gap between acceptance and implemation to be as wide as rebellion, in defiance of loyalties and affinities so close and so well tested in the past. His charge of bad will or rigidity against the British Government is refuted by the latter's readiness to grant independence now, with certain guarantees of African advancement, rather than to insist on an African majority first, as in all previous cases. If Mr. Smith had accepted this he would have gone down in history as the man who, by tough and clever bargaining, got more out of the British Government than any of his predecessors. It is still not too late.

"The glimmerings of a possibility for a new approach may perhaps be discerned in Mr. Smith's appeal to Britain to grant independence and trust the Rhodesian Government to abide by 'the principles' of the 1961 Constitution. This is backed by the renewed offer of a treaty guaranteeing the undertaking, and the acceptance that, if this were broken, Britain would be entitled to take whatever steps she thought fit. It can be argued against this that non-compliance at some future time would be difficult to diagnose, and that in any case an independent Rhodesia might by then be able

POST-INDEPENDENCE GUARANTEE COULD BE OFFERED

to laugh at British efforts to endorse implementation. "There has, perhaps, been too much emphasis on entrenched clauses. These can become anchors which drag too easily under predictable or unpredictable strains, and in practice little or nothing can be done about it. It might be more expedient to get additional reinsurance in the form of a clear and specific undertaking on programmes for accelerated African advancement which the Rhodesian Government would be in honour bound to implement. It goes without saying that Britain would offer to co-operate fully, financially and otherwise.

Awful Consequences of Final Plunge

"From the brink both sides see more clearly the awful consequences of the final plunge and understand each other's difficulties. The dialogue should be resumed with increased realism".

"INDEPENDENCE ON A FALSE PREMISE" ran the caption to the *Guardian's* leader, which said:—

"The 1961 Constitution was not intended when it was signed to be the basis of independence for Rhodesia. At that time Southern Rhodesia (as it was then called) was part of the Central African Federation, now defunct. Any provision for the Federation to become independent would have had to include new franchise arrangements for Rhodesia.

"It is disingenuous of Mr. Smith to catalogue the signatories to that Constitution as though they had accepted the principle of Rhodesian independence under it. They accepted it (although the African nationalists soon changed their minds) as an advance on the 1923 Constitution which provided for no African representation in the National Assembly. That was all.

"Mr. Smith's letter contains another implausibility. In return for a grant of independence under the 1961 Constitution he offers a treaty between Rhodesia and the United Kingdom to guarantee his undertaking that the 1961 principles should be honoured. What does this mean? The spirit of the 1961 Constitution has already been passed over. The Rhodesian Government has not encouraged the advance in African education which would hasten the growth of a bi-racial Parliament, nor has it been ready to accept British offers of money to accelerate African education.

"Secondly, a treaty on these lines could not effectively freeze the *status quo*. But that is not enough. It leaves the Africans without majority rule or any reasonable prospect of it.

How Independent If Bound by Treaty?

"Thirdly, in what sense would Rhodesia be independent when bound by treaty (if it could be bound, which in practice it could not) to conduct its internal affairs in a certain way? What is the purpose of independence if not to allow the Rhodesian Government to legislate as it will? If Mr. Smith's offer were accepted in the terms in which it is made Britain would be more free to intervene in Rhodesia in the event of further backtracking on the 1961 principles than it is now. That is the reverse of what Mr. Smith intends.

"When the Governments are poles apart in the aims they have publicly announced it is hard to see how a form of words such as Mr. Smith suggests can do anything but cover a retreat by one side or the other. Certainly there is now an excuse for prolonging the negotiations. Further discussion can be held about the amendments to the 1961 Constitution that would be necessary.

"A guarantee to relieve the whites of their fears about a post-independence upheaval could be offered to Mr. Smith. But unless he is prepared to concede reasonable advances now on the lines of Mr. Wilson's five principles there seems no point in talking any more. The most important of these principles are the unimpeded progress to majority rule and the agreement of the people of Rhodesia as a whole to what is proposed".

Mr. Smith's reply was considered by the *Scotsman* almost to extinguish hope:—

"He presents an extraordinary travesty of Britain's attitude. His purpose is evidently to put the blame on the British Government for Rhodesia's next move. His letter is intelligible only as a propaganda manoeuvre.

"He cannot be so naive as to imagine that it would be

statesmanlike to give Rhodesia independence on the basis of the 1961 Constitution alone. It is a pity that the African nationalists did not try to work that Constitution and so gain political experience, but it is useless to pretend that it enshrines all the principles laid down by Mr. Wilson for granting independence.

"Guaranteed and steady progress towards majority rule is one condition. The 1961 Constitution was only a first step. Mr. Smith has given no sign of a pledge to continue the process.

"Trust us, Mr. Smith proposes, offering also a solemn treaty. Relations between countries, as any Prime Minister should know, are not conducted in that manner. His word may be his bond, but Premiers and Governments change may be the years. Though Mr. Heath supports the idea of a solemn undertaking, the fate of the entrenched clauses in South Africa diminishes faith in the efficacy of treaties.

"Mr. Smith is well aware that his 'statesmanlike' request could not possibly be conceded, short of complete abdication by Britain of her duty to the African majority and to the Commonwealth".

Rhodesians Tough and United

Mr. Walter Terry cabled on Sunday from Salisbury to the *Daily Mail* that Rhodesians appeared tough, united and unyielding, and that it was hard to see where a break in the crisis could come before it turned into disaster.

"The Whitehall reaction that whatever was settled in Salisbury would have to be sanctioned by the Rhodesian people as a whole was such a heavy qualification that it might make the whole idea useless. / Mr. Wilson's visit therefore might serve one of two main purposes: (1) recognizing the situation to be hopeless, Mr. Wilson is going perhaps for an adroit performance to show opinion at home that he has done everything possible and that full responsibility lies with Mr. Smith, and (2) to produce a fine-gloss formula that in strict logic may be a piece of rubbish but just enable talks to be resumed and the threat of U.D.I. to diminish.

"In Rhodesian eyes it is the British Prime Minister who has the hard struggling ahead. Among Europeans here passion and anger are not far below the surface. It is uncanny to hear a man with a Lancashire accent say many times over that Britain can go to hell; and almost all dialects volunteer that English journalists are a twisting, distorting lot".

Mr. David Adamson cabled to the *Daily Telegraph* that Mr. Wilson would have to deal with an embattled Cabinet desperately wanting to negotiate if possible; a fire-eating party management wanting U.D.I. rather than time-wasting talks; business and industrial interests wanting the *status quo*; and African nationalists wanting immediate majority rule.

Though the Tobacco Trade Association had just told the Government that not more than 15% of the crop might be sold if independence were seized; most growers were planting such an acreage that a 200m. lb. crop might be expected.

Position of the Judiciary

An important dispatch to the *Guardian* from its Rhodesian correspondent, Mr. John Worrall, dealt with the position of the judiciary in the event of U.D.I. The message appeared to be based on sight of a document not mentioned by any other correspondent. "Rhodesia may take freedom the quiet way" was the heading. The telegram said (in part):—

"An informant close to the unbiased and extremely worried Rhodesian judiciary told me there was only one way in which Mr. Smith could avoid a head-on clash with the Governor and judges—by not touching the Constitution at all.

"The belief is that Mr. Smith will recall Parliament and pass by its two-thirds majority a simple Act on the lines that Rhodesia does not recognize Britain's ultimate powers of legislation in or over Rhodesia. In other words, the Government will write into its own laws the convention of non-interference that exists already and has never yet been broken by Britain. At the same time he will solemnly pledge that Rhodesia stands by the Constitution and the entrenched clauses and swears continued allegiance to the Queen.

"The Constitution would remain the basis for all law in

POSITION OF JUDICIARY IF INDEPENDENCE DECLARED

Rhodesia. The oaths of allegiance of the armed forces, the judges, and the police would remain valid. The emotive word "independence" will not be used, though it will be implied for local consumption that this has been assumed.

"The admittedly Government-biased lawyer who gave me this information suggests that Rhodesia will not have committed an illegal act because the Constitution has not been touched. Government thinking is something along the following lines, he assures me—

"If Rhodesia already possesses indefensible powers as a nearly sovereign dominion, how can any enactment interpreting our relationship with Westminster as a form of irremovable sovereignty similar to Canada and Australia in 1930, be rebellious or treasonable?

"Today's broad assumption that being a colony implies an inferior servile status enjoys little support from constitutional doctrine over the years. Former dependencies and protectorates were obviously inferior because they needed gifts of money, protection by garrisons, pacifying, policing, teaching, doctoring, and governing by other stronger, more fortunate people.

"They existed as possessions or adjuncts to, not part of the principal estate of the Crown, having no part of the indissoluble contract between Crown and subject which forms the duty of allegiance, being "protected" persons, not British subjects. Their relationship to Britain was as between benefactor and orphan, which could be ended at will, leaving no continuing obligations of blood and family.

"The Colony of Rhodesia is of a very different nature, being part of the British family (including all four million Africans), never conquered by the Crown's endeavour, but acquired by private enterprise who exercised the Crown's prerogative even to the disposal of Crown lands.

"The Rhodesian people have always provided their own revenues and human skills. The entire capacity to conduct the whole of government was acknowledged in 1923."

Family Estates of the Crown

"It is pointed out that there is no difference in relation to the Crown between Rhodesia and Northernland or Angus, New South Wales, or Manitoba. All are indisputably inalienable family estates of the Crown.

"If there is no difference, then Britain has less a power of awarding or withholding independence as she pleases and more a duty to acknowledge the nature and power of a Rhodesian dominion when it has demonstrated its ability to exercise the attributes of sovereignty. These follow the vehement arguments of New Zealand, Canada, and Australia over the years before 1931: dominion status is a matter of achieving free adulthood within a family—the bond of allegiance contemplates no disinheritance."

"The pro-Government legal men ask: 'How therefore would Westminster justify its claim to domination? Rhodesia contributes no tax to Britain nor enjoys any part of its revenue or other benefits. Is the Queen in Rhodesia concept a gift—as it had to be to an otherwise helpless Malawi—or a recognition of adulthood, as to Australia or Canada?'

"Mr. Wilson's claim to power within Britain is no greater than Mr. Smith's claim within Rhodesia. The relationship between them can therefore only be as between blood relations benefiting from the same family inheritance, and not as between all-powerful proprietor and helpless inferior, as Mr. Wilson appears to think."

"Canada and Australia consider that the written powers of reservation in their Constitutions (identical to that for Rhodesia) are overridden by customary practice. May not Rhodesia assume in legal binding form that the convention that Westminster will not, without being asked, legislate for us shall be the law as we see it? Taking independence can be an entrenchment of allegiance as an irremovable contract between Rhodesians and the Queen, protected permanently against domestic political whims six thousand miles distant."

"Rhodesia has been blessed with a diversification of minerals such as no other country has to offer". — Mr. W. J. J. Cary, M.P.

"I have never met people so hospitable as those of Sydney, Australia". — Sir Samuel Quashie-Idun, President of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa.

"In the past there has been a shortage of trained people. In the not too distant future there may be a surplus. Then the slackers will be weeded out". — Mr. William Murgor, Assistant Minister for Agriculture in Kenya.

Zambia Departs Malawi Nationalists

THREE OFFICIALS of the Malawi Congress Party have been deported from Zambia. They had run an M.C.P. office in Livingstone. Declining to give reasons for their deportation the Minister of Home Affairs appealed to all Malawi citizens in Zambia to conduct themselves in a manner which would strengthen the relationship between the two countries. The Malawi Government had been advised that, as both Zambia and Malawi were independent, it was not necessary for any party in Malawi to maintain offices in Zambia. Offices in Kitwe of the ruling Tanganyika African National Union (T.A.N.U.) had been closed, and that had happened to U.N.I.P. offices in Tanzania. Mr. Chona recalled that activities of nationalist parties from dependent countries had been restricted to a 10-mile radius from Lusaka. As there were many Malawians in Zambia, the best way of looking after their interests would be for Malawi to conduct her relations with Zambia on a more official and formal basis. The Minister rejected allegations that Malawi ex-ministers were organizing in Zambia against the Government of Dr. Banda. *Malawi News*, the official organ of Dr. Banda's party, had alleged that Malawi rebels were trying to organize themselves in Zambia following a visit from Tanzania of the former Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Kanyama Chiume.

Far Too Much Drunkenness in Zambia

MR. HYDEN BANDA, Minister of Transport and Works in Zambia, said when opening in Lusaka a road safety seminar for teachers —

"Most road accidents are not accidental at all. Road safety depends more than anything else on the attitude of mind. Rudeness, drunkenness, bad temper, and carelessness will increase our accidents, deaths and injuries.

"I am dismayed and angered by the number of accidents in which drink plays a part. Let me state my firm conviction here and now that there is too much, far too much drunkenness in Zambia as a whole, and this is having a very bad effect on road safety. Accidents arise not only from drunken motorists, but from drunken cyclists and drunken pedestrians. The weaving cyclist and the staggering pedestrian can cause an accident just as easily as a drunken driver.

"Sobriety, courtesy, patience, consideration, care, and a feeling of friendliness and tolerance are the best ways to make our roads safer and pleasanter.

"Between 1959 and 1964 the monthly average of road accidents rose from 196 to 307. This year it is running at a rate of 335. In the first six months of 1965 pedestrians and cyclists suffered 85 deaths, 189 serious injuries, and 216 other injuries."

Zambia Broadcasting Corporation

MR. ALICK T. B. NKHATA, aged 43, has been appointed director of the Zambia Broadcasting Corporation, which he joined as a musicologist 14 years ago. Mr. E. Lubinda-Mutafela, 34, has been appointed head of administration. Mr. R. M. S. Ng'Ombe, 33, who was a reporter in Salisbury until a year ago, is now head of the news department, with Mr. A. M. Chibamba, a graduate of Roma University College, as his deputy.

"Chiume has sent Malawians from Tanzania to Peking for military training". — Dr. Banda.

"I expect foreign-based companies operating in Kenya to co-operate with our Government in the task of promoting Africanization by appointing Kenya citizens, particularly Africans, as their distributors and wholesale agents". — Dr. J. G. Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry.

MR. TODD FAVOURS SANCTIONS BUT NOT MILITARY ACTION

MANY JOURNALISTS and representatives of radio and television networks drove more than 200 miles from Salisbury last week to the ranch near Shambani on which Mr. Garfield Todd, a former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, has been ordered to remain for the next year. Because they kept arriving for hours, Mr. Todd stayed up throughout the night to answer questions.

He said that as a matter of courtesy he had informed Mr. Smith that he had arranged to go to Edinburgh to speak in a teach-in on Rhodesia and to appear in a television programme; he did not want there to be any suggestion that he had just slipped out of the country. He had been shocked to receive the restriction order, but the same sort of thing had happened to hundreds of Africans who held opinions different from those of the Government of the day.

He would have said in Edinburgh, to a much smaller audience, that Britain should take firm sanctions against the Rhodesian Government. Military intervention was unnecessary and would be tragic.

Danger of Huge Peaceful Protest

Africans realized and appreciated the tremendous contribution which white people had made to Rhodesia, and although the difficulty of surrendering power was obvious, there would sooner or later be no alternative for the white population. The only way out of the present impasse was to convince the whites that there was no solution except by agreement with the Africans. Locking up Africans did not help.

One day a demonstration procession by Africans would meet police or troops and there would be violence if it did not disperse. "But we whites could not stand up against a huge peaceful protest. We should have to turn it into a violent one."

"I strongly oppose independence under a minority Government," said Mr. Todd. "If the nations of the world are determined to change our political situation they can do it without military intervention."

Mr. Lardner-Burke, the Minister of Justice, has denied that Mr. Todd has been restricted to his farm because he was about to fly to Britain to take part in a television programme. The Government's action had been caused simply by Mr. Todd's association with the proscribed Zimbabwe African People's Union, "and with activities prejudicial to the maintenance of law and order". The restriction order was "simply a matter of internal security".

Sir Roy Welensky said that, not knowing the facts, he would not criticize Mr. Smith's action; the Government must have the benefit of the doubt.

Mr. Todd has said that he will appeal against the restriction order, for not to do so would be to admit his guilt. He did not expect that the appeal would do any good.

The reason given by the Government was that he had been associated with activities prejudicial to law and order; "but I think there is no doubt that they did not want anyone

following Mr. Smith and giving a different view on British television".

Would He Have Joined Government-in-Exile ?

The diarist of the *Financial Times* wrote:—

"As he showed during his visit to Britain, Mr. Smith has an expert's knowledge of public relations. It is particularly interesting, therefore, that the ban on Mr. Todd has got far more publicity for his pro-African views than his appearance at to-night's teach-in at Edinburgh could have done. Even restricted to his ranch, he has been interviewed and filmed for a world-wide—and sympathetic—audience.

"But" was the fear of the publicity Todd would get at Edinburgh the real reason for Smith's action? Many people doubt it and I am one of them. For several weeks now the word in Salisbury has been that Todd might be the leading European member of a Government-in-exile if there were a U.D.F. Todd has resisted this suggestion so far, but what would happen if he were out of Rhodesia when U.D.I. was declared?

Todd has always maintained to the stream of African and European pilgrims to his ranch at Shabani that he would much rather stay there than get involved in politics again. Nevertheless, he has given considerable moral support to Mr. Nkomo, the African leader restricted to another remote part of the country.

"Since he was ousted as Prime Minister in 1958 for being too moderate, Todd has spent much of his free time working out a scheme to give away his 50,000 acres to Africans in 1,000-acre lots.

"His wife and elder daughter, Judy, are considered to be more active in politics than he is. Judy has been arrested during a demonstration in Salisbury.

The *Scotsman* wrote:—

"Mr. Smith's decision to serve a restriction order on Mr. Todd may have been a more rational action than most people believe. There have been suggestions that Mr. Todd could be named the head of a Rhodesian government-in-exile to be formed by the African nationalists after U.D.I. If Mr. Smith intends to declare U.D.I. it would be commonsense for him to detain Mr. Todd within Rhodesia. Though Mr. Todd supports Mr. Nkomo, leader of Z.A.P.U., anti-European sentiment within Z.A.P.U. would probably preclude such a move after U.D.I. It would be shrewd of Mr. Nkomo to gain support by putting up such a well-known figure".

"Example of Lawlessness"

Mr. Angus Maude, official Conservative spokesman on Colonial affairs, said at Stratford-upon-Avon that the action taken against Mr. Todd must make any reasonable person hesitate before advocating early independence without cast-iron safeguards. The problem was one of pace and timing, and we should do everything possible to facilitate an arrangement that gave security to the Africans without injustice to the whites. But if the Rhodesian Government set an example of lawlessness, that lawlessness would spread.

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Mr. Bomani's Reappointment to Office President Nyerere Explains His Decision

PRESIDENT NYERERE has explained to the National Assembly of Tanzania why he decided to make Mr. Paul Bomani a nominated member of that body and reappoint him to the Cabinet after he had been defeated in his constituency, Mwanza East, in the recent general election. Mwalimu Nyerere said:—

"The President has the constitutional power to appoint 10 people to be Members of this House, and if he thinks it necessary he may then legally appoint Ministers from among the nominated Members. In fact, in the past there were three Junior Ministers who were nominated Members of Parliament.

"It is one thing to say the electors have the right to reject as their representative a person who is a Minister; it is another to say the person they elect can become a Minister. Where a person has, in my view, fulfilled his national responsibilities in an exemplary fashion, and where his particular services are badly needed in the immediate future, it is then my duty to put him in a position to continue to serve the nation as a whole where and while he is needed. Although, therefore, I understand the criticisms on principle, I have appointed the 'Hon.' Paul Bomani as Minister for Economic and Development Planning; and he is on equal footing with all other members of my Government.

"The other nominations which I shall make will be consistent with this policy. As a general rule I shall not appoint a person who has been defeated in the election, sorry as I am to see some familiar faces missing from this Assembly".

Diamond Find in Tanzania

A SWISS GROUP has discovered a rich diamond deposit near Singida, Tanzania, and a company has been formed, with the Government and the Swiss holding equal interests, to exploit the field, which is said to be exceptionally rich. The Government attitude is, however, more cautious.

Kenyatta's Broadcast to the Nation Beware of Self-Seeking Intriguers

PRESIDENT KENYATTA broadcast to the nation on the eve of Kenyatta Day, October 20, which commemorates his arrest 13 years ago on Mau Mau charges.

He asked the people of Kenya to think about the future rather than the past, to dedicate themselves anew to their commitments, and to fight against anyone and any group, internal or external, which might seek to undermine Kenya's independence or overthrow the Government.

The people must safeguard the nation from the intrigues of those who would betray its cause for the sake of personal ambition. They must beware of persons taking orders from foreign masters, and be on guard against nations in the East or the West who might try to undermine Kenya's integrity.

"We suspect the motives of those who masquerade as leaders but appeal to tribal emotions. We condemn those who seek to exploit such emotions for personal support and prestige, and disown those who set tribe against tribe".

Monsignor John Njenga had told some 5,000 people that Mzee Kenyatta had received from God special powers to lead Kenya from political darkness to inextinguishable light.

Quoting the Gospel passage "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's", he declared that disobedience to the Kenyatta Government would be disobedience to God.

Outcry by Christian Churches

After an outcry by the Christian Council of Churches and other religious bodies against the proposal to hold a "last supper" as the main feature of the Kenyatta Day celebrations, it was renamed "a supper".

Dressed in the leather jacket and corduroy trousers which he wore in detention, the President drove through Nairobi at the head of a cavalcade of about 100 cars. Three of his five former fellow detainees were with him as Ministers or Assistant Ministers. One, Mr. Bildad Kaggia, has been an outspoken critic of the Government since he ceased to be Assistant Minister for Education. The fifth is in business.

Addressing a rally estimated at about 100,000 people, Mzee Kenyatta said that it had been necessary to shed blood in order to nourish the seeds of freedom. He had caught the British lion by the ears and throat; the people had had to seize the legs and tail.

As a farmer left some trees standing when he cleared a field, so some Europeans and Asians had remained in Government jobs. Foreigners remaining must identify themselves with the indigenous people. "If they cannot do this, then they should pack up and go".

Burundi Revolt Quickly Quashed Forty-three Mutineers Shot

THIRTY-FOUR SOLDIERS and gendarmes were shot on Friday in Bujumbura, the Burundi capital, for having participated in a mutiny on the previous Monday and simultaneously attacked the palace of Mwami (King) Mwambutsa IV and the residence of the Prime Minister, Mr. Leopold Biha, who was seriously wounded in the stomach, shoulder and leg, but is said to be recovering.

Several members of the palace guard were killed, and the Mwami escaped across the Congo frontier. Nearly all the troops remained loyal, and after some hours the mutineers surrendered. Then the Mwami returned, broadcast to the people, imposed a curfew, and dismissed the Secretary of State for Police.

Those shot included five army officers and two in the gendarmerie. Two others escaped from the guard as they were being taken to the place of execution.

Some leading politicians are under arrest or are being sought by the security forces for alleged participation in the revolt. They are said to include the Presidents of the Senate and the National Assembly.

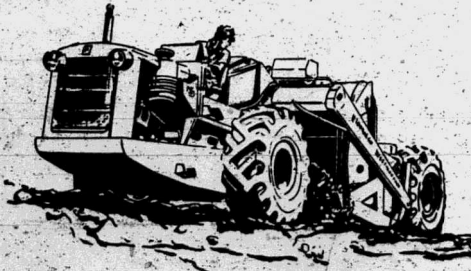
Reports reached Nairobi at the week-end of wholesale killings between Hutu and Tutsi in the hills near the capital. Hundreds of bodies were said to be lying alongside the roads, and there was talk of "a bloodbath" similar to that in Rwanda two years ago when some 50,000 Tutsi were murdered in three days.

On Tuesday another nine Hutu mutineers were shot. Seven were officers and two warrant officers in the gendarmerie.

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Conflict of Opinion at O.A.U. Conference

FORCE MUST BE USED against Rhodesia in the event of J.U.I., President Nkrumah of Ghana declared on Thursday when he opened the summit conference in Accra of the Organization of African Unity.

Eight independent African States—Chad, Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Niger, Togo, and the Upper Volta—had refused to send representatives "for reasons of security and dignity", in the words of the President of Upper Volta.

Thirteen countries were represented by their Heads of State, six by Prime Ministers, and nine by their Ministers.

"If armed force is required to bring rebellious elements in Rhodesia to order", President Nkrumah said, "we expect the United Kingdom Government to use force to quell the rebellion. If Britain fails to do that, this organization would take whatever terrible steps are necessary. Whatever the outcome of the present crisis, the struggle for our four million brothers in Rhodesia will not be abandoned. The only way out for a white minority is to give a just Constitution to the African majority."

President Osman of Somalia proposed that the conference should adopt a draft resolution on Rhodesia which had been prepared by the Foreign Ministers of O.A.U. States.

Dr. Banda opposed that motion, saying that he could not agree to rushed action, and that if anybody present knew anything about Rhodesia it was the President of Zambia and himself. If the matter were rushed "I shall not be bound by the decision, because I have a great deal to say, and I do not wish to say it tonight".

Seven-Point Plan

The Ministerial Council's seven-point plan of action against Rhodesia if independence were declared recommended the Heads of State (1) To reconsider their political, economic, financial and diplomatic relations with the U.K. in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence by Rhodesia; (2) To use all possible means, including force, to prevent U.D.I.; (3) To give immediate assistance to the peoples of Rhodesia in order to bring about majority rule; (4) To appoint a special committee to work out all forms of assistance to Rhodesia; (5) To request all members of the Commonwealth to do everything possible to solve the Rhodesian problem; (6) To appeal to all Governments not to recognise a minority Government in Rhodesia; and (7) To urge the United Nations, especially the Security Council, to undertake without delay all possible means to prevent a U.D.I. and bring about majority rule.

Mr. Diallo Telli, secretary-general of O.A.U., said that the intention was to condemn the white minority Government of Rhodesia by deeds, not merely words.

Correspondents covering the conference reported that Ministers from some African States, especially those with close economic links with Rhodesia, had declined to pledge themselves to specific diplomatic or economic counter-measures.

Dr. Banda and President Kaunda are believed to have been moderating influences.

The conference was told that the special conciliation committee had still not succeeded in bringing together the two proscribed rival Rhodesian African parties, the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the Zimbabwe African National Union.

President Nkrumah had declared: "History is made by bold ventures in the face of difficulties. We are in danger of economic shipwreck. None of us can stand alone. It is courage we lack, not wealth. O.A.U. must move forward or step backwards into stagnation, chaos and confusion".

He proposed that a full-time executive arm of the Assembly of Heads of States and Government should be made responsible for initiating policy and that the secretariat of O.A.U. should be made the secretariat of one African Continental Government.

There is to be a faculty of medicine in the new University of Zambia.

Boarding fees are to be abolished in non-fee-paying secondary schools in Zambia from the end of this year.

Twenty-five British teachers have arrived in Zambia to instruct at the Kitwe, Chalimbana and David Livingstone teacher training colleges.

Chinese doctors in the Somali Republic have received from their Government 110 cases of drugs, which have been presented to the Somali Government.

New Congolese Government

MR. EVARISTE KIMBA, the new Prime Minister of the Congo, took three days to complete his Cabinet.

It consists of Messrs: Cleophas Kamitatu, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade; Victor Nendaka, Interior; Maximilien Liongo, Justice; Jean Litho, Finance; André Guillaume Lubaya, National Economy and Middle Classes; Emmanuel Bamba, Public Administration; Albert Delvaux, Public Works; Jean-Marie Kitiwa, National Education and Cultural Affairs; Antoine Kiwewa, Transport and Communications; Alois Kibangi, Posts and Telegraphs; Alphonse Zamundu, Agriculture; Augustin Koy, Secretary of State for Planning and Industrial Development; and Gregoire Kashale, Secretary of State for Information.

Mr. Kimba said in a broadcast that Mr. Tshombe, national chairman of Conaco, had decided not to accept a portfolio, but that members of his party had joined the Government. So had members of the Congolese Democratic Front. A Government of National Unity had thus been formed.

Mr. Tshombe said: "I like Mr. Kimba, who was one of my former collaborators, but I do not think his Government will last more than six months. As is normal in a country like the Congo, there have been some defections from my party.

"My political opponents should not try to neutralize me. They should remember that the neutralization of other Congolese politicians was the origin of the rebellion. I do not want to disturb public order".

A 12-member trade mission has been led to Ethiopia by Sir Edwin Chapman Andrews.

Power Securities Corporation, Ltd. announce profits for the half-year to June 30 at about £756,000, less tax of £268,000 if the rate of corporation tax proves to be 40%.

Medium- and long-term loans totalling £20m. have been raised from a consortium of European banks by the Anglo-American Corporation group.

The copper mining companies in Zambia and the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga last week raised the basic selling price of their copper from £288 to £304 per ton.

Except under licence from the Government, business houses in Kenya are now forbidden to import goods originating in or exported from Japan.

Brooke Bond & Co., Ltd., a group with large tea estates in East Africa, report group net profits after tax to June 30 at £3,585,722 (£3,006,236). Overseas taxation exceeded £2.2m. and U.K. taxation £1.2m. Ordinary shareholders receive 4½d. tax-free per 5s. share, taking £1.1m., and equivalent to almost 13.5% before tax.

Seventy-two companies with £2,312,040 of nominal capital were registered in Rhodesia in August. The largest registration was of Chipimbi Sugar Estates (Pvt.), Ltd., with registered capital of £1.5m.

An all-time record total of 511,337 tons of cargo were handled in the port of Beira in August. The previous monthly record had been 424,969 in July.

Lewa Sisal and General Investments, Ltd. report profits to June 30 at £33,816 (£33,392), subject to tax of £18,555 (£17,283). The dividends on the preferred and deferred stock are 22½% and 12½% less tax, together taking £16,072 and leaving a carry-forward of £12,486.

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Another Warning Against Corruption President Nyerere Threatens Prosecution

IN HIS FIRST ADDRESS to the new National Assembly of Tanzania, the Head of State reminded members of the House of their duty to the nation, their constituents, and themselves.

President Nyerere emphasized that he would insist that corruption in any form should be exposed to the gaze of the people; where appropriate, prosecution would follow. Members of the House and of the Government would be well advised so to conduct themselves that it was obvious they were not corrupt. Corruption perverted justice and could destroy the nation. New M.P.s. should refrain from being tempted to receive presents or credit. They must also have the courage of their own consciences on basic issues, even if they knew that the cost would be the people's displeasure and defeat at the next elections.

Racialism Rejected

"Some things have to be done which are unpopular. Sometimes they are the right things to do. Members of Parliament are not delegates. They are representatives, and their whole being must be given to the service of the people. Their job is threefold: to act as a bridge, to deliberate on new legislation, and to keep the Government devoted to the nation's interest by their intelligent questions."

In the recent elections the people of Tanzania had rejected racialism and accepted in practice the Tanzanian belief in the universal brotherhood of man. Unlike the minority racist Governments of South Africa and Rhodesia, the people of Tanzania had demanded that the servants of the people must be good servants, efficient and capable, of any colour or ancestry.

"The second lesson of the election is that there had not been enough practical recognition of the need to keep in constant touch with the people. The new M.P.s. must listen to the people and talk with them. This is not just a question of holding public meetings and making magnificent speeches; it means working with the people on self-help projects and discussing the affairs of the nation, the region, and the village."

Heavy Casualties Among M.P.s

Casualties among previous M.P.s. had been heavy, and it included many people who had done very good work for the movement in the past.

"Nothing can take away the honour which was earned by the founder members of T.A.N.U. and those others who suffered in the independence struggle. Politics is a field of service, not a means of earning a living, and there is no personal security for M.P.s., members of the Government, or even for the President. . . ."

"Government proposals on the adoption of a wages policy will be submitted to the Assembly. Our Government is also putting up large-scale modern factories and modern industries. Outside capital is also essential for some parts of the five-year development plan, but this will be sought without compromise to Tanzania's national independence and our non-alignment policy."

18 Months' Tax Holiday in Uganda

MEMBERS of the Uganda Chamber of Commerce have received a circular letter stating:—

"The pay-as-you-earn system of income tax collection will be introduced on July 1 next year, leaving tax to be paid in the normal way on the earnings for the year 1964. An income tax holiday will be declared for the 18 months from January 1, 1965, to June 30, 1966.

"The whole of this tax will become payable should the individual leave the country before July 1, 1967. Thereafter the amount assessed will be written off by one-sixth each half-year, so that should the individual remain in East Africa until June 30, 1970, no income tax whatsoever would be payable for the 18 months."

"As from the start of P.A.Y.E. there will be two separate headings of tax—income tax at 2s. 50 cents in the pound on all earned income, and surtax on a graduated scale, as follows: taxable income: first £1,000, nil; next £1,000, 3s.; next £1,000 5s.; next £1,000, 7s.; next £1,000, 8s.; next £1,000, 9s.; next £1,000, 10s.; next £3,000, 11s.; excess over £10,000, 12s., which will apply after the first £1,000 of taxable income.

"Only income tax will be recovered by P.A.Y.E., this being based on monthly earnings with family allowances broken down to monthly instalments."

Minister Denounces Trade Unions Leaders Disloyal or Politically Ambitious

UGANDA TRADE UNIONS are to a great extent misdirecting the workers of the country. That statement was made a little while ago by Mr. Alexander Lobidra, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Housing and Labour.

The majority of the trade union leaders were, he said, "either disloyal to the State, many of them being dissatisfied members of the opposition, or wishful to use workers as a ladder for attaining political positions or public prominence".

Their disguised motive was a blend of political ambition and disloyalty, and their day-to-day activities reflected gross ignorance and immaturity in the trade union movement.

Current disunity within Uganda's trade union movement explained the splinter groups which had been sparked off by previous personality clashes. The movement being so disorganised, it would be unwise for the Government to leave the present freedom uncurtailed. The laws governing the activities of the unions would have to be tightened, "even to the extent of making strikes in certain essential or vital services illegal."

Mr. Lobidra called on the Organization of African Unity to appoint a special committee to draw up a policy for all the trade unions in Africa.

Game Parks in Uganda and Kenya

MR. G. E. SCHLUTER has written from Kampala for his company's monthly market letter:—

"The Murchison Falls National Park, 200 miles north of Kampala, features one of the greatest concentrations of elephant anywhere in the world as well as the spectacular waterfall. The Queen Elizabeth National Park, 250 miles to the south-west, is favoured by the Ruwenzori Mountains as a magnificent backcloth and by an exceptionally beautiful area of hills and crater lakes through which the animals roam. If we were in the travel business these are trips which it would be a pleasure to sell.

"We should be equally happy selling the Kenya parks.

"Tsavo and Amboseli—particularly Amboseli, with Mount Kilimanjaro in the background—and also the Nairobi Park, where you can see everything 10 minutes' car journey from your hotel, and probably get a baboon jumping on the car without extra charge—are all great parks.

"Elephant, white rhino, buffalo, hippo, and crocodile may be most easily seen in Uganda, as well as a number of smaller game like the oribi and Uganda kob which are not found elsewhere; while the Kenya parks, and the Serengeti in Tanzania, are famous for their lion, giraffe, black rhino, and zebra.

"At Murchison the Victoria Nile, some 250 miles from its source in Lake Victoria, plunges 130 feet into a gorge to disappear in a widening stream into Lake Albert 20 miles away. Before the war you could reach the Falls only by lake steamer from Butiaba, a town now deserted and half submerged by the high level of the lake. Now there are airstrips into the game park and good roads into and around it.

"Originally the whole Nile squeezed through a 20-foot gap and the noise was such that when you stood on the rock above it you could shout at the top of your voice and not make yourself heard. In 1962 heavy rains fell and the river overflowed immediately above the Falls to carve out a new bed and form another falls, so that there are now two falls with an island in the middle.

"Some international fishermen think that Murchison offers the most exciting fishing in the world. Nile perch have been known to exceed 300 lb. A friend of ours fishing here recently felt a very powerful bite, and had started dreaming of a record catch until up popped a pair of hippo ears. He cut the line quickly. Hippos weigh three tons."

Ethiopian Army Urged to Rebel

WHEN THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA left Addis Ababa last week to attend the O.A.U. Conference in Accra, Radio Mogadishu broadcast in Amharic a call to the Ethiopian Army not to miss the golden opportunity to rebel.

"Do not panic, as in the past", said the broadcast. "Do not be fooled, as in the past. Overthrow the Government. Destroy Haile Selassie. Each soldier will receive pay of 400 Ethiopian dollars. Rise! Everything is in your hands.

"Haile Selassie fools you like children. Your children receive no education. Your wives are played with. Your fathers beg in the streets. You in the Army, the Air Force, the Navy, and the Imperial Bodyguard have your chance today. It will not return if you miss it. Act!

"As soon as you receive orders from senior officers, seize the palace. Arrest all the Imperial family. Encircle Addis Ababa. Control all air traffic. Surround each Minister's residence. Seize the Defence Ministry, the Treasury, the armouries, and the banks. Appeal to university students and civil servants to demonstrate in support of the new Constitution."

"Warn the U.S.A. and all other foreign Governments not to interfere. Use the radios to explain the new Constitution and the purpose of the revolution. Drive round towns with loud-speakers telling the public of the crimes of the Selassie Government and the aim of the revolution. Contact the peoples of the world and explain. Seek recognition by foreign nations. Try members of the former Government by court martial for their crimes against the nation".

"Freight rates on Rhodesia Railways are among the lowest in Africa". — Mr. G. W. Rudland, Rhodesian Minister of Transport.

"Local government has been a graveyard of broken promises and man-handled blue-prints. All have one principle: whatever you do, do not rub anybody up the wrong way, and if you cannot meet all points of view, do nothing". — Mr. D. Divaris, M.P., addressing the Rhodesian Parliament.

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

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Kenya Farmers Want Another £16m.

MR. JOHN B. POLLARD, president of the Kenya National Farmers' Union and five other British farmers have arrived in London from Kenya as a delegation to seek to persuade the Minister for Overseas Development, Mrs. Barbara Castle, to provide a further £16m. for the purchase of farms for settlement by Africans. They want a quick answer, for December 12 is the final date for British residents to take up Kenya citizenship, and there is a widespread fear that after that persons who are not Kenya citizens may thereafter lose the right to own land.

About 1,200 Britons still engaged in mixed farming in Kenya own between them about 1.2m. acres. It is estimated that at least 900 would be glad to leave the country if they could sell at reasonable prices. That would cost between £24m. and £30m. The Kenya Government has indicated that it can buy out the farmers only if it receives grants and loans from Britain of at least £16m.

A number of farmers have recently received letters threatening the lives of their families, and referring to Europeans as "white hyenas". The letters have purported to come from the "Land Freedom Army".

A Kenya Government delegation, including the Finance Minister, Mr. Gichuru, and the Minister for Agriculture, Mr. McKenzie, is also due to see Mrs. Castle this week.

Hang This Rebel in Public—Dr. Banda

DR. BANDA, Prime Minister of Malawi, said in a broadcast to the nation last week that Medson Silombela, chief lieutenant of Mr. Henry Chipembere, the former Minister of Education, had been captured at night by an army patrol and must be publicly hanged. He regretted that the 36-year-old rebel leader, on whose head a price of £250 had been put, had been caught alive. He would have preferred him to be shot.

"Now he will be tried. No judge will acquit him. Everyone knows him to be a murderer. He is not a human being. After he is convicted I know you want to see him hang, with his legs swinging from a pole. Whatever happens, his swinging must be in public. I want all the relatives of the men whom Silombela has shot to come and see him swing and dangle until he breathes his last".

The arrest of the last of the rebel leaders who had operated in the Fort Johnston area meant collapse of the rebellion.

Riot police armed with sub-machine-guns surrounded the court in Zomba on Monday when Silombela appeared for a preliminary inquiry into a charge of the murder of Ali Mbawa at a village near Fort Johnston in July. At the same time Chief Nyambi was shot dead. His widow and their 15-year-old son identified Silombela as the man who had shot them both.

Charges of treason, murder, and armed rebellion are to be brought against Silombela.

Projecting Rhodesia's Image

SEVEN RHODESIANS have come to Britain at their own expense to address meetings in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. They are led by Mr. C. G. Tracey, vice-president of the Rhodesia National Farmers' Union, chairman of the Rhodesian Promotion Council, and president of the Cotton Growers' Association. His colleagues are Mr. J. W. Field, of Marandellas, vice-president of the Rhodesia Tobacco Association, (and son of Mr. Winston Field, the former Prime Minister); Mr. J. Strong, a consulting surgeon in Bulawayo; Mr. B. I. S. Tunmer, Mayor of Gwelo, and an auctioneer; Mr. W. de Kock, who grows tobacco near Inyazura and is a member of the Sabi-Limpopo Authority; Mr. R. Henwood, who is in the motor trade in Salisbury; and Mr. Charles Allen, a barrister in that city.

"Agricultural education is perhaps the key to Kenya's future. Through it we should eventually overcome even drought". — Mr. William Murgor, Assistant Minister for Agriculture in Kenya.

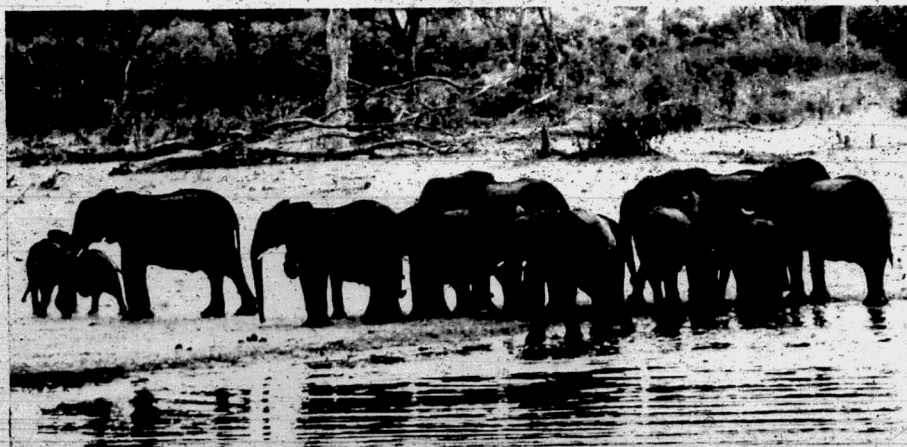


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