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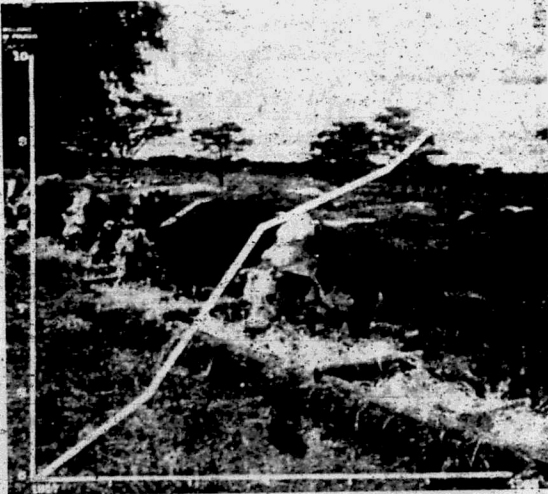
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

HAD BRITISH POLITICIANS not been so culpably blind for years to the behaviour of the black nationalist extremists and deaf to their threats, it would not have required an excursion to Salisbury by the British Prime Minister to make it clear that majority rule cannot and

should not come in Rhodesia today or tomorrow, as he has now declared in those exact words, and that when it does come it must be by achievement, not by the gamble of an irrationally fixed date for the transfer of control of affairs from a white Government to one dominated by Africans. Though neither Mr. Wilson nor even one British newspaper has been candid enough to admit the fact, that has been the very essence of the Rhodesian case throughout—that the Government must remain in civilized hands, and that for that reason there can be no truck in present circumstances with the farcical nonsense of the one-man-one-vote system, which has done incalculable and irreparable damage elsewhere in Africa, thereby warning responsible Rhodesians, black as well as white, against acceptance of similar risks to their own society.

Mr. Wilson's reiterated assertion that the time required for majority rule in Rhodesia "cannot be measured by clock or calendar, but only by achievement", means no more and no less than the principle

Tribute to Mr. Smith. which has been accepted by Rhodesian Prime Ministers of all parties, and, indeed, by the Conservative Party in Britain until disastrous Macmillanism abandoned the policy five years ago while still proclaiming it in order to bemuse the

faithful. That abandonment was enthusiastically approved by the Socialists. Now, faced as a Government with the facts of life in Rhodesia, they are ironically constrained to hold up for public approbation what they have long denounced. It is to Mr. Wilson's credit that he has the wisdom and courage to take his stand on the realities now that he has become aware of them so vividly, if tragically belatedly. His education in the matter has been due entirely to the splendid fight for the future of his country which Mr. Ian Smith has conducted throughout the past eighteen months. He has certainly deserved the cordial tribute of his antagonist and pupil, who on television on Monday night told his audience of millions of Britons that the Rhodesian Prime Minister is "a great leader". Mr. Smith's shrewdness has been as evident as his patience, and he shares fully with the British leader the praise for avoiding the unilateral declaration of independence which was imminent and for suggesting at the very last moment a means of finally deciding whether independence can yet be gained by negotiation, as he has always hoped. This journal has always held to that view, but has felt, as all responsible Rhodesians have done, that if it came to a choice between submitting to domination by the one-man-one-vote trick and the consequent destruction of modern Rhodesia, and U.D.I., then the regrettable and obviously risky second course would be the better—and morally justifiable for the sake of the mass of Africans no less than for the Europeans on whose continued presence and activity the country must long depend. All must pray that the idea of a Royal Commission will not now be frustrated, and that the three men upon whom it is intended to lay grave responsibility will be able to agree on terms of settlement which will prove acceptable to responsible Rhodesians of all races.

To imagine that Sir Hugh Beadle and his colleagues can satisfy the rabid nationalists of either colour is obviously absurd. So is the puerile pretence that universal suffrage could provide the solution to the problem. As lately as Monday of this week—two days after the British Prime Minister had

Pretence and Pressure.

acknowledged that gradualism must mark Rhodesian political evolution—the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations decided by an overwhelming majority to oppose any independence “which is not based on universal suffrage”; and the General Assembly, in which African and Asian countries now have a majority, will automatically endorse that recommendation. President Nkrumah, perhaps the most rigorous dictator within the Commonwealth, had been even quicker to insist on immediate majority rule and to reject the idea of a Royal Commission. He is, of course, not alone among Commonwealth African leaders, some of whom are at this moment assuredly inciting Governments in Africa and Asia to telegraph expressions of their resentment to Mr. Wilson. Though he is bound to disregard their pressure, he will have no right to complain of it, for as recently as Mr. Smith's last visit to London he organized such activities not only within the Commonwealth but in the United States and even West Germany.

Another gain from Mr. Wilson's quick trip to Central Africa has been his emphatic rejection of the use of armed force against Rhodesia. The pity is that he failed to make that statement when he came to office a year ago. Such a declaration would have been much

Why Use of Force Has Been Rejected.

more helpful and healing than his menacing and deeply resented references to “rebellion” and “treason”. The truth is that the politicians who have talked so glibly about military measures—which the less imprudent have lately described as police action—have had to recognize that British troops and airmen would refuse to shoot down white Rhodesians, many of them former comrades-in-arms, in order to substitute for civilized standards the conditions which many of them know to prevail over vast areas of black Africa. “Is my son in the R.A.F. to bomb his sister in Salisbury who is married to a Rhodesian?”, we were asked last week; and a few days earlier a Rhodesian temporarily in London told us that his son in a British regiment believed that every officer in his battalion would resign his commission if it were ordered to Central Africa for operations

against Rhodesia. Ministers must have become aware that most people in Britain would regard such practical protests as responsible, not as mutinous. As to military action by the United Nations, Soviet Russia would doubtless offer men and materials. Would that suit Britain, or Africa, or world peace? If U.N.O. foolishly attempted to use only black troops—as some euphoric African tub-thumpers proposed—the result would be chaos and calamity and the exacerbation of racial tension throughout the whole world. It is these considerations which have, in fact, ruled out the use of force.

Harsh facts having at long last been recognized by H.M. Government, its leader rightly pleads for time. It is to be hoped that he will withstand the pressures upon him, especially from his own left

Need for Faith And Firmness.

wing and from Afro-Asian agitators, and steadfastly refuse to indicate the time-scale which he has in mind. Politicians and journalists in Britain who only a few months ago sided with the Nkomos and Sitholes in demanding almost immediate black rule in Rhodesia are now talking of a 10 to 15 year period in which Africans should be trained for the responsibilities which they covet. That is a much more sensible outlook than that of Mr. Duncan Sandys, who in the closing months of his term as Commonwealth Relations Secretary was talking of majority rule in Rhodesia within five years; and that inevitably encouraged extremists in all three parties to campaign for still sillier surrender. The right course is clearly to insist that no date can reasonably be given, and that achievement must be the deciding factor. If Mr. Wilson stands by that affirmation, he should have Conservative support in this country; and he will most certainly have that of responsible Rhodesians. A bi-party and bi-national policy could restore the traditional sentiments of friendship and loyalty which had until recently bound Rhodesia to Britain throughout three-quarters of a century. Breaches of faith by British politicians did the damage. It could be quickly repaired by faith and firmness. So may it be!

“Voluntary nation-building work done between July 1 last year and April 1 this year has resulted in new assets for this country worth more than £900,000. We have 316 miles of new feeder roads, 97 small bridges, 664 additional classrooms, 134 clinics, and 49 co-operative stores; 18,542 acres of communal farms have been cleared and planted, 517 miles of irrigation funnels dug, and more than 5,000 fish-ponds established”.—President Nyerere of Tanzania.

Royal Commission to Advise on Independence

Three-Member Body With Rhodesian Chief Justice as Chairman

WHEN DEADLOCK SEEMED CERTAIN to end the visit to Salisbury of Mr. Wilson, the British Prime Minister, he and Mr. Smith, the Prime Minister of Rhodesia, agreed after midnight last Friday that a Royal Commission with agreed terms of reference should be immediately set up to report before the end of the year on Rhodesian independence and the method of consulting the population as a whole.

Mr. Smith stipulated that the chairman should be Sir Hugh Beadle, Chief Justice of Rhodesia. Two other members are to be appointed, one by each Government. The decision of the commission must be unanimous.

After four days of almost ceaseless discussions, the British party were resigning themselves not only to complete failure but to the probability of a unilateral declaration of independence within a few days. Then came a sudden change in the situation with a last-minute agreement on the reference to a Royal Commission.

Before Mr. Wilson left for London there was not even time to agree the terms of reference, which the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Bottomley, and the Attorney-General, Sir Elwyn Jones, remained to work out with Rhodesian leaders.

Mr. Smith's Ingenious Amalgam

There was now no excuse for a unilateral declaration of independence, Mr. Wilson told the Press Conference which ended his stay of five days. Mr. Smith had "ingeniously" proposed an amalgam of two of his suggestions—that the two Governments should prepare an agreed document which would incorporate such amendments in the 1961 Constitution as they thought necessary, and that that document should be given to a Royal Commission empowered to discover and apply adequate means of consulting Rhodesian opinion as a whole. If the Rhodesian people wanted independence on that basis, or did not want it, everyone would know where they stood.

Given time—and he hoped that the answer would come by the turn of the year—the Royal Commission might hammer out a solution which would lead to a "speedy, honourable, and acceptable basis for independence" which would take the brakes off Rhodesia's economic progress and replace fear by co-operation and trust. If the will existed in Rhodesia for a settlement, he was "absolutely clear" that the means to that end had been found. But he could do no more if illegal action was preferred to agreed independence.

Need for Time

He had had to tell the Rhodesian African leaders whom he had met that there was no possibility of Britain attempting to settle Rhodesia's constitutional problems by a military invasion. Britain was irrevocably committed to guaranteed and unimpeded progress to majority rule, but that could not and should not come today or tomorrow. "Time is needed to remove the fears and suspicions between race and race—and the time required cannot be measured by clock or calendar, but only by achievement".

Equally dangerous were the delusions held by those other people who believed that they could take the law

into their own hands and that Rhodesia could survive and flourish "friendless, almost alone, not in a neutral or apathetic world even, but in a bitterly hostile world".

The choice was not between illegal independence today and an African majority tomorrow or next week. Because other courses had to be examined, one more effort was to be made through the Royal Commission to find a basis for independence which the people of Rhodesia as a whole would accept.

Last Chance of Negotiated Independence

A few hours later Mr. Smith said that if the Royal Commission idea failed, "this will be the end of the road, the last chance for a negotiated independence". Then the Rhodesian Government would have to resort to "the other step". But he was more confident than he had been for a very long time about the prospects of a negotiated settlement.

The exercise might fail at its first stage, that of agreeing the terms of reference, in which event the end of the road would be reached in a couple of days. Secondly, Mr. Wilson would need to submit to his own Cabinet the agreed proposals for adding to or subtracting from the present Constitution. The third step, the work of the Royal Commission, should not take more than six to eight weeks. It would be the easiest of the three, and if it were reached Rhodesia would, he thought, be "almost home and dry".

Had Mr. Wilson not decided to fly to Salisbury Rhodesia would have taken its independence. Now the situation was a distinct improvement on that of a week earlier. "But we are on our guard every moment, and we shall not give an inch".

Recognizing that black African States within the Commonwealth might be critical, Mr. Wilson decided to fly home via Zambia, Nigeria, and Ghana, and to ask Mr. Bottomley to return through Dar es Salaam and Nairobi.

President Kaunda met the Prime Minister when his Royal Air Force Comet landed at Livingstone Airport and took him for a short flight over the Victoria Falls.

After an hour's talk Mr. Wilson left for Lagos, where Sir Abubakar Balewa, the Nigerian Federal Prime Minister, commended the idea of a joint Royal Commission. It should be given a chance, and matters should not be prejudged meantime.

The attitude of President Nkrumah of Ghana was hostile. Even before Mr. Wilson arrived he issued a highly critical statement which described the proposed Royal Commission as "a betrayal of the four million unrepresented African inhabitants and merely a device to sidetrack an issue which cannot be left unsolved any longer without becoming a danger to world peace".

Ghana Would Quit Commonwealth

It recalled that the last Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference had accepted the one-man-one-vote principle, and said that if H.M. Government declined to act on that principle "the African States would have no alternative but to take whatever steps would be necessary in support of the four million Africans who form the majority in Rhodesia". African States should now start to make practical plans for dealing militarily with the situation.

"Discrimination against the African population of Rhodesia is among the most barbarous, shameful, and disgusting in the world," said President Nkrumah. "The settler régime wishes independence only so that they can continue unimpeded their present policy of suppression and exploitation".

If Britain made the Crown titular Sovereign of a racial independent Rhodesia, Ghana would no longer recognize the Crown as Head of the Commonwealth.

Ghana stood firmly by the summit conference resolutions of O.A.U. which called for suspension of Rhodesia's Constitution forthwith, taking over the administration by British armed force if necessary, the release of the African leaders, and a new Constitution based on one-man-one-vote.

After talking at the airport for an hour with President Nkrumah, Mr. Wilson told journalists that Britain did not believe in the use of military force for the settlement of constitutional disputes, but that nobody was in any doubt that a unilateral declaration of independence would be a revolt against the Crown.

Mr. Kapwepwe, Foreign Minister of Zambia, had already said that Zambia would join Britain in imposing economic sanctions, but that Rhodesia would be expected not to interfere with the flow of coal, the supply of Kariba power,

or rail transit. Because force would have to be used to deal with U.D.I. Britain should turn over the problem to the United Nations.

He objected to Mr. Wilson's visit to Salisbury, saying that never before had a British Prime Minister gone on bended knees to a Colonial Prime Minister. There could be no progress on the 1961 Constitution, for what was bad then was bad now. Rhodesia today was more ready for independence than Zambia had been, for there were more educated Africans in Rhodesia than in Zambia or Malawi.

In another statement Mr. Kapwepwe said that Mr. Wilson's Rhodesian elephant hunt had caught a mouse.

Dinner with the Cabinet

At a dinner with the Rhodesian Cabinet at Mr. Smith's residence last Thursday Mr. Wilson was said to have used strong terms in condemning Rhodesian intransigence and in warning Rhodesia that it would not get oil from Portugal or any other source, and several correspondents telegraphed that he had "thrown the book" at Mr. Smith, with whom a fierce argument developed.

Next day the Rhodesian Prime Minister denied that there had been threats or that the talks had broken down. He expressed resentment that such reports should have been issued or leaked by the British delegation, or otherwise invented by the overseas Press corps. He also denied that warnings about oil sanctions had been made.

That day it became known that the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation had refused to allow Mr. Wilson 15 minutes for a radio and television talk "into the camera". He had been offered time for replies to a panel of Rhodesian journalists, but he had refused such an arrangement.

[When Mr. Smith was in London an arrangement for a television appearance on the B.B.C. had been cancelled at short notice, and various newspapers suggested that hints had reached the B.B.C. from Downing Street. Rhodesians and journalists in Salisbury for the talks regarded the attitude of the B.B.C. as tit for tat.]

By Friday Mr. Wilson had seen more than 110 persons in four days. Among them had been Mr. Winston Field and Mr. Garfield Todd, two former Prime Ministers of Rhodesia; Sir Roy Welensky, the ex-Federal Prime Minister; Mr. Ewan Campbell, lately Rhodesian High Commissioner in London; and many representatives of agricultural, commercial, industrial, export, religious and other bodies.

Air-Lift to Zambia

After twice meeting the two main African nationalist leaders, Mr. Nkomo and the Rev. N. Sithole, separately, they agreed to meet him together for 15 minutes. Both they and their parties had persistently declared that the two men would not meet. On Saturday, after they had been told of the proposed appointment of a Royal Commission, both declared that such an arrangement would not be acceptable to them.

When Mr. Wilson met the Council of Chiefs, no Rhodesian official was present. He also met the Constitutional Council and the Christian Council of Rhodesia.

The British High Commissioners in Malawi, Zambia, Uganda, and Tanzania arrived in Salisbury on Friday, having been summoned by the Commonwealth Relations Secretary.

During the dinner with the Cabinet the British Prime Minister had said that the world would stand by Zambia, if necessary by organizing a Berlin-type air lift. He said that 48 countries in the United Nations now approved the use of strong sanctions against U.D.I., and that Britain, which had hitherto tried to protect Rhodesia from strong action through the United Nations, could do so no longer if there were a unilateral declaration.

It became known that day that a group of Anglo-American air advisers had arrived in Zambia to study the problems of an air lift. There were nine R.A.F. officers and four American air transport experts. U.K. newspapers pointed out that the largest American transport aircraft which could be provided could carry no more copper than was now sent in one railway wagon.

The Queen's Letter

By the time Mr. Wilson began his series of talks in Salisbury on Tuesday of last week it was commonly assumed in the Rhodesian capital that the Rhodesian Cabinet had made a firm decision on independence a few days earlier and that an announcement was to have been made on the Friday if the British Prime Minister had not announced meantime that he intended to fly out for further talks.

Rhodesians assumed that Mr. Wilson had spoken of the likelihood of an imminent announcement to the Queen, whose letter in her own hand to the Rhodesian Prime Minister was dated Sunday, October 24. The letter, which was published by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA last week, referred to Her Majesty's "closest concern" with the discussions between the British and Rhodesian Governments, to the Sovereign's pleasure that Mr. Wilson was to visit Rhodesia, and to her

hope that further talks would succeed in finding a solution to the "current difficulties".

The Queen mentioned her own happy memories of her visit to Rhodesia and asked that her good wishes should be conveyed to "all my peoples in your country, whose welfare and happiness I have very closely at heart".

Soon after he had received it Mr. Smith read the message at a dinner in Salisbury. It was, he said, a wonderful gesture from a gracious lady whom all Rhodesians held in affection. "This is the sort of thing that we live for in Rhodesia—our association with the Queen, our association with Britain, our association with the Commonwealth".

By his arrival Mr. Wilson had "spiked my guns"; had he not come that might have been a major speech celebrating independence. There was perhaps "a small ray of hope" of a solution being found.

There was need for Britain to understand Rhodesia better, and Rhodesians intended to uphold British standards. Who were now Britain's friends; who would now rush to help Britain? And which of the Commonwealth countries might instead go to the opposite side?

That morning the two Prime Ministers had talked for about two and a half hours. During the meeting Mr. Wilson telegraphed for the Attorney-General, Sir Elwyn Jones, Q.C., to fly to Salisbury immediately. He was expected to be asked to advise especially on a proposed treaty of guarantee, the idea being that Rhodesia might be granted independence "on trust" under the present Constitution while Britain had treaty rights of intervention in specified circumstances.

On Wednesday Mr. Wilson saw Sir Robert Tredgold, a former Chief Justice of the Federation; Mr. Garfield Todd, a former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia; Mr. Leo Baron, an advocate, and the first white man in Rhodesia to be restricted on the same terms as African nationalist leaders; and Mr. Nkomo and the Rev. N. Sithole, the presidents of the two African nationalist parties which have been proscribed on charges of organized and continued violence.

Z.A.N.U. and Z.A.P.U. At Loggerheads

Only a few days previously Mr. Sithole, leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union, had protested at the idea that the British Prime Minister should see the leader of the rival People's Caretaker Council, previously the Zimbabwe African People's Union.

Mr. Josiah Gondo, leader of the Opposition in the Rhodesian Parliament, and of the recently formed African United People's Party, who had seen Mr. Wilson on Tuesday, afterwards told reporters that his group of M.P.s. rejected the idea of a treaty of guarantee and insisted on a constitutional conference. He and three colleagues who had waited on Mr. Wilson had told him of their objections to a Senate composed of chiefs.

Leaders of the Rhodesian Front, Mr. Smith's party, had politely declined an invitation to call on Mr. Wilson, saying that they had complete trust in Mr. Smith and were content that he should say what they would have said.

Sir Roy Welensky, the former Federal Prime Minister, and Dr. Arhn Palley, the only European M.P. on the Opposition side of the House, and Asian and Coloured spokesmen were interviewed by the British Prime Minister on Tuesday.

Mr. Nkomo, the P.C.C. (formerly Z.A.P.U.) leader, and several of his principal colleagues were brought from Gonakudzingwa and flown by helicopter to a hockey ground adjoining Government House for two hours of talk with Mr. Wilson on the Wednesday morning. In the afternoon about the same time was given to Mr. Sithole, the rival nationalist leader, and his chief associates, who had been brought by helicopter from Sikombela.

A crowd of Africans estimated at about 2,000 sang and chanted slogans outside the building throughout the morning until they were dispersed by the police. Then they spread about the city singing, dancing, and in general good humour. Later there were scuffles and 10 arrests.

The Africans outside Government House were quiet until, as if by a pre-arranged signal, they began chanting "We Want Nkomo" and "Africans Must Rule Now". As they became more excited and noisy, police moved in to disperse them. It was the first such demonstration in the capital for more than 18 months. Some of the men, and the women, became violent as they marched through the main streets, and the police had to bring out dogs.

Correspondents were told by a British spokesman that there would be further efforts to persuade the rival nationalist leaders to co-operate with one another and with the Rhodesian Government in working the present Constitution, which provided for African political advancement. The Africans, it was said, had been told that there was no justification for their expectation of prompt military intervention by Britain in case of U.D.I. They were warned of the consequences, temptations, and dangers of the imposition of economic sanctions.

Mr. Sithole released a memorandum which he had addressed to Mr. Wilson before the talks. It objected to the discussions in London from which African nationalist representatives had been excluded, charged H.M. Government with weak handling of the issue, rejected any form of independence under white minority rule, and demanded a constitutional conference to work out a Constitution which would provide for independence after a general election held under one-man-one-vote franchise.

Mr. Garfield Todd, a former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, who openly supports Mr. Nkomo, had been escorted by police from his farm, to which he was recently restricted for the next year, in order that Mr. Wilson might see him.

Sir Leonard Hutton, a former English Test cricketer, who is in Rhodesia on a business visit, was one of Mr. Wilson's visitors.

Financial, industrial and commercial leaders were the guests of the Governor at luncheon, and Mr. Wilson took one course at each of three tables so that the business leaders might hear his emphatic declarations that in the case of U.D.I. Britain would impose serious sanctions.

That day the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations insisted, against the representations of British, American, and most Western European delegations on tabling a strongly worded resolution calling on Britain to employ "all necessary measures, including military force" in Rhodesia, to secure the release of political prisoners, the repeal of all discriminatory legislation, the removal of all restrictions on African political activities, the suspension of the Constitution, and the convening of a constitutional conference.

Lord Caradon, the British representative at the United Nations, told the committee that the resolution would do no good and might do serious damage to the negotiations in train in Salisbury, and other speakers from the West urged the Afro-Asian sponsors not to bring the resolution to a vote. It "solemnly warns the present authorities in Rhodesia and the United Kingdom in its capacity as administering Power that the United Nations will oppose any declaration of independence which is not based on universal adult franchise. It condemns any assistance rendered by any State to the minority régime in Rhodesia."

Prime Minister's Report to Parliament on Rhodesian Visit*

Majority Rule Cannot and Should Not Come Today or Tomorrow

THE HOUSE WILL RECALL that, following the break-up of the Central African Federation in 1963, there have been continuing discussions on the question of independence for Rhodesia, and in particular on the terms on which H.M. Government could recommend Parliament to pass the necessary legislation—for it cannot be too clearly stated that independence for Rhodesia can come only by the authority of this Parliament.

In pursuance of the discussions which began in September, 1964, the then Prime Minister and his colleagues had thorough and frank discussions with the Prime Minister of Rhodesia.

Backward Glance

In those discussions the then British Government made clear three things: (1) any unilateral declaration claiming independence would be invalid, illegal, and indeed a revolt against the Crown; (2) that while the discussions should start from the 1961 Rhodesian Constitution, that had not in fact been devised as an Independence Constitution (the Rhodesian Government contest this statement), and there must be sufficiently representative institutions as a condition of the grant of independence to Rhodesia, a view which was endorsed by the 1964 Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting; (3) the then Government made clear that whatever settlement was reached as a basis for independence must be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

This was the position at the time of the change of Government in Britain, and H.M. Government have in fact consistently followed the principles laid down by our predecessors and have sought to give effect to them.

On October 15 last year, polling day, the then Government rejected Mr. Smith's suggestion that the judgment of the forthcoming *indaba* of Rhodesian chiefs could be taken as indicating the views of the Rhodesian people as a whole. On taking office we confirmed that rejection.

In view of evidence that a unilateral declaration of inde-

pendence was imminent at that time, the Government issued on October 27, 1964, a statement on the legal, constitutional, and economic consequences of such a step. When in April this year, in the course of the Rhodesian election, doubts were thrown on the implication of that statement, I made a further statement in this House on April 29.

Five Principles

I will not weary the House with all the details of my exchanges, written or oral, with the Prime Minister of Rhodesia, but it will be recalled that, after written exchanges, I met Mr. Smith when he came to London to attend the funeral of Sir Winston Churchill and that shortly afterwards the Lord Chancellor and the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations visited Rhodesia for discussions with the Government there and with representative leaders of all shades of opinion.

Following that visit exchanges continued by letter and orally through the British High Commissioner in Salisbury—and I cannot find words adequate to pay tribute to his work through all this time—on the basis of five principles which H.M. Government considered must be realised before independence could be granted and which Mr. Smith accepted.

These principles were:—(1) The principle and intention of unimpeded progress to majority rule, already enshrined in the 1961 Constitution, would have to be maintained and guaranteed.

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

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

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

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

A fuller statement on the position which H.M. Government have taken up on these principles was published by my right hon. friend's Department on October 9 after the breaking off of the recent London talks.

Exchange of Visits

In furtherance of the discussions on these principles the Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations in July visited Rhodesia for further discussions, and then, after further written and oral exchanges, Mr. Smith came to London for talks aimed at producing a final settlement of the points at issue. After talks lasting four days, from October 5 to 8, it became clear that no agreement was in sight, and an agreed *communiqué* was issued saying so. The statement of October 9 set out in more detail the points at issue.

Although we failed to reach agreement on the means of giving effect to every one of the five principles, I particularly draw the House's attention to our insistence that guaranteed and unimpeded progress to majority rule should not be frustrated by the freedom of an independent Rhodesia to

* This report gives the full text of Mr. Wilson's statement in the House of Commons on Monday.

among the 1961 Constitution in a retrogressive sense. In this connexion the House will be aware of a singular, feature in that Constitution, in that while certain constitutional safeguards are entrenched, other provisions—including even the numbers of Members of Parliament to be elected on the A and B roll respectively—are not entrenched, and, on a two-thirds Parliamentary majority, could be altered in such a way as completely to frustrate the Constitution and the prospects of orderly progress to majority rule.

Equally in the London talks there was no agreement at all on the means of giving effect to the overriding fifth principle that the British Government and the British Parliament must be satisfied that the terms for independence are acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole.

Breakdown in London

Despite the breakdown I made clear to Mr. Smith on the day of his departure, and my rt. hon. friend reconfirmed when he saw him off at London Airport, that we were prepared to continue the discussions. There were of course, a number of proposals which deserve further consideration, including our proposal of a constitutional conference, Mr. Smith's proposal for a Senate to vote on constitutional matters—though on his formulation only on the entrenched clauses—and the proposal which came up very late in the day for a treaty between the British Government and the Government of Rhodesia to provide the necessary safeguards.

Exchanges continued, including those covering my proposal for a Commonwealth mission to be headed by Sir Robert Menzies which Mr. Smith rejected. On October 20 Mr. Smith sent me an urgent letter, which many hon. members will be regarded as being in the nature of an ultimatum, demanding our immediate acceptance of independence on the basis of the 1961 Constitution, combined with a treaty on the lines suggested by Mr. Smith.

Following my visit to Salisbury, I must tell the House that I am in no doubt that a U.D.I. would have followed the Government's rejection of that demand, for I am sure the House would never have agreed to our accepting it.

I replied that I proposed to go to Salisbury to continue the discussions with the Rhodesian Government and to have talks with all—including African nationalist leaders and ex-Prime Ministers—whom I felt could help. Accordingly, accompanied by my right hon. friend and the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Overseas Development, who went for the purpose of discussing an intensified education programme with Rhodesian Ministers, I left for Salisbury on October 24.

In the course of my journey, more than 13,000 miles, I discussed the Rhodesian and of course other questions with the Presidents of Kenya, Zambia, and Ghana and the Prime Minister of Nigeria, while my right hon. friend has visited Tanzania and Kenya. Although Britain alone carries the responsibility and the trust, there are other people to consider—not only the peoples of Britain and of Rhodesia, but also the Commonwealth, and indeed the United Nations as a whole.

Talks With 126 Representative Rhodesians

For my talks in Salisbury I was joined by the Attorney-General. In all I had talks spread over four days, and covering practically every minute of those four days, with the Government of Rhodesia and with leaders of all sections of Rhodesian opinion. My talks covered nine and a half hours with Mr. Smith alone or with his colleagues, and in one case with the whole Cabinet; 29 hours in separate meetings with other leaders of opinion, including three long meetings with Mr. Nkomo and his colleagues, three with Mr. Sithole and his colleagues, and one meeting with Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole together.

In all, serious talks with 126 leading and representative Rhodesians. No one, British or Rhodesian, has been able to hear the views of so many leaders of opinion, African or European, for many years.

Before I come to the crucial meetings with the Rhodesian Government and describe the state at which the discussions stood when I left Rhodesia, I should tell the House that in my talks with the African nationalist leaders, and with African and other M.Ps. elected on the B roll, I made clear, with absolute frankness, three things.

First, I regarded it as my duty to remove from their minds any idea or any hope they might have had that Rhodesia's constitutional problems were going to be solved by an assertion of military power on our part, whether for the purposes of suspending or amending the 1961 Constitution, or imposing majority rule tomorrow or any other time—or for that matter of dealing with the situation that would follow an illegal assertion of independence.

To quote the words I used to them: "If there are those who are thinking in terms of a thunderbolt hurtling from the sky and destroying their enemies, a thunderbolt in the shape of the Royal Air Force, let me say that thunderbolt will not

be coming, and to continue in this delusion wastes valuable time, and misdirects valuable energies".

Secondly, I said: "Although successive British Governments are deeply and irrevocably committed to guarantees and unimpeded progress to majority rule, the British Government, who alone through the British Parliament have the legal power to grant independence, do not believe that in the present and tragic and divided condition of Rhodesia, that majority rule can or should come today, or tomorrow. A period of time is needed—time to remove the fears and suspicions between race and race, time to show that the Constitution of Rhodesia, with whatever amendments may later be made, can be worked, and is going to be worked, and that the rule of law, equally with the maintenance of essential human rights, will be paramount; and the time required cannot be measured by clock or calendar, but only by achievement".

Thirdly, I urged them to unite the at present bitterly divided forces of African opinion, to work the Constitution of Rhodesia in a constitutional manner, to persuade their followers to register and to vote. I urged them to stand for Parliament and to show to Rhodesia, to ourselves here in Britain, and the world, that they and the others concerned could make a reality of a multi-racial Parliament, with a system of multi-racial government, as long as possible before and of course indefinitely after majority rule.

And let it be clear—if this is listened to—such an achievement is going to require a very painful surrender of prejudice, a very substantial eating of words, by a lot of people, African and European alike.

I turn to the discussions with the Government. Every issue was exhaustively discussed; there is no question which has not been thrashed out. And I want the House to know that no one in authority in Rhodesia can now be in any doubt of the dire consequences, legal, constitutional or economic, of an illegal seizure of power. Indeed, I would hope that no one in Rhodesia at all, following my statement to a news conference on Saturday—which, if the House wishes, I will place in the library—would now be in any doubt of the position.

Extraordinary Self-Deception

The House must realize, and I am sure many hon. Members do, that Rhodesia today is not only hyper-charged with emotion, particularly the emotion of fear; it is also—Europeans and Africans alike—characterized by an extraordinary degree of self-deception.

There were no threats. There were warnings, not only of the action we should have to take, but also my assessment of the international reaction and of the steps that might be taken, and taken irrespective of anything we might do, by the United Nations or by other African countries.

On the issues we discussed it became quite clear that the proposal for the treaty is not a runner. We were fully prepared to discuss it in depth, and the Attorney-General flew out specially for this, but it became clear that it plays no real part in Rhodesian thinking. They and we agree that constitutional safeguards should be entrenched in a Constitution, not a treaty.

Moreover, even if a treaty were regarded as an appropriate vehicle, we should still need to agree on its contents, including the problem of the unentrenched clauses. The treaty idea, therefore, is dead, and we agreed to pursue the discussions on the basis of amendments to be made now to the 1961 Constitution.

By last Friday morning we had made no progress. Indeed, there were signs, not only of a breakdown of the discussions, but of imminent illegal action.

In these circumstances I put to the Rhodesian Prime Minister two propositions. The first stemmed from Mr. Smith's repeated assertion that the Rhodesian people, including a majority of Africans, wanted independence on the basis of the 1961 Constitution. I proposed to him that this should be tested by a referendum of the whole Rhodesian people, whether on universal suffrage, or perhaps we were prepared to consider this on the basis of the present electorate plus the majority of Africans who Mr. Smith has proposed should now be added to the B roll voters on the single test of whether they pay taxes.

There would have to be safeguards, including international, presumably British, supervision guarantees against intimidation from either side, and freedom for lawful, constitutional political organization and canvassing. This would show whether Mr. Smith was right or whether those were right, European and African, who said that the country would be opposed to independence on Mr. Smith's terms. That was one proposition I put to him.

The second proposition was that H.M. should be recommended by the Governments both of Britain and Rhodesia to set up a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Rhodesia's Chief Justice to recommend the amendments to the 1961 Rhodesia Constitution which would provide the basis on

which Rhodesia may proceed to independence as rapidly as possible, in a manner giving effect to the principles enunciated by the British Government in our statement of October 9, and which at the same time would be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

What we envisaged first was that the Royal Commission, in addition to taking formal evidence, should be free to make informal contacts to reach agreement on an acceptable independence constitution. Secondly, it would be asked to recommend how its proposals could be shown to be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

Ingenious Rhodesian Proposal

What I had in mind therefore was that the Commission should continue the informal consultation, should continue the work we had begun in breaking down the irreconcilable and intransigent positions of those involved—for in fact what we were doing last week and what I hope the Commission would continue was to hold a running and informal constitutional conference, in place of the formal conference referred to in this year's Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference *communiqué*, but which in present circumstances, as I frankly told those who pressed it on me, would be a meaningless gesture. Both propositions were later put by me to the African leaders.

On Friday evening my colleagues and I met the full Rhodesian Cabinet. While accepting neither of my two alternatives, they came forward with a proposal which, in fact, represented a combination of them. They agreed on a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice of Rhodesia, and proposed that one member should be nominated by the Rhodesian Government, one by H.M. Government, the three to work on the basis of a unanimous report.

But, instead of the Commission proceeding from the 1961 Constitution towards an entirely new Constitution which would be generally acceptable, they proposed that it should work on a narrower canvas—namely to receive from the two Governments an agreed draft independence arrangement, based on the 1961 Constitution, with such amendments as we might consider necessary; and that the Commission should then proceed to ascertain whether such a document was or was not acceptable to the Rhodesian people as a whole.

I believe this was a helpful, not to say ingenious, combination of our own proposals, though I should make it clear that we reserve our position on two main points—first, on our right to revert to our original concept of the Commission's powers and duties, the wider concept, not least if the Commission reported failure or could not agree when working on the narrower terms of reference; second, on balance, we feel and we reserved our position on this, that it might be more consistent with the responsibility which the two Governments carry in this matter, for the Commission to produce, first, an interim report to the two Governments on the methods it recommends for consulting Rhodesian opinion as a whole, and if these were accepted by the Government, to go on to supervise the consultation process.

Way Open to Agreed Settlement

I believe that, subject to these reservations, we now have a way in which, given good will and ordinary plain common sense, it is possible to settle the problem on a basis acceptable to the Rhodesian people, to this Parliament, and I believe to world opinion. Procedurally at least there is nothing to prevent an agreed settlement, and we have provided for the realization of the fifth principle.

But there is one outstanding difficulty: we have still to agree—as we would have had under a treaty or on any other basis—on the content of the document which, after approval by the two Governments, the Commission would put to the peoples of Rhodesia. My *rt. hon.* friend and my hon. and learned friend stayed on in Salisbury to seek agreement. They are now on their way back to report. I have to tell the House that there are still important differences. The principal issues include the doctrine of the so-called 'blocking third', or 'blocking quarter', for amendments to the Constitution of clauses which are not entrenched and also for the provision of effective safeguards for the specially entrenched clauses. The Rhodesian Government proposal to amend the elected African Members for this purpose by a number of hereditary chiefs, who are of course paid by the Rhodesian Government, simply will not do. I have seen the chiefs. They cannot by the widest stretch of imagination be said to be capable of representing the African population as a whole.

Equally I am sure that the House would feel that we cannot leave without safeguards a situation which would permit amongst other things an independent Rhodesian Parliament, without check or constitutional hindrance, to reduce, as they would have the power to do, the B roll seats from 15 to one, or to increase to 100 the A roll seats, and thus postpone for many more years the achievement of majority rule.

We have still to reach agreement. With the necessary good

will, I do not see why we should not. I simply cannot believe, now that we have got so far, that the Rhodesian Government, or anyone else in their senses, could reject an agreed and constitutional means of resolving this problem, and embark on the dangerous lunacy of an illegal declaration, with all that would follow. The way is open, given the will.

Only those—and there are those—who want a U.D.I. for it own sake, or who in their hearts reject the ultimate purpose of the 1961 Constitution and of the five principles on which Mr. Smith and I have agreed to base all our discussions, could now contemplate illegal and unconstitutional action.

I apologize to the House for the length of this report, but I did not want to over-simplify it by an attempt to shorten it in view of its importance.

I hope that the House will concede that I have done everything in a man's power to avert the tragic and dangerous development which only 10 days ago was imminent, and cannot even now be said to have been removed, and to carry through the consultations necessary as a preliminary to any long term solution.

Britain's Trust

I hope that hon. Members will agree that, as a result of those 10 days, we can say that the door is wide open to an acceptable, agreed, and constitutional solution, that we can agree that there is no case for—that we in Britain and the rest of the world could not now understand, still less condone—an attempt to solve Rhodesian problems by illegal and unconstitutional means. And I hope that they will agree that we have reached this situation without any retreat whatsoever from the principles which all parties in this House have proclaimed, without any surrender of that position of trust which we hold and must hold for the peoples—all the peoples of Rhodesia.

For that is a trust which we cannot morally escape or seek to evade; it is inescapably ours until we hand over to an independent Rhodesia not only powers and responsibilities but also our trusteeship, on terms and conditions which will ensure that in letter and spirit the principles which have inspired that trusteeship will endure.

Following the statement Mr. HEATH welcomed the Prime Minister on his return from a long and arduous mission, and the fact that he had been successful with Mr. Smith in creating a new piece of machinery under which the Rhodesian problems could be further examined. The Opposition wished every success to the forthcoming deliberations.

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I should like to express my very warm thanks to the *rt. hon.* gentleman for what he has said on my statement and about the fact that we have been able to reach agreement on machinery. We have now reached agreement on an appropriate system of machinery, but, as he also pointed out, there is the problem of the content of the document that has to be put through that machinery; and this would have been a problem if we had a treaty or anything else. We pursued the idea of a treaty to the very fullest point—indeed we were much more active in pushing it than Mr. Smith's Government—although if we had been able to devise suitable treaty machinery rather than a Royal Commission machinery for finding out the views of the Rhodesian people we would still have had the problem of safeguards for the entrenched clauses and the unentrenched constitutional safeguards.

Royal Commission Report Should Be Decisive

MR. GRIMOND: "Can the Prime Minister say whether the draft independence arrangement will contain not only the five principles but also the arrangements for putting these principles into practice, because that would seem to be the crux of the matter? Can he say whether he is confident that the Commission will eventually only recommend and that the ultimate decision will be for the two Governments with which responsibility must rest?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The document to be submitted to the Commission—which would be an agreed Rhodesian and British document—would certainly give effect to the five principles. We could not agree to any document going forward in our name which did not give effect to those five principles.

"The second question is still to be settled. Both Governments could in theory be free to disregard the findings of this very distinguished and powerful Royal Commission. But if a Commission in which we had the fullest confidence as individuals—made up of the very distinguished Chief Justice of Rhodesia and two persons appointed by ourselves—working on the unanimity rule were to report that the people of Rhodesia said 'Yes' or 'No' to this document, it would be very difficult for either of us to disregard such important evidence. The answer in theory might therefore be that either side might reserve their position, but I hope in practice that it would mean that we should accept the report."

MR. MICHAEL FOOT: "Can the Prime Minister say

whether he was able to get any response from the Rhodesian Government to the appeal for the release of the large number of people in Rhodesia who are now in prison or restricted without trial? Does not he agree that this appeal has twice been made by Commonwealth Conferences but so far has been apparently rejected by the Rhodesian Government? If good will is to be established to enable the Commission to do its work, does not the Prime Minister think that the Rhodesian Government should take some action in this respect?

If African Leaders Acted Constitutionally

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I think it extremely important that if the Commission is to be a success there must be freedom of the leaders of all sections of opinion in Rhodesia, not only make their views known to the Commission, but also for them to be able to ensure that their supporters are equally free to make those views known. I did of course press this matter on Mr. Smith, and he was perfectly frank that if he could get a satisfactory assurance from the leaders in question and from any others in detention that they would revert to purely constitutional means of political activity without intimidation—there is a great deal of intimidation in Rhodesia on both sides—he would be prepared to release them from detention, from restriction, whatever it may be.

"No impediment was placed on the movement of the African nationalist leaders and their followers from their places of detention or anywhere else to Government House for very extensive discussions with me. They were allowed to stay in Salisbury. I rather think that they were provided with hospitality so that they could stay there as long as I was there and answer all my questions and discuss things with me.

"But I attach a lot of importance—and, of course, this would have been an essential feature of the first of the two propositions which I put to Mr. Smith—to the giving of assurances about constitutional and legal working without intimidation which would be necessary if we had any kind of referendum to seek the views of Rhodesian opinion."

SIR A. V. HARVEY: "Can the Prime Minister estimate how long it will take the Royal Commission to complete its work?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I had a very full discussion with Sir Hugh Beadle, the Chief Justice, whom we have agreed should be chairman. He thinks that it would be able to complete its work by the turn of the year.

Three-Member Commission Adequate

MR. PARK: "Would not the Prime Minister agree that if the membership of the Royal Commission could be enlarged to include a representative of the majority race in Rhodesia its chances of success might be greater?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "In my original proposal for a Commission, which would have the much wider terms of reference of seeking to fill up a blank sheet of paper with an agreed independence constitution instead of hawking round an agreed Anglo-Rhodesian draft, I had it in mind that we should have a bigger Commission, much more representative of different shades of opinion, though not as delegates but as members of the Commission. With the job which we are giving it to do I think that a Commission of three is adequate provided that there is a unanimity rule. I have the fullest confidence in Sir Hugh Beadle—I think that all Members who know him have—not only as a distinguished judge but as a man of great humanity, which is the other necessary qualification here, and I think that I shall have the fullest confidence in whomever we nominate to the Commission."

MR. DOUGHTY: "Will the Royal Commission issue only a final report or is there any likelihood of there being an interim report?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The proposition put by Mr. Smith when he combined our two original propositions was that it would produce a final report saying, 'Yes, the people of Rhodesia agree', or 'No, they do not' without giving reasons or descriptions of their procedures. We have reserved our position. On the alternative idea—I think the better and more satisfactory one—we think that the Commission should first report to Governments on the means which it intends to use for consulting Rhodesian opinion, and when we have had time to consider and approve that means, as I am sure, we should be able to do, then to go forward to supervise the consultation process, whether it be by referendum or other means."

MRS. ANNE KERR: "Does not my right hon. friend think that it would be far more realistic to include an African member on the Royal Commission, and that only if this is done will we be able to convince African opinion that we are really serious about eventual majority rule in Rhodesia?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "No, sir. As I have said, with a wider Commission one would have wanted it to be more representative, but I am fully convinced that we shall have a

Commission that will carry conviction here. I do not think that anyone has talked to more sections of African opinion, from the extreme right-wing—indeed, from the hereditary chiefs themselves, who were most charming but not exactly I think fully in touch with the situation—right through the elected Members under the B roll and to the Nationalist leaders.

"I am not sure that it would be easy quickly to decide upon who should be a representative African to choose, even if one were to decide upon one—and of course, one cannot rule out that the Rhodesian Government may nominate an African member. But I shall have full confidence [Laughter.] Yes, they have a lot of Africans on their side, although what we want to know is whether they have all the Africans on their side.

MR. ENNALS: "May I ask the Prime Minister whether not only the final recommendations of the Commission will be laid before the House for its approval, but also the method of consulting the Africans in the interim report?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "If we get an interim report. It is, of course, a matter on which on receipt we would immediately report to the House and would state the views of H.M. Government upon it if it is done by that method. Obviously, when the Commission as a whole reports the report will be published and the House will be free to take action thereupon. Of course, there can be no independence legally for Rhodesia except on the basis of a Bill carried through this House and another place. We hold the ultimate control. I hope that no one in Rhodesia fails to recognize that fact. If anybody fails to recognize it, it is through no fault of mine last week."

MR. HOOSON: "Is the Prime Minister fully satisfied that Mr. Smith has no intention of making a unilateral declaration of independence until the Royal Commission has reported, in view of the fact that the Prime Minister has stated that differences of opinion still exist? Do I understand that the Rhodesian Government have absolutely accepted the idea of the Royal Commission and that any action will be delayed until that Commission has reported?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "We worked very hard, all of us, representatives of both Government to try to find a means of an agreed settlement. I believe that we negotiated in good faith. Although even on Thursday night or Friday morning it looked as though it would break down and there was ominous evidence that a U.D.I. was in prospect within a day or two, we agreed on Friday night on the procedure by which African opinion could be consulted.

"I am in no doubt at all that Mr. Smith, in accepting that procedure, intended that procedure to be carried right through to the end in the hope of reaching an agreement.

"I have referred to the fact that we have not agreed the document to be submitted. I said quite frankly that the threat of a U.D.I. has not entirely receded. I hope that now that we have got so far and covered so much of the ground and reached agreement on the vital fifth principle, the pressures which there are in Rhodesia for a U.D.I. notwithstanding, the views of those who seem to have a death wish upon them rather than get an agreed settlement will not prevail over Mr. Smith and his colleagues. Speaking for myself, I am still very hopeful that Mr. Smith will feel that we have an adequate procedure, whatever might be our differences on the content of the document."

Help for Intensive Educational Programme

MR. JACKSON: "Can my rt. hon. friend give a general idea concerning the question of intensive educational programmes and what would be the reaction of the Rhodesian Government to British aid?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The Parliamentary Secretary had intensive discussions on this matter. All of us are keen on this. Indeed, when all the history of these interchanges becomes known, the House will find how very strongly this was pressed upon the Rhodesian Government by the rt. hon. Member for Kinross and West Perthshire (Sir Alec Douglas-Home)—indeed, on the Government of Mr. Winston Field—as a means of giving effect to the built-in provisions of the 1961 Constitution to allow more Africans to qualify on the A roll.

"At all times in the last year we have pressed this upon Mr. Smith. We made very clear last week that we would cooperate with them, not only in an educational programme designed to provide more facilities for primary and secondary education, but—a thing which I have stressed many times—an educational programme for training Africans in various aspects of administration—technical training for industrial work, but, perhaps no less important, training even in such things, which are necessary to all civilized communities, as the collection of taxes, exchequer and audit control, surveying and hospital administration, all these things. This is vital to the future of Rhodesia on a multi-racial basis, and we have offered our fullest support and financial aid in securing this."

Mr. Wilson's Message to Rhodesia at Final Press Conference

Situation Hypercharged with Fear, Distrust and Suspicion

THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER said at his Press conference on Saturday before he left Salisbury:—

"I want to begin by thanking the people of Rhodesia for the kind welcome and the assistance they have afforded the Secretary of State, my other colleagues, and myself in the past few days—in particular, to his Excellency the Governor and Lady Gibbs for their kind and unfailing hospitality and help, to the Rhodesian Government for the enormous efforts they have made to deal with the problems provided by the arrival at short notice of my mission.

"And I want to thank particularly the eminent Rhodesians, representing all views and attitudes of political thought, who have with great courtesy and frankness answered my questions and given me a detailed insight into all the issues confronting Rhodesia and therefore confronting Britain at this critical hour. I have spent nine and a half hours in urgent and frank consultations with the Rhodesian Government; 29 hours in separate meetings with other leaders of opinion, and in all have met on a working basis 126 Rhodesian leaders of opinion.

Rhodesia Needs Freedom from Fear

"My principal meetings here, as in London, have been with the Rhodesian Government. In addition, other British Ministers accompanying me have had detailed talks with Rhodesian Ministers, particularly on legal and constitutional questions, including the suggested treaty, and on plans for a programme of economic development, especially in the field of education, to be carried out in Rhodesia by Rhodesia with Britain's help.

"I am only sorry I have seen nothing of this unique country of Rhodesia. But I have seen a powerful lot of Rhodesians.

"There can be no doubt, I am afraid, that the situation is hyper-charged with emotion; and this is not conducive to getting the right answer, for, among those emotions, predominant is the emotion of fear, with the attendant emotions of distrust and suspicion and of unfounded rumour. And fear is a bad counsellor, when the primary need is for wise advice and cool and rational and statesmanlike judgment.

"To adapt the words of President Roosevelt, the first freedom that Rhodesia needs to achieve, the foundation of all the others, is freedom from fear; and from that will develop the freedom that has flowered in the 20th Century, freedom from contempt based on the dignity of man.

"It has been my task this week to seek to dispel some of these unreasoning fears—and I am afraid to dispel some unrealistic hopes—hopes for example of action by Britain which, persisted in, have meant that minds were closed to other and more constructive paths.

African Leaders Out of Touch with Reality

"Let me give you an example. I have met African leaders again and again. My discussions with them were conducted with the same courtesy and frankness and ability in presenting a case as I have found throughout my stay in Rhodesia. But I have had to tell them, and it was not easy, and it was a bitter pill for them to swallow, that their demand for Britain to attempt to settle all Rhodesia's constitutional problems with a military invasion is out.

"This is not the right answer, and I beg those who because they think in these terms have closed their minds to co-operative attempts to settle these matters by discussion here and now—I beg them to come to terms with this reality. If there are those who are thinking in terms of a thunderbolt hurtling from the sky and destroying their enemies, a thunderbolt in the shape of the Royal Air Force, let me say that thunderbolt will not be coming. To continue in this delusion wastes valuable time and misdirects valuable energies.

"Equally I have to say—and I know the disappointment this will bring—that although successive British Governments

are deeply and irrevocably committed to guaranteed and unimpeded progress to majority rule, the British Government, who alone through the British Parliament have the legal power to grant independence, do not believe that in the present and tragic and divided condition of Rhodesia that majority rule can or should come today or tomorrow.

Need for Time Not Measured by the Calendar

"A period of time is needed—time to remove the fears and suspicions between race and race, time to show that the Constitution of Rhodesia with whatever amendments may later be made can be worked and is going to be worked, and that the rule of law, equally with the maintenance of essential human rights, will be paramount.

"The time required cannot be measured by clock or calendar, but only by achievement.

"But those are not the only issues where dangerous delusions are held, inhibiting a constructive approach to the problems. There are those others who feel that Rhodesians can take the law into their own hands; regardless of the feelings of other nations and of the rest of mankind; that Rhodesia could survive and flourish, friendless, almost alone, not in a neutral or apathetic world even, but in a bitterly hostile world.

"When nearly two centuries ago the American States declared their independence from a British Government, which to say the least was remote, oppressive and unimaginative, they insisted that their actions be inspired by 'a proper respect for the opinions of mankind'. Nor were they alone. Could anyone say that either of these things would be true of a Rhodesia which chose illegally to claim its independence?

"I am frankly worried that a great many Rhodesians live in an atmosphere of self-delusion about the consequence of such action. Successive British Governments, my predecessor and myself, on the highest legal advice, unchallengeable legal advice, have made it clear that it would be a revolt against the Crown. We have stated the economic, political, and constitutional measures Britain would inescapably have to take in the event of such action, and I would not wish any of you to be in any doubt about our ability and our will to try through these measures if tragically we have to face this situation—or to be in any doubt about the decisive consequences that would result from them. I want you to realize that we have a responsibility for Rhodesia which we cannot escape or evade.

Occasion for Straight Talk

"I am not going to issue threats; that's not the way between adults. I am not going to submit to threats either; here or from abroad, or negotiate under duress.

"But I have got to say this. If action so dangerous, so imponderable in its consequences, were to be taken because of a failure to realize the consequences, a failure on my part to make clear in time what those consequences would be I would never forgive myself.

"In financial terms, in economic terms—for I have said we forswear the use of military force—we would have to do everything in our power to restore constitutional rule; and to this must be added the actions which would be taken by a hundred other nations.

"On my instructions, while these talks are going on, Britain's representative at the United Nations is urging restraint there against what we believe to be an unacceptable proposal. But if Rhodesia acts illegally, do not underestimate the consequences of what might be thrown at you; which Britain—even if we had the will—would not have the power to prevent.

"I am sorry I have had to be so frank, but this is a time for straight talking. World civilization has faced two great tragedies in this century because Governments did not speak out in time, and because therefore actions were taken in ignorance of their consequences. I'd rather put the facts before you now than reproach myself afterwards for not having done so.

"But if the facts are sombre, the opportunities are still great. This is the message of hope I take back to Britain from my talks here, and it is the message of hope I leave with you.

"I have had four days of urgent consultations and we have made some progress. Given time—I repeat, given time—I think that, working on these same lines this problem can be solved and a basis found for Rhodesia's independence acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole—for on that we, no less than our predecessors, must insist—given time.

"Rhodesia is rich in minerals, in precious metals, and precious stones. But more precious than your gold, your emeralds, more precious to Rhodesia today is time—time to recognize

that it is not a simple choice between two extreme courses—between an illegal assertion of independence today, or an African majority tomorrow or next week.

"Rhodesia—and I say this with deep conviction and with all the emphasis at my command—is not faced with these stark alternatives. There are other courses open to us and they need to be examined, canvassed and assessed—not dismissed out of hand through letting impatience and fear take command.

"It is for this reason that, at a meeting with the whole Rhodesian Cabinet, I have agreed in principle to make one more effort to see whether a way can be found by the establishment of a Royal Commission to find a basis for Rhodesian independence acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole. The Commonwealth Secretary and the Attorney-General will stay behind for a little longer to explore this possibility and to establish whether we can agree on a programme of work for a Royal Commission which Mr. Smith and I could then jointly recommend to the Queen. I do not know whether we shall agree. In any case I must, of course, put the proposal first to the British Cabinet.

"The choice facing Rhodesia is not—as some may think—between illegal action with all its dire consequences on the one hand and an overthrow of all civilized values on the other. It is not even between illegal action now and drifting on in an atmosphere supercharged with emotion, potentially explosive, damaging to economic advance and enterprise. I believe the

conditions are there for an advance to a guaranteed and constitutional and democratic and independent future.

Last Chance to Negotiate Independence

"And here I can claim to speak with authority—I am not an authority on Rhodesia, Heaven knows. But in these past days my colleagues and I have been enabled to derive a knowledge of the fears, the hopes, the terms, the conditions, the attitudes of more Rhodesians, covering the whole spectrum of Rhodesian life and political thought than anyone else, Rhodesian or British, for many years.

"I believe that given time—a short time in my view—the proposed Royal Commission can hammer out a solution; a solution which can lead to a speedy and honourable and acceptable basis for independence; a solution which can take the brakes off Rhodesia's economic progress; a solution which can replace fear by co-operation and trust and enable Rhodesia to achieve the material and moral greatness to which your natural environment and your national resources, the skill and quality of your people of all races, have called you.

"It will be the hope of every single one of your friends in Britain who have watched the events of these past few days with anxious hearts, even heavy hearts, that the wisdom of your political leaders of all races will lead your people, under God, in hope to the future we all desire for you".

British Council of Churches Considers U.D.I.

Archbishop of Canterbury Supports Use of Force Against Rhodesia

ARMED INTERVENTION in Rhodesia by the British Government in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence was supported at a British Council of Churches conference in Aberdeen last week after a long and at times heated debate.

Dr. MICHAEL RAMSEY, Archbishop of Canterbury and president of the council, said that it was not for the Christian Church to give the Government military advice, but that if the Government thought it practical and desirable to use force for the protection of the rights of the majority of the Rhodesian people, then they as Christians had to affirm that it would be proper to use force to that end.

He recalled that 1939 Britain had an obligation to Poland and had found it necessary to use force to fulfil that duty. Britain had a continuing obligation to Rhodesia, and they as Christians, unless they were pacifists, had to say that force should be used in that case.

Prime Minister Should Know Church View

The Archbishop believed that the Christian churches in Britain should support the Prime Minister in his efforts for a reconciliation, but should also indicate to him that if there was a breakdown in those efforts and his Government felt it necessary to use force, then the great body of Christian opinion in Britain would support him. It would not be right for the conference to say less, Dr. Ramsey thought.

Although somewhat peremptory, the official resolution said what he believed to be essentially necessary, with the great advantage that it said what the churches in Rhodesia were themselves saying; and what the Churches said with a common voice would be helpful to the Prime Minister, who needed the assurance of Christian opinion in Britain that in the fulfilment of the country's obligations there was no discrimination between white countries and Africans under British protection.

During the debate it was announced that a telegram had been received from the Bishop of Matabeleland reporting that the executive committee of the Christian Council of Rhodesia had fully approved the terms of the draft statement, which read:—

"The Council, which includes Churches with long and con-

tinuous service among Europeans and Africans in Rhodesia, is deeply concerned for the peaceful development of that country and the welfare and happiness of all her people. The context of this concern is the mission of the Church of Jesus Christ in the whole continent of Africa, now and in the future.

Text of Statement

"The Council believes that the Christian faith demands that the 4,020,000 Africans as well as the 219,000 Europeans should have the opportunity of sharing responsibility in decisions concerning the government of their country and the ordering of their lives.

"As so often in history, a privileged minority find themselves unable or unwilling to abandon privilege, and are in danger of bringing upon themselves the very fate which they fear, including violence, Communist or otherwise, and the destruction of all they have helped to create. For this tragic situation Britain, as the imperial Power since the grant of the Charter in 1889, shares responsibility.

"The Council welcomes the reaffirmation of the aim of successive British Governments to bring remaining British territories to independence on the basis of democratic government and the principle of universal adult suffrage. H.M. Government is right to 'require acceptance of five essential principles before it could in conscience commend to Parliament the grant of independence', and to stress the decisive importance of the fifth principle, that 'the British Government must be satisfied that any basis proposed for independence is acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole'.

"In the event of a Unilateral Declaration of Independence a unilateral declaration of independence by the Rhodesian Government must be resolutely opposed. It is the responsibility of H.M. Government, in full consultation with the United Nations, to undertake such measures, including economic measures as may be required, and thereafter to negotiate the phased introduction of fully representative government.

Justice and Compassion

"Even if this should necessitate the British Government being prepared to resume responsibility for government in Rhodesia, the nation should have the wisdom and moral courage to take an action which is required by justice and compassion for all the people of Rhodesia.

"If there is no immediate Unilateral Declaration of Independence

"In the event of there being no immediate unilateral declaration of independence, or a unilateral declaration of independence in principle with its impletion deferred, there could follow a period of uncertainty, in which race relations further deteriorate, the five principles are not implemented, repressive measures increase, white minority rule is further entrenched, and ways are sought to minimize the effect of the imposition of economic sanctions.

"In these circumstances H.M. Government nevertheless should:

"(1) Maintain its offer of British financial assistance for a massive and dynamic programme of education and training, schools, colleges, as well as training facilities in administration—in Britain, in Rhodesia and other African countries—for the Rhodesian people".

"(2) Seek, as proposed by the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in June, 1965, and again by the Prime Minister on October 12, the convening of 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".

No Immediate Universal Franchise

"(3) Make it clear that the basis for such a conference would not be the immediate establishment of one-man-one-vote; but the acceptance of an interim period during which, as stated by the Prime Minister, 'Africans would be taken into multi-racial government and trained as junior Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries'. The conference should define a short and stated period of time, at the conclusion of which elections would be held on the basis of universal adult franchise of all Rhodesian citizens, under the provisions of the new Constitution as agreed at the conference.

"(4) Press for the early release of the African political leaders as essential to ensure the representative character of a future constitutional conference. This does not remove the need to prevent intimidation and violence, by whomsoever practised.

"If all attempts to persuade the Rhodesian Government to implement the five principles should fail, and there should be a complete refusal to participate in any constitutional conference, H.M. Government should be ready, if necessary, to ensure responsibility for government in Rhodesia, in order to ensure the impemention of the measures set out under II above.

"Other measures
"In order to make easier the difficult decision of the white Rhodesians, H.M. Government should examine the following proposals, and any others which may help achieve the same end:

"(1) Britain, together with other Commonwealth States, should guarantee the human rights provisions of the new Rhodesian Constitution, as agreed at the constitutional conference, in order to assure the people of Rhodesia against any possibility of racist legislation after majority rule has been achieved.

"(2) Britain should indicate her willingness to help the Government of Rhodesia to provide compensation for the property of those Rhodesians who after the constitutional conference nevertheless decide to emigrate to another Commonwealth country".

Duchess of Hamilton's Amendment

THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON pleaded that at so fateful an hour nothing should be done to precipitate a chain of divisive reactions which would sharpen the conflict of loyalties and increase the danger of potential strife. She moved an amendment urging the need for a constitutional conference representative of all sections of the people of Rhodesia under the chairmanship of a British Minister to hammer out a new, fair, and guaranteed basis for independence.

The original motion was, she considered, unpractical and unrealistic, and would give a blank cheque for economic measures which by the damage they caused would impede African advancement.

The suggestion that it would be wise, moral, and courageous for Britain to be willing to resume responsibility for the government of Rhodesia meant in fact that she would wrest power by force from those who were determined not to relinquish it and did not lack the means to defend their stand. The Church was being asked to promote a course of action which would depend upon violence and coercion. The strong probability was that that would mean civil war.

THE VERY REV. DR. NEVILLE DAVIDSON, of Glasgow Cathedral, expressed similar views.

MR. KENNETH JOHNSTON objected to the amendment as a pious evasion which did not touch the real circumstances. The motion, however, showed where the churches stood; and not to do that would be to let down the Church in Rhodesia.

THE REV. J. R. GRAY, a Church of Scotland minister in Glasgow, asked next day for his dissent to be recorded from the decision made.

LORD BALERNO, an elder of the Church of Scotland, and a co-opted member of the British Council of Churches, likewise dissented.

LIEUT.-COMMISSIONER FRANK EVANS, of the Salvation Army, said that he would abstain from voting.

It was announced that of 72 members entitled to vote, only 65 had done so, and that the resolution has been carried by 60 votes to five. The debate had lasted three hours.

MR. GRAY afterwards told reporters that he had objected to the "much too bellicose terms" of the resolution. The use of force had been considered by the Church and Nation Committee of the Church of Scotland, and all present at a well-attended meeting had been strongly against the Church advocating the use of force. The Duchess of Hamilton, the Very Rev. Dr. Neville Davidson, and he had been deputed to put that point of view before the Council.

It having been disclosed that the Archbishop of Canterbury had sent a private message to Mr. Wilson, he was asked by reporters for the text. Dr. Ramsey replied: "It was a private message to the Prime Minister. Nobody had any right to refer to it. I have nothing to say about it".

Supplementary Resolution on Rhodesia

Following is the text of a supplementary resolution on Rhodesia adopted by the British Council of Churches meeting in plenary session in Aberdeen on Wednesday, October 27. It was adopted *nem con*; with one abstention.

"The Council welcomes the courageous and comprehensive report of the Consultation on Human Relations sponsored by the Christian Council of Rhodesia. In relation to the critical issue of education in Rhodesia, the report emphasizes that a great expansion of secondary education for Africans is essential; that an education that ends only in unemployment or underemployment leads to suffering and frustration; and that it is wrong to spend money on importing skills if the same money could be used for the indigenous development of the same skills.

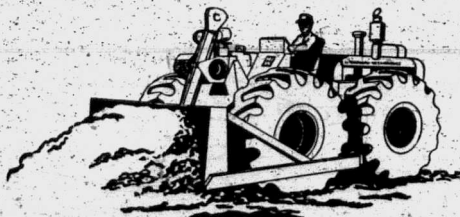
"The Council calls upon the Churches in Britain to support actively with people and finance the crash programme in education, technical and administrative training offered by the British Prime Minister in his statement on October 12.

"The motive of these endeavours and our constant prayer is that Rhodesia may become 'one nation under God', and as such may take her full place as a respected member of the world family of independent nations".

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PERSONALIA

SIR EVELYN WRENCH was 83 on Friday.

MR. T. MURRAY SMITH'S new book is entitled "Safari Trail".

SIR FERDINAND CAVENDISH-BENTINCK has arrived in London from Kenya.

SENATOR ROMANO NJAMUNO GIKUNJU, of Kenya, is visiting Czechoslovakia.

SAYED JAMAL MUHAMMAD AHMED has arrived in London as Sudanese Ambassador.

SIR DUNCAN OPPENHEIM has joined the board of the Commonwealth Development Finance Company.

M. CYRILLE ADOLA, a former Prime Minister of the Congo, has returned after 14 months of voluntary exile abroad.

LORD and LADY FORESTER have returned to Willey Park, Broseley, Shropshire, from their annual visit to Rhodesia.

BRIGADIER ANDREW SKEEN, High Commissioner for Rhodesia, flew back to London from Salisbury at the week-end.

MR. ROWLAND BROWN is now Legal Adviser to the Government of Tanzania, having been replaced as Attorney-General by MR. MARK BOMANI.

SIR JOHN FLETCHER-COOKE, M.P., formerly Deputy Governor of Tanganyika, has joined the board of Interbro, Ltd., Guildford.

MR. GEORGE COULTER, of the Game and Fisheries Department of Zambia, has left to do post-graduate work at Belfast University.

MR. EVAN R. CAMPBELL, lately Rhodesian High Commissioner in London, has been elected a director of Fisons Fertilizers (Rhodesia), Ltd.

MR. R. A. W. CAINE has been appointed deputy chairman of the Universal Asbestos Manufacturing Co. Ltd., which has a subsidiary in Uganda.

THE REV. E. C. GRESHAM, formerly an assistant curate in Bulawayo, has been appointed Vicar of St. Aidan's, Bamber Bridge, Preston, Lancs.

CAPTAIN ALWYN PORTER, who has retired from the Ministry of Health in Rhodesia, had spent 38 years in the B.S.A.P., the Army and various civil service posts.

MR. MICHAEL MATAKA has been appointed the first Zambian Commissioner of Police. MR. HICKS, the last British holder of the post, has been made Inspector-General.

PROFESSOR P. T. BAUER, Professor of Economics at London University, is to fly to East Africa to address the current course at the East African Staff College, Nairobi.

MR. A. P. JOHNSTONE, lately D.C. at Wankie, has taken over a new station at Chiredzi. He was born in Rhodesia in 1929. His successor at Wankie is MR. R. A. FARLEY.

MR. CARL T. ROWAN, a former director of the United States Information Agency, and now a columnist for the *Chicago Daily News*, has recently visited East and Central Africa.

THE REV. P. M. JAMES, lately Anglican chaplain in Nanyuki, Kenya, has been appointed secretary for the South West Area of England for the Commonwealth and Continental Church Society.

THE RT. REV. DUNSTAN KASI NSUBUGA, Assistant Bishop of Namirembe since June of last year, is to succeed the MOST REV. LESLIE BROWN, who will retire on November 21, as Bishop of the Diocese.

DR. ALFRED QUENUM, Regional Director for Africa of the World Health Organization, the first African to hold the post, is about to visit East Africa. He holds a French medical degree and has had research and teaching experience in histology and embryology in France and in Senegal.

DR. J. N. KARANJA, High Commissioner for Kenya in London, attended the Accra conference of O.A.U. as a member of the Kenya delegation. During his absence MR. J. K. ILAKO was Acting High Commissioner.

MR. R. C. PLOWDEN, now D.C. at Gutu, was born in Pakistan; the son of an officer in the Indian Army, and educated at Blundell's School, Tiverton, Devon. After serving in India and Burma during the last war he joined the Rhodesian Civil Service in 1947.

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, a former Prime Minister of Rhodesia, said on Monday when addressing Oxford University branch of the United Nations Association that white Rhodesians wanted independence because they were tired of their country being used as a political football by successive British Governments.

MR. H. R. MUNDY, the new principal of Gwebi Agricultural College, Rhodesia, is a son of a former Secretary for Agriculture, MAJOR H. G. MUNDY. After taking his B.Sc. degree at Rhodes University in 1946, he came to Oxford as a Rhodes scholar and obtained an honours B.A. in agriculture. In the last war he served in the Army in Britain, East Africa, Ceylon, and Burma.

MR. FRED TULLIDGE, who has been elected chairman of Chingola Consumers' Association, Zambia, arrived at the Nchanga mine in 1942, and within four years had become chairman of the local branch of the Northern Rhodesia Mine Workers' Union. In the next 10 years he was re-elected to that office on eight occasions. Later he became general secretary and president of the N.R.M.W.U. Then, having been appointed to a surface job, he became chairman of the Mine Officials and Salaried Staff Association. He is president of the Zambia Amateur Wrestling Association.

Mobilizing the Friends of Rhodesia

RHODESIA urgently needs to mobilize her friends everywhere.

One easy and practical means to that end is to keep them up-to-date about Rhodesia through "E.A. & R."

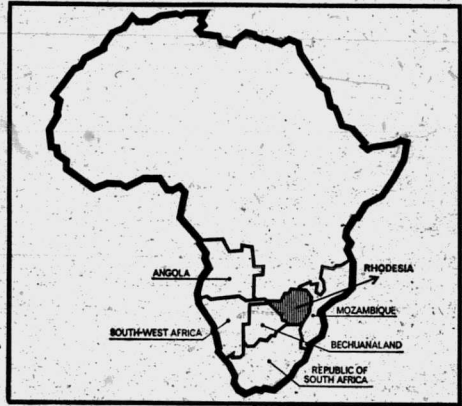
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RHODESIA'S CLAIM FOR



INDEPENDENCE

RHODESIA HAS HAD SELF-GOVERNMENT SINCE 1923 Until 1961 there was only one limitation on Rhodesia's control of its internal affairs—British assent to any proposed law which did not apply equally to both African and European. In 38 years this assent was *NEVER* withheld. In 1961 Britain surrendered even this right.

RHODESIA SACRIFICED INDEPENDENCE TO FEDERATION Rhodesia could have expected independence in 1953. It chose Federation instead. A unilateral decision by Britain broke the Federation. After just *ONE* year of self-government Zambia and Malawi received independence. After 42 years, Rhodesia is still without it.

RHODESIA HAS A UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED CONSTITUTION The 1961 Constitution was accepted by all sections of the population. The white community chose it in a referendum by a majority of 2 to 1. Coloured and Asian leaders accepted it too. Even the African nationalist leaders agreed to it—then later broke their word.

RHODESIA HAS A FRANCHISE QUALIFIED BY MERIT NOT COLOUR The 1961 Constitution has two voters rolls. There is no requirement of *COLOUR, RACE* or *CREED* for either. The *ONLY* requirements are those of education and earnings.

For the higher "A" Roll, these amount to an income of £330 plus four years secondary education. With a higher income, a primary education can be sufficient. On the "B" Roll, an income of £264 and only two years secondary education is enough.

WITHOUT AMENDMENT, this Constitution *ENSURES* an ultimate African Parliamentary majority. African nationalist leaders only reject it because they want power *NOW*.

RHODESIA LEADS THE CONTINENT IN AFRICAN EDUCATION Did you know . . .

1. That 85 per cent. of all African children of school-going age are at school? This is a higher percentage than that of any African state to Rhodesia's north.

- 2. That more African than European children started secondary school this year?
- 3. That African education is the largest single item in Rhodesia's Budget?

RHODESIA LEADS THE CONTINENT IN AFRICAN WAGES Did you know . . .

That the annual per capita income of Rhodesia's Africans is higher than that of any other African state to the north?

RHODESIA HAS NEGOTIATED TO THE LIMIT OVER INDEPENDENCE Rhodesia has done enough to earn its independence already. But more has been demanded and it has been offered. Rhodesia has agreed in addition—

- 1. To create a Senate of 12 Chiefs. These, together with African members already in Parliament, could block any Constitutional change.
- 2. To extend the vote on the "B" Roll to every taxpayer, regardless of education. This would enfranchise more than one million people.

To the British Government these concessions have not been enough.

Now Rhodesia has proposed a Treaty with Britain, guaranteeing to meet its Constitutional obligations.

RHODESIA WILL CONCEDE NO FURTHER

We will not destroy the standards we have established. Nor will we surrender stable, viable government to irresponsible hands.

In the interests of justice, responsible government and the best possible future for all its inhabitants . . .

RHODESIA MUST HAVE ITS INDEPENDENCE NOW



Public Reaction to Reports of Archbishop's Statement

Many Public Men Resent Support for Use of Force

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY has been widely, sharply, and influentially criticized for having publicly supported the use of force in Rhodesia if H.M. Government were to decide on such action after a unilateral declaration of independence.

A few hours after Dr. Ramsey had made his statement Mr. Wilson, the Prime Minister, told African nationalist leaders in Rhodesia that Britain would not use force if Rhodesia declared her independence.

MR. PIETER VAN DER BYL, Rhodesia's Deputy Minister for Information, who is in London, issued the following statement on Wednesday of last week:—

"The majority of people of all races in Rhodesia and a very large section of the people of Britain will have been dismayed by the Archbishop of Canterbury's advocacy of Christian support for the use of armed force against Rhodesia.

Inflammatory, Says Mr. Van der Byl

"Certainly none of us in Rhodesia who 20 years ago fought with Britain against the common foe could ever have foreseen a time when the Primate of All England would publicly support the dispatch of our former comrades-in-arms to shoot down their own kith and kin.

"At this moment, when every effort is being made by the two Prime Ministers to arrive at an acceptable formula which would break the deadlock and reduce tension, an inflammatory statement of this kind can only do harm to the negotiations, and might well jeopardize the chances of finding a satisfactory solution.

"The Archbishop has drawn an analogy between the use of force in honouring Britain's obligations in Poland in 1939 and its use in Rhodesia. I cannot believe that he is seriously comparing Poland under Nazi attack with any situation that could arise in Rhodesia. I believe that what he is advocating would be more in keeping with the tragic connivance at the destruction of Czechoslovakia in exchange for the useless appeasement of Munich in 1938.

"Surely it would have been more appropriate for the Archbishop to have advocated intervention with force to protect the people of Hungary from the Russians or the inhabitants of the Congo, Burundi, Zanzibar, or the Sudan from the horrors and massacres which attended premature handing over of political power to those countries.

Rate of Political Advance

"Rhodesia's dispute with Britain over independence is centred around the rate of political advancement of the African people. Britain recognizes the exceptional advances already made in the fields of education, health, and economic betterment, all of which are compatible with Christian ethics.

"Dr. Ramsey must realize that threats of force from an influential quarter stimulate political violence which can cause untold suffering to innocent people."

When the Rhodesian Prime Minister was told of the statement and the furore, he said: "I suppose I must be grateful for the worthy gentleman's remarks. I gather we lost a little bit of ground when we restricted Mr. Garfield Todd. Now we have more than made up for the lost ground."

DR. KENNETH SKELTON, Anglican Bishop of Matabeleland, who has been an outspoken critic of the present Rhodesian Government, thought that force might be the lesser of two evils. "If Britain had to take over the administration of Rhodesia, the British Government would be bound to consider the use of force as the

ultimate sanction. One could not quarrel with the use of force in such circumstances."

DR. CECIL ALDERSON, Anglican Bishop of Mashonaland, commented in Salisbury that it was highly disputable whether a Christian body should from the distance of Britain advocate the use of armed force against Rhodesia, and that such action could lead to undying hatred between Britain and thousands of her sons and daughters.

CANON J. V. TAYLOR, general secretary of the Church Missionary Society, and formerly a missionary in Uganda, said that Britain's dilemma in Rhodesia should be resolved "without benefit of gunboats".

MRS. ESTHER M. D. CARTER suggested that it would be more appropriate for the Archbishop to call a non-stop service of prayer for the Rhodesian discussions.

SIR KNOX CUNNINGHAM, M.P.: "Surely all Rhodesian—African, Asians or Europeans—would welcome the Church Compassionate in preference to the Church Militant".

PRESIDENT KAUNDA of Zambia told a reporter: "I think the Archbishop is simply being Christian when he advocates the use of troops to prevent a unilateral declaration of independence, because I believe all thinking people want to prevent bloodshed".

MR. EDWARD HUTTON wrote: "Last time we used force in answer to a unilateral declaration of independence we were defeated and the result was the United States of America. Nor did we do any good to the natives".

The elders of St. Cuthbert's Anglican Church, Gwelo, cabled the Archbishop saying that they were appalled by his statement.

Earl of Dalhousie's Protest

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE who was Governor-General of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland from 1956 to 1963, telegraphed to Dr. Ramsey suggesting that he should cancel his proposed appearance on television on Sunday night, "and instead let the Church lead the country in prayer for a peaceful and honourable solution to the Rhodesian problem".

Among letters published by *The Times* was one from VISCOUNT BOYD OF MERTON, who wrote:—

"How can Dr. Ramsey believe that the analogy which he draws between the invasion of Poland and U.D.I. can do anything but strengthen the resolve of the Rhodesian Government to work out its own salvation and cut loose from a country which seems so utterly incapable of understanding the tragic reality of the dilemma which faces Rhodesia?"

"It is right that the Church should express a Christian view on great issues. But how can there be a Christian view on the efficacy of economic sanctions or of military intervention? It is a matter of judgment which will vary among Christians as it does among atheists or agnostics. The Archbishop is entitled to his opinion that people of British stock are likely to be brought to heel by threats, but when he voices it he is not expressing the Christian view, only his own."

LORD FORESTER—who recently returned from his annual visit to his farm in Rhodesia—said:—

"I am appalled at the attitude of the Archbishop in suggesting that force should be used against Rhodesia in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence. To think of the clerical head of our Church advocating the killing by British troops of their white kith and kin who helped so nobly to save his and our skins some 75 years ago!

"I have always prided myself on being a good churchman and am patron of three livings and six churches. But it now seems a choice of turning to the Roman Catholic or Dutch Reformed Church, who seem less bloodthirsty."

LORD COLERAINE asked:—

"Is it not too readily taken for granted (and not only by Dr. Ramsey) that God's will is expressed by the principle of majority rule in a tribal society which, if experience is any guide, is quite incapable of applying it effectively? Would we not do well to ask ourselves where in Africa majority rule has

added to the freedom of the African or to his security, and where it has advanced either his material or his spiritual condition? Are we not perhaps confusing God's will with the world's opinion?"

THE EARL OF SOUTHBESK said:—
"I am astounded to think that the Archbishop of Canterbury wishes our troops to fight against our most loyal and prosperous Colony because they do not wish to hand over the country that they have created and made prosperous to a handful of political agitators.

"If the Archbishop upholds the practice that has proved futile in Africa, namely universal suffrage, he should resign his office and stand for election by all members of the Church of England.

"He was no doubt chosen to be Archbishop because he seemed to be the most suitable man to fill the post. In the same way the white population of Rhodesia consider that they obtain the best Government by their present franchise as agreed to by Great Britain in 1961. Allow them to settle their own affairs."

Wrong Advice at the Wrong Moment

ADMIRAL SIR RICHARD ONSLOW said:—

"The Archbishop has misled himself if he thinks that a great body of Christian opinion in this country would support the use of force against Rhodesia. Even were he right he could not have chosen a less appropriate moment to say so. He has virtually uttered a threat against the Rhodesian Government at a moment when the Queen's wise and understanding letter had just been delivered to Mr. Smith, and in the middle of the most delicate negotiations which we must all pray will be successful.

"I believe that the great body of Christian opinion in this country would be firmly against such an un-Christian act as the use of force. Most of our countrymen were, I am sure, deeply relieved when Mr. Bottomley recently made a public statement that on no account was the use of force contemplated by the Government.

"Such a step would split this country as it has not been split since the Civil War, not even at the time of the Suez crisis. Our soldiers, sailors and airmen fought and died in two world wars—fighting incidentally alongside their comrades from Rhodesia—because they knew their cause was just. To ask them to fight against those same comrades for a cause in which most of them cannot believe should be repugnant to our Government and our people.

"That the Rhodesian Government has been foolish no one can gainsay; that it has been wicked no one has suggested. In a family you do not punish foolishness with the stick.

"The Archbishop has not to my knowledge yet ordained a special day of prayer for Rhodesia, and I wonder in how many parishes were special prayers said last Sunday. Let him put first things first."

Killing Europeans to Enforce Coloured Claims

SIR GUY NOTT-BOWER wrote:—

"Dr. Ramsey cannot run away from the logic of his clarion call. 'Force' in this context can only mean military force, and military force means shooting—and killing—in this case the killing of white settlers to enforce the claims of the coloured majority. Whether such killings were done by British troops (a possibility which Dr. Ramsey does not seem to rule out), or by a U.N. mixed force, or by invading troops from other African States, is immaterial. I remember a Commandment which takes a poor view of killing. Had Dr. Ramsey forgotten it, or just written it off in an excess of political enthusiasm? Almost as bad as the substance of his pronouncement is the timing of it—at this supreme crisis of the negotiations?"

SIR MILES CLIFFORD, a former Colonial Governor, commented:—

"The Archbishop's pronouncement will have aroused feelings of disquiet if not of dismay in the hearts of many Christian people. At a moment when the two Prime Ministers are striving to find a way out of an agonizing situation nothing, surely, could have been more ill-conceived or ill-timed. There can be few supporters of U.D.I. in this country, but even the most loyal Anglican among its opponents cannot fail to contrast the efforts of His Holiness the Pope, directed always towards peace, with those of His Grace in supporting the rule of force."

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR EDWARD SPEARS wrote of "turbulent priests":—

"Unlike the Archbishop of Canterbury, the great majority of the British people deprecate the use of force—even for such a desirable object as ridding ourselves of turbulent priests. But is there no means other than those employed by Henry II for dealing with hierophants too prone to meddle in matters which should not be the concern of men of God?"

SIR COLIN GUBBINS said:—

"The Archbishop's recommendation for the use, in certain circumstances, of force against Rhodesia boils down to the

advocacy that Christian shall kill Christian so that Christianity shall eventually perish in that far-off country. Have we all gone mad?"

MRS. COLMA FINCH pointed out that minority rule in an illiterate country is not a moral offence, and continued:—

"Britain can now show her value to the world by her efforts at reconciliation, not only with Rhodesia but in the task of reconciling her children to each other—even in their differences—as did another father of a prophet. If force is used it may well set fire to a conflagration throughout Africa."

MR. D. E. WATTS, headmaster of Kingshead School, Hoylake, Cheshire:—

"St. Paul said: 'Love looks for a way of being constructive.' How different was the Queen's constructive and gracious message to Mr. Smith from the shocking call of the Archbishop to Christians to beat their ploughshares into swords and to use force against Christians in Rhodesia.

"By all means let us help to train Africans in the skills and wisdom to enable them to become the managers, professors, technologists and future rulers without a lowering of Western and Christian standards. Perhaps we could also agree to finance a Department of Racial Harmony there which would promote understanding between her peoples. But let us always look for a way of building up in love. Do not let us be destructive whether of the economic life, law and order, or human life."

ARCHBISHOP JOOST DE BLANK, **CANON EDWARD CARPENTER**, **CANON MAX WARREN** and the **REV. MICHAEL STANCLIFFE** wrote:—

"Do the critics have any idea of the emotional climate in Africa today and the highly charged atmosphere of suspicion and hatred which is waiting to explode? The Prime Minister certainly is aware of it. He has taken every possible step to save an ugly situation from developing.

"The Archbishop made the eminently reasonable statement that if the Government of this country was compelled in given circumstances to use force, it would have the support of a large measure of Christian opinion. Dr. Ramsey spoke of no widespread military operation but of such force as would be necessary to maintain law and order in a territory for whose welfare we are morally responsible, and thus to localize what is potentially a continent-wide conflict. We submit that when the issue is looked at carefully, and in the light of all the factors in the African situation, the Archbishop rightly gauged a very large measure of opinion in this country."

Why They Dissented

THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON, **LORD BALERNO**, **LORD WEMYSS**, and the **VERY REV. DR. NEVILLE DAVIDSON** were among the signatories of a letter explaining why they and others were in favour of the amendment which was rejected by the British Council of Churches. They wrote:—

"Although the use of force was not explicitly mentioned in the motion, the council voted by an overwhelming majority that the British Government should be 'prepared to resume responsibility for Government in Rhodesia'. Those who advocated the rejected amendment did so on the ground that it was not for the Churches to suggest a course of action which might involve the use of force, least of all at a moment when delicate negotiations were in progress and when Government and Opposition alike had studiously refrained from doing so.

"The Churches, with their honourable record of service to the people of Rhodesia and their almost unique knowledge of the conditions of those four million in Rhodesia who have no voice, should in our view be the last to suggest that to their present sorrows might be added the agonizing possibility of civil war. We believe that the Churches have a ministry of reconciliation to perform, and that the carrying out of this essential responsibility must not be prejudiced."

CANON T. P. BACKHOUSE wrote, from Caistor St. Edmund, Norwich:—

"The one way not to produce a settlement in Rhodesia is the threat to use force. Mr. Wilson is not such a fool as to attempt to obtain a settlement by this threat. If this threat by the Archbishop stops Mr. Smith coming to an agreement, the Archbishop will bear a very heavy responsibility indeed. In any case the use of force would be an un-Christian way of solving the problem."

MR. CLIVE HOWSON, of Copeland House, Stoke-on-Trent, said:—

"As a Christian layman active in politics I was dismayed that the head of the Church in Britain by apostolic succession and of the Anglican Communion by courtesy should declare it right for Christians to support the use of British arms to protect the rights of the majority in Rhodesia who are, quite clearly, not being oppressed.

"I was also interested to read on the same day the statement of the Dalai Lama that, although Tibet was now under the yoke of the most ruthless imperialists who wanted to own you

body and soul and then 'destroy both', he did not think arms could help Tibetans recover their liberty. He quoted the case of Vietnam as a country where the use of armed force had brought no benefit to the people.

"Would someone explain which religious hierarch is nearer to the reconciling passion of Christ?"

Letters from Major Lewis Hastings, the Earl of Southesk, Lord Forester, and Sir Edward Spears were published by the *Daily Telegraph*.

Where Do Virtue and Loyalty Rest?

MAJOR HASTINGS wrote:—

"When Archbishops agree with Communists and other doubtful allies that the way to 'discharge our obligations' to Rhodesia is to use armed force against the British who have made the country, it is time to have another hard look at the facts.

"Argument has been almost obsessively concerned with the legal aspect—more than usually suspect since there is no real precedent for the Rhodesian affair—and emotive words like 'treason' and 'rebellion' have been used to reconcile people to fratricide as a solution.

But in actual fact what sort of situation shall we be facing when all these discussions and negotiations are ended? Suppose, for instance, that Ian Smith and his Ministers are driven to declare independence. There will at once be certain consequential disadvantages, such as loss of the preference, but unless sanctions or force are used to wreck the economy Rhodesia will remain deeply attached to the Crown, wide open to British investment and settlement, and above all, unalterably on the side of the West in all the perils that may arise from the conflict between ourselves and militant Communism.

"On the other hand, if Rhodesia is handed over to the African nationalists, among the inevitable consequences will be repudiation of the link with the Crown, declaration of a republic, adherence to the policy of 'neutrality', and Africanization, with all its threats to the continued existence of a British minority.

"Confronted with these quite possible alternatives, where do virtue and loyalty rest? Or treason for that matter? Smith or Nkomo? Under which king, Bezouian? Perhaps someone will put this to the Council of Churches?"

Many letters were published in other papers. MR. R. D. C. BAXTER asked if British troops were to shoot down the cousins, uncles, brothers, or sons who had left Britain to make a home in Africa—and merely for a difference of political opinion.

JAMES BARLOW pointed out that some 400,000 political refugees were still wandering about Africa, much of which was in the grip of famine. Did the Archbishop really believe Britain to be 100% right and Rhodesia 100% wrong in the controversy?

DR. ROBERT STILL emphasized that the choice was between those who want immediate political freedom for coloured Rhodesians and those who, taking a cool look at what has already happened in Africa, would prefer a more gradual evolution backed by intensive education".

Clerical Views

DR. STOCKWOOD, Bishop of Southwark, supported the Archbishop, saying: "Should negotiations break down and the Rhodesian Government set aside the law, it would be the responsibility of the British Government to see that the law was respected".

In the absence in Rome for the Vatican Council of CARDINAL HEENAN, a Roman Catholic spokesman said from Archbishop's House, Westminster: "I am sure that we all agree with what the Archbishop has said. Obviously he has put it most carefully".

THE REV. F. NOBLE, chairman of the Anglohan Pacifist Fellowship, and Vicar of St. Paul's, Orpington, regarded the mention of force by the Grimate as most regrettable, "especially as some of the newly established nations in Africa, predominantly black, are spoiling for a fight against white racialists".

LORD SOPER, president of the Methodist Conference, thought the Archbishop's statement "shocking".

CANON L. J. COLLINS, proctor of St. Paul's Cathedral, described the statement as "deplorable, being framed on a narrow, unrealistic basis at a time when the whole emphasis of world opinion is on international co-operation through the United Nations". He added: "In my own experience the Archbishop has been reluctant to involve the Church in politics, and was indeed particularly hesitant in associating himself with a Christian Action effort to ask the Rhodesian Government to show clemency to an African political prisoner awaiting execution. He now makes a ham-handed political statement".

"Onward, Christian Soldiers, Shoot your Kith and Kin"

Members of Parliament in Britain were quick to criticize.

An M.P. who is a close colleague of the Prime Minister but did not want his name published told reporters: "This was a fine time to sing: 'Onward, Christian Soldiers, shoot your kith and kin'".

MR. JO GRIMOND, the Liberal leader, and MR. ELDON GRIFFITHS, Tory M.P. for Bury St. Edmunds, reproached the Archbishop for a most untimely intervention.

MR. BERNARD BRAINE and MR. GILBERT LONGDEN, Conservative members respectively for South East Essex and South West Hertfordshire, said jointly: "We deeply deplore the shocking suggestion made by the Archbishop. It is bad enough that any Christian should suggest that British soldiers and airmen should be sent to fight British Rhodesians. It is incomprehensible that such intemperate language should be used when our Prime Minister is seeking to secure a peaceful and honourable settlement on the spot".

SIR FREDERIC BENNETT, M.P. for Torquay, and vice-chairman of the Conservative Committee on Commonwealth Affairs, thought it singularly unfortunate to equate the British obligation to defend Poland against Nazi Germany with "our use of force because of a constitutional dispute with our kinsmen" in Rhodesia. "The speech seems to me nearly as big a political blunder on our side as the detention of Mr. Garfield Todd on the part of the Rhodesian Government".

MR. A. R. WISE, Tory M.P. for Rugby, said that he was an Anglican who had read the Archbishop's statement with "horror".

"Blood is to be shed with the Archbishop's blessing, not in defence of our faith or our country, but to impose a particular political system. The Archbishop must admit that the use of force in Rhodesia carries with it the risk of producing a state of affairs like that which the imposition of majority rule produced in the Congo.

"Clearly he regards that risk as worth taking. The murdered priests and raped nuns of the Congo are to him just minor incidents in the founding of the political system to which he is attached. What else were the Nazis trying to do with their new order except to impose a political system by the use of force?"

Socialist and Liberal Support

Twenty-three Socialist M.P.s sent the Archbishop a telegram congratulating him on his courageous stand. They were:

Mr. Heffer, Mr. W. W. Hamilton, Mr. Hamling, Mr. Monslow, Mr. Wood, Mr. Walden, Mr. Carmichael, Mr. Barnett, Mr. Ogden, Mrs. Shirley Williams, Mr. Newens, Mr. Ennals, Mr. Michael Foot, Mr. Derek Page, Mr. Oakes, Mr. Rose, Mr. Crawshaw, Mr. Buchan, Mr. Dalryell, Mr. Molloy, Mr. Richard, Mrs. Renee Short, and Mr. Gregory.

The telegram read: "The undermentioned M.P.s wish to congratulate you and the Council of Churches on your excellent and courageous stand over Rhodesia. We recognise that you rightly consider that this is a matter of national concern. Let us hope that a peaceful settlement will be reached, but not at the expense of fundamental human principles".

Later nine other Labour M.P.s sent a very similar telegram. They were: Mrs. Anne Kerr, Mr. Driberg, Mr. Zilliacus, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Orme, Mr. Will Griffiths, Mr. Lipton, and Mr. Maxwell.

Three Liberal M.P.s also wired their support. SIR GERALD NABARRO, former M.P., and now candidate for Worcestershire South, telegraphed to Dr. Ramsey:

"As Anglican churchman I deplore and deeply resent your translation from pulpit to party politics and your condoning employment of force against Ian Smith and his British patriots, the white Rhodesians, who have come to our aid in two world wars. Recommend you leave party politics to politicians, to prevent recurrence of your cardinal blunder in advocating employment of force and shooting down of Britons in Rhodesia".

MISS NANCY SEEAR, president of the Liberal Party, said:—

"Creeping independence will be met by creeping sanctions, and we need to face what this may mean. I take it that this is what the Archbishop of Canterbury is attempting to make us do, and I am at a loss to understand why so many voices have been raised in disapproval against him. If highly intelligent religious leaders are not supposed to help us clarify moral issues, what are they supposed to do?"

On the Wednesday evening DR. RAMSEY defended his statement, saying in a B.B.C. interview:

"A unilateral declaration of independence by Rhodesia would lead to violence too tragic to contemplate, and it is the business of the Christian Churches to express the

Christian conscience. What we said was that if in the judgment of statesmen it is practicable to use force, we believe the Christian conscience should allow the use of force, in the nature of a police force, in order to forestall and prevent more indiscriminate kinds of force and violence".

Of his reference to Poland the Primate said: "In 1939 there was an obligation to defend Poland. Now there is the obligation to protect the rights and progress of all races in Rhodesia".

"Primate Militant" was the heading to a *Daily Telegraph* leader, reading:

"Most members of the Church of England will deeply regret the assertion by the Archbishop that, if the Government thought it desirable to use force in Rhodesia, Christians would think it right to say that force should be used.

"They will resent his observation that the great body of Christian opinion in this country would support him in his justification of armed force against our own kin, for the simple reason that he is manifestly wrong. Their regret at his more basic judgment on the use of force, which means shooting and killing, will be more fundamental. If an archbishop is to give his authority to war against our own kin, it is at least better not done at a moment which makes it appear a political pronouncement.

"If the Church is to care for the consciences of its members, it must surely seek to teach a right moral attitude to inescapable political questions, not to uphold the justice of hypothetical political decisions and thereby inevitably advocate the political decisions themselves. In this case, moreover, Dr. Ramsey has entered the political field in an extreme position, for it has seemed clear that Mr. Wilson would not use British Forces in Rhodesia. Dr. Ramsey's incursion cannot but cause distress to the great majority of Anglicans.

"Dr. Ramsey made his speech at the British Council of Churches, in which an element consists of one or two churches and missionary societies which are up to their necks in African politics. Before the meeting was a long resolution full of political detail, which was not suitable either to the council's nature or to its knowledge and which exposed divisions of viewpoint which were political rather than religious. It is unfortunate that the Archbishop chose this background for an utterance politically so highly charged. It was still more unfortunate that he uttered it at all".

"Progressives"

The diarist, "PETER SIMPLE", said:—
"The fact that even Lord Soper, usually an automatic supporter of 'progressive' causes, disagrees with the Archbishop of Canterbury's remarks approving the use of force to coerce the people of Rhodesia is a measure of their unusual strangeness.

"Dr. Ramsey compares the hubbub over Rhodesia with the crisis over Poland when we went to war against Germany in 1939. He might have developed his idea in greater details. Poland in 1939 was no democracy in any but a formal sense. It was a State in which a majority of peasants was ruled with tolerable mildness by generals and landowners, just as in Rhodesia a majority of Africans is ruled with tolerable mildness by farmers and businessmen. As Poland in 1939 was threatened with invasion by Nazi Germany, so Rhodesia is now threatened with invasion by the newly independent, often quasi-Fascist African countries just as soon as they have got some forces to invade it with.

"Does the fact that in 1939 all the people concerned were white, whereas in 1965 some are white and some are black, alter the case entirely? Isn't there a strong suggestion of 'racialism' in such arguments?"

"If the two cases are closely compared, the 'progressive' conclusion might be that we ought in 1939 to have gone to war not to support the Polish Government but to overthrow it, presumably with the approval and help of Nazi Germany. We should at least have had the satisfaction of knowing we were going with the current wind of change and of being on the winning side".

The *Guardian* asked whether Britain would sanction an invasion of Rhodesia in which British and Rhodesian troops, black and white, would be killed.

"Such a prospect is terrible to imagine. Yet it may have to be faced. Mr. Wilson in his letter to Mr. Smith before flying to Salisbury said plainly that in seeking conditions in which Rhodesia could become independent there are certain basic matters of conscience, of honour, and of duty to which all parties in this country have consistently adhered. Where, then, do the obligations of conscience, honour, and duty cease? If conscience were satisfied by dissociating ourselves from Rhodesia, and honour were met by refusing commercial dealings with the rebel State, duty would still require that Britain did everything in its power to prevent the Africans, whose well-being is still our responsibility, from passing under the perpetual control of a minority determined to rule for its own ends. The resolution of the Council of Churches went further

in this direction than did the Archbishop.

"Britain can resume government only by using military force. It would have been easier for the Churches to confine themselves to the immediate problem of stopping or countering U.D.I. They chose instead to examine the Rhodesian dilemma in its full depth, and they surely deserve thanks for doing so. Whether Britain gives an absolute or a qualified 'No' to the ignoble ambitions of the Rhodesian Front is a moral question on which the Churches have a duty to speak".

Five of 28 Bishops Agreed

The *Daily Mail* tried to talk to all the Anglican diocesan bishops in England, and managed to speak to 28. Only five agreed with the Archbishop. Twelve disagreed, nine preferred neither to support nor criticize his statement, and two were not sure of their reactions.

Of the five who supported Dr. Ramsey two said that they did so with qualifications on the timing of his remarks. Of the 28 who spoke to representatives of the paper, all but three did so on the understanding that their names would not be published. The three who said that they agreed with the Archbishop were the Bishops of Blackburn, Manchester, and Hereford.

The Rt. Rev. MARK HODSON, Bishop of Hereford, recently returned from a visit to Africa, considered that in the event of U.D.I. Britain should use force against Rhodesia. "Our country will have to join in a United Nations force to keep the peace and support a United Nations policy, not necessarily the British Government's policy". A unilateral declaration of independence would have repercussions all over Africa and result in "terrible bloodshed".

"Shock from the Church" was the caption of a *Daily Mail* criticism, which contained these passages:—

"Apart from anything else, the statement was deplorably ill-timed. It was alien to the spirit of good will in the Queen's letter to Mr. Ian Smith and was made at a most delicate moment in present negotiations.

"Coming from the ecclesiastical head of the Established Church, it was the kind of thing most likely to cause the white minority to dig in their heels and bring on the very situation most feared.

"What possible connexion is there between the British obligations to Poland in 1939 and our duty to Rhodesia now? Poland, a Christian country, was the victim of naked aggression from a barbarous and pagan ideology. The British people were pledged to help her and staked all to honour their word. Our obligation in Rhodesia is to give self-government to all the people of that country, and the utmost will be done to fulfil it.

"But does this mean that we must take fire and sword to the smaller part of the population to assert the political rights of the majority? A few people think it right to do so, but it is strange to find the Archbishop among them.

"We are unable to share his conviction that a great body of Christian opinion in Britain supports him. Such sentiments would do nothing to strengthen the weakening hold of the Church upon the nation. We believe that, irrespective of sect, Christian opinion inclines more to the words of the Pope to the U.N.: 'No more war; war never again. If you wish to be brothers, let the arms fall from your hands'. It is a great pity Dr. Ramsey did not endorse them".

Unfortunate Timing

The *Scotsman* was hesitant, saying (in part):—

"While Mr. Wilson is in Salisbury perseveringly seeking peace it is good diplomacy to suspend talk about failure and the consequences. The timing of the resolution of the British Council of Churches at their Aberdeen meeting was a little unfortunate, but it is realistic, courageous, and free from evasive platitudes.

Dr. Ramsey argued that in certain circumstances it would be proper to use force. Obviously it would be a last resort. Surely it is not advocating the use of force to say that it would be justified in circumstances which, we earnestly hope, will not arise. The United Nations Trusteeship Committee is likely to carry a much more militant resolution.

"U.D.I. might precipitate strife within and outside Rhodesia. Even if the British Council of Churches kept discreetly silent about the possibility of force, the spectre of violence would still haunt us".

The League of Empire Loyalists sent a protest to the Archbishop "against your abominable encouragement of the idea that the British people should use force against their kinsmen in Rhodesia".

The *Daily Mail* said on Friday that it had seldom had so heavy correspondence on any issue, and that not one of the large number of letters received had sided with the Archbishop.

The Perth and Stirling synod of the Church of Scotland, unanimously approved a resolution on Thursday dissociating itself from the Archbishop's statement.

Archbishop on Television Questioned About His Statement

AT THE OUTSET of the Sunday television interview the ARCHBISHOP said that he believed that he had been right to speak as he had done. He had not advocated the use of force but had pleaded for reconciliation, referring afterwards to what might be necessary in certain eventualities.

"By force, were you thinking primarily of some immediate military action on U.D.I. or of the British Government possibly having to take over the government of Rhodesia and then possibly having to use force to defend its authority?"

"I meant exactly the latter. This is not a matter of invading foreign countries; it is a matter of the responsibility of our country and Government for order and progress in certain territories.

"If, finding itself charged with that responsibility, our Government found it had to use police force—it would be the nature of the force, the force of police operations—if the tragedy of U.D.I. were to happen, there might be terrible violence. If it happened with any thought that we had acquiesced in it, there might be terrible violence. In the last resort it is necessary for a police law-and-order use of force by Christians in order to forestall and prevent terrible violence."

"Do you think that perhaps there was a certain error of judgment in stressing what is after all a rather improbably hypothetical possibility of the use of force, rather than emphasizing the main moral point, which is that black Africans and white Rhodesians are equally Christian?"

Avoiding Generalizations

"No. Here was a responsible, representative Christian Council representing nearly all the churches in this country, not meeting again for some time, and it was charged with forming a moral judgment over the whole ground. That meant urgent pleas for reconciliation; pleas for negotiation, but it also meant saying what the Christian conscience would allow if certain tragic circumstances were to happen.

"It is no use talking in a general way about assuming responsibility, as some previous resolutions have done, without making it clear that it might mean the use of force; and if, alas, it did and was thought necessary by responsible statesmen, then the Christian conscience would support it."

"Some of the criticism of your remarks has been that you were verging on the technical field."

"If so, they either did not listen or misreported me. Those who heard me and have read my words accurately know that I was deliberately refraining from invading the technical field. I was leaving the technical field to the judgment of statesmen with the knowledge on the spot, but saying that if in the end they were driven to certain conclusions or actions, then, what would the Christian conscience say?"

"I think the impression that some people took was that whereas the Prime Minister had ruled out the use of force, you were almost encouraging him to use it."

"The Prime Minister had made no reference of force when the council passed its resolutions and when I spoke. Of course, we backed the Prime Minister in not encouraging either side in the dispute to look to the use of force, but nonetheless, in the total range of possibilities, occasions for use of force might arise. If they did, it is right for the Christian conscience to be armed with judgement over the whole range of possibilities."

The Church and Politics

"Some people have suggested that this was an exclusively political matter."

"It is the duty of the Church to speak plainly on matters of Christian conscience. We have to say as Christians that *apartheid* is wrong; we have to say that our obligations for the progress of all the peoples in any territory for which our country is responsible are sacred obligations. It is for the Christian conscience to say in what circumstances it might be necessary to use certain kinds of force, unless, of course, we're just merely pacifists."

"Are there any political circumstances in which the Church has no right to intervene?"

"Very often the Church has no right to say that the Christian policy is this, or that, where it is a matter of technical Christian not technical political knowledge. But it is necessary for the Christian church to say what is or is not congruous to Christian conscience."

"You have said that a great body of Christian opinion is behind you in sanctioning the use of force if necessary. How do you arrive at this?"

"My view of the degree of support is from the character of the British Council of Churches—a body of responsible

Christian laity and clergy from nearly all the Churches of England; and it passed this particular resolution by 60 votes to five. It was a resolution pleading for the support of the forces of reconciliation but yet saying that it might be necessary for the Government to resume control—that means, continue its long-time British obligations towards the territories and that might imply force of a kind."

Asked if he had anything wider than his remarks of last Tuesday to say, Dr. Ramsey replied: "The constant plea that Christian people should go on praying with charity and understanding for our Government and all the peoples of Rhodesia for the African peoples and for the white Rhodesians, and for Mr. Smith, and for his Government; and though the logic of discussions may again and again look like a breakdown, when it comes to the human discussions and human problems, there are human factors, and beyond those human factors divine factors which can even now be working for constitutional settlement."

Other Views

DR. NEVILLE DAVIDSON, former Moderator of the Church of Scotland, held that the Church was under duty to express its views on Christian doctrine and justice, but that it was for the Government to translate such principles into economic or political action.

Even in the event of U.D.I. he could not believe that the Church should encourage a policy which might lead to bloodshed and civil war. The Church should always speak of reconciliation and charity. Its words must be constructive, creative, and in accord with the great Christian principles.

THE REV. GEORGE MACLEOD, a self-confessed pacifist, supported the Archbishop.

MR. NATHAN SHAMUYARIRA said that as a Christian he abhorred violence but feared that there was no way but that of violence for the Africans in Rhodesia to gain their rights.

A Canadian Embassy in Addis Ababa has just been opened. While he was cutting grass a Rhodesian African was attacked by a cock ostrich.

An elephant has been killed by a train on the line between Bulawayo and Victoria Falls.

A European in Rhodesia has been fined £75 for shooting a waterbuck in a national park at night.

A £5m. local loan at 6½% was issued at par on Monday by the Government of Zambia. It is repayable in 1989.

Seven Uganda African magistrates have arrived in Jerusalem to take a nine-month course at the Hebrew University.

Local authority expenditure in Kenya is costing more than £18m. a year, approximately 6½% of the national budget.

The President of the Congo Senate is officially stated to have reminded the Papal Nuncio to keep out of Congolese politics.

Motorists convicted in Zambia of causing death by reckless or dangerous driving may now be jailed for five years and fined £500.

Twenty-five Africans from Uganda are taking the one-year agricultural course in the Yad Nathan Agricultural College in Acre, Israel.

The Yugoslav Institute of Geological and Geophysical Research is to examine iron ore deposits in the Mumbwa district for the Government of Zambia.

Two Africans in Rhodesia charged with the illegal hunting of a rhinoceros pleaded that they had mistaken it for a lion. They have six months in jail for reflection.

The Swedish International Development Fund is lending £2m. to the Sudan Government for rural water supply projects. The loan, for 15 years, bears interest at only 2%.

The Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) has said that it is preparing to move its headquarters from Dar-es-Salaam to an area in Northern Mozambique now under the control of "freedom fighters".

Because about half of Kenya's four million Africans still decline to eat fish on account of tribal superstitions, the Ministry of Natural Resources has begun a campaign to popularize fish-eating as a readily available form of protein.

In a clash in north-eastern Kenya 15 Kenya African soldiers and seven Somali nationalists are reported to have been killed. When making the announcement Radio Mogadishu said that Kenya official statements had admitted only two concealed "because of the demoralized state of Kenya military and police units".

Mr. Shamuyarira on the Problem

Hopeful of Nationalist Reconciliation

MR. NATHAN SHAMUYARIRA arrived in London from the United States last Thursday in connexion with the publication next day of his book "The Crisis in Rhodesia" (which will be reviewed in due course by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA). He flew back on Saturday.

He is financial secretary of the Zimbabwe African National Union, which has been proscribed in Rhodesia, but has, he told a news conference, substantial support in America. The party is known to receive considerable funds from the Organization of African Unity.

While he was editor-in-chief of a newspaper in Salisbury read mainly by Africans, Mr. Shamuyarira strongly supported the policy of multi-racialism, and he was a firm advocate of the Federation until 1957. With the defeat of Mr. Garfield Todd as Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, however, he felt that "European intransigence towards the African would harden and that multi-racialism had lost its last chance. What might have been a very promising multi-racial society may now be the centre of a bloody racial war", he told the Press.

The 1961 Constitution was absolutely rejected by the two African nationalist parties, which had come much more closely together and were now divided only by personal issues.

Two Years of Delay At Most

After months of endeavours at conciliation, the Organization of African Unity had recognized at its recent conference in Accra that Mr. Sithole could not be asked to serve under Mr. Nkomo in a National Front party or Mr. Nkomo under Mr. Sithole, and it had therefore been suggested that they should become joint leaders of a united party with a strong executive. Mr. Shamuyarira could not predict what the response would be but he was hopeful.

It was essential that a constitutional conference of representatives of all sections in Rhodesia should draft a new Constitution which would safeguard minority rights and give power to the African majority. Four years ago the African political leaders had been willing to wait five years for a majority in Government. Now it was unlikely that they would accept more than two years of delay as a maximum before becoming the Government.

Rhodesia, he insisted, had more Africans capable of discharging the tasks involved than almost any of the territories to the north. There were at least 500 Rhodesian African graduates. In the United States alone there were 30 holding degrees in administration who were eager to return home. "We could form a Government tomorrow", he said.

Black Magnanimity the Only Safeguard

"The only real safeguard for the white minority is the magnanimity of the African majority, which has still sufficient goodwill to live and work side by side with the whites. Our objection is to living in their own motherland as second-class citizens.

"Britain has created Rhodesia's problem by her past weakness and should solve it. If a unilateral declaration of independence is made there should be intervention by British troops. Otherwise we Africans shall have to find means to bring about social justice, for which our people will fight. U.D.I. would make us feel that we had been let down by Britain, and we should fight for our independence from the roads and from the bush."

Asked about his book, Mr. Shamuyarira said that its central message was that Rhodesia's tragic situation had resulted from Britain's neglect of her responsibilities in Rhodesia and the consequent hardening of local white opinion, which had brought a rising demand among Africans for their rights. He was essentially a journalist, with the ambition to edit a newspaper in Salisbury, but in the Rhodesian situation there could be no escape from involvement in politics.

Last year a warrant had been issued for his arrest on a charge of having made a subversive statement. He had managed to leave the country without the Government's knowledge, but intended to go back next June.

Rhodesia had a net gain of 615 immigrants in September, entrants numbering 1,016 and emigrants 401. During the first nine months of the year the gain was 2,925, immigrants numbering 8,137 and emigrants 5,212.

No Protests Against Blasphemy

Critics Who Have Flirted with Communism

"CONSIDERING THE SILENCE of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the British Council of Churches over blasphemy from Accra to Zanzibar and their muted voices over the torture and roasting alive of nuns, priests, and missionaries in the Congo and elsewhere, it is surprising to have these disgraceful attacks from this quarter on the people who have created and are sustaining civilization in Rhodesia", said Mr. Harold Soref, last week when he addressed the South Africa Society, in the place of Brigadier Andrew Skeen, the Rhodesian High Commissioner, who had been called to Salisbury.

"The international opinion, which is alleged to be against Rhodesia, does not exist", Mr. Soref said. In recent years Britain had abdicated not only her authority but her interests. She had countenanced and supported nationalism for everyone except Britain and her allies. It would be shameful for Rhodesia to be sacrificed in that pursuit.

B.B.C. Poisoned the Atmosphere

One of the main culprits, he maintained, was the B.B.C., which had poisoned the atmosphere over Rhodesia, shown venom against the white population, and created an atmosphere of hate. It was significant that the experts on Africa tended to be men with slanted views who were known for their detestation of the existing Government. Double standards had been employed, and wherever possible the white man was made to appear to be in the wrong.

If the present process of black domination under pan-Africanism continued, it would inevitably lead to black domination in the Commonwealth, and not impossibly later of this country.

Many of the people most hostile to Rhodesia had flirted blatantly with Soviet Russia and Red China.

The Rev. Mr. Sithole, one of the African nationalist leaders whom Mr. Harold Wilson had just consulted in Salisbury, had been reported some time ago to have inspected Rhodesian Africans who were being trained in subversion and military tactics in Red China.

Pressure from the Afro-Asian bloc, the American State Department, the Communist Powers, and Presidents Nkrumah, Nyerere and Kenyatta was being given precedence over the real interests of the people of Rhodesia, black and white.

Professor Manning presided.

Cant, Prejudice and Threats

THE HON. ROBERT BOSCAWEN, prospective Conservative candidate for the constituency, said in Falmouth a few days ago that the Rhodesian issue had been confused by cant and prejudice in Britain; that white Rhodesians, activated by acute fears for their future, had sometimes been driven to extreme views by abuse and threats from Britain; and that the Archbishop's reference to the use of force would be widely misunderstood and leave a lasting impression. Few white Rhodesians really wanted a unilateral declaration of independence, but most would regard it as a lesser evil than premature black rule. Britain could and should boost tremendously secondary and university education in Rhodesia in order to promote a peaceful transition. Such action would be much better than threats.

Death by Crucifixion

AN AFRICAN MEMBER of the fanatical *Dini ya Msambwa* religious sect has died in Kenya from blood poisoning following crucifixion. He made a cross and ordered his wife to crucify him, so that he might "die for the sins of all Kenyans". She then died, perhaps from shock, perhaps from the suggestion that she would not outlive her husband. Villagers said that the man had talked of his crucifixion for more than a year, saying that he had been called to Heaven by Christ.

Dr. Kaunda on Zambia's Situation

President's Address to O.A.U. Conference

PRESIDENT KAUNDA said in his address to the Organization of African Unity conference in Accra, Ghana:—

"The situation in Rhodesia is very grave. A unilateral declaration of independence means white domination. The lights of justice and democracy will be extinguished, and while such a state of affairs continues there will be no hope for progress and liberty of conscience. Millions will be denied their fundamental right of sharing in the processes of government and playing their full part in the day-to-day life of a country on the fringe of development.

"Zambia's position is fraught with dangers. Our railway system and hydro-electric power supply are threatened, but we shall not be deterred from supporting the cause of right, which is the cause of Providence. Our approach is not racial, but is a human one based on the hard facts of life.

"The state of affairs in Rhodesia has been brought about by the actions of a lunatic fringe who do not represent the opinions of even the majority of white people, who have been cowed into silence. I believe that this lunatic group have not the country's interests at heart at all: they are working for themselves. They talk of civilized standards but adopt repressive measures.

"Zambia remains undaunted in the face of the threats made against us. We hold true to the principles in which we believe, principles based on non-racialism. We have done everything possible to give moral support and encouragement to those engaged in the struggle to bring about freedom and reason in the interests of the future generations in Rhodesia.

African Unity Threatened

"We have persisted in our view that a constitutional conference should be held, with all parties represented. Only when the nationalist leaders are released and the parties can talk is there any hope of a just settlement in that unhappy country. The Smith régime cannot last very long because right will prevail over might.

"We in Zambia are also being intimidated by South Africa's decision to construct an airport at Katimamulilo, just across the Zambezi in the Caprivi Strip. This airport is a direct threat to the security of Zambia, but we trust the Almighty will never allow our people to fall prey to those who have decided to intimidate us in this way.

"African unity is threatened by all these crises. The real edifice of a unified Africa must be constructed on our own most noble principles, on our own African values. But this is no small task, and there are dangers in two categories with which such an undertaking can be confronted.

"In the first category are the dangers arising from external forces which by accident or design undermine our efforts to achieve that sense of unity which is necessary for our survival and development. While many well-meaning people understand the need for African unity, others are the enemies of unity and the prophets of destruction.

"A new form of scramble for Africa may destroy for all time our noble objective. From time to time we find ourselves in the middle of the ideological struggle which is going on all around us. The nerves of African unity do not remain untouched by the cold war, but we must do our best to isolate ourselves from all ideological machinations.

"We must also try to avoid becoming the slaves of such conventional terms as socialism, democracy, capitalism, and communism, for in a changing world conventional terms do not describe precisely the objectives or fit the situation they did when they were first applied by the makers of political thought. Let us have confidence in our African way of life and remember that our duty is to the masses who entrusted us to shape the destiny of our country and of African unity, so that the benefits of a developed and harmonious society may be enjoyed by all, not just a privileged few.

"Africa's future does not depend on borrowed terms any

more than it does on borrowed ideas and borrowed money. Basically and ultimately, Africa's future must be founded on African data which must be processed through our own social, political, and economic filter, no matter what Eastern or Western political scientists may think of the result.

"But let us not be blind to our own internal problems in Africa. As never before in this new era of social and economic development, of great progress on all fronts, there is a greater need than ever for African unity if this continent is ever to catch up with and enjoy fully the pace of development which has been set by other countries. The real danger to African unity lies in Africa and in our attitude towards such unity.

"We may find it convenient to blame external forces for the frustration of our efforts towards unity, but do we all believe in the objectives, targets, goals, and programmes that we are intended to increase the pace of African unity? If we believe in African unity as the ultimate objective of every State here represented, do we believe in the elements of African unity that should be examined and implemented to bring about the birth of the United States of Africa?

Plea for Functional Unity

"A revolution in our attitudes would bring about a definite orientation in the positive cause of African unity, a definite will to struggle and work for the unity of Africa and devise strategies to bring it into being. These strategies and would have to take into account economic co-operation, improvement in communications between States, a common approach to the solution of international issues, and general agreement on policy to be followed on matters affecting the cause of Africa's common understanding of the security problems that face the nations of Africa, problems of bringing about more understanding of each others' problems and ways of life, by, for example, cultural exchanges and educational student exchanges.

"If there is agreement on the common objective, let us devise the means now, for procrastination is the thief of time, and time is a most expensive commodity in this era of competition and ideological wrangling. Let us not allow enemies to eat into the programmes that we are drawing to achieve the final objective.

"Let us talk more of areas of agreement and less of our differences, so that our task may be rendered easier. Let the differences remain buried in the sands of the past, and let the words 'Unity of Africa' resound in every home throughout Africa—for unity is strength. If we cannot achieve organic unity in Africa, at least let us have functional unity.

"We in Zambia are of the opinion that there is a need for the non-aligned States to become more active in an endeavour to eliminate the causes of existing crises and to build firm foundations for peaceful co-existence among nations. Zambia realizes that the ebb and flow of cold war politics are felt in remote areas, and we are conscious that in this nuclear era we can all be gravely affected by open hostilities between the large Powers.

"We need unceasing vigilance and patience in order that no opportunity may be lost by which we can help to promote in the field of international relations the exercise of realistic commonsense and restraint so that emotions charged with suspicion, ill-will, and lack of understanding of each other's problems have at least a chance of being overcome.

"If we can make our approach to world problems in a spirit of objectivity, guided by realism, goodwill and a genuine desire to see that justice and right prevail over force and might, then we shall serve humanity and make a real contribution to the creation of harmonious relations among the nations; this is the prime duty of every State, perhaps more so in Africa during our relentless struggle for true unity in this continent."

Ten more mutineers have been shot in Burundi.

Good rains have fallen throughout Kenya, bringing relief to drought-stricken areas.

The Government of Western Germany has given Rwanda a 50kW. radio transmitter.

The Commonwealth Economic Committee's annual report to March 31 last has just been published.

The Uganda-Congo border was re-opened to trade on Monday after being closed for eight months.

The report of the Stamp Mission to Kenya is to be discussed next week by the Minister of Overseas Development with a delegation of Kenya Ministers.

The Kenya High Commission in London, now at 45, Portland Place, W.1, is open for business only from Monday to Friday between the hours of 10.30 a.m. and 12.30 p.m. and 2.30 and 3.30 p.m.

Farms in the Rift Valley and Eastern Provinces of Kenya have been taken over by the Government on grounds of mismanagement. The areas concerned are Kericho, Machakos, Naivasha, Nanyuki, Nakuru, and the Uasin Gishu.

O.A.U. Threats to Boycott Britain

"Liberation" Activities To Be Increased

AFRICAN LEADERS attending the conference in Accra, Ghana, of the Organization of African Unity, expressed resentment at Mr. Wilson's visit to Rhodesia, and some of the delegations, including that from Zambia, told journalists that they had cabled protests to the British Prime Minister.

They added that if Britain were to negotiate independence with Rhodesia, African States in O.A.U. would withdraw from the Commonwealth, divert their trade from Britain to other countries, and withdraw their funds from British banks. Because Britain alone was responsible for Rhodesia, it was against Britain that sanctions should be imposed, said one Minister.

A communiqué said:—

"The African Heads of State and Governments called on Britain to release the leaders of the nationalist movements, Joshua Nkomo, the Rev. Sithole, and other political prisoners. They further called on Britain to call a constitutional conference in which representatives of the entire population will participate with a view to adopting a new Constitution guaranteeing universal adult suffrage, free elections, and independence.

"They called upon all Governments and all international authorities to withhold recognition of the European minority Government in the event of their declaring independence unilaterally and to apply sanctions. The leaders recommended that all O.A.U. member States use all possible means, including force, with a view to preventing a unilateral declaration of independence and to give immediate assistance to the people of Zimbabwe with a view to establishing a majority government in that country.

No Unanimity on Rhodesia

"They recommended all member States to reconsider their political, economic, diplomatic and financial relations with the Government of Britain in the event of that Government tolerating the independence of Rhodesia under a minority Government. The leaders also called in the African group at the U.N. to ensure that the request sent to the U.N. and the Security Council receives due consideration.

There was, however, no unanimity on the Rhodesian issue, Zambia and Malawi in particular criticizing draft resolutions. At the opening session, which was televised, Mr. Abdullah Osman, President of Somalia, asked, for urgent acceptance of a resolution in Rhodesia, against which Dr. Banda spoke strongly, saying that his country and Zambia were very directly affected and would not be rushed. If the issue were rushed he would not consider himself bound by it.

Three hours after the opening session Dr. Kaunda flew back to Lusaka to attend celebrations of the first anniversary of Zambian independence.

Mr. Diallo Telli, secretary-general of O.A.U., told journalists that, in addition to their resolution on Rhodesia, the African Heads of State and Government had come to decisions in other concrete measures affecting Rhodesia, the nature of which he could not reveal.

Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Nigeria, and the United Arab Republic were given responsibility for "following up" the resolution of the conference on Rhodesia.

Representatives of the two Rhodesian nationalist parties, Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U. (both of which have been banned), asked for military assistance in the event of U.D.I. The leader of the Z.A.N.U. delegation, Mr. Mpanbanqwe, was stated to have given a warning that U.D.I. would mean direct military confrontation between Africans and white Rhodesians.

Though O.A.U. has 36 member States, only 28 Heads of State and Government attended, eight French-speaking nations having declined to send representatives "for reasons of security and dignity". Thirteen countries were represented by Heads of State, six by Prime Ministers, and nine by other Ministers.

Slogans Put Before the People

President Bourguiba of Tunisia said that his absence was due to the fact that some African leaders were more concerned to shout leftist and revolutionary slogans than with the welfare of their people. The vogue for African summit conferences seemed to him a waste of time and energy, since they were not primarily concerned with the pressing problems of hunger, ill-health, illiteracy and unemployment, but with slogans about unity and solidarity which would not fill empty stomachs.

It was decided that member States should be asked to define at the next summit meeting their attitude to President Nkrumah's proposal for the creation of an executive council for O.A.U.

Sir Abubakar Balewa, Prime Minister of Nigeria, said on

his return to Lagos that that prelude to continental government was a dream which was good in itself but unrealizable when African leaders were only just beginning to know themselves and each other's difficulties and to experience the problems involved in running even one Government. Nigeria, with its Federal Government, knew the complexities of diversity in language, customs, religion, and other matters, and he could not think that an executive committee for O.A.U., a kind of continental government, could be expected in the foreseeable future. What Africa needed much more urgently was economic co-operation, starting with improved communications.

The Liberation Committee of O.A.U., hitherto often-called the Committee of Nine, was strengthened by the addition of representatives of Somalia, Zambia, and Malawi. It was agreed that the headquarters should remain in Dar es Salaam, but the committee was enjoined to ensure "fair distribution of the freedom fighters among the various sectors of any front, the aim being to avoid any large concentration of these fighters at headquarters".

The conference recommended the formation of an African Defence Organization, and that O.A.U. States should earmark units of their national armies for "specific purposes".

Seven-Point Pledge Against Subversion

A seven-point pledge said:—

"(1) We shall not allow any act of subversion to be directed from within our States against any member State of O.A.U.

"(2) We shall not permit the use of our territories for any subversive act directed by the imperialist States from outside Africa against any member State of the Organization.

"(3) (a) We shall resort to bilateral or collective consultations in order to settle all differences between two or more of our States; (b) we shall refrain from replying to any Press or radio campaigns; (c) instead, we shall adopt the measures which are laid down by the Charter and the Organization's special protocol on mediation, reconciliation, and arbitration.

"(4) (a) we pledge that we shall not permit the creation or aggravation of religious and racial problems, with the subsequent creation of elements of estrangement inside our States and between them; (b) we shall resist the creation of any problem of this kind.

"(5) As concerns all the political refugees who are nationals of any member State of the Organization, the principles of general international law shall be meticulously adhered to.

"(6) We shall, through bilateral or collective consultations, seek to encourage the voluntary return of refugees to their original countries.

"(7) We shall continue to guarantee the safety of the refugees from non-independent African territories and to support them so that they can liberate their countries."

[The pledge, it will be noted, applies only to member States of O.A.U., which are left free to continue their subversion against non-member countries, such as Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola, and South Africa.—Ed.]

Burundi, Congo (Brazzaville), Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Libya, Mali, Nigeria, Morocco, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, and Zambia were appointed to a Conciliation and Arbitration Committee.

All liberation movements in territories under Portuguese rule were enjoined to intensify their struggle for freedom, and freedom-loving countries everywhere were asked to aid such movements with political, diplomatic, and material help.

A committee was appointed to study the technical, financial, and personnel aspects of the creation of a pan-African news agency.

An Ethiopian proposal that the idea of an African union government should be studied by a six-member committee did not receive the necessary two-thirds majority.

"Mercenaries" in the Congo

President Kasavubu of the Congo told the conference that the problem of "mercenaries" in his country had to be understood in its proper context. It was all too often forgotten that they had been brought to the Congo by the Government of Katanga when it seceded, and that when that secession ended early in 1963 the Congolese Central Government inherited the political liabilities, which included the mercenaries, as well as the political assets of the Katanga situation.

On his return to Leopoldville the President said that the only mercenaries who would not be deported were those who had been recruited into the National Army. He gave the total of European volunteers as about 1,500.

Representatives of 15 nationalist movements, including Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U., decided to form a "Freedom Fighters' Commission".

President Nyerere said on his return to Dar es Salaam that he was "not happy at the way in which the Liberation Committee is working." Unless it became more active and effective in discharging its task he would ask for its headquarters to be moved elsewhere."

He thought O.A.U. was trying to do too much, imitating the United Nations, with commissions for this and that.

Mr. James Chikerema, deputy to Mr. Nkomo of Z.A.P.U., told journalists covering the Accra conference:—

"I do not think Mr. Wilson can have any respect for the Queen. Imagine a British Prime Minister leaving Whitehall to go to confer with a rebel! We expect Britain to settle the 'rebellion' of Mr. Smith's Government.

"Africans will fight in the event of U.D.I. We have given instructions to the nation. Though this would be tragic, we are going to fight the white settlers in the event of U.D.I. with stones, spears, arrows, or whatever weapons are available.

"The only thing the people of Zimbabwe expect from Britain is decisive and positive action to quell this rebellion. Already Mr. Smith and his Government have committed treason and asked other white settlers for support. Our conclusion is that Mr. Wilson is conducting a dialogue with a rebel."

A number of delegates complained that no serious attempt was made to deal with the finances of O.A.U., which were repeatedly described as "parlous".

Mr. Telli, secretary-general of O.A.U., said on his return to Tlozi Ababa that Mr. Wilson was trying to help Mr. Smith find a way to declare "a legal U.D.I." in Rhodesia, and that any agreement reached in Salisbury would be considered treacherous by O.A.U. Since Britain was fully supported by the U.S.A., both should be warned that Africa was not alone in her fight against colonialists.

Dr. Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, had not attended the conference because of the need to concentrate urgently on the five-year development plan, work on which was seriously behind schedule. He sent the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in his stead.

M.C.F. Prefers Force to Sanctions

African Violence Condoned in Advance

THE MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL FREEDOM issued the following statement:—

"Economic sanctions are very unlikely to succeed in forcing the white settler minority to abandon its aim of continued white dictatorship. M.C.F. has continuously pressed for a suspension of the Constitution and the removal of the white minority dictatorship.

"We have urged the alignment of the British Government with the African majority in establishing democracy. The refusal of successive British Administrations to follow this course has amounted to abetment of the white minority in its reactionary aims, and has underlined for Africans throughout Africa that Britain's objective has been to preserve its investments and those of its kith and kin in Southern Africa.

"Any African leader who acted in similar circumstances as Mr. Smith and his colleagues have done would have been arrested long ago. The Government found no difficulty in suspending the Constitution in Aden. Why did it rule out similar action in Rhodesia?

"If the British Government does not now suspend the Constitution and use all necessary force to implement this decision, it will be regarded as conniving in the attempt to impose permanent white minority dictatorship in Rhodesia. This will have profound repercussions on Britain's relations with the Afro-Asian countries. The Africans of Rhodesia will be left with no alternative but to resort to violence in defence of their rights, and they will receive support from every African and other nation which stands for democracy and freedom.

"M.C.F. places itself on record as fully supporting the Africans of Rhodesia in their just struggle for a free Zimbabwe, and calls on the British people to urge the Government to suspend the Constitution and call a representative conference to establish democracy and freedom in Rhodesia. This is the only course of action which can fulfil the responsibility of Britain towards the people of Rhodesia."

Lord Brockway signed as chairman and Mr. John Eber as general secretary.

M.C.F. claims a membership of three million through "nationally affiliated trade unions".

Among the "sponsors" of the movement are 90 Socialist M.Ps.

Other members include Mr. Geoffrey Bing, Q.C., Professor Ritchie Calder, Mr. John Freeman (U.K. High Commissioner in India), Sir Compton Mackenzie, Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, Mr. Paul Robeson, Lord Soper, Miss Manuela Sykes, Mr. Stanley Unwin, the Rev. Austen Williams, and the Bishop of Woolwich.

Anti-Banda Plot Details Revealed

Medson Silombela Committed to High Court

MEDSON SILOMBELA, who was described as a chief lieutenant of Mr. Chipembere, the former Minister of Education who led an abortive coup against the Malawi Government of Dr. Banda, was last week committed for trial in the High Court after a three-day preliminary hearing on a charge of having murdered a district chairman of the Malawi Congress Party.

The accused had allegedly admitted shooting not only the man named but also Chief Nyambi and six other persons. He was also stated to have revealed Mr. Chipembere's plans for the overthrow of the Government. Silombela declared those statements to be accurate, confessed his guilt.

The plan for a rebellion was, he said, discussed by him with Mr. Chipembere on the night of February 12—on which date Silombela and others attacked the Government station and police and postal buildings in Fort Johnston and killed an African woman and child.

Mr. Chipembere had, he testified, intended to make contact with the Governor-General, the commander of the Malawi Army, and the Commissioner of Police and ask them not to interfere. When the rebel party got to Liwonde, however, the ferry which should have taken them across the River Shire was out of order. They had therefore to travel more slowly by road, and that delay gave the security forces time to assemble near Zomba. The plan had consequently to be abandoned.

It was then decided to split the rebel supporters into small groups for terrorist activities against people loyal to Dr. Banda. Their activities had been helped by a gift of £200 brought to them from Tanzania.

Only Party Demands Hanging in Public

The official journal of the Malawi Congress Party, of which Dr. Banda is president, said in the course of a leading article:—

"The whole nation of Malawi and all the peace-loving people of the world received the news of Silombela's arrest with joy. Since Chipembere's attack on Fort Johnston this year there have been many more attacks on innocent men, women, and children by Chipembere's gangsters. They have plundered stores, murdered villagers, and wantonly destroyed private property. Chipembere's chief lieutenant was Silombela. The American Government has smuggled Chipembere out of the country and is keeping him in luxury in the U.S.A.

"Our Ngwazi, Dr. Kamuzu Banda, is a Christian gentleman. He is giving Silombela a fair trial according to all the tenets of justice. No other country in the world would have given Silombela a fair trial. We are happy to hear that he has been captured alive. We, the ordinary people, want to see him hanged. We cannot have our way to see Silombela hanged now. The law must take its course, and Silombela should have every opportunity to answer the people's indictment against him. The public will demand a public hanging.

"We are very strongly against the Americans for harbouring Chipembere in the U.S.A. The Central Intelligence Agency would have left no stone unturned to eliminate Silombela had he been their citizen who had rebelled against their country. This is also true of M15 of Britain and MVD of Moscow or opposite numbers behind the bamboo curtain."

Union-Castle Selling Two Liners

THE UNION-CASTLE LINE is to sell the TRANSVAAL CASTLE and the PRETORIA CASTLE, two of its passenger-carrying mailships, to the South African Marine Corporation (Safmarine), a South African Company now operating cargo liners from South Africa to Europe and North America. The South African Government is the chief shareholder through the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, and British & Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd., owners of the Union-Castle Line, are large shareholders. Safmarine, which will thus acquire a two-sevenths share in the operation of the ocean mail service to and from the U.K., is to provide the next mailship replacement, and will then provide three out of seven weekly mailships. The Union-Castle will meanwhile man, operate, and maintain the ships about to be sold and help to train South African crews. No price has been mentioned, but the two vessels are estimated to be worth about £12m.

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald's New Post Roving Representative—But Not For Uganda

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, British High Commissioner in Kenya for the past year, and previously Governor-General in that country until it became a republic, is to become a "roving" Commissioner-General in East and Central Africa.

The Government of Uganda, however, has declined to accept any change in the existing arrangements, saying that it is perfectly satisfied that communications between the British and Uganda Governments should continue to pass through Uganda's High Commissioner in London and the United Kingdom High Commissioner in Kampala.

The official announcement read:—

"The Rt. Hon. Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, at present British High Commissioner in Kenya, is to take up a new post as the Special Representative of Her Majesty's Government in a number of Commonwealth countries in East and Central Africa.

"His particular duties will be to concern himself with major matters affecting Britain's relations with two or more of them. Subject to the directions of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, he will maintain close contacts with the Governments concerned in consultation with the British High Commissioners.

"For the present Mr. MacDonald will continue to reside in Nairobi. The appointment of his successor as British High Commissioner in Kenya will be announced in due course."

There has been no precedent in Africa for a post of this kind, and it was immediately suggested that it might be a product of the situation in Rhodesia. That idea was promptly discontinued, it being emphasized that the change would not take immediate effect and had been under consideration for some time.

It was conceded that Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, and Malawi would be among the countries within Mr. MacDonald's new sphere. There was speculation that he might later be concerned with non-Commonwealth countries, such as Ethiopia and Somalia.

B.B.C. Explanation "Quite Unconvincing"

MR. N. H. HEATHCOTE, Acting High Commissioner for Rhodesia in London, wrote last week to Lord Normanbrook, chairman of the B.B.C., about his explanation of the cancellation of Mr. Ian Smith's television appearance, saying:—

"I regret that I find your explanations both regarding the cancellation of the appearance of my Prime Minister on the B.B.C. '24 Hours' programme and the bias of the report on African education to be quite unconvincing.

"I did not suggest any failure to invite my Prime Minister to appear personally on the '24 Hours' programme. I stated that negotiations for him to appear were finalized and cancelled at short notice. To describe this action in your letter first as 'the withdrawal of an invitation' and later as 'a decision not to renew the invitation' does not fit the facts, which are simply that you suppressed the appearance of my Prime Minister on the '24 Hours' programme after the fullest arrangements had been completed for him to do so. I cannot see what the frequency of Mr. Smith's appearance in news broadcasts has to do with his appearance in a current affairs programme.

"As to your explanation regarding the bias in the '24 Hours' programme dealing with African education, we are obviously unlikely to agree since you apparently consider that a programme is 'impartial' if some reference to both points of view is made or attempted. My interpretation of the word is a little different."

LORD NORMANBROOK replied:—

"I am afraid that I cannot accept your statement that I suppressed the appearance of your Prime Minister on the '24 Hours' programme on October 8 after the fullest arrangements had been completed for him to appear. Final arrangements for him to appear on that programme on that date were never made.

"I took special steps to verify this before writing my letter on October 21; and, since receiving your letter of today's date, I have again checked that the facts were as stated in my letter of October 21.

"My decision was essentially a decision not to renew an invitation which had been left open from the time when your Prime Minister declined to appear on this programme on October 4."

Military Action Without Firing A Shot Zambian Attitude to Use of Force

PRESIDENT KAUNDA of Zambia said when addressing a "national rally" in Lusaka:—

"The only country that can take military action without bloodshed is the United Kingdom. I believe up to now that the British Government can take military action without the Rhodesians fighting back. It will be a police action, only taken by the military. That is why we have in the past, as we do now, offered Zambia as a base for British troops.

"I am equally convinced that if this were left to any other Power or organization, like the United Nations or the Organization for African Unity, you would have a major conflict which would affect not only the rest of the African continent but the world as a whole. This action might answer the present problem but will certainly create many more complex problems not only for Rhodesia but for the entire continent. The problems of a cold war are too vivid in our minds to contemplate military action by the United States of America or Russia.

"This does not mean, however, that we will not support any action that might need to be taken by either the United Nations or O.A.U. in certain circumstances.

"We African leaders have been worried about the South African Government's holding of our colleagues like ex-Paramount Chief Luthuli, Mr. Sobukwe, Nelson Mandela, and others, because we have known that any heating up of violent activity will endanger their lives. Exactly the same applies to Joshua Nkomo and all others held by the Smith régime in Rhodesia.

"It is my belief that Britain could undertake military action without firing a shot—which, of course, she has done before. This is what I should like to see in Rhodesia. Bloody wars were fought in British Guiana, Kenya, and Cyprus, and currently effective military measures have been taken in Aden.

"If this belief is not realised for Rhodesia, the other means I see is a constitutional approach. Mr. Smith must be made to understand that no minority Government anywhere can continue indefinitely. It can have all the might it requires, but in the end history and commonsense demand that majority rule is the answer to problems of this nature.

"We in Zambia say to all political leaders in Rhodesia: 'You have no other satisfactory way out of your problems than sitting down around a constitutional conference table now. The only sensible thing to do is to meet, talk together, and map out your road to majority rule as quickly as is humanly possible'."

U.A.C. Companies

THE UNITED AFRICA group of companies have just made organizational changes in their companies in Tanzania and Uganda.

The Tanzania company has been re-named The United Africa Company of Tanzania, Ltd., but will continue to embrace all the previous Gailey & Roberts trading divisions in that area, namely, Machinery Services, Construction Equipment, Associated Merchandise, Fan Electric, G. & R. Motors, and B.E.A.M.

Mr. J. E. Sunderland, who has been appointed chairman of the new Tanzania operation, with headquarters in Dar es Salaam, joined Gailey & Roberts in 1959 after many years in the East African motor trade. He started his career with Gailey & Roberts in Dar es Salaam, but since 1962 has held the position of senior manager and director of Gailey & Roberts (Uganda), Ltd.

In Uganda the Gailey & Roberts operation will be centralized in Kampala, where Mr. J. W. W. Johnston will remain chairman. He will also continue as chairman of Gailey & Roberts in Kenya.

Protests at British Government policy on Rhodesia stopped the speech of the Foreign Secretary to a "U.N. in Focus" meeting at Church House, Westminster, last week. Interruptions came from 12 Empire Loyalists.

When Mr. Stewart started to speak Mr. Rodney Legg walked to the platform and held a Union Jack over the flag of the United Nations, saying in a loud voice: "This is the flag of British loyalty, and the only one which should fly in Whitehall. The U.N. is the enemy of Britain and Rhodesia. The League of Empire Loyalists supports friends, not enemies". While being removed by a steward he added: "Support Ian Smith and civilized government in Central Africa."

Other Empire Loyalists stood up and displayed posters saying: "One-man-one-vote equals tyranny in Africa". They also were ejected.

Opinions on Rhodesian Issue Protest by M.P. At B.B.C. Action

SIR RICHARD GLYN, M.P., said: "The B.B.C. offered to pay the expenses of Mr. Garfield Todd's proposed visit to this country. They could hardly have promised to provide funds for this purpose unless he had agreed to appear on B.B.C. television with a view to explaining his party's policy for Rhodesia.

"Is it appropriate for the B.B.C. to deny the Prime Minister of a Commonwealth country the right to explain his Government's policy when they are planning to pay the expenses of his political rival to enable the latter to express the contrary view?"

MR. L. R. MACONOCHE WELWOOD, formerly an elected European member of the Legislative Council of Kenya, said:—

"Dame Margery Perham says that Britain has succeeded with some financial lubrication to ease out the bewildered Kenya settlers who were neither numerous nor politically dominant". This statement is far from correct: in fact, about one-third of the white farmers have been bought out by loan and grant assistance given to Kenya by Britain. The remainder are still in Kenya, and the British Government to date has shown itself most reluctant to advance more funds to the Kenya Government for this purpose, in spite of urgent requests by the latter and by the Kenya Farmers' Union.

"The setting up of exchange control has made it increasingly difficult for white farmers to ease themselves out without assistance from Britain, even if a market for their land existed.

"It is possible that if H.M. Government had been more considerate and helpful to the problems of their nationals in Kenya and elsewhere in Africa during the various independence conferences the Rhodesian people would be less determined in their pursuit of U.D.I.

"Certainly, as leader of the European representatives at the last two conferences held in London, I gained the impression that the British Government had very little interest in the future of their own people in Kenya."

Mr. Chona's Condemnation

MR. MAINZA CHONA, Minister for Home Affairs in Zambia, wrote in a letter to *The Times* that a statement by the Commonwealth Relations Secretary had been "disgraceful", that Mr. Wilson's visit to Rhodesia was "futile", and that British Ministers had behaved ridiculously. The communication read:—

"Mr. Wilson's trip to Rhodesia can be justified only on the assumption that Britain is now ready to use force (and not merely economic sanctions) against the Colony in the event of U.D.I. In the past Britain has answered peace with peace, force with force, and offence with offence. In the case of Rhodesia threats are being answered with appeals and force with piety.

"Observers see the British Ministers negotiating from a point of weakness. Mr. Arthur Bottomley made an unnecessary admission in Lagos that Britain recognized Rhodesia's military strength and that therefore use of force in the event of U.D.I. was out of the question. This disgraceful declaration, if it was not meant to comfort and encourage the rebellion, certainly had that effect. Only a threat of actual use of force could make Mr. Smith abandon his illegal venture.

"Mr. Smith has told Mr. Wilson in writing that the decision on U.D.I. has already been made and that what remained was to announce it. It could be said that the British Ministers are holding discussions with rebels—perhaps trying to get them to rescind the fatal decision. But then Rhodesia is not only armed; she is also conducting negotiations with her finger on the trigger. 'You either give us or we take'. The other party, Britain, is deliberately unarmed. She is to punish criminals by only applying sanctions—obviously for some limited period!

"Britain's prestige and integrity will reach the lowest level should Mr. Smith announce U.D.I. after Mr. Wilson's futile visit to Salisbury. On the other hand, it could be a useful ground to use force with the backing of the whole of Britain. Having gone to such ridiculous lengths in trying to reason with the minority Government, Britain will have every right to use military force against what all Britons will now see as racial fanaticism."

MR. ADRIAN FITZGERALD wrote in the *Spectator*:—
"No one in this country", says Quoodle, "will have any

other words than those of contemptuous condemnation for Mr. Smith's action in restricting Garfield Todd to his Rhodesian farm". Provided Mr. Garfield is innocent of the charge that he has been consorting with suspected terrorists and law-breakers, Quoodle's expression of collective condemnation could conceivably be accurate.

"Would Quoodle find stronger language, though, for Mr. Nyerere, who has detained in prison and without trial for over two years 10 members of the former and democratically elected Zanzibari Cabinet?"

"Or, nearer the Rhodesian home, would Quoodle disapprove the fate that Dr. Banda has reserved for rebel Medson Silombela who will be required to be seen in public with 'his legs swinging from a pole'?"

Quoodle is the pen-name of Mr. Iain Macleod, M.P., the former Colonial Secretary.

MR. JAMES FAIRBAIRN wrote in the *New Statesman*:

"The treaty idea is patently unrealistic. If we cannot bring ourselves to act against imminent rebellion whilst Rhodesia is a colony, if the Tories waver even at the prospect of serious economic sanctions after a U.D.I., how could anyone believe that we would screw our courage to the sticking point if, after lengthy legal wrangles, the Privy Council decided that an independent Rhodesia had defaulted on the treaty? Under the present Constitution Rhodesia is a police State, and it would remain so even if Mr. Wilson's five points had been accepted in London."

Burundi King's German Bodyguard

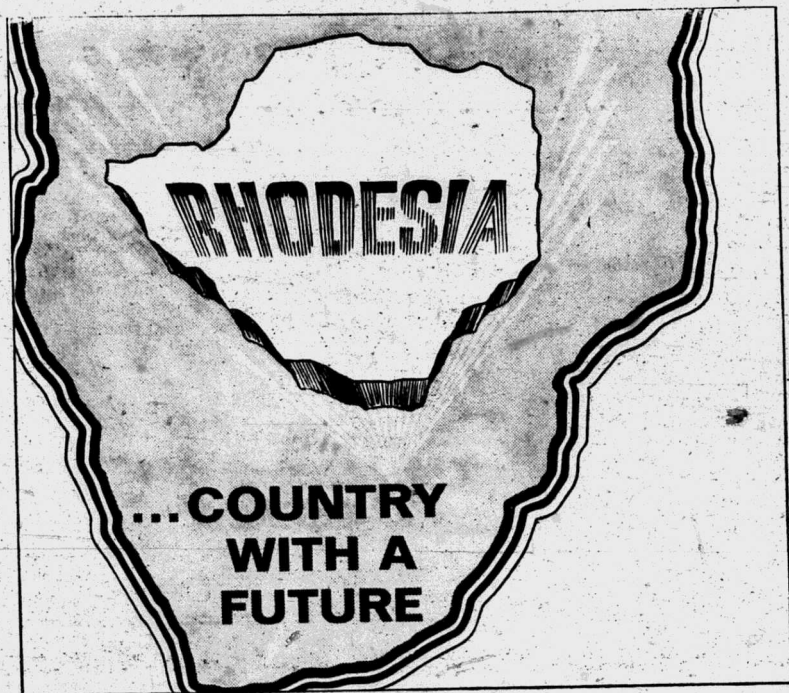
GERMANS willing to act as a bodyguard for Mwami (King) Mwambutsa of Burundi have been recruited through advertisements in German newspapers. Some 20 young men who had enlisted had waited for days in a Frankfurt hotel for the aircraft which was to fly them to Africa when the German police last week arrested a man named Hermann Heuer on a charge of unlawfully recruiting German subjects for a foreign Power. He said that finance was provided through the Burundi Embassy in Paris. The Embassy in Bonn denied knowledge of the recruiting scheme or of Herr Heuer.

Z.A.P.U. Men Trained in Russia

RHODESIAN AFRICANS have been sent to Russia this year by the now proscribed Zimbabwe African People's Union, led by Mr. Nkomo, for training as secret agents and saboteurs, the prosecution said in a Salisbury court last week when seven Africans came up for preliminary examination on charges of seeking to advance the cause of a banned organization by illegal means. The names of the accused and of an accomplice were withheld by direction of the court. The accomplice, who gave evidence for the Crown, said that all seven men had worked in Zambia before being sent to Russia by Z.A.P.U. officials in Zambia. They had been instructed in the use of firearms and explosives and in various aspects of intelligence work.

Mr. J. S. Bevan to Retire

MR. J. S. BEVAN, having reached retirement age, will at the end of this year relinquish his executive appointment with the Union-Castle Line but continue as chairman of the South, South East, and East African Shipping Conferences. Management of all shipping activities of the British and Commonwealth group will from January 1 be co-ordinated by Cayzer, Irvine & Co., Ltd., of which Mr. A. E. Lemon will become managing director in succession to Mr. W. L. Woolf, who will remain on the board. It is to be strengthened by the appointment of Captain R. Hart and Messrs. G. F. Bedford, R. J. Bloxam, G. B. Jones, and R. Munton.



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Because he is exceptionally assiduous and skilful in his relations with the Press, as in the other arts of politics, his views of the changing scene have been regularly reflected by many of the most influential

Product of Folly And Faithlessness. newspapers. Indeed, not even one daily or Sunday paper in London has

taken the objective and consistently critical attitude of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. None of them has kept under the notice of its readers the truth that the Rhodesian crisis is essentially the product of the folly and faithlessness of the politicians in Britain who have so reck-

lessly rushed unready countries elsewhere in Africa to a so-called independence, with consequences so calamitous that responsible Rhodesians, black no less than white, are resolved not to be similarly sacrificed, whatever the price they pay for at least some years of respite. Management of the news has unhappily reached such a stage in Britain that the mutinies, rebellions, wholesale slaughter, and corruption which have disfigured great areas of East and Central Africa this year and last are dismissed as temporary sensations, whereas they constitute the basic reason for Rhodesia's firm stand against comparably disastrous appeasement of African nationalist covetousness, clamour, careerism, intimidation, and violence. Why are the views of the Rhodesian and British Governments still irreconcilable after many months of correspondence and conversation? For the simple reason that Rhodesians are determined to maintain their civilized standards, while British politicians are primarily concerned to placate emotionalism in Afro-Asian and United Nations quarters, and so postpone public recognition of the fact that they have made the Commonwealth a laughing-stock. To the men guilty of wrecking British Africa, its finest territory, Rhodesia, is merely one more expendable pawn in a losing game—a game which they will quickly forget when they turn to wrangling about betting shops, bingo, bowling alleys and other ornaments of modern society which they have helped to create or done nothing to control.

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Unrealistic Expedients. Commonweath mission to Rhodesia under Sir Robert Menzies; to accept a Conservative Party idea

of buttressing the Rhodesian Constitution with a treaty of guarantee; to suggest a Royal Commission; to revert to the conception of a referendum; and to let it be known that his fertile mind could produce other ideas if necessary. Since none of these expedients had any real chance of success, they have not unnaturally been regarded by Rhodesians as designed primarily to gain time—or, as they say, waste time. The Australian Prime Minister is greatly admired by Rhodesians (who recall with pleasure the visit of his brother some years ago), but Mr. Wilson's plan was that he should be accompanied by at least one Prime Minister from Asia and two from Africa. To pick an Asian leader of stature who had not already prejudged the Rhodesian issue would have been difficult, and it would have been quite impossible to find two African leaders who could have been regarded as impartial and uncommitted. The first of the Wilson projects was therefore unreasonable and unrealistic.

It appears not to have entered his mind or that of his Cabinet colleagues that Rhodesians still regard the Monckton Commission as a tragic symbol of weakness and surrender, and

that they could consequently be induced to accept another Royal Commission only if its

terms of reference were crystal clear and the attitude of the Governments to their findings broadly agreed in advance. These prudent precautions have been entirely neglected. Bickering continues about what Sir Hugh Beadle and his two colleagues were to be asked to do and what the Governments would do with their report. Mr. Wilson expected Rhodesia to be bound by it, while Britain remained free to reject it—the excuse being that Parliament must be sovereign in the matter. Is the Rhodesian Assembly not equally sovereign in internal affairs? Technically, of course, the House of Commons would have to decide for Britain; but, since there is no divergence on this issue between the main British political parties, why did the two leaders not say immediately that they would accept and support any unanimous proposals of the three commissioners? That would have met Rhodesia's very justifiable objection. As one Socialist M.P. has said: "Mr. Wilson wanted to hand Mr. Smith a two-headed penny and ask him to call 'tails'".

Why were Mr. Bottomley and the Attorney-General withdrawn from Salisbury before agreement on important issues had been thrashed out? No businessman would have returned without completing his task.

References to a referendum came, ironically enough, immediately after Mr. Wilson had told the African nationalist leaders in Salisbury that there could be no question of introducing the

Referendum one-man-one-vote system and **And Treaty.** majority rule either now or on any stated date, since the

political progress of Rhodesian Africans must be a matter of achievement, a matter not to be measured by clock or calendar. Had that simple truth been recognized, held, and reasserted by the Conservative and Socialist parties in Britain during the last few years, Africa would not now cause the world such deep concern. It was absurd, of course, to tell the nationalist extremists with one breath that they and their followers must earn political advancement by merit, and in the next to say that, although nothing like ready for adult suffrage, they might all participate in a referendum on a subject which very, very few Africans begin to understand. The idea of a treaty of guarantee was a non-starter because it meant independence with strings; and Rhodesians have waited too long to be satisfied with the shadow in place of the substance of complete self-rule.

Last week's declaration of a state of emergency in Rhodesia has been almost universally misinterpreted in Britain, where scarcely any commentator has accepted the official explanation that the decision was made for security reasons. That is surely a credible assertion. It is common know-

Threats to Security. ledge that Rhodesian Africans have been sent by the rival political organizations to China, Russia, Ghana, and other African States for training in subversion and all forms of violence, and that more than a score of them were recently captured in Rhodesia with arms, ammunition, and explosives of Chinese and other manufacture; and some of them said during the trial that their orders were to murder white people, commit arson on a large scale, and try to wreck railways, bridges, mines, factories, and stores. Some of the party escaped arrest and are believed to be still at large in Rhodesia. This very month Rhodesian African seditious, who are given harbourage in neighbouring Zambia, have told journalists that their followers are ready to murder Rhodesian whites as soon as they receive the order, and that Africans in Rhodesia are now being mobilized in a "people's army". In Tanzania President Nyerere simultaneously challenged Rhodesian Africans in his capital to return to their own country "and fight". A few days earlier the Accra conference of the Organization of African Unity had appointed

a committee to plan military aid to Rhodesian Africans, and as recently as Monday of this week an O.A.U. official said in Algiers that African countries would "intervene with direct action" in Rhodesia. Many similar incitements and facts might be listed, but these random examples surely warrant the Rhodesian Government's action in alerting the public, and especially those charged with the preservation of law and order. Almost all

United Kingdom newspapers assume that the state of emergency is the prelude to a unilateral declaration of independence. Even if that should prove to be the case, the decision would still stand justified on grounds of security. Rhodesia's case, which has been shockingly misrepresented throughout, and will doubtless continue to be distorted, is, we repeat, the product of the folly and faithlessness of British politicians.

Views Irreconcilable, Says Rhodesian P.M.

Invitation to Meet Mr. Wilson in Malta Ignored by Mr. Ian Smith

THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT told the British Prime Minister on Monday of its dissatisfaction with recent exchanges, and that "we are back in the position we reached at the end of our talks in London, when we both agreed that the views of our respective Governments were irreconcilable".

The message containing those words was handed to Mr. Wilson in the House of Commons by Brigadier Andrew Skeen, the Rhodesian High Commissioner.

The letter, the most laconic in the series, made no mention of Mr. Wilson's suggestion that Mr. Smith and he should meet in Malta.

Chief Justice Flies to London

Sir Hugh Beadle, Chief Justice of Rhodesia, left Salisbury for London that evening, presumably having been informed by the British High Commissioner that Mr. Wilson had suggested a visit.

That Sir Hugh had decided to fly to London without consulting his Prime Minister was implied by Mr. Smith's statement that "Sir Hugh Beadle is travelling to London entirely on his own initiative. I understand that he has already received an invitation from the British Government to fly to London for discussions and has accepted. As the Royal Commission has not yet been agreed, I would have thought that the British Government would have awaited my reply to Mr. Wilson before issuing an invitation. I have made these views known to Sir Hugh".

Later, after an all-day Cabinet meeting, he said in answer to reporters: "I hear a rumour that Sir Hugh is going. It is up to him. This is a free country. There is nothing to stop anyone going to London".

Asked if he would go to Malta, Mr. Smith replied: "That is not going to serve any purpose, is it?"

Pressed to say what his next move would be, the Prime Minister replied: "What we want is a decision from the British Government. We want a straight answer to the letter I have just sent".

On Tuesday Mr. Smith suggested that both Governments should tell their people that "we have come to the end of the road". Not to do that would be deceitful.

Within three days of the return early last week of the British Prime Minister from his visit to Rhodesia disagreements between the two Governments appeared to be as wide as ever. Indeed, Mr. Smith spoke of them as seemingly irreconcilable.

He asked publicly for an immediate reply from the British Government to the document concerning the

work of the proposed Royal Commission which had been brought back to London by the Commonwealth Relations Secretary and the Attorney-General, and told Rhodesians on television that "in spite of the general air of optimism which developed over last week-end, a wrong decision from the British Government over the this question could cause all these hopes to crash to the ground".

He charged Mr. Wilson with swerving from agreements reached during his visit, and emphasized four points on which assurances were required if there was to be any prospect of successful negotiations. Two of them were conceded on Sunday by Mr. Wilson in a message which was more conciliatory than his statement in the House of Commons earlier in the week. Moreover, he suggested another meeting with Mr. Smith, perhaps in Malta.

On Thursday there had been a five-hour meeting of the Parliamentary caucus of the Rhodesian Front party, some of whose members were reported to be angry at the delay in seizing independence.

Next day—which happened to be the anniversary of last year's referendum in which the electorate gave Mr. Smith overwhelming support for independence without strings—a state of emergency was declared. The declaration bore the Governor's signature. The Minister of Law and Order explained that the chief purpose was to safeguard the country's security against African saboteurs trained and poised in neighbouring territories. It was stated that neither military nor police reservists were being called up in connexion with the emergency regulations, though that course might be adopted later if necessary.

United Nations Again Demand Use of Force

Two days earlier pamphlets had been found in an African township near Bulawayo which stated that "if Britain does not stop its minority negotiations with Mr. Smith by November 16, Z.A.P.U. will form a government in Zimbabwe". [Rhodesia].

Control of imports in order to safeguard the external reserves had been imposed because traders had placed abnormally large orders in British and other markets with the intention of building up heavy stocks of goods in case shipments should be interrupted by economic sanctions.

On Friday the General Assembly of the United Nations again demanded the use of force by Britain in order to compel Rhodesian compliance with the suspension of the Constitution, the release of so-called political prisoners, and a conference to decide a new Constitution on the one-man-one-vote basis.

The British Parliament, which was to have been prorogued that day, was kept in being in order that M.P.s might be summoned to meet at any time during the

week-end if a unilateral declaration of Rhodesian independence were made, in which event emergency legislation was to be introduced and carried through all stages in one day. The Opposition had agreed with the Government on the need to keep Parliament in being. Prorogation took place on Monday, when the Queen's speech contained one sentence about Rhodesia: "My Government have continued their unremitting efforts to bring about, through negotiations, a peaceful and honourable solution in Rhodesia on a basis acceptable to the people of the country as a whole".

A new session of Parliament opened on Tuesday.

B.B.C. news programmes, which had previously been re-broadcast in Rhodesia, were not relayed after Thursday of last week, on the ground that the policy of the Government should not be subjected to external pressures.

Asked that day if the state of emergency brought U.D.I. nearer, Mr. Smith said: "No. If we want a state of emergency for U.D.I., we'll have one for U.D.I. It would be quite straight-forward".

Ministers of France, West Germany, Italy, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, all members of the European Common Market, told Mr. Michael Stewart, the British Foreign Secretary, in the Hague a few days ago

that their countries would support Britain in whatever steps she might take against Rhodesia in the event of U.D.I. He had said that economic sanctions might include a ban on Rhodesian tobacco, and that while Britain was not prepared to grant independence on a basis which would perpetuate white minority rule, she was willing to exercise patience.

It was disclosed in Washington that shortly before Mr. Wilson arrived in Salisbury President Johnson of the United States sent a personal warning to the Rhodesian Prime Minister of possible American reprisals if independence were declared unilaterally. He again emphasized that any measures taken by Britain would be fully supported by the U.S.A.

Christian Action is advertising that it regards the exercise of force "whether by police or military, to maintain white supremacy as a form of violence, a form abhorrent to the Christian conscience. Furthermore, Christian Action maintains that Africans or others who meet violence with violence should not forfeit our sympathy however much we may disapprove of violence itself".

African spokesmen in a number of countries have advocated violent action in Rhodesia, some talking of war and fighting and others of the murder of whites.

Text of Messages Exchanged Between Prime Ministers

Royal Commission Would Be Converted into A Constitutional Conference

MR. SMITH sent the following letter to Mr. Wilson on Saturday, November 6, in reply to his message of November 3:—

"I first deal with your suggestion that I do not correctly state the position regarding agreement with your predecessor. This I fail to see—in fact, I think you make a distinction without a difference.

"It is correct that Sir Alec Douglas-Home was not convinced that the majority of the population supported our request for independence under the 1961 Constitution. But I am quite clear in my mind that Sir Alec also accepted that if the case could be proved he could not deny our claim.

"All I sought was that you should do the same. It was your suggestion that a Royal Commission be established to determine acceptability. If it found in our favour, what conceivable grounds exist for denying the validity and justness of our claim?

"You say in the fourth paragraph of your letter: 'I can now tell you that the British Government agree that the Rhodesian Government's own constitutional proposals should now be put to the test of acceptability to the people of Rhodesia as a whole'.

Hedging

"You then go on to hedge this acceptance with such conditions as to make it difficult to believe that it can be seriously intended, as I now show.

"(a) You wish to be free to state publicly that you disagree with the proposals. This you have done; but you also require that the Royal Commission, in the process of canvassing opinion in Rhodesia, should make this clearly known.

"In other words, the Commission would become a forum for argument and dispute on the merits of the relative proposals. It would thus find itself in the centre of a maelstrom.

"Undoubtedly, advocacy of the British Government's proposals (which would not in fact be part of the submission of the Commission) would become a potent and distracting factor.

"Its effect would simply be to convert it into a constitutional conference, and in dealing with emergent and, in some cases, primitive people, through an interpreter, the confusion of thought caused could provide no significant answer at all.

"(b) You require that the Commissioners should submit a unanimous interim report on how they would propose to determine acceptability. This shows a singular lack of con-

fidence in the Commission, which, if it is to be entrusted with the task, is surely competent to fulfil it.

"You have expressed your supreme confidence in the chairman of the Commission, and it seems strange that you should now question his ability to guide the Commission in its fundamental approach.

"(c) You require the final report of the Commission to be unanimous. I accept that you made this point in our discussion; but I remind you that you did not obtain my agreement.

"If a Commission is unable to agree on a unanimous report it is customary to have a majority and a minority report. It would be wrong to demand of such a Commission unanimity of thought before it had even set about its task.

No Likelihood of British Acceptance

"(d) You then go on to reserve your position and indicate that you cannot be expected to commit your Government in advance to accept the report of the Commission, and that in any case the eventual decision rests with the British Parliament alone. Yet, in paragraph 3 of your letter you condemn the proposals.

"Thus at the very outset it appears that there is no likelihood (whether or not the Commission's report is unanimous) of your accepting its conclusions and advocating its acceptance by Parliament unless the proposals and conclusions are entirely satisfactory to your Government and accord with your inclinations, irrespective of the wishes of Rhodesians.

"We for our part did not and would not have reserved our position had the Commission been allowed to function as envisaged.

"The proposals contained in paragraph 5 of your message regarding a Royal Commission to make recommendations for a new Constitution for Rhodesia are not acceptable to me, and this was clearly indicated to you when you were in Salisbury.

"Similarly, your suggestion in paragraph 6 of the Rhodesian Government's proposals be submitted to the test of a referendum of the whole people of Rhodesia is quite outside the scope of the proposals made by the Rhodesian Government.

"Such a suggestion at this stage would be a negation of the understandings reached with you.

"The conditions you have imposed in your letter are clearly designed to reinstate your original proposals which we rejected and to defeat the whole object of our counter-proposals, with which you concurred.

"I therefore regret to tell you that the only conclusion to be derived from your letter is that it is tantamount to, and can only be interpreted as, a rejection of the proposals agreed with you in Salisbury.

"I also regret to say that the impression you left with us of a determined effort to resolve our constitutional problems has been utterly dissipated.

"It would seem that you have now finally closed the door which you claimed publicly to have left open".

MR. HEATH, Leader of the Opposition, at once called for publication of the official records of the conversations in Salisbury between the two Prime Ministers.

He issued the following statement:—

"This is a matter of such vital importance that there must be no room for any misunderstanding between the two Governments.

"If, as appears from Mr. Smith's letter, there are differences as to what was agreed in Salisbury about the Rhodesian Government's proposal for a Royal Commission, then the records of the conversation between the two Prime Ministers should be published at once so that the peoples of both countries can judge the position for themselves.

"There can be no question of shutting the door. The discussions must continue.

Senior Minister Should Go to Salisbury

"I suggested in my speech at Bexley on October 22 that a member of Mr. Wilson's mission to Salisbury should remain there until the details of any arrangement were finally worked out. It is to be regretted that the Commonwealth Secretary did not do so.

"It is now obvious that carrying on these important discussions through exchanges of letters is unsatisfactory. A senior member of the British Government should be dispatched to Salisbury at once in order to be in continuous contact with Mr. Smith and the Rhodesian Government.

"These discussions should now concentrate on the question of the Royal Commission finding out whether Mr. Smith's constitutional proposals are acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

"The differences of view between the two Governments about Mr. Smith's proposal of a year ago and Sir Alec Douglas-Home's reaction to it have been clearly stated by both sides in public; they belong to the past. Moreover the proposal for a referendum does not arise at this stage.

"The crux of the matter is whether Mr. Smith's constitutional proposals commend themselves to the people of Rhodesia as a whole. Both sides should now devote all their attention to this point.

"It is not apparent from Mr. Wilson's statement in the House of Commons how Mr. Smith's point, that the Royal Commission would have to make known to everyone Mr. Wilson's disagreement with the constitutional proposals put forward by the Rhodesian Government, arises.

"Unless it is contained in the private correspondence between the two Prime Ministers it does not appear to be a condition imposed on the Royal Commission by the British Government.

"As Parliament alone can legally grant independence to Rhodesia, Parliament must be allowed to form its own judgment in the report of the Royal Commission when it is made.

"In the light of these considerations I hope that both Governments will immediately agree to discuss further how the work of the Royal Commission can speedily be put in hand."

Unanimous Report Essential

MR. WILSON, after three meetings on Sunday of Cabinet Ministers especially concerned with Rhodesia, replied to Mr. Smith in a long letter, suggesting that Sir Hugh Beadle, Chief Justice of Rhodesia, and chairman designate of the Royal Commission, should fly to London to clarify various matters, and that the two Prime Ministers should then meet somewhere between London and Salisbury, perhaps in Malta.

The letter said:—

"Thank you for your message of yesterday. It creates a difficult situation.

"The purpose of our present exchanges is to try to get a Royal Commission set up. No doors are being closed by me.

"You will recall that, when I originally put forward the idea of a Royal Commission with wide terms of reference, you made an alternative proposal for a Commission with

a narrower task. In the light of certain safeguards which was clear at the time that you were prepared to accept, I agreed to a Royal Commission being set up upon the basis you wished. Subsequently it became clear that we could not agree upon the content of the proposals which the Royal Commission should canvass, and even on this point, as I explained in my statement in Parliament last Wednesday, I was prepared to meet you by agreeing that the question to be put to the people of Rhodesia as a whole should be the acceptability of your proposals alone.

"But one of the conditions which would be required for this purpose would be that it should be publicly known that we did not agree with the proposals to be canvassed by the Royal Commission. Our position has now been made clear by my statement in Parliament; and it is now for the Commission to ascertain, on this basis, what the people of Rhodesia as a whole really want, provided that they are free—and the need for this has been highlighted by the declaration of a state of emergency in Rhodesia—to express their views without intimidation from any quarter.

"I am more concerned about what you say on the unanimous nature of the Commission's work. I made it clear at our final meeting in Salisbury that the Commission would need to proceed on the basis of unanimity; and you agreed that this would be essential if their work was to carry any conviction. Indeed, it was only your acceptance of the principle of unanimity that made it possible for me to entertain your proposal of a Royal Commission with narrower terms of reference.

"Now I turn to the question of an interim report. I would be prepared to consider how far we could perhaps distinguish between an interim report on procedure and a final report on substance. One idea which we might consider so far as the interim report is concerned is that it might be made clear to the Commission that if, at any time, any one of their members felt that they needed to refer back to the two Governments for further guidance or if the Commission as a whole, while unanimous on their recommendation as to the method to be used, felt that they should first report back to the two Governments, they should be free to do so. There might be other ways of tackling this problem.

"But as regards the Commission's final report recording their view as to the acceptability or otherwise of the 1961 Constitution as a basis for independence, clearly this report must be unanimous if it is to do what we both require of it."

Parliament Must Make Ultimate Decision

"I must repeat that the right of the United Kingdom Parliament, with whom alone it rests to take the ultimate decision about the terms on which Rhodesia should proceed to independence, must be fully reserved. I made this very clear in my statement in the House of Commons on November 3; and you will see from the exchanges recorded in Hansard that this was regarded by the House as a whole as being of the greatest importance.

"Indeed, I do not believe that Parliament would accept the Royal Commission procedure on any other basis, although, as I said in my earlier message, the Commission's report would obviously carry the greatest weight and there would have to be very compelling reasons for either of us to reject it.

"I must take this opportunity to comment once again on your claim that Sir Alec Douglas-Home agreed in September, 1964, that Rhodesia could have independence on the basis of the 1961 Constitution if it could be proved that this was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole. I stated your claim in these terms in the House of Commons on November 3 and made it clear that the present British Government did not accept it.

"You will see from Hansard that Sir Alec Douglas-Home said: 'May I be allowed to confirm the interpretation which the Prime Minister has put on the talks of 1964'. Moreover he went on to say: 'It seems to me important that this should be done. We were not satisfied at the time that there were sufficient safeguards against retrogression in the position of the Africans and we were not satisfied either that the proposals before us for ascertaining the will of the people of Rhodesia were sufficiently defined'.

"I am bound to tell you also that public and Parliamentary opinion in the United Kingdom has been profoundly affected by the fact that, even since my last message, your Government has, abruptly and without warning, declared a state of emergency. The United Kingdom Government and Parliament will now need to understand more clearly precisely how a Royal Commission would—and indeed could—operate in the circumstances of restriction on freedom of expression which the state of emergency is creating in Rhodesia. I feel therefore that we must have an objective and first-hand opinion on this question.

"We have already agreed that the Chief Justice of Rhodesia, Sir Hugh Beadle, should be the chairman of the Royal Commission; and we have both expressed our full confidence in him. Since both you and I discussed with him in Salisbury

how the Commission might work, and since I understand that you have had further conversations with him since my departure, I suggest that he should now come to London to discuss with my colleagues and myself how the Royal Commission will work in the light of your announcement on Friday.

"I should like at the same time to explore further with him the other issues of procedure which I have mentioned in this letter including the suggestion which I have outlined for dealing with the question of an interim report.

"I believe that after my further discussion with Sir Hugh Beadle it might be useful if you and I met again, preferably at some convenient meeting-place, such as Malta. We could then decide not only the outstanding questions involved in getting the Royal Commission to work but also the action to be taken after they have presented their final report, consistently with my own explicit undertaking to Parliament."

Three Fundamental Points

MR. SMITH replied on Monday:—

"Thank you for your message received yesterday evening. In Paragraph 4 you claim that I agreed that the Commission would have to be unanimous in its report.

"I am quite clear on this point, and I am supported in this by all of my colleagues who were at the meeting, that while you did say that in your opinion the Commission's findings would have to be unanimous in order to carry conviction, we did not agree to accept unanimity.

"Your last message, to my mind, merely confirms, in different language, the attitudes which you adopted in your message of November 3.

"I have analysed your latest message very carefully and have compared it with your message of November 3 and my reply of November 6, and it is clear that you have taken the matter no further forward.

"Even if we were to agree on the procedure and substance of its work, you have again made it abundantly clear that you are not prepared to accept in advance the decision of the Royal Commission, that you are not prepared to agree that the Commission should be free to submit a majority report, and that you are not prepared to commit your Government to advocating its acceptance in Parliament. These three points are fundamental.

"I regret to say, therefore, that the only conclusion must be that we are back in the position we reached at the end of our talks in London, when we both agreed that the views of our respective Governments were irreconcilable."

British Reservations About Proposed Royal Commission

Rhodesian Problem Discussed in House of Commons

THE PRIME MINISTER made the following further statement on Rhodesia in the House of Commons on Wednesday of last week:—

"On Monday I said that the two Governments had agreed in principle to recommend to Her Majesty the appointment of a Royal Commission for the purpose of testing the acceptability to the Rhodesian people as a whole of a draft independence arrangement which, we hoped, would be agreed between the two Governments and would be based on the 1961 Constitution with such amendments as we might consider necessary. I went on to say that the two Governments were in discussion to see whether it was possible to agree on the text of a document which the Royal Commission could take for this purpose.

"The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Attorney-General have now returned and reported on their discussions. It is now clear that there is no prospect of agreement being reached on the amendments which should be made to the 1961 Constitution, as a basis for use by the Royal Commission.

Rigorous Proofs Required

"In these circumstances we have had to consider our position. This we have done with a deep sense of the responsibility lying upon us for ensuring that this House, before there is any question of its being asked to take a decision about independence, should have before it an authoritative statement of the views of the Rhodesian people as a whole on particular proposals for independence.

"Mr. Smith considers that independence on the basis of the 1961 Constitution is acceptable to the Rhodesian people. Neither we nor our predecessors have been able to accept this as a fact without the most rigorous proof being forthcoming.

"In this connexion I must refer to statements made yesterday by Mr. Smith about the discussions he had with my predecessor, the rt. hon. gentleman the Member for Kinross and West Perthshire (Sir Alec Douglas-Home), in September 1964. Mr. Smith said yesterday that he had made an agreement with my predecessor that Rhodesia could have independence on the 1961 Constitution if it could be proved that this was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

"We do not accept this interpretation and are so informing Mr. Smith. The rt. hon. gentleman made it crystal clear again and again that the British Government had as yet no evidence that the majority of the population supported the Rhodesian request for independence on the basis of the present Constitution and franchise, and indeed in the final agreed communiqué, the following statement occurs: 'The British

Prime Minister said that the British Government would take account of any views which might be freely expressed by the population on the issues involved; but he must make it plain that the British Government reserved their position'.

"Against that background, and unequivocally re-confirming the statement I have just quoted, the British Government have decided, and I have so informed Mr. Smith, that we are now prepared to agree, subject to certain conditions I shall outline, that the Rhodesian Government's constitutional proposals should be put to the test of acceptability to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

"But if this is to be done it must be known that we ourselves disagree with these proposals for the reasons I stated on Monday and which I shall not weary the House by repeating. Indeed, Mr. Smith himself recognized in his broadcast on Monday night that we disagree with them.

"Second, we continue to hold the view that the Royal Commission, before canvassing the views of the Rhodesian people as a whole, should submit for approval by both Governments a unanimous interim report on how they would propose to determine acceptability. If the Royal Commission's suggestions for this purpose were approved, they should themselves supervise whatever procedures were adopted in order to implement their findings.

"Third, when the Royal Commission have completed the process of ascertaining the opinion of the people of Rhodesia as a whole, they will submit a final report which we have agreed must be unanimous. The British Government cannot, of course, be expected to commit themselves in advance to accept that report, particularly as, in any case, the eventual decision rests with Parliament alone.

Reference to New Constitution for Rhodesia

"We are making it clear to the Rhodesian Government—and I do not want there to be any misunderstanding about this here, in Rhodesia, or anywhere else—that if, in the event, the Royal Commission's findings showed that the Rhodesian Government's proposal was unacceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole, the British Government reserve their freedom of action as to the future course to be followed.

"We would feel free to pursue other means of dealing with the problem, such as reviving our earlier suggestion of a Royal Commission with the substantive task of devising a new Constitution of Rhodesia, or our proposal that the issue should then be remitted to a constitutional conference.

"I greatly hope that, after all the efforts made in these past few weeks to secure a solution fulfilling all the requirements of honour and of justice, that what I have said will enable us to go ahead with the Royal Commission, on the principle of which we agreed last week, and that the Royal Commission can get down to its vitally important work without delay.

"If what I have said is unacceptable to the Rhodesian Government—though I am sure the whole House would find it difficult to believe that this could not be acceptable to them—I have one last alternative proposition, which I have put to Mr. Smith, as a fall-back on which agreement could still be reached. We should still be willing, as an alternative to the Royal Commission, to agree that the Rhodesian Government's constitutional proposals should be submitted to the test

of a referendum of the whole Rhodesian people, provided that it was conducted without restriction on free political activity by all sections of the community, provided that it was subject to adequate impartial supervision, and provided that it incorporated stringent safeguards against intimidation from any quarter."

MR. HEATH, Leader of the Opposition: "We appreciate the great difficulties under which the Prime Minister and his colleagues are working and the pressure of time and communications with Salisbury.

Deep Disappointment

"The whole House will have heard with the deepest disappointment that it has not been possible to reach agreement on a draft document which could be presented to the Commission. Do I understand that the Prime Minister has now reserved the British Government's position at every stage; on the actual proposals which will be put forward by the Commission to the people of Rhodesia; on the interim report; as to the procedure which is to be used; and, if that is agreed, on the final decision to which the Commission comes?"

"Can he tell the House anything about the present proposals of the Government of Rhodesia which will, if his new proposal is accepted, be put to the people by the Commission? Have there been any changes in the last proposal which the Government made?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I share the rt. hon. gentleman's disappointment that we have not reached agreement on the document. The reason is that we have stood firm on the principles which I outlined on Monday, which would have made it impossible to agree to the Rhodesian Government's proposal, which is, basically, the 1961 Constitution with certain consequential amendments which are necessary when a country proceeds from a position of dependence to a position of independence, but also, of course, including their proposition for extending the number of voters on the B roll. That is the only difference we have.

"As to his understanding of the position, I entirely agree with the way in which he has summarized it. Of course, there is still no agreement on the interim report. He is quite right that, on the method of consultation on the final report, and certainly on any action by this House, we fully reserve the position of H.M. Government and of this Parliament throughout."

Not Satisfied With Rhodesian Argument

MR. GRIMOND, Leader of the Liberal Party: "While regretting that the proposals put before the House and the Rhodesian Government by the Prime Minister have been rejected, may there not be some disquiet now that the proposals put forward by the Rhodesian Government will not contain proposals for the implementation of the five principles which the Prime Minister told us were essential to the draft agreement? Does it mean that the British Government will appoint a member of the Commission who will put before the Rhodesian people proposals which are not acceptable to the British Government themselves?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "We have made it quite clear that we do not regard this Constitution as now proposed as satisfactory, and we have reserved our position as to the ultimate outcome, as did the Government before us.

"Mr. Smith all along has argued—indeed, for three years he and his predecessors have argued—that they have the support of the Rhodesian people as a whole. He quoted *indabas* of chiefs and all sorts of things in support of the arguments. Both our predecessors and ourselves are entirely unsatisfied that that is the position. All right; we will put it to the test. If it turns out that the Rhodesian people as a whole, on terms that all of us would consider fair as an indication of their view, reject it, then, of course, Mr. Smith's case falls to the ground. If, on the other hand, they accept it, then we still reserve our position as to the course of action to be taken."

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME: "May I be allowed to confirm the interpretation which the Prime Minister has put on the talks of 1964? It seems to me important that this should be done. We were not satisfied at that time that there were sufficient safeguards against retrogression in the position of the Africans, and we were not satisfied either that the proposals before us for ascertaining the will of the people of Rhodesia were sufficient or sufficiently defined.

"Will the Prime Minister find some convenient way of letting the House know on what particular points in the five principles the talks have broken down? It seems to me that at one time there was considerable progress, but now there seems to be deadlock. I do not know whether the Commonwealth Secretary would be able to enlighten us."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I hope that there might be an opportunity of going into the details. I am not sure that it would be helpful to go into every point at the moment. On the question of guarantees against retrogression, we feel that these are essential to this agreement, and we insisted on this staying in if our name were to be attached to the document

Mr. Smith Replies to The Queen

THE REPLY of the Prime Minister of Rhodesia to the letter recently written to him by the Queen was handed to Her Majesty last week by Mr. Wilson, the British Prime Minister, at an audience at Buckingham Palace.

Mr. Smith had written on October 27: —

Your Majesty,
 "I am deeply conscious of the great honour that you have done me in sending me your letter of October 24 and this honour is shared by all the people of the country.

"I have been privileged to convey to the people your good wishes and your concern for their welfare and happiness at this critical time in their history.

"I wish to assure Your Majesty that your Rhodesian Government will do all in its power to succeed in finding a solution to the current difficulties.

"We have embarked upon the discussions with Mr. Wilson and the Commonwealth Secretary in a spirit of the utmost sincerity, frankness and good will.

"The Rhodesian people have a special affection for Your Majesty and for Her Majesty the Queen Mother and all members of the Royal Family, which, it is my happy duty to assure Your Majesty, they will always retain.

"I have the honour to be

Your Majesty's
 obedient servant,

I. Douglas Smith"

which was to be the subject of ascertaining the views of the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

"May I thank the rt. hon. gentleman for confirming what I said earlier about his attitude last year? Anyone who reads the full text of what he said and what his colleagues said, to say nothing of the *communiqué* which I have quoted, can be in no doubt at all that the rt. hon. gentleman made the point about ascertainment and about reserving the Government's position crystal clear again and again."

Objections to Submission to Rhodesian People

MR. ENNALS: "Is the Prime Minister aware that some of us are greatly concerned by the statement which he has made this afternoon? In view of the fact that the position of the Rhodesian Government about independence has been on countless times challenged on both sides of the House and by the Prime Minister himself in countless statements, is it not quite wrong that that proposal should be submitted for consideration to the Rhodesian people?"

"Does not this conflict with the statement which the Prime Minister made on Monday that the five principles would have to be part of the statement submitted to the Commission? Is it not now possible that Mr. Smith could gain independence for Rhodesia on the basis of terms which month after month and year after year have been rejected by this and previous Governments?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I made it clear on Monday that those points necessary to give effect to the five principles must be included in any document to which we set our seal. Since this is impossible, we are faced with the position of what to do. If my hon. friend thinks that the people of Rhodesia as a whole are likely to accept this Constitution, then I must say that it is a very big change from the attitude taken by him and many other hon. Members. What we have to do now is to see whether they accept it or whether they do not accept it. This is not giving *carte blanche* for independence. Not at all. We have fully reserved our position, but obviously we have a right to know whether Mr. Smith is correct in saying that the Rhodesian people as a whole back him. We shall find that out."

SIR H. LEIGE-BOURKE: "The Prime Minister will appreciate that since his earlier statement a very provocative and in my

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State of Emergency Declared in Rhodesia Made Necessary by Threat to Security

A STATE OF EMERGENCY throughout Rhodesia was declared by the Governor on Friday, acting on the advice of his Ministers. It became effective immediately for a period of three months.

MR. D. LARDNER-BURKE, Minister of Law and Order made the following statement:—

"It has been necessary to declare a state of emergency because there is a threat to security in Rhodesia and it is the duty of the Government to maintain law and order.

"By way of explanation, I refer to the threats posed by numerous trained saboteurs sponsored by both proscribed African nationalist organizations who have either already returned to this country—some of whom are still at large—or are poised in territories to the north of us awaiting directions and the opportunity to return to Rhodesia.

"Many more are presently undergoing training in sabotage in countries hostile to us. Caches of arms, ammunition, and explosives are known to exist in such hostile countries.

"Statements recently made by African racialists in this country and by spokesmen for certain African States to the north of us clearly indicate a threat to our security and to the maintenance of a calm and peaceful atmosphere.

Intimidation and Subversion

"Furthermore, intimidation is assuming larger proportions with ex-restrictees of both banned organizations at large after expiration of the orders made against them.

"In addition, subversive activities by restrictees of both banned organizations continue, and instructions regarding plans for illegal activities continue to be passed out of the restriction areas by various means.

"The public is, of course, well aware of incidents of arson, violence, intimidation, and other subversive activities taking place in this country at present.

"The Government has a clear duty to see to it that there is no internal disorder. We are therefore taking action timeously, so that the threats to our security, some of which I have mentioned, do not develop to a dangerous degree.

"We must take the extraordinary powers given by the Emergency Powers Act so that they can be used immediately and utilized to the full extent if this should be necessary.

"Emergency regulations have been published providing for the public safety, the maintenance of public order and essential services, the preservation of the peace, and for making adequate provision for terminating this state of emergency or for dealing with any circumstances which have arisen, or are likely to arise, as a result of the state of emergency.

"The proclamation and regulations are published in a *Gazette Extraordinary* today. I shall make a full statement to the Legislative Assembly as soon as it reassembles.

"As has already been stated, the state of emergency covers the whole country. In terms of the Emergency Regulations, the Commissioner of Police has appointed protecting authorities who are the officers commanding provinces.

Control of Persons and Public Statements

"The various protecting authorities will issue such orders in terms of the regulations as they may deem necessary in their areas to cover such matters as the control of the movement of persons; the control of weapons, the control of gatherings and public statements, and so on.

"I hope that all inhabitants of this country will co-operate to the full with the authorities and go about their business as usual.

"We are acting timeously, and certain measures are already in train, but, to a degree, our action is precautionary.

"The forces of law and order are quite capable of containing the situation and any developments there may be.

"Further information will be given in the light of developments as security permits."

A Russian cruise ship shortly due to call at Mombasa and Dar es Salaam carries some 300 tourists, who are then to fly from Nairobi to Moscow, whence another 300 Russians will join the ship for the homeward passage.

Rhodesia Introduces Import Control Move to Check Overshocking by Traders

CONTROL OF IMPORTS has been introduced in Rhodesia.

Mr. J. J. Wrathall, the Finance Minister, who made the announcement, said that the Rhodesian economy had made steady progress during the past year despite the political problems, and exports had provided adequate foreign exchange to cover the cost of imports and other commitments. Now, however, there was strong evidence of abnormally high indenting by traders, thus creating contingent liability for payments which might seriously affect the external reserves if not checked. The intention was to maintain a level of imports in 1965 comparable with that of last year.

Foreign currency would be provided by the banks against the relevant shipping and ralling documents to meet the cost of goods shipped or railed up to midnight on November 3. Import licences would be required thereafter, except for articles placed on an open general licence list.

Goods which might be imported without licence were those consigned directly to Rhodesia from a non-African country if loaded in an aircraft before November 4 and entered for consumption or warehousing within 14 days, or, if sent by sea, loaded before November 4 and entered for consumption or warehousing within 42 days. From countries in Africa dispatch must have occurred before November 4 and be entered within 14 days.

Import is also allowed of the personal and household effects of those arriving to resume or take up residence or employment or in the possession of tourists for their own use.

Goods produced or manufactured in Malawi or Bechuanaland are exempt from the regulations.

Zambia's Indirect Reply to Mr. Smith

PRESIDENT KAUNDA has not replied directly to the Rhodesian Prime Minister's letter of October 21, but the Foreign Ministry of Zambia has informed the British High Commissioner in Lusaka that the President is grateful for the assurance that Rhodesia will continue to honour her obligations to Zambia and that Zambian nationals residing in Rhodesia will not be deported.

"The President believes, however, that there are points that need clarifying. The Rhodesian Prime Minister seems to have written as a result of what he may have assumed to be an opinion held by some people in Zambia; but it certainly is not current Zambian Government thinking.

"The Zambian Government is as confident as the Rhodesian Prime Minister sounds in his note that the common services referred to will not in any way be disrupted because not only are they common services, but they are jointly owned, and therefore the Zambian Government does not see any reason for apprehension. None of the two Governments has any right to speak as if any of the services belong to it alone.

"As for the continuation of trade between the two countries, the Zambian Government hopes that nothing will happen that might break the relationships between H.M. Government in Britain and the Colony of Rhodesia which might make Zambia reconsider its present position."

Rhodesia-Zambia Railway Talks

RHODESIAN AND ZAMBIAN MINISTERS who are members of the Higher Authority of Rhodesia Railways met in Livingstone on Monday for the first time since the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The Rhodesian members are Mr. John Wrathall, the Finance Minister, and Mr. George Rudland, Minister of Transport; Zambia's representatives are Mr. Arthur Wina and Mr. Banda, who hold similar offices.

There have been suggestions that the joint railway system should be divided into two nationally owned railways, partly for strategic and political reasons, and partly because the Rhodesian Government complains that railway users in that country have to pay unduly high charges because of heavy compensation demanded by white Rhodesians who accept transfer to Zambia, where Zambianization is stated to lead to inefficiency and waste, and therefore to increased costs.

Allocation of rolling-stock between the two countries is another issue, Rhodesia having accused Zambia of deliberately withholding large numbers of trucks.

Africans Ready to Murder Whites "Go and Fight", Says President Nyerere

MR. GEORGE NYANDORO, secretary-general of the proscribed Zimbabwe African People's Union, the Nkomo organization, is reported to have said in Lusaka on Friday: "My people are ready to murder whites in Rhodesia if they get instructions to do so—and the fault will be that of the British Government". He declared that Africans had hidden arms and ammunition throughout Rhodesia and were ready to use them when given the signal to start an uprising against the Smith Government.

A Z.A.P.U. statement issued in the Zambian capital that day described the state of emergency in Rhodesia as a declaration of a state of agony and a preparation for U.D.I. within a week.

The rival Zimbabwe African National Union said in Lusaka: "The African people of Rhodesia are being fully mobilized in a people's army to meet the Rhodesian Government challenge".

Nationalism in Luxury

President Nyerere had said a few days earlier in Dar es Salaam that Tanzania would support Z.A.P.U., rather than Z.A.N.U., because it had majority support among Rhodesian Africans. The formation of a common front between the two rival nationalist factions was not vital; what was far more important was that "all who consider themselves freedom fighters should go to Rhodesia and fight".

Some Rhodesian African nationalist leaders were trying to conduct the Rhodesian liberation campaign from the luxury of hotels in various African capitals. "I strongly advise freedom fighters here in Dar es Salaam to go to Rhodesia and fight". Rhodesian nationalists were wasting far too much time arguing about who should hold important posts, if it became necessary to set up a government in exile.

Dr. Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, could not reconcile the idea of a Royal Commission on Rhodesian independence with earlier pronouncements by British Ministers, and said that Uganda would not back any appeal to Rhodesian Africans to give evidence concerning a Constitution which they had rejected four years ago.

Mr. Sam Odaka, Foreign Minister of Uganda, said as he passed through London on his way from the Accra conference to Kampala that Uganda would support the use of military force to bring about majority rule in Rhodesia.

Sir Albert Margai, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone, described the Royal Commission as "a betrayal of such a interests of Africans". Mr. Wilson's suggestion of such a device had, he said, largely undermined his faith in Britain.

The *Ethiopian Herald* wrote that the Ethiopian Government (which owns the paper) considered the creation of a Royal Commission to seek a solution of the Rhodesian problem "ridiculous", and Mr. Wilson's recent talks in Salisbury "futile". The idea of a commission consisting of "two notorious Rhodesian Fascists and a Britisher" was an affront to the whole world.

Dr. Banda Objects to Use of Force

Dr. Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi, said in Nairobi, however, that he disapproved of the use of force and of sanctions as a means of settling the Rhodesian crisis. "It was not realistic to expect the British Government to send an army to Rhodesia considering that 90% of white Rhodesians were of British descent or British birth. Parliament would not send troops to kill their brothers and sisters in Rhodesia. The right course was to press Mr. Smith to go to the conference table with Messrs. Nkomo, Sithole, and Garfield Todd.

Whereas most Africans who talked about Rhodesia knew nothing about it, he did know something. Those Africans who talked about a boycott went on buying from South Africa, which would also supply Rhodesia.

President Kaunda, who had just paid a short visit to Dar es Salaam for consultations with President Nyerere of Tanzania, said in Lusaka on Sunday that he believed Rhodesia would continue to deal with Zambia so long as the economic relationship suited Mr. Smith's purposes, but that he would strike at Zambia when he felt strong enough to do without its market. "Zambia now bought about £40m. of Rhodesian goods annually, or more than a third of Rhodesia's industrial production. Without that market Rhodesia's foreign exchange position would be very shaky.

Zambia could not recognize Rhodesia if its Government took the action now threatened, which was condemned by the rest of the thinking world. "Our own conscience dictates that Mr. Smith is a rebel."

Zambia's plans to deal with a Rhodesian U.D.I. ensured the maintenance of a large measure of her import and export trade. "We should use the air, the waterways, and land, and in this we have the co-operation of countries far beyond the continent of Africa."

But Zambians could not be promised an easy passage and might have to tighten their belts. This was the right time to remind the Smith régime that "Zambia is not an easy country for them to handle".

United Nations Urges Use of Force

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the United Nations accepted on Friday a resolution proposed by 56 African and Asian States calling upon Britain to take "all necessary measures, including the use of military force", to bring about immediate changes in Rhodesia, including suspension of the Constitution, release of all political prisoners, and the convening of a constitutional conference based on adult suffrage with the task of fixing the earliest possible date for independence.

The resolution was carried by 82 votes to nine, with 18 abstentions. Those who abstained were France, the Scandinavian countries, and a number of Latin American nations.

Australia, Belgium, Canada, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, and the United States were the countries opposing the motion.

Britain asked to be recorded as "not participating" in the division on the ground that the Assembly had no competence to deal with the subject.

Before the vote was taken the British delegate, Lord Caradon, objected to the Assembly's intervention at so untimely a moment. Though he did not question the motives of the countries which advocated the use of military force, he doubted whether they realized the consequences of such action, which might cause a chain reaction of which no one could foresee the end.

The Australian and United States representatives spoke similarly.

On the crucial clause advocating military force, 68 States voted in favour, 34 against, and four abstained.

Speaking on the following day to the American Association in New York, Lord Caradon suggested that a confrontation between the Colonial Powers and the black nations of Africa was not far ahead. "Racialism is the world's greatest peril, with the possibility of race conflict starting in Africa and involving the world". The emergent nations would, he was confident, be able both to govern themselves and make intelligent decisions in the United Nations.

Choice of Evils, Says Archbishop

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY said when addressing undergraduates in Oxford at the week-end:—

"The issue in Rhodesia is one of a choice of evils. In our modern world I think that the use of force is legitimate only to the end of justice and order, and there are few occasions of that kind which arise. Upholding law and order did and does involve the use of force, though that force must never be used resentfully.

"I think that a State, or group of States, can use force for upholding law and order where there is a real chance that the result of force will ensure law and order. Because the use of force could bring about law and order, I do not accept the total pacifist thesis.

The text of Dr. Ramsey's letter to the Prime Minister while he was in Rhodesia has now been released. It said:—

"The British Council of Churches meeting in Aberdeen at the moment of your visit to Rhodesia ardently supports you in your efforts towards reconciliation and a new constitutional settlement.

"We hope your discussions may be continued and enlarged in harmony with the British Government's five principles and without undue delay in applying them.

"If, notwithstanding all efforts, there should come a breakdown, and if you and your Government should judge it necessary to use force to sustain our country's obligations I am sure a great body of Christian opinion would support you."

PERSONALIA

MR. LEONID TEPLOV is Russia's new Ambassador in Ethiopia.

MR. HAROLD SOREF left London at the week-end to revisit Southern Africa.

MR. VANCO BURZEVKSI has been appointed Yugoslav Ambassador in Zambia.

SIR NORMAN KIPPING has joined the board of Joseph Lucas (Industries), Ltd.

LADY WILSON, who has been on leave in Yorkshire, has returned to Ulu, Kenya.

MR. ANDREW TIBANDEBAGE has been appointed Tanzania's Ambassador in the Congo.

MR. H. J. CODRINGTON is new managing director of Consolidated African Selection Trust, Ltd.

SIR NUTCOMBE HUME is to be chairman of a London advisory board set up by the Salvation Army.

The 35th anniversary of the coronation of the EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA was celebrated last week.

MR. ISTFAN JENOFI, director of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, is visiting East Africa.

MR. WALTER CROCKER has presented his letters of credence as Australian High Commissioner in Uganda.

MR. J. L. N. KONCHALLAH, Deputy Minister for Education in Kenya, has recently visited Czechoslovakia.

MR. P. A. P. ROBERTSON has been appointed secretary of Commonwealth Development Finance Co., Ltd.

MR. KRISHNARAJ THACKERSEY is the new chairman of the Bank of India, which operates in East Africa also.

MR. H. A. BRANDT and Mr. F. D. O'BRIEN NEWMAN have joined the board of National and Grindlays Bank.

MR. JOHN PRINCE has taken up his appointment in Ndola as director and secretary of the Zambia Federation of Employers.

SAYED JAMAL MOHAMED AHMED presented his letters of credence to THE QUEEN last week as Ambassador for the Sudan Republic.

HERR HEINRICH EGGBRECHT, secretary of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of East Germany, has paid a fortnight's visit to Kenya.

SIR BASIL SMALLPEICE, former managing director of British Overseas Airways, has been appointed chairman of the Cunard shipping group.

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD, British High Commissioner in Kenya, arrived in London on Friday for consultations with the Government.

CHIEF MOTO LUKUMBUZYA has been appointed Ambassador for Tanzania in the United States. He was previously Principal Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs.

LORD REITH was on Monday elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University, having a large majority over the other two candidates, MR. IAIN MACLEOD, M.P., and LORD CARADON.

MR. P. K. VAN DER BYL, Deputy Minister for Information in Rhodesia, left London Airport on Monday for Salisbury, having been recalled from a shooting holiday in Scotland.

MR. F. E. SPENCE is now chairman of Afamal Advertising (Pty.), Ltd., Southern Africa. For the past three years he has been managing director of Pritchard Wood International, Ltd.

MR. HARRY NKUMBULA has been returned unopposed as leader of the African National Congress of Zambia. MR. EDWARD LISO, who was the nominee of a rebel group within A.N.C., declined to stand.

MAJOR-GENERAL LORD THURLOW, who commanded a brigade in Kenya during the Mau Mau rebellion, is to become president of the Missions to Seamen. He has served on its council for nine years.

MR. J. H. HOWMAN, Minister of Information, Immigration, and Tourism, is to be Rhodesian delegate at this month's conference in New Zealand of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

LORD WATKINSON has resigned from the board of the Plessey Co., Ltd., on account of increasing pressure upon him as managing director of the Schweppes group of companies, especially in connexion with export.

MR. MEREDYTH HYDE-CLARKE, director of the Overseas Employers Federation, is now in the Far East, whence he will return *via* Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, the Bahamas, and Bermuda. He is due back on December 20.

MR. N. V. OGNEV, Russian Deputy Minister for Civil Aviation, has led a three-member delegation to East Africa to negotiate terms for Aeroflot, the Soviet national airline, to operate regular services to and from East Africa.

MR. R. D. WOOLF, general manager of Central African Motors, Ltd., has been appointed to the board. He is vice-president of the Motor Trade Association of Zambia, and an alternate director of Rover (Zambia), Ltd., in which his company has a substantial shareholding.

MR. WINSTON FIELD, the former Prime Minister of Rhodesia, has had to cancel his plan to visit Australia owing to a coronary thrombosis—despite which he went to Salisbury to meet Mr. WILSON, the British Prime Minister.

VICE-PRESIDENT KARUME recently told a large gathering of Asians in Zanzibar that a genuine mixed society required intermarriage between Indians and other people, and that continued isolation might create a dangerous situation.

LORD HOWICK recently revisited Kenya for the opening of Commonwealth House, Nairobi, the new headquarters of the Commonwealth Development Corporation, of which he is chairman. He also visited the Macalder copper mine, near which a small but rich gold deposit has been discovered.

SYMPOSIUM: PORTUGAL IN AFRICA

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BIBI TITI MOHAMMED and MR. TIMOTHY SAMJELA, former M.Ps. in Tanzania, whom the national executive of T.A.N.U. intended to recommend to the President for nomination to seats at his disposal, asked to be excused. Having been defeated in the general election, neither wished to enter the House "by the back door".

SIR GEOFFREY NYE, a former Agricultural Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, has been appointed director of the Overseas Service Unit of Reading University, from which PROFESSOR D. S. THORNTON, Reader in Agricultural Economics, is being seconded to the University of Khartoum as head of the Department of Rural Economy.

MR. GARFIELD TODD'S appeal against an order restricting him to his ranch in Rhodesia for the next year has been rejected by MR. DESMOND LARDNER-BURKE, Minister for Law and Order. MR. SMITH, the Prime Minister, had told *The Times* that the restriction was due to Mr. Todd's "visits to Zambia to contact people who were aiding and abetting saboteurs".

SIR CYRIL HAWKER, chairman of the Standard Bank, has become chairman of the Bank of West Africa, now merged in the larger institution, and MR. C. R. P. HAMILTON and MR. W. M. ROBSON have been appointed deputy chairmen. Three members of the board of the bank who have joined that of the Standard Bank are FIELD MARSHALL LORD HARDING, SIR ERIC TANSLEY, and MR. SYLVESTER GATES. MR. GATES, who was chairman of the Bank of West Africa, has resigned that office but remains a deputy chairman, and also becomes a deputy chairman of the Standard Bank.

Passengers from Mombasa in the RHODESIA CASTLE include MR. & MRS. R. S. ALEXANDER, MR. C. D. ALLEN, the REV. L. ARMOUR, MR. & MRS. L. T. S. O. BOWER, the REV. P. CROWLEY, the REV. R. GEAUGHEN, DR. & MRS. HINDLEY, DR. & MRS. A. T. HOWELL, the REV. J. KIRWAN, MR. & MRS. J. A. C. MACARTNEY, the REV. J. MCINTYRE, the REV. & MRS. G. C. MITCHELL, the REV. J. MURPHY, the REV. D. O'CONNELL, the REV. P. O'CONNELL, MAJOR G. N. PACKER, MR. & MRS. T. PRINGLE, the REV. M. A. REEN, the REV. R. & MRS. SPURIN, the REV. J. SWEENEY, the REV. F. THOMPSON, the REV. J. & MRS. THOMPSON, MR. T. R. H. VALENTINE, and MR. & MRS. J. C. T. WAIN.

Obituary

VISCOUNT HALL, a former Socialist Secretary of State for the Colonies, died in Leicester on Monday, aged 83.

THE REV. EDMUND MURRAY, of St. Augustine's Mission, Penhalonga, Rhodesia, has died while on leave in England.

MR. RAMZI ISAACA, managing editor of Dar es Salaam's Swahili daily newspaper, collapsed and died in that city last week.

SIR EDWARD DE STEIN, who has died at the age of 78, founded the merchant banking house bearing his name. He was president of Gallaher, Ltd., and formerly chairman of that company, which has large Central African interests.

SIR DONALD MACKENZIE-KENNEDY, who served for many years in Northern Rhodesia, and was later Chief Secretary in Tanganyika and afterwards Governor of Nyasaland and of Mauritius, has died in South Africa. A memoir will appear next week.

THE HON. RICHARD FEETHAM, C.M.G., who has died in Natal at the age of 90, was a former Judge of Appeal in the Supreme Court of South Africa. He was chairman of the Kenya Local Government Commission of 1926, and had been Chancellor of the University of Witwatersrand since 1949.

Letter to the Editor

Colonial Service Commemorative Plaque Appeal to Past and Present Officials

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR,—Her Majesty the Queen has graciously consented to unveil a plaque which, with the kind permission of the Dean and Chapter, is to be placed in the Cloisters of Westminster Abbey, commemorating all those who served the Crown in the Colonial Territories. The unveiling ceremony will form part of a service in the Abbey which it is hoped will take place in the early months of 1966.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies has appointed a committee representative of various branches of Her Majesty's Overseas Services to make the necessary arrangements, and past and present members are invited to subscribe to the cost of the plaque, its installation, and other expenses.

Subscriptions should be sent to the secretary of the Colonial Services Commemoration Committee, Room 507, Eland House, Stag Place, Victoria, London, S.W.1. It is suggested that personal subscriptions should not exceed £1, but the committee feel that the wives of members might also wish to contribute. Donations from any institutions or firms who feel that they would like to subscribe would be greatly appreciated.

It is proposed that any balance remaining after all necessary expenses have been met be donated to the Overseas Service Pensioners' Association's Benevolent Fund.

S. FOSTER-SUTTON, *Chairman*.
CHARLES HARTWELL, *Secretary*.

[The other members of the committee are Mr. K. W. Aspinall, Sir Kerr Bevell, Mr. F. E. L. Carter, Mr. D. J. S. Crozier, Dr. C. W. Davies, Mr. L. G. Deyereux, Mr. R. E. Ellison, Mr. M. Hyde-Clark, Mr. R. W. Kettlewell, Mr. F. J. Lattin, Sir John Macpherson, Lord Milverton, Sir Hilton Poynton, Lady Sandford, Mr. C. Swabey, Miss F. N. Udell, Mr. S. A. Walden, and Sir David Watherston].

Ministerial Footballers

ZAMBIA'S VICE-PRESIDENT, Mr. Reuben Kamanga, recently captained a team of Ministers and M.Ps. in an Association football match against mayors and municipal councillors. President Kaunda was the referee. Mr. Sikota Wina, Minister of Local Government and Housing, kept goal; Mr. Justin Chimba, Minister of Justice, and Mr. P. Kapika, M.P., were the backs; DR. D. Kohoso, M.P., was left half, Mr. Andrew Mutemba, Resident Minister for the Western Province, centre half, and Mr. Aaron Milner, Minister of State for the Civil Service, right half. The centre forward was Mr. Kamanga. On his right were Mr. John Mwanakatwe, Minister of Education, and Mr. J. Soko, Resident Minister for the Eastern Province, and on his left Mr. R. Sikasula, Parliamentary Secretary in the President's Office, and Mr. P. Chanda, M.P.

Guiding Principle

THE RHODESIAN PRIME MINISTER said at the weekend when addressing white schoolboys in Umtali: "You have to be fair, so that the Africans will trust you as they did your fathers, but you must never give away that which is inherently your own. This should be your guiding principle. But you should not covet that which is not your own. I believe that the moment you try to take away from someone else what is his you run into trouble".

Comments on Archbishop's Speech Political Activities of Some Missionaries

MUCH CORRESPONDENCE about the Archbishop of Canterbury's speech on Rhodesia continues to appear in many newspapers.

MISS S. R. ADLINGTON wrote in the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"As a born Rhodesian, confirmed in the Anglican Church, may I comment on the clergy's right to speak on Rhodesia?"

"Of course there are missionaries who, as you said, 'are involved up to their necks in the Rhodesian situation and have been for generations', and of course such men have a right to speak. No reasonable person could deny that Rhodesia, particularly in the field of education, owes much to the selfless devotion of missionaries.

"In recent years the contribution made by certain missionaries at some missions has been neither as constructive nor as disinterested as that of their predecessors. You are correct in asserting that 'one or two churches and missionary societies are up to their necks in African politics'.

"The political as opposed to the educational or religious aspects of some missions' activities has been an open secret in Rhodesia during the past decade.

"The leader of one of the two main African nationalist movements still terms himself 'the Reverend'. This despite the fact that the party led by the Rev. Ndabani Sithole had to be proscribed because of the uncontrolled violence between his supporters and those of Mr. Nkomo and the vicious intimidation in which they indulged to coerce the great mass of uncommitted African people.

Knowledge Does Not Guarantee Judgment

"Only four weeks ago 28 of Mr. Sithole's supporters were sentenced to terms of imprisonment, having admitted in open court that they had re-entered Rhodesia illegally after undergoing training in sabotage, subversion, and terrorism in Ghana at the hands of Chinese and Ghanaian Army instructors.

"The British Council of Churches' knowledge of Rhodesia may be at least equal to that of any body in this country, but it does not follow that all its informants are capable of giving a balanced or objective assessment of the situation in 'my country'.

MR. G. A. G. BOWDEN said:—

"A dispute between two nations can be justly decided only by an authoritative body above them both, which would be powerless and useless without some means of enforcing its decisions. If such a body is to have authority, each nation must yield its claim to 'absolute national sovereignty in all circumstances.' Hence the demand for a 'pooling of sovereignty in a shrinking world'.

"As regards Rhodesia, the ultimate constitutional authority is still the British Government, which is trying to shoulder an inescapable responsibility. It alone has the right and duty to decide the just course in an extremely complicated and intricate situation, to safeguard law and order, to protect the rights of all the citizens of Rhodesia and to enforce those decisions if necessary.

"No one else can decide in the last resort what is right. The Archbishop made no attempt to do so. He said only that if force has to be used in the interests of justice we must not shrink from it.

"Those who condemn him ought, if they are consistent, to start abolishing the police force in this country. The reaction against him merely shows our native dislike of logic, our refusal to face facts, and our desire to evade responsibility".

Church Newspaper's Criticism

A LEADING CHURCH NEWSPAPER, the *Church Times* considers that the weight of informed opinion, including Christian opinion, is behind H.M. Government in regarding the use of force against Rhodesia as likely to prove disastrous, and against the view expressed by the British Council of Churches and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

A long leading article said (in part):—

"Many of the strong attacks made on the Archbishop have been hysterically wide of the mark. Cartoonists, as well as some leading figures in public life who should have known better, have represented him as a militant thirsting for war. Anyone who knows Dr. Ramsey must recognise such distortions as quite absurd. Attacks upon him of this nature have served chiefly to rally support for him from his friends and admirers,

who are legion, but they have also shown that both the matter and the timing of his remarks at the British Council of Churches meeting were such as to expose him to misrepresentation of the most damaging kind.

"Much of the criticism of what the Archbishop said has been reasoned, weighty, and responsible, and has come from widely respected Christian leaders (such as the Bishop of Winchester). In a tangled skein of argument the real issues are whether the Primate had the right to speak at all on this subject, whether he chose the right occasion, and whether his views are, in fact, right or wrong.

"It should be unnecessary to defend not only the right but the duty of a Christian leader to speak out on current political or social issues which involve moral factors.

Lighted Match in Explosives Factory

"It should have been plain even to the most militant hot-heads among the delegates at the Aberdeen meeting that advocacy (for so it seemed) of force to solve the tragic dilemma of Rhodesia could at that moment do no good at all and might do untold harm. There is a deal of difference between dropping a lighted match in the safety of a fire-proof room and dropping it in the middle of an explosives factory.

"It would have been wiser to remember that there is no reason at all to suppose that the British Council necessarily represents the opinions of members of its constituent Churches on such an issue; they had not been consulted.

"Is it right or wrong to approve the use of force to compel the Rhodesian Government to do what it ought to do? There is obviously room for the most sincere Christian disagreement. On balance we believe that the weight of informed opinion, including Christian opinion, is behind the British Government in regarding the use of force in this instance as likely to prove disastrous, and against the view expressed by the British Council of Churches and the Archbishop.

"The British Government's own view has been made crystal clear once again by the Prime Minister on his return from Rhodesia. It would be wrong to use force, he said, to try and get a constitutional solution.

"It is no wonder that the Prime Minister is tired of 'nations in different parts of the world trying to tell Britain how to discharge her trusteeship' in Rhodesia. It ill becomes a country like Ghana, for instance, to demand armed intervention to overthrow the Rhodesian Government when in Ghana itself the result of independence has been a régime which has destroyed political liberties, crushed the democratic opposition by means of terror, and ended the freedom of the judiciary.

"Delegates to the British Council of Churches meeting might well have asked themselves whether, if the Rhodesian Government deserves strong condemnation, the same might not also apply to some African States whose Governments are hard to distinguish from tyrannies.

"The device of setting up a royal commission, if it is set up, solves nothing. But at least it could buy precious time, and there would be another chance for reconciliation between opposed viewpoints; and from the Christian point of view it is reconciliation, not recourse to force, which should be the aim".

U.D.I. of U.S.A.

MR. JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON, M.P., recalled that what is now the U.S.A. declared its U.D.I.

"Partly because of a distant Government's concern for the indigenous Indians, for whom it reserved the entire continent west of the Alleghenies.

"The then Archbishop of Canterbury took little part, but the Bishop of Peterborough called in the House of Lords for the Sovereign to take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature, and... it is our fixed resolution to stand by His Majesty, against all rebellious attempts, in the maintenance of the just rights of His Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament".

The correspondent concluded: "Those who see justice in the Rhodesian claim to independence on the basis of a Constitution that has opened the road to majority rule (the present Leader of the Opposition in Salisbury is an African) can compare the fate of those American natives for whom the Imperial Government intended so much with that of an African population in Rhodesia growing in numbers, education, health, and wealth".

MR. QUINTIN HOGG, M.P., wrote in *The Times*:—

"Every instructed Christian knows that in certain contingencies the use of force may be morally justified. What distressed many of the laity at the Archbishop's utterance was that he spoke of the possible use of force whilst negotiations or discussions were in progress which such language could have compromised. This is not just a question of timing. It is a moral issue, and morality is not on the side of the Archbishop".

British Trusteeship Merely Vestigial Rhodesia Never Under British Administration

BRTAIN'S TRUSTEESHIP for Rhodesia was now merely vestigial, Lord Colyton wrote to *The Times*, saying:—

"In the Prime Minister's impressive report to the House of Commons on his mission to Rhodesia, which we all hope will eventually be crowned with success, he several times referred to the 'trusteeship' which Britain, he claimed, holds for the peoples of Rhodesia.

"This emphasis on trusteeship seems to ignore the fact that Southern Rhodesia, although a dominion of Her Majesty the Queen, has never been administered as a Colony from Whitehall at all. Until 1923 it was administered by the British South Africa Company under a Royal Charter. In 1922 Southern Rhodesia was given the choice of joining the Union of South Africa or acquiring self-government. She chose the latter. I submit that the trusteeship for the Rhodesian peoples of all races for internal purposes, including law and order, education, health and so forth, was thenceforward vested in the elected Government of Southern Rhodesia.

"Any element of British trusteeship that remained was further whittled away by the 1961 Constitution, so that all that remains today can only be in the sphere of international affairs and a general responsibility to prevent the variation of the entrenched clauses. While therefore the legal powers of the British Government and Parliament are perfectly clear any element of British trusteeship that may have existed now appears to be vestigial."

Holders of Rhodesian Loans

MR. COSMO RUSSELL wrote:—

"I write as an interested party in the future of Rhodesian loans if sanctions should be introduced against the Government of Rhodesia following a declaration of independence. These loans were originally guaranteed by the British Government and were bought in good faith on that assurance. With the transfer of power the obligation to pay interest and redeem these loans is also transferred.

"One would in normal circumstances have no doubt that the Government of an independent Rhodesia would have every interest in honouring this transferred obligation. If, however, the British Government acting in the name of the British people including British nationals who are holders of Rhodesia stock imposes economic sanctions and to all intents and purposes treats Rhodesia as an enemy State, it would be perfectly understandable that the Rhodesian Government should act as any other State would do and treat stock held by nationals of the United Kingdom as enemy property.

"The difference in degree between this stock and that of a foreign country with whom the United Kingdom is at war is obvious. The British Government guaranteed it in the first place. It is both gilt-edged and trustee stock, and is no doubt held by many trusts and settlements throughout the United Kingdom.

"Does the British Government then resume the obligation to pay interest and repay at redemption date? What happens, moreover, if the Government of Zambia, also adversely affected by sanctions, feels unable to meet their share of the transferred obligation?"

"I suggest that this is another of the crass folly of sanctions which will not only hurt the Rhodesians unfairly but a substantial section of the British public as well. This form of entirely ineffective reprisal has never been of the remotest use."

Guidance Which Was Bound to Influence

MR. PAUL BRYAN, M.P., Conservative Front Bench spokesman on broadcasting, wrote:—

"In his speech at Guildhall at the dinner celebrating the tenth anniversary of Independent Television, Mr. Wilson said that it was not the function of the Government to decide or influence the contents of broadcasting programmes. In the House yesterday he said that prior to the B.B.C. decision to withdraw the invitation to Mr. Ian Smith to appear on the '24 Hours' programme it was merely suggested to both organizations that if they were asked for time for such a broadcast they should consider the circumstances in which such broadcasts might be made."

"If this message was not intended to 'influence' the content of programmes, what was its purpose?"

SIR HAROLD SHOEBERT said:—

"Many of today's troubles in the developing countries of the Commonwealth are due to the obsession of successive British Governments with the idea that our form of Parliamentary democracy is necessarily suitable for such countries. The result is that dangerous slogan 'One man, one vote'.

"Is not the answer for developing countries a form of democracy adapted to the characteristics and culture of the country concerned?"

"President Ayub Khan has achieved this in his 'basic democracies', and wise authorities have advocated similar experiments elsewhere. This system indeed secures the principle of one man one vote, without putting the administration in the control of demagogues."

Christians Who Believe in U.D.I.

BISHOP ALDERSON of Mashonaland, who has served in Africa for 30 years, wrote to the *Church Times*:—

"There are very many regular communicant white laymen of all denominations who do most sincerely believe that U.D.I. is now morally justifiable, as Mr. Smith does, and in the truest interests of the whole population of Rhodesia.

"They would say that they do not want it, and that it is an evil, but much less an evil (on all counts) than what they have been persuaded to believe the only alternative,—a rapid transition to unskilled tribal, racial, and nationalist government. I do not believe this myself.

"Hundreds also—including, I believe, the Prime Minister—are sincere about full African participation, steady advancement and in consequence ultimate African majority rule. But these people just as sincerely hold that immediate or rapid universal franchise would be a disastrous thing, to avoid which they have persuaded themselves that U.D.I. is the only means now left them."

MR. I. H. STOCKWOOD, commenting on reports that President Johnson had pledged United States help to Britain if Rhodesia made a unilateral declaration of independence, suggested:—

"How odd it is that the perpetrators of the most celebrated U.D.I. in history should be so anxious to prevent their example being followed!"

American Impudence and Hypocrisy

MR. RICHARD B. VON GOETZ wrote to the *Dundee Courier*:—

"It has been a relief to me to see your forthright stand in favour of the people of Rhodesia.

"The action of the U.S. Government in threatening Mr. Ian Smith of Rhodesia at a crucial time in the negotiations between a British Prime Minister and another of Her Majesty's subjects has carried impudence and hypocrisy to an all-time high. I, as a U.S. citizen and familiar with the U.S. Government, am, though deeply ashamed, not particularly surprised, having often wondered what they would use for diplomacy if they ever ran out of dollars.

"There is today in Rhodesia, as there has been for 70 years, peace, order, law, and a stable and efficient administration. This is a state of affairs lamentably lacking in the unhappy lands of many of her severest critics.

"Such a condition is essential to enable citizens to plan for the future with confidence and knowledge of security. This type of social order has become respected throughout the world, and so far only people of British stock have been able to produce it. The people of Rhodesia wish only to preserve these traditions and their allegiance to your Crown. I do sincerely hope that you in this realm will offer to the Rhodesians in their hour of need a helping hand such as they offered to you in yours."

R.T.V. Reply to Mr. Harold Wilson

RHODESIA TELEVISION has replied to the Prime Minister's statement that he was given much less time on TV during his visit to Salisbury than Mr. Ian Smith had received in London.

A spokesman for R.T.V. has pointed out that the Rhodesian Prime Minister had 69 minutes of television on the two main British channels, and that while Mr. Wilson was in Rhodesia there was constant special coverage of his activities. Altogether 50½ minutes of film were shown, including the whole of his statement at his final Press conference.

Since Britain has two main television channels, a considerable amount of duplication was inevitable in Mr. Smith's appearances. Rhodesia, however, has only one channel, and the 50½ minutes must therefore compare very favourably with the 69 minutes given in London.

However, Mr. Wilson's T.V. time in Rhodesia would have been increased by at least 30 minutes had he agreed to the offer to appear in a question-and-answer programme.

Plea for the Patience of Realism

Unrealism of "One Man One Vote" Slogan

DAME MARGERY PERHAM—than whom few people in Britain have done more over a long period to encourage African political nationalism—has pleaded in *The Times* for a "few years of the patience of realism in respect of Rhodesia. Her letter said:—

"May I make a plea through your columns to the leaders of independent Africa to show some restraint during the next few weeks when, following Mr. Wilson's vigorous initiative, the British and the Rhodesians wrestle with one part of the world's most difficult problem, that of race.

"Most of us realize that in addition to its general political aspects, this is an issue which has a deep personal significance for every African. Yet it would surely show some lack of statesmanship on the part of the Organization for African Unity if it concentrated all its energies upon the wrecking of an interim phase for Rhodesia while it appears to give less attention to far more destructive and dangerous crises in Africa.

Rwanda, Burundi and Sudan

"The Organization is now offering more realistic treatment to the ravaged Congo. But how much has it done to ameliorate the terrible tragedy of little Rwanda, where it is reported that tens of thousands of Tutsi were massacred by the Hutu, and with neighbouring Burundi in danger of the infection of murder?"

"But the State that most calls for African statesmanship at this moment is the Sudan. Here the army of the Muslim Arab north appears to have been let loose upon the dissident tribes, pagan and partly Christian, of the south. Refugees have been pouring over the frontiers, and terrible stories have been told of massacre, torture, and burning of churches and schools, and the killing of those who wore clothes or spoke English in order to deprive these isolated tribes of leadership.

"Doubtless the tribes have hit back when they could. But it should be the part of the more advanced and responsible northern people to deal with these tribes with patience and restraint and to stand by the promise of their first Constitution to respect religious liberty. We must hope that some of the terrible reports are exaggerated, but there can be no certainty while the Sudan Government keeps the south as a closed region.

"Surely the O.A.U. would strengthen its moral authority if it sent a mediatory delegation to help to bring this tragic bloodshed to a conclusion. Or it might ask the United Nations, which is already trying to feed and care for the refugees, to use its good offices to restore the broken contacts.

Africans Unready for the Responsibility

"I do not write this to score a point against the leaders of independent Africa. I do not share the low estimate of their achievements held in much of Southern Africa, and have done what I could to interpret their difficulties and measure their achievements. I do not minimize the difficulties in the present atmosphere of Africa, and, indeed, of the world, for black and white to co-operate in full equality and amity. But it is unrealistic for African leaders to reiterate "one man one vote today" in Rhodesia and expect the minority, whose capital, enterprise, and commercial and agricultural skill have played the main part in creating the impressive but vulnerable State and economy of Rhodesia to surrender overnight to a majority which—for whatever reason—is unready to carry the responsibility.

"The British Government is struggling with her own kinsmen in Rhodesia to gain a few years during which Africans can be eased into increasing participation with every help given for general education and specialist training. White minority rule is not democracy; but nor is the one-party State which, however useful an expedient in the earliest stages for many newly independent African States, could be destructive not only of wealth but of life if abruptly imposed upon Rhodesia.

"Is it too much, in face of the bloodshed and ruin which can so easily be provoked in the present critical stage of Africa's independence, to ask its leaders to bring to this issue for a few years the patience of realism?"

A former Minister of Burundi, a trade union leader, and officials of the Senate were among the last 10 men executed in Bujumbura by a firing squad. Forty-three were then officially stated to have been shot for participation in the recent attempted coup.

Reith Lecture on Race Problems

MR. ROBERT GARDINER, a Ghanaian who is executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, said in the B.B.C. Home Service on Sunday in the first of his Reith lectures that problems of the treatment of settlers and of migration would eventually have to be examined collectively in a world organization. There was nothing to substantiate the claim that aversion to skin colour was inherent or instinctive. Those who based their antipathy on hearsay or spontaneous resentment did not see individuals, but blocks of people, each of whom was expected to behave in a peculiar way. In their race-thinking mood people forgot the individual and remembered sweeping generalizations. Racialism was a hysterical phenomena. To remove false prejudices was a form of social therapy.

Sudan Differences Adjusted

A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE in Mr. Mahgoub's Sudanese Coalition Government was passed in the Constituent Assembly on Monday by 136 votes to 31. Seven Ministers representing the National Union Party who had resigned had rejoined the Government on condition that the leader of that party, Mr. Ismail al Azhari, who is president of the Supreme Council and titular Head of State, would in future represent the country at African summit meetings. They had objected to Mr. Mahgoub's decision that he as Prime Minister would represent the Sudan at the O.A.U. conference in Accra.

For spearing a lion to death in a national park a Masai in Tanzania has been jailed for 15 months. The lion had attacked his cattle.

Elephant tusks worth about £20,000 have been recovered in the Eastern Province of Zambia under an amnesty. They came from more than 800 elephants which had been illegally killed by poachers.

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No Pressure on B.B.C., But Guidance

Prime Minister's Explanation in Commons

THE PRIME MINISTER gave a qualified denial last week in the House of Commons to the suggestion that the Government had tried to influence the television authorities in connexion with broadcasts by the Prime Minister of Rhodesia when he was recently in London.

SIR IAN ORR-EWING asked what official representations by or on behalf of Ministers had been made to the broadcasting authorities concerning broadcasts by Rhodesian representatives.

THE PRIME MINISTER: "There was no attempt by the Government to interfere with the discretion of either the British Broadcasting Corporation or the Independent Television Authority as regards broadcasts by Rhodesian representatives any more than as regards any other broadcasts. It was merely suggested to both organizations that, if they were asked for time for such a broadcast, they should consider the circumstances in which such broadcasts might be made."

Strange and Unfortunate

SIR IAN ORR-EWING: "Is the Prime Minister aware that we are glad to know there was absolutely no pressure put on, or guidance given, from Downing Street to the B.B.C. or the I.T.A. on this issue? But does he not feel that it was both strange and unfortunate that television broadcasts on the B.B.C. were allowed to the Lord Chancellor, to himself, and to members of the African Opposition, and, after being offered to Mr. Ian Smith, they were then withdrawn at the last moment?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "What I said in my answer

was perfectly proper, because I think that it was appropriate that the broadcasting authorities should have their attention drawn—so that within their discretion they could decide this—to the circumstances that would arise if during his stay in London Mr. Smith had announced the intention to proceed to illegal action.

"I think that it was right that the broadcasting authorities should have their attention drawn to what the law would be if that happened. It did not happen, and there was no other pressure put upon them.

"I should say that the figures have been collected since, and Mr. Smith had 69 minutes of television time on the two main channels, given within the discretion of the two broadcasting authorities, and not under pressure from the Government; and that was a great deal more than I got in Rhodesia."

Portugal and Rhodesia

In reply to a question from **MR. WALL** about exchanges with the Government of Portugal concerning the Rhodesian representative in that country, **MR. MICHAEL STEWART**, the Foreign Secretary, told the House of Commons:—

"H.M. Government's view has been explained on frequent occasions to the Portuguese Government during the last three months. H.M. Government remain responsible for Rhodesia's external affairs and for the diplomatic representation of her interests in foreign countries. They cannot therefore agree to the Portuguese Government receiving a representative of Rhodesia in a capacity unacceptable to H.M. Government, and would only accept the appointment of such a representative if he were to be formally a member of the staff of H.M. Ambassador in Lisbon.

"The Portuguese Government have throughout these exchanges recognized H.M. Government's responsibility for Rhodesia's external affairs, but Mr. Reedman, who arrived in Lisbon on September 15, has been officially received by the Portuguese authorities as a representative of Rhodesia, although not in the capacity of an Accredited Diplomatic Representative, which is the title the Rhodesian authorities have claimed for him.

"Mr. Reedman's presence in Lisbon does not affect the responsibility of H.M. Government for the conduct of Rhodesia's external affairs with the Portuguese Government."

MR. BRAINE asked for a statement on the grant of an interest-free loan to Ethiopia.

MR. ORAM: "It has been agreed that the £2m. loan to Ethiopia which was announced in principle in April 1964 is to be on interest-free terms. The Emperor has expressed his appreciation. The loan will be tied to British goods and services, and will be used on development projects to be agreed between the two Governments."

Hostility to British Initiative from Kenya

SIR GEOFFREY DE FREITAS, who was Malcolm MacDonald's predecessor as U.K. High Commissioner in Kenya, asked the Commonwealth Relations Secretary whether, "in view of the long-standing hostility to any British initiative coming out of Kenya", the office of Mr. MacDonald as H.M. Government's Special Representative in East and Central Africa might be in a country other than Kenya.

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "I recognize my hon. friend's great experience as a result of his service in East Africa, and I shall bear his suggestion in mind."

MR. HORNBY: "Can the rt. hon. gentleman tell the House of the attitude of Uganda to this appointment?"

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "The Prime Minister of Uganda is of the opinion that the best way of conducting negotiations between the two countries is direct through the High Commissioners resident in both countries."

MR. SELWYN LLOYD: "As regards the other countries, excluding Uganda, may we take it that there will still be direct contact with H.M. Government and the High Commissioner of the territory concerned?"

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "Yes, that is the intention. It is hoped that Mr. MacDonald will have a roving commission. There are so many matters of common interest in East Africa that it was thought advisable to try to co-ordinate them in the best interests of this country and the other countries."

MR. CLEDWYN HUGHES said that the secretary-general, two deputy secretaries, and three others of an agreed strength of 11 senior staff had now been appointed to the Commonwealth Secretariat. The six senior men came respectively from Australia, Canada, Ceylon, Ghana, New Zealand and the United Kingdom.

Of an agreed strength of 24 junior staff, eight had been appointed—three from the U.K., two from Nigeria, and one each from Australia, Ceylon and Jamaica.

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SULAWATO SWELO BALIGORBY UNTALT LIEHROSTONE LUSAKA NIWE

Parliament on Rhodesia

(Continued from page 187)

view regrettable resolution has been passed in the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations—a resolution which I understand is likely to be endorsed by the General Assembly. In his statement this afternoon the Prime Minister said that in the last resort perhaps there might be a referendum supervised by an independent body.

"Does he visualize that being the United Nations? [HON. MEMBERS: 'Why not?'] If so, would the Prime Minister bear in mind the very great danger, if we were to take that view, of giving the United Nations power which really they do not have and which the Trusteeship Committee is abusing?"

Referendum Under Outside Supervision

THE PRIME MINISTER: "While I do not agree with the last few words of the hon. and gallant gentleman, nor with some of the interjections during his remarks about the United Nations, nevertheless I take the view that the referendum requires outside supervision, not only as to the ballot-box procedure, but as to freedom of political association; but I think that the appropriate authority to provide that impartial supervision is the British Government on terms acceptable to the British Parliament, because it is our responsibility, and we have the duty of ensuring that this referendum is carried through on a free basis—as we should have to face any consequent responsibility—and with guarantees against intimidation from any quarter."

SIR K. PICKTHORN: "Since it is now plain that what the Prime Minister calls the unanimity rule has extreme urgency, could he explain it to us a little? Does what he calls the unanimity rule mean that every member of the Commission will be conscious throughout that there can be nothing in the report which has not received the assent and consent of each one of the three members?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The hon. Member is correct. The statement means that at the end of the day the Royal Commission will report saying either 'Yes, this is acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole' or 'No, it is not'. It must be a unanimous report."

MRS. SHIRLEY WILLIAMS: "Since the Prime Minister will appreciate how strongly the Prime Minister of Rhodesia will wish to prove that he has the support of the Rhodesian community for the 1961 Constitution, may I ask whether he could give the House any information about the type of supervision of this attitude of the Rhodesian population which we can

expect from the Commission? Is it possible to ascertain that, if accepted, the 1961 Constitution would be carried out in full in the light of what happened to the constitutional committee under that Constitution?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "If this is done on the basis of a Royal Commission, it will be for the Royal Commission to recommend the methods of supervision. I am not yet in a position to say who the members will be, but I shall have the fullest confidence in that Commission to recommend methods of ascertainment which, in so far as they involve a direct popular referendum or means of finding out the views of the Rhodesian people, will be guaranteed to be free under whatever supervision is needed. I am in no doubt that if the Rhodesian Government now reject the idea of a Royal Commission—and I think that that is inconceivable—then under our proposal for a 100% referendum it will be our duty to see that there is adequate supervision."

Are the Differences Great?

MR. WALL: "Would the Prime Minister agree that both in London and in Salisbury the Rhodesian Government did move some way towards his point of view? May I therefore press him to get their agreement to publish the differences which still lie between the British and Rhodesian Governments? I do not believe that they are as great as all that."

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I think that they are very great. They are great not merely as legal matters; they are great because of the political differences. I fear that they may represent something much deeper than that, deeper than simple political approaches to a problem. This is why we felt that since we could not reach agreement on the terms to go into the document of the Royal Commission, we could not endorse one put forward by the Rhodesian Government. It involves fundamental questions about retrogression."

MR. SILVERMAN: "Will my hon. friend bear in mind that nearly everybody concedes to him the claim which he made the other day that he has done everything in a man's power to try to bring this tragic and difficult situation to an end, and that therefore this will offer him a firm support, in consequence, in not making any further concession which would go beyond what is reasonable?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The full rights of this House are completely reserved as to the terms of independence."

MR. THORPE: "If there is failure to reach agreement on amendments to the 1961 Constitution, and since the Rhodesians are now pressing for independence on the basis of that Constitution, and since successive Governments have made it clear that there is inadequate support for independence on the basis of that Constitution short of a complete referendum, what is the purpose of asking a Royal Commission to advise on the taking of opinions on a limited basis to reach a conclusion of which we are already well aware?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The point is that the previous Government and ourselves have not said that we are satisfied that there is no Rhodesian support for this. We have said that Mr. Smith's contention that there is support has never been proved and we have never been satisfied—either the previous Governments or ourselves—about the methods which he suggested for finding it out. This is a chance to find it out once and for all, not on the basis of what he may have said or what the hon. gentleman or we may think, but on a basis of fact, under a Royal Commission in which we can have confidence, as to whether Mr. Smith is right or wrong; and the consequences of finding that out can be very important."

MR. HEATH: "Will it be the responsibility of the Royal Commission to define what is meant by 'acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole', as well as to ascertain whether that definition in fact exists in the country itself? If that is the case, an immense responsibility will rest on the Royal Commission and on the Prime Minister in the choice of his representative on it."

Acceptable to the Disfranchised

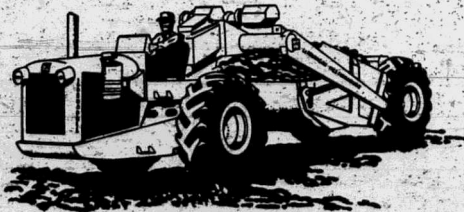
THE PRIME MINISTER: "It is for the Commission to define what is meant by this. I personally would have every confidence in its members' ability to do that and test it out. If when the report was received we all felt that they had gone out of their senses and had defined as 'acceptability' something that was clearly not acceptable, this House reserves its position. However, I think that the members of the Commission will not only be learned in the subject and other matters, but will have a real knowledge of the issues and of the political realities in Rhodesia as well as elsewhere—and the political realities in Rhodesia will suggest that 'acceptability' means not only acceptable to the present electorate but to a very much larger number of Rhodesians who are at present disfranchised."

MR. ENNALS: "I beg to ask leave, Mr. Speaker, to move the adjournment of the House, under Standing Order No. 9, to call attention to a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the situation in Rhodesia and the decision of H.M. Government to authorize a Royal Commission of three

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to consult the Rhodesian people concerning their acceptance or otherwise of independence on the basis of the 1961 Constitution.

"The question of Rhodesian independence faces the British Government with probably a bigger challenge than at any time since 1947, when independence was granted to India and Pakistan.

"On Monday the Prime Minister said that the decision on Rhodesian independence would require an Act of Parliament, and therefore a decision of both Houses. But in answer to the Leader of the Liberal Party the Prime Minister said that if the Commission had reached agreement it would be difficult for this Parliament not to be influenced by the decision. I submit that it may be that if by some strange chance or mischance the proposal now before the Commission should be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia, then today or tomorrow, or before a final reply is sent to Salisbury, may be the only opportunity for the House of Commons to decide on what basis we are prepared to see independence granted to Rhodesia. This is a matter, as the Prime Minister has said many times, over which this Parliament is paramount."

MR. SPEAKER: "For the benefit of new Members especially, I point out that the House has given me, under Standing Order No. 9, tremendous power—power to withhold or give consent to such an application for leave, not because the matter is not a serious one, but because the chair has to be guided by the precedents which have established themselves over the years, in deciding that a certain matter shall or shall not take precedence. I am bound in my decision by the rulings of the chair in previous similar occasions.

"The situation which the hon. gentleman has argued only threatens to arise, and a situation which only threatens to arise, however grave the circumstances, does not fall within the standing order because it merely threatens. It may not take place, or it may be varied by other intervening events. To that extent it remains hypothetical, and so falls outside the standing order's requirements of a definite matter.

"The application for leave must also relate to a single specific matter, and not, as in this case, to one of a series of related events. In these circumstances I cannot allow the hon. Member's request. I am grateful to him for having given me notice this morning that he probably had this intention in mind."

Concessions by Rhodesia

On the previous day Mr. Wall had said:—

"While welcoming the rt. hon. gentleman, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, back from his arduous journey, may I ask whether it is not a fact that the Rhodesian Government have made further concessions towards the difficulties referred to by the Prime Minister yesterday, and, in view of this, can he say when we are likely to reach agreement on the terms of the Royal Commission?"

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "The Attorney-General and I brought back a document which showed differences of opinion between both sides. The Rhodesian Government and our own Government will be considering these matters."

MR. JOHNSON: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that many hon. Members of this House who visit that country and indeed work there have the deepest misgivings about the capacity and the possibility of white people handing over political power voluntarily to African peoples? Can he say what Mr. Smith and his colleagues are doing in the way of the further advancement of the African peoples to fit them for this purpose, particularly in the fields of education and the civil service?"

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "What has been done by the Rhodesian Government is on record. The Parliamentary Secretary to

the Ministry of Overseas Development went with the Prime Minister's mission and suggested ways in which, if the British Government could be helpful, we were willing to do so."

MR. FISHER: "As the views of the rest of the Commonwealth are important in this matter would the Secretary of State make an assessment to the House of the sort of reaction to the Royal Commission proposals which he and the Prime Minister encountered in the African countries on their way home?"

Africans Want Majority Rule Before Independence

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "Yes. The Prime Minister went to the West African countries and put the proposals before them. They understood the problem and listened sympathetically, and I have no doubt in due course they will make their views generally known. I can speak more authoritatively of those in the East, and I can say without any doubt that all of them, although not enthusiastic about the Royal Commission, were willing to try anything as long as success would follow, but with this proviso that independence ought not to come before majority rule."

MR. HUGHES: "Does my rt. hon. friend realize that all lovers of democracy will congratulate him and the Prime Minister on their efforts to maintain solidarity in the British Commonwealth of Nations, one of the greatest instruments for peace in the world?"

MR. WINGFIELD DIGBY asked the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, when considering a new Constitution for Rhodesia, what evidence he had taken into account about experience gained from the operation of the Constitutions in former British possessions in Africa on the basis of which independence was granted.

MR. BOTTOMLEY: "The former British possession in Africa whose experience is most relevant to the Rhodesian situation are probably South Africa, Kenya, and Zambia. In dealing with the Rhodesian problem we have had these countries much in mind."

White Farmers in Kenya U.K. Asked to Buy Them Out

THREE KENYA MINISTERS, Messrs. Gichuru (Finance), McKenzie (Agriculture), and Angaine (Lands and Settlement), began talks in London on Monday with Mrs. Castle, Minister for Overseas Development, Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, U.K. High Commissioner in Kenya, on a plan to buy about another 1,000 European mixed farms covering approximately 1½ m. acres.

Pleading that it cannot afford to take over the properties within about the next five years, as it wishes, the Kenya Government wants British taxpayers to finance the scheme, mainly by direct grant. The full sum at issue is variously estimated at between £25m. and £35m.

Mr. John Pollard, president of the Kenya National Farmers' Union, and six other mixed farmers in the Kenya Highlands have been in London for some time and have already seen Mrs. Castle. They told her that organized transfer of the land to Africans was essential in the interests of stability, and argued that Britain should therefore meet the difference between the maximum sum which Kenya could afford and an equitable price for the land. Kenya would not pay more than two-thirds of the price at which the first million acres had been bought. The delegation claims that 1959 land values should be the criterion, and that approximately £7m. would cover the gap.

Mr. Mboya Contradicted

Mr. Pollard has publicly contradicted a statement by Mr. Mboya, Minister of Economic Planning, that there is a substantial market for land in Kenya today at prices comparable with those ruling in 1959. A farmer selling to African buyers through the Land Bank would, he emphasized, be fortunate to get half the 1959 value. He cited a recent case of a property certainly worth £22,000 in 1959 for which the best present offer is £10,000.

"If Mr. Mboya's contention were correct, there would be a natural transfer of farms and no need for a further scheme. It is because we feel so strongly that to leave the farmers with no alternative but to sell through the Land Bank is utterly wrong and ruinous to most farmers that we are insisting that Britain must honour her obligations and make enough money available to ensure fair prices."

The British and Kenya Ministers are to consider the report of the Maxwell Stamp Mission sent to East Africa some months ago to examine the whole question.

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Commercial Brevities

A £200,000 contract for a communications network for the Kenya Police has been placed with G.E.C. (Telecommunications), Ltd., Coventry.

Delegates from employer associations in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia recently spent two days in conference in Dar es Salaam.

Union Minière du Haut-Katanga expects copper production this year to be about 10,000 metric tons higher than in 1964, when the output was 275,500 tons.

A French economic mission of 21 members has visited East Africa under the leadership of M. Francois Gavoty, manager of the National Bank for Commerce and Industry, Paris.

All chambers of commerce in Kenya are to be dissolved now that the Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry has been formed. The Nairobi Chapter takes the place of Nairobi Chamber of Commerce.

Net operating receipts of Benguela Railway for the first nine months of the year totalled £2,088,025, compared with £1,954,782 for January-September last year. There was little change in the volume of traffic carried, but receipts were up from £5.16m. to £5.38m.

In the first seven months of this year 501 new companies were registered in Rhodesia with total nominal capital of £6,854,565. In Zambia in the first eight months 300 companies had nominal capital of £3,814,000. In both cases there were sharp falls on the comparative 1964 figures, which had been 710 companies and capital of £12,583,928 in Rhodesia, and 486 companies with capital of £10,204,400 in Zambia.

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., reports profit after tax to August 31 at £1,218,000 (£1,092,000). Dividends of 1s. 3d. net per share, (the same) take £660,000, the appropriation to reserve is increased to £475,000 from £410,000, and the carry-forward is £342,000. The issued capital remains unchanged at just under £5.3m. Fixed assets stand at £5.6m., investments at £5.8m., and net current assets at £706,000. Sales of coal and coke amounted to 3,348,455 and 191,142 tons respectively, compared with 2,893,082 and 134,742 tons in the previous year. Capital expenditure this year, largely on mechanized equipment, will be about £1m., and still heavier outlay is likely in the next few years. Sir Keith Acutt is the chairman.

Holland and Japan are stated to have indicated that they would not buy Rhodesian tobacco if there were a unilateral declaration of independence. West Germany, Rhodesia's second largest tobacco customer, has given a similar warning to the Rhodesia Tobacco Association.

Malawi is to be the source of bauxite supplies for East and Central Africa, the Finance Minister said on returning from the regional conference in Lusaka of the Economic Commission for Africa. French exports recently studied proposals for a bauxite industry on Mount Manje.

M.T.D. (Mangula), Ltd., reports net profits after tax for the year ended September 30 at £2,059,291, compared with £1,152,326 in the previous year. The dividend is increased from 74d. to 1s. 14d. per 5s. unit, taking £1,125,000 (£625,000). The transfer to reserve is up from £500,000 to £900,000. Capital expenditure during the year amounted to £510,793 (£170,960). In the September quarter 2,782 long tons of copper were recovered, making 10,980 for the financial year, compared with 11,210 in the previous year. The Associated Messina (Transvaal) Development Company had an output of 4,043 tons for the quarter and 15,731 for the financial year.

Fisons, Ltd., a group with two companies in Rhodesia, one each in Sudan, Kenya, and Zambia, and subsidiaries in many other parts of the world, made a profit in the year to June 30 of £3,082,672 after tax of £1,384,342. Dividends totalling 14% took nearly £1.3m., leaving a carry-forward of £1,693,284. The issued capital is almost £15.5m in ordinary shares and just over £4.25m. in preference capital. Loan capital amounts to £13.5m., and short-term loans to nearly £3.4m. Buildings, plant and equipment stand in the books at £29.3m., goodwill and patents at £4.2m., and interests in associated companies at £3.9m. Current assets exceed current liabilities by £14.7m.

Brooke Bond & Co., Ltd., a group with large tea growing interests in East Africa, report consolidated profit after tax to June 30 at £3,706,035, against £3,082,727 in the previous year. Dividends of 44d. tax free per 5s. share take £1.1m., leaving nearly £2.4m. to be carried forward, against under £1.2m. brought in. Turnover exceeded £128m. The capital employed in the group is £45.2m. Mr. John Brooke, the chairman, says in his annual review that severe storms in Kenya were followed by prolonged drought, so that it was a case of "hail and farewell" to any record crops. Field experiments with crops other than tea are being made in Kenya and Tanzania.

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BELFAST GLASGOW LONDON LIVERPOOL SOUTHAMPTON



"At home and abroad — a good year "



says
John Brooke
Chairman of
Brooke Bond
& Co. Ltd.

At home and abroad, we have enjoyed a good year. Less tea and profit came from tea plantations because crops were smaller; better profits came from overseas sales companies.

Group profit rose to £7,241,967 compared with £7,212,119.

Group net profit after tax for the year to 30th June 1965 is £3,706,035 after charging Corporation Tax at 35% on U.K. profits. If the rate turns out to be 40% our profits will be down by £150,000.

Taxation. If the new tax structure in the U.K. had been in force retained profits would have been reduced from £2,436,441 to £1,630,776 (1964—£1,914,798) because we would have had to pay the tax deducted from the dividends direct to the Revenue.

Share Capital. We are proposing the capitalization of £2,343,750 of undistributed profits—an issue of one new Ordinary share for every six held on 5th November 1965.

Dividend. We are recommending a final dividend of 3½d. making a total of 4½d. net per Ordinary share (last year 4½d. net). The gross equivalent percentage rate is 13.475% (1964—12.245%).

Sales News. World sales of Brooke Bond packet teas again expanded during the year. Turnover reached £128,376,000: In India exceptional sales were recorded. In the United States, sales increased by nearly 20%. In Britain competition has been even tougher than usual. Our very active sales force of 750 men holds firmly on to the Company's dominating lead in proprietary packet tea sales. There has been no increase in the price of Brooke Bond's teas at home since May 1957 and we shall hope to continue to keep these prices stable during the present year.

Tea Plantations. Brooke Bond's own production of tea was 43.3m. lbs., a drop of 3m. lbs. compared with last year. It was those capricious climatic conditions again, this time affecting all areas except Assam, where a larger crop was gathered.

Prospects. This year have about the same potential as they did this time last year assuming we can earn the same sort of profits in the East—last year's results turned out a little better than your directors expected.

Brooke Bond & Co. Ltd.

Extracts from the Chairman's Statement dated 21st October, 1965. A copy of the full Statement is included in the Report & Accounts which may be obtained from 6, Greencoat Place, S.W.1.

An East African Chamber of Commerce has been formed in the United States. The president is Mr. Jacques M. Fisher. Great Britain is to supply 222 tractors to Uganda, the purchase being financed from a 26m. interest-free loan granted by Britain for Uganda Development purposes.

Ruo Estates Holdings, Ltd., tea growers in Nyasaland, report profits to June 30 at £25,208 (£36,602) before tax of £10,460 (£16,235). The dividend is maintained at 7%.

Falcon Mines, Ltd., Rhodesia, estimate net profit at the Dalny mine in the quarter to September 30 at £74,899. The yield was 18,356 fine oz. gold from 64,700 tons of ore milled.

Charterhouse Investments Trust, Ltd., of which Sir Nutcombe Hume is chairman, reports profit after tax to April 30 at £263,374 (£219,077). Dividends totalling 264% take £221,462 (20% and £171,500 in 1964).

James Finlay & Co., Ltd., the £12m. Glasgow merchants with large East African tea growing interests, while maintaining the interim dividend at 3½%, announce that profits for 1965 are likely to be substantially lower than those for last year, when a final dividend of 10½% was paid.

Leyra Sisal and General Investments, Ltd., made a profit in the year to June 30 last of £33,816 (£33,392), subject to tax of £18,558. Preferred stockholders get 22½% and holders of the deferred stock 12½% together taking £16,072, and leaving a carry-forward of £12,486. The issued capital is £205,122. Investments stand in the books at £250,516. Current liabilities total £33,535 and current assets £17,988. Mr. C. W. S. Temple is the chairman, and his colleagues on the board are Mr. J. H. S. Tranter and Mr. Aschan.

Dwa Plantations, Ltd., had an output of 877 tons of sisal for the half-year to June 30 (957 tons in the previous year), which sold for an average c.i.f. of £89 (£133), leaving profit before tax of about £7,700 (£45,430). On account of output for the second half of the year 49% tons have been sold forward at an average c.i.f. price of £81. October output of 111 tons of sisal and tow in October brought the total to 1,439 for the first 10 months of the year (1,544 in 1964).

British and Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd., owners of the Union-Castle, Clan, and other lines, had fleet earnings in the first half of this year of £4,662,000 (before depreciation and tax), or about £54,000 above the corresponding 1964 figure. Depreciation being slightly higher and net investment income unchanged, pre-tax profits are slightly down, from £1.95m. to £1.93m. The interim dividend remains 4%. Sir Nicholas Cayzer, the chairman, thinks that pre-tax profits for the year will approximate closely to those for 1964 (£3,233,000).

Mazoe Consolidated Mines, Ltd., a wholly-owned subsidiary of Coronation Syndicate, Ltd., has acquired all the Rhodesian mining interests of that company, which is registered in South Africa, and has also purchased the assets of Arcturus Mines, Ltd., Homestake Gold Mining Co., Ltd., Kanyemba Gold Exploration (Pvt.), Ltd., and Mashaba Gold Mines (Pvt.), Ltd. Mazoe has changed its name to Corson Consolidated Mines, Ltd. In due course the other companies will be liquidated. In the quarter to September 30 Coronation had a mining profit of £55,869 from milling 56,534 tons of ore. Capital expenditure in the quarter amounted to £47,178.

Mzee Kenyatta's Speech in Parliament No Legislation for One-Party State

PRESIDENT KENYATTA said in the Kenya Parliament week, when the new debating chamber was opened, that the Government did not intend to submit legislation on a one-party State.

"In other independent States of Africa there exist a number of other constitutional experiments. We shall continue to watch these developments with brotherly interest and goodwill. We can learn and benefit from our own approach to this matter and our own achievement. Kenya has no need to copy from alien ideas. We have our own concept of *Ujamaa* (Socialism) springing from our own culture.

"Our whole constitutional structure is rooted in our African traditions. These give our people the right to select and strengthen our council of elders, that is today called Parliament; and by these traditions national unity may endure as something we have fought for and won.

"Our party must always be the instrument of the people, guiding and guarding their interests. It must never come to be manipulated by a few. And the whole strength of our party must be based in non-alignment."

The Government would be increasingly concerned with housing as a basis of family welfare and self-respect, with the health of every citizen, with the building of training schools for nurses, and with education, the greatest single foundation of effective nation-building on the road to African Socialism and true prosperity.

There were well over a million pupils attending primary schools with a curriculum common to all. A commission would shortly examine matters relating to the whole of primary education.

Tougher Action in North-East

"Secondary education has had the highest priority in the amended development plan. There will be free secondary education for all pupils in form V and VI by next year. The enrolment of Kenya students in the East African University will be increased by 50% in the coming session, while already there are over 4,000 Kenya students engaged in post-secondary studies in nearly 20 overseas countries.

"By 1970 the co-operative sector of Kenya's economy will be reasonable for up to 20% of the gross national product. The conservation and development of natural resources is a long-term process having equal standing with all other developments and services as a key to Kenya's future.

"Tourism may rapidly help Kenya to diversify the whole economic pattern. It is estimated that by 1970 tourism will employ more than 60,000 people directly.

"The security and welfare of all our people is uppermost in the mind of the Government. Ever since my speech in this House in February, 1964, on the whole issue of Somali aggression and *shifita* unrest in northern Kenya, we have pursued a policy based on defence of our rights and our territory, human tolerance and understanding, and belief that justice and patience would together bring about a return to normal conditions. But appeals are no longer enough. My Government will no longer tolerate a position whereby almost one-third of Kenya's land area exists virtually under a state of siege. We can no longer permit the complete frustration of economic and social development in this huge area.

"My Government now requires and expects the co-operation of all the people of the North-Eastern Province to bring about a full development of this area in a climate of peace. But if such co-operation is not forthcoming, then whatever measures are required to subdue or remove the remaining criminal elements will be initiated and enforced."

The Government would pursue Africanization of the whole administrative structure. The President reiterated his call of "Back to the Land", that being, he said, the basic issue in Kenya today.

Somali Lands Must Be United

The same day the Somali Ministry of Information said in Mogadishu:

"It is impossible for the Somali Government and the people of the Somali Republic to abandon the work they have been undertaking in Somali territories still ruled by aliens—the work of liberating Somali territories occupied forcibly by the aliens, and of restoring dignity and freedom to the inhabitants of these Somali lands. This is a national obligation for us. Our Constitution lays down that the five Somali lands must be liberated and united through peaceful means, and that

these Somali lands should come together under one flag and one Government.

The Somali News Agency announced:—

Three men of the Kenya General Service Unit, an invader, and part of the Kenya Police, have been killed in a clash with N.F.D. Somalis. The clash took place five miles from El Wak, situated in the Somali land now annexed to Kenya. According to the report reaching us, two fighting Somali nationalists were wounded. Police reinforcements sent to the battlefield shot a Somali civilian whose home was nearby but who had not taken any part in the fighting."

Malawi Judge Threatens to Withdraw

Another Outburst by Dr. Banda

MR. JUSTICE CRAM, the British judge trying the case of Medson Silombela, said to have been chief lieutenant of ex-Minister Chipembere in a *coup* against the Malawi Government, threatened on three occasions last week to withdraw from the case if the prosecution insisted on introducing what he deemed prejudicial evidence.

On Monday he ruled that a statement alleged to have been made to the police by Silombela after his arrest was admissible as evidence. Counsel for the accused had argued that the statement was obtained under duress. It allegedly admitted the shooting of three men, and referred to the annoyance of Chipembere and Silombela that an African woman and child had been killed in an attack on Fort Johnston after strict orders had been given that nobody was to be killed.

The judge had charged the assessors to put out of their minds whatever they had heard outside the court. He told them that it was no crime to engage in politics. What mattered was transgression of the criminal law.

Dr. Banda, the Prime Minister, returned to Malawi on the second day of the trial. He told a crowd at the airport: "Silombela is going to be found guilty. What sort of judge can acquit him? After that you can come and watch him swing."

A British barrister practising in Zambia, Mr. D. H. Barnes, has complained that counsel from outside Malawi were not allowed to enter the country, to defend Silombela despite appeals to the High Court and the Governor-General, Sir Glyn Jones.

A petition to the Queen mentions the Prime Minister's improper expressions of opinion on a matter which is *sub judice*.

Common Market

ETHIOPIA, Kenya, Malawi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia have agreed to join an East and Central African Common Market, of which the headquarters would be in Lusaka.

Nine Russian tourists have spent a week in Zambia.

Another Malawi rebel is stated to have been captured in the Northern Region.

The Anglo-Rhodesian Society has published the first issue of a bulletin, called *Rhodesian Monitor*.

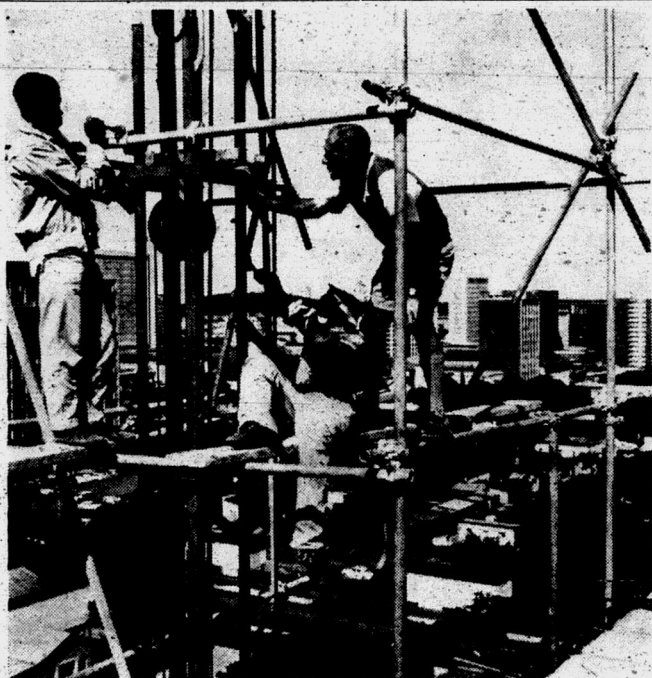
A five-member Tanzanian delegation has flown to Canton to attend a Chinese export commodities fair.

Kenya's enlarged Parliament Building, which has cost nearly £400,000, has, in the words of the Speaker, "elastic sides—walls under the boxes on either side which can be moved outwards by encroachment on the division lobbies if expansion of our House of Representatives requires more seats to be installed."

The Afro-Asian Summit Conference, which was due to open in Algiers last Friday, having been postponed in June, was again "adjourned *sine die*", after the Foreign Ministers of 45 Afro-Asian countries had spent three days re-examining the matter. One described the adjournment as "the tombstone of Afro-Asianism". China had previously announced a decision to boycott the conference.

Three Young Men recruited in London for the Rhodesian police who arrived in Salisbury a month ago deserted and crossed the frontier last week, reported at the British Consulate in Beira, and have now been flown back to Britain as distressed British subjects after representations were made to the Portuguese Government by Rhodesia's diplomatic representative in Lisbon. There is no extradition treaty between Mozambique and Rhodesia.

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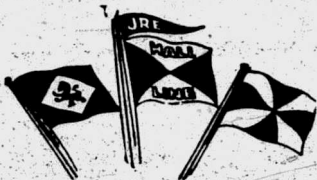
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